

**The Music Manuscript 2216 in the Bologna
University library:**

The copying and context of a fifteenth-century
choirbook.

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Ralph Patrick Corrigan
School of Arts, Histories and Cultures

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List of abbreviations

- BentQ15 Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript*, 2 vols. (Lucca, 2008).
- BesselerBU Heinrich Besseler, 'The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216', *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 6 (1952), pp. 39-65.
- CenCat Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellerman (eds.), *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1450*, 5 vols. (Neuhausen, 1979-88).
- CMM Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae.
- DIAMM Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music
(<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/index.html>).
- DTÖ Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich.
- FallowsOx *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 213* (London & Chicago, 1995).
- GalloBU F. Alberto Gallo, *Il Codice Musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1968-70).
- GalloV F. Alberto Gallo, 'Musiche Veneziane nel Ms.2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna', *Quadrivium*, Vol. 6 (1964), pp. 108-116.
- GroveOnline *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*,
(<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>), last accessed 24 April 2011.
- HammR 'The Reson Mass', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 18 (1965), pp. 5-21.
- MGG Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edition (Stuttgart, 1994-2007).
- PMFC Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century.

- RISM Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
- Widaman Jean Widaman, 'The Mass Ordinary Settings of Arnold de Lantins:
A Case Study in the Transmission of Early Fifteenth Century
Music', 2 vols. (Ph.D. Diss. Brandeis University, 1988).

Abstract

University of Manchester

Name: Ralph Patrick Corrigan

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Title: The Music Manuscript 2216 in the Bologna University library: The copying and context of a fifteenth-century choirbook.

Date: April 2011

The manuscript Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (BU) is one of three surviving manuscripts from the first half of the fifteenth century believed to have originated in the Veneto. Between them, these three sources contain the bulk of the surviving repertory from this period and location. However, BU has long been considered a subordinate source to the other two. In part this is due to its size, containing only a third as many works as each of the others. But it is also because of the date attributed to it. Since the publication of the facsimile edition of BU in 1968 and Alberto Gallo's commentary the following year, the conventionally held date for the completion of copying has been sometime after 1440. This has led to BU being treated as a source distanced from the material it contains and its many variant readings being explained as a result of scribal editing or stemmatic drift.

The first part of this thesis examines the evidence behind this proposed date and concludes that it is not secure. There follows a fresh codicological examination of BU that explains how the manuscript was created and the music copied into it. This establishes that a more likely date for BU's compilation is 1433 or shortly after, making the copying contemporaneous with the composition of some of the items contained. It also means that the copying of BU was completed around the same time as its closest concordant sources. The second part then looks at the role of the scribe in editing and developing the works he copied, before examining the relationship between BU and its concordances.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Secondly, I wish to thank the librarians around Europe who have assisted me in accessing the materials I needed, in particular those at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Archivio di Stato in Lucca, and of course the Biblioteca Universitaria da Bologna. Special thanks here are reserved for Dott. ssa Rita de Tata in Bologna who has always been helpful in enabling me to access the manuscript and swiftly answer any queries I may have (despite my poor Italian). It was also her assistance that enabled me to use the new images of BU taken by DIAMM in this thesis. With that in mind, I would also like to thank Dr. Julia Craig-McFeely at the DIAMM project who has always been quick to answer my questions and point me in the right direction.

And so on to the key individuals. In the first instance, I would never have embarked upon this doctoral path without the inspirational tutoring of Prof. Peter Wright of the University of Nottingham who first taught me early music notation and ignited the spark that led me here. He and Philip Weller (who supervised

my MA) led me to both extend my studies and to focus on the manuscript BU and for that I am exceedingly grateful.

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Ralph Corrigan
Fallowfield
August 2011

Prefatory remarks

In general page numbers are used throughout, with references to folios and gathering structures only where they are relevant to the matter being discussed. The facsimile by Alberto Gallo¹ uses page numbers for the obvious reason that the pencil foliation is not visible (presumably because it was not yet added) in his photographs. The new photos that will be available on the website of the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM)² some time in the near future are numbered by folio and give significantly more detailed and accurate images than Gallo's facsimile, although the full resolution images will remain available only from the Universitaria di Bologna. Gallo's photographs were enhanced and homogenised to such an extent that many of the scribal differences that are so apparent in the manuscript itself are lost. All three formats are included in the inventory.

Accepted standard spellings are usually used for composers' names and text quotations, rather than exact renderings of those found in the manuscript, for ease of comparison with other reference works. Hence *Binchoys* as found in BU becomes *Binchois*, *Kirie* becomes *Kyrie* etc. However, where individuals cannot be positively identified elsewhere their names are retained as they are in the manuscript. Hence Nicolaus de Capoa will be spelt as such throughout rather than as Nicolaus de *Capua*, the theorist who is commonly believed to be the same person, but whose name is not attached to any known compositions. BU's spellings are used only to highlight variants in the inventory and elsewhere in references to specific text underlay. Song titles are as found in David Fallows'

¹ GalloBU i.

² <http://www.diamm.ac.uk>

Catalogue.³ Following the same principle as with personal names, where non-standard spellings are used in unique works they are retained throughout, as in *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*.

Modern musical examples have been transcribed retaining original note values wherever possible. Transcriptions are intended to be as close to the original notation as can be achieved in modern notation, so no editorial accidentals or *musica ficta* have been included. Transcriptions were made using Coda Music's Finale™ 2009, and additional early music note shapes, in both musical examples and within the text, are drawn from Michael Scott Cuthbert's *Ciconia* font (v.1.4) and from the *CMME* font, used courtesy of the *The CMME Project* based at the Universiteit Utrecht.

Scanned musical examples are not credited individually, but are taken from BentQ15 ii (Q15) and FallowsOx (Ox). Photographs of BU were taken by DIAMM and are used here with permission of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. Their use here is on the express condition that further reproduction or duplication is prohibited. Images are not to scale and have been resized in order to best illustrate the point being discussed. They were processed using Adobe® Photoshop® v.11.

³ David Fallows, *A catalogue of polyphonic songs 1415-1480* (Oxford, 1999).

Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso

Since the publication of Alberto Gallo's article on Venetian music in the manuscript Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (BU) in 1964,⁴ the principal piece of evidence put forward for the compilation date of the source has been an otherwise nondescript Italian ballata, *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*, found on p. 81 (Ex. 1). It falls on the first recto of a new paper type, one of only two found in BU, which could possibly have been a supplement to the original volume. The secular celebratory subject matter of the work places it at odds with the sacred music found around it. It is also found on a folio, the only one in the volume, which has been subject to some form of post-copying butchery: the whole of the Cantus part, including any composer attribution that may once have existed, is missing due to the removal of the upper portion of this page sometime in the manuscript's history.

The song has been known to modern scholars for over a century. Giuseppe Lisio cited it in his 1893 inventory of BU⁵ and Johannes Wolf placed it, erroneously, in a list of the works of Johannes Ciconia in 1902.⁶ The attribution derived from the fact that no composers' names are found between that of 'Jo. Cichonia' above *O virum omnimoda* on p. 72 and the copying of *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*. Although the reasoning behind this attribution is clear, more recent research shows that at least two of the intervening works are by composers other than Ciconia⁷ rendering any attribution impossible from this

⁴ GalloV.

⁵ Giuseppe Lisio, *Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Du Fay tratta da due codici antichi e le poesie volgari contenute in essi* (Bologna, 1893).

⁶ Johannes Wolf, 'Nachtrag zu der Studie: Der Niederländische Einfluss in der mehrstimmigen gemessenen Musik bis zum Jahre 1480', *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, Vol. 7 (1902), p. 156 and incipit on p. 7. A full thematic catalogue of BU is found in Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1904) pp. 199-208, where he uses the same logic for attributing composers.

⁷ *Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps [...] veneti* by Antonius Romanus and *Salve regina* by Reson.

Ex. 1: *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*

*Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso
col populo bresano
Magnanimo e soprano
viva, viva sempre victorioso.
E tu Bresa bella e triumphante
lauda dio de tanta victorioso
po che forte stata sey e constante
coronata seray con gran glorioso.*

Viva, viva, glorious San Marco
With the people of Brescia
Magnanimous and sovereign,
Viva, Viva victorious always.
And you, Brescia, beautiful and
triumphant
Sing praises to such a victorious
God;
Because you have been strong
and constant
You are crowned with great
glories.
(My translation)



evidence. No text concordances have been found for *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* and there was no further discussion of it until Alberto Gallo began to publish on the manuscript in the early 1960s.

Gallo reasoned that the text, praising the patron saint of Venice and the people of Brescia, related it to the raising by the Venetians of a Milanese siege of Brescia in 1440.⁸ This was indeed a key event in the history of both cities. From this point on, Brescia enjoyed a lengthy period of stability in the fealty of Venice, while the republic itself celebrated the extraordinary military achievements that had occurred during the campaign, not least the transportation of a flotilla of ships from the Adige river to Lake Garda in an audacious display of naval (and logistical) might.⁹ Similarly, the siege itself had been highly traumatic for the people of Brescia and a degree of gratitude would clearly have been felt for the rescuing forces, particularly given the extensive famine and loss of life of the preceding two years.¹⁰

However, there is nothing specific within the text of *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* to tie the work to this particular event. Indeed, while the text clearly refers to the glory of the Brescian people and their close relationship to Venice, there are no militaristic references that could be interpreted as signifying the raising of a siege, nor is there any overt gratitude to the rescuers. Although there are references to victory and triumph, this is not explicitly related to any battle and the intimation is that the Brescians have aided the republic, rather than *vice versa*. So could it be that this song does not relate to this battle at all?

⁸ GalloV, p. 111.

⁹ Geoffrey Trease, *Condottieri: Soldiers of Fortune* (London, 1970), pp. 289-90.

¹⁰ Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri (ed.), *Storia di Brescia* (Brescia, 1963-64), Vol. 2, pp. 70-71. The chronicler Cristoforo da Soldo, who was in Brescia at the time of the siege, described the plight of the Brescians, saying: "Et comedebant equos etiam asinos et infirmitate seu fame morientes, et canes, gattos, lupos et mures et omnia olera etiam incognita; et alii fame perierunt, et alii, ut assertum fuit per dom. Praepositum Sanctae Agatae bonum religiosum, deliberaverunt veneno interficere medietatem filiorum ex impotentia et defectu victualium et summa calamitate et aegestate. Heu Brixia tam magnipotens supra cunctas ceteras urbes, ubertissima victualium ad quid venisti?" Quoted in G. P. Vieusseux (ed.), *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Series 5, Vol. 9 (Florence, 1892), p. 16.

An examination of the first part of the fifteenth century in Brescia reveals that there are several occasions that could have been the inspiration for *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*'s composition. Going back to the very earliest years of the 1400s, Brescia was subject to Milanese control, but was ceded into the hands of Pandolfo III Malatesta in 1404, partly as a result of a debt owed to him by the ruling Visconti family of Milan and partly as a result of a popular revolt by Brescia against the Milanese in the same year.¹¹ During the next fifteen years Pandolfo led several campaigns on behalf of the Venetian Republic in which Brescian forces played a significant part. Any one of these, or indeed the period in general, would make an appropriate event for the composition of *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*, and it is of note that this period also saw considerable musical patronage in the city from the artistically minded Pandolfo.¹²

Moving further into the century, Milan wrested back control of Brescia from Pandolfo in 1421 and this remained the *status quo* until Francesco Bussone, a Venetian *condottiero*, arrived at the gates of the city in 1426. The Brescians were so eager to cede themselves back into the Veneto that Bussone was met by the town's leaders with a pre-prepared document and, apparently, much celebration.¹³ As recognition of Brescia's support the Venetian privilege was granted in 1428, returning a degree of autonomy to the city, following the signing of the first Peace of Ferrara with Milan in the same year.

Either of these two dates could also represent a reasonable circumstance for the composition of *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*. On the occasion of the act of secession in 1426, a work promoting unity could have

¹¹ Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, *Op, cit.* Vol. 1, pp. 866-876.

¹² Allan W. Atlas, 'On the Identity of some Musicians at the Brescian Court of Pandolfo III Malatesta', *Current Musicology*, Vol. 36 (1983), pp. 11-20. A number of musicians are identified here, including Pandolfo himself as a harpist and lutenist. However, with the possible exception of Beltrame Feragut, none of the listed musicians is found in BU.

¹³ Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 16-17.

been used in an attempt to avert any undue dictatorship by Venice, as well as emphasising the point that Brescia had not been conquered *per se*, but had ceded of its own volition. References to Brescia's strength and constancy could well be intended to provide a reminder of the joint and successful labours that had been undertaken in the past. The text is equally appropriate to the granting of the privilege in 1428 in that it can be interpreted as displaying the benefits that a semi-autonomous Brescia could bring to its neighbour.

A further instance exists on the occasion of the second Peace of Ferrara, signed between the Doge and the Visconti in 1433. Although the period of peace provided by the treaty was only brief, it did mark the formalisation of Brescia's position within the Veneto, with Milan disowning its claim to the city. This event finally gave Brescia a certainty of status. The city ceased, at least on paper, to be a contested area of land and ensured it received the security of being a subject of Venice. This event would, at least, seem to be associated with music, as Du Fay's *C'est bien raison* is believed to have been composed for its celebration.¹⁴

This last date is of particular interest in that it coincides with the composition of the latest datable work in BU, Du Fay's *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, written for the first meeting between Sigismund and Pope Eugenius IV in 1433. Datable works are rare in the manuscript, but there is no obvious reason why other works found in the volume should have been written later, particularly if the date assigned to *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* is called into question. Both works would also appear to have been copied well into BU's compilation process, suggesting that the period around 1433 is a reasonable

¹⁴ Heinrich Bessler, 'Neue Dokumente zum Leben und Schaffen Dufays', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 9 (1952), pp. 159-176.

starting point for any attempt to narrow down the date of the manuscript's completion.

All the suggestions above are necessarily speculative and without the discovery of a dated concordance or textual reference it is unlikely that *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* will ever be attributed a secure date. However, this discussion also leads to the conclusion that using this piece as the primary dating evidence for the manuscript is not possible. Instead, a collection of circumstantial evidence is required, building on the known datable works, any potential dates that can be applied to others and any paper evidence provided by the watermarks found in BU. With this in mind, the currently held date for the completion of the manuscript being post-1440 must be reconsidered.

Alongside this question of completion date, there is also the issue as to when copying began. Although scribal changes can be noted and used to define to some extent the sequence in which items were copied into the manuscript, these do not allow us to make any definitive judgements as to when the copying process began. The presence of works in the volume by Ciconia and Zacar, both of whom died before 1420, cannot reasonably be used to indicate a starting point this early and the vast majority of works contained in BU are without any clearly definable date. It would seem plausible, given the relatively small size of BU and the continuity throughout of a single principal scribe without obvious evolution of technique, that the creation of BU took place in a relatively short period of time, potentially placing the entire volume close to this 1433 date.¹⁵ Such a date places the compilation of BU firmly in the same time-frame as the other key manuscripts of the period: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 213 (Ox) and Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca

¹⁵ Heinrich Bessler also noted that *Supremum est moratlibus bonum* was the last datable work in the manuscript but used this as a beginning date for copying (see below) rather than an end date (BesslerBU, p.45).

della Musica, MS Q15 (Q15). This in turn allows for a significant reassessment of its authority as a source, based on its creation being largely contemporaneous with much of its content's composition, rather than being a later and potentially distant source.

In addition to the date of the manuscript, other aspects of the established narrative in relation to BU are open to question or development. That the manuscript was perceived from its appearance in modern records as being Brescian is attested to by the inventory compiled by the famous music historian and bibliophile Padre Giovanni Battista Martini after its entry into the University library, which describes it as being 'un Ms. Cartaceo Bressiano'. Although this is the only surviving documentary information that remains on BU's provenance there are a number of circumstantial factors cited by Alberto Gallo that would suggest a Brescian origin for the source. However, these factors have not been fully explored and, in the light of more recent studies, can be further developed.

Partly because of its smaller repertory BU has remained the poor sister to Ox and Q15 in terms of scholarly research. Yet it contains a large number of unique entries and unusual or uncommon versions of more widely circulated works that should perhaps have attracted more attention. The other factor that has seen BU glossed over, at least in the last part of the twentieth century, may be related to the proposed copying date of after 1440 given by Alberto Gallo in 1970. This meant that BU was the last of the three large Veneto sources to be completed, although until this point scholars had generally tended towards giving it an earlier date, at least relative to the other two manuscripts. To Charles Hamm, BU was copied 'slightly earlier than BL [Q15]',¹⁶ and Heinrich Bessler regarded the two as being copied at the same time as the others in the

¹⁶ HammR, p. 13.

1430s.¹⁷ These claims are largely unsubstantiated and Gallo's work was the first to provide some credible dating evidence for BU as well as being the first to put a reasoned provenance behind its supposed Brescian origin. Although this latter point is still not regarded as being certain,¹⁸ there has been no more recent discussion of the potential date of the source, despite the developments in manuscript and musical studies over the intervening years. For these reasons a full evaluation of the source is long overdue.

¹⁷ BesselerBU, p. 53.

¹⁸ Margaret Bent, 'Marchion di Civilibus, Prepositus Brixiensis', in *Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, ed. Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Rome, 1996), pp. 121-123.

Part 1: The making of BU

Chapter 1: BU: History, literature and inventories

BU, Ox and Q15, contain between them the bulk of the surviving polyphonic repertory from the first half of the fifteenth century in Italy. In comparison to Ox and Q15, both of which are extensive anthologies of music containing 326 and 328 items respectively, BU is instead a large format manuscript,¹⁹ probably intended for performance, containing only 86 polyphonic items. There is no definitive information regarding the origin of the manuscript, although the fact that it was viewed as being Brescian early in its modern history is attested to by Padre Martini's inventory. Giovanni Crisostomo Trombelli brought the manuscript to Bologna, presumably from Brescia, where it was held by the library of the Canons Regular of San Salvatore at Bologna (a clerical Augustinian monastic congregation of which Trombelli was General) before making its way into the University following Napoleon's suppression of the monastic community there in 1798.²⁰ Apart from a brief spell back at San Salvatore, the manuscript has remained in the University ever since and now bears the siglum MS 2216.

Within the front cover of the current volume are two pasted previous library indications. The first of these is of some considerable age and appears to have been cut from another volume, where ink damage has rendered its opening illegible. It bears the heavily blurred marking '[...]ll Appendix MS 1513' beneath which is a pencil reference that reads 'Cfr. Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft herausg von Guido Adler, I Jahrgang (1885), p. 481', which I will discuss in more detail below. The first reference is the manuscript's

¹⁹ BU measures 400x290mm, compared to 298x215 (Ox) and 280x200 (Q15).

²⁰ GalloBU ii, p. 6.

original siglum within the University of Bologna before it was returned to San Salvatore around 1827-28.²¹ Below this is a printed label that reads 'Ex Bib. S. Salvatoris' with the handwritten numbers 2216 and 727 copied above and below respectively. The latter number corresponds to a catalogue entry in the library of San Salvatore that indicates not only its presence in the library, but also that the manuscript has retained the same number of pages and presumably the same overall structure since it was catalogued there in the nineteenth century.²²

The Martini inventory

Before the publication of Alberto Gallo's facsimile, studies of BU were relatively short affairs, concentrating on identifying the works contained within it, and only occasionally providing any more in-depth assessments. The earliest such example is an inventory of BU that is now bound in the flyleaves of the manuscript itself. This four-page document, written in brown ink, was copied by Padre Martini (d.1784) sometime after the manuscript had been brought to Bologna by Giovanni Trombelli, and despite its age provides an important record of the state of the manuscript when it entered the modern era.

The first notable aspect of Martini's inventory is the lack of any page numbers or foliation accompanying the entries, despite the list being compiled on an opening by opening basis. This may be for the simple reason that the numbers had not yet been entered into the manuscript. The pagination of BU would appear to date from the eighteenth century and must, therefore, have been entered around the same time as Martini was producing his inventory.

Despite the lack of original page numbers in the inventory, a few additions in a

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 6. The entry in the inventory actually reads 'fol.114' although it must be assumed that the word 'fol' indicates the page numbering (of which there are 114) rather than actual folios (of which there are 57), as it would seem unlikely that the manuscript was exactly halved in size during the eighteenth century.

black or dark blue ink have been added to Martini's notes that include numbers that correspond with those now in the source. This hand also adds an attribution of 'Do Vala' to the work *O Toma didime* in the inventory. This attribution is found in the manuscript itself but was omitted by Martini. In addition, there is a further and more comprehensive set of pencil page numbers in the inventory, now hardly visible, that has been added on the right-hand side of the pages.

The inventory places composer names in bold (sometimes underlined) at the left of the page, with anonymously copied pieces indented underneath. This suggests that Martini regarded all the pieces following an attribution as being by the same composer although this is not stated explicitly. However, the list of works itself is almost identical to that produced much later by Alberto Gallo, even managing to link the parts of the anonymous *Kyrie, laudes nostra* (pp. 15 & 17) that some later scholars did not.²³ Some works are still missing from the inventory, however. Five of these are, perhaps not surprisingly, from the final section which, as we shall see, is still confusing to this day:

Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia	p. 101
O zentil madona mia	pp. 100-101
A vous me recummant toudis	p. 111
Gardes vous bien de trop parler/Voluntier ye me garderoye	pp. 110-111
Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amee	p. 112

There would seem to be no obvious reasons for these omissions. None of the items is particularly difficult to spot and while three of these works are copied below others, each is distinctly different to the surrounding material in

²³ See the discussion of Johannes Wolf and Heinrich Besseler's inventories below.

style and he seemed to have no problem identifying such works elsewhere in BU. These omissions are also not explained by BU either missing or containing misaligned folios when Martini came to produce his inventory as *Vous soies la tres bien venue* is found both in the inventory and at the top of p. 112, the verso to p. 111. Particularly odd are the omissions of *Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia* and *A vous me recummant*, both of which are found at the top of recto pages and are, I would argue, quite obviously separate works from those on the verso side of the opening. Nevertheless, these works have been missed from the inventory, perhaps for no more sinister reason than Martini's interest waned as he reached the end of the manuscript. Within the main body of the manuscript only one work is omitted, the anonymous *Amés amés tous loiaulx amoureux* at the bottom of p. 16, which was presumably missed due to its copying in a particularly small space.

The detail of Martini's inventory shows that the manuscript was in its current format at the time that he viewed it and that the top half of f. 41 (pp. 81-82, containing *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*) had been removed before this time (he notes that 'Voci é mancante pagine'). As Martini makes no reference to either library location or sigla, it seems reasonable to assume that the inventory was produced before the manuscript received its library number from San Salvatore. It is also reassuring to note that Martini faced the same problems in understanding this material as some of his successors: he tellingly notes 'Jos Cichonia. O virum omnimoda veneratione dignum..... Credo sia a due. O a 4' when noting Ciconia's four-voiced and triple texted motet on pp. 72-73, which Giuseppe Lisio later catalogued as being two separate works.

A final note in relation to Martini's inventory concerns the interpretative work that he adds in discussing the works. As well as providing full text

transcriptions of the works that he viewed as unusual, especially the troped Mass movements, he also comments on the origins of some of the material. In this he displays a considerable amount of knowledge about the manuscript's contents that is perhaps not immediately obvious from the apparently hastily copied list of works. Perhaps understandably given his vocation, these details predominantly refer to liturgical details such as the preponderance of tropes and texts in praise of the Virgin Mary. But he also notes details such as the dates of the key figures Pope Eugenius IV and King (Emperor) Sigismund, both mentioned in Du Fay's *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, and that the text of *Vergene bella che di sol vestita* is taken from Petrarch. Although Martini's inventory is brief, it is certainly not under-researched and it is clear that his knowledge of the repertory was significantly ahead of his time.

BU in 'modern' literature

The next substantial record of BU is that noted in pencil on the pasted siglum from the manuscript's first stay in the University of Bologna's library. This reference to the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* refers to Franz Haberl's 1885 article on the music of Du Fay²⁴ that contains on pp. 481-482 a list of the works in BU believed to be by him. Haberl's partial inventory is very similar to that of Martini and he, like Martini, makes the assumption that all the works following an ascription are necessarily by the same person. This leads to Haberl attributing 25 items to Du Fay rather than the 11 that are now considered to be by him. However, he does make some comments, almost in passing, about the pieces found in BU that indicate that he had more than a passing acquaintance with the source. Indeed, in one particular case he highlights

²⁴ Franz X. Haberl, 'Wilhelm du Fay: Monographische Studie über dessen Leben und Werke', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 1 (1885), pp. 397-529.

something that went unexplored for a further 80 years. He comments in his inventory that the *Sanctus* p. 42 is 'mit Thema wie No.6' (a *Credo* pp. 38-41). This suggestion of a pairing did not reach its logical conclusion until Charles Hamm identified these two, along with three other movements in BU, as forming a Mass cycle by Reson.²⁵

Complete inventories of BU have been published by Giuseppe Lisio,²⁶ Johannes Wolf,²⁷ Heinrich Bessler,²⁸ and Alberto Gallo²⁹ with the last of these providing a comparison of the differing numbering schemes of his predecessors. The difficulties attached to producing such a catalogue, particularly for those who may not have seen the source, are obvious. Lisio and Wolf fall out of step early in the volume, with Wolf identifying Nicolaus da Capoa's four-voice *Gloria* (pp. 16-17) as two separate works, immediately followed by Lisio's omission of the two-voice *Amés amés tous loiaux amoureux* (p. 16) that is copied below the Tenor of the *Gloria*. They remain two numbers different until Lisio records Ciconia's motet *O virum omnimoda/ O lux et decus/ O beate* (pp. 72-73) as two separate works. Wolf records the Binchois *Magnificat* (pp. 90-95) as three works. There are then numerous disagreements over the numbering of the plainchant works towards the end of the manuscript (pp. 106-109) that lead to substantial differences between them at the end of their catalogues. While both discuss aspects of the manuscript that are of interest to them, neither provides any in-depth analysis of the contents.

²⁵ HammR, pp. 5-21.

²⁶ Giuseppe Lisio, *Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Du Fay tratta da due codici antichi e le poesie volgari contenute in essi* (Bologna, 1893).

²⁷ Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 199-208.

²⁸ BesslerBU, pp. 39-65.

²⁹ GalloBU ii, pp. 18-68.

Bessler, on the other hand, provides the first detailed assessment of the source.³⁰ In addition to his inventory, the first to have a detailed presentation of concordances, Bessler discusses the provenance and dating of BU in a manner not previously attempted. He concludes that the manuscript is of Brescian origin partly on the basis of Martini's statement. But he also introduces to this argument the presence of *Viva, viva San Marcho Glorioso*, a work he dates to sometime around or after the Peace of Ferrara in 1428.³¹ He also discusses the late datable works: *Christus Vincit* (pp. 60-61), written for Doge Francesco Foscari either upon or sometime after his accession in 1423; *Ducalis sedes/stirps ... Veneti* (pp. 76-77), whose reference to Tommaso Mocenigo in Q15 is omitted here and replaced only with a large 'N', which Bessler suggests was because he had died before the work was copied into BU; and *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* (pp. 56-57), which he dated to 1433. All together, Bessler uses these to argue for a *terminus post quem* date of 1433 for BU, although he leaves open the possibility that copying was not completed until 1440 or later. Indeed, for Bessler the disparate collection of music that finally ended up in BU, including some entries by other scribes, was indicative of a lengthy copying process.

Bessler goes on to discuss the structure of the manuscript, noting that there was originally a four-part plan (I: *Kyrie-Gloria* settings, II: *Credo-Sanctus-Agnus*, III: Motets, IV: Secular works) and he explains in detail how this plan was diluted by the insertion of additional works either at the bottom of pages or on pages left blank in the original copying process. He also discusses the composers present in the source, noting that only one known Brescian

³⁰ BesslerBU, pp. 39-66.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

composer, Prepositus Brixiensis, is found in BU and even he is represented by only one song.³²

The numbering scheme used by Bessler is largely the same as that found in Alberto Gallo's inventory,³³ although the latter treats plainchant items as separate works (e.g. the plainchant *Missa brevis* found on p. 1, numbered by Gallo as four items and by Bessler as only 1) leading to a lower overall total of works in the earlier inventory. The only other discrepancy is in his identification, along with Lisio and Wolf, of the *Kyrie, Laudes nostras* copied erratically at the bottom of pp. 15 & 17 as two separate pieces where Gallo correctly identifies it as being a single work.

The new catalogues

Given the close reading of the inventories of Bessler and Gallo it may seem unnecessary to produce a new inventory now. However, there have been significant moves forward in scholarship since Gallo's work, which now needs revisiting. New manuscript fragments have been discovered leading to new attributions for works Gallo thought anonymous as well as improved information about the works themselves. Although the majority of this information is available elsewhere, it has not previously been placed in one location for the discussion of BU.

Table 1 (below) lists the manuscripts concordant with BU. The manuscript abbreviations are based on those used by Margaret Bent for her facsimile of Q15,³⁴ and the concordance lists are primarily drawn from

³² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³³ GalloBU ii, pp. 18-68. There is no separate discussion of Gallo's commentary here as it will be referred to in detail during the course of this thesis.

³⁴ BentQ15, pp. xix-xx.

comparison with the Bessler and Gallo inventories, BentQ15, FallowsOx, and David Fallows' *Catalogue*.³⁵

The basis of my new inventory (Table 2) is the numbering of Gallo and Bessler, both of which are included for ease of comparison with other reference works. The only additional work in the inventory is to correct an error in Gallo's catalogue in recording the chants for the Transfiguration copied onto pp. 107-109. There is no No. 84 in Gallo's catalogue, nor is the text *Erat autem aspectus* identified as a separate item, as it should be according to Gallo's system. As this chant precedes No. 83, *Pre timore autem eius*, it should not be numbered as 84 and has been included without number below.

In addition to the usual information found in an inventory I have also added a comments column. Although many of the pieces in BU have been the subject of some discussion (as referenced below) there are a number of issues I have found that have not yet appeared in print. Therefore, this column has provided me with an opportunity to raise some of my thoughts on those works that are not discussed in great detail elsewhere in the thesis.

Finally, Table 3 shows the gathering structure of the manuscript as it now appears. Although Alberto Gallo describes this structure in his commentary I have learnt from discussing this manuscript with others over the past few years that a picture is easier to understand than the prose. The references to particular works or hand changes are to illustrate where these fall in anticipation of discussions later on in this volume. Unlike Gallo, I have decided to consider the final groups of folios as primarily a single gathering (**VII**), for reasons that will become apparent in Chapter 2.

³⁵ David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford, 1999).

Table 1: Manuscripts concordant with BU

Abbreviation	Name	Section/ scribe/ gathering ³⁶	Number
Ao	Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, MS 15	1	10, 28, 64
		2	10, 22, 28, 40, 65
Atri	Atri, Archivio Capitolare, Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, frammento No. 5, recto		9
Ber190	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Germ. 8 ^o 190		104
BolQ1	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q.1		9
Ca6	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MS 6		40
Ca11	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MS 11		40
CamPem	Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 314		65
Cop17	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Fragm. 17a		42
CS15	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 15		23
EscA	Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, MS V.III.24		19
EscB	Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, MS IV.a.24		41
Feininger	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS FC 133		34, 49
FM	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX. 112 bis		66, 70

³⁶ For manuscripts with a number of concordances the section in which they are copied (or gathering in the case of Ox and scribal stage in the case of Q15) are found here.

Grot	Grottaferrata, Badia Greca, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia di S. Nilo, MS segn. provv. Kript. Lat. 224		9
Kras	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS III.8054		59
Leipzig	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek der Karl-Marx Universität, MS 1084		48
Lo82959	London, British Library, Add. 82959		9
Lucca	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184		72, 75
MC871	Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 871		41
Milan49	Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, MS AD.XIV.49		34
MilanY3	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS Y.3		49
ModB	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS. α.X.1.11		23, 42, 65, 66, 70
MuEm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm 14274		16, 23, 25, 42, 50, 64, 65, 66, 68
MuL	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3224		29
Namur	Namur, Archives du Royaume, Registers van het Schependom, reg. 5		79
Ox	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213	I	43
		II	79, 94
		III	50, 68
		IV	5, 6, 19, 29, 52
		V	100
		VIII	96
		IX	54, 77
OxL	Oxford, Lincoln College, Ms. Lat. 124		63
Pan26	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichiano 26		77
Pan27	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichiano 27		34
Paris4917	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. fr. 4917		73, 75, 100, 101

Pavia361	Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS Aldini 361		104
PC	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. fr. 4379	II	94, 96
		III	50, 68, 72, 79
Pist	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare di Pistoia, B 3 n.5		
Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q.15	I	9, 10, 21, 28, [37], [38], 40, 48, [54], 55, 58
		II	5, 6, 16, 29, 37, 38, 44, 50, 52, 54, 61, 63, 68
		III	23, 24, 34, 42, 49, 64, 65, 104
Rei 3	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. fr. 6771, ff. 89-119		79, 100
SienaBC	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS L.V.36		55
Spietro	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80		70
Stras	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 222 C.22		50
Tr87	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1374 (<i>olim</i> Trent 87)		19, 24, 99, 104
Tr90	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1377 (<i>olim</i> Trent 90)		22, 25
Tr92	Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1379 (<i>olim</i> Trent 92)		22, 23, 42, 63, 64, 65, 68
Tr93	Trent, Museo Diocesano, Archivio Capitolare, MS 'BL' (<i>olim</i> Trent 93)		22, 25, 64

Trier	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 516/1965		104
Ven	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS ital. IX, 145		10, 28
WolkB	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 'Wolkenstein-Rodeneck Codex' (without call number)		59

Table 2: Inventory of BU

G = Gallo number;³⁷ B = Bessler number;³⁸ Pg = Pagination as found in the manuscript; F = Foliation; Ga = Gathering structure with gathering number (Roman numerals) and internal foliation.

G	B	Pg	F	Ga	Incipit, a#	Ascription/attributions	Concordances and editions	Notes
1	1	1	1r	I1r	Gaudeamus omnes in domino	Chant	<i>The Liber Usualis</i> ³⁹ (LU), pp. 1556 & 1675-6	Marian Introit for 1st Vespers on the feast of our Lady of Mount Carmel (July 16th) in the modern use, although this is not necessarily how the scribe of BU viewed it. The latter entry in LU is for the feast of the Solemnity of the Most Holy Rosary, but this was not established until 1573 so is unlikely to be relevant here.
2	1	1	1r	I1r	Kyrie	Chant	LU, p. 25	Kyrie from Mass IV (Feast of the II class I)
3	1	1	1r	I1r	Sanctus	Chant	LU, p. 61	Sanctus from Mass XVII (advent and lent)
4	1	1	1r	I1r	Agnus dei	Chant	LU, p. 61-62	Agnus from Mass XVII (advent and lent)
5	2	2-3	1v-2r	I1v-2r	Kyrie, a3	Arnoldus [de Lantins]	Ox, ff. 63-63v (Arnoldus delantins) Q15, ⁴⁰ ff. 172v-174 (Arnold de Lantins) <i>Editions:</i>	Opening of the <i>Missa Verbum incarnatum</i> (from its trope text) or <i>O pulcherrima</i> from Strohm's suggestion that it is related to the motet

³⁷ GalloBU ii, pp. 18-68.

³⁸ BesslerBU, pp. 39-65

³⁹ *The Liber Usualis* (New York, 1961).

⁴⁰ Throughout this thesis, I will be using the 'A' foliation when discussing Q15 as it is continuous throughout the manuscript.

							BorrenPS, ⁴¹ pp. 1-9 (Ox and BU) Widaman ii, pp. 111-145 (All three versions in parallel).	No. 52. ⁴² Strohm also suggests a link to advent for the trope text of this movement, although there is no conclusive evidence for this.
6	3	4-5	2v-3r	l2v-3r	Et in terra, a3	Anon./Arnold de Lantins	Ox, ff. 64-64v (Arnold delantins) Q15, ff. 173v-174 <i>Editions:</i> BorrenPS, pp. 10-15 (Ox and BU) Widaman/ii, pp. 136-160 (All three versions in parallel).	See No. 5.
7	4	6-7	3v-4r	l3v-4r	Et in terra, a3	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> None.	
8	5	7	4r	l4r	Kyrie, cunctipotens genitor, a3	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> None.	Trope for <i>Kyrie IV</i> (see No. 2)
9	6	8	4v	l4v	Et in terra, a3	Anon./Zacara	Atri, recto (incomplete) BolQ1, recto (incomplete) Grot, ff. 4v (incomplete) Lo82959, verso (incomplete) Q15, ff. 18v-19 (a4, with extra voice, Zacar in index) <i>Editions:</i> CMM11 ⁴³ /vi pp. 31-4 (Q15).	<i>Gloria</i> ascribed Z. <i>Micinella</i> in Q15. Atri, BolQ1 and Grot all have Q15's voice II and Ct, while Lo82959 has I and T, although Bent notes some evidence of sectional voice reversal and suggests that the version of voice II found in the first three sources may

⁴¹ Charles van den Borren, *Polyphonia Sacra: A Continental Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century (revised edition)* (London, 1962).

⁴² Reinhard Strohm, 'Einheit und Funktion früher Meßzyklen', in Norbert Dubowy and Soren Meyer-Eller (eds.) *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1990), pp. 141-160 and Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 176-77. This Mass is cited as *Missa O pulcherrima* rather than *Verbum incarnatum* in BentQ15.

⁴³ Gilbert Reaney (ed.), *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, 7 volumes (CMM 11, 1983).

							PMFC13, ⁴⁴ pp. 3-7 (Q15).	be the original version. ⁴⁵ BU has three divisi sections in its voice I, although these do not correspond to Q15's voice II. BU is also missing Q15's self-contained Amen.
10	7	9	5r	l5r	Kyrie, a3	G de Fay	Ao, ff. 26v-27 & 49v-50 (G. dufay/Guilelmus dufay) Q15, ff. 10v-11r (G. Du fay) Ven, ff. 1v-3 <i>Editions:</i> CMM1 ⁴⁶ /ii, no. 1.1. De Van, ⁴⁷ no. 1.3.	Kyrie of the <i>Missa sine nomine/Resvelliés vous</i> . The <i>Credo</i> of this mass is found as No. 28.
11	8	10	5v	l5v	Kyrie, a3	R[e]zon	Unique <i>Edition:</i> Zarko Cvejic (ed.), <i>Johannes Reson – Missa Sine Nomine</i> , (Antico Edition, 2006).	<i>Kyrie</i> of mass cycle with Nos. 13, 31, 33 & 35, identified by Hamm. ⁴⁸ GroveOnline erroneously says that this item is edited in GalloBU ii.
12	9	11	6r	l6r	Sanctus, a2	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> PMFC13, pp. 176-177.	Unusual notational elements in voice I. Linked through head motif and copying style to <i>Agnus</i> No. 51. See Layton. ⁴⁹
13	10	12-13	6v-7r	l6v-7r	Et in terra, a3	Anon./Reson	Unique <i>Edition:</i> As No. 11.	See No. 11. GroveOnline erroneously says that this item is edited in GalloBU ii.

⁴⁴ Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo (eds.), *Italian Sacred Music* (PMFC 13, 1987).

⁴⁵ BentQ15, p. 167.

⁴⁶ Heinrich Bessler (ed.), *Guillaume Du Fay: Opera omnia*, 6 vols. (CMM 1, rev. 1964). Vol. vi, *Cantiones*, rev. David Fallows (ed.) (1995).

⁴⁷ Guillaume De Van (ed.), *Guglielmus Du Fay, Opera Omnia*, 4 vols. (CMM 1, 1947-9).

⁴⁸ HammR, pp. 5-21.

⁴⁹ Billy Jim Layton, 'Italian music for the Ordinary of the Mass 1300-1450' (Ph.D. Diss. Harvard University, 1960), pp. 381-382.

14	11	14-15	7v-8r	I7v-8r	Et in terra, a3	Fra. Antonius de Civitate	Unique <i>Edition:</i> CMM11/v, no. 5.	
15	12 & 15	15 & 17	8r & 9r	I8r & II1r	Kirie, laudes nostras, a3	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, p. 79.	Marian trope.
16	13	16-17	8v-9r	I8v-II1r	Et in terra, a4	Nicolaus de Capoa/ Bosquet or Zacar	MuEm, ff. 35v-36 (Bosquet) Q15, 107v-108 (a2, missing Ct and T, att. Zacar in index) <i>Editions:</i> CMM11/ii, pp. 7-12 (MuEm). PMFC 23A, ⁵⁰ pp. 184-9 (MuEm).	BU has longer Amen than the other sources and Ct is significantly different to MuEm. Of note is that although there is an attribution to Zacar in the index of Q15, no such attribution appears on the page, although the <i>Credo du village</i> with which it is paired is clearly attributed to Zacar on the page (no index of Credos has survived). This could suggest that the entry in the index is in error. ⁵¹
17	14	16	8v	I8v	Amés amés tous loiaux amoureux, a2	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, p. 80.	The scribe (or his exemplar) replaces the word 'cuer' with a heart shape in the second stanza.
18	16	18-19	9v-10r	II1v-2r	Et in terra, a3	do. Va{la}	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 81-85.	

⁵⁰ Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin (eds.), *French Sacred Music (Part 1)* (PMFC 23A, 1991).

⁵¹ Bent Q15 i, p. 91.

19	17	19	10r	II2r	Liesse m'a mandé salut, a3	Anon./Binchois, Du Fay or Grossin	EscA, ff. 15v-16 Ox, f. 79v (Binchois over erased ascription to Du Fay) Tr87, f. 166v (Grossin) <i>Editions:</i> Gurlitt, ⁵² p. 9 (EscA). Rehm, ⁵³ no. 25 (EscA). DTÖ14, ⁵⁴ p. 255.	
20	18	20-21	10v-11r	II2v-3r	Patrem, a2 + canon	Tenoriste?/Do Vala?	Unique <i>Edition:</i> None.	Includes rubric for realisation of a canonic third voice. The designation at the top of the page lies in the margin and I believe it more likely that this is intended to alert the Tenor singer to the location of the rubric (<i>Tenor iste</i>) rather than being a composer attribution. The only other occasion when any text is placed in such a position is for the words <i>Pro Pace</i> at the top of no. 42. This piece also shares an ornate and imitative extended <i>Amen</i> with the <i>Gloria</i> that precedes it, and both were entered into the manuscript at the same time. This leads me to suggest that

⁵² Willibald Gurlitt (ed.), *Gilles Binchois: Sechzehn weltliche Lieder zu 3 Stimmen*, Das Chorwerk, Vol. 19 (Wolfenbüttel, 1932).

⁵³ Wolfgang Rehm (ed.), *Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois (1400-1460)*, Musikalische Denkmäler, Vol. 2 (Mainz, 1957).

⁵⁴ Guido Adler and Oswald Koller (eds.), *Sechs Trienter Codices:... erste Auswahl*, DTÖ Jg. 7, vols. 14-15 (Vienna, 1904).

								this work could also by Do Vala.
21	19	22-23	11v-12r	II3v-4r	Patrem, a2	Feragut	Q15, ff. 46v-48 (a3, with Ct, Feragut). <i>Edition:</i> CMM11/vii, pp. 81-7 (Q15).	
22	20	24-25	12v-13r	II4v-5r	Et in terra, a3	Dunstable/Leonel	Ao, ff. 277v-278 Tr90, ff. 143v-145 Tr92, ff. 8v-9 (Leonel) Tr93, ff. 173v-175v & 177 (incomplete) <i>Edition:</i> Bukofzer, ⁵⁵ no. 3.	
23	21	25	13r	II5r	Ave maris stella, a2 + fauxbourdon	Anon./Du Fay	CS15, ff.42v-43 (with Ct) ModB, ff. 4v-5 (with Ct, Du Fay) MuEm (with the text <i>Sumens ilud ave</i>), f. 81v Q15, 321v (with Ct <i>sine fauxbourdon</i>) Tr92, f. 236v (Missing I and with different T and Ct, with the designation <i>super ave maris stella dufay sine faulx bourdon</i>) <i>Editions:</i> CMM1/v, no. 23 and app. 58. Kanazawa, ⁵⁶ no. 13.	Michael Alan Anderson suggests that the fauxbourdon version is original and the Contratenor voices were added at a later date. ⁵⁷
24	22	26-27	13v-14r	II5v-6r	Et in terra, a3	Anon./Grossin	Ao, ff. 76v-77v Q15, ff. 100v-101 (Grossin) Tr87, ff. 2v-3 <i>Edition:</i>	

⁵⁵ Manfred F. Bukofzer (ed.), *John Dunstable: Complete Works*, Musica Britannica, Vol. 8 (1953, rev. 1970 by M. Bent, I. Bent and B. Trowell)

⁵⁶ Masakta Kanazawa, 'Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966).

⁵⁷ Michael Alan Anderson, 'The Organization and Complexes of the Q15 Hymn Cycle', *Studi Musicali*, Vol. 35 (2006), pp. 327-61.

							CMM11/iii, pp. 46-49. DTÖ61, ⁵⁸ no. 3.	
25	23	28-29	14v-15r	II6v-7r	Kyrie, a3	Binchoyes/Binchois	MuEm, ff. 149v-150 (Winczois) Tr90, ff. 70v-71 Tr93, ff. 101v-102 <i>Editions:</i> DTÖ61, no. 31. Kaye, ⁵⁹ no. 11. Marix, ⁶⁰ p. 154. Parris, ⁶¹ no. 30.	Entered in void notation. See also No. 70.
26	24	30-31	15v-16r	II7v-8r	Sanctus, a3	Afat	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 86-88.	
27	25	30-31	15v-16r	II7v-8r	Magnificat, a3	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 89-91.	
28	26	32-33	16v-17r	III8v-III1r	Patrem, a3	G du Fay	Ao, ff. 33v-34 & 129v-132 (Du Fay) Q15, 13v-15 (Du Fay) Ven, ff. 22v-25 (a2, without Ct) <i>Editions:</i> CMM1/ii, no. 1.3. De Van, no. 1.3.	<i>Credo</i> from the <i>Missa sine nomine/Resvelliés vous</i> . See also No. 10.
29	27	34-37	17v-19r	III1v-3r	Patrem, a3	Anon./Arnold de Lantins	MuL, f. 2 Ox, ff. 65-6 (Arnoldus delantins) Q15, ff. 174v-176 <i>Editions:</i>	See No. 5.

⁵⁸ Rudolf von Ficker (ed.), *Sieben Trienter Codices:..., fünfte Auswahl*, DTÖ Jg. 31, vol. 61 (Vienna, 1924).

⁵⁹ Phillip Kaye, *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois* (Oxford, 1992).

⁶⁰ Jeanne Marix, *Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XVme siècle* (Paris 1937).

⁶¹ Arthur Parris, *The Sacred Works of G. Binchois* (Ph.D. diss., Bryan Mawr College, 1965).

							BorrenPS, pp. 16-28. Widaman, pp. 161-195 (All four versions in parallel).	
30	28	37	19r	III3r	Verbum caro factum est, a3	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> Diederichs, ⁶² pp. 334-6.	Lauda text.
31	29	38-41	19v-21r	III3v-5r	Patrem, a3	Anon./Reson	Unique <i>Edition:</i> As No. 11.	See No. 11. GroveOnline erroneously says that this item is edited in GalloBU ii.
32	30	41	21r	III5r	Ave, preciosa gem[m]a, a2	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> Diederichs, pp. 314-5.	Lauda text. The beginning of the second section has void <i>ossia</i> a fifth lower for the first two perfections.
33	31	42-43	21v-22r	III5v-6r	Sanctus, deus pater, a3	Anon./Reson	Unique <i>Edition:</i> As No. 11.	See No. 11. GroveOnline erroneously says that this item is edited in GalloBU ii.
34	32	43	22r	III6r	Gaude flore virginali, a3	Anon.	Feininger, #2 (<i>Gaude virgo</i>) FP27, ff. 29v-30 (a4, <i>Gaude virgo</i>) Milan49, f. 84v (a2, fifth lower) Q15, f. 309 Ven, f. 127-128 (<i>Gaude virgo</i> , similar but different opening to Ct (BU is more ornate) but missing second section. <i>Editions:</i> Diederichs, pp. 316-319 (Q15, Ven, Milan49 and FP27). Feininger, ⁶³ p. 60 (Feininger).	Lauda. Feininger, FP27 and Ven have text <i>Gaude virgo</i> , but are very closely related musically.

⁶² Elisabeth Diederichs, *Die Anfänge der mehrstimmigen Lauda vom Ende des 14. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 1986).

⁶³ Laurentius Feininger, 'Eine neue Quelle zur Polyphonie des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Festschrift Walter Senn zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich and Salzburg, 1975), pp. 53-63.

35	33	44-45	22v-23r	III6v-7r	Agnus dei, alme pater, a3	Anon./Reson	Unique <i>Edition:</i> As No. 11.	See No. 11. GroveOnline erroneously says that this item is edited in GalloBU ii.
36	34	45-44	23r-22v	III7r-6v	Ave verum corpus natum, a3	Anon./Reson	Unique <i>Edition:</i> None.	Attributed to Reson by Charles Hamm. ⁶⁴ Of note is that in the relatively small number of surviving works by Reson, are two other <i>Ave verum corpus natum</i> settings. GroveOnline erroneously says that this item is edited in GalloBU ii.
37	35	46-47	23v-24r	III7v-8r	Et in terra, a3	Arnoldus de Lantinis	Q15, ff. 114v-115 (Ar de Lantinis) <i>Edition:</i> Widaman, pp. 51-72.	Q15 has a longer Amen. While this and the following are closely musically related, they were not originally copied next to each other in stage I of Q15. ⁶⁵
38	36	48-51	24v-26r	III8v-IV2r	Patrem, a3	Anon. /Arnold de Lantins	Q15, ff. 115v-117 <i>Edition:</i> Widaman, pp. 73-109.	Q15 has longer Amen.
39	37	50-51	25v-26r	IV1v-2r	O quam suavis, a3	Anon.	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> None.	Magnificat antiphon for the first Vespers of Corpus christi.
40	38	52-55	26v-28r	IV2v-4r	Patrem... Amen, dic Maria/la vilanella, a4	G du fay	Ao, ff. 126v-129 Q15, ff. 37v-40 Ca6, ff. 5v-10 Ca11, ff. 23-27 <i>Editions:</i>	Paired with a Gloria by Du Fay in other sources, which it appears to match well. Margaret Bent comments that the absence of the Gloria here may be

⁶⁴ HammR, p. 20.

⁶⁵ BentQ15, pp. 183-4.

CMM1/iv, no. 4.2.
Bockholdt,⁶⁶ pp. 42-47.

significant, although this is not explained further.⁶⁷ Q15 has complete Latin trope in an extended Amen with the text applied to highlighted passages of music quoted in each voice in turn. Beneath all but the first of these is the vernacular text, suggesting that this was a recognised secular musical excerpt. BU has the Latin trope sections only in the Cantus and the Contratenor, with the second Cantus instead having the *la villanella* text and the Tenor being untexted (an unusual feature in BU). Only the first text is written in the scribe's normal formal hand, with the remaining entires in an extremely compact informal style. Nevertheless, this is still likely to be contemporaneous with the copying of the music.

Latin trope, from the *Surgit Christus*, is clearly Marian, although the Mary in question is unclear, and the

⁶⁶ Rudolf Bockholdt, *Die frühen Messenkompositionen von Guillaume Du Fay* (Tutzing, 1960).

⁶⁷ BentQ15, p. 171.

								work could possibly be intended for use at Easter. ⁶⁸
41	39	54-55	27v-28r	IV3v-4r	Mercé te chiamo o dolce anima mia, a2	Anon.	EscB, f. 82v-83 (a3 and incomplete due to missing leaf) MC871, pp. 348-9 (a3) <i>Editions:</i> Hanen, ⁶⁹ no. 73 (EscB) Luisi ii, ⁷⁰ p. 236 (BU) and p. 238 (MC871). PMFC 11, no. 48a (BU) and 48b (MC871). Pope, ⁷¹ p. 336 (MC871). Rubsamen, ⁷² p. 172 (BU).	Text attributed to Giustinian.
42	40	56-57	28v-29r	IV4v-5r	Suppreum est mortalibus bonum, a3 + Fauxbourdon	G. du fay	Cop17, f. 17 (incomplete) ModB, ff. 66v-67 (Du Fay) MuEm, ff. 107v-109 (different text) Q15, ff. 206v-207r (du fay) Tr92, ff. 32v-34 (Du Fay) <i>Editions:</i> CMM1/i, no. 14. Cox ii, ⁷³ pp. 15-27. De Van, no. 2.5. DTÖ76, pp. 24-5. ⁷⁴	Dated to 1433 as summarised by Fallows. ⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto, 1958), pp. 104-106. Donovan cites the use of the full *Surgit Christus* at Easter in Spain and Germany and BentQ15 suggests that Alejandro Planchart has confirmed this in an unpublished article.

⁶⁹ Martha K. Hanen, *The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24*, 3 vols. (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen, 1983).

⁷⁰ Francesco Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1983).

⁷¹ Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa (eds.), *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871: A Neapolitan repertory of Sacred and Secular Music of the late Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1978).

⁷² Walter H. Rubsamén in James Haar (ed.), *Chanson and Madrigal, 1480-1530: Studies in Comparison and Contrast* (Cambridge MA, 1963).

⁷³ Bobby Wayne Cox, 'The Motets of MS Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15' (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1977).

⁷⁴ Rudolf von Ficker (ed.), *Sieben Trienter Codices:... sechste Auswahl*, DTÖ Jg. 40, Vol. 76 (Vienna, 1933).

⁷⁵ David Fallows, *Du Fay* (London, 1982).

43	41	58-59	29v-30r	IV5v-6r	Francorum nobilitati, a3	B. Feragut	Ox, ff. 11v-12 (Beltrame Feraguti)	Dated to 1431. ⁷⁶
44	42	60-61	30v-31r	IV6v-7r	C[h]ristus vincit, a3	Ugo de Lantins	Q15, ff. 218v-219 (<i>O lux et decus Hispanie</i> , Hugo) <i>Editions:</i> GalloV, tav. 7-10 (BU). Allsen93, ⁷⁷ pp. 196-202 (BU and Q15 in parallel).	Allsen93 demonstrates how Q15's copy is a contrafact of <i>Christus vincit</i> . This work names Francesco Foscari, indicating that it was composed after he became doge in 1423.
45	43	60-61	30v-31r	IV6v-7r	Ave corpus vere natum, a2	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 92-93.	
46	44	62	31v	IV7v	Ave regina celorum, a2	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> None	Marian antiphon. Presentation of the Lord to Good Friday.
47	45	63-62	32r-31v	IV8r-7v	O Toma didime, a3	do va{la}	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 94-96.	Greater antiphon for the feast of St Thomas (O Thoma Didyme) 21 December.
48	46	64-65	32v-33r	IV8v-V1r	Alma redemptoris mater, a3	G. du fay	Q15, ff. 260v-261 Leipzig, ff. 230v-231 (2 copies of Tenor, in different notation) <i>Edition:</i> CMM1/v, no. 47.	Marian antiphon. Advent to the Presentation of the Lord.

⁷⁶ André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin di XIV^e siècle à la fin du XV^e* (Paris, 1940).

⁷⁷ J. Michael Allsen, 'Intertextuality and Compositional Process in Two Cantilena Motets by Hugo de Lantins', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 11 (1993), pp. 174-202.

49	47	65	33r	V1r	Ave fuit prima salus, a3	Anon.	Feininger, #8 (a2, missing <i>Contratenor</i>) MilanY3, ff. 171v-172 (a2, missing <i>Contratenor</i>) Q15, ff. 210v-211 Ven, ff. 108-109v (a2, no <i>Contratenor</i> and variant <i>Tenor</i>) <i>Editions:</i> Diederichs, p. 320 (BU) and p. 321 (MilanY3). Feininger, p. 62 (Feininger). Foschini, ⁷⁸ p. 814 (Q15).	
50	48	66-67	33v-34r	V1v-2r	Tota pulc[h]ra es amica mea, a3	Anon./Arnold de Lantins	MuEm, ff. 136v-138 (Arnoldus de Lantins, with extra Cantus part) Ox, f. 42 (Arnoldus de {la}ntins) Q15, ff. 238v-239 (Ar de Lantinis, with extra Cantus voice) PC, f. 65 (Tenor only, first part only) Stras, f. 16 <i>Editions:</i> BorrenPS, pp. 262-6 (Ox and Q15). Cumming, ⁷⁹ pp. 128-9 (BU).	Antiphon based on song of songs chapter 4. Used in praise of Mary. Bent argues that the fourth voice is additional to an original three voice version. ⁸⁰
51	49	67	34r	V2r	Agnus Dei, a2	Anon.	Unique <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 97-98. PMFC13, pp. 178-179.	See No.12.
52	50	68-69	34v-35r	V2v-3r	O pulc[h]e[r]ima mulierum, a3	Anon./Arnold de Lantins	Ox, f. 80v (Arnoldus de {la}ntins) Q15, 216v-217 (Ar de Lantins)	Antiphon based on song of songs chapter 5. Used in praise of Mary. Strohm

⁷⁸ Gaetano F. Foschini, 'La musica all'Eposizione Generale Italiana di Torino 1898', *Rivista musicale italiana*, Vol. 5 (1898), pp. 786-836.

⁷⁹ Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge, 1999).

⁸⁰ BentQ15, p. 210.

							<i>Edition:</i> BorrenPS, pp. 269-72 (Q15 and BU).	argues that this piece is the basis of Arnold's Mass (see No. 5).
53	51	69	35r	V3r	Ave regina celorum, a3	Anon.	Unique	Marian antiphon. Presentation of the Lord to Good Friday.
							<i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 99-100.	
54	52	70-71	35v-36r	V3v-4r	Vergene bella che di sol vestita, a3	G. dufay.	Ox, ff. 133v-134 (Guillermus dufay) Q15, ff. 237v-238 (du fay)	Text from Petrarch, but composed as a Marian motet and included here as such.
							<i>Editions:</i> CMM1/vi, no. 5 (Q15). Lisio (BU).	
55	53	72-73	36v-37r	V4v-5r	O virum omnimoda veneracione dignum/O lux et decus turonensium/O beate Nicholae, a4	Jo Cicho[n]ja	Q15, ff. 284v-285 (Jo ciconie) SienaBC, ff. 25v-26	In praise of Saint Nicolas of Trani, feast day 2 June.
							<i>Editions:</i> PMFC24, ⁸¹ no. 15 (Q15). Cox ii, p. 498 (Q15). Clercx ii, ⁸² no. 38 (Q15).	
56	54	74-75	37v-38r	V5v-6r	O anima C[h]risti sanctifica me, a3	Anon.	Unique	Prayer text usually associated with Communion.
							<i>Edition:</i> None.	
57	55	75-74	38r-37v	V6r-5v	Innicietur regi melos, a3	Anon.	Unique	Lauda. In praise of the virgin Mary.
							<i>Edition:</i> Diederichs, pp. 353-4.	
58	56	76-77	38v-39r	V6v-7r	Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps [...] veneti, a3	Anon./Antonius Romanus	Q15, ff. 275v-276 (Anthonius Romanus, with extra Contratenor)	Ceremonial venetian motet, containing the name of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo in Q15 (1414-23). This name is
							<i>Editions:</i>	

⁸¹ Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark (eds.), *The works of Johannes Ciconia* (PMFC 24, 1989).

⁸² Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia, un musicien liégeois et son temps*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1960).

							CMM11/vi, pp. 166-171 (Q15). Cox ii, p. 408 (Q15). GalloV, tav. 1-6 (Q15).	absent in BU, probably indicating that piece was recycled for other doges. Bent suggests that the notational translation in this piece (double note values in Q15) is likely to indicate that BU is an earlier version. ⁸³
59	57	78-79	39v-40r	V7v-8r	Ave mater o maria, a4	Anon.	Kras, f. 186v Ven, ff. 28v-29r (a3, ct is unique) WolkB, ff. 44v-45 (a3, missing CII and with considerably more florid discantus) <i>Editions:</i> AMP14, ⁸⁴ p. 276 (Kras). Bartha, ⁸⁵ Diederichs, p. 334 (BU) and p. 337 (Kras). DTÖ18, ⁸⁶ no. 116 (WolkB). Klein, ⁸⁷ p. 344 (WolkB). Jachimecki, ⁸⁸ p. 18 (Kras). Pelnar, ⁸⁹ no. 35 (WolkB). Wolf i, ⁹⁰ p. 318 (Ven).	Lauda text, in praise of Mary. Previously attributed to Oswald von Wolkenstein due to its presence in WolkB, but it now seems likely that the version there is a modified contrafact.
60	58	78-79	39v-40r	V7v-8r	Sanctus, admirabilis splendor, a2	Anon.	Unique.	It is not quite clear what the trope text here is in

⁸³ BentQ15, p. 221.

⁸⁴ Mirsoław Perz (ed.), *Sources of polyphony up to c. 1500*, 2 vols, *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, Vols. 13-14 (Warsaw, 1973-6).

⁸⁵ Dénes Bartha (ed.), *A zenetörténet antológiája*, (Budapest, 1948; rev. 1974).

⁸⁶ Josef Schatz and Oswald Koller (eds.), *Oswald von Wolkenstein Geistliche und weltliche Lieder, ein- und mehrstimmig*, DTÖ Jg. 9/1, vol. 18 (Vienna, 1902).

⁸⁷ Walter Salmen in Karl Kurt Klein (ed.), *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein*, *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, vol. 55 (Tübingen, 1962, rev. 1987).

⁸⁸ Zdzisław Jachimecki (ed.), *Muzyka na dworze króla Władysława Jagiełły, 1424-1430* (Kraków, 1916).

⁸⁹ Ivana Pelnar (ed.), *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein: Edition*, (Tutzing, 1981).

⁹⁰ Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1913-19).

								<p><i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, pp. 101-103. PMFC13, pp. 174-175.</p>	<p>celebration of, although it appears in at least three early mediaeval troperes from France and Italy. Of note is that there is only one other polyphonic setting of this trope that I have been able to find, and this is in the <i>Sanctus</i> from a composite <i>Mass</i> by Johannes Lymburgia (Q15, f. 164-165r). In his four-voice setting the first Contratenor is fully texted but with a hybrid trope text combining <i>admirabilis splendor</i> with <i>mundi fabricator et rector</i>. This second text, which references children singing 'Hosanna' could refer to Matthew 21:15 and Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday,⁹¹ perhaps indicating an Easter usage for BU's setting too.</p>
61	59	80	40v	V8v	Salve regina, a3	Anon./Reson	Q15, ff. 217v-218 (Jo reson)	<p><i>Edition:</i> CMM11/ii, pp. 111-4 (Q15).</p>	<p>Marian Antiphon. Trinity Sunday to Advent. BU is shorter than Q15 but fully contained.</p>
62	60	81	41r	VI1r	[...]/ Viva viva San Marcho glorioso, a3	Anon.	<p>Unique.</p> <p><i>Edition:</i></p>	<p>In praise of Brescia and Venice. Gallo dates the piece to 1440,⁹² although there is</p>	

⁹¹ This idea is suggested by Joseph Dyer in his online article 'The Medieval Mass and Its Music', (<http://www.the-orb.net/encyclo/culture/music/orbdyer.html>) last accessed 22/03/11.

⁹² GalloV, p. 111.

							GalloV, tav. 10-11.	nothing specific to tie the piece to this date. The top half of the folio was excised prior to BU's arrival in Bologna.
63	61	82-83	41v-42r	VI1v-2r	[Benedicta es celorum regina], a3	Anon./De Anglia (Power?)	OxL Q15, ff. 221v-222 (de anglia) Tr92, ff. 177v-178 (De Anglia) <i>Editions:</i> CMM50 ⁹³ /1. No. 15. DTÖ76, p. 81.	OxL is incomplete, but has additional <i>Te deus</i> setting. Attributed to Power by Charles Hamm.
64	62	83	42r	VI2r	Kyrie, a3 (fauxbourdon, plus ct for final Kyrie)	Anon./Du Fay	Ao, f. 22 MuEm, ff. 31v-32 Q15, ff. 157v-158 (du fay) Tr92, f. 27 (dufay) Tr93, ff. 98v-99 <i>Editions:</i> CMM1/iv, no. 10. Bockholdt ii, p. 13.	
65	63	84-85	42v-43r	VI2v-3r	Quam pulc[h]ra es, a3	Anon./Dunstable or Egidius	Ao, ff. 188v-189 (Dunstapell erased and replaced with Egidius) CamPem, p. 7 ModB, ff. 81v-82 (Dunstable) MuEm, ff. 63v-64 Q15, 313v-314 (Dunstable) Tr92, ff. 110v-111 (name cut off) <i>Editions:</i>	Antiphon based on song of songs chapter 4. Used in praise of Mary. Attribution discussed by Bent, ⁹⁴ Fallows ⁹⁵ and Wright ⁹⁶ with the possibility that the Egidius referred to could in fact be Binchois and the fact that the work does not sit

⁹³ Charles Hamm (ed.), *Leonel Power Collected Works* (CMM 50, 1969).

⁹⁴ Margaret Bent, 'The Songs of Du Fay: Some Questions of Form and Authenticity', *Early Music*, Vol. 8 (1980), pp. 454-459.

⁹⁵ David Fallows, 'Dunstable, Bedyngham and *O rosa bella*', *Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 12 (1994), pp. 287-305.

⁹⁶ Peter Wright, 'Binchois and England: Some Questions of Style, Influence, and Attribution in his Sacred Works'. In Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (eds.), *Binchois Studies* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 87-118.

							Bukofzer, no. 44. DTÖ14/15, pp. 190-1. EECMii, pp. 127-9.	well in Dunstable's output. Although BU has no attribution, and does not seem to be associated with the only item that is attributed to Dunstable in BU, it is nevertheless presented as part of a trio of English works and it is possible that the scribe believed this piece to be by Dunstable.
66	64	86	43v	VI3v	Anima mea liquefacta est, a2	Leonel	FM, ff. 32v-34 (with Ct) ModB, ff. 117v-118 (Leonel, with Ct) MuEm, ff. 150v-151 (Leonellus with Ct) <i>Edition:</i> CMM50/i, no. 18 and 18 bis. (FM).	Antiphon based on song of songs chapter 5. Used in praise of Mary.
67	65	87-86	44r-43v	VI4r-3v	Sanctus, a3	B Feragut	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> CMM11/vii, pp. 88-9.	
68	66	88-89	44v-45r	VI4v-5r	Imera dat hodierno, a3	Grossim	MuEm, ff. 80v-81 Ox, ff. 48v-49 (Grossim de parisius) PC, f. 63v (T only) Q15, 239v-240 (grosin) Tr92, ff. 124v-125 <i>Editions:</i> CMM11/3, p. 59. Cox ii, p. 137. DTÖ14/15, pp. 208-9.	In praise of the Holy Spirit.
69	67	89	45r	VI5r	Con desiderio io uo cerchando, a2	Anon./Grossin?	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> Diederichs, p. 296.	Lauda text. Due to the unusual layout of this work with <i>Imera dat hodierno</i> above, and the similar use of

							Luisi ii, p. 28. WilsonB, ⁹⁷ p. 279.	music under fermata in common with the <i>Gloria</i> No.24, I attribute this piece to Grossin also.
70	68	90-95	45v-48r	VI5v-8r	Magnificat, a3	Binchoyes/Du Fay	SPietro, ff. 196v-198 FM, ff. 13v-15 ModB, 31r-32v (Du Fay) <i>Editions:</i> Kaye, no. 22. Marix, p. 131.	Entered in void notation. See also No. 25.
71	69	97	49r	VII1r	En bianca vesta pellegrina cerva, a2	Anon.	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> PMFC11, no. 35.	
72	70	97	49r	VII1r	Fugir non posso dal tuo dolze volto, a2	Anon./Ciconia?	Lucca, ff. 89v-90 PC, fo.63 (T only) <i>Editions:</i> PMFC11, no. 39 (Lucca). Luisi ii, p. 275 (PC).	Attributed to Ciconia by David Fallows. ⁹⁸
73	71	98-99	49v-50r	VIIa1v-2r	Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti, a3	Anon./Zacar	Paris4917, ff. 25v-26v (missing CT) <i>Editions:</i> PMFC11, no. 19 (transposed). PMFC24, no. 42. CMM57, ⁹⁹ no. 15 (Paris4917).	Attribution to Zacara uncovered by Maria Caraci Vela. ¹⁰⁰ Notable for its unusually low pitch range.
74	72	100	50v	VIIa2v	O bella rosa o perla angelichata, a2	Anon./Ciconia?	Unique. <i>Editions:</i>	Music attributed to Ciconia and text attributed to Giustinian by Fallows. ¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants* (Oxford, 1992).

⁹⁸ David Fallows, "Ciconia's last songs and their milieu." In *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix, (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 107-130.

⁹⁹ Dragan Plamenac (ed.), *Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117* (CMM 57, 1972).

¹⁰⁰ Maria Caraci Vela, 'Una nuova attribuzione a Zacara da un trattato musicale del primo quattrocento', *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 69 (1997), pp. 182-4.

¹⁰¹ David Fallows, *Op. cit.*

							PMFC11, no. 55. Luisi ii, p. 259.	
75	73	101	51r	VIIa3r	Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia, a2	Anon./Ciconia	Lucca, f. 52v (Ciconia, incomplete due to lost page, missing T but with additional Ct) Paris4917 ff. 18v-19 Pist, f. 4v <i>Editions:</i> Ghisi, ¹⁰² p. 17 (Pist). Nádas, ¹⁰³ p. 105 (Lucca). PMFC11, no. 46 (Paris 4917). PMFC24, 39a (Paris 4917) and 39b (BU).	BU version is more intricate than the other surviving versions. Fallows has suggested that the text is by Giustinian. ¹⁰⁴
76	74	100-101	50v-51r	VIIa2v-3r	O zentil madona mia, a2	Anon.	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, p. 104. PMFC11, no. 61.	
77	75	102-103	51v-52r	VIIa3v-4r	Invidiã nimicha, a4	G du Fay	Ox, ff. 128v-129 (Guillermus dufay) Pan26, ff. 17v-18 (missing Ct 2) <i>Editions:</i> CMM1/vi, no. 2 (Ox). Duffin, ¹⁰⁵ p. 60 (Ox).	
78	76	104	52v	VIIa4v	De gardés vous de le cordon, a2	Prepositi Brixiensis	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> CMM11/v, p. 91.	Ascription is written in a dark black ink and distinct style, apparently added after the music.

¹⁰² Federico Ghisi, 'Italian Ars nova music, the Perugia and Pistoia fragments of the Lucca Codex, and other unpublished early fifteenth century sources', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 1 (1946).

¹⁰³ Jon Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini... Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca, 1990).

¹⁰⁴ David Fallows, *Op. cit.*

¹⁰⁵ Ross W. Duffin (ed.), *Guillaume Du Fay: Chansons: Forty-five Settings in Original Notation from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canonici 213* (Miami FL, 1983).

79	77	104	52v	VIIa4v	La belle se si[e]t a[u] pi[é] de la tour, a2	Anon.	Namur, f. 293 (T only in stroke notation) Ox, f. 31 (with added 2 nd voice attributed to Du Fay) PC, f. 61 (T only) Rei 3, ff. 108v-109 <i>Editions:</i> Jan van Biezen, ¹⁰⁶ pp. 9-12 (Namur in parallel with Ox). Clinkscale, ¹⁰⁷ p. 137 (Ox). CMM1/vi, no.12 (Ox). CMM37, ¹⁰⁸ p. 24 (Rei + Ox). Duffin, p. 16 (Ox). Montellier, ¹⁰⁹ p. 188 (Namur, music) and 189 (text). NJE27c, ¹¹⁰ p. 131 (Rei). Riemann, ¹¹¹ p. 16 (Ox). Stainer, ¹¹² p. 122 (Ox)	Versions in Ox, PC III and Rei are very similar and a fourth higher than BU. Fallows suggests that the version here is probably earlier and was later adapted by Du Fay to form the three voice song. ¹¹³
80	78	105	53r	VIIb1r	Pour amour de la rosete, a3	do.uala	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, p. 105.	

¹⁰⁶ Jan van Biezen and K. Vellekoop, 'Aspects of Stroke Notation in the Gruuthuse Manuscript and other sources', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, Vol. 34 (1984), pp. 3-25.

¹⁰⁷ Edward Clinkscale (ed.), *The Collected Works of Robert de Févin* (Ottawa, 1993).

¹⁰⁸ Nigel E. Wilkins (ed.), *A 14th Century repertory from the Codex Reina* (CMM 37, 1966).

¹⁰⁹ Ernest Montellier, 'Quatorze chansons du xv^e siècle extraites des archives namuroises,' *Commission de la vieille chanson populaire: Annuaire, 1939* (Antwerp, 1939), pp. 153-211.

¹¹⁰ Jaap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown, *Secular Works for Three Voices: Critical Commentary*, New Josquin Edition Vol. 27c (Utrecht, 1991).

¹¹¹ Hugo Riemann (ed.), *Hausmusik aus alter Zeit* (Leipzig, 1906).

¹¹² John Stainer and Cécile Stainer (eds.), *Du Fay and his Contemporaries: Fifty Compositions (Ranging from about A.D. 1400 to 1440) Transcribed from MS. Canonici misc. 213, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (London, 1898).

¹¹³ David Fallows, *Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 213* (Chicago and London, 1995), p. 34.

81	79	106	53v	VIIb1v	Angelus autem domini	Chant	LU, p. 782.	Easter chant for Vespers. Void notation along with the rest of this series of chants. These chants are clearly closely related to the modern rite, although there are numerous minor differences. In general, the modern version is more florid than that in BU
82	[79]	106	53v	VIIb1v	Et ecce terremotus	Chant	LU, p. 782.	Easter chant for Vespers.
	[79]	106	53v	VIIb1v	Erat autem aspectus	Chant	LU, p. 782.	Easter chant for Vespers. Missing from Gallo's inventory.
83	[79]	106	53v	VIIb1v	Pre timore autem eius	Chant	LU, p. 782-3.	Easter chant for Vespers.
85	[79]	106	53v	VIIb1v	Respondens autem angelus	Chant	LU, p. 783.	Easter chant for Vespers.
86	[79]	106	53v	VIIb1v	Et respicientes viderunt	Chant	LU, p. 783.	Easter chant for Vespers/Magnificat.
87	80	107	54r	VIIb2r	Assumpsit yhesus	Chant	Not musically related to modern chant.	Chant for the Transfiguration at Vespers. Jean Widaman cites Janet Palumbo as dating this addition, and those around it, to 1457 based on the time that the feast of the Transfiguration became established. ¹¹⁴ Although it is clearly a late addition to BU, it is unfortunately not much use as dating evidence. Although

¹¹⁴ Widaman i, p. 77.

								the feast was not celebrated universally in the Western church prior to Calixtus III's promulgation in 1457, it was a popular feast in many areas and had been for centuries (as well as being a fundamental part of Orthodox Christianity). Therefore, this date provides no absolute <i>terminus ante quem</i> . Perhaps more importantly, however, the music here is not related to the current musical rite for the Transfiguration, perhaps indicating that the chant here reflects an as yet unknown local tradition.
88	[80]	107	54r	VIIb2r	Resplenduit facies eius	Chant	Not musically related to modern chant.	Chant for the Transfiguration at Vespers.
89	[80]	107	54r	VIIb2r	Et ecce apparuerunt	Chant	Not musically related to modern chant.	Chant for the Transfiguration at Vespers.
90	[80]	107	54r	VIIb2r	Respondens autem petrus	Chant	Not musically related to modern chant.	Chant for the Transfiguration at Vespers.
91	[80]	107	54r	VIIb2r	Adhuc eo loquente	Chant	Not musically related to modern chant.	Chant for the Transfiguration at Vespers.
92	81	107	54r	VIIb2r	Christus natus est nobis	Chant	LU, p. 368.	Chant for Christmas day at Matins. Return to black notation part way down the page. Probably a different scribe to the chants above.
93	[81]	107-109	54r-55r	VIIb2r-3r	Venite exultemus	Chant	LU, pp. 368-371.	Chant for Christmas day at Matins.

94	82	109	55r	VIIb3r	Benedicamus domino, a3	Anon./Grossin	Ox, f. 27 (Grossim, with text <i>Va t'ent souspier je t'en supplie</i>) PC, ff. 49v-50 (Text as above) <i>Editions:</i> CMM11/iii, p. 25 (Ox). IMM i, ¹¹⁵ p. 12 (Ox). Stainer, p. 172 (Ox, with facs.)	Later addition by a different scribe to the main body of work. Crude and unfinished style suggests that it may have been inserted as some form of copying practice. Despite the religious text, this is still marked with signum congruentiae to show the rondeau form.
95	83	109	55r	VIIb3r	Et audientes discipuli	Chant	Not musically related to modern chant.	Chant for the Transfiguration at Vespers/Magnificat. Later black addition that could be entered as copying practice.
96	84	110	55v	VIIb3v	Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner, a3	Du{fa}y	Ox, ff. 118v-119 (G. du{fa}y) PC, fo. 43 (T and Ct only as facing page missing) <i>Edition:</i> CMM1/vi, no. 47 (Ox) DuffinD, p. 54. (Ox)	
97	85	111	56r	VIIb4v	A vous me recummant toudis, a3	do va{la}	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, p. 106.	
98	86	110-111	55v-56r	VIIb3v-4r	Gardes vous bien de trop parler/Voluntier ye me garderoye, a3	Anon.	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> None.	Opening of Ct is missing due to loss of the corner of the folio.
99	87	112	56v	VIIb4v	Vous soiés la tres bien venue, a2	Anon./C. de Merques	Tr87, f. 133v (C. De marques, with Ct) <i>Edition:</i> DTÖ22, ¹¹⁶ p. 91 (Tr87).	

¹¹⁵ Thurston Dart and Brian Trowell (eds.), *Invitation to Medieval Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1967-78).

100	88	112	56v	VIIb4v	Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amee, a2	Anon./Grenon	Ox, f. 81v (Nicolaus Grenon) Paris4917, f. 4v Rei 3, ff. 92v-93 (Grenon, with Ct) <i>Editions:</i> CMM37, p. 3 (Rei). CMM11/vii, p. 1 (Rei). Dannemann ¹¹⁷ , no. VI (Ox). Marix, p. 7 (Rei)	
101	89	113	57r	VIIcr	Pour honorer ma gente damoyselle, a3	Anon.	Paris4917, f. 2v <i>Edition:</i> None	
102	90	113	57r	VIIcr	Adyeu adyeu ma dous amye, a3	do. Val{a}	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, p. 108.	
103	91	114	57v	VIIcv	Benedicamus, cum trine vocis iubilo, a3	Anon.	Unique. <i>Edition:</i> GalloBU ii, p. 109.	
104	92	114	57v	VIIcv	In natali domini, a2	Anon.	Ber190, f. 24r-v (a3, with different C and Ct) Q15, 217v-218 (a4, with CII and Ct) Pavia361, ff. 9v-10 Tr87, f. 219 (a3, with Ct) Trier, ff. 137-137v (a2, uses T but with different lower voice) <i>Editions:</i> Cattin, ¹¹⁸ p. 15 (Pavia361 version).	Alternative ending to Cantus in void notation.

¹¹⁶ Guido Adler and Oswald Koller (eds.), *Sechs Trienter Codices:... zweite Auswahl*, DTÖ Jg. 11/1, vol. 22 (Vienna, 1904).

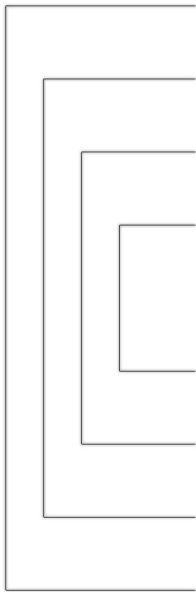
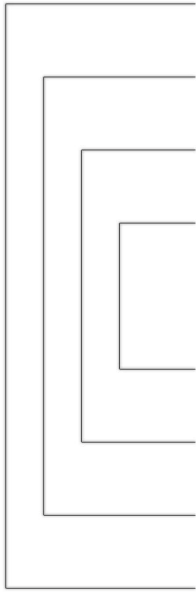
¹¹⁷ Erna Dannemann, *Die spätgotische Musiktradition in Frankreich und Burgund vor dem Auftreten Guillaume Dufays*, Collection d'études musicologiques/Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, Vol. 22 (Strasburg, 1936).

¹¹⁸ Giulio Cattin, 'Le composizioni musicali del ms. Pavia Aldini 361', *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento*, Vol. 2 (Certaldo, 1968), pp. 1-21.

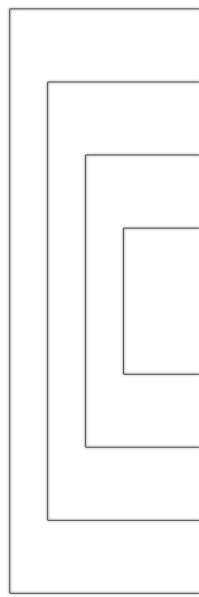
Diederichs, p. 324 (BU version with Pavia361 annotations. Versions from Q15, Tr87 and Trier are on pp. 325-329).
Wolf,¹¹⁹ pl. 58 (Ber190 version, with some rhythmic variants).

¹¹⁹ Johannes Wolf, *Musikalische Schrifttafeln* (Leipzig, 1922-3).

Table 3: Gathering structure

Gathering I	Pg.	Folio and comments
	1	1 – Ornamental initial, upside down bell-shaped watermark.
	2	
	3	
	4	2
	5	
	6	3 – Upside down bell watermark
	7	
	8	4 – Bell watermark
	9	
	10	5
	11	
	12	6
	13	
	14	7 – Bell Watermark
	15	
	16	8 – Nicolaus da Capoa <i>Gloria</i>
Gathering II		
	17	9 – Nicolaus da Capoa <i>Gloria</i> (cont.), bell Shaped watermark
	18	
	19	
	20	10
	21	
	22	11 – Bell watermark
	23	
	24	12 – Bell watermark
	25	
	26	13
	27	
	28	14 -
	29	Binchois <i>Kyrie</i> copied across 14v-15
	30	15 – Bell watermark
	31	
	32	16 – Verso has ornamental initial for Du Fay <i>Credo</i>

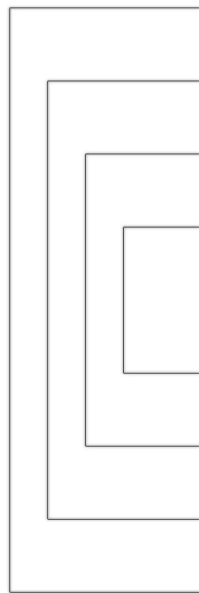
Gathering III



- 33 17 – Du Fay *Credo* (cont.)
34
35 18
36
37 19
38
39 20
40

41 21 – Upside down bell watermark
42
43 22 – Upside down bell watermark
44
45 23 – Upside down bell watermark
46
47 24 – Bell watermark
48

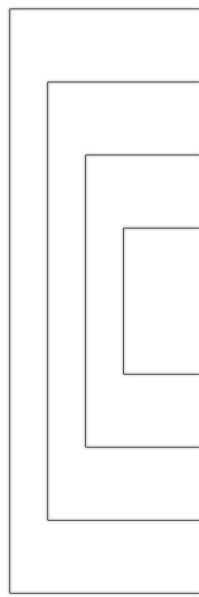
Gathering IV



- 49 25 – Upside down bell watermark
50
51 26 – Bell watermark
52
53 27
54
55 28
56

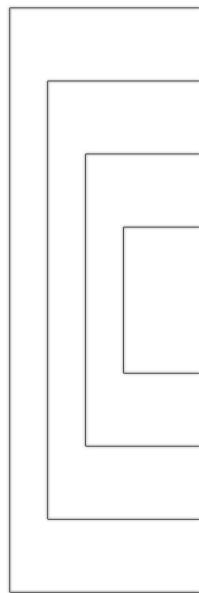
57 29 – Upside down bell watermark
58
59 30 – Upside down bell watermark
60
61 31
62
63 32 – Verso has ornamental initial for Du Fay *Alma*
64 *redemptoris mater*
-

Gathering V



65	33 – <i>Alma redemptoris mater</i> (cont.)
66	
67	34
68	
69	35 – Bell watermark
70	
71	36 – Bell watermark
72	
73	37
74	
75	38
76	
77	39 – Upside down bell watermark
78	
79	40 – Upside down bell watermark
80	Verso is Reson <i>Salve regina</i>

Gathering VI



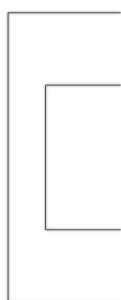
81	41 – Recto is <i>Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso</i> , bull's-
82	head watermark, top portion of folio missing
83	42 – Bull's-head watermark
84	
85	43 – Bull's-head watermark
86	
87	44
88	
89	45 – Upside down Bull's-head
90	Binchois Magnificat begins
91	46
92	
93	47
94	
95	48 – Binchois Magnificat ends
96	Page of blank staves

Gathering VIIa



97	49 – Ornamental initial for <i>En bianca vesta</i>
98	<i>pellegrina</i>
99	
100	50
101	51
102	
103	52
104	Prepositus Brixienis <i>De gardés vous de le cordon</i>

Gathering **VIIb**



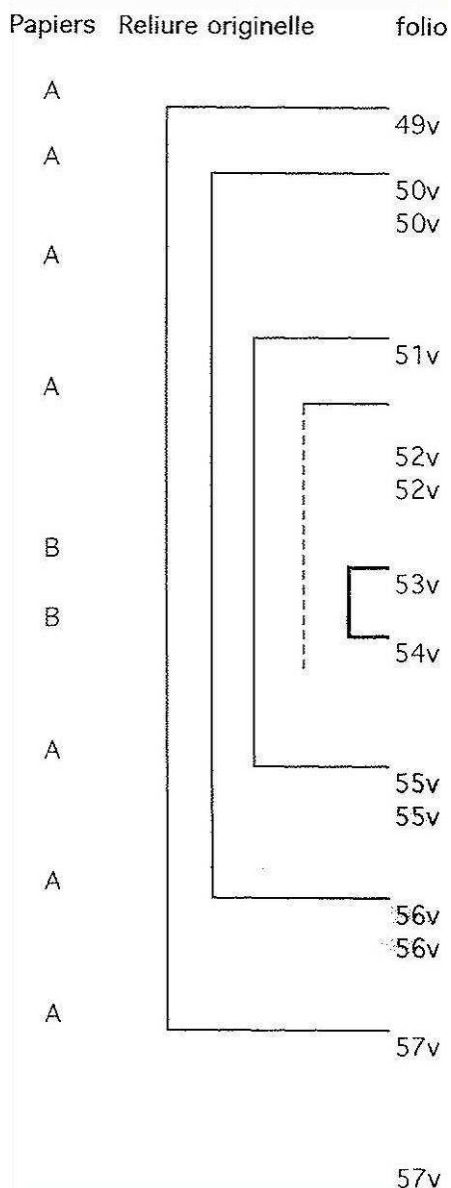
- 105 53 – *Do Vala Pour amour de la rosete.*
 106 Chant
 107 54 – Upside down bull's-head watermark
 108
 109 55 – Chant ends, upside down bell watermark
 110 *Du Fay Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner*
 111 56 – Upside down bell watermark
 112 *Vous soiés la tres bien venue*
-

Gathering **VIIc**



- 113 57 – Upside down bell watermark
 114 *Benedicamus domino and In natali domini*
-

Reconstruction of gathering VIIa-c by Isabelle Ragnard (reproduced here with her kind permission).



Chapter 2: The manuscript's construction

An overview of the manuscript

BU is stored in a modern fabric covered box, bearing the handwritten sigla MS. 2216 on the outer cover and with a pasted label stating that it is part of the University's collection on the inside. The manuscript itself is bound as a single volume, with a modern board and white-leather cover. This cover bears no identifying marks. Inside the cover are two fly-leaves of modern paper separating the manuscript from the modern cover. Two further sheets of this paper are pasted to the inside of the covers, the first of which has two further items pasted to it referring to the manuscript's bibliographic history as described above.

Between the fly-leaves and the manuscript itself two further bifolios of smaller paper have been sewn, with a pencil foliation from a-d, containing the inventory and notes by Padre Martini discussed above,¹²⁰ the last three pages of which are blank. The following 57 folios comprise the surviving material of the fifteenth-century manuscript.

While no apparent significant damage has been caused to the volume in modern times, it has clearly suffered in the earlier years of its existence. As discussed in relation to *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*, the top half of f. 41 (pp. 81-82) has been deliberately cut out, removing four staves of music from each side of the page, along with any ascriptions that may once have been copied there. The presence on both sides of the folio of the eighteenth century Arabic numerals found throughout BU suggests that this removal occurred before the manuscript moved to Bologna, and it certainly occurred before Padre Martini completed his inventory as he notes that the top half of the folio is missing.

¹²⁰ This inventory is not signed, but its provenance is borne out by its inclusion in the records of the Martini collection at the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca dealla Musica di Bologna (See GalloV, p. 108).

BU has also suffered considerably through wear and tear, most likely as a result of it being used for performance. The large paper size compared to other sources (400mm X 290mm as opposed to 280 x 200 (Q15) and 298 x 215 (Ox)) could have allowed several performers to sing from the volume at the same time and there are a relatively large number of pieces that show evidence of later musical emendation, presumably to enable the works to be performed at some point.

In addition, the regular turning of pages has left significant damage to the outer corners of the manuscript, particularly in gatherings **VIIa-c** and in several instances portions of music have been lost through this. So severe has been the damage that many of the folios are now secured with binding strips, possibly of some age as many of them bear evidence of having been taken from other manuscripts, and several have been further set in modern paper for protection. The most recent complete restoration accompanied the production of the facsimile edition in 1969 and saw a pencil foliation being added to the ink Arabic pagination.¹²¹ Despite being unusually far in from the margin and close to the stave, the absence of this foliation from the facsimile itself, despite it being clearly written in space between the music and the pagination, would suggest that it was inserted after the photographs were taken.

A further pencil note on the modern inside front cover of BU states that 'Le cc.11-14 sono semistaccate – 13.10.89 LW', presumably referring to a further restoration of these folios in 1989. This is of particular interest in that the quality of the work is so high that I could see no obvious repairs to these folios, suggesting that any visible current structure should be treated with at least some degree of caution.

¹²¹ Nanie Bridgman, *Manuscrits de musique polyphonique XVe et XVIe siècles. Italie*, RISM B/IV/5 (Munich, 1991), pp. 89-90.

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that the first five gatherings, at least, are in the format that they were created nearly six hundred years ago and most of the folios in these gatherings appear to retain their original spine. BU's 114 pages are copied onto two types of paper, similar in size and make, but distinguishable by their watermarks and the way in which they have been prepared. Ff. 1-40, 49-52 and 54-57 are all from the first paper type, which contains a watermark of a stylised bell (watermark-A, see Ex. 3). This paper is ruled throughout using a double rastrum¹²² set at 18 and 16mm per stave, in a light red ink, with ten five-line staves to the page. The use of the double rastrum is revealed not only through the consistency of the stave sizes, but also at several instances where the stave has not been ruled adequately at the first attempt and has to be redone. In each of these instances the correction is mirrored on parallel staves (see Ex. 2).

Ex. 2: *Laudamus te* from the Contratenor of the *Gloria* by Nicolaus da Capoa, p. 17 lines 1-2, showing the double ruling of the rastrum.



The second paper type, found on ff. 41-48 (the whole of gathering VI) and 52-53 (part of the complex and substantially altered final section), is similarly ruled with ten staves to the page and also displays the evidence of a double rastrum being used, although this time set at 17 and 16.5mm respectively. Janet Palumbo-Lavery describes this as being in a

¹²² The preparation of manuscripts, included rastra use, is discussed in some detail by Isabelle Ragnard, 'Quelques aspects codicologiques des manuscrits de musique profane dans la première moitié du XVe siècle', *Gazette du livre médiéval*, Vol. 38 (2001), pp. 15-26.

'tomatenfarbiger' red¹²³ and the paper contains a watermark of a Bull's head with a flower above and a triangular pendant below (watermark-B, see Ex. 4). Although the difference in ink colour between the two paper types is not perceptible to me,¹²⁴ the clearly measurable differences in rastrum size for paper B are more than sufficient to indicate that they were prepared at a different time from paper A.

Like the first five gatherings, gathering **VI** is also likely to be in its original format although it has suffered from more significant damage. Here the two outer folios, f. 41 and f. 48, show considerable signs of wear and have been completely detached from the manuscript at some time along with f. 45 from the middle of the gathering (f. 44, which is the other half of the bifolio, appears to retain its original spine and the only evidence of a binding strip in this bifolio is clearly attached to f. 45). However, the watermark pattern (watermark-B is found in ff. 41, 42, 43, and 45) would seem to suggest that this gathering is made from original bifolios rather than being a collection of loose leaves assembled after the fact.

The same cannot be said for the final folios, ff. 49-57, however. Following the 8 folios of gathering **VI**, the group of folios I refer to as **VIIa-c** have clearly been extensively reworked since their creation. As it now stands, it comprises nine folios, each of which appears to have been separated from each other at some point before being brought together in its current format. At least one folio would now seem to be missing, with the section being bound as 2 pairs of

¹²³ Janet Palumbo-Lavery, *Bologna, Codex BU* in ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd edition, Sachteil Vol. 2, (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 45-47.

¹²⁴ I could make out no colour distinction between the two types when examining the manuscript in Bologna. However, with the benefit of the new photographs available from the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (and soon to be available from DIAMM) it is perhaps the case that on the pages where watermarks A and B face, there does seem to be a slightly lighter shade of red used on the rastrum for watermark-B. The comparison of multiple pages side by side made possible by the new photographs leaves me uncertain if this colour distinction is real or consistent, although I am prepared to concede that this could be a function of my eyes.

bifolios (ff. 49-52 (**VIIa**) and ff. 53-56 (**VIIb**)) and a final isolated folio (**VIIc**).

However, the reconstructed bifolio pairs cannot possibly be original. The clearest indication of this is the outer bifolio of **VIIb**, which is made up of f. 53 and f. 56. Folio 53 has no watermark, but does have a rastrum size that corresponds with watermark-B paper, while f. 56 contains watermark-A and was prepared with the same rastrum as the rest of the watermark-A paper. Clearly this cannot have been how the bifolio was originally constructed. It must, therefore, be artificially created.

A similar situation can be seen in **VIIa**, where both of the bifolios as they currently appear share the rastrum size of paper A, but contain no watermarks at all. However, as ff. 55-57 all contain watermark-A, this could suggest that the original structure of this section was far more straightforward than it now appears. The reconstruction reproduced above (p. 63), with the kind permission of Isabelle Ragnard of the Université Paris-Sorbonne, highlights how this section was mostly likely put together. It is not possible to say with any certainty when or why this damage was caused, but it will become apparent when we discuss the music found in this section that it almost certainly happened early in the manuscript's history. One final aspect in relation to the structure of this section is the bifolio of watermark-B paper, found in the centre. Alberto Gallo argued that this represented one bifolio taken from a four-bifolio gathering, the remainder of which is now lost.¹²⁵ Although this cannot be discounted, I think that it is more reasonable to suppose that there was only one gathering of watermark-B paper, of five bifolios, which was available to the scribe, of which four now form gathering **VI** and the final bifolio now forms the middle of gathering **VII**.

¹²⁵ GalloBU ii, p. 5.

When prepared, each of the two paper types appears to have been ruled as a unit albeit, we must assume from the consistent but distinct use of different rastra, at different times to each other. When preparing the watermark-A paper, it would also seem that the general layout of the manuscript was already known to the scribe allowing him to mark structural aspects at this early stage. At four instances (pp. 1, 32, 64 and 97) the top two staves have been indented at the top left hand corner of the page for the insertion of ornate red initials identifying the opening of a musical section: the first two being for Mass movements; the third for motets and other religious works; the fourth apparently originally intended for secular music.

It would also seem that the initials themselves were inserted after the ruling of the staves but before the copying of the music, as the clefs on pp. 32 and 97 are indented away from the beginning of the staff to allow for the presence of the initial, something which it is unlikely the scribe would have been able to predict and which does not generally appear elsewhere in the manuscript. On the few other occasions where this is found in BU, it coincides with a further use of relatively ornate initials (e.g. Feragut's *Sanctus* on p. 87). These examples are clearly written at the same time as the remaining text hand, so this indentation could indicate that the scribe wrote the text before the music, at least in these examples.

While the copying of initials and music need not be significantly distanced in time, this level of preparation suggests that the selection of the works to open each of the musical sections was deliberate and made some time in advance of the start of copying. To confirm this, the initials on pp. 32 and 64 are found on the verso sides of the final folios of gatherings II and IV respectively. Jean Widaman has convincingly argued that this placement

indicates that the first five gatherings, at least, must have been assembled as a single unit and prepared before copying began.¹²⁶

The same cannot be said as clearly for gathering **VIIa-c**, the final section of BU, which has suffered the most during its early life. The material in these pages as they now appear is confused. But it is clear that the original intention for the start of this section was for it to contain secular Italian songs. P. 97 has the same ornate initial letter style for the opening of *En bianca vesta pellegrina cerva* that is found at the beginning of the first three sections and the music is indented to account for the initial, again suggesting that the initial was inserted before the music and was part of the scribe's original plan. However, unlike the opening of the second and third sections, this initial is found on the recto of the folio rather than on the verso, suggesting that it may not have been prepared with the intention of being associated with the first five gatherings, despite being on the same paper type and apparently being ruled with the same rastrum. It can be argued that the scribe knew that the secular works would be smaller and not require the complete openings he allowed for the larger sacred works. This may be true, but there is further evidence that this section existed independently of the main manuscript for some time early in its history. The outside of the pages throughout this section are far more worn than the first six gatherings. In addition, both p. 97 and p. 114, the first page of this section and what is now the final page of the manuscript, share a dirty patina that is not found elsewhere in BU, suggesting that they were exposed to the elements together. Janet Palumbo-Lavery argues that this section originally formed part of a six-gathering volume of watermark-A paper that was removed when the watermark-B paper was added.¹²⁷ However, given the clear evidence of prior preparation in

¹²⁶ Widaman i, p. 58.

¹²⁷ Janet Palumbo-Lavery, *Op.cit.*, p. 46.

gatherings I-V, which is missing here, coupled with the evidence of separate use, I am drawn to the conclusion that the scribe was in fact preparing a small manuscript of secular music that was distinct from the larger religious collection he was producing around the same time.

Watermarks

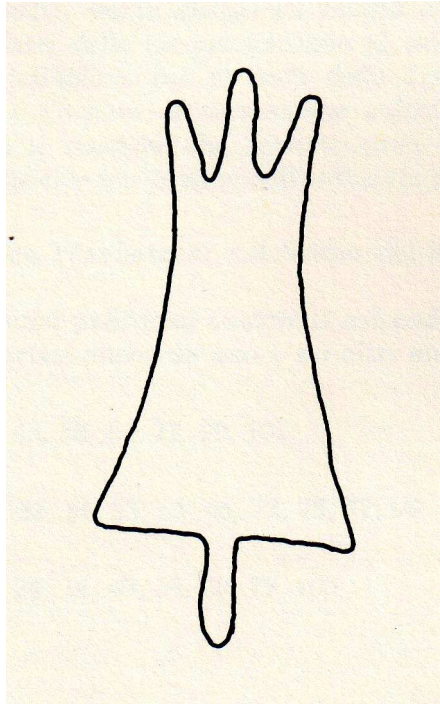
As has been mentioned, there are only two forms of watermark found in BU, a stylised bell (Ex. 3), measuring 78 x 36 mm, and an ornamented bull's head (Ex. 4), measuring 204 x 41mm. The only discussion of these marks in the literature was by Alberto Gallo, who commented on the similarity between watermark-B and those listed in Briquet's 1907 collection of watermarks¹²⁸ as Nos. 14871-14875, one of which (see below) is used in Brescian public documents in the years 1434-1445 and was produced by the Brescian paper manufacturer, Bartholomaeus de Scantio.¹²⁹

However, this apparent link may be misleading. While it is true that three of the five watermarks cited by Briquet are Brescian in origin, and their superficial similarities with BU are striking, none of them is an exact match for the mark found in BU. The one most similar, 14871 (Ex. 5), has shorter stems both above and below the bull's head and two cross bars above the pendant.

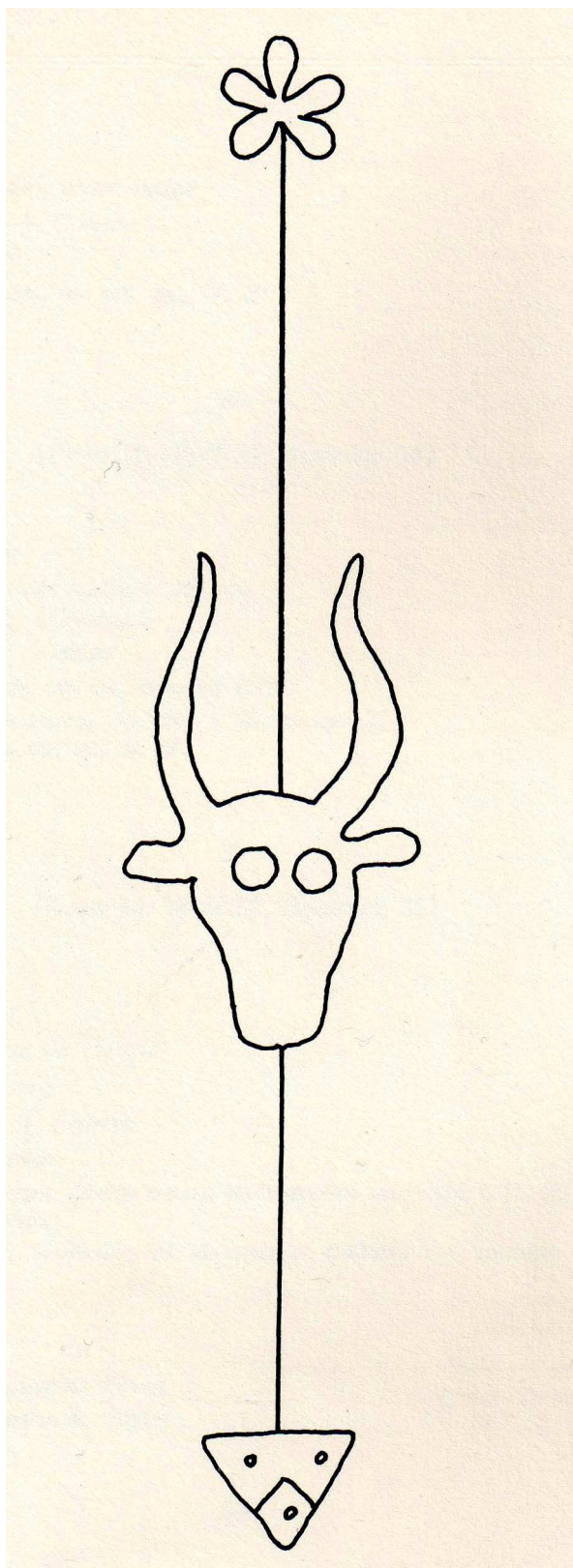
¹²⁸ Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusq'en 1600*, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1907), p. 731b.

¹²⁹ GalloBU ii, p. 4.

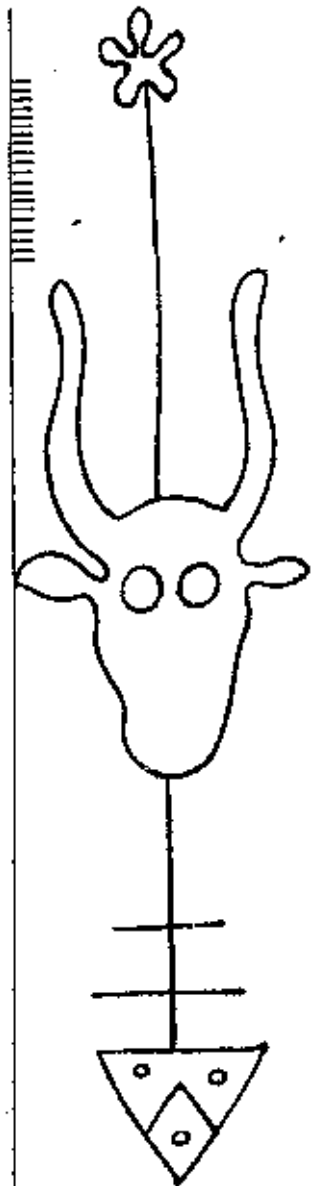
Ex. 3: Watermark-A, GalloBU ii, Figura I



Ex. 4: Watermark-B, GalloBU ii, Figura II



Ex. 5: Briquet watermark 14871.



14871

Furthermore, it is a shorter and fatter watermark, measuring 174 x 65 mm, than that found in BU. Therefore, general features aside, the two are in fact very different. In addition, although three of the watermarks cited by Briquet are Brescian, the span of dates in which they were used (1434 – 1509) is so large as to raise questions as to whether even these three can be related to each

other. Clearly further evidence is needed if watermarks are to be used to define the provenance of the manuscript.

One source that began to become available around the time that the BU facsimile was being produced is the huge collection of watermarks compiled by Gerhard Piccard of which volume two relates to Bull's-head watermarks of this type. In the first of three parts of this volume there are a number of watermarks that share the same basic characteristics as the one found in BU.¹³⁰ Of these, 59 bear close comparison (Briquet's watermark not among them). But again there is no direct match and this selection of watermarks originates from the furthest corners of the continent and over a period exceeding a century. Although this does not help draw down a provenance for BU, it does give further credence to the suggestion that the original sample size used by Alberto Gallo was too small.

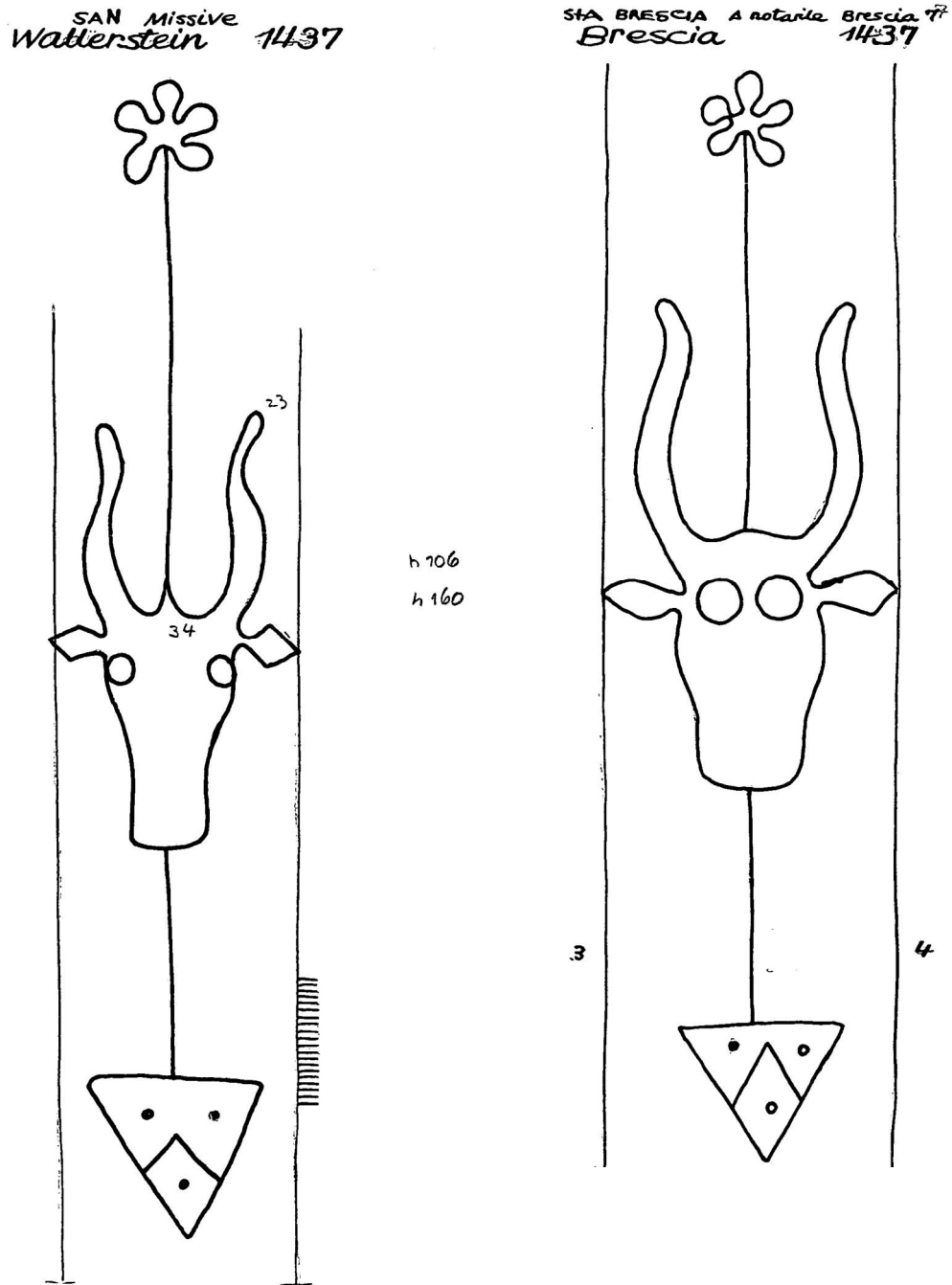
However, over the intervening years, the Piccard collection has continued to grow beyond the already enormous print volumes. Over 92,000 watermarks are now available online presented by the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart,¹³¹ with an effective online search engine that proves extremely adept in narrowing down the types of watermark being sought. Under the search that should produce the most similar examples to the one in BU,¹³² 12 examples are found, although none is a close match for that in our manuscript. Of note here is that those with the most similarities are found in documents of Brescian origin or from German towns in the vicinity of Nuremberg and Munich, but as they mostly

¹³⁰ Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkarten Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, Vol.2 i-iii "Die Ochsenkopf-Wasserzeichen" (Stuttgart, 1966).

¹³¹ Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, J340, (<http://www.piccard-online.de>), last accessed on 6 March 2011.

¹³² Although the selection of characteristics to search under may seem unusual, and the translation from German sometimes peculiar, the process is relatively straightforward. The initial search carried out used the following parameters: 'Bull's head – With eyes – Above rod consisting in one line (*sic*) – Above flower – Beneath additional motif – Mark of vertical line and triangle'.

Ex. 6: Piccard watermarks 65942 (left) and 66314



date from after 1460 this makes it unlikely that they could relate to BU. The most similar example from this group, No. 65942 (Ex. 6), is found in a letter from the town of Wallerstein in Bavaria and now held at the nearby Stadtarchiv Nördlingen. Although this dates from 1437, well within the timeframe suggested by Alberto Gallo for BU's compilation, this watermark bears even less similarity to the one found in BU than that found in Briquet's volume.

However, there is also another watermark in this catalogue, which is even more closely related to that in BU. No. 66314 (Ex. 6), confusingly catalogued incorrectly in a different location in the archive,¹³³ matches almost all of the characteristics of the mark found in BU, though it too is considerably shorter at 151 x 41 mm. It also originates in 1437 and, of most importance to its relationship to BU, it is found in a Brescian document, returning the search to the oldest known home of BU.

An even more recent addition to the field of online watermark research is the Bernstein archive,¹³⁴ now comprising four fully searchable online databases bringing together four archives: Piccard Online; the International Database of Watermarks and Paper used for Prints and Drawings; Watermarks in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries; and Watermarks of the Middle-Ages (from Austrian depositories). This European Union funded resource now contains almost 120,000 watermarks enabling an even wider sample to be searched.

It is perhaps no surprise that there remains no exact match. The greater the number of available watermarks to search through, the more it becomes apparent that even the slightest deviation in a form effectively eliminates a mark from our enquiries. It also becomes apparent just how few basic shapes were utilised across Europe. However, a number of trends do become visible. The majority of watermarks of the watermark-B type are found in either Brescia or southern Bavaria, two ends of a major trans-alpine trade route, and locations in between. Therefore it is possible that the basic design type was either used by

¹³³ 'Bull's head – With eyes – Above rod consisting in one line (*sic*) – Above flower – Beneath additional motif – Mark of vertical line, two fesses and triangle'. Although this search produces 481 matches for this style, at least three instances are incorrectly catalogued in addition to 66314, these examples having no fesses on the descending line.

¹³⁴ The Bernstein Consortium, Commission for Scientific Visualization (VISKOM), Austrian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.memoryofpaper.eu>) last accessed on 20 April 2011.

one paper mill and then transported across the Alps or, and perhaps more likely, a number of paper producers used the same basic shape for marking their paper. It is a reasonable supposition, therefore, that the paper used for the creation of BU was produced in northern Italy, the Tyrol, or Bavaria. Given the obvious associations of the manuscript with Northern Italy, there would seem to be further circumstantial evidence pointing towards this being the place of origin. Unfortunately the dating evidence, despite the similarities of the two Brescian marks shown below, must be considered with more caution. While it is tempting to think that these two suggest a mid 1430s date, it must be emphasised that as they are not the same as BU's watermark-B, the relationship may be purely coincidental.

We can now turn to the watermark on paper A. This simple bell shaped watermark is unfortunately an extremely common style. 508 entries are found in the Piccard database alone using the search string for this type,¹³⁵ many of which are similar to that found in BU. Of note is that the range for this style, in both area of use and time, is even more extreme than that of the bull's head motif. Based on sheer weight of numbers it seems likely that the form originated in the Veneto during the 1300s, but it is later found in sources from across Europe without any apparent connection. Nevertheless, some potentially relevant examples can be identified in relation to the watermark found in BU.¹³⁶ Two examples, trends rather than isolated instances, are worth mentioning here.

¹³⁵ 'Bell – Between two chainlines – Without additional motif – Clapper merged with a (*sic*) undulating ribbon'. There do not appear to be any incorrectly catalogued items in closely related searches.

¹³⁶ It can safely be assumed that a series of Bolognese watermarks similar to that in BU, but dating from the 1320s, are nothing more than a coincidence.

The first relates to a series of watermarks that are German in origin, associated to the same cluster of towns in southern Bavaria¹³⁷ that were associated with the bull's head mark. The date range for these examples spans the years 1400-1430, indicating that this was a popular form in the area during this period. Several of these examples are very close matches to the mark in BU, but the simplicity of the style and the large number of examples that survive renders any immediate conclusions from this impossible.

There are also a number of similar watermarks that originate in Brescia. Although these date from the turn of the fifteenth century and so are too early in date to be associated with BU's creation, Piccard Nos. 40980-2 indicate that the form was in use in Brescia at least until 1409, albeit in a smaller fashion. This could indicate that the bell form was in use in the city later into the century.

A further source to be consulted in trying to ascertain if BU's paper originated in Brescia is a collection of Brescian watermarks produced in 1990 by Leonardo Mazzoldi.¹³⁸ This volume attempts to record all the watermarks found in the Archivio di stato di Brescia in documents of the fifteenth century, although it should be noted that the 1437 mark from the Piccard online archive is not present. Mazzoldi does, however, cite a number of other bull's head watermarks some of which share considerable similarities with the mark in BU. No. 440¹³⁹ is an almost exact match for the head and flower arrangement in BU, including the off centre eye, but has two cross bars above the pendant, and dots within the pendant placed on a level with the chevron rather than above. These differences again indicate that this is not the same watermark as that found in

¹³⁷ Piccard Nos. 40702-40712 form the biggest single group, although there are many other examples. No. 40735, from Ellwangen in 1423 (coincidentally only 30km from Wallerstein), is the closest match.

¹³⁸ Leonardo Mazzoldi, *Filigrane di cartiere bresciane*, 2 vols. (Brescia, 1990).

¹³⁹ Found in *Delibera del consiglio del consorzio di S. Spirito*, Archivio di Stato di Brescia, Ospedale Maggiore n.1. The watermark is found on a loose sheet between folios 63 and 64.

BU. Nevertheless, the similarities are remarkable and the date it was used, 2nd December 1436, again falls within a reasonable arena for the compilation of BU. Nos. 489-491 in Mazzoldi's collection represent bell-shaped watermarks with a degree of similarity to BU's although, as with the Piccard collection, the simplicity of the design of this mark coupled with its wide-ranging popularity makes anything but an exact match of little use. However, these three are dated 1400, 1411 and 1428 respectively, indicating that this form too was in use in Brescia at the time of the manuscript's compilation.

One final note on possible comparisons for BU's watermarks relates to a watermark found in Q15 that bears a strong resemblance to BU's watermark-A.¹⁴⁰ It is found on only two folios (329 and 333) and Margaret Bent notes that it is similar, but not identical, to Briquet's watermark 3974. However, this is again considerably smaller than its counterpart in BU and, therefore, of little use for this investigation.

The scribes of BU

For the most part, BU would appear to be the work of only one scribe, although the style and character of his hand does change through the source. He writes in full-black mensural notation and it is reasonable to assume, as copying style for both appears to move in tandem, that text and music were written by the same person. Indeed, so persistent is his presence that the discussion of the copying sequence of BU revolves around his input and so will not be discussed separately here. However, there are several other scribes found in BU, whose contributions are few, but nevertheless significant in understanding the source.

¹⁴⁰ BentQ15, pp. 78 & 84.

The most obvious supplementary hand is that used to copy Binchois' *Kyrie* (pp. 28-29) and *Magnificat* (pp. 90-95). This 'northern-looking hand of unusual authority',¹⁴¹ copied in an exceptionally neat and confident void notation, takes up a considerable amount of space in the manuscript and it has been reasonably suggested that these items were entered at the very end of the copying process, although there are potential problems with this scenario that I will discuss below.

The next hand to mention is found in the final section of the source, gathering **VII**, and copies the Paschal and Transfiguration chants on pp. 106-107. This hand also writes in void notation and uses mensural ligatures and note configurations rather than conventional chant notation, such as that used for the *Missa Brevis* on p. 1. While showing some similarities to the principal scribe, particularly in the text hand, the stylised use of initials and F-clefs, alongside the clearly different practice of using void mensural-style notation for chant, would seem to argue against them being one and the same person. Nevertheless, this hand appears confident, if lacking the calm authority of the Binchois scribe.

Copied after these items, a fact we can deduce from their starting on the lower half of p. 107 and going through to p. 109, are a series of chants for matins on Christmas day. Though later, these have been copied in full-black chant notation, but in an extremely scruffy and imprecise style. The text hand, too, lacks the finished quality of the chants above, with words copied at different depths below the stave, suggesting that no rule or line was used in their copying. The text hand here also uses barely any abbreviations, unlike its more confident counterpart, leading to a number of words running together.

¹⁴¹ First referred to by David Fallows, 'Binchois, Gilles de Bins dit' in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), Vol. 2, p. 713.

There is no obvious reason as to why these chants should have been inserted here or, indeed, into BU at all. While the *Missa Brevis* found on p. 1 forms, with its introit, a Marian Mass that is clearly in keeping with the majority of the sacred music in BU, there are only two potential examples of Easter works elsewhere (Du Fay's *Credo.... Amen, Dic Maria*, pp. 52-55, and the anonymous *Sanctus, admirabilis splendor*, pp. 78-79) and no other known use of a work associated with the Transfiguration. It would appear, therefore, that these items were not inserted in order to complete BU. Rather, I would suggest that it is more likely that these blank folios were being used for copying practice by trainee scribes, sometime after the main scribe finished work on the manuscript, using whatever spare paper was available to them. This idea is borne out by two further scribes' entries on p. 109. Here the first scribe, again far from confident or skilful, writes out a brief three-voice *Benedicamus Domino* (a contrafact of Grossin's *Va t'ent souspier je t'en supplie*) beneath which a further scribe adds another Transfiguration chant. These four hands are clearly additional to the main body of the manuscript and, unlike the Binchois works, no attempt has been made to place them in any apparent logical sequence.

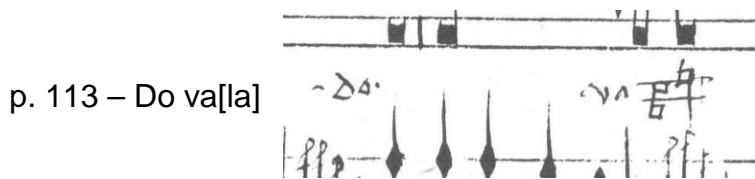
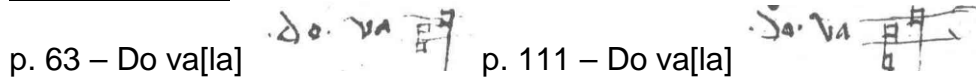
The next hand to consider is found rarely in BU but is closely associated to a specific composer (Ex. 7). Rather than being a musical hand, this instead is used to provide ascriptions to works, and possibly a musical amendment to one other. Unlike other such examples, the attribution on p. 63 identifying 'do. Va[la]' as the composer of the work, is written in a clumsy and scratchy style, copied with very dark ink that is starkly contrasting to the music and uses a void clef in the rebus, which is out of keeping with the main scribe's hand. This hand is found in only four possible other locations in the manuscript, all of which appear to be copied at a different time to, and therefore probably after, the music: to

add the ascription 'do va[la]' to the work *A vous me recummant* (p. 111); to add the same ascription to *Adyeu ma dous amy* (bottom part of p. 113), incidentally the only occasion in BU where an attribution is found anywhere other than at the top of a page; possibly to add two missing perfections to the Tenor of Du Fay's *Credo... Amen, dic Maria/la vilanella*; and perhaps to add an attribution to Prepositus Brixiensis above the work *De gardés vous de le cordon* (p. 104).


I tentatively attach the musical example to this additional hand on the basis of the similar characteristics of these examples; a very thin and unconfident hand in very dark ink, with little attention to detail, coupled with the use of a void clef sign in both the musical correction and the 'la' rebus used for indicating Do Vala's name. The attribution to Prepositi Brixiensis is altogether more confident, but shares the same dark ink colour and the lack of similarity with the main scribe.

Ex. 7: Additional attributions to Do Vala compared to those of the main scribe

Additional hand



Main scribe

p. 18 – do ua[la]  (here the clef is a small c)

p. 105 – do uala 

That this handwriting style appears so infrequently, coupled with its strong link to the composer Do Vala, who is completely unknown outside BU, raises some intriguing issues. Whoever entered the ascriptions clearly had (or at least believed that they had) a good knowledge of the composer's work and did not feel the need to add attributions to any other works. Similarly, they would also seem to have been entered after the music scribe had completed most of his work. While the musical entries on pp. 111 & 113 may well have been entered at the same time as each other, *O Toma didime* on p. 63 is almost certainly copied at an earlier stage as we shall see, suggesting that these ascriptions were added in a single sitting after copying had ceased. It is possible that by establishing the identity of Do Vala, some insight can be gained into why these ascriptions were added later, or perhaps indicate where the manuscript was at the time. However, for the time being the identity of this scribe, like the composer, will have to remain unknown.

Chapter 3: The Copying of BU

Alberto Gallo's commentary to the facsimile combines the physical and musical construction of the manuscript to produce a roughly chronological progression, which he defines as follows (my translation):¹⁴²

- I) *A group of six quaternions [gatherings I-V and ff. 49-52 and 54-57 of gathering VIII] on paper with watermark-A, the first two being for Kyrie and Gloria settings, the second two for Credo settings and related items, the fifth for antiphons and analogous pieces, and the sixth for Italian songs.*
- II)
 - a) *The insertion of two quaternions with watermark-B [gathering VI and another lost gathering of which only the bifolio 52-53 survives], one after the fifth gathering the other after the sixth, in order to extend the two final sections.*
 - b) *The addition of works on folios left blank in the original copying process.*
 - c) *The addition of works in spaces left blank at the bottom of pages.*
- III)
 - a) *The mutilation of the final two gatherings [VIII and the lost gathering of watermark-B] and reordering of the surviving pages.*
 - b) *The addition on some of these surviving pages of chants for the transfiguration.*
 - c) *The addition in the second and sixth gatherings of items in a new hand by Binchois.*

¹⁴² GalloBU ii, p. 5.

While this works as a broad overview of the compilation process and is probably correct as far as it goes, there are a number of issues that require more detailed assessment. In the first instance, this constitutes his entire discussion of the subject. An important issue for the dating of the manuscript is establishing when the watermark-B paper was added to BU. Was it added near the beginning of the copying process in anticipation of further material that the scribe wanted to include or towards the end of copying as a result of the scribe having already run out of space? As *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*, the primary dating evidence, is found on the opening recto of this new gathering, this is clearly relevant.

There is also no discussion of which items fall into the sections Gallo designated as II b & c, or any description of how to differentiate them from the surrounding material. In relation to these it must be assumed that he is following the same pattern as Heinrich Bessler who writes that 'whenever a composition is found limited to the lower part of the folio, filling therefore the lower staves, it was obviously written in after the main piece above, on the relevant page or double pages.'¹⁴³ I believe that this is, for BU, invariably true. Logic dictates that it is extremely unlikely that a work could be copied on to the lower portion of a page in anticipation of another item to go above it and there are certainly no examples in BU of a piece occupying such a position with blank staves above it, although it is true that examples of this do occasionally occur in other manuscripts (the concordant copy of *Benedicta es caelorum regina* in Tr92 being a case in point). Bessler lists 20 items as falling into this category,¹⁴⁴ but

¹⁴³ BesslerBU, p. 43.

¹⁴⁴ Bessler Nos. 5, 12, 14, 15, 17, 21, 25, 28, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 49, 51, 58, 67 & 74. Gallo correctly identified that 12 & 15 are the same work. Bessler also marks 55 as being additional in the inventory, but omits it from the list in the main body of the article.

neither he, nor Gallo, take the discussion further to ask when exactly these items were entered.

A similar position exists in relation to the items copied on blank pages, which Besseler rightly notes are more difficult to identify with certainty. Nevertheless, he cites five items as being in this category¹⁴⁵ although, for reasons I will explain below, I can only agree with three of these with any confidence. Again there is no discussion of when the items were added relative to the surrounding material, something which I believe is fundamental to our understanding of how BU was created.

The original plan

Both Gallo and Besseler frame their discussion of the construction around the scribe's presumed original plan for the source and, while this has been mentioned in passing earlier, a detailed discussion of what this actually means is relevant here.

Although it seems obvious with the benefit of hindsight, until Heinrich Besseler's 1952 article there had not been any interpretation of BU that recognised that there was a plan to the scribe's copying process. Now it can be seen that the four large red initials on pp. 1 (gathering I1), 32 (II8v), 64 (IV8v) and 97 (VII1) mark the opening of distinct sections of music: the first being for *Kyrie* and *Gloria* settings; the second *Credo* and other Mass movements; the third for other sacred pieces and the fourth for secular music.¹⁴⁶

It is these initials that show just how deliberate the principal scribe's preliminary plan actually was. As Jean Widaman noted (and discussed above), the initials on pp. 32 and 64, complete with their indented staves, are found on

¹⁴⁵ Besseler Nos. 9, 45, 60, 62 & 65.

¹⁴⁶ BesselerBU, p. 42.

the last verso of gatherings 2 and 4 respectively, meaning that all of the first five gatherings must have been ruled as a single unit.¹⁴⁷

With this in mind, it becomes apparent that the scribe originally allotted 15 openings to *Kyrie* and *Gloria* settings (pp. 1-31), 16 to *Credo* and other mass movement settings (pp. 32-63), and at least 8 to the sacred miscellany (pp. 64-80), depending on when gathering **VI**, the watermark-B paper was added to the five gatherings already in existence. The final collection of pages (gathering **VII**) as it now stands is more complex and is discussed in greater detail separately below. However, from the watermark and rastrum evidence it would appear that there are now seven surviving watermark-A folios in this final gathering, referred to in the inventory as ff. 49-52 and ff. 55-57. Given the obvious mutilation that has occurred it does not seem unreasonable to assume that these seven were once part of a complete 8-folio gathering, in the same manner as gatherings **I-V**, and that it was originally intended to contain secular music as Besseler suggested.

We can deduce from this clearly planned layout that the scribe was originally expecting there to be considerably fewer *Credo* settings, large movements that require at least a complete opening and often two, than *Kyrie* and *Gloria* settings that are often smaller. This is borne out in the final tally of musical items copied into BU. In these first 40 folios there are 10 polyphonic *Gloria* settings, 7 *Credo*, 6 *Kyrie*, 4 *Sanctus* and 2 *Agnus* settings.

However, this tally alone does not show the full picture. All the *Kyrie* settings, and all but one of the *Gloria* settings, are found in their 'correct' section of the manuscript in gatherings **I** and **II**. In contrast, three of the *Credo* settings, three of the *Sanctus*, and one of the *Agnus* are copied somewhere other than in

¹⁴⁷ Widaman i, p. 58.

the sixteen openings originally allocated to them. This distribution reveals the extent to which the original plan was allowed to slip, resulting in the apparently haphazard collection that appears today.

From the outset, it appears that the decision to place the different parts of the Mass in different sections of the manuscript would seem to be an 'old-fashioned' approach, in contrast to the more 'modern' way of presenting Mass movements in Q15.¹⁴⁸ There the scribe brought together movements to create complete Masses or pairs even where none had existed previously.¹⁴⁹ For BU's scribe, however, it seemed more appropriate to divide into their component parts even those works that came to him as a single unit. For that reason the *Credo* of Arnold de Lantins' Mass (pp. 34-37), and the final three movements of Reson's (pp. 38-45), are copied well over twenty pages after their respective *Kyrie* and *Gloria* movements. Even this plan eventually became diluted: a *Gloria/Credo* pair by Arnold de Lantins is copied as a unit into the second section on pp. 46-51 presumably indicating that, by this stage, the scribe had lost interest in rigidly maintaining his original plan.

A simple list of the contents of BU shows that, in the final format, the original plan identified by Bessler has been diluted almost beyond recognition. Taking the '*Credo*' section (pp. 32-63) as an example we have two *Credo* settings, followed by a setting of *Verbum caro factum est*. Then we have another *Credo* followed by a setting of *Ave preciosa gemma*, then a *Sanctus*, *Gaude flore virginali*, an *Agnus*, an *Ave verum corpus*, and then a *Gloria* and another *Credo*. Superficially there is no pattern at all, save for the fact that the non-liturgical items all occupy the lower portion of pages. For this reason, they were included by Bessler, and possibly Gallo, as examples of later additions.

¹⁴⁸ BesslerBU, p. 53.

¹⁴⁹ BentQ15, pp. 153-157.

It is absolutely clear that the scribe's plan for the copying of this section of the manuscript was to place movements of the Mass here and therefore the other works present are subordinate, not only in page placing but also in musical importance to the scribe. This latter point would seem to be reinforced by the fact that none of these works was copied into the third section of the manuscript, where they would all have been in their 'correct' location. However, the implication in Besseler's work, made explicit in Gallo's description of his section II c, is that these works were added at some unspecified time after the works above them. Indeed, Gallo's chronology goes as far as to say that all these additional works were added after all the principal works were copied into BU. It is this point that I wish to question and in the process explain how the scribe came to produce his manuscript.

Fascicle manuscript compilation and the Reson fascicle

In his 1962 article on manuscript structure in the period,¹⁵⁰ Charles Hamm put forward the idea that music circulated in Europe in small groups of folios, or fascicles, which perhaps contained single large pieces, works by a single composer, or works that were linked by some other criteria, such as Mass movements or secular songs. He cited a number of instances where examples of these fascicles have survived to the present day, albeit only by being bound into larger manuscripts that protected them.¹⁵¹

While Hamm discusses a number of manuscripts that appear to have been copied from such fascicles, he does not turn the concept to BU until his 1965 article on the Reson Mass.¹⁵² Here he describes how the fascicle

¹⁵⁰ Charles Hamm, 'Manuscript Structure in the Du Fay Era', *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 34 (1962), pp. 166-184.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

¹⁵² HammR, pp. 5-21.

compilation technique appears to fit the first stages of BU's copying very neatly. Indeed, so clear is his description that I have taken the liberty of quoting it in its entirety here:

According to my theory of manuscript structure in this period, the scribe responsible for copying BU had on hand a collection of small, self-contained "fascicle-manuscripts," each containing a single piece or a small group of related pieces. Before beginning his copying, the scribe decided on a plan of organization for his new, large manuscript: the first section was to be for Kyries and Glorias, and would take up the first sixteen folios [gatherings **I-II**]; the second, through folio 32, was to be for Credos, Sanctus, and Agnus [gatherings **III-IV**]; the third was to contain motets, and would go through folio 48 [gatherings **V-VI**]; the last was to be used for secular works, which were to be subdivided further into Italian and French songs [gathering **VII**].

He began by copying the plainchant *Gaudeamus omnes* and three sections of a Gregorian Mass on the first recto, with a large, elaborate red initial marking the beginning of one section of his manuscript. A Du Fay Credo was the first polyphonic piece to be copied. This belonged in the second section, and was copied across the opening 16v 17 [pp. 32-33]; as the first piece in this section, it was given a large red initial corresponding to the one beginning the first section...

Next on hand was a fascicle-manuscript containing the first three sections of the Mass by Arnold de Lantins. The scribe copied the first two into his first section, the Kyrie on 1v 2 [pp. 2-3] and the Gloria on 2v 3 [pp. 4-5], and the Credo on the first two blank openings of the second, 17v 19 [pp. 34-37]. The Kyrie is attributed to de Lantins but the other two

sections are anonymous, and we can understand why: the fascicle-manuscript contained nothing but the three sections of this Mass, and a composer attribution at the head of the first of these was sufficient; it did not occur to the BU scribe to repeat this attribution for the other sections, even for the Credo which became separated from the other two because of the structure of the new manuscript.

Next came three separate, unrelated pieces, each probably in a small two-folio fascicle-manuscript of its own: an anonymous Gloria, a Gloria by Zacar, and a Du Fay Kyrie. These were copied into the first section, on 3v 4, 4v, and 5r [pp. 6-9]. (The anonymous Kyrie *cunctipotens genitor* on the bottom of 4r is a later insertion.)

A fascicle-manuscript with the five sections of the Reson Mass was next. The scribe copied the Kyrie on the first blank page of his first section, 5v [p. 10]; since the Gloria was long enough to require a complete opening rather than a single page, he left 6r blank and copied it across the next opening, 6v 7 [pp. 12-13]. (An anonymous Sanctus was later copied on 6r apparently separating the Reson Kyrie and Gloria.) Now he turned to the second section to copy the remainder of the mass, where it belonged according to his scheme. The Credo was copied on 19v 21, the Sanctus on 21v 22, and the Agnus on 22v 23 [pp. 38-45]. (Some space was left at the bottom of pages, and the *Verbum caro* on 19r, the *Ave preciosa gemma* on 21r, and the *Gaude flore* on 22r were added later.) The last four sections of the Reson Mass are anonymous for the same reason the Gloria and Credo of the de Lantins Mass are: the model fascicle-manuscript contained only the five sections of this Mass, with the composer's name at the beginning, i.e., over the Kyrie,

and the BU scribe did not think it important to add this attribution to the last four sections, no matter where they were copied in his new manuscript. He was consistent in this: a Gloria-Credo pair by Arnold de Lantins further along in the manuscript (23v 26 [pp. 46-51]) likewise has the composer's name for the first section only.¹⁵³

In terms of the principal works he is discussing, this argument seems so obvious as to have always been correct. It is only the fact that this idea does not seem to have been apparent to Bessler or Gallo that enables us to see the originality of the concept, particularly in terms of the way we view BU. This idea is reinforced by other aspects too. The copying style used for all of these major works is extremely similar, and different from other works apparently copied later in the volume, suggesting that they were all copied at around the same time.

However, this apparent copying similarity goes, in some instances, beyond the works at the top of the page. This is perhaps most evident with the work that immediately follows the Reson Mass in BU, the setting of *Ave verum corpus* found primarily on the lower portion of p. 45, but with its Contratenor voice copied on the lower portion of p. 44 (Ex. 8 below). This work is copied in a strikingly similar fashion to the *Agnus* above it. The note shapes are, in general, very close in size and shape and the text hand appears identical. Even the opening initials are characteristically similar, although this shape does occur elsewhere in the manuscript. Therefore there are good indications that this piece, at least, was copied at the same time as the work above it.

¹⁵³ HammR, pp. 14-16.

Ex. 8: Agnus dei from the Reson mass with Ave verum corpus copied below

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi. Alme pater rex iustificans pietas celsitatis miserere nobis. Agnus
 dei qui tollis peccata mundi. Tu qui pater unigenitus dicitur non triditum miserere nobis. Agnus
 dei qui tollis peccata mundi. Agnus lucis et purificans caritatis dona multiplicans dona nobis pa
 ac.

1^o *Ave verum*
 Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi. Alme pater rex iustificans pietas celsitatis miserere nobis. Agnus dei
 qui tollis peccata mundi. Tu qui pater unigenitus dicitur non triditum miserere nobis. Agnus dei qui tollis
 peccata mundi. Agnus lucis et purificans caritatis dona multiplicans dona nobis pa
 ac.

23
 4
 Cont^o Agnus Alme pater rex iustificans Agnus
 Tu qui pater Agnus Agnus lucis et purificans
 Caritatis dona

Ave verum corpus natus de maria uirgine. Vere passus, imolatus in cruce pro homine. Cuius lateris perforatus
 uero fluxit sanguis. Esto nobis propitiatus in examine. Alue uera caro christi qui in cruce
 pendisti. Cuius patris in dextera deus me deest. Salve sacra caro de
 i per
 te salui sumus et in secula seculorum Amen.

Tenor Ave verum

There are further indications to support this in the layout of the opening itself. According to the proposal put forward by Hamm, the Reson *Agnus* is the final item in a fascicle that comprises the entire Mass. The size of this fascicle is unknown, but Hamm implies that all the movements bar the *Kyrie* occupied at least one opening in the exemplar fascicle. While this would account for the layout seen, the particular arrangement of the *Agnus* raises some problems. This is another short movement, like the *Kyrie*, and it is clear that it would easily have fitted onto one page had the scribe been so inclined.

It starts to appear as though the scribe not only entered the *Ave verum corpus* at the same time as the *Agnus*, as can be seen from their identical copying styles, but also knew that he was going to do this before he started copying the *Agnus*. It should be noted at this point that not only does this piece share a close copying relationship with the *Agnus* above, but it is also musically related. Despite the different voice ranges and finals between *Ave verum corpus natum* and the *Agnus*, both share an unusual syncopated passage notated in void notation with \supset mensuration, which led Hamm to suggest that both works were by Reson.¹⁵⁴

Given this, it perhaps seems strange that he never extended his fascicle theory to include this work, although I suspect this omission was as a result of this aspect falling outside of the scope of the article rather than him not realising the logical extension of his idea. Nevertheless, the musical similarities when added to the copying style and the decision to copy the *Agnus dei* over a full opening, all seems to point very strongly to the idea that the scribe had at his disposal a fascicle which contained not only the Reson Mass, but also this setting of *Ave verum corpus*.

¹⁵⁴ HammR, p. 20.

If this were the case, what would this fascicle have looked like? In the first instance it must be stated that I agree with Hamm that the *Sanctus* on p. 11 is a later addition that did not form part of the Reson fascicle. As the ink used is darker and the nib used to create the note shapes considerably wider, it is almost inconceivable that this was written in sequence between the movements of the Mass, all of which share the same ink colour and nib size. Furthermore, this *Sanctus* is related both musically and in copying style to an *Agnus* later in BU (p. 67), so these two movements were clearly late additions.

There are two possibilities for how the fascicle originally opened. The first is that the opening recto was blank and the *Kyrie*, as it is in BU, was copied onto the first available verso. If we are to assume that the scribe has copied layout as well as content, this option seems to me to be inherently unlikely. There would be no obvious reason for writing a single-page work at the beginning of an opening, particularly if the following movements were to be extended across openings where they did not all need to be. This would also lead to a fascicle that required a minimum of six openings, or seven folios, which would necessarily lead to there being a further opening at the end of the fascicle, either left blank or containing works unknown that were apparently not copied into BU.

A neater means of transmission would be to copy the *Kyrie* on the first recto of the fascicle and follow this with the other movements as they now appear in BU. Why the scribe copied the *Kyrie* onto a verso in BU will never be known. It could have been a simple error, although to the scribe it may simply have looked more peculiar to leave a verso blank than a recto. Either way, this means that the Mass, along with *Ave verum corpus*, could fit into a fascicle of 6 folios, leaving only the final verso blank once it had been completed.

Ex. 9: Reson's *Salve regina*, p. 80.

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Salve regina misericordie. Vita dulcedo 2 spes nostra salve adte clamam' Exules fili e ue
adte suspiram' gementes 2 flentes In hac lacrimaz valle Spa ergo ad uocata nostra Illos tuos mise
ricordes o culos ad nos conuete. Et yessiz benedictuz fructuz uentris tui nobis post hoc exilluz
ostende. Olemens. O pia. O dulcis uirgo maria. Contra **S**alve regina

Salve regina misericordie Vita dulcedo 2 spes nostra salve adte clamam' Exules fili
e ue adte suspiram' gementes 2 flentes In hac lacrimaz valle Spa ergo ad uocata
nostra illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos conuete. Et yessiz benedictuz fructuz uen
tris tui Nobis post hoc exilluz ostende. Olemens. O pia. O dulcis uirgo maria.

Of course, the exemplar copy of *Ave verum corpus* could have been copied on this final verso, but it would appear to have been deliberately copied underneath the *Agnus*. This leads to the possibility that the final page was not in fact blank at all, but occupied by a further work that could also have found its way into BU. As this would seem to be a fascicle of works by Reson it would make sense if this final item was a single-page work by the same composer. There is a work here that fits this description. Reson's setting of *Salve regina*, copied anonymously in BU, occupies p. 80, which is also the final verso of gathering V (Ex. 9). This setting contains the unusual \bigcirc syncopated passage found elsewhere only in the Mass and *Ave verum corpus* and is copied in the same ink colour and nib size as the other Reson works. Margaret Bent highlights that this version 'lacks several portions near the end' compared to its only surviving concordance in Q15.¹⁵⁵ However, this is not merely a shorter ending but also a different one, concluding on a different cadence, and the text is complete making BU's copy a self-contained version in its own right.

It seems to me that this work was clearly copied at the same time as the other movements and given the layout and musical relationship the logical conclusion is that this is indeed the final item in a fascicle of Reson works. The scribe took his six-folio fascicle, copying the *Kyrie* onto the first available verso, leaving a blank folio later filled with a *Sanctus*, and then entered the *Gloria* across the next available opening. Sticking to his original, if old-fashioned, plan he then moved to the second section of the manuscript, copying the *Credo*, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus* and the *Ave verum corpus* as they appeared in the exemplar. He then moved to the third section of the manuscript to copy the *Salve regina*. In line with Hamm's arguments above, this fascicle of Reson's

¹⁵⁵ BentQ15, p. 205.

music would have only required an ascription over the first item to be copied into it and so the *Kyrie* remains the only work with an ascription in BU.

While this seems a plausible explanation, there remains the question of why the scribe moved to the third section in order to copy *Salve regina*, but not for *Ave verum corpus*? According to the original plan this work too should have been copied into the third section, but was instead copied *in situ* under the *Agnus*. There are a number of reasons why this should be so. To begin with, the scribe would seem to have already been beginning to think about diluting his plan when he copied this fascicle into BU. Immediately following the *Ave verum corpus* is a *Gloria/Credo* pair by Arnold de Lantins (pp. 46-51), which is copied in almost the same ink shade and nib size as the Reson. According to the plan, the *Gloria* should have been copied into the first section and the *Credo* into the second, but the scribe has decided instead to keep this pair together, placing them both in the second section. Perhaps then it is not surprising that immediately following the end of Lantins' *Credo* is a setting of *O quam suavis* (pp. 51-50), unique to BU, which is copied in exactly the same style as the work above and is dove-tailed into the available space in the same way as the *Ave verum corpus*. While this does not have the same obvious musical relationship to the Mass pair above it, I would argue that this work came to the scribe copied into a fascicle with the Arnold de Lantins pair and would place an attribution of *O quam suavis* to Arnold as a result.

But in the case of both works, they could still have been placed in the third section. Perhaps the scribe viewed these works as subordinate in the same way as Bessler and Gallo and copied the works as they were found in the exemplar fascicles as they clearly fit and there was no need to use up valuable space in the third section. Alternatively, he may have copied these

works here as there was no longer any space left in the third section. Another explanation is that the scribe had a clear idea for the items that he intended to be included in this third section, which was of more importance to him than copying 'minor' works by a composer into a more prominent position.

While all three are, in places, likely to be correct, this last explanation would seem the best fit for the available evidence. All the items copied onto the top portions of pages in gathering **V** are substantial works (all require a space larger than one page with the exception of *Ave mater o Maria*) and all but one, *O anima Christi* (p. 74), have at least one concordance elsewhere, suggesting that they were relatively well known and significant to the scribe. The reason for using only gathering **V** in this discussion is because of the presence, on the final recto, of Reson's *Salve regina*. It is my belief that this choice of location was part of the scribe's original plan and that it bore no relationship to the amount of material already copied into the gathering. Indeed, as I shall argue below, it would seem that a substantial amount of material was copied into this gathering some time after *Salve regina*.

The reason for choosing this location was related to the religious purpose of the work. *Salve regina* is a Marian antiphon, sung at Compline, and used between Trinity Sunday and Advent. As such it closes the liturgical year in the Roman rite.¹⁵⁶ The year begins with *Alma redemptoris mater* (Advent until the Presentation of the Lord (February 2nd or closest Sunday), followed by *Ave regina caelorum* (Presentation of the Lord until Good Friday) and *Regina caeli* (Paschal time). It is no coincidence, in my view, that the third section of BU opens with Du Fay's setting of *Alma redemptoris mater* (pp. 64-65), complete with ornate red initial. Although it is difficult to say exactly when this was copied

¹⁵⁶ *The Liber Usualis*, New York (1961), pp. 273-276.

into the manuscript, its style of copying would appear to put it into the same copying layer as the sequence of works described by Hamm above and as the other works I have added to this sequence, including *Salve regina*. I suggest, therefore, that this section, which in its completed form primarily contains works in praise of Mary, was intended to follow the liturgical year and begin and end with the relevant Marian antiphons.

It would seem that, as with the rest of the manuscript, the scribe was unable or unwilling to follow this plan through. *Ave regina caelorum* appears twice in BU, both versions unique to the source. But only one of these (that copied on p. 69) is located in gathering V, copied beneath Arnold de Lantins *O pulcherrima mulierum* in a position more commonly associated with pieces of lesser importance (see below). The two voice version on p. 62, seems more prominently positioned, but falls outside the pages originally allocated for these works and could well owe its position more to an exemplar layout than its liturgical importance to the scribe. The third antiphon of the quartet, *Regina caeli*, does not find its way into the manuscript at all.

Furthermore, the works now found between the antiphons have no obvious links to the ritual calendar. Arnold de Lantins' two Marian motets based on the song of songs (*Tota pulchra es* and *O pulcherrima mulierum*), Du Fay's drawn from Petrarch (*Vergene bella*), and the anonymous *Ave Mater, O Maria*, are not known to have been sung at any particular feasts. The remaining prominent works in this section (*O virum omnimoda veneracione dignum/O lux et decus turonensium/O beate Nicholae, O anima Christi sanctifica me*, and *Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps veneti*) do not have Marian texts at all.

Nevertheless, this deviation does not detract from the original plan, which was to have a collection of Marian works beginning and ending with the Marian

antiphons that open and close the liturgical year. The implications of this are important for our understanding of how BU was conceived and produced. It would appear that when the scribe copied *Alma redemptoris mater* and *Salve regina* into the manuscript he intended there to be only eight openings and a final folio available for this section of non-Mass sacred works, within which he planned specific items to open and close in accordance with the passing of the liturgical year. This would seem to confirm the suggestion that gathering **VI**, copied on paper bearing a different watermark and prepared using a different rastrum, was added after the scribe had already copied a significant amount of music.¹⁵⁷ It is difficult, if not impossible, to put a figure on how long after the copying process started that gathering **VI** was added but, if it is acknowledged that it is a later addition, the different styles of copying that can be seen within it can be compared with the works found in earlier sections to attempt to produce a relative chronology.

Defining the additional works

If we accept that *Ave verum corpus natus* and *O quam suavis* were copied at the same time as the works above them in an attempt to replicate the appearance of their exemplars, it is possible that some of the other works that Heinrich Bessler suggested were later additions were also copied in this way. Each of these examples is examined below in an attempt to reveal which items were indeed additional and which were not. This is important not only for establishing how the manuscript was put together, but could also lead to further potential attributions and musical links. I have used a number of factors to try to distinguish contemporaneous copying from later additions. For example, there

¹⁵⁷ This suggestion is also made by Janet Palumbo-Lavery (*Op.cit.*, p. 46), although her argument is based only on the additional paper type rather than other factors.

are considerable changes in ink colour through BU, which I have frequently used to help distinguish between different copying stages on a single page. This is never used in isolation, however. Although it may seem obvious that where a piece at the top of the page is copied in a dark, almost black, ink and the lower in a light brown they were copied at different times, this can only be used as a probable indication. As an example of the problems associated with this, the top line of Arnold de Lantins' *Gloria* on p. 46 is substantially lighter in colour than the remainder of the work, despite it clearly having been written at the same time.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, where changes in ink colour are found between two complete works, this can be taken as a reasonable indication of different copying times.

Another characteristic I have used is note and text size. This too can change within a work and is to a large extent dependent on the space available to the scribe. However, where space can be removed as a limiting factor or there are comparable sections on a similar page (for example the Cantus II and Contratenor of *Ave mater, O Maria* and the Contratenor of *Sanctus, admirabilis splendor* copied together on p. 79 where the copying of each part is indistinguishable from the others), similarities or differences can be used as evidence either for or against contemporaneous copying.

A final characteristic I have used is the layout of works on the page. Using the two pieces mentioned above as an example, the scribe could have easily fitted the whole of *Ave mater, O Maria* onto a single page rather than copying it across the whole opening. His decision not to, coupled with the similarity of copying of the piece below, suggests to me that he was replicating an exemplar fascicle rather than copying to a personal plan. Elsewhere, the

¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately this difference, and many of the other colour changes in the manuscript, cannot be seen in Gallo's facsimile edition. The new photographs shortly to be published by DIAMM show these changes in great detail.

placing of music which does not fit on a single page, usually the residuum of Tenor lines, can also suggest how the scribe intended to use the remaining space. Where he wanted to leave himself the option of using the remaining space for another work, he would appear to copy this extra material immediately below the conclusion of the other part (e.g. the Tenor of the *Gloria* on p. 7, Ex. 10) rather than taking away this possibility (e.g. the Tenor of the anonymously copied *Gloria* on p. 27, Ex. 11). Although examples of the latter practice are rare, with only four further examples in BU (Arnold de Lantins' *Credo*, p. 35; his *Gloria*, p. 47; Feragut's *Francorum nobilitati*, p. 59; and Du Fay's *Vergene bella*, p. 71), this does not detract from the possibility that where the scribe does leave space, he intended to use this either for another piece available at the time or for the adding of material later.

None of these factors can be taken in isolation and all could have other explanations, including the whimsy of the scribe. However, where they are found together, this would seem to strongly suggest that items were copied at the same time.

Ex. 10: P. 7. The Tenor residuum of the *Gloria* (marked with a hand) is copied immediately below the Contratenor allowing space for the *Kyrie* to be copied.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. It features two main parts: Contratenor (Contr.) and Tenor. The Contratenor part begins with the text "Et itera pax laudam te Graciae" and continues with "De tollis De sedes ad dexteris". The Tenor part begins with "tu solus scilicet. tu solus dominus. tu solus altissimus ihu xpe. Cu scio spiritu In gloria dei patris Amen." and then transitions into the Kyrie with the text "Kyrie eunti potens genitor de us omni creator Kyrieleyson. Xpe dei splendor virtus patris et sophia xpeleyson Kyrie ambrosie spiritum nexus amoris Kyrieleyson". The Tenor part also has its own Kyrie section with the text "Kyrie eunti potens genitor de us omni creator Kyrieleyson. Xpe dei splendor virtus patris et sophia xpeleyson Kyrie ambrosie spiritum nexus amoris Kyrieleyson". The notation is in square neumes on a four-line red staff. A large, ornate initial 'R' marks the beginning of the Kyrie section for both parts. A hand-drawn arrow points to the Tenor part, indicating the residuum of the Gloria.

Contr. Et itera pax laudam te Graciae
De tollis De sedes ad dexteris

tu solus scilicet. tu solus dominus. tu solus altissimus ihu xpe. Cu scio spiritu In gloria dei patris Amen.

R Kyrie eunti potens genitor de us omni creator Kyrieleyson. Xpe dei splendor
virtus patris et sophia xpeleyson Kyrie ambrosie spiritum nexus amoris Kyrieleyson

Contr. **R** Kyrie eunti potens genitor de us omni creator Kyrieleyson. Xpe dei splendor
virtus patris et sophia xpeleyson Kyrie ambrosie spiritum nexus amoris Kyrieleyson

T Kyrie eunti potens genitor de us omni creator Kyrieleyson. Xpe dei splendor virtus
patris et sophia xpeleyson Kyrie ambrosie spiritum nexus amoris Kyrieleyson

Ex. 11: *Gloria*, p. 27. The Tenor residuum (bottom) prevents the insertion of any further music.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. The notation is arranged in four systems of staves. The first system is labeled "Cont" and "Et in terra pax". The second system is labeled "14". The third system is labeled "15". The fourth system is labeled "16". The notation consists of black ink on red staves, with various note values and rests. The bottom of the page features a tenor residuum, which is a short musical phrase that ends the page. Below the tenor residuum, there are several empty staves, indicating that no further music can be inserted. The text at the bottom of the page reads: "Deus tu sol' setus. tu sol' dñs. tu sol' altissimi yhu xpe. Cū scō spiritu In gloria dei pat' Amen".

Besseler's additional works

i) Works at the bottom of pages

Kyrie, cunctipotens genitor, p. 7.

In copying style and ink colour, this is indistinguishable from the *Gloria* copied above it and the scribe has copied the residuum of the *Gloria* Tenor line immediately below the end of the Contratenor line. The two movements do not appear to be musically related, but seem to have been copied at the same time as each other.

Kyrie, laudes nostras, pp. 15 and 17.

By this stage of the manuscript works at the top of the page are much lighter in ink colour and the note-heads, in particular the breves, which have broadened. However, the *Kyrie, laudes nostras* is in a very dark ink with generally smaller note-heads. In addition, the text is more angular, with a distinct lean to the right on many words, which is absent from other works around it. The second voice, at the bottom of p. 17, is similarly coloured and notated while contrasting with the work above, strongly suggesting that the two voices were copied at the same time as each other and at a different time to the *Gloria* settings by Antonius de Cividate and Nicolaus de Capoa above. The peculiar layout, copied on the bottom of consecutive recto leaves, would also seem to suggest that *Amés amés tous loiaulx amoureux* (see below) was entered before it. This *Kyrie* is almost certainly a later addition.

Amés amés tous loiaulx amoureux, p. 16.

The light ink colour of this work corresponds closely with that of Nicolaus da Capoa's *Gloria* above, although the small breves used in this song could be

seen to argue against the two being copied at the same time. However, it should be noted that the *Gloria* is not consistent in its note sizes so this particular characteristic is not necessarily meaningful here. Certainly, the extremely small, but nevertheless resolutely formal, text hand is likely to be a function of the limited space used (which is clearly insufficient for comfortable copying) rather than a stylistic change by the scribe. The most satisfactory explanation for the splitting of the two parts of *Kyrie, laudes nostras* (above) is that *Amés amés tous loiaulx amoureux* was copied before it, forcing the scribe to make this unusual decision. However, if this was the case, the scribe would have had not only the three staves on the bottom of p. 16, where this song has been placed, but also the matching staves on p. 17, where the final part of the *Kyrie* is found. This could be used as an argument that this work was copied contemporaneously with the *Gloria* and the compressed space used was an attempt to copy the layout of the exemplar. My inclination is that this is the case, but there is insufficient evidence to argue conclusively either way.

Liesse m'a mandé salut, p. 19.

Although similar in ink colour to the *Gloria* above, the extremely narrow note-heads and unusual informal script in all three voices could indicate that this is a later addition. It should be noted that there is very little space for the piece to be copied, which may explain the size of the note-heads, but this could also suggest that the layout of an exemplar is not being followed here. Although the Contratenor line is incomplete in the manuscript as it survives today, this is most likely due to damage to the bottom outside of the folio rather than omission by the scribe. It is unclear whether this work is additional or not.

Ave maris stella, p. 25.

This is written in considerably lighter ink than the Dunstable *Gloria* above, the note-heads are wider and the text-hand neater. There would seem to be no obvious musical relationship between the two pieces, it would therefore appear that this work was written later.

Magnificat, pp. 30-31.

This work differs in almost every aspect from the Afat *Sanctus* on the top portion of this opening. It has darker ink, smaller note-heads and uses an informal text style. This work would appear to be a later addition.

Verbum caro factum est, p. 37.

Although the note-heads in the lower voices are clearly larger than in Arnold de Lantins' *Credo* above, the Cantus breves are only slightly larger with the semibreves and minims being the same in both works. The ink colour and text hand are also the same and the change in note size can easily be explained by the greater space available for this smaller work. The arrangement of the two works, with both bottom staves left blank, would seem to suggest that they came to the scribe together, although there are no obvious musical links between the two. A possible argument to explain why the two pieces were copied together could be found in a linked text between the two works.

Reinhard Strohm has linked the Mass trope *Verbum incarnatum* (found in the *Kyrie* of Arnold's Mass) to the advent period, which is the same as that associated with *Verbum caro factum est*.¹⁵⁹ On balance, therefore, I suspect that these two works came to the scribe as a unit from a single exemplar

¹⁵⁹ Reinhard Strohm, 'Einheit und Funktion früher Meßzyklen', in Norbert Dubowy and Soren Meyer-Eller (eds.) *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1990), pp.141-160.

source, containing the first three movements of the Arnold de Lantins Mass and *Verbum caro factum est*. I would also tentatively attach an attribution of Arnold de Lantins for this setting on the same grounds used by Charles Hamm for attaching Reson's name to the *Ave verum corpus*.

Ave preciosa gemma, p. 41

This has the same colour ink as the Reson *Credo* above, but the note-heads and text hand are distinctly larger. The copying of the end of the *Credo*'s Tenor immediately below the Contratenor would seem to imply that the scribe intended to use these five lines, although this does not necessarily indicate that the two were copied at the same time or placed together deliberately. There are no apparent musical relationships between the two, and I suspect that these two works were not entered contemporaneously.

Gaude flore virginali, p. 43

The ink is the same colour as the Reson *Sanctus* above. However, this is clearly larger, both in note and text size, although the nature of the work allows for this. Again, the copying of the Tenor conclusion would suggest that this space was specifically intended for use although this is far from conclusive. There are no obvious musical relationships and there is a distinct possibility that this is an additional work.

Ave verum corpus, p. 45

This work was copied at the same time as Reson's *Agnus* above it. See the discussion above.

O quam suavis, p. 52

This was copied at the same time as the *Credo* above, and could well be by Arnold de Lantins. See the discussion above.

Mercé te chiamo o dolze anima mia, pp. 54-55.

Although slightly compressed by space, the note size and shape as well as the ink colour match the conclusion of Du Fay's *Credo* exactly. The text hand is very small and informal, although this shows many similarities with the informal hand that adds text to the *Amen* of the *Credo*. It should also be noted that both works use horseshoe/'9'-shaped fermata and *signum congruentiae*, which are not common in BU. However, the Tenor line here is incomplete, which could suggest that this was copied from another source where more space existed. Although the missing passage is identical to the ending of the first section there is no indication of where the repeat should take place, leading me to the conclusion that the exemplar had the part written out in full as it is in the Cantus (see also Feragut's *Sanctus* below). There is no apparent musical relationship, but I think it likely that the two were copied contemporaneously.

Ave corpus vere natum, p. 61.

The notes are larger than in Ugo de Lantins' *Christus Vincit* although the text hand is generally similar. The ink colour is also slightly darker. It seems a possibility that these two were written contemporaneously, particularly considering the fact that they dovetail neatly. However, they are musically unrelated and the peculiar notation of *Ave corpus vere natum* would make it unlikely that they would be transmitted as a single unit.

Ave fuit prima salus, p. 65

Almost identical to Du Fay's *Alma redemptoris mater* above. It is notable that the scribe has had to work very hard in order to squeeze the Tenor of the larger work into the bottom of p. 64, presumably doing so in order to retain the layout of the exemplar and allow enough space for both *Ave fuit prima salus* and its extensive text residuum. These two works would seem to be copied at the same time and transmitted as a single unit.

Agnus dei, p. 67

Although the ink colour here is very similar, the note-heads and text are generally wider and longer than those in Arnold de Lantins' *Tota pulchra es* above. While this could be explained by a number of factors, the fact that this work is clearly paired with the *Sanctus* on p. 11 seems to indicate that this was a later addition.

Ave regina caelorum, p. 69

Very similar in ink colour and note size to *O pulcherrima mulierum* above. It should be noted that the semiminims in the top voice have uncharacteristically short stems and round-flagged semiminims that are not seen elsewhere, although this, in turn, could be due to the fact that they are here representing a triplet rhythm otherwise indicated by *minor color*. Despite this, there are many similarities between the two works suggesting that they were entered at the same time.

Innietur regi melos, p. 75.¹⁶⁰

This has a distinctly lighter ink colour and finer copying than *O anima Christi* above. It seems unlikely that the two were copied together.

Sanctus, admirabilis splendor, pp. 78-79

Although note and text size varies within the work, the ink colour remains the same as that used for *Ave mater o Maria* and in the comparison of the Cantus II and Contratenor of this work with the Tenor of the *Sanctus*, which is copied immediately below, the two parts are indistinguishable. The layout would also seem to suggest that the two works came together from a single exemplar. *Ave mater o Maria* would easily fit onto p. 78 alone, but is here copied across the whole opening presumably to allow space for the *Sanctus* to be copied underneath. While there is an instance of such a copying decision where the work below was clearly not written at the same time (the *Sanctus*, pp. 30-32, discussed above), there is no evidence that this is the case here. Although there is no obvious musical relationship, these two seem to me to be copied at the same time and I would suggest that the layout here has been taken from a single exemplar.

Con desiderio io vo cerchando, p. 89

This work and Grossin's *Imera dat hodierno* above would seem to be copied identically, with the same colour ink and size of note-heads. The arrangement of these two pieces, with *Con desiderio io vo cerchando* starting mid-line immediately after the conclusion of *Imera dat hodierno*, would also strongly suggest that this arrangement is copied from a single exemplar and so this

¹⁶⁰ This work is omitted from Bessler's number list although it is indented in the inventory itself, a sign that he used to mark the additional works.

piece could possibly be by Grossin as well. This attribution would seem to be confirmed by the drawn out non-cadential *corona* section for the words 'Jesu Christe', which is unusual and only found elsewhere in BU in a *Gloria* (pp. 26-27) that is attributed to Grossin elsewhere.

O zentil Madonna, pp. 100-101

Much lighter ink and a slightly larger, more formal, text hand, most noticeably in the Cantus, could suggest that this was copied later than *O bella rosa* and *Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia*, found above. The layout of these three works could reflect a common exemplar, particularly considering that the following opening must surely have been blank at the time of copying. However, there are no obvious musical relationships between these works, beyond all three being two-voice ballatas and I think it possible that this is a later addition.

ii) Works on rectos left blank in the early stages of copying

Sanctus, p. 12

Slightly darker ink and considerably larger note-heads than the surrounding material. Clearly written at a later stage and paired with the *Agnus dei* p. 67, with them both being copied at the same time.

O Toma didime, pp. 62-63.

This has a similar ink colour to the setting of *Ave regina caelorum* copied opposite, although the note-heads and text hand are smaller, without any obvious need for this. The unusual layout of this work, with the Contratenor of *O Toma didime* creeping onto the bottom stave of the preceding verso is not common in BU and seems even more perplexing given the blank stave left

between the Cantus and Tenor lines. This issue of space management is further confused by the scribe's decision to extend the end of the Cantus rather than use the available stave. This could suggest that he was attempting to mirror an exemplar. Probably not copied at exactly the same time as *Ave regina caelorum* (p. 62), although I suspect that it was added only shortly after. The copying of *Christus vincit* on the preceding opening would seem to form a halfway style between *Ave regina caelorum* and *O Toma didime* and I suspect the three were written in this order.

Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso, p. 81.

Copied in a lighter ink than Reson's *Salve regina* on the page preceding it and with generally thinner note-heads. The lightness could be a result of fading from exposure when (and if) this gathering existed separately from the main manuscript, but in any event it is highly unlikely that this work was copied at the same time as *Salve regina*.

Kyrie, p. 83.

Much darker ink colour, although otherwise similar in copying style, to the *Benedicta es caelorum regina* copied opposite and below. Of note here is that the copying layout, with the Contratenor and Tenor residuum of *Benedicta es caelorum regina* being copied half way down the page rather than at the top, is not seen elsewhere in the manuscript. This probably indicates that the *Kyrie* was copied first and *Benedicta es caelorum regina* is the later addition. The use of an unusually curved 'Chi' for the word *Christe* is seen in only one other work in BU, the additional *Kyrie, laudes nostras* (pp. 15 and 17), which has a similar

dark ink colour, note-head size and text style. It is probable that these two works were entered into the manuscript at the same time.

Sanctus, pp. 86-87

Like *O Toma didime* the Tenor residuum spills onto the facing verso although here there is absolutely no doubt that this *Sanctus* by Feragut is later and the scribe simply ran out of space rather than planning such a layout (I do not think it possible that the scribe would have copied this residuum starting in the middle of a stave unless the *Anima mea* on the facing verso was already present). The note-heads are very large and the ink slightly lighter than the surrounding material. The endings of all three parts appear to indicate that the performer should return to the music for the melisma on the words *In excelsis*, although the way in which this is indicated is peculiar. The Cantus continues past the return point for seven breves and while the other two parts finish at the correct repeat point, there is little to indicate to the performer what should happen next. Two dashes have been added to the Cantus part, one at the point where the Cantus part should have finished and the other at the repeat point to indicate where the singer should to return to. While this does reflect the point of musical repetition in the Cantus, it is a breve earlier than the point of repetition in the Contratenor and Tenor. Both of these voices have a stroke placed at the correct point of repetition, but here the marks are much thicker and curve round the relevant notes rather than being the straight lines of the Cantus. Given the extended Cantus, I am drawn to the conclusion that this repeat (if it extended further) was written out in full in the scribe's exemplar and was curtailed here for reasons of space (see also *Mercé te chiamo o dolze anima mia* above).

Further works that fit Besseler and Gallo's criteria for being additional works

In addition to the works listed by Heinrich Besseler above, there are a number of other works found in BU that would appear to fit the criteria put forward as defining additional works, being copied either below other works or on the recto of folios, which could have been left blank in the first stages of copying. Not surprisingly, given the size of the works to be considered, all but one of these items is found in the secular song section of the manuscript. Nevertheless, these examples do require some further consideration here. Any further additional entries will remain important in relation to comparing different copying stages and bringing together a chronology for the copying sequence.

Kyrie, p. 9 (blank recto)

This *Kyrie* by Du Fay has a distinct change in ink colour from the facing *Gloria* although the copying style is otherwise the same. However, the fact that this ink colour is maintained into the Reson *Kyrie* following, would seem to suggest that this was copied at around the same time as the material that followed. It should also be noted that along with the Reson *Kyrie* these are the only two works presented in score format in BU, although neither is aligned. Although this could indicate a similar exemplar for the two works, it is perhaps more likely that this reflects a scribal preference, as the score format is quickly abandoned in this *Kyrie* for the more florid (and therefore longer) final section.

Fugir non posso dal tuo dolze volto, p. 97 (bottom of page)

Identical copying to *En bianca vеста pellegrina cerva* above. Clearly copied at the same time.

Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia, p. 101 (blank recto)

Copied in the same style and ink colour as *O bella rosa o perla angelichata* on the facing page, strongly suggesting that the two were copied at the same time. Both works have very florid Cantus lines and the brief *clos* endings to the *piedi* of both works have identical Tenors (the *clos* ending to the Cantus of *Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia* is missing in BU, perhaps because the scribe had no room to include it while retaining the format from his exemplar). Furthermore, both works share similar imitative patterns between the two voices. These musical similarities, along with the layout of these works, not only indicate that they originated from the same exemplar but also that they are most likely both by Ciconia, as suggested by David Fallows.¹⁶¹ The positioning of this work at the top of a page where another work was added below (*O zentil madona*) provides final confirmation that the scribe did not regard it as being an additional work.

La belle se siet au pié de la tour, p. 104 (bottom of a page)

A different ink colour and narrower note-heads than *De gardés vous de la cordon* above perhaps suggesting that this is a later addition. There are no similarities in the text hand and it should be noted that *La belle se siet au pié de la tour* is considerably less neat than the work above. This is probably a later addition.

Pour amour de la rosete, p. 105 (blank recto)

¹⁶¹ David Fallows, "Ciconia's last songs and their milieu." In *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix, 107-130 (Turnhout, 2003).

Significantly different to the material copied both opposite (*De gardés vous de la cordon* and *La belle se siet au pié de la tour*) and on the following opening (chant additions by different scribes). Of note is that this is the recto of the bifolio of watermark-B paper identified in Isabelle Ragnard's reconstruction above. Therefore, it is possible that this work was actually copied before the work preceding it and the folio on which it is copied was then slotted into place later.

Gardes vous bien de trop parler/Voluntier ye me garderoye, pp. 110-111
(bottom of page)

Much smaller note-heads and a lighter ink than *Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner* copied above. Even accounting for the smaller space available, this would still seem to be a later addition.

A vous me recummant toudis, p. 111 (blank recto)

Very similar to *Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner* on the facing page. The two works are likely to have been copied at the same time.

Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amee, p. 112 (bottom of page)

Although the notation and ink colour would seem to be the same as *Vous soiés la tres bien venue* above, there is a significant change to a neater and more compact text hand that could indicate that this is a later addition.

Pour honorer ma gentil damoysele, p. 113 (blank recto)

Copied in the same style and colour as *Vous soiés la tres bien venue* on the facing verso and is likely to have been copied at the same time.

Adyeu adyeu ma dous amye, p. 113 (bottom of page)

In contrast to the facing verso, here the text hand remains the same as for *Pour honorer ma gentil damoyselle*, although the note-heads get considerably bigger. While the upper two works on this opening appear to be written at the same time as each other, the works below each display some signs that they were not, although this is not conclusive.

In natali domini, p. 114 (bottom of page)

Considerably lighter ink and larger note-heads than the setting of *Benedicamus domino* above and clearly a later addition.

Other 'additional' works (Bessler's stage iii supplemental works)

The discussion above has been focused on works that are not copied at the beginning of an opening, with various factors being considered to try to establish whether pieces were copied at the same time or later than the material either above or facing them. The implied importance of defining these additional works is that the works that occupy whole openings were copied in some sort of sequence through the manuscript as in Charles Hamm's description above: copying did not take place in a continuous process from pp. 1-114, but rather each section was begun at around the same time and the sequence runs through each of the four sections in a parallel fashion.

While this makes intuitive sense and can certainly be applied to the opening stages of the first three sections at least, at the ends of each section the pattern breaks down. For the most part, the items found in these end sections are of a type that should be found in the following section and Bessler

suggests that these works were placed here as there was no longer space left in the correct section for them. He observes that “the impression one is liable to get today is that such compositions belonged to the main section of the relevant part, whereas in actual fact they were added to the manuscript at a later stage as a sort of supplement.”¹⁶²

Bessler cites eight works as being in this category, which I shall discuss in some detail as they are of particular importance in defining the separate stages of BU’s copying. At the end of the second section of BU, originally intended to be a section for *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus* settings, he lists four motets that seem out of place: *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* (pp. 56-57), *Francorum nobilitati* (pp. 58-59), *Christus vincit* (pp. 60-61), and *Ave regina caelorum* (p. 62).

The first question to ask is whether these works do, in fact, belong in the third section? As I explained above, the original plan for this section was a single gathering beginning and ending with the Marian antiphons that open and close the liturgical year. Immediately after the first of these, Du Fay’s *Alma redemptoris mater* (pp. 64-65), the next three openings contain as their principal work motets in praise of Mary, clearly continuing the theme of the section.¹⁶³

However, from this point on the plan begins to change slightly. The next two items, *O virum omnimoda veneracione dignum/O lux et decus turonensium/O beate Nicholae* (pp. 72-73) and *O anima Christi* (pp. 74-75) are both religious motets, but neither relates to Mary. Following this is a celebratory Venetian motet, *Ducalis sedes/Stirps Veneti* (pp. 76-77), before the final

¹⁶² BesslerBU, p. 44.

¹⁶³ *Tota pulchra es amica mea*, *O pulcherima mulierum* and *Vergene bella che di sol vestita*. In relation to the last of these three, see the discussion in Alejandro Enrique Planchart, ‘What’s in a name: Reflections on some works of Guillaume Du Fay’, *Early Music*, Vol. 16 (1988), pp. 165-175. Despite its vernacular text and Canzone form its placing here and in Q15 clearly indicates that it was regarded as being a devotional work in praise of Mary.

opening of the gathering returns to the Marian theme with *Ave mater o Maria* (pp. 78-79). This pattern shows that while there was probably an overarching aim of filling this section with works celebrating the virgin, the watered-down scheme permitted other laudatory works as well. Of the four items cited by Bessler only *Ave regina caelorum* is Marian, but the others do fit the more general theme seen in the diluted model and would seem to be appropriate items for inclusion with the other items in the third section.

Omitted from Bessler's list due to its appearance in the list of works inserted on blank rectos, is the motet *O Toma didime* (pp. 63-62). However, the conclusion that this is in fact a later addition could be incorrect. As I mentioned above, it is likely that these three pieces were copied in the order *Ave regina caelorum*, *Christus Vincit* and then *O Toma didime*, although this correlates with Bessler's general conclusion well.

Sometime after the copying of *O Toma didime* the scribe returned to this section to add Feragut's *Francorum nobilitati* in a dark ink with very large note-heads and again after this returned to insert *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*.

Although this pattern seems clear, it still raises significant problems. The scribe is presumably working back from *Alma redemptoris mater* because there is no longer sufficient room to copy these works in gathering **V**. Yet works were apparently being added at the same time to gathering **VI**, where there appears to have been a significant amount of free space available for the copying of all these works together. I will address this apparent paradox when I discuss the full copying sequence below.

Two of the remaining four works referred to by Bessler in this category are *Credo* settings, copied at the end of the first section of BU on pp. 20-23. These two settings share a very similar copying style and are both presented in

only two voices, although the first has a rubric copied in the margin instructing the performer on how to realise a canonic middle voice. These two works are clearly out of place in a gathering that was primarily dedicated to *Kyrie* and *Gloria* settings. But it is not possible to use the idea of the scribe working backwards to fill the section in this instance. Rather than copying these works next to the beginning of the *Credo* section, the scribe instead chose to copy them five and six full openings further back, with the intervening openings being filled with other music. One of these items, the *Sanctus* setting by Afat pp. 30-31, is a further example cited by Besseler, but he provides no further explanation as to how this peculiar layout may have originated. Again, I shall address this in discussing the complete copying sequence below.

Finally, for the additional works cited by Besseler, is the *Gloria* by Arnold de Lantins that is copied in the *Credo* section on pp. 46-47. As he correctly noted, this forms a pair with the *Credo* pp. 48-51. However, this means that it is not really additional at all, but instead a result of the scribe's change of plan and so should not be classified in the same way as the works above.

Chapter 4: The copying layers of BU

Gatherings I-V

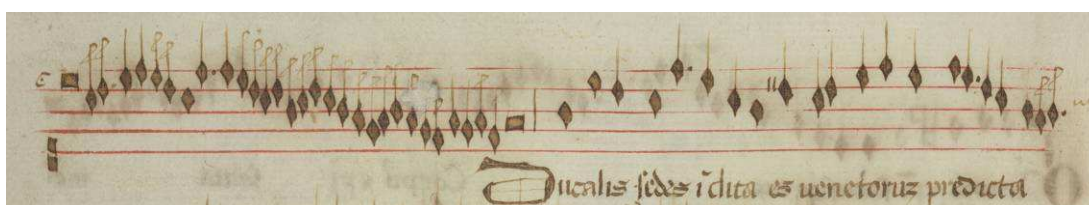
The discussion above explains how some pieces were copied later than previously thought, but more importantly how a large number of works were copied together that earlier discussions of BU thought to be later additions. There are other examples of pieces being copied together that will become apparent as I describe the copying sequence itself. But the main purpose of highlighting the above examples is to show that the conventional view of the scribe, who worked to a plan and later added works around it, is not correct. Therefore, it is time to put these pieces of information together to create a chronology of the copying process (ex. 12). Gatherings **I-V** will be discussed together as they were clearly prepared and assembled as a single unit, but for reasons of clarity gatherings **VI** and **VII** will be addressed separately below.

Ex. 12: Changes of style in the main hand

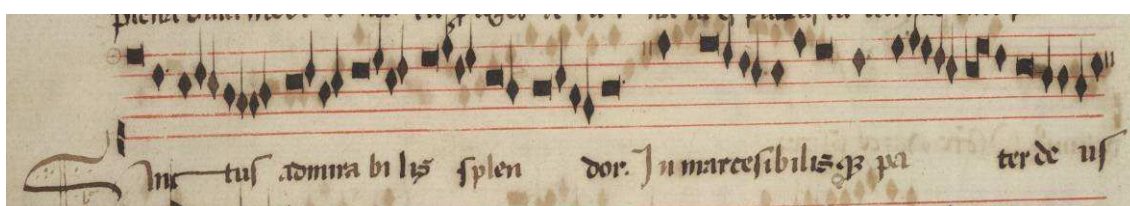
Layer 1: Arnold de Lantins' *Kyrie*, p. 2 & *O pulcherrima mulierum*, p. 68.



Layer 2a: Antonius de Cividate *Gloria*, p. 14 & *Ducalis sedes/Stirps Veneti*, p. 76.



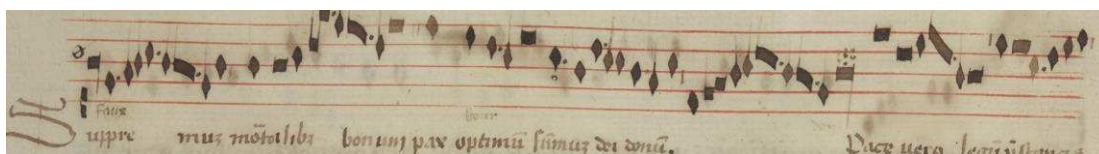
Layer 2b: *Sanctus admirabilis splendor*, p. 78.



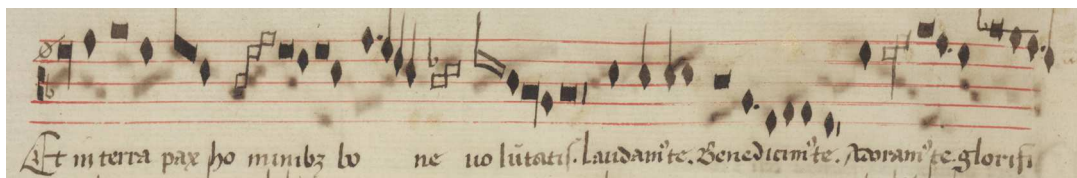
Layer 2c: *Francorum nobilitati*, p.58



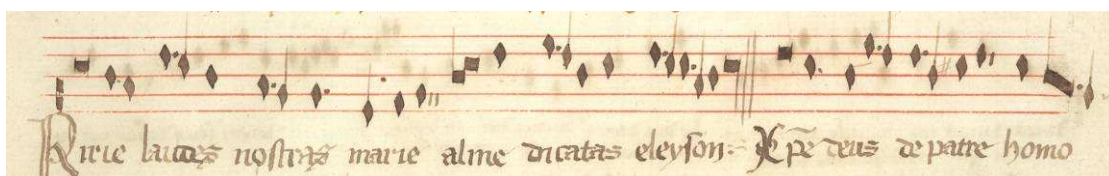
Layer 3: Dufay *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, p. 56.



Layer 4: Dunstable *Gloria*, p. 24.



Layer 5: *Kyrie, laudes nostras*, p. 15.



Layer 6: *Benedicta es caelorum regina*, p. 82.



Layer 1 - Dark brown ink, getting lighter, with generally broad breves that fill the space between lines. Narrow, tear-shaped semibreves and minims. Large text hand.

This opening layer is found at the beginning of each of the first three sections of BU. In gathering I, it occupies the whole of the first ten pages without interruption. Although pp. 9-10 are slightly lighter in colour there is no change in the copying style and I think that this represents a continuous unit of work by the scribe. A number of works have had to adapt this style in order to fit works into the space available, sometimes by reducing the size of the text or the note-heads. However, the basic features remain intact. As discussed above, the *Sanctus* on p. 11 is additional and relates to the copying of the *Agnus dei* on

p. 61. Layer 1 continues with Reson's *Gloria* but then stops with the last opening of gathering I being left blank at this stage of copying.

Layer 1 does not appear at all in gathering II until the final verso, where it reappears to open the *Credo* section on p. 32. It then continues into gathering III without interruption until p. 42, where *Ave preciosa gemma* is inserted below Reson's *Credo*. However, it resumes again with Reson's *Sanctus. Gaude flore virginali* (p. 43) is probably later, but layer one then continues with both the Reson's *Agnus dei* and his *Ave verum corpus* (pp. 44-45), the Arnold de Lantins Mass pair and *O quam suavis* (pp. 46-51), and ends with the two openings containing Du Fay's *Credo... Amen, Dic Maria/La villanella* and the song *Mercé te chiamo o dolze anima mia* (pp. 52-55).

From this we can see that the whole of gathering III was filled in layer 1, save for occasional items inserted in space at the bottom of pages, and the first three openings of gathering IV were completed in the same stage of work. This is important to bear in mind when we come to look at the later layers, where significantly more space is available in some gatherings than others. It is also worth reminding ourselves at this point that very few pieces are actually contained in layer 1 at all. Arnold de Lantins' and Reson's grouped Mass movements should, in my view, be regarded as single works meaning that once these are removed you are left with two each of *Kyrie* and *Gloria* settings in section 1 and two *Credo* settings remaining in section 2. To these the scribe did add some related material, but this was the sum total of his planned work at this initial stage.

I suggest that this is unlikely to be coincidental and that the inclusion of equal numbers of Mass movements was designed to provide a balance between them, even if they did not necessarily originate from single fascicles

(although it is also possible that they did). The arrangement of the anonymous *Kyrie/Gloria* pair on pp. 6-7 would certainly suggest that it was copied from a single exemplar in this fashion and it is not unreasonable to assume that the *Kyrie* and *Credo* of what would become a complete Du Fay Mass in Q15 (p. 9 and pp. 32-33) could have arrived as a unit, although this does cause some problems: Arnold's *Credo*, which must surely have arrived with the rest of his Mass movements, is clearly copied after Du Fay's *Credo*, while the first two movements are similarly clearly copied before Du Fay's *Kyrie*. If the two Du Fay movements did arrive together, this could potentially be explained by the scribe waiting for a blank recto to become available before copying the *Kyrie* (having already copied the *Missa brevis* on p. 1), an action that he decided not to replicate with Reson's Mass. Alternatively, he could have simply forgotten the *Kyrie* and inserted it on the first blank recto after he had copied the other first-layer works. However, even taking these possibilities into consideration, it seems more likely that these two Du Fay movements arrived separately, and the presence of attributions on both movements would seem to support this idea.

Layer 1 appears again on the last verso of gathering **V**, where it opens the third section with Du Fay's *Alma redemptoris mater* (pp. 64-65). It then continues with only one minor interruption (the *Agnus dei* copied at the same time as the *Sanctus* on p. 11) until p. 75. However, it reappears on p. 80, the final verso of gathering **V** for Reson's *Salve regina*, presumably as this was the work that was intended to close the original manuscript. Of possible note in relation to this section is the device at the end of the Cantus part of *Vergene bella che di sol vestita* (pp. 70-71). This device is also found at the end of the Cantus line for Du Fay's *Credo* (pp. 32-33) and its only other appearance in BU

is at the end of Ciconia's *O virum omnimoda veneracione dignum/O lux et decus turonensium/O beate Nicholae* copied on the opening after *Vergene bella*. It is possible, therefore, that these works were copied contemporaneously. This could in turn indicate that the scribe began the copying process with Du Fay's *Alma redemptoris mater* (pp. 64-65), rather than with the *Credo* as suggested by Charles Hamm.

The upshot of this is that there was a significant amount of space left free after the scribe had completed his first stage of copying. In the first section alone, there were nine complete openings without music that would ultimately be completed in a number of stages by the scribe.

Layer 2a - Very large note-heads, wide breves, large text hand, light ink

This layer represents a very small period of work and comprises only four or perhaps five works: the *Gloria* settings by Antonius de Cividate (pp. 14-15) and Nicolaus de Capoa (pp. 16-17); the *Sanctus* by Afat (pp. 30-31); *Ducalis sedes/Stirps Veneti* (pp. 76-77); and perhaps the song *Amés amés tous loiaux amoureux* (p. 16). With the exception of the *Sanctus*, which I shall return to shortly, the scribe clearly added this layer in space immediately after the completed layer 1 copying. What is far less clear is how long the hiatus in copying was. It need not have been long, but it was sufficient for him to change his pen and ink moving towards a generally larger style. There is no apparent link between the works in layer 2, although they presumably arrived with the scribe at approximately the same time. The two *Gloria* settings and the motet at least were copied into the 'correct' sections of the manuscript, indicating that the scribe was still alive to his original plan at this stage.

However, the placing of the *Sanctus* is more confusing. I have commented already on the unusual layout of this work, which could easily have fitted on a single page but is here spread across the top of two pages. The *Magnificat* copied beneath it was clearly not copied at the same time and so if this was trying to emulate its exemplar, there was either blank space in that too, or the work copied beneath was not to the scribe's taste. There were still four complete openings available for the *Sanctus* to have been copied after the *Credo* settings in gathering **IV**, but the scribe has chosen instead to copy it onto the last opening of gathering **II**. I can see no logical explanation for this, and have tried to seek alternative interpretations that could allow this to be a late addition to the manuscript. However, the copying style is identical in all respects with the other 2a layer works and I am forced to accept that this is an example of scribal aberration.

Layer 2b – As 2a, but with dark ink.

Probably copied immediately after 2a, but with a very dark, almost black ink, are several pieces beginning with *Ave mater o Maria* and *Sanctus, admirabilis splendor* (pp. 78-79). The size of the breves and generally very large text strongly suggest that the same pen was used as for 2a. With the copying of these two pieces the whole of gathering **V** was completed. As gathering **VI** seems not to have been present at this time, this meant that there was no more room for the scribe to add non-Mass religious works in the correct section. Therefore, the remainder of this layer of copying is found at the end of gathering **IV**.

The next work to be copied was the anonymous *Ave regina caelorum* (p. 62), closely followed by the Hugo de Lantins' *Christus vincit* (pp. 60-61) and

then Do Vala's *O Toma didime* on p. 63. Through these three works there is a gradual move back towards smaller breves and a smaller text style although it still remains a generally large style.

Layer 2c – Very dark ink, confident style, smaller text with informal incipits in lower voices and no through texting in Tenor.

Primarily this is a 'Feragut' layer as the only two works that are firmly located in it are by him: *Franconum nobilitati* (pp. 58-59) and his *Sanctus* (pp. 87-86). The *Sanctus* will be discussed further in relation to gathering VI. *Franconum nobilitati* was copied immediately after Hugo de Lantins' *Christus vincit*, although the scribe was still working his way back through the blank openings at the end of gathering IV. The *Sanctus/Agnus* pair (p. 11 and p. 67) and *Ave corpus vere natum* (p. 61) are also likely to be in this style, although their text hands are larger. This style is not distinct enough from 2a and b to suggest that it was copied much later and all three could represent a single copying stage with a change of writing materials over time.

Layer 3 – Very small note-heads and text, medium ink colour.

As with the transition from layer 1 to 2, there is a very distinct change between layers 2 and 3 that suggests that it represents an entirely new stage of copying. Again it is difficult to say how long the hiatus was, but there is no obvious reason why it should have been any significant length of time.

In gathering II, layer 3 begins with Do Vala's *Gloria* (pp. 18-19),¹⁶⁴ followed by an anonymously copied *Credo* (pp. 20-21), and Feragut's two-voice *Credo* (pp. 22-23). Of note here is that the first two of these movements, at

¹⁶⁴ It remains possible that *Liesse m'a mandé salut* (bottom of p. 19) is also part of this layer although there is insufficient evidence to make this link conclusively.

least, may well have come to the scribe as part of a single unit. Clearly they were copied at the same time and the absence of an ascription in BU is, in some cases, an indication that the work came to the scribe in a composer themed fascicle. While there are no overt musical similarities between the works to suggest that they were a formal pair, they do both share extended *Amen* sections that are elaborate and imitative. Therefore, I would suggest that the *Credo* is also by Do Vala and was transmitted to the scribe as a pair.

In gathering **IV**, there is only one item in the layer 3 style, Du Fay's *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* (pp. 56-57). This latter work was probably the first of these four to be copied, occupying the last available opening in gathering **IV** and thereby filling the remaining space in this gathering and becoming the first piece in the sacred works as it now appears. This in turn meant that the scribe could not copy either of the *Credo* settings into the correct section of the manuscript and instead placed them with the other mass movements. The fact that he had already copied Afat's *Sanctus* across the final opening of gathering **II** also prevented him from attaching these works to the beginning of the *Credo* section in the same manner as he did at the end of gathering **IV**.

Layer 4 – Dark ink, starting in a scruffy style with frequent irregular note-heads and poorly executed ligatures, especially when void, but improving in quality. Thin text hand.

Dunstable's *Gloria* (pp. 24-25) is copied extremely poorly for this scribe, although the improvement in the copying as the Tenor progresses and into the Contratenor suggests that this quality reduction was a temporary aberration. Grossin's *Gloria* (pp. 26-27) is copied immediately after and, while more confident than Dunstable's, still has a number of irregularly shaped note-heads.

The copying of the Tenor residuum at the bottom of p. 27 suggests that the scribe was not expecting to use the space for another work at a later stage. I would argue, therefore, that this work is probably the last to be written in the first five gatherings and the scribe had already inserted at the bottom of pages all those items that he imagined would be included in the final manuscript. Although some items were added after this, not least *Ave maris stella* (p. 25) whose light ink and small handwriting are distinct from the work above (I have termed this layer 5), these have to be considered as being outside the original plan.

Gathering VI

I have already noted that gathering **VI** shows signs of considerable damage, and there is a discolouration to pp. 81 and 96 that could perhaps indicate that it once existed separately to the rest of BU. This idea would now seem to be reinforced by the musical evidence, where it appears that the scribe originally intended to conclude this third section of the manuscript, containing antiphons and motets, with Reson's *Salve regina* (p. 80). However, at some point the decision was made to include a new gathering.

If, as I have argued, the scribe added works such as *Francorum nobilitati* and *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* to the end of gathering **IV** because there was no longer space to add them in their correct location, this has important implications for when gathering **VI** was added. It would be a reasonable assumption that all of the items found within it would be of the layer 3 or 4 style, or perhaps even something entirely new. However, the actual picture is somewhat more complicated. A number of the pieces within gathering **VI** correspond in copying style with items in earlier gatherings indicating that

material was being added to this gathering at the same time as work was ongoing on the main body of BU. This in turn raises difficult questions about how this gathering was put together.

An examination of its contents (a song in praise of Brescia and Venice; a setting of *Benedicta es caelorum regina* ascribed to de Anglia elsewhere; a *Kyrie* attributed to Du Fay elsewhere; *Quam pulchra es* attributed to Dunstable elsewhere; Leonel's *Anima mea*; a *Sanctus* by Feragut; Grossin's *Imera dat hodierno*; a lauda; and a *Magnificat* setting by Binchois copied by a different scribe) would suggest that its inclusion was late in the manuscript's collation process as there does not appear to be any semblance of a plan to the works copied here. There also do not appear to be the same considerations of space that the scribe utilised in the earlier parts of BU: six staves at the bottom of p. 85 have been left entirely blank and the last three openings, now completed by the Binchois hand, are generally believed to have been left blank at the time that the main scribe ceased work on the volume. Yet there are works here that clearly demonstrate that they were copied at the same time as those in other parts of BU.

The most obvious example of this is the *Sanctus* by Feragut (pp. 86-87), which was clearly copied at the same time as *Francorum nobilitati* (pp. 58-59) and shares all the same features. These two works are clearly in layer 2c, as described above. It is also clear, I think, that this work was copied after the *Anima mea* on the preceding page. *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* (p. 81) meanwhile, would seem to be copied in the layer 3 style used for works such as *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* (pp. 56-57) using the same small note-heads, short breves and compact text hand.

A work with a more obscure relationship to the earlier part of the source is the *Kyrie* (p. 83), presented anonymously in BU but attributed to Du Fay in Q15 and Ao. This too is a smaller hand, though still by the main scribe, but lacks the confidence of the layer 3 works so I have called it layer 5. It is also characterised by a thin and less formal text hand. This places it clearly with the *Kyrie, laudes nostras* copied somewhat haphazardly at the bottom of pp. 15 and 17. These two works are further linked by the unusual decoration of the 'X' of 'Xriste', which is the same in both of them. While this can only be compared with other *Kyrie* settings, these are the only examples of such decoration in BU. The placing of these settings provides further information on the timing of these insertions. I would suggest that neither of these settings carried any particular significance to the scribe and the selection of *Kyrie, laudes nostras* to fill the last remaining staves of the first section was simply because it was slightly shorter than the untroped, and anonymously copied, Du Fay setting added to gathering VI. However, more telling is the fact that these works were placed so far apart at all. In the conventional interpretation of BU, there should have been a full opening left available in this first section, which is now occupied by Binchois' *Kyrie* (pp. 28-29). While it is possible that the scribe simply missed the fact that there was still a spare opening available, and this does seem to have happened in other manuscripts, I do not think that this is the likely explanation in BU. It must be remembered that compared with the majority of the surviving manuscripts from this period, BU is a relatively small volume comprising only 57 folios. Therefore, I have to conclude that the two Binchois entries (marked B, in the copying table) must have been made while the main scribe was still actively working on BU and before these two *Kyrie* settings were copied.

Moving on into the rest of gathering **VI**, further issues begin to arise. *Quam pulchra es* (pp. 84-85), copied here anonymously, is in the characteristic large and dark style of layer 2b and correlates particularly closely with *Ave regina caelorum* (pp. 62), providing further evidence of work taking place on gathering **VI** at the same time as the main body of BU. But this piece also poses a significant problem. Given that there were three openings preceding the *Ave regina caelorum* in gathering **IV**, to be filled by *Christus vincit, Francorum nobilitati* and *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, why did the scribe not copy *Quam pulchra es* there? I think the answer to this question provides us with some clue as to when the watermark-B paper arrived with the scribe. There is certainly no indication that any of the works in gathering **VI** predate this layer 2b style and so I would suggest that the gathering arrived with the scribe at around this time.

I would also suggest that *Quam pulchra es* was the first work to be copied into this gathering and originally occupied the opening 1v-2 of it. This, of course, means that the current outer bifolio (pp. 81/82 and pp. 95-96) must have been put in place later and there are several pieces of evidence that could suggest that this is the case. The first is that the *Benedicta es caelorum regina* (pp. 82-83) would almost certainly seem to have been copied after the *Kyrie* (p. 63). This work, with its faded colour and small handwriting, is exceptionally similar to that of *Ave maris stella* (p. 25) and would appear to be in a new style that I have designated as layer 6. Its peculiar layout, with the Contratenor and Tenor residuum being copied on the lower portion of p. 83 rather than the top, is something that is not seen anywhere else in BU. The most obvious explanation for this is that the *Kyrie* was already *in situ*. As both the *Kyrie* and *Benedicta es caelorum regina* seem to have been copied after *Quam pulchra es*, this means

that the scribe either took a blank gathering and copied Dunstable's antiphon onto an opening in the middle of the gathering or, as is my view, the current outer bifolio was added later.

This solution is not entirely satisfactory. To begin with, it means that we have to further explain how *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* came to be copied on p. 81, now the opening recto of gathering **VI**, in the layer 3 style. However, I do not believe it unreasonable to assume that as the scribe was nearing the end of the main copying of BU, he had other work on the go and it appears that the scribe was happy to move around leaves of watermark-B paper for later use in the final section. Indeed, it is perhaps worth mentioning here that the only work by the main scribe to be found on the bifolio of watermark-B in gathering **VII**, Do Vala's *Pour amour de la rosete* (p. 105), also seems to be in this layer 3 style. It seems plausible to me that the scribe had a number of loose bifolios from a group of watermark-B paper that he originally used for the copying of single items, without a further plan for how they would eventually be put together.

The next opening to consider begins with Leonel's *Anima mea liquefacta es* (p. 86) and concludes with Feragut's *Sanctus* as discussed above. To Heinrich Bessler the presence of *Anima mea liquefacta es* without a Contratenor in BU was evidence for the scribe deliberately choosing to omit these voices from certain works.¹⁶⁵ However, later scholars have tended to regard this as simply a two-voice version. This latter interpretation would seem to be the more likely as the extended duet between Cantus and Contratenor in the other sources has here been translated into the Tenor part to allow the piece to be performed with only two voices (this is discussed in more detail below in terms of works with varying numbers of voices in concordances). In

¹⁶⁵ BesslerBU, p. 52.

terms of its copying style, however, this is more difficult to place. It is quite similar in text and ink colour to the end of layer 2b. However, the breves are consistently smaller than in the other 2b works, which may indicate that this comes at a slightly different stage. Musically, this piece fits well with *Quam pulchra es*, both being song of songs settings by English composers. It is probably not a coincidence that the extra work inserted into the beginning of the extended gathering (*Benedicta es caelorum regina*) is also by an English composer, although the damage to the top of the page has removed any ascription that would confirm whether the scribe was knowingly trying to create an English section to his manuscript.

The remaining works to be copied by the main scribe in gathering **VI** are the paired works of *Imera dat hodierno* and *Con desiderio io vo cerchando* copied across the opening pp. 88-89. Again these two works are slightly difficult to place in terms of the copying layers found elsewhere, although the text size and general presentation are very similar layer 3. However, it should be noted that the note-heads here are generally larger than in other layer 3 works.

The remaining additional works

So it only remains now to establish where the remaining additional works fit into this chronology. It has already been noted that the *Sanctus* (p. 11) and the *Agnus dei* (p. 67), are a pair and that they would seem to have been copied at the same time. Both works also share a great similarity with the copying of the layer 2c works, although placing them in this layer poses a problem for how the scribe approached his plan. There would, at this time, have been a significant quantity of paper available at the end of gathering **I** for these works to have been copied on. Similarly there was a full opening, later to be filled by

Supremum est mortalibus bonum, in gathering **IV**. Nevertheless, the similarities here are sufficiently clear that I am drawn to the conclusion that the scribe copied these works separately and out of sequence because he did not consider them to be of particular importance.

Both *Ave preciosa gemma* (p. 41) and *Gaude flore virginali* (p. 43) would seem to have been entered at the same time and are written in the dark, large style found elsewhere with the early part of layer 2b. *Ave corpus vere natum* (p. 61) was probably copied at the same time as *Christus vincit* above it, and so also forms part of 2b, albeit at the other extreme of this style. But it is also very similar to the copying style of *Innicietur regi melos* (p. 75), which I think also belongs in this layer.

This leaves only the anonymous *Magnificat* (pp. 30-31), which is unfortunately more confusing. The musical notation shares many similarities with layer 3, although the text hand has no clear correlation.

Other features of the copying

The discussion above has been focused on the visual qualities of the scribal hand and using this to develop some sort of coherent chronology. However, having achieved this chronology, there are some other trends that can be seen that help to cement and confirm this sequence. Table 4 below lists BU's contents alongside the copying layer I have identified for it. But in addition to this information, I have also included three other factors: whether or not a work contains a cut mensuration; if it contains semibreves with an oblique stem (an Italianate note form that I will discuss in chapter 5); and the type of fermata or *signum congruentiae* used. While the exact nature of these elements is discussed below, it quickly becomes apparent when looking through the table

that there are patterns in the distribution of these attributes through the different layers.

The most obvious patterns in the works of the first six gatherings relate to the mensuration and use oblique stemmed semibreves. There is only one use of a cut mensuration in layer 1, and that is found in the final section of Du Fay's *Vergene bella che di sol vestita*. The other six occasions when it is used by the main scribe are in the later layers. Conversely, seven of the nine uses of oblique stems are found in layer one and there are no examples of this practice later than layer 2b. The different forms of fermata or corona, used are less clearly marked between the layers. But nevertheless, the later a work comes in the layer system the more likely it is to use a stylized '∩' rather than the '✱' that dominates layer one. And it would seem that the scribe only used 's:' fermata for the works in layer 2a, perhaps suggesting that these works are more closely linked.

The reason for mentioning this here is that the copying sequence of the final gathering is particularly hard to discern. And from the very outset, these additional aspects prove essential in defining how this section corresponds to the rest of the manuscript.

Gathering VIIa-c

As I mentioned above, the outer pages of this final gathering are particularly dirty, suggesting that this section existed apart from the main body of BU for a period of time. It is also the case that the outer edges of the pages here are considerably more worn than in the first six gatherings, which indicates at the very least these secular songs were more popular to the reader than their

religious counterparts, but may also add to the suggestion that this section was a separate entity.

If it were conceived as an entirely separate manuscript, it should be noted that it would seem at the larger end of sizes for a song book, particularly in comparison with the similarly laid out Paris4917. However, BU is generally a large format manuscript compared to its closest surviving contemporaries (although manuscripts such as Chantilly and Old Hall are similarly sized) and it must presumably have been the case that public performances of this song repertory, even if only by a modestly sized ensemble, would have used larger format manuscripts to enable the whole work to be easily visible to several people at one time.

Nevertheless, its separation from the main body of the manuscript may not always have been the scribe's intention: the staves are ruled identically with the early gatherings; the paper itself appears to be the same; and the ornate initial that opens the section is styled in exactly the same manner as those at the beginning of the first three sections. None of these features are conclusive. If the scribe had six gatherings of ruled, watermark-A paper he could just as easily have had another six that formed other manuscripts now lost. Equally, it should not be too surprising that a scribe had a particular style of initial calligraphy that he used in the other books he wrote, either musical or textual, as well as BU. These are, of course, imponderables although they are important issues to remember. Our scribe must have produced other material during his career, and it is reasonable to assume that the books he worked on at the same time as BU would have had some similarities with it. So we are left with a gathering that shows clear signs of being separated from the main body of the manuscript, but also shows strong signs of being related to it.

The above discussion glossed over the peculiar make-up of this section, with only seven surviving folios from a gathering on watermark-A paper and a further bifolio of watermark-B paper inserted into the middle. Clearly there has been some attempt to produce a collection of Italian songs and a further collection of French texted works. However, if there are links to be drawn between the works in this section and the first parts of BU, this may help to explain when this section was mutilated.

One of the problems in trying to identify correlations with the pieces in this section is that the scribe uses an informal hand for all the secular pieces. The only place within this final section where where the main scribe uses a resolutely formal script is on the final page, where a troped *Benedicamus domino* and the Christmas work *In natali domini* have been copied. This is in fact a good place to start looking at the copying sequence. *Benedicamus domino* is clearly written in the layer 1 style and *In natali domini* below is written in the characteristic large note-heads and light ink of layer 2a.

These two works give some indication of when the watermark-A parts of gathering **VIII** were added to the main body of the manuscript. The *Benedicamus domino* was used to close the Mass and is presumably copied here as a marker of the end of the manuscript, much in the same way that Reson's *Salve regina* was used to mark the end of gathering **V**. It seems likely to me that *Benedicamus domino* was intended to complement the plainchant Mass found on p. 1, and as such demonstrates that this gathering was part of the main manuscript while work was ongoing with the other layer-one works.

However, the works that open the gathering look very different. Both *En bianca vesta pellegrina cerva* and *Fugir non posso dal tuo dolze volto*, found on the opening page of the gathering) are written with extremely small note-heads,

smaller even than the layer 3 style of *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*. Yet *Fugir non posso* uses semibreves with oblique stems, found elsewhere only in layer 1 and 2 works and, while it is possible that the *Benedicamus domino* was copied before the opening works of the section, I think it unlikely. Therefore we appear to have a copying style at the beginning of this section that predates layer 1.

In fact this is an early layer 1 style rather than being a distinct copying stage. Both Du Fay's *Credo* (pp. 32-33) and *Alma redemptoris mater* have slightly smaller note-heads than the layer one works in gathering I and I would suggest that the scribe's style moved progressively larger as he approached layer 2. This again would seem to suggest that the amount of time between the copying of these early sections does not need to have been long.

Certainly the style looks more confidently layer 1 in *Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti* (pp. 98-99) and on into *O bella rosa o perla angelichata* and *Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia* (pp. 100-101). *O zentil madona mia*, copied beneath these two works, is larger and shares its ink colour with the early layer 2 works although the note-heads here are clearly not large enough for it to be placed firmly in this layer. This would seem to be further evidence that these layers, at least, followed on from each other in relatively quick succession. However, then things change.

Invidia nimicha (pp. 102-103), occupies a complete opening and is copied with little confidence and small note-heads, leaving a large amount of space available at the bottom of the page. This work is clearly written at a different time from the material around it and has no correspondence with any other works within BU. There is no obvious reason to suppose that this was not written by the main scribe, however, and so this would seem to be a new, later

copying style, layer 7. On p. 104 a further two works are copied, at different times to each other: *De gardés vous de le cordon* and *La belle se siet au pié de la tour*. These too have no apparent relationship with any other copied works and so I have labelled them as layers 8 and 9.

Although these songs are now the *de facto* opening of the French texted works I think it unlikely that this was the scribe's original intention. Similarly, Do Vala's *Pour amour de la rosete* on the facing page (p. 105) was almost certainly not copied to fulfil this role either. This page is the first side of the inserted watermark-B bifolio and as I mentioned above this is clearly related to the layer 3 works, in particular Do Vala's *Gloria* found in the first gathering. Being in layer 3 also ties it to the remaining watermark-B works in the manuscript, with a number of the works being copied there at the same time. This further suggests to me that there was only ever a single gathering of watermark-B, although it numbered at least 5 bifolios, and this bifolio was taken from it, probably with *Pour amour de la rosete* already *in situ*. The remainder of this bifolio and p. 109 contain the later chant additions discussed above and are listed as C(hant hands) 1-3 and P(ractice hand) in Table 4.

It would be reasonable to assume that when we return to the watermark-A paper we would also be returning to layer 1 works, and this would seem to be the case. Although Du Fay's *Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner* (p. 110) contains both \oplus mensuration and the \frown fermata style, the ink colour and general style strongly suggest that this forms part of layer 1. If this is the case we have to consider whether or not this was the first of the French texted works to be copied this section and whether any particular importance was placed on this work by the scribe? This question is not straightforward to answer.

If the scribe had intended there to be a roughly equal number of French and Italian works in this section, we would have expected the French works to begin on either the recto or verso of folio 5 of an 8-folio watermark-A gathering. However, as it now appears, *Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner* is copied on the first of three folios at the end of this gathering rather than four. In Isabelle Ragnard's reconstruction of this final section above, this is because the folio before has been removed and is now missing from the gathering. However, I would suggest a slight amendment to this idea. If the original opening of the French music section had originally been on this missing folio, we would also have expected there to be material on the facing verso, preceding *Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner*, as is found throughout the rest of this gathering. Indeed, the only side of watermark-A paper that does not have anything copied by the main scribe is p. 109. Therefore I would suggest that the folio containing *Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner* was originally the fourth from the end and was the intended opening of the French texted section. As all the folios have been detached from the spine and reset during BU's history it is now impossible to say categorically where the missing folio was. However, given that works at the top of each remaining page would seem to be layer one works (Do Vala's *A vous me recummant toudis* (p. 111), *Vous soiés la tres bien venue* (p. 112) and *Pour honorer ma gente damoyselle* (p. 113) both copied anonymously here), it seems reasonable to assume that the missing folio contained at least two French texted songs now lost to us.

At the bottom of pp. 110-111 is the anonymous rondeau *Gardes vous bien de trop parler/Voluntier ye me garderoye*. This is in a distinctly lighter ink than the layer 1 works above, but lacks the large note-heads that would normally be used to associate it with layer 2. However, given its position and

use of :S: *signum congruentiae* it is likely that this is a layer 2a work. The presence of this *signum congruentiae* in *Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amee* (p. 112) would also suggest that this was layer 2a, although here there are a number of contradictory factors. The ink colour and note-heads would suggest that this was layer 1, although the text hand is conspicuously small and neat in comparison with the work above. The final work to be considered here, *Adyeu adyeu ma dous amye* (p. 113), contains the large note-heads associated with layer 2b.

Table 4: Copying layers in BU

G	Pg	Ga	Incipit	Layer	ϕ	Oblique stems	Fermenta style	Ascription/attributions
1	1	I1r	Gaudeamus omnes in domino	1				Chant
2	1	I1r	Kyrie	1				Chant
3	1	I1r	Sanctus	1				Chant
4	1	I1r	Agnus dei	1				Chant
5	2-3	I1v-2r	Kyrie	1		Yes		Arnoldus [de Lantins]
6	4-5	I2v-3r	Et in terra	1		Yes	*	Anon./Arnold de Lantins
7	6-7	I3v-4r	Et in terra	1			*	Anon.
8	7	I4r	Kyrie, cunctipotens genitor	1		Yes		Anon.
9	8	I4v	Et in terra	1		Yes		Anon./Zacara
10	9	I5r	Kyrie	1		Yes		Du Fay
11	10	I5v	Kyrie	1				Reson
12	11	I6r	Sanctus	?2c			⌣	Anon.
13	12-13	I6v-7r	Et in terra	1			* & ⌣	Anon./Reson
14	14-15	I7v-8r	Et in terra	2a			*	Antonius de Civitate
15	15 & 17	I8r & II1r	Kirie, laudes nostras	5				Anon.
16	16-17	I8v-II1r	Et in terra	2a		Yes		Nicolaus de Capoa/Bosquet or Zacar
17	16	I8v	Amés amés tous loiaux amoureux	?2a			:s:	Anon.
18	18-19	II1v-2r	Et in terra	3				Do Vala
19	19	II2r	Liesse m'a mandé salut	?3				Anon./Binchois, Du Fay or Grossin
20	20-21	II2v-3r	Patrem	3				?Tenoriste/Do Vala?

21	22-23	II3v-4r	Patrem	3				Feragut
22	24-25	II4v-5r	Et in terra	4	ΦϞΦ			Dunstable/Leonel
23	25	II5r	Ave maris stella	6				Anon./Du Fay
24	26-27	II5v-6r	Et in terra	4			☾	Anon./Grossin
25	28-29	II6v-7r	Kyrie	B	ΦϞΦ			Binchois
26	30-31	II7v-8r	Sanctus	2a			:s:	Afat
27	30-31	II7v-8r	Magnificat	?3			*	Anon.
28	32-33	II8v-III1r	Patrem	1			*	Du Fay
29	34-37	III1v-3r	Patrem	1		Yes	*	Anon./Arnold de Lantins
30	37	III3r	Verbum caro factum est	1				Anon.
31	38-41	III3v-5r	Patrem	1			*	Anon./Reson
32	41	III5r	Ave, preciosa gem[m]a	2b				Anon.
33	42-43	III5v-6r	Sanctus, deus pater	1			*	Anon./Reson
34	43	III6r	Gaude flore virginali	2b				Anon.
35	44-45	III6v-7r	Agnus dei, alme pater	1				Anon./Reson
36	45-44	III7r-6v	Ave verum corpus natum	1				Anon./Reson
37	46-47	III7v-8r	Et in terra	1			*	Arnold de Lantins
38	48-51	III8v-IV2r	Patrem	1			*& ☾	Anon. /Arnold de Lantins
39	50-51	IV1v-2r	O quam suavis	1				Anon.
40	52-55	IV2v-4r	Patrem.... Amen, dic Maria/la vilanella	1			*& ☾	G. du Fay
41	54-55	IV3v-4r	Mercé te chiamo o dolze anima mia	1			☾	Anon.
42	56-57	IV4v-5r	<i>Supremum</i> est mortalibus bonum	3	ΦϞ3Φ		*	G. du fay

43	58-59	IV5v-6r	Francorum nobilitati	2c	∅		*	B. Feragut
44	60-61	IV6v-7r	Christus vincit	2b				Hugo de Lantins
45	60-61	IV6v-7r	Ave corpus vere natum	?2c			☺	Anon.
46	62	IV7v	Ave regina caelorum	2b	∅			Anon.
47	63-62	IV8r-7v	O Toma didime	2b				Do Vala
48	64-65	IV8v-V1r	Alma redemptoris mater	1			☺	G du Fay
49	65	V1r	Ave fuit prima salus	1				Anon.
50	66-67	V1v-2r	Tota pulcra es amica mea	1			*	Anon./Arnold de Lantins
51	67	V2r	Agnus Dei	2c				Anon.
52	68-69	V2v-3r	O pulc[h]e[r]ima mulierum	1			*	Anon./Arnold de Lantins
53	69	V3r	Ave regina caelorum	1		Yes		Anon.
54	70-71	V3v-4r	Vergene bella che di sol vestita	1	∅			G. dufay.
55	72-73	V4v-5r	O virum omnimoda veneracione dignum/O lux et decus turonensium/O beate Nicholae	1				Ciconia
56	74-75	V5v-6r	O anima Christi sanctifica me	1			*	Anon.
57	75-74	V6r-5v	Innietur regi melos	2b				Anon.
58	76-77	V6v-7r	Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps [...] veneti	2a				Anon./Antonius Romanus
59	78-79	V7v-8r	Ave mater o maria	2b		Yes		Anon.
60	78-79	V7v-8r	Sanctus, admirabilis splendor	2b				Anon.

61	80	V8v	Salve regina	1			*	Anon./Reson
62	81	VI1r	[...]/ Viva viva San Marcho glorioso	3				Anon.
63	82-83	VI1v-2r	[Benedicta es <i>caelorum</i> regina]	6			*	Anon./De Anglia
64	83	VI2r	Kyrie	5			☺	Anon./Du Fay
65	84-85	VI2v-3r	Quam pulcra es	2b			* & ☺	Anon./Dunstable or Egidius
66	86	VI3v	Anima mea liquefacta est	2b?	¢			Leonel
67	87-86	VI4r-3v	Sanctus	2c	⊕		*	Feragut
68	88-89	VI4v-5r	Imera dat hodierno	3?			☺	Grossim
69	89	VI5r	Con desiderio io vo cerchando	3?			☺	Anon.
70	90-95	VI5v-8r	Magnificat	B				Binchois/Du Fay
71	97	VII1r	En bianca vesta pellegrina cerva	1				Anon.
72	97	VII1r	Fugir non posso dal tuo dolze volto	1		Yes		Anon.
73	98-99	VIIa1v-2r	Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti	1				Anon./Zacar
74	100	VIIa2v	O bella rosa o perla angelichata	1				Anon.
75	101	VIIa3r	Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia	1				Anon./Ciconia
76	100-101	VIIa2v-3r	O zentil madona mia	2a?				Anon.
77	102-103	VIIa3v-4r	Invidiã nimicha	7				Du Fay
78	104	VIIa4v	De gardés vous de le cordon	8				Prepositi Brixiensis
79	104	VIIa4v	La belle se siet au pié de la tour	9				Anon.
80	105	VIIb1r	Pour amour de la rosete	3			☺	Do Vala
81	106	VIIb1v	Angelus autem domini	C1				Chant

82	106	VIIb1 v	Et ecce terremotus	C1				Chant
	106	VIIb1 v	Erat autem aspectus	C1				Chant
83	106	VIIb1 v	Pre timore autem eius	C1				Chant
85	106	VIIb1 v	Respondens autem angelus	C1				Chant
86	106	VIIb1 v	Et respicientes viderunt	C1				Chant
87	107	VIIb2r	Assumpsit yhesus	C1				Chant
88	107	VIIb2r	Resplenduit facies eius	C1				Chant
89	107	VIIb2r	Et ecce apparuerunt	C1				Chant
90	107	VIIb2r	Respondens autem petrus	C1				Chant
91	107	VIIb2r	Adhuc eo loquente	C1				Chant
92	107	VIIb2r	Christus natus est nobis	C2				Chant
93	107- 109	VIIb2r -3r	Venite exultemus	C2				Chant
94	109	VIIb3r	Benedicamus domino	P				Anon./Grossin
95	109	VIIb3r	Et audientes discipuli	C3				Chant
96	110	VIIb3 v	Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner	1	⊕		☺	Du{fa}y
97	111	VIIb4 v	A vous me recummant toudis	1				Do Vala
98	110- 111	VIIb3 v-4r	Gardes vous bien de trop parler/Voluntier ye me garderoye	2a			:S:	Anon.
99	112	VIIb4 v	Vous soiés la tres bien venue	1			*	Anon./C. de Merques
100	112	VIIb4 v	Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amee	2a?		Yes	:S:	Anon./Grenon
101	113	VIIcr	Pour honorer ma gente damoysele	1			*	Anon.
102	113	VIIcr	Adyeu adyeu ma dous ameye	2b			☺	Do Vala
103	114	VIIcv	Benedicamus, cum triner vocis iubilo	1				Anon.
104	114	VIIcv	In natali domini	2a				Anon.

Chapter 5: Notational use in the manuscript

For the most part, the notation used in BU is orthodox full-black French notation with void notes indicating mensural imperfection. This is characteristic of the notation used in other North Italian sources of the period (e.g. Q15), as well as those from elsewhere in mainland Europe. However, there are a number of instances in which this standard French usage is not used consistently. These variations can be divided into three groups: use of void notation for reasons other than imperfection; a number of variations upon a note-form often referred to as a *dragma*; and, finally, French notation using semibreves with an oblique stem.

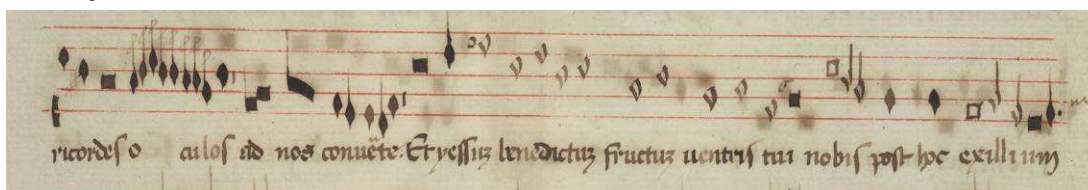
Void notation

Although there is widespread use of void note-heads in BU, the vast majority of these are to indicate rhythmic changes through coloration. The scribe does not use coloured ink for this purpose at any stage, as the scribe of Q15 does. Nevertheless there are a number of instances where void notation is used outside of this context.

Two of the scribes who added works to the manuscript in its later stages used void notation rather than full-black. The Binchois entries on pp. 28-29 and pp. 90-95 are copied in mensural void notation using full-black notation to indicate coloration, in the same style as that used by the scribe of Ox. The Easter and Transfiguration chant entries on pp. 106-7 are also copied in void notation and use mensural-type notation rather than conventional chant notation, although no coloration is used. Seeing these instances of void notation in items towards the end of copying is not unduly surprising. If we are to

assume that the scribe of Ox was translating full-black notation into void at the same time as, or shortly after, BU's copying, it could be indicative of the move towards this form of notation during the 1430s. However, as the principal scribe does not use void notation as his primary style in any of the works copied by him, this could just be coincidence or an example of old-fashioned practice. Within the main scribe's output, void notation is used primarily for coloration, as would be expected. However, it is also used for extended passages under duple proportion signs, such as the final movements of the Reson *Mass* (pp. 40-51) and Hugo de Lantins' *Christus Vincit* (pp. 60-61), or as *minor color* to indicate triplet *minima* or *semiminima*, as in Du Fay's *Credo ... Amen, dic Maria/la villanella*, the anonymous lauda *Con desiderio io vo cerchando*, or the anonymous *Sanctus* on p. 11.

Ex. 13: Reson's *Salve regina* p. 80, line 3. The sequential passage under the proportion sign is in void notation. Following this are two further examples of void notation as standard coloration.



Ex. 14: Reson *Salve regina*, corresponding passage from Q15.



Examples of *minor color* are common in other sources. In the case of the duple proportion, however, there is no obvious reason for the use of void notation, as the proportion sign itself could be used to indicate the required change. Two pieces in BU that contain examples of this practice also have concordances: Arnold de Lantins *O pulcherrima mulierum* on pp. 68-69 (Ox and Q15) and Reson's *Salve regina* on p. 80 (Q15). Both works are in C and both

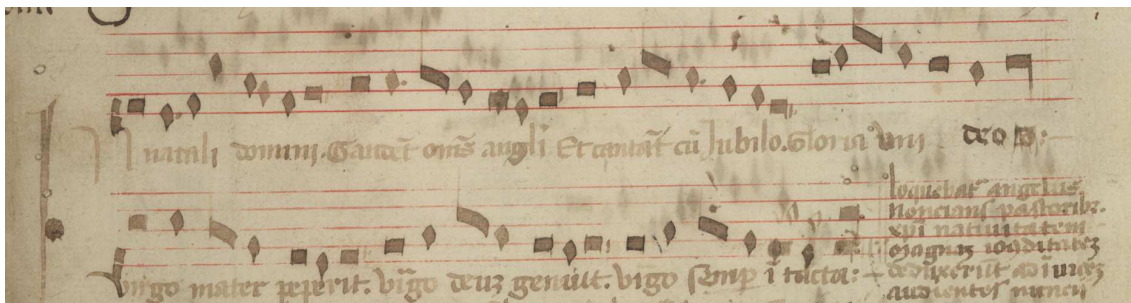
also make use of standard coloration. In *O pulcherima mulierum* the section notated in \supset is copied in void notation in Q15, just like BU, and in Ox the scribe uses full-black coloration within a void notation context, effectively mirroring BU and Q15. In all three manuscripts the use of coloration is not strictly necessary, but does aid the performer and indicate that within the diminution the semibreve remains imperfect. The passage in *Salve regina* shown above (Ex. 13) is copied with a reversed ♩ in Q15 (Ex. 14) and is also left in full-black notation. However, in this instance there would seem to be a different meaning and it should be noted that there are several significant copying differences between the two versions that suggest they come from different parts of the stemma. Therefore, it seems that this use of void notation is consistent within BU, but serves no notational purpose other than to alert the performer.

Another use for void notation in BU is for indicating *ossia* or *divisi* parts within a voice.¹⁶⁶ These insertions are not confidently written, but are consistent in style across the works in which they are found and there is no obvious evidence to suggest that these void notes were copied by anybody other than the main scribe. It is also likely, I would suggest, that they were added at the same time as the main body of the music, rather than being later additions. These passages occur on three occasions in BU: in Zacar's *Gloria* (p. 8); the anonymous *Ave preciosa gemma* (p. 41); and in the closing work of the volume, *In natali domini* (p. 114). In all three cases the void notation is presented in standard mensural manner, mirroring the full-black notation rather than indicating coloration, suggesting once again that it was primarily used as a

¹⁶⁶ This practice is discussed in detail in Margaret Bent, 'Divisi and a versi in early fifteenth-century mass movements', *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca, 2004), pp. 95-137.

visual aid to indicate to performers that these notes could be added to the existing voices.

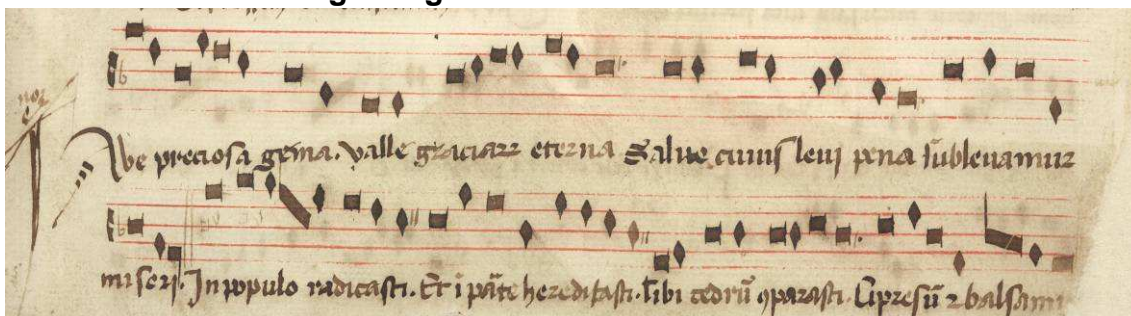
Ex. 15: In natali domini, p. 114 lines 7-8 (Cantus). Note the void divisi passage at the end of line 8.



The *Gloria* and *In natali domini* have concordances elsewhere, both having at least one more voice in other sources. This could indicate that the versions here are reductions of three-voice originals, made by the scribe to save space or through some personal preference. Certainly the void passage at the end of *In natali domini* (Ex. 15), and the only example in the work, is used to add the fifth to the final cadence, something which is done by the Contratenor in other concordant manuscripts.

However, it would be too simplistic to assume that inserting *divisi* passages to these pieces necessarily meant that the scribe was copying from an exemplar with more written parts. It would be straightforward for a musically literate scribe to add these three notes to *In natali domini* in order to break up the unison final chord. Indeed, the scribe may have decided to include these

Ex. 16: Ave preciosa gemma, p. 41 lines 9-10 (Tenor). Note the void divisi additions near the beginning of line 10.



void notes simply to create a more ornate conclusion to what was clearly intended to be the final piece in the manuscript. Similarly, the addition in *Ave preciosa gemma* (Ex. 16) could be viewed as a simple way of avoiding a unison opening to the work's second section. In both cases, it could also be the case that the scribe was merely following his exemplar faithfully.

The presence in the Cantus voice of Zacar's *Gloria* of three passages of void 'divisi', is more interesting, however (Ex. 17). Although two of the other surviving versions of this work contain a fourth voice not contained here, there is no similarity between the musically plausible counterpoint included here and the missing part. This would suggest that the scribe did not have any of these other versions available to him when these void notes were copied, although it still provides no firm evidence as to whether they were composed by the scribe himself or were found in his exemplar. The second entry, at the end of line three and the beginning of line four, accompanies a passage where the lower voices have simultaneous rests, but the other two sections do not appear to have any obvious need for the extra voice.

Of particular note here is that the direct at the end of line three of the Cantus marks an 'f', which is the note that the void part moves to, rather than that of the full-black note. There is no indication of any erasures or emendations here, so this strongly suggests that these void interpolations were added at the same time as the full-black notation alongside it. The conclusion of the Contratenor voice, which is also notated in void notation, clearly demonstrates evidence of considerable reworking and is a later addition to the piece.

Ex. 17: Zacar *Gloria*, p. 8. Note the void divisi passages in lines 2, 3-4, and 5. The void passage at the end appears to be a later addition.

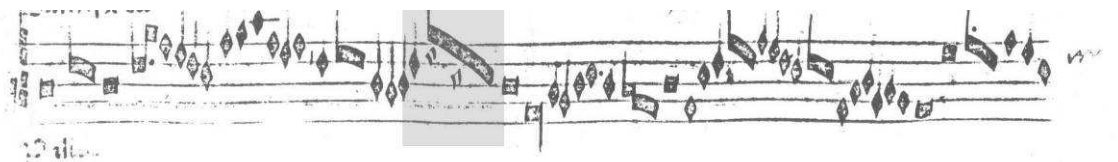
Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis. Laudamur te. Benedicimus te. Et gloriamur te. Glorificamus te. Gracias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine deus rex caelestis deus pater omnipotens. Domine fili unigenite iesu christe. Domine deus agnitus et filius patris. Et tollis peccata mundi misereere nobis. Et tollis peccata mundi sustine deprecationes nostras. Et sedes ad dexteram patris misereere nobis. Quia tu solus sanctus tu solus dominus. tu solus altissimus iesu christe. Cum sancto spiritu in gloria dei patris. Amen.

Laudamur te.

Laudamur te

There is also one further use of void notation in BU, found in the Tenor part of the setting of *Benedicta es caelorum regina* (p. 82), copied here anonymously, but attributed to De Anglia elsewhere. In the middle of the final stave is a two-semibreve ligature descending from 'd' to 'g', and placed underneath are two void semibreves on the notes 'b' and 'g' (Ex. 18).

Ex. 18: Benedicta es, caelorum regina, p. 82 line 6. Void divisi passage highlighted.



Ex. 19: Benedicta es, caelorum regina, p. 82. Parrellel transcription of alternative versions of the divisi passage.

 A musical score showing a parallel transcription of alternative versions of the divisi passage. It consists of four staves:

- [Cantus]**: The top staff, in treble clef, showing the vocal line.
- BU (black)**: The second staff, in bass clef, showing the original manuscript's notation.
- BU (void) & OxL**: The third staff, in bass clef, showing a revision of the BU notation using void notes.
- Q15 & Tr92**: The bottom staff, in bass clef, showing another alternative version of the notation.



 A grey rectangular highlight is placed over the same section in all four staves, corresponding to the highlighted section in Ex. 18.

Clearly here the use of the void notes is to correct what was perceived as being an error, as adding an extra voice here would serve no musical purpose and, in the context of the rest of the piece, would seem entirely incongruous. Of the three other surviving concordances, Q15 and Tr92 have a 'c' instead of the 'd' while OxL has a 'b' as in BU's revision (Ex. 19). All the surviving versions are possible musically, although the OxL solution appears the most satisfactory and was perhaps spotted by the scribe as he was copying. However, it should be

noted that where visible corrections are found elsewhere in BU, the scribe either crosses out the error and places the amended version after or below the perceived error, or scratches out the error and copies the new material over the old. The fact that he has decided not to do either of these options on this occasion could indicate that the scribe was confronted with two versions that he found it impossible to choose between.

Dragme

Three anonymous works in BU contain variants on the note-form commonly referred to as the *dragma* although even within these few works the note form is far from common: a two voice *Sanctus* on p. 11; a two-voice *Ave corpus vere natum* on pp. 61-60; and a three-voice *O anima Christi* on pp. 74-75. Within these works there are two different forms of the *dragma* and each has a different musical purpose.

 - pp. 11 and 74  - p. 61

In *O anima Christi* the double flagged *dragma* is simple to interpret and has the duration of a *fusa*. This is not a duration that is found anywhere else in BU and so could be regarded as being this scribe's standard notational symbol for indicating this note value. The single-flagged *dragma* in *Ave corpus vere natum* is similarly easy to interpret having the value of a triplet *semiminima*. This note-value is found on two other occasions in BU: the anonymous *Agnus dei* (p. 67), which is paired with the *Sanctus* containing double flagged *dragme*, where the scribe uses void *semiminima* to represent this value; and *Ave regina caelorum* (p. 69) which uses a curved Italian-style flag to indicate the rhythm. There are several instances of triplet *minima* being found in BU and in all of

Ex. 20: *Sanctus*, p. 11. Note the *dragme* at the beginning of line 2 and the triplet semiminima at the end of line 4.



these the void *minima* note-shape is used as *minor color*, so I would suggest that this was the scribe's usual mechanism for denoting triplet rhythms.

The interpretation of the double-flagged *dragme* in the *Sanctus* (Ex. 20) is more complicated, however. The first of these notes is clearly the opening

note of a perfection and the perfection ends with the *dragma* a' before the cadence on c". This means that there are eight notes in the perfection, at least seven of which presumably have the same value. Clearly something is wrong here, unless the intended result was to have a *dragma* with the value of 1.5 *semiminima*, which assumes that the *semiminima* in the middle of the group is followed by a dot of addition. The value that would result if the dot was of division is even more implausible (11/7 is not easy to calculate quickly or precisely)! In the edition by Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo in PMFC, vol. XIII, this passage is transcribed as triplets (Ex. 21), with each of the *dragma* being equal to one third of an imperfect semibreve in the normal mensuration.

Ex. 21: Extract of *Sanctus* transcription from PMFC

The image shows two systems of musical notation in mensural style. The first system consists of five measures. The top staff is in a treble clef with a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff is in a bass clef with a 6/8 time signature. The first measure of the top staff contains a dotted semibreve. The second measure contains a dotted semibreve. The third measure contains a dotted semibreve. The fourth measure contains a dotted semibreve. The fifth measure contains a dotted semibreve. The second system consists of five measures, starting with a measure number '6'. The top staff is in a treble clef with a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff is in a bass clef with a 6/8 time signature. The first measure of the top staff contains a dotted semibreve. The second measure contains a dotted semibreve. The third measure contains a dotted semibreve. The fourth measure contains a dotted semibreve. The fifth measure contains a dotted semibreve.

While this too is musically plausible, it means interpreting the conventionally notated dotted *semiminima* as having the value of two triplet *minima*. This does not, to me, seem to be an obvious or clear way to interpret the rhythm.

Furthermore, this interpretation means that the scribe or the composer has used

two different methods of notating the same rhythm within a single voice of a single work (see the void *minima* and semibreves at the end of line 4 in Ex. 20), as well as using a conventional symbol, the dotted *semiminima*, in an extremely unconventional manner. While this is possible, I think in the circumstances that this is highly unlikely. Finally, this transcription relies on the decision being made that the semibreve rest at the opening of the Tenor in this section is an error and should in fact have been a *breve*. While such an error is possible, I think in the circumstances that making a further editorial amendment in order to produce a workable Cantus part confirms that this interpretation is not correct.

Fischer and Gallo noted that the mensuration use is erratic in this piece, and in both the opening *Sanctus* section and the *Pleni sunt coeli* that follows the section copied here, 9/8 bars are required in quartered note-value transcription to enable the final cadences to fall at the beginning of a perfection. Therefore I suspect that the error made by the scribe here is in fact the omission of a stem to the note that now appears as a dotted *semiminima*. The dot, in turn, could be some sort of division marker to note that the rhythm here is in 4 against three

Ex. 22: Revised transcription of the Sanctus

The musical score for Ex. 22 is presented in two systems. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The time signature is 9/8. The notation includes various note values, rests, and a final cadence in the vocal line. The score is a revised transcription of the Sanctus section.

(Ex. 22). While this solution is still not wholly satisfactory from a counterpoint view, it is probably the best way of presenting this peculiar notational puzzle.

There is nothing to indicate that these three works containing *dragme* originate from the same composer and they would appear to have been copied into the manuscript at different times. However, the presence of the *dragma* still provides an intriguing link between them. This style of note-form had been a common device in music of the late fourteenth-century Italian notational style, and in particular the *Ars Subtilior* of Southern France and Northern Italy around the turn of the fifteenth century. In these works the rhythmic and polyphonic complexity sought by composers necessitated radical notational developments, many of which have survived in only a single, or at most a tiny handful, of works.

The *Sanctus* has already been argued as being of Italian origin in the discussion of it by Billy Jim Layton.¹⁶⁷ To this can probably be added *Ave corpus vere natum*, written in two voices, both of which are relatively florid and interact closely with each other. Coupled with the unusual notation, these features would seem to suggest an Italian origin for the work. I would also suggest that this piece was originally notated in Italian notation, which could more clearly present this piece to the performer than the version copied here. No such Italian claim would be necessary or obvious for the *O anima Christi* setting, however.

So how did this notation come to be included in the manuscript? Was the scribe an Italian who used these notational features? That he was Italian must be considered likely due to the manuscript's obvious Italian connections. Its

¹⁶⁷ Billy Jim Layton, 'Italian music for the Ordinary of the Mass 1300-1450' (Ph.D. Diss. Harvard University, 1960), pp. 381-382.

contents clearly place it in Northern Italy during the early fifteenth century and it has stayed there until the present day. Although the bulk of the identifiable music would seem to be by more Northern-born composers, the majority were active in Italy at the time and the presence of at least one Italianate name, that of Do Vala, not found elsewhere, further adds to the circumstantial evidence. However, that is not to say that the scribe, in these works at least, was deliberately adding Italian note-forms to pieces. The *dragme* use in the *Sanctus* is clearly problematic and may well have been so even for the scribe. The triplet usage in *Ave corpus vere natum* has a different form in several other works elsewhere in BU, suggesting that it was not a scribal foible, and the short duration note found in *O anima Christi* is not found anywhere else in the manuscript and so can't be compared. Therefore while it is possible that the scribe chose to use *dragme* there is no evidence to support this.

In the commentary to his facsimile of BU,¹⁶⁸ Alberto Gallo does find a link between these works saying that the *dragme* use in BU is an example of the notational system found in an anonymous treatise now held in Venice.¹⁶⁹ Although no name is attributed to the treatise itself, the musical examples found within it are attributed to Antonius de Leno, an otherwise unknown composer.

In terms of the provenance of Leno's work, it now forms the second of two treatises bound together as Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. 336, and it is clear that the two texts were copied at significantly different times. While there is some reliability in the dating of the first treatise to a time in the later fifteenth century,¹⁷⁰ no secure date can be applied to the composer Leno or the

¹⁶⁸ GalloBU ii, p. 15.

¹⁶⁹ Ms. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat.336 (1581), ff.50v-64r; edited by Albert Seay, *Antonio de Leno:Regulae de Contrapunto* (Colorado Springs CO, 1977).

¹⁷⁰ Although many prospective dates for this treatise exist, the currently accepted date points toward 1480 (also adopted by Seay *Ibid.*) and it is highly unlikely to have been copied before the mid-century.

treatise in which his works are found. Albert Seay¹⁷¹ and Don Harrán¹⁷² have both attributed dates to this treatise, each of which has points in its favour. Both note that Leno's notation relates to either late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century usage and Seay concludes that it dates from the earlier period on this basis. Harrán, however, stresses that this is not backed up by any other evidence and is keen to point out that the scribal indications would suggest that its copying should date from ca.1420, although its content may be earlier.¹⁷³

Alberto Gallo also refers to this treatise in his discussion of the provenance of BU and notes that the town of Leno is very close to Brescia, where he believed the manuscript itself originated. From this he suggests that the scribe of BU and the author of the treatise may have had a personal relationship.¹⁷⁴ This may seem unlikely given the more recent research suggesting an early date for the treatise and the simple fact that these note-forms are so rare, both in BU and elsewhere. But it has to be considered that the *dragma* examples found in both *Ave corpus vere natum* and *O anima Christi* match the note forms and use found in Leno's musical illustrations so closely that both music and theory must have originated from the same school of notational practice. These *dragma* forms do exist elsewhere, most commonly in the *Ars subtilior* sources such as the Chantilly Codex. They also appear in the works of some theorists. However, the use of this note form elsewhere does not mirror that of the Leno treatise and it would seem that BU is the only manuscript in which this presumably local practice has survived.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. vi.

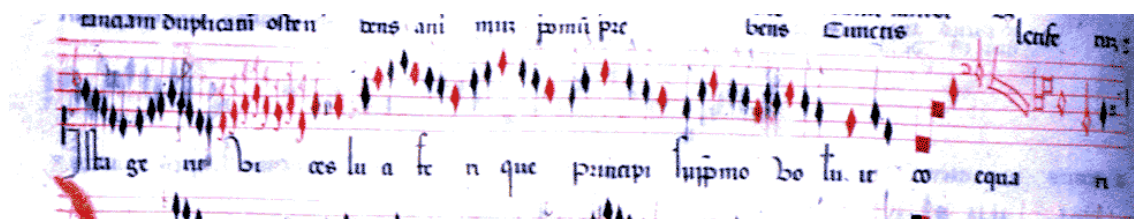
¹⁷² Don Harrán, 'In Pursuit of Origins: The Earliest Writing on Text Underlay (c.1440)', *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. 50 (1978), pp. 217-240.

¹⁷³ Harrán argues that the Leno treatise is closely linked, if not actually from the same original volume, to a passage on the performance of text underlay that is used as a flyleaf in the binding of the two treatises. This separate passage contains several further aspects that could point to a date of ca.1420.

¹⁷⁴ GalloBU ii, p. 15.

While the *dragma* use discussed above does reflect Leno's practice, the *dragme* found in the *Sanctus* do not. That is not to say that the note value, at least in my transcription rather than the version in PMFC, is not found in Leno's musical examples. Here this 8/3 relationship is represented by a void semiminim (\diamond), a note-shape that is used later in the *Sanctus* to indicate *minor color*. Clearly we are dealing here with a different practice. This is, perhaps,

Ex. 23: Line three of *Angolorum psallat*, Chantilly Codex.



further confirmed by the note-shape itself. Although superficially similar in shape to the *fusa* found in *O anima Christi* the flag on the bottom stem does not return to the stem in the *Sanctus*. Presumably this was deliberate and this distinct appearance had a specific meaning to the composer, scribe and, hopefully, performer.

There is an example of this note-shape, or at least a shape very similar to it, in the Chantilly Codex, in the infamous ballade by Rodericus, *Angolorum psalat* (Ex. 23). Unlike in BU the downward stems here are very short and curve into the open flag, although the basic premise is the same. However, in close similarity to BU, the note shape is presented in a rapid cadential sequence of 8 notes, almost identical to that in the *Sanctus*, although in Chantilly notated red in a generally full-black context. This passage has been transcribed by Nors Josephson¹⁷⁵ with these notes given a rather peculiar 8/5 value, although within the context of the piece this is not that odd. However, the presentation of this shape in a very similar musical context makes this comparison relevant, and

¹⁷⁵ Nors S Josephson, 'Rodericus: "Angolorum Psalat"', *Musica Disciplina* Vol. 25, pp. 113-126.

although it may be coincidental it is possible that some underlying connection between the two exists. At the very least, I have not been able to find any other similar usage of this note-shape while working on this thesis.

So what can this use of the *dragma* note form tell us about these works, and indeed about BU itself? It is not out of keeping with notation around the turn of the century, and the similarity with characters in the Chantilly Codex suggests that they belong in the same arena. Yet none of the three works in BU displays the complexity often associated with such works. Indeed, the symbols are barely used at all, occurring in only one instance in both the *Sanctus* and *O anime Christi*, and only in one voice of *Ave corpus vere natum*. Nevertheless, I think that we can draw from the presence of these symbols that the works in which they appear were almost certainly by Italian composers and that BU's scribe was comfortable enough with their use and interpretation that he did not feel the need to amend them in the manuscript.

Semibreves with oblique stems

While posing none of the problems with transcription that the *dragma* does, the presence of a number of works containing semibreves with oblique stems is nonetheless intriguing. This symbol, a semibreve with a downward sloping stroke to the left (♫), is clearly derived from similar Italian antecedents to the *dragma* and the triplet *semiminima* of the *Ave regina caelorum*. Not surprisingly, it means the same in BU as it does in standard Italian notation, despite a slightly amended presentation: to indicate that the semibreve has a fixed value of three minims, resulting in the same effect as the dot of addition in French notation. BU does not, however, contain any works that have been copied in Italian notation (nor are any of the works found in it copied elsewhere in Italian notation) and these oblique-stemmed note forms are always presented

within the context of orthodox full-black mensural notation. Because of this use within a mensural context, this note-form can only be used in passages with minor prolation (the unaltered semibreve in perfect prolation already having the value of three minims). As a scribal peculiarity, perhaps these symbols could be excused, but the lack of consistency in their use, not only in the manuscript as a whole, but also within pieces, makes a discussion here necessary.

Excluding works using cut mensurations (of which there are 9),¹⁷⁶ there are 45 pieces (from 86 polyphonic entries) that contain minor prolation, and could, therefore, also contain oblique stems. Only ten of these do contain such semibreves, and just three use it consistently (see Table 5).

Table 5: Use of semibreves with oblique stems in BU

Pp.	Incipit	Composer	Use of oblique stems
2-3	Kyrie	Arnold de Lantins	Consistent use of oblique stems in Cantus. Both oblique stems and <i>punctus additionis</i> (p.a.) used in Tenor. Only p.a. used in Contratenor.
4-5	Et in terra	(Arnold de Lantins)	Consistent use of oblique stems in Cantus. Only p.a. used in Contratenor. Tenor uses neither.
7	Kyrie, cunctipotens genitor	Anon.	Both oblique stems and p.a. used in Cantus. P.a. used in Contratenor. Tenor uses neither.
8	Et in terra	Zacar da Teramo	Consistent use of oblique stems in both Cantus and Contratenor. Tenor uses neither.
9	Kyrie	Du Fay	One use of an oblique stem and one of p.a. in Cantus. One oblique stem (no p.a.) in Contratenor. Neither used in Tenor.
16-17	Et in terra	Nicolaus de Capoa	Oblique stems used consistently in upper voices (Tenor uses neither)
34-37	Patrem	Arnold de Lantins	Oblique stems used in Cantus and Tenor. P.a. in Contratenor
69	Ave regina		One use of an oblique stem in

¹⁷⁶ There are conflicting ideas about the correct interpretation of cut mensuration signs (a good summary of them is presented in Julie Cumming, *The motet in the age of Du Fay* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 99-105), but their superficial presentation in imperfect prolation could, in theory, allow for the use of oblique-stemmed semibreves. As none of the cut mensuration works here contain such semibreves, they have been omitted from this discussion.

	<i>caelorum</i>		Contratenor. P.a. in Cantus.
78-79	Ave mater o maria	Anon.	One oblique stem in Cantus two. The other voices use neither.
97	Fugir non posso dal tuo dolze uolto	Anon.	Consistent use of oblique stems in both voices.
112	Se ye vous	Grenon?	One use of an oblique stem in Tenor. P.a. used in Cantus.

It is this lack of consistency that immediately attracts attention, raising important questions about the meaning of the symbol and its importance to the scribe. Why, for example, did a scribe decide to include two examples of each form of addition in the space of just six breves in the *Kyrie* on p. 7? There is no apparent interpretative value for the performer of using both symbols, yet the scribe should have realised the potential confusion of including the two different symbols so close together. Furthermore, it must be considered unlikely that a composer would have used both symbols within the same work.

Even more peculiar perhaps, given the obvious Italian origin of the symbol, is that it is the oblique stem that appears to have been the later addition to the works: both of the concordant manuscripts for *Fugir non posso*¹⁷⁷ contain significant quantities of works in standard Italian notation, yet in both of them this work is presented in unadulterated French notation. This would seem to suggest that it was composed in French notation, despite clearly displaying all the signs of being by an Italian composer.

This conundrum is entirely different from that posed by the *dragma* note forms discussed above. While the works containing *dragma* are both unique to BU and anonymous, so can only be considered on their individual merits, just two of the works containing oblique stems are not found in other sources, meaning that this apparent Italian influence must be considered alongside the

¹⁷⁷ MS. Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 184, ff.18a verso -19a recto, and MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acquis., fr. 4379, f.63 recto.

other surviving copies. For example, six of the ten works containing semibreves with oblique stems are found, amongst other places, in Q15, a manuscript that contains no Italian notated works at all. However, it would also seem that Q15's scribe may not have been against renotating works, particularly in the case of works in pseudo-augmentation¹⁷⁸ or possibly in transcribing works from trecento exemplars.¹⁷⁹ Although it is necessarily speculative, as with the suggestion that Ox's scribe could have been transcribing directly from full-black notated exemplars to void,¹⁸⁰ it should be noted that neither of these scribes appears to have experienced any obvious difficulty in this translation process, even when editorial initiative was exercised widely.¹⁸¹ If the scribe of BU was translating from one form of notation to the other, we would have to assume that he had problems in copying his material that the other scribes did not. Or that he simply had no desire to change.

It could be that the presence of oblique semibreves is merely a function of peculiar notation in exemplars. If this is the case, it provides good supporting evidence for Charles Hamm's idea of fascicle manuscript construction for BU.¹⁸² Hamm cites the three movements of the Arnold de Lantins mass as being an example of a possible small fascicle, containing just these three items, that were copied in different locations in BU in an order that conformed to the scribe's overall plan for the source. From looking at the use of oblique stems in these three movements, it is clear that while the use of these note-forms is inconsistent between voices it is almost identical across movements. This is a

¹⁷⁸ Bobby Wayne Cox, "'Pseudo-Augmentation' in the Manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 15 (BL)", *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 1 (1982), pp. 419-448.

¹⁷⁹ Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia* (PMFC 24, 1985).

¹⁸⁰ Fallows, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Misc. 213*, p. 6.

¹⁸¹ The scale to which this takes place is discussed in Margaret Bent, 'A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative', *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 41 (1987).

¹⁸² HammR, p. 15.

strong suggestion that the three movements have been copied from the same exemplar and, in turn, that this conflicting use of oblique stems within movements is down to a similarly inconsistent exemplar rather than copying problems on the part of the scribe. For the same reasons, the conflicting use of both symbols in the *Kyrie*, and the absence of oblique stems completely from the *Credo*, of Du Fay's *Missa sine nomine*, suggests, alongside several other factors, that they were not copied from the same exemplar as each other.

It is possible that in fact we have a combination of factors affecting the scribe's use of oblique stems as he copied into BU. In some cases he was copying from exemplars that contained this symbol, and in these instances he copied as he saw regardless of inconsistency. However, in other instances he tried to homogenise the usage, at least within a voice. Perhaps some of the items came to the scribe in a familiar, but old-fashioned, format that he tried and failed to modernise completely. Without further sources coming to light reflecting this notational tradition, it is not possible to say exactly how these note-forms made it into the manuscript. However, what can be said is that the available evidence points away from the scribe adding these note-forms himself. There was clearly at least one more notational practice in existence in Northern Italy at the time that has survived, or perhaps partly survived, only in BU.

There is a further aspect when considering the oblique-stemmed note-forms that I have so far neglected to discuss. They are heavily weighted towards the earlier copying stages of BU. In fact, there is not a single example of an oblique stem to be found on watermark-B paper and all the works containing oblique stems are in the first or second copying layers, with them becoming increasingly infrequent as this layer develops (See Table 5 above).

Every piece in the first ten pages that contains minor prolotion, and so could possibly use oblique stems, uses these Italianate forms.

The tendency towards seeing these signs in the early stages of the manuscript is not surprising. This is clearly an outdated way of notating music, or at least one with limited geographic range, by the time the scribe came to compile BU and we can assume that this practice became increasingly absent from potential exemplars as time progressed. For the practice of using oblique stems to have been so consistent in the early stages, and absent entirely from the latter, this could indicate that there was a significant period of time, perhaps even a few years, between the copying of the first two layers and those that completed the manuscript.

Chapter 6: The provenance of BU

The date of BU's compilation

The current view of BU places its copying in the years approaching and immediately after 1438-40, a date deriving from Alberto Gallo's commentary on the facsimile of BU in 1970,¹⁸³ this in turn being based in no small part on his earlier dating of the song *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*. As I discussed at the beginning of this thesis, Gallo regarded the text of this piece as referring to the conclusion of the siege of Brescia in 1440 where the Venetians defeated the Milanese and rescued the city. He also found further evidence for this date in a watermark that he believed was used in Brescia during the years 1434-1445.

However, beyond these two pieces of evidence, both of which I hope that I have now discounted as reliable arguments, there is little information to lead to a concrete date for the source. Few of the works found in the manuscript are datable with any confidence, but those that are may allow us to place some more detailed limits on the date of BU's creation. As it stands in the general literature,¹⁸⁴ BU is a manuscript written a few years later than the larger repository manuscripts of Q15 and OX, and as a result the variant readings and apparently incomplete copies (Masses missing movements and works missing voices) found within have been attributed to stemmatic drift,¹⁸⁵ or scribal idiosyncrasy.¹⁸⁶ Yet for some scholars writing before Gallo's facsimile, BU's

¹⁸³ GalloBU ii.

¹⁸⁴ CenCat, MGG, and RISM all carry Gallo's date.

¹⁸⁵ Gilbert Reaney, 'Musical and Textual Relationships Among Early 15th Century Manuscripts', in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Luther Dittmer (Henryville, PA, 1984), pp. 495-504.

¹⁸⁶ Although this idea is found in a number of places (and will be discussed in detail below) a good summary of the reasons for this theory can be found in Shay Burstyn, 'Power's "Anima mea" and Binchois' "De plus en plus": A Study in Musical Relationships', *Musica Disciplina* Vol. 30 (1976), pp. 67-69.

position as an earlier source was without question.¹⁸⁷ Work by Margaret Bent¹⁸⁸ and David Fallows¹⁸⁹ over the intervening years has provided far firmer dates for the copying of both Q15 and Ox and these can now be placed in the general periods 1420-1435 (Q15) and 1428-36 (Ox).¹⁹⁰

The wide copying dates for these two sources relate in part to their size. Both contain a large number of gatherings with different potential dates attributable to each, although both, like BU, are principally the work of single scribes. At the simplest level, these large bodies of music must, therefore, have taken quite some time to produce. But even with these well-researched manuscripts, the date ranges must remain flexible. Johannes de Quadris's *Magnificat*, found on 13v-14r of Ox, has the date 'May 1436' applied to it in the manuscript which has understandably led to this being generally treated as the *terminus post quem non* for the final stages of copying and Fallows suggests that this was probably the last piece to be copied. However, it is not clear whether this is supposed to be a composition date or a copying date and if it was the former there is no information to indicate how long after this date the item was actually copied. Either way, David Fallows notes:

What can be said is that there is no piece that offers any evidence for being composed later than 1436 and that the last few pieces appear to have been copied as they arrived. May 1436 looks a plausible date for completion of the manuscript, though the evidence is hardly strong.¹⁹¹

Similarly, although three distinct stages of compilation have been identified by Margaret Bent in Q15, their exact dates cannot be pinpointed with absolute

¹⁸⁷ HammR, p. 11.

¹⁸⁸ BentQ15, p. 96.

¹⁸⁹ FallowsOx, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁰ Christian Berger, in his review of the facsimile of Ox (*Die Musikforschung*, Vol. 51 (1998), pp. 251-252), suggests that the copying of Ox may have begun considerably earlier than this start date, although there is no evidence to verify this.

¹⁹¹ FallowsOx, pp. 19-20.

certainty. In both manuscripts the material found within them must cover a date range of composition in excess of 30 years, perhaps 50 in the case of Ox, while the copying period must logically be far shorter.

BU is similarly difficult to date, although the problem here is somewhat different. As far as the scribal copying stages are concerned there is no obvious reason to assume that copying was over an extended period and given the relatively small content of the manuscript the total copying period does not need to have been very long. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to assume that the principal scribe's work on BU lasted less than a year, although there could plausibly be a gap in copying between layers 2 and 3. The lack of firm watermark evidence prevents us using this avenue to identify a date for the source and so we are forced to rely on the works that can be dated, and the biographies of the composers, to provide an approximation.

If we remove *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* from the dating evidence, we find that the datable works within the source span a wide period of time that is roughly the same as the works found in Q15 and Ox. The earliest work to be composed is likely to be Ciconia's motet *O virum omnimoda/O lux et decus/O beate Nicholae* (pp. 72-73) possibly written in 1393,¹⁹² but necessarily written before Ciconia's death in 1412. Alongside the anonymously copied Italian songs that have been attributed to Ciconia, two other works clearly fall into this early grouping on the basis of the death date of their composer, these being a *Gloria* (p. 8) and the low-voiced song *Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti* (pp. 98-99) both by Zacar (d. before 1416) but copied anonymously into BU. Although these are *de facto* earliest dates, it is not reasonable to conclude that this was when

¹⁹² G. Di Bacco and J. Nádas: 'Verso uno "stile internazionale" della musica nelle capelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège', in A. Roth (ed.), *Collectanea I* (Vatican City, 1994), pp. 7–74.

copying started. Both of these works are transmitted in other manuscripts compiled long after the death of the composers and are surrounded by works that cannot realistically have been composed much before 1420 and probably later. So we can assume that these are pieces that have remained in the canon long enough to have been selected for copying by BU's compiler.

After these earlier datable works (to which can probably be added some of the remaining Italian songs and the Mass works identified by Billy Jim Layton) there is a large gap in which there is a lack of dating evidence. The laudatory motet *Ducalis Sedes/Stirps Veneti* (pp.76-77), anonymous in BU but attributed to Antonius Romanus in Q15, its only surviving concordance, is one work that has been used to provide a general date for the manuscript. This work, clearly written in praise of the political head of the republic (*Stirps, Veneti tibi tenemur debiti, quod noster dux est genitus de te, princeps magnificus*), would seem to have been written originally in praise of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo who ruled Venice between 1414 and 1423, whose names are found in the top two voices in Q15. In the version copied here, however, alongside several musical differences, the name of the Doge has been omitted, replaced in most instances by a large 'N', presumably to indicate that the performer should insert the name of the current doge ('N' for 'Nomen').

Alberto Gallo has argued that this is an indication that the piece was copied into BU at some time after the Doge's death with 1423 becoming a *terminus post quem* for this work's copying.¹⁹³ However, other arguments have been suggested that negate this apparent dating evidence. Denis Stevens suggests that the untexted fourth voice found only in Q15 was actually an addition by Anthonius Romanus to the three parts copied in BU,¹⁹⁴ thereby

¹⁹³ GalloV, p. 108.

¹⁹⁴ Denis Stevens, 'Ceremonial Music in Medieval Venice', *Musical Times*, Vol.119 (1978), p. 323.

suggesting that the anonymous BU version, without a named dedicatee, is earlier than that in Q15.

The many musical differences, particularly the fact that the two upper voices in Q15 are in augmentation with the Tenor and Contratenor, would seem to suggest that the version in BU is earlier. In his 1982 article on Pseudo-augmentation, Bobby Wayne Cox states that despite the presumed later copying date of BU, 'The notation of this motet as it appears in Q15 must be assumed to have been changed from its initial version', noting that the BU edition is notated 'entirely in the older *tempus imperfectum cum prolatio perfecta*'.¹⁹⁵ He goes on to say that if BU were the altered version of Q15's original, then 'around 1433 [Bessler's proposed start date for the copying of BU] or even later the scribe of the Brescia manuscript [BU] took a four-voice motet notated in pseudo-augmentation, omitted the Contratenor, deliberately changed the Cantus voices from Φ to \ominus and added flags to all the semiminims.'¹⁹⁶

This argument would certainly seem to confirm that the BU version is older, and echoes the points made elsewhere in this thesis in relation to the mensural aspects of BU and the location of those works in Φ or \ominus in the later stages of copying. However, it fails to help with our use of this work as a dating tool. Although it is possible that the doge's name was removed by BU's scribe due to his death, the implication that this work could be recycled could just as easily mean that it was composed with no dedication at all. Indeed, from its compositional style there is no obvious reason for it to have been composed

¹⁹⁵ Bobby Wayne Cox, "'Pseudo-Augmentation" in the Manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 15 (BL)', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 1 (1982), p. 433.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

even during Mocenigo's dogeship, with it potentially dating back to before he was elected.¹⁹⁷

Denis Stevens makes the suggestion, albeit without further development, that the fourth voice found in Q15 was in fact added by Antonius Romanus to the pre-existing three voice work. If this is the case, it could also be possible that he was responsible for the augmentation of the upper voices and, potentially, for fixing it with the name of Mocenigo. It should be noted that another work attributed to Romanus in Q15, *Carminibus festos/O requies populi*, a similar four-voice motet celebrating Mocenigo's successor Francesco Foscari, is also notated with augmented upper voices. While this is a characteristic feature of Q15 (Cox notes 14 such works including the two by Romanus)¹⁹⁸ it remains possible that this was a stylistic feature that the composer introduced to one or both of these works.

Nevertheless, in terms of providing a firm earliest date for the copying of BU, there is one work in the volume, Hugo de Lantins' *Christus vincit*, which is explicitly written in praise of Francesco Foscari, confirming that the section of the manuscript in which it is found cannot have been copied before Foscari's succession in 1423. However, as I have explained, this section would seem to

¹⁹⁷ Although not directly relevant to this thesis it should be noted that there is other evidence for recycling of motets of this type. Feragut's *Excelsa civitas Vicenza*, found in Q15 and Ox, was originally copied in Q15 in praise of Francesco Malipiero who was appointed as Bishop of Vicenza in 1433, and the same dedication is found in Ox. However, at some point after copying, this was changed to that of his predecessor, Pietro Emiliani, before again being changed back to that of Malipiero (Margaret Bent, 'A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth Century Style; Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative', *Musica Disciplina* Vol. 41 (1987), pp. 183-201). For many years this was assumed to have been a piece that was recycled from Emiliani's inauguration (1409) although this raised difficult questions about both Feragut's career and the chronology of stylistic developments in the first part of the fifteenth-century. While unaware of the original dedication, Cox put forward a solution to this problem with *Excelsa civitas Vicenza* being renoted in augmented values in line with some of the other works in Q15. If this was the case, it could, along with *Ducalis sedes/Stirps veneti*, indicate that there was a greater trend towards the recycling of pieces for different dedicatees. It should also be noted that while each piece could plausibly have been composed for the inauguration of the dedicatee (be it bishop or doge), there is no obvious reason why either work could not have been written for the many other celebrations over which they presided.

¹⁹⁸ *Op.cit.*p. 421.

postdate most of the earlier parts of the manuscript and, given Foscari's lengthy rule (1423-1457), this does little to assist in identifying a start date for copying.

At the other end of the scale, however, we can be more definitive. Two key works have dates attributed to them that carry a degree of authenticity. Beltrame Feragut's *Francorum nobilitati* has been plausibly dated by Lewis Lockwood to 1431, on the basis of the inference in the text of a French leaning Italian aristocracy and the granting by Charles VII, in this year, of the right to include the fleur-de-lis in the arms of Niccolo d'Este, the Ferrarese Marquis that Feragut is known to have visited.¹⁹⁹

Even firmer in date is Du Fay's *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, which through its unequivocal text references can be dated to the reconciliation between Pope Eugenius IV and King Sigismund which led to the coronation of the latter as Holy Roman Emperor on 31st May 1433.²⁰⁰ It is of note that the scribe of BU (or his exemplar) added the terms 'Pro pace' and 'Pro duobus magnus luminaribus mundi' flanking the ascription, added details that are not found in the surviving concordances. The first key point that this raises is the suggestion that the two people named in the text, Pope Eugenius IV and King Sigismund, were both alive at the time of copying. It has already been seen that the scribe appears to have omitted the name of a deceased doge in *Ducalis seded/Stirps veneti* and so it would seem odd to add this dedication if either party had died between composition and copying. This probably indicates that the copying into the manuscript cannot be later than Sigismund's death in 1437. Furthermore, the statement 'pro pace' clearly indicates hope and expectation for a peaceful future, something that seemed a distant possibility only a short time after the coronation of Sigismund as Holy Roman Emperor. He retired to

¹⁹⁹ Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 36-37.

²⁰⁰ David Fallows, *Dufay* (London, 1982), pp. 34-5.

Bohemia while Eugenius' papacy remained mired in conflict both within Italy and in the East. André Pirro noted in 1940 that Sigismund is here *Rex* rather than *Imperator* indicating that the composition of this piece must predate his coronation, if only by a short time,²⁰¹ and I would suggest that its copying into BU must have been very close in time to its composition to account for these extra details. These two are the only works that have been attributed firm dates besides *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* and are copied next to each other among the last stages of copying by BU's main scribe.

It is of note that there are no works, if we discount *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*, that would seem to have been composed after *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*. Although some of the works could plausibly have been written during the 1430s and potentially even the 1440s, they could just as easily have been composed in the 1420s as, on stylistic grounds, the majority of the works would seem to have been. Therefore there is no compelling reason for assuming a date for completion of the main scribe's work on BU any later than 1433, the composition date for the work which was among the last to be inserted. Although this is by no means conclusive, I believe given the available evidence that it is the most likely date, placing BU's copying very much at the same time as the completion of Stage II and the beginning of Stage III in Q15.²⁰²

The location of copying

As with so many historical documents, establishing the provenance of BU is essential for understanding its context while also being impossible to

²⁰¹ André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris, 1940).

²⁰² BentQ15, pp. 19-22. Bent uses Feragut's *Excelsa civitas Vicenza* (end of Stage II, originally using Francesco Malipiero's name and therefore not dating before his inauguration as Bishop of Vicenza in 1433) and *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* (copied at the beginning of Stage III) to date these stages.

pinpoint with certainty. The evidence that has previously been used to define the work of the main scribe being completed sometime after 1440 has, I hope, been shown to be flawed. However, as there is no clear evidence from watermarks or other sources it can only be said that the balance of probabilities points towards BU being completed in the early 1430s and begun at some indeterminate time in the 1420s. If this is indeed true, there are important implications for the way in which BU's contents are considered and I will go on to discuss some of these aspects in the second part of this thesis.

However, so far I have not discussed in any detail the arguments about where the manuscript originated. The long-standing view in the academic literature is that BU was compiled in Brescia and that many of the contents within were composed by Brescian composers, or those with close associations.

The reasons for arriving at this conclusion are numerous, but equally can be subject to criticism. We know that the manuscript entered modernity with the tag of being Brescian, as that is how Padre Martini recorded it. Although the reasons behind this assertion are not known, it is reasonable to assume that this information on the manuscript's origin was derived from Giovanni Crisostomo Trombelli himself and that the manuscript was acquired from there.

However, it does not follow that the presence of a manuscript in a city is indicative of its place of compilation or copying. Some manuscripts, such as Ox and Q15, have found their current homes as a result of eighteenth-century collectors (Matteo Luigi Canonici and Padre Martini respectively). Their origins, however, have remained more obscure, at least until recently. Other manuscripts, such as the St. Emmeram Codex and some of the Trent Codices, now have a documentary history that can take us as far back as the scribe.

However, as the shortage of biographical detail in Hermann Pötzlinger's life reveals²⁰³ this can still leave uncertainty over the locations and circumstances that brought about a manuscript's creation. In BU's case, we have no documentary confirmation of where the manuscript originated, beyond Martini's statement, so this suggestion too must be taken with a significant degree of caution.

To Heinrich Bessler, there were further indications of the Brescian origin, and he introduced *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* as evidence of this. Alberto Gallo also saw this song as evidence of a Brescian origin and augmented this with his watermark evidence. His conclusion was that the first section was begun somewhere in the Veneto, possibly Brescia, with the pieces on watermark-B paper being demonstrably copied in Brescia. However, now that the watermark evidence has been shown to be inconclusive, only the Brescian song points to this being its town of origin.

This is, of course, too flimsy a piece of evidence on which to build a firm argument. Heinrich Bessler pointed out that the presence of only one work by the enigmatically titled Prepositus Brixienis seemed peculiar in a manuscript from his own city. Putting to one side the argument put forward by Margaret Bent that a composer would be unlikely to be called such in his own city,²⁰⁴ there are only five surviving works attributed to him: Four Italian ballate are attributed to him in Ox and the French song in BU, *De gardés vous de le cordon*. As Margaret Bent points out "no-one would suggest that his much more substantial presence in Ox than BU might contribute to the possibility of

²⁰³ Ian Rumbold and Peter Wright, *Der Mensuralkodex St. Emmeram*, vol. ii (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 72-74, and *Hermann Pötzlinger's Music Book: The St Emmeram Codex and its Contexts* (Woodbridge, 2009).

²⁰⁴ Margaret Bent, 'Marchion di Civilibus, Prepositus Brixienis', in *Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, ed. Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Rome, 1996), pp. 121-123.

Brescian provenance for that manuscript”,²⁰⁵ and given the fact that the attribution in BU is so clearly added later, probably by a different hand, there has to be a question mark over whether there are any works by the composer to be found in BU at all.

Again we are left with only *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* for our link to Brescia. Gallo’s suggestion that the first part of the manuscript was compiled in the Veneto is likely to be as precise as we can get in terms of a place of origin, and almost certainly applies to the whole of BU. Of those works that can be attributed to a location, *Christus vincit* and *Ducalis sedes/ Stirps ... Veneti* clearly have links with Venice, *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso* with Brescia and Venice, *Francorum nobilitati* with Ferrara and *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* with Rome (although this last work was widely distributed). There is no more reason to suppose that BU is Brescian than that it is Ferrarese.

The only remaining piece of evidence is that of Antonius da Leno, who undoubtedly originated from the area of Brescia and who wrote in an unusual notational style that has survived to this day in only two works copied anonymously into this manuscript. This does not indicate that the works were composed in Brescia, or that Antonius lived and worked in the area. And, as with *Francorum nobilitati*, and *Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso*, they are only two small works in a much larger manuscript. While the other peculiar notational devices found in BU are similar to that of the Leno treatise, the fact that they are different renders their presence here as little more than coincidental.

However, this does seem to suggest that the manuscript was prepared by an Italian: the use of such noteshapes outside the Italian repertory being confined to the music of the *Ars subtilior*, which in itself had strong Italian links.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

That the celebratory works found in BU are exclusively North Italian, coupled with the presumed Italian scribe, suggests that this was the general location of copying. However, the list of composers cited by BU's scribe, though brief, is truly international, as with its larger contemporaries.

The presence of Du Fay and Arnold de Lantins as the pre-eminent composers is hardly surprising. Their works were clearly popular and widely transmitted even though they may not have been working in the immediate vicinity of the manuscript's compilation (and in the case of Arnold, may have been recently deceased). But some of the other composers probably were from the area in which BU was created. Nicolaus de Capoa may well have been in Udine; Feragut and Hugo de Lantins were associated with Ferrara and Vicenza respectively along with both having close associations with the Malatesta family; Antonius de Cividate may well have been born North of Venice and worked there in the early 1420's (although the presence of the place name Cividate/Civiale/Civitate in various locations in Northern Italy means that this is not certain), and he is likely to have been in Padua at the same time as Prepositus Brixiensis. Therefore there is a sizeable group of composers who have a strong link to Northern Italy and in particular the Veneto.

Leonel Power, Dunstable and Binchois, a further group of composers present in BU, are biographically well known enough for us to say that they did not reach Italy in this period, although they or their music could well have mixed with Italian musicians at any one of the papal councils or international marriages of the early fifteenth century.

A further group of composers are, to a greater or lesser extent, biographically anonymous. Johannes Reson was clearly an important composer to BU's scribe, and his presence in Ox and Q15 has led to the assumption that

he worked in northern Italy, but this cannot be substantiated. Etienne Grossin is known to have worked in Paris around 1420, but nothing is known of his movements thereafter.

Only three other composers are named in BU. Ciconia was clearly dead long before BU was started and so his presence here cannot be used to indicate a place of origin. The exotically named Afat is found only in BU and his name gives no indication of his origin. In a similar situation is the composer indicated as Do Vala/Do Uala who is biographically anonymous, but whose name is attached to five works in the manuscript, being mentioned more times than any composer other than Du Fay. The composer must have been well known to the main scribe, who cites him on three occasions. But a subsequent scribe also saw fit to add his name to two further compositions, something that only otherwise happens for the adding of the title Prepositus Brixienis to *De gardés vous de le cordon*. Although these later additions necessarily call into question the validity of the attributions, they do not detract from the fact that the composer must have been relatively well known, at least to the owners of the manuscript.

It is suggested in David Fallows' Catalogue of polyphonic songs,²⁰⁶ that the shortening of 'do' could relate to Do[minus]. But Fallows also suggests a tentative link to the composer Dominicus de Ferrara who appears as the composer of a single song in Ox (and who in turn could be the same dancing master known as both 'de Ferrara' and 'de Piacenza'). The abbreviation to Do[minus] without the proposed connection is contained in the GroveOnline article.²⁰⁷ Without some form of documentary evidence these suggestions are

²⁰⁶ David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford, 1999), p. 722.

²⁰⁷ David Fallows. 'Vala, Do.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28898> (last accessed 16 March 2011).

necessarily speculative. However, the name 'Vala', or at least its spelling variant 'Valla' was prominent in Piacenza at the time that BU was being compiled, in particular through the family of the great humanist Lorenzo Valla. By the end of the fifteenth century Giorgio Valla (sometimes Vala), also from Piacenza, had written and published a musical treatise in Venice. Further Valla names were to become composers during the 1500s. Perhaps a closer examination of the genealogy of these families could shed light on a Piacenzan link for Do Vala.

Another possibility, albeit more tenuous, is that the dot in the name is not actually an abbreviation at all. Although dots are used by the scribe to indicate initials and to surround complete names (e.g. •G• du fay•; •B• Feragut• although neither usage is consistent) the only time a dot is used as an abbreviation is in the name of Reson (•R•zon•). With that in mind, a search of Italian place names revealed that there is only one place which carries a name similar to Do Vala. Valle (Val) Camonica, in the very north of Italy, was part of Brescian and Veneto dominions during the fifteenth century. In the north of the valley lies the town of Corteno Gogli, which appears on maps at least as early as the 1500s as Corten. On the edge of the town is a valley and a river called, depending on dialect, Do Vala, Dovala, Doàla or Duàla. It is an extreme leap to say that the composer originated from this location and without significant extra research the suggestion is nothing more than a vague possibility. However, I present it here to show the other avenues for potential research into this otherwise unidentifiable composer and, in turn, for the possible origins of the manuscript.

Part II: The transmission of music into BU

Having shown that there is no obvious reason for BU to date from any later than the early part of the 1430s, it then becomes necessary to ask what this means for our understanding of the manuscript's contents. As I mentioned near the beginning of part one of this thesis, BU has long been considered to be a less important source than the other two great manuscripts of Veneto polyphony, Ox and Q15. This relative lack of importance stemmed partly from its smaller size, but also to a large extent from the dates ascribed to each of the sources, with BU coming in as the latest of the set of three manuscripts copied between ca. 1420 and 1440. This meant that the many variant versions of works found in BU have generally been regarded as being later than those in Ox and Q15 and, by extension, the versions copied here were considered less reliable than those found elsewhere. Therefore it is reasonable to examine the contents of BU in light of the new information relating to its date of copying. How, if at all, does this affect our understanding of the transmission of works in Northern Italy during the first half of the fifteenth century and what does BU tell us about the musical world in which it was conceived?

Certain key areas will be relevant to this discussion, all of which have been the subject of previous consideration in the academic literature, although there is considerable overlap between them. But to begin with we have to consider the role of the scribe in the construction of BU.

Chapter 7: The scribe as editor

The scribe of BU has long been considered to have been a musically literate editor of his text, taking existing versions of pieces of music and fitting them into his own model. Heinrich Bessler noted that 'in several instances it is apparent from neighbouring manuscripts that the compiler of BU left out the Contratenor'.²⁰⁸ For Janet Palumbo-Lavery this went even further still, with the composer not copying blind but working with his material in an idiosyncratic manner.²⁰⁹

The idea that a scribe contributes a significant proportion of their own work and ideas to the copying process is not new and Margaret Bent has used just such a concept as the basis for her discussions of Q15. However, that does not mean that the scribe is necessarily responsible for wholesale revisions of works. In general I will be discussing these differences in relation to specific works and their concordances below. However, certain aspects of the theory that the scribe was also an editor are more easily discussed separately. To begin with, I shall look at Bessler's view that Contratenor, or for that matter any other, parts have been deliberately omitted by the scribe.

Works with alternative voices in other sources

Zacar Gloria, p. 8

Three voices are present in BU, although there are three passages in the Cantus where void notes have been added to the main line as either *divisi* or *ossia* parts. Grot and Q15 both present the work in four voices; and while the three other sources are incomplete, at least two of them clearly also had the fourth voice not found in BU. The omission of this voice in BU leaves the opening as a solo for the Cantus line, something which does not occur elsewhere in the manuscript and is unusual. However, further into the work there are void-note *divisi* additions to the Cantus that occupy the places where one of the two lower parts has rests, maintaining a three-part texture throughout the remainder of the piece.²¹⁰ The first and third void sections have no relationship with the omitted voice, but the second is almost identical. It is possible that this is coincidental. The counterpoint is far from complex and it

²⁰⁸ BesslerBU, p. 52.

²⁰⁹ Janet Palumbo-Lavery, *Bologna, Codex BU* in ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil 2, (Stuttgart, 1995), p. 47.

²¹⁰ Margaret Bent, 'Divisi and a versi in early fifteenth-century mass movements', *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca, 2004), pp. 95-137.

would seem unlikely that the scribe (or his exemplar) copied one section from a four-voice source but decided to freely compose the other two. It should also be noted that the Cantus line for the final divisi section is entirely different from that found in the corresponding section of Q15.

Nicolaus da Capoa *Gloria*, pp. 16-17

Presented in 4 voices in BU and MuEm (attributed to Bosquet), although the contratenors differ and BU has a different and considerably longer 'Amen'. Q15 has only the two upper voices with the same 'Amen' as MuEm. PMFC23 suggests that the variants in BU were added to Bosquet's original by Nicolaus da Capoa. Assuming that changes were made by one of the named composers to an older work, this would seem the most likely way round on the scant biographical details we have available. However, given the paucity of evidence it is impossible to say who the composer was, or by whom and in which direction the amendments were made.

Feragut *Credo*, pp. 22-23

Only two voices are found in BU, with its only concordance, Q15, having a Contratenor. Unlike the other surviving *Credo* by Feragut, this work is in three voices throughout in Q15, with no duet passages and there seems to be no suggestions that the Contratenor was additional. Although the work could have existed in a two-voice work in its own right, this would appear to be an example of a voice being removed from a three-voice original.

Du Fay *Ave maris stella*, p. 25

Two voices, with *fauxbourdon* in BU, but several different versions exist elsewhere. MuEm has these two voices but with only the text of a later verse. Q15 also has these two voices, but also has a new Contratenor *sine fauxbourdon* that has been added a later stage. Tr92 has neither of these two voices, instead opting for a new Tenor and Contratenor to be sung "*super ave maris stella dufay sine faux bourdon*". It seems likely that the two-voice with *fauxbourdon* is the original,²¹¹ although it should be noted that the only version to carry Du Fay's name is that in ModB, which has the Contratenor from Q15 and no *fauxbourdon*.

Du Fay *Credo*, pp. 32-33

All the versions of this are three-voice settings with the exception of Ven, which is missing the Contratenor. Ven contains the other movements of this Mass, and presents them all without the Contratenors save for the *Kyrie*, strongly suggesting that the three-voice version is original.

Anon. *Gaude flore virginali*, p. 43

Presented in three voices in BU, but four in Pan27 (a much later source with a new bassus and an alto line replacing the Contratenor) while Milan49 has only two voices omitting the Contratenor.

Anon. *Mercé te chiamo o dolze anima mia*, pp. 54-55

BU presents this in two voices whereas the other two versions (both later and substantially different to the version here) are three-voice settings. There is no obvious reason why this should not originally have been a two-voice work, as it is clearly Italian and works well without a Contratenor. Nevertheless, the cramped layout in BU could potentially have led to a part being removed.

Anon. *Ave fuit prima salus*, p.65

Q15 and BU both have the same three-voice setting, but the other surviving sources are presented a2, without Contratenor. Given the origin of the work in the lauda tradition it is entirely possible that the Contratenor was a later addition.

²¹¹ Michael Alan Anderson, 'The Organization and Complexes of the Q15 Hymn Cycle', *Studi Musicali*, vol. 35 (2006), pp. 327-61.

Arnold de Lantins *Tota pulchra es anima mea*, pp. 66-67

Both BU and Ox present this in a three-voice setting whereas MuEm and Q15 have an extra voice and a more ornamented style. Robert Nosow²¹² suggests that this fourth voice was added to the pre-existing three-voice work, an argument that Margaret Bent agrees with.²¹³

Antonius Romanus *Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps [...] veneti*, pp. 76-77

Again, this work has a fourth voice in Q15 not found here. The use of notational translation noted by Margaret Bent²¹⁴ alongside Denis Stevens' suggestion that the fourth voice is additional,²¹⁵ would strongly suggest that BU presents an original three-voice composition that was altered later, perhaps by Romanus himself.

Anon. *Ave mater o Maria*, pp. 78-79

BU and Kras have a very similar four-voice version, while Ven and VolkB are a3, although the Contratenor found in Ven is unique. VolkB has a very similar Tenor and Contratenor to BU, but with a heavily ornamented Cantus.

Leonel *Anima mea liquefacta est*, p. 88

With Contratenor in FM, ModB and MuEm, which seems likely to be the correct version given that all of Power's surviving works have at least three voices with this exception. Furthermore, the central duet section, in which the Tenor rests in the three-voice settings, is presented in BU with the music from the corresponding Contratenor copied almost exactly. While it is possible that music was moved between voices when a two-voice original had an extra voice added, I think it more likely that the version here instead represents a two-voice reduction from a three-voice original. Therefore this is a potential example of the scribe removing a voice.

Zacar *Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti*, pp. 98-99

Missing Contratenor in Paris4917. It is set there within the context of a number of Italian two-voice works, which may explain the removal of a part. However, the same can be said of its placing in BU, where the scribe has clearly seen fit to include the complete work. It seems unlikely that BU's scribe decided to add a voice as he copied this in. The presence of so many two-voice works around it almost certainly precludes that explanation. Therefore it appears that in this instance the scribe of Paris4917 was the scribe removing voices.

Ciconia *Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia*, p. 101

Lucca contains a Contratenor not found elsewhere. However, given that the layout of this work in BU is almost certainly as a result of being copied from the same exemplar as the *O bella rosa o perla angelichata* on the facing page it seems unlikely that the scribe of BU was responsible for the removal of this voice.

Du Fay *Invidia nimicha*, pp. 102-103

This piece is found without the second Contratenor in Pan.26, where it is also anonymous, but there is little to suggest that this fourth voice is additional.

Anon. *La belle se siet au pié de la tour*, p. 104

It is clear that the three-voice version, pitched a fourth higher than BU, contains an additional voice by Du Fay.²¹⁶ Therefore it appears that the two-voice version in BU is the anonymous original.

C. de Merques *Vous soiés la tres bien venue*, p. 112

With Contratenor in Tr87. As his other surviving works are for three voices it is likely that a voice is missing in BU.

²¹² Robert Nosow, 'The Florid and Equal-Cantus Motet Styles of Fifteenth-Century Italy', (Diss., University of North Carolina, 1992), pp. 131-7.

²¹³ BentQ15, p. 210.

²¹⁴ BentQ15, p. 221.

²¹⁵ Denis Stevens, 'Ceremonial Music in Medieval Venice', *Musical Times*, Vol.119 (1978), p. 323.

²¹⁶ Fallows, *Catalogue...*, pp. 228-229.

Grenon *Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amee*, p. 112

With Contratenor in Rei 3, although the other surviving versions are a2. There is no obvious indication of which version is original.

Anon. *In natali domini*, p. 114

This piece is widespread in the surviving manuscripts and exists in several different versions including a two-voice setting using this Tenor as the Cantus, a three-voice and a four-voice setting. Its origin in lauda meant that it was frequently adapted and changed, although possibly from a two-voice original, which may resemble BU.

There are a large number of works in BU that have a different number of voices in other sources. This situation arises on nineteen occasions, almost a quarter of the polyphonic contents, a significant proportion given that a further 39 works are unique to the source. However, only seven of these concordant works would seem to fit the description of having a 'missing' Contratenor in BU.

The list above shows all the works where concordant sources differ as to the number of voices and shows clearly that there is no obvious pattern in relation to BU's scribe favouring a two- over a three-voice format. Nine works are presented as two-voice works in BU that have extra voices elsewhere, but in several of these cases the additional voices are believed to be added to a smaller original piece. That five of these pieces are in the song section is hardly surprising as the tendency towards two-voice composition, particularly in Italy, is more prevalent in this form. The omission of voices from French-texted songs could be seen as an Italian influence, although again it appears that the BU versions are plausibly original. The likelihood that the scribe did not remove any of the voices by choice is further increased by the number of songs copied into this section that have three or four voices. While some of these are later additions, there can be no doubt that *Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti* was entered at the earliest stages of copying and still retains three voices. If the scribe was deliberately removing voices from some pieces, why retain them in others?

Outside the song section there are some examples that perhaps more closely suggest that a voice has been deliberately removed. In particular Leonel's *Anima mea liquefacta est* (p. 86) appears to have had a section of the missing Contratenor inserted into rests in the Tenor to complete the two-voice texture. However, there is no evidence that this caused the scribe any problems, with the new music being seamlessly inserted without error or omission. Although this would not have been difficult for the scribe to do, it nevertheless suggests that the work arrived with the scribe as a two-voice exemplar.

Looking at the other works with fewer voices in BU, it could be argued that the scribe did favour smaller format works in general, with four works found a3 in BU having a fourth voice in one or more concordances. However, by the same token there are five instances where BU contains more voices than one or more concordant sources, including three where in BU four voices have been copied. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the scribe deliberately removed voices from the works that he copied, at least in terms of it being a systematic process. Although it remains possible that the scribe did excise parts from some works, the immediate question to arise is why he decided to include the third or fourth voices in others? There would seem to be no satisfactory answer to this other than to conclude that the scribe did not actively take part in this practice at all.

However, that is not to say that the scribe did not have some interest in smaller format works. In total there are twenty-two works, just over a quarter of the total polyphonic content of BU, copied in two-voice versions, although it should be noted that two of these works come with instructions for realising a third voice. Nevertheless, this represents a significant proportion of the material

and could reflect a practice of two-voice performance in the scribe's environment.

In some cases the presence of these two-voice works is no surprise. The Italian-texted songs for example, while notated in French notation rather than Italian, clearly follow Italian traditions where two voices were the norm. There are also two well documented examples where it seems clear from the concordant sources that the voice omitted from BU was in fact a later addition. The "*sine fauxbourdon*" Contratenor of Du Fay's *Ave Maris stella* found in Q15, has clearly been added by a much later hand suggesting that the a2+ fauxbourdon version is the original. Similarly the additional voice found in Ox for *La belle se siet au pié de la tour* has deliberately been attributed to Du Fay by the scribe, leading to the conclusion that this version (which has also been raised by a 4th) is in fact an adaptation by Du Fay of a now anonymous two-voice original.

But there are also a surprisingly large number of two-voice religious works in BU, including a *Sanctus/Agnus* pairing, that would seem to be less in keeping with the style of the 1420-30s. Most of these works have been treated as minor by the scribe, relegated to the bottom portions of pages or copied on pages left blank in the main copying process. But some have been given complete openings, most notably the two *Credo* settings on pp. 20-23, although the first of these includes a rubric for the realisation of a canonic Tenor voice.

The second of these settings, by Beltrame Feragut, has a three-voice concordance in Q15, which seems to represent an example of a Contratenor being deliberately omitted. Certainly, the version found in Q15 represents a complete three-voice work, and there is no indication that the Contratenor is a later addition. Furthermore, it is found in the oldest layer of Q15 suggesting, if

Margaret Bent's dates for this section are correct, that it was copied in the early 1420s, probably sometime before BU's scribe began to work.²¹⁷

This does not mean that the scribe of BU deliberately omitted the Contratenor, however, and the available evidence suggests that this *Credo* came to the scribe in this two-voice format. Both this *Credo* and the setting on the preceding opening were copied in the layer 4 style, relatively late in BU's genesis, and in a layer which contains works with three- and four-voice settings. The positioning of the Tenor in the Feragut *Credo* is also significant here. Nowhere else in BU is the Tenor placed at the top of a recto immediately opposite the Cantus (although in the cases of the *Magnificat* (pp. 30-31) and *Sanctus admirabilis splendor* (pp. 78-79), both of which are copied across the bottom of an opening, the Tenors are placed opposite). In every other main work in BU, the Tenor is placed below the Cantus and the Contratenor has exclusive use of the top portion of the facing recto. The presentation of this *Credo* in BU is in contrast to Q15's layout, which has the Contratenor occupying the top portion of the recto with the Tenor beneath. Q15 also uses two openings for this *Credo*, something which BU's scribe also does when copying three-voice *Credo* settings. There would appear to have been space available for the scribe to include all three parts if he so wished and so the evidence would suggest that Feragut's *Credo* arrived with BU as a two-voice work, rather than the scribe removing the voice as he went.

In relation to the two-voice works found in BU without concordances it is not possible to make any clear judgement over whether or not voices have been removed. However, it is interesting to note that all but one of the thirteen unique two-voice works are copied into BU anonymously. Following the fascicle

²¹⁷ BentQ15, pp. 20-21.

manuscript theory of construction that seems to fit BU well, these pieces may have arrived as part of larger groups of pieces with names attached. I have already suggested that *Con desiderio io vo cerchando* could be by Grossin and that the *Credo* with realised Tenor may be by Do Vala, so perhaps other items here arrived with the scribe in fascicles with attributions.

Nevertheless, the majority of these two-voice works were considered as subsidiary works by the scribe. The *Sanctus-Agnus* pair on pp. 11 and 67, were separated and copied on spare leaves, despite there being other paper available for copying, and *Amés amés tous loiaulx amoureux* has been squeezed onto the bottom of p. 16. There are also the Italian songs referred to above, where it is plausible that the two-voice copies represent the original, or at least common, versions of the works. The two ballatas *O bella rosa o perla angelichata* (attributed to Ciconia by David Fallows) and *Mercé o morte o vaga anima mia* (with attribution to Ciconia in Lucca), are clear examples of this. While there will always remain some uncertainty over the remaining items here, it appears that BU's scribe had no systematic approach to removing voices.

Table 6: Two-voice works unique to BU

Work	Comments
Anon. <i>Sanctus</i> , p. 11	Forms a pair with <i>Agnus</i> , p. 67.
Anon. <i>Amés amés tous loiaux amoureux</i> , p. 16	
Do Vala? <i>Credo</i> , pp. 20-21	With rubric for canonic realisation of the Tenor. Copied at the same time as the work below.
Anon. <i>Ave preciosa gemma</i> , p. 41	
Anon. <i>Ave corpus vere natum</i> , pp. 60-61	
Anon. <i>Ave regina caelorum</i> , p.62	
Anon. <i>Agnus dei</i> , p. 67	Forms pair with <i>Sanctus</i> , p. 11.
Anon. <i>Sanctus, admirabilis splendor</i> , pp. 78-79	
Grossin? <i>Con desiderio io vo cerchando</i> , p. 89	
Anon. <i>En bianca vesta pellegrina cerva</i> , p. 97	
Ciconia <i>O bella rosa o perla angelichata</i> , p. 100	
Ciconia <i>O zentil madona mia</i> , p. 100-101	
Prepositus Brixienis <i>De gardés vous de le cordon</i> , p. 104	

A performing manuscript?

While we have ruled out any systematic reorganising of works by the scribe of BU, there remain several other aspects of his editorial practice to consider. Undoubtedly there were some changes, mostly of a musical nature, made by the scribe to the music that was copied and some key examples of this will be discussed shortly. But did the scribe make these changes to works he received as he copied them into the source, correcting errors he found or making personal emendations, or were these changes made later in order to enhance performance? These are important distinctions, which are important for our understanding of the transmission of works through BU.

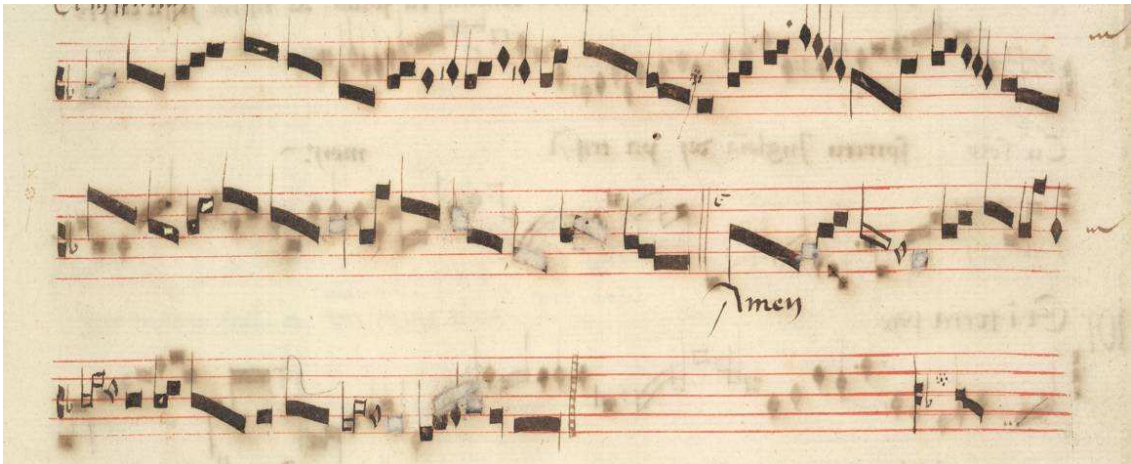
volume to be sung from.

In support of the idea are features such as the crudely written amendment to the Tenor of *O bella rosa o perla angelichata* (see Ex. 24). Here, at the end of the first line of this voice, someone has written, in very light brown ink, three strokes to show which notes apply to which syllables of the text 'piu bella' beneath. The lightness of the ink suggests that these marks were added after the work was copied and the haphazard way in which they have been inserted suggests that whoever did so had little care about appearance. Therefore it would appear that these marks were added by a performer, in order to clarify what should be sung where.

The presence of such marks is unusual, made even more so in this instance by virtue of the fact that it seems almost entirely unnecessary. Wherever 'piu bella' appears in this part it is always set to three void semibreves, as it is here. Furthermore, from the rests at the beginning of the previous perfection, handily corresponding with a full stop in the text, there are five notes and five syllables beneath them, leaving the performer little doubt as to what goes where. Nor did the performer have any need to add such marks to the repeat of this pattern immediately after at the beginning of the next line, or indeed to the similar, but ligated, passage immediately below it where the text would only seem to fit if the singer used a different syllable for each note of the ligature. Nevertheless, this seems like strong evidence for the fact that this work, at least, was sung from.

Other evidence for possible post-performance amendments also exists. At the end of the Tenor of Feragut's two-voice *Credo* (pp. 22-23, Ex. 25 below) there is a spare ligature, notated in extremely small note-heads and marked

Ex. 25: Conclusion of Tenor from Feragut's Credo, p. 23 lines 7-9. Note the extra music at the bottom right and the mark in the middle of line 7.



with an *. This corresponds with the same shape, with a stem, in the middle of the first line of the Tenor.²²⁰

There is clearly a section of music missing here, which would quite easily have been noted in performance, even without the added harmony of a Contratenor in this version. The inserted music is the same as that found in the only concordance, Q15, although ligated differently, and the harmony is so straightforward to realise that there is no reason to suppose that the scribe had access to an exemplar in order to provide a plausible solution. It seems to me unlikely that the scribe noticed this error by simply reviewing his copied music, not least because the handwriting of the amendment is so lacking in confidence compared to the main work. More likely is that this was an error spotted in performance and the added material copied by either a less able scribe, in an emergency (perhaps while preparing a performance), or by the main scribe during some of his later, less confident, copying phases.

A similar explanation can be applied to another poorly notated amendment that is likely to have originated from performance. As I have already mentioned

²²⁰ A further example of this shape appears at the beginning of the next staff, but has no apparent purpose.

in reference to the different hands found in the manuscript, the addition of two missing perfections in the Tenor of Du Fay's *Credo 'dic Maria'* (p. 52, Ex. 26) would seem to have been made by the 'Do Vala' hand: lacking in confidence, copied in very dark ink and using a void clef not used elsewhere by the main scribe. That a performer would have known that there was a mistake is unquestionable as within two perfections this voice begins to become exceedingly dissonant with the other parts. However, it is less clear that this was the precise location of the error as the dissonance does not arrive until the d'. Nor is there any obvious explanation for the omission, which could have alerted the scribe as he copied. Therefore it is plausible that this error was transmitted from the scribe's exemplar, and following performance a correction was made.

Ex. 26: *Crucifixus* from Tenor of Du Fay's *Credo 'dic Maria'*, p. 52 line 10

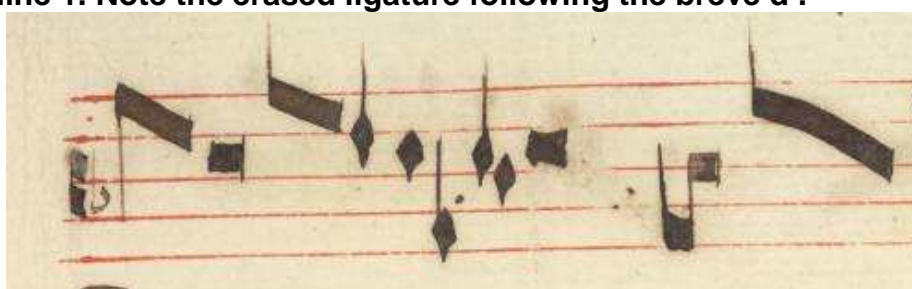


We can deduce from this that the solution here was drawn from comparison of this part with another source. It is not surprising, therefore, that this added passage reads, and is ligated, the same as the corresponding passage in Q15, although that does not necessarily mean that it was Q15 that the new addition came from.

Many further works within BU display signs of scribal alteration, which could have originated as a result of performance. However, as these corrections appear to have taken place at, or around the same time as, the copying of the main work, these could potentially reflect a more editorial practice by the scribe. For the most part these alterations can be explained as the simple correction of

a scribal error, but not all are this easy to explain. As with Feragut's *Credo*, several of these amended works have concordant sources, which could in turn shed some light on how the amendments came to be made. I will discuss the role of these other surviving sources in more detail below. But first I will consider a single work that shows the full gamut of scribal alterations to examine what can be deduced without other sources to rely on.

Ex. 27: Beginning of the Contratenor from the *Gloria* of Reson's Mass, p. 13 line 1. Note the erased ligature following the breve d'.



The Reson Mass

Although each movement has relatively few amendments, the Mass as a whole contains a large number of erasures that are worthy of discussion, particularly as all five movements were clearly copied at the same time and, presumably, from the same exemplar. Furthermore, the corrections made cover a wide spectrum of styles, cause and solutions, each of which revealing a little more about the scribe and his practice.

In the Contratenor of the *Gloria* (p. 13), a two-breve ligature descending from d' to g that originally occupied the sixth and seventh perfections has been removed and replaced with a breve and two semibreves (Ex. 27). While there are no concordances on which to draw a comparison of the accuracy of this change, some information can still be taken from this. Firstly, was the original ligature copied incorrectly? This seems unlikely. It would seem to be too early in the line for this error to be caused by a misread line-end or other obstacle in the

copying process and there are no similar ligatures until close to the end of this voice, which the scribe could have leapt to in confusion. Furthermore, the original ligature is perfectly acceptable harmonically. As final confirmation that the ligature was in the exemplar, this material is recycled, to a greater or lesser extent of accuracy, at the beginning of the last two sections of the movement (*Qui tollis peccata mundi* and *Qui sedes ad dexteram patris*). While the cadence modulates in the first of these with a different ligature applied to the Contratenor, at the words *ad dexteram patris* the ligature remains as it originally did at the beginning (see Ex. 28). Therefore the conclusion has to be that the ligature was in the scribe's exemplar.

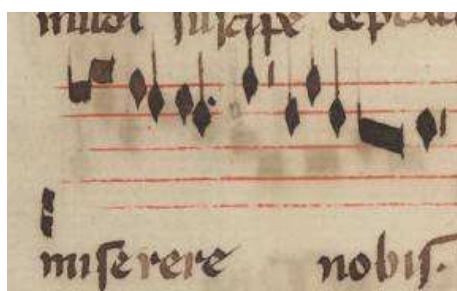
Ex. 28: Beginning of Reson's *Gloria* and the cadence over *ad dexteram patris* highlighting the changed ligature and repeated motif.

The image displays a musical score for three voices: [Cantus], Cont. (Contratenor), and [Tenor]. The score is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "Et in terra pax hominibus bone vol ad dexteram patris misere". A grey rectangular highlight is placed over the final cadence of the phrase "ad dexteram patris" in the Contratenor and Tenor parts, specifically over the notes for "pa - - - - tris". The Cantus part continues with "mi - se - re".

In all likelihood the scribe changed this to either highlight the cadence or to add some colour to what would otherwise be a rather boring unison between the Contratenor and Tenor. And as no change was made the second time around, we can deduce that the scribe was not consistently editing his material, but making changes on the hoof, adding a preferential phrasing in one section but neglecting to do the same later in the same work

At the very point where this repetition finishes there is another erasure in the Cantus. On this occasion a minim c'' has been removed, which leads to a rather different rhythmic outcome to the original (♫, with the last minim altered, instead of ♫, see Ex. 29). Here the reason for the change appears to be entirely harmonic as the opening c'' would clash with the Tenor's d. However, this could also reflect the fact that a recurring rhythmic feature is the pattern ♫ at the start of a perfection. Having considered the likelihood of contemporary alteration in the earlier Contratenor amendment, it is possible that even corrections of this type were made by the scribe as he copied.

Ex. 29: Cantus from Reson's *Gloria*, p. 12. Beginning of line 6.



Ex. 30: End of Contratenor from Reson's *Credo*, crucifixus section p. 39, note the extensive erasure.



The *Credo* of the Mass has further erasures and amendments, one of which is particularly interesting. In the final part of the *crucifixus* there is an extensive erasure in the Contratenor (Ex. 30) that shows, for the first time in this discussion, the fallibility of BU's scribe. The erased notes are identical to the passage that ends this section, including the presence of a closing bar line that

is now found immediately after the word *die*. The cause of this error is clear.

The scribe has copied, correctly, an f'-g' ligature at the beginning of the line, but rather than following this with the semibreve d', his eye has instead been drawn to the identical ligature three perfections later and copied the remainder of the music from there. There is no reason to suppose that the three perfections that were inserted are anything other than the correct notes from the exemplar manuscript and so it can be confidently proposed that this error too was spotted by the scribe while he was in the process of copying.

In this instance it may well have been the insertion of the text that highlighted the problem. Although the Contratenor is sparsely texted, the scribe has attached incipits to each section and specific text quotes to declamatory sections, in particular the frequently repeated imitative pattern $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$. In both the Cantus and Tenor this particular use of the pattern is sung to the text *tertia die*, as is the final version of the Contratenor. But while there is evidence of some slight text amendment under the word *sepultus*, it does not appear to be the erasure of *tertia die*. Furthermore, if this were the erased text it would not line up with the correct section of the music as originally copied confirming that this is unlikely to have been the erased text. This seems to indicate that the text was added immediately after the music had been copied, the scribe immediately realising his error when he found that there was insufficient music

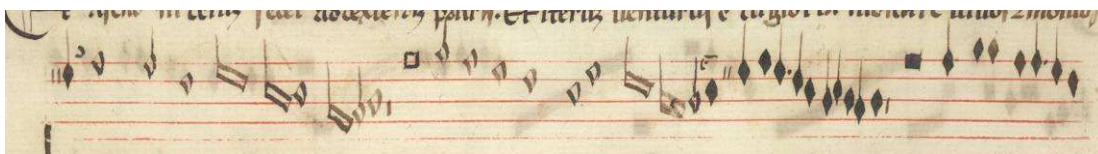
Ex. 31: Contratenor first line, p. 41. Note the breve that has been amended to form the ligature. The apparent stem on the void semibreve at the end of this passage is a mark remaining from the erased material.



for him to insert the relevant text passages. This not only provides information about this particular error and the mechanisms for solving it, but also shows that the text and music were copied by the same scribe and in a specific order.

In the second half of the *Credo* (pp. 40-41) a lengthy erasure in the Contratenor is likely to be the result of a copying error by the scribe similar to that in the *crucifixus* section as it begins with a breve that has been amended to form a two-breve ligature (Ex. 31). Similarly a correction made in the Cantus over the word 'dominum' would seem to reflect an incomplete exemplar: the scribe has had to extend this section from being two separate semibreves into a two-semibreve ligature and a minim, in order for the section to end at the correct point (Ex. 32).

Ex. 32: Amendment to extend void passage in Cantus, p. 40 line 2.



Ex. 33: End of Contratenor line 3 Ex. 34: End of Cantus line 4



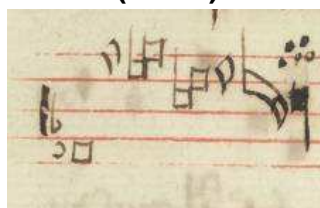
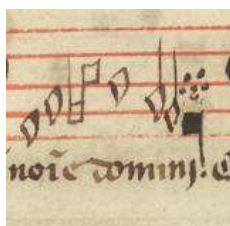
Perhaps most intriguing in this movement is the end of the penultimate section in the Contratenor. Here an awkward and apparently inaccurate amendment is made that could, on the face of it, question the scribe's musical competency. The part is correct all the way through to the final three void semibreves before the scribe seems to add a redundant long-long ligature before the final long on c' (Ex. 33). This cadence is clearly wrong: both the

Cantus and Tenor end on D, so clearly something has gone awry. But the scribe's attempted solutions are puzzling too.

A stem appears to have been added to the ligature to reduce this to a breve, but this fails to resolve the problem. At this stage he appears to try again and places a void long and breve underneath on 'g', while crossing out the notes above. It is unclear why the scribe chose not to write these notes as a single long. However, more surprising is that this should in fact be a cadence on D, whereas the scribe has now created a cadence on G with the fifth doubled in the Cantus and Tenor. In all other section-ending cadences in this work, the Contratenor provides the fifth to the doubled fundament in the other two voices, and this is the common practice in works at the time.

A possible explanation for this problem can be found in the Cantus. The scribe here has initially copied a semibreve d before amending it to be a final long (Ex. 34). Such a copying error would seem odd unless the exemplar did not have a long here, which in turn could indicate that the exemplar continued where BU's scribe decided to stop. If this was the case, this is an example of the scribe making a deliberate editorial change to the piece. I can only assume that the original had a cadence on C, as shown in the original Contratenor, which was then disregarded by the scribe. Why the scribe chose to make this change is unclear. Perhaps the Tenor did not have this cadence and the other parts needed changing to fit. Whatever the reason, this correction is notable for two reasons. Firstly, the scribe is clearly not averse to making changes from his

Ex. 35: Cadence on 'domini' in Reson's Sanctus: p. 42 Cantus (line 5) and Tenor (line 10), p. 43 Contratenor (line 4).



Ex. 36: Reson *Sanctus*: repeated proportion section

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Soprano, Alto, and Tenor. Each staff begins with a mensural sign consisting of a circle with a vertical line through it, indicating a specific rhythmic value. The lyrics are written below the notes. The Soprano part has the lyrics 'gu - ber - na - tur om - ni - a In'. The Alto part has the lyrics 'gu - ber - na - tur om - ni - a'. The Tenor part has the lyrics 'gu - ber - na - tur om - ni - a'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ligatures.

exemplar. But perhaps more importantly, while sometimes capable of musical sensitivity in amending his works, BU's scribe is also capable of making clumsy and musically flawed solutions to the problems he faced.

The *Sanctus* has only one amendment, although in all three parts, and this too is around a cadence (Ex. 35). Originally, the scribe had written a cadence on A to conclude the section *qui venit in nomine domini*, but changed this in all three parts to create a cadence on G (although difficult to see in the photographs, the shading of the higher note is clear in the manuscript itself). In both the Tenor and Contratenor parts this led to further changes being made: the addition of a minim and a stem in the Tenor and the extension of the ligature in the Contratenor. This is a new type of amendment altogether. The scribe has taken a harmonically appropriate original and changed it for another chord, with no apparent reason. Even more confusing here is that only 15 perfections later (Ex. 36) there is another void passage in \circ mensuration that opens on the same notes as this passage and descends in the same manner. On this occasion, the scribe allows the original cadence on A to stand, the only apparent difference between the two being that the first example continues in D while this time it moves on in G. There is no clear reason why this change would be made, but it is further evidence that the scribe did apparently make some editorial changes of his own where they were not musically necessary.

Texted lower voices

In addition to the visible amendments mentioned above there are two further trends within BU that could indicate editorial approaches by the scribe. The first of these is that BU is unusual among manuscripts of its time in having full text in the Tenor voice, and frequently the Contratenor too, of a large proportion of its contents. Despite the clear trend, the scribe again lacks consistency in including text, which raises questions about whether this trait originates with the scribe himself or in his exemplars. Gilbert Reaney explained in his 1969 article on text underlay²²¹ that to move from a Tenor part that is entirely copied in long-duration ligated note values to a short-duration texted part is relatively straightforward for a scribe to do, and there are numerous examples in BU of pieces where it is quite straightforward to realise a long-duration original. However, it is also easy to realise a long-duration version from a shorter original. A good example of this, which we shall be looking at in detail shortly, is Arnold de Lantins' *O pulcherrima mulierum*, which exists in three versions: BU's fully texted short-duration Tenor; Ox without text and largely ligated; and, Q15 without text but in short-durations that are different from BU.

It is quite clear to see that both BU and Q15 could easily have been realised from Ox or *vice versa*, and that BU and Q15 could have been derived from each other. Furthermore, whereas BU and Q15 use complete openings for this work, allowing space for a short-duration setting, Ox presents the work on a single side that forms the final verso of a gathering, leaving no space for a longer version. Reaney puts forward a strong argument in his later article on the relationship between the BU, Ox and Q15 copies of Arnold de Lantin's *Missa*

²²¹ Gilbert Reaney, 'Text underlay in early fifteenth century manuscripts', in *Essays on musicology in honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th birthday*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh, 1969), pp. 245-252.

*Verbum incarnatum*²²² that the move towards texted voices was linear with Ox representing the 'original' version. But the tacit assumption made by Reaney is that texted voices are 'modern' while untexted and ligated voices are 'old-fashioned'. This is clearly at odds with the evidence, at least in Italy, where numerous sources present fully texted religious works,²²³ and Margaret Bent has noted that:

The earliest copies of the songs [in Q15] tend to present the discant and Tenor parts (and sometimes also the Contratenor) with text, following Italian practice. The later recopies have textless, more heavily ligatured tenors and contratenors. Some of the earliest Mass movements to be copied are also presented with texted lower parts, a practice also associated mainly with Italian manuscripts at the time, and especially with Zacar. But the scribe's growing northern taste found expression, at this early stage of his work, in an increasing tendency to present works of all kinds with their lower parts ligatured and untexted.²²⁴

While necessarily subjective, this does raise the question of whether the move towards texted Tenors was made specifically by BU's scribe or whether he was propagating a practice that already existed in his exemplars? This is no idle point of contemplation. Large parts of my discussion of the manuscript's construction are based in no small part on the layout of works on the page and their presumed similarity, in a large number of cases, to an unknown exemplar. Texted Tenors necessarily take up a greater amount of space than long-

²²² Gilbert Reaney, 'Musical and Textual Relationships Among Early 15th Century Manuscripts', in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Luther Dittmer (Henryville, PA, 1984), pp. 495-502.

²²³ PMFC13, p. Xiii suggests that texted lower voices were likely to be original and many of the works edited are fully texted.

²²⁴ Margaret Bent, 'A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style; Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative', *Musica Disciplina* Vol. 41 (1987), pp. 189-190.

duration versions so if the scribe is extending the Tenor as he copied, this would necessarily impact on the layout of the pieces on the page.

In fact, it appears that the scribe was either copying exemplar layout, or was pragmatic in his approach to adding text. Du Fay's *Credo* (pp. 32-33), which opens the second section of BU, occupies multiple openings in three of the four concordances as do all of the other three/four voice *Credo* settings in BU. But the scribe has here chosen to present this piece without a texted Tenor on a single opening. Space was not a concern at the time that he copied this work (indeed there was almost nothing else in the manuscript at the time) and so we have to assume that he was replicating, to the best of his ability, the layout of his exemplar. The same is true of the copying of *Vergene bella che di sol vestita* (pp. 70-71), where only slight amendments would have allowed for the insertion of the text and plenty of space remains for this to be done. But BU's scribe chose not to while Q15's scribe added text to the second section of the Tenor. Clearly there is insufficient evidence, as with the suggestion of voice removal, to suggest that BU's scribe systematically added texts to his lower voices, and it must remain a strong possibility that in many instances the texted version found in BU is the 'original' from which the long-duration versions are drawn.

Fermata

The final feature found commonly in BU that could indicate scribal alteration is the approach to music written under *corona* or fermata. BU tends to present these sections in a quasi-rhythmical fashion, using semibreves, breves and on one occasion minims, where many other sources use just longs or breves in unmeasured ligatures. There are works in BU presented like this (Du Fay's *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* and *Alma redemptoris mater* both have

extended passages in unmeasured note values; the anonymous *Mercé te chiamo o dolze anima mia*, has passages entirely in breves) but they are in the minority. In particular it is noticeable that all of the passages under fermata in Arnold de Lantins' music are copied mensurally in BU, where the concordant manuscripts are predominantly unmeasured. It is difficult to say whether BU's scribe was the originator of this practice, although there are some indications that he was. One such example is the end of *O pulcherrima mulierum*, where the final passage under fermata is considerably shorter than in the concordant sources. In addition, the final cadence is changed so that the fundamental is doubled in the Tenor and Contratenor while the fifth makes its way into the Cantus, in similar fashion to that in the *Credo* of Reson's Mass. This ending is highly unlikely to be the original reading and as such it would appear that the scribe has made a clumsy alteration that has no advantage except to bring syllabic movement to this passage.

Nevertheless, many of BU's concordances do present *corona* passages with a degree of rhythm and several are as specific as they are here. Even in the *Amen* section of the *Credo* in Arnold de Lantins' *Missa Verbum incarnatum*, where the durations under fermata are as short as a minim, Ox and Q15 both copy the two minims and a semibreve found in BU despite the remainder of their *Amen* being in long duration ligatures. As a result it is not possible to draw firm conclusions about the scribe making amendments of this sort as a matter of editorial policy, although he undoubtedly did so on occasion. What can be said is that BU's scribe clearly believed that these sections represented coordinated movement between the parts and not the base for improvisation that is sometimes suggested,²²⁵ even to the extent of adding a mensuration sign to the

²²⁵ This subject area is too wide and complex to go into great detail here. The argument that these passages do represent a focus for improvisation is put forward by Charles W. Warren in "Punctus organi and Cantus coronatus in the music of Du Fay", in ed. Allan W. Atlas, *Papers*

Amen mentioned above, something not found in Ox or Q15, and forcing the alteration of the final minim.

Read at the Du Fay Quincentenary Conference, (Brooklyn, 1976) pp. 128-143. However, Robert Nosow argues that the rhythmic presentation of these sections is deliberate and important (Robert Nosow, *The Florid and Equal-Cantus Motet Styles of Fifteenth-Century Italy*, (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992), p. 156, note 6).

Chapter 8: The concordances

Having considered the scribe's overall approach to copying his material, it is time to examine in detail the relationship between BU and the other surviving manuscripts of the period. Of BU's 86 polyphonic entries,²²⁶ 47²²⁷ have concordant readings spanning a total of 45 other manuscripts.

Although most of these concordant sources contain only one of BU's works, there are sixteen which contain multiple pieces and of these two are of particular note. By far the largest concordant source is Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15 (Q15), with 29 concordances. Though a considerable step back, with only 14 concordances, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc.213 (Ox) also remains significant. That these two volumes are the key concordant sources is hardly surprising given their generally acknowledged proximity in copying, in both location and time, to that of BU: Margaret Bent's recent study suggests that Q15 was copied between ca. 1420 and ca. 1435,²²⁸ while David Fallows considers Ox to date from ca.1428-36.²²⁹ Nor is it too surprising that Q15 contains so many more examples than Ox, with the scribes of Q15 and BU filling most of their manuscripts with religious works, while Ox is predominantly secular. These points aside, Q15 and Ox contain between them 35 concordances with BU, by far the bulk of the concordant works and consequently deserving particular attention here.

²²⁶ This figure treats individual movements of pairs or groups as separate items and matches the numbering system put forward by Alberto Gallo.

²²⁷ This is two higher than Alberto Gallo's figure (GalloBU ii, p.11) due to the inclusion here of the contrafact of Hugo de Lantins *Cristus Vincit*, copied as *O lux et decus Hispanie* in Q15 (see J. Michael Allsen, "Intertextuality and Compositional Process in Two Cantilena Motets by Hugo de Lantins", *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 11 (1993), pp. 174-202), and of the *Benedicamus domino* (p. 109), which is found in Ox and PC as the song *Va t'ent souspier je t'en supplie* by Grossin (FallowsOx, p. 33) .

²²⁸ BentQ15, p. 96.

²²⁹ FallowsOx, pp. 19-20.

The relationship between BU, Ox & Q15

In his 1984 article on relationships between early fifteenth century manuscripts,²³⁰ Gilbert Reaney put forward the idea that BU, Ox and Q15 shared a direct and linear relationship in their creation. Indeed, he even goes as far as to say “that there is no doubt that BU quite frequently used BL [Q15] as a basis.”²³¹ However, there is little in this article to back up this theory, concentrating, as it does, primarily on the relationship between Ox and Q15. This position, of close and potentially direct relationship between the sources, has been taken up by others, particularly Jean Widaman in her oft-cited Ph.D. thesis on the Mass music of Arnold de Lantins, where she concludes that the scribe of Q15 copied the *Missa Verbum incarnatum* directly from Ox.²³²

Some of the reasoning behind this relationship, at least between BU and Q15, is probably found in the significantly large number of concordances between the two volumes and the idea that BU was not completed until around 1440, sometime after the accepted date for the copying of Q15. But there has been no systematic examination of these concordant works to ascertain the extent of the relationship between the sources and any wider patterns of copying and it is this examination that will form the basis of the following discussion.

Although various individual items have been put forward as displaying a close stemmatic relationship, there has been no thorough examination of just how related the sources are across the board. Jean Widaman argues that, in relation to the *Missa Verbum incarnatum* at least, the scribe of BU had access

²³⁰ Gilbert Reaney, 'Musical and Textual Relationships Among Early 15th Century Manuscripts', in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Luther Dittmer (Henryville, PA, 1984), pp. 495-502.

²³¹ *Ibid*, p. 495.

²³² Jean Widaman, 'The Mass Ordinary Settings of Arnold de Lantins: A Case Study in the Transmission of Early Fifteenth Century Music' (Diss. Brandeis University, 1988), pp. 231-235.

to Q15 itself,²³³ and that his exemplar for Arnold's other Mass works was very similar to that of Q15.²³⁴ These arguments have now entered the academic canon, the most recent references to them being in Margaret Bent's commentary to the facsimile of Q15.

The idea of direct copying between the three coincidentally surviving Veneto manuscripts raises an intriguing question as to how the relationship between the sources may work. Given that the concordant items in BU are copied throughout the manuscript and in different copying layers, are we to suppose that the scribe had access to Q15 at certain points in the creation of BU, but chose not to use it as his primary source? This is possible, although I will argue that it is not the case.

However, this argument does not preclude the possibility that some works were copied from sources close to Q15, and with the suggestion that BU's scribe exercised considerable editorial initiative in his copying widespread in the literature this could perhaps explain the differences that appear between it and the concordant sources. The full extent of this editorial approach has been discussed above, so for the time being I will concentrate on the stemmatic relationships.

As well as the grouped Mass and Mass pair by Arnold de Lantins cited by Jean Widaman, there are also other potential contenders for direct or close relationships between BU and Q15. The stand-out example is the trio of *Vergene bella*, *Tota pulchra es*, and *Imera dat hodierno*, which are found on successive pages (ff. 237v-240) in Q15. Although they are copied in different sections of BU, we have already seen in relation to the Reson fascicle that BU's

²³³ Widaman, pp. 236-248.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-211.

scribe was prepared to place pieces in a wide variety of locations that does not necessarily clearly relate to when the music came into his possession. Such a sequence is an obvious contender for having been copied directly between the sources, although this has not to my knowledge been considered before. But there may also be others.

Table 7: Works concordant with Ox and Q15.

Composer, <i>incipit</i>	BU Page(s)	Ox folio(s)	Q15 Folio(s)	Other concordances
Arnold de Lantins, <i>Kyrie, Verbum incarnatum</i>	2-3	63r-63v	172v-174	
Arnold de Lantins, <i>Et in terra</i>	4-5	64r-64v	173v-174r	
Zacara, <i>Et in terra</i>	8		18v-19r	Atri, BolQ1, Grot, Lo82959
Du Fay, <i>Kyrie</i>	9		10v-11r	Ao, Ven
Nicolaus da Capua, <i>Et in terra</i>	16-17		107v-108r	MuEm
Binchois, <i>Liesse m'a mandé salut</i>	19	79v		EscA, Tr87
Feragut, <i>Patrem</i>	22-23		46v-48r	
<i>Ave maris stella</i>	25		321v	CS15, ModB, Tr92
Grossin, <i>Et in terra</i>	26-27		100v-101	Ao, Tr87
Du Fay, <i>Patrem</i>	32-33		13v-15r	Ao, Ven
Arnold de Lantins, <i>Patrem</i>	34-37	65r-66r	174v-176	MuL
<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	43		309r	Feininger, Pan27, Milan49, Ven
Arnold de Lantins, <i>Et in terra</i>	46-47		115v-116r	
Arnold de Lantins, <i>Patrem</i>	48-51		116v-117r	
Du Fay, <i>Patrem.... Amen, dic Maria/La Vilanella</i>	52-55		37v-40r	Ao, Ca6, Ca11
Du Fay, <i>Supremum est mortalibus bonum</i>	56-57		206v-207r	Cop17, ModB, MuEm, Tr92
Feragut, <i>Francorum nobilitati</i>	58-59	11v-12r		
Du Fay, <i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	64-65		260v-261r	

<i>Ave fuit prima salus</i>	65		210v-211r	Feininger, MilanY3, Ven
Arnold de Lantins, <i>Tota pulchra es</i>	66-67	136v-138r	238v-239r	MuEm, PC, Stras
Arnold de Lantins, <i>O pulcherrima mulierum</i>	68-69	80v	216v-217r	
Du Fay, <i>Vergene bella</i>	70-71	133v-134r	237v-238r	
Ciconia, <i>O virum omnimoda veneracione dignum/O lux et decus turonensium/O beate Nicholae</i>	72-73		284v-285r	SienaBC
Antonius Romanus, Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps [....] veneti	76-77		275v-276r	
Reson, <i>Salve regina</i>	80		217v-218r	
De Anglia, <i>Benedicta es caelorum regina</i>	82-83		221v-222r	Tr92
Du Fay, <i>Kyrie</i>	83		157v-158r	Ao, MuEm, Tr92, Tr93
Dunstable, <i>Quam pulchra es</i>	84-85		313v-314r	Ao, Campem, ModB, MuEm, Tr92
Grossin, <i>Imera dat hodierno</i>	88-89	48v-49r	239v-240r	MuEm, PC, Tr92
Du Fay, <i>Invidia nimicha</i>	102-103	128v-129r		Pan26
<i>La belle se siet au pié de la tour</i>	104	31r		Namur, PC, Rei 3
Grossin? <i>Benedicamus domino/Va t'ent souspier je t'en supplie</i>	109	27r		PC
Du Fay, <i>Belle vueillés vostre mercy donner</i>	110	118v-119r		PC
Grenon, <i>Se je vous ay bien loyaulment amee</i>	112	81v		Paris4917, Rei 3
<i>In natali domini</i>	114		217v-218r	Ber190, Pavia361, Tr87, Trier

The works of Arnold de Lantins

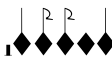
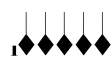
In effect, Arnold de Lantins is represented by only three works in BU that are also found in both Ox and Q15: the first three movements of his *Missa Verbum incarnatum*, and the two motets based on the Song of Songs, *Tota pulchra es* and *O pulcherrima mulierum*. However, this still makes him the composer with the most concordant works found in all three sources, and so he provides the best point for examining the relationships between them. All three works have been subject to scribal alteration in BU and the *Missa Verbum incarnatum* has been subject to considerable academic discussion in relation to its origins and the manner of its transmission. I will examine the *Missa* and the arguments about its provenance in detail below, but first want to apply the techniques used to analyse the Reson Mass to the two motets.

Ex. 37: Cantus opening of *O pulcherrima mulierum* in BU p. 68 (top, with erasures over *mulierum* in line 1 and before the cadence in line 2) and Q15, f. 216v.



O pulcherrima mulierum

BU's copy of *O pulcherrima mulierum* (pp. 68-69), displays considerable evidence of scribal alteration. In the first two lines of the Cantus part, there are two distinct musical amendments that significantly affect the musical line (Ex. 37). The first of these is found in the third perfection, over the 'm' of *mulierum*. The scribe has removed the stem from the f' to create a semibreve where there was once a minim. Similarly a stem appears to have been added to the e' following, overwriting another symbol that it is now not possible to decipher (although there is an apparent erasure immediately above the following notes it is not clear what, if anything, has been removed and there are a number of instances in BU where similar apparent erasures are caused by nothing more sinister than damaged paper). These changes would seem to have been made at around the same time as the scribe was copying the main body of the work as the ink colour and copying style for the new material is the same as that in the original.

In both Ox and Q15, the first two notes are minims, as at least the 'f' appears to have been in BU. However, the following perfection contains the pattern  in Ox and  in Q15 rather than the five minims now found in BU. The rest would appear never to have been copied into BU and while it is possible that there was originally a semibreve towards the end of the passage, the stems on the minims are not obviously additional. It is unclear whether the dot of division now found in BU was part of the original draft or was added when the alterations were made.

Whatever was originally written, this first attempt must clearly have been wrong and required correction. BU's solution to this problem is musically plausible. Indeed, by removing the briefly suspended f' this new homophonic

cadence now rhythmically matches the one found three perfections later in all three surviving sources over *angelorum*. That is not say that BU's version is an improvement, nor does it lay any particular claims to being the original version. But it does work.

While this would seem to indicate that the scribe had a degree of musical literacy, the solution here was hardly complicated. There does still remain, however, the question of how the scribe made his error in the first place. Did he notice a mistake in his exemplar while in the process of copying, or only later, perhaps in performance? Or did he make a mistake in copying from a correct exemplar only to find that he did not have access to it to correct his version when the error was realised?

The second set of 'corrections' mentioned above would seem to provide us with a possible answer. Here, over the repetition of the words *quia sic adjurasti nos*, there are two clear erasures of minims or semiminims on f' and a' and the apparent addition of a minim rest (Ex. 37). There are also two dots of addition in this passage, the first above the syllable '-ra-' barely visible in Alberto Gallo's facsimile but obvious against the red staves of the manuscript itself, which may, or may not, be additional too. Again the solution by the scribe is plausible, although on this occasion the origin of the error is even harder to spot. It seems that the relevant note-heads were in place to match the version transmitted in Ox and Q15. Although the flags (or lack of them) are unclear on the erased notes, the size of the scratched area would suggest that flags were present. Therefore the only possible errors must stem from either the incorrect positioning of the dots in this passage, or the presence of the unnecessary minim rest, in his exemplar.

Ex. 38: Tenor cadence on 'nos', p. 68 line 7, showing overwriting of semibreve and rest



In correcting this section, the scribe appears not to have been able to spot the obvious solution. While his revised version is musically reasonable, it is slightly clumsy, and strongly suggests that he had no exemplar from which to copy when the amendment was made. I would suggest, therefore, that this is strong evidence for the scribe making this alteration as a result of a problematic performance, sometime after copying.



This passage of music does, however, also provide evidence that the scribe changed some parts of works as he copied. In Ox and Q15, this section cadences on a semibreve, with fermata, in all three parts followed by a semibreve rest. In BU, only the Contratenor has this. However, it is clear from the Tenor part that the scribe originally copied a semibreve and a semibreve rest, before changing this to a long. Rather than scratching out the original, the scribe has decided simply to overwrite this (Ex. 38). However, the original presence of the Ox/Q15 cadence in two out of the three parts in BU is a good indicator that the scribe changed this cadence to a long from an exemplar that matched these two sources. The logical extension of this is that the scribe had a preference towards this type of cadence and made the change to adhere to his own tastes.

While these differences are noteworthy, many other discrepancies exist between BU and its concordances (see Table 8). It is noticeable that the vast majority of these discrepancies are consistent in both Ox and Q15, with

BU's version being the different one. Furthermore, there is very little evidence of erasure outside the examples already discussed, which means that, if the scribe was changing his exemplar, these changes were being made as he wrote, without error or need for subsequent amendment.

BU's version has a number of passages that could be regarded as being 'improvements' to those in Ox and Q15. Homogenising the proportional section near the beginning or removing the 'spare' semibreve in the Contratenor to maintain simultaneous movement between the lower voices are both examples of this. However, they could just as easily be the original version, with BU copying faithfully rather than changing to improve. This seems increasingly likely when we consider the clumsiness of some of his other alterations in this piece alone. The scribe was musical, but it is unreasonable, I think, to presume that he had a full three-part understanding of each work as he copied. Opening passages and cadences were clearly visible, and it is perhaps no coincidence that this is where the bulk of the scribe's amendments appear.

Table 8: The differences between the concordant versions of *O pulcherrima mulierum*

Bar:voice:note ²³⁵	Difference ²³⁶	Comment
Tenor part throughout	BU has texted Tenor	In order to facilitate texting in this part, many of the longer notes found in Ox and Q15 are here presented in smaller portions. The individual instances will not be discussed here, unless they significantly alter the music.
3:1:5-6 & 4:1:all	 in Ox, and  in Q15	Although Ox and Q15 replicate a similar harmonic solution here, it is difficult to see how this could have been amended to produce the BU version. BU originally had an 'f' minim and the stem has been removed. The stem

²³⁵ Charles van den Borren, *Polyphonia Sacra: A continental miscellany of the fifteenth century (revised edition)*, The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society 1962, pp. 269-272

²³⁶ Throughout these discussions, examples from Ox are reversed to match the full-black notation of BU and Q15.

		on the minim 'e' looks additional.
6:3:all	<p>○◇◇◇◇ in BU, ■◇ in Ox, ◇◇◇◇ in Q15</p>	Although the differences between Ox and Q15 are negligible, the altered version in BU is difficult to understand. Both Ox and Q15 retain a pulse that goes against the duple proportion in the Cantus. If copying from a similar source, the BU scribe must have deliberately chosen to remove this cross rhythm and replace it with this homophonic version.
10:1:all	<p>◇◇◇◇ in BU and Q15, ◇◇◇◇ in Ox.</p>	
23-24:1:all	<p>◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇ in BU, ◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇◇ in Ox & Q15.</p>	Although both solutions are plausible, erasures in BU indicate that the original part here must have been almost identical to that in Ox & Q15.
25:1:all	<p>■ in BU, ◇ in Ox & Q15.</p>	Both versions here are under fermata. It appears that BU originally read the same as Ox and Q15.
30-31:2:all	<p>'◇◇□◇ in BU, '◇□◇◇ in Ox and Q15</p>	
35:3:2	<p>G in BU, F in Ox & Q15</p>	Both versions here are plausible and there is no evidence of erasure.
42:2:1	<p>◇ omitted in BU</p>	In Ox and Q15 this note imperfects the following long, but it is not necessary to complete the phrase. By omitting this note, BU's scribe balances this phrase with the preceding one and maintains simultaneous movement between the Contratenor and Tenor.
46-48:2:all	<p>■◇◇◇■ in BU, ■◇.◇◇◇■ in Ox and Q15.</p>	Both versions are plausible and both disrupt the simultaneous movement between the bottom two parts. There is no evidence of erasure.
52:2:2	<p>d in BU, e in Ox and Q15</p>	The BU version is unlikely to be correct as it produces a strong dissonance with the Tenor.
56:1:1	<p>f in BU & Ox, g in Q15</p>	The g here is likely to be incorrect, for harmonic reasons, but there are no indications of erasure or amendment in BU or Ox.

59:1&2: all	■ in BU, ■' in Ox & Q15.	Both versions here are under fermata.
59:3:all	■ in BU, ◆'' in Ox and Q15.	
60:2:2	g in BU, f in Ox and Q15.	The BU version is likely to be correct, avoiding the dissonance with the Cantus. There is no indication of an erasure or amendment in BU at this point.
62:1:4	♭ in Ox and Q15.	
65:2:all	◆◆◆ in BU and Ox, ◆◆ in Q15.	
66:1:2-3	◇ in BU, ◇·◇ in Ox & Q15	
71-end:1:all	Different harmonisation in all three parts.	The ending is entirely different in BU, which has a shorter passage under fermata, and cadences with the fundament in the Tenor and Contratenor, with the Cantus singing the fifth.

Two other aspects of this piece are worth mentioning here. The first relates to text underlay. Both Ox and Q15 have an opening melisma in the Cantus (and no text in the lower voices) which is not present in BU where both the Cantus and the Tenor are texted throughout. Shai Burstyn suggests that such an opening is indicative of an instrumental introduction²³⁷ although there is nothing beyond the lack of text to indicate that this is the case. Several works copied into BU have similar melismatic openings to the one omitted, although they fall into two distinct types. The first, exactly like *O pulcherrima mulierum* in Ox and Q15, have an initial at the beginning of the texted voices, followed by the melisma. Examples include Du Fay's *Alma redemptoris mater* and Grossin's *Imera dat hodierno*, both of which are presented as such in BU and its concordances. The other type is found in works where the first letter of the text

²³⁷ Shai Burstyn, "Early 15th Century Polyphonic Settings of Song of Songs Antiphons", *Acta Musicologica*, Vol.49, Fasc.2 (Jul.-Dec.1977), pp.225

is indented from the beginning of the line, suggesting that no words are applied to the opening. Outside the song section, there is only one example of this, Anthonius Romanus' *Ducalis sedes/stirps veneti*. In Q15, this opens with an initial 'I', which Margaret Bent suggests indicates *Introitus*.²³⁸ This initial is missing from BU, but nevertheless neither version suggests that text should be applied to this opening. Perhaps this pattern could indicate instrumental introduction, particularly as it is usually found in secular works. However, given the presence of both types in BU, the omission of this opening melisma for *O pulcherrima mulierum* is without any obvious explanation.

The second point is that BU and Ox share an astonishingly close reading in the Contratenor, in particular a mixed-coloration ligature, where Q15 divides several ligatures into either separate notes or simpler ligatures. As I mentioned above, the rhythmic changes to the Tenor could easily have been transmitted from one manuscript to another in almost any order. However, there is very little likelihood that BU and Ox could have shared this reading of the Contratenor if Q15 had been an intermediary source. To do this, BU's scribe would have had to piece together these ligatures from different note patterns throughout the voice, disregarding his exemplar and coincidentally settling on Ox's reading without any errors. To the best of my knowledge no one has ever suggested that this work was copied from either Q15 or Ox, and I do not wish to suggest that this is the case here. However, when placed in the context of all the other differences found between the three readings, it seems to me clear that Q15 could not have served as an exemplar for this work.

²³⁸ BentQ15, p. 221.

Tota pulchra es

It is unlikely to be coincidental that immediately preceding *O pulcherrima mulierum*, both on the page and in the copying sequence, is Arnold de Lantins' other setting from the Song of Songs. Unlike its partner, however, *Tota pulchra es* seems to have been entered into BU without the scribe experiencing any significant problems, and certainly without any apparent erasures. Nevertheless, there remain many differences between the different versions (Table 9).

Table 9: Differences between the concordant versions of *Tota pulchra es*

Bar:voice:note ²³⁹	Difference	Comment
3:1:2-3	◆ in BU, ◊ in Ox and Q15	
3-4:2:1	■◆ in BU, ■◆ in Ox and Q15	BU has the opening Long-breve as a ligature where both Ox and Q15 use two longs.
7:1:5-7	◆◆ in BU, ◊◊◊ in Ox and Q15	Neither of these changes are over text.
8:1:4-6	◆◆ in BU, ◊◊◊ in Ox and Q15	
9:1:3	' in BU, ◆ (a') in Ox and Q15	
9-11:3:all	■◆◆◆◆ in BU, ■ in Ox and Q15	The Tenor is fully texted in BU accounting for a large number of changes such as these. All are noted in Charles van den Borren's edition and will not be replicated here.
10:1:2	◆◆ in BU, ◆ in Ox and Q15	
15:1:all	◆◆◆◆ in BU, ■◆ in Ox and Q15	The simpler cadence in Ox and Q15 is in parallel with second Cantus part found in Q15.
15:2:3	◆ in BU and Ox, ◆◆ in Q15	
19:1:all	◆◆◆◆◆ in BU, ◆◆◆◆◆ in Ox and Q15	Although both solutions work, the cadential pattern in BU is rhythmically in parallel with the Contratenor.

²³⁹ Charles van den Borren, *Polyphonia Sacra: A continental miscellany of the fifteenth century (revised edition)*, The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society 1962, pp.262-266

20:1:all:all	Omitted breve rest in BU Cantus. Remaining parts are ■ in BU, ■ in Ox and Q15.	All three parts changed without any apparent problem for the scribe.
25:1:all	◆◆◆◆ in BU, ◆◆◆◆ in Ox and Q15	
30:1:all	◆◆◆◆ in BU, ■◆ in Ox and Q15	This rhythm is taken by the fourth voice in Q15.
59:all:1	Omitted semibreve rest in BU Cantus (breve perfected). ■ in BU Tenor, ■ in Ox and Q15. * in all three BU parts	BU treats this breve as <i>signum congruentiae</i> meaning that the rest is unnecessary, although the presence of the rest in the Contratenor could indicate that the Cantus rest was in the exemplar, although the long in the Tenor is clearly incorrect. Both Ox and Q15 have the Tenor note as part of a ligature and place no special significance upon the cadence.
68:1:1-2	Omitted semibreve in BU (breve perfected)	Although the semibreve is texted in both Ox and Q15, BU has a different text arrangement that is still applicable.
74:3:4	◆ a added in BU	This note is probably added to aid the text underlay.
75:3:all	■' in BU, ■ in Ox and Q15.	
76:1:2-3	Omitted semibreve rest in BU (semibreve altered).	

This wide range of differences (and once again the fact that Ox and Q15 are usually the same) suggests that *Tota pulchra es* too did not originate through a copying sequence ending with BU. The opening ligature of the Contratenor is one instance that immediately attracts attention. The part is untexted so there is no need to divide the long found in Ox and Q15 into smaller units and there is no obvious reason why this change would have been made if copying from an exemplar like them.

That the BU version is older than that of all three other sources is confirmed by the differences found at bar 21. If copying from one of the other

sources the scribe would have had to remove a breve, in all three parts, without error and without need. This is possible, but we have already seen how the scribe has failed to manage this in other locations. Then there is the matter of why the omission was made in the first place. It does not serve any musical purpose other than to afford the fourth voice the opportunity to introduce an imitative opening to the next section (see Ex. 39). In all likelihood, the breve rest was added to a version similar to that in BU at the same time as the

Ex. 39: *Tota pulchra es*, Bars 18-22/23 in BU (top) and Q15.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the piece 'Tota pulchra es'. Each system consists of four staves. The top system represents the original manuscript (BU), and the bottom system represents a revised version (Q15). The music is written in a three-part setting with a 3/4 time signature. The top staff of each system contains a vocal line with a breve rest at the beginning. The middle two staves contain instrumental or vocal lines with various rhythmic patterns, including triplets in the Q15 version. The bottom staff contains a bass line with a slur over the final two measures.

fourth voice was added. This, in turn, suggests that the fourth voice was removed, possibly to enable it fit on a single page, when *Tota pulchra es* was copied into Ox, again removing any potential sequence from Ox to BU via Q15. Having found that two works by Arnold de Lantins, which appear to have been copied at the same time as each other and in the scribe's first copying stage, cannot have been copied from Q15 or Ox, it is time to turn our attention to the most studied of the concordant works, the *Missa Verbum incarnatum*.

Chapter 9: Arnold de Lantins – *Missa Verbum incarnatum*

A cyclic Mass?

Taken as a whole the Lantins Mass is by far the largest concordant work between the three sources, and, save for a passage of the *Credo Cantus* found in MuL, is found only in them. All the movements share a head motif to a greater or lesser extent (see Ex. 40 below) and have the same clefs, voice ranges, and harmonic structure, all tending to indicate that they were composed to be a whole. Yet despite these connections the Mass is presented as a complete work only in Q15, where it spans ff. 172v-177 with each movement following on from the previous one without interruption, starting immediately underneath the last where possible. In Ox the mass is broken up into distinct sections, although they are all (along with *O pulcherrima mulierum*) found in the same gathering. The first three movements copied as a single unit copied on ff. 63-66, with the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* placed later in the same gathering, separately (and in reverse order), on ff. 70v-71, and f. 68 respectively.

In BU the Mass appears as a *Kyrie/Gloria* pair on pp. 2-5 and the *Credo* appearing separately and without attribution on pp. 34-37. The *Sanctus* and *Agnus* movements do not appear at all in BU. The separation of the first two movements from the *Credo* is accounted for by the scribe's planned layout that separated, at least in the early stages, linked Mass movements into separate sections. Furthermore, comparison of the copying styles shows clearly that Charles Hamm's assertion that the three movements were copied into the manuscript as a single unit must be correct.²⁴⁰ The movements were copied at the same stage and were entered in sequence, after Du Fay's *Credo* (pp. 32-33) and before the Reson Mass. In this there is some similarity with Ox, where it

²⁴⁰ HammR, pp. 14-16.

seems logical that the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Credo* of the Mass have been deliberately entered as a unit, presumably also coming to that scribe together. However, the separation of the remaining two movements of the Mass, along with the fact that each appears to be have been copied at random rather than paired, suggests that, for the Ox scribe, this work arrived in at least two sections and possibly three.

Charles Hamm took this layout to indicate that the Mass was originally composed in two or more sections, with the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* movements being a later addition to the trio of movements presented together in BU and Ox.²⁴¹ Indeed, he goes further, concluding that the BU version is the earliest of the three, being copied at a time when the other two movements had not yet been composed.

There are clear reasons as to how he formulated this hypothesis. Not only are these last two movements physically separated in BU and Ox, but they are also stylistically different. The most obvious difference is the change in mensuration, both movements being notated with an opening ϕ instead of the \ominus of the other movements.

Kyrie	\ominus	\circ	\ominus	\ominus
Gloria	\ominus	\circ	\ominus	
Credo	\ominus	\circ	\ominus	\ominus
Sanctus	ϕ	\circ	ϕ	
Agnus	ϕ	\circ	\ominus	

²⁴¹ HammR, pp.12-13.

Quite why this change should be made is unclear, not least because the musical effect here was probably non-existent. It is clear from the surviving repertory that the use of cut-mensuration signs (♢ & ⊕) was something that developed during the first quarter of the fifteenth century and it is certainly the case that its presence does not become ubiquitous until the 1430s.²⁴² Its use remains a bone of contention for many scholars and while some pieces provide us with valuable information by placing a cut-mensuration in one voice against a conventional mensuration in another, this is not the case here where all three voices are marked ⊕. Of course, this sign was not a revolutionary invention. Reinhard Strohm points out²⁴³ that its probable first recorded usage is at least thirty years earlier in Baude Cordier's *Belle, bonne, sage*.²⁴⁴ However, the lack of consistent usage in practice, and the ambiguity of the theoretical treatises, leaves us with a problem in interpretation. I would suggest that, in this case, the use of ⊕ indicates simple diminutum by half. While this will invariably lead to some very rapid semiminims, it is the only way in which the head motif of the last two movements can be seen to match that of the first three. And if we are to assume, for the time being, that the presence of these head motifs is real and intended, such a direct relationship must surely have been the composer's intention.

Nevertheless, this change of mensuration remains perplexing. And when it is added to the other changes in style for these two movements (the shift from contrapuntal writing between Cantus and Contratenor to a more homophonic

²⁴² HammR p. 13, & Widaman i, p. 133.

²⁴³ StrohmEu, pp.176-177

²⁴⁴ Chantilly, Musée Condé 564, f.11v.

texture,²⁴⁵ and the dilution of the head motifs as shown below (Ex. 40 below), it is clear that they were conceived differently from the first three movements.

Reinhard Strohm took these aspects and concluded that all five movements of the Mass could well have been written simultaneously, suggesting that Arnold “wanted some degree of variety to counteract total ‘unification’.”²⁴⁶ This argument raises more questions than it answers, however. If the composer wanted to avoid unification, why did he bother to write a Mass cycle with so many unifying features at all? In my opinion, the more compelling argument is Hamm’s theory that the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* were added to a pre-existing partial Mass that was already in circulation.

The distinction between the two sections can also be seen in the head-motifs. The first three movements clearly display a similar pattern that has been replicated in all three voices, with the *Gloria* and *Credo* remaining identical for three perfections in the BU version, while the *Kyrie* holds true for only one, although the overall shape is clearly similar. However, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* head-motif, while similar in each movement, is considerably different from that of the *Gloria* and *Credo*. The Cantus retains its descent from c” to g’ while the other two parts deviate after the first note leading to a different harmonisation of this opening melody. These differences too would seem to indicate a separate time of composition for the last two movements, and possibly also for the *Kyrie*.

²⁴⁵ Hamm also points out the use of coloured rather than flagged semiminims in the Ox *Sanctus*, and suggests that this may also indicate a later date for the movement. However, the Q15 scribe uses flagged semiminims throughout and David Fallows (FallowsOx, p. 42) notes that Ox originally presented these notes in the same manner as Q15, indicating that this was a scribal alteration rather than being drawn from an exemplar with different notation.

²⁴⁶ StrohmEu, p.177

Ex. 40: Head motifs from the *Missa Verbum incarnatum*

Kyrie (BU, pp.2-3)

Musical notation for the Kyrie head motif, featuring three staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is primarily composed of half and quarter notes with some rests.

Gloria (BU, pp.3-4)

Musical notation for the Gloria head motif, featuring three staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is primarily composed of half and quarter notes with some rests.

Credo (BU, pp.34-36)

Musical notation for the Credo head motif, featuring three staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is primarily composed of half and quarter notes with some rests.

Sanctus (Q15, ff.175v-177)

Musical notation for the Sanctus head motif, featuring three staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is primarily composed of half and quarter notes with some rests.

Agnus (Q15, ff.176v-177)

Musical notation for the Agnus head motif, featuring three staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The melody is primarily composed of half and quarter notes with some rests.

However, this assumes that the head-motifs were intended by the composer. The head-motifs shown above demonstrate clearly, I think, the existence of a common motif. However, in Ox and Q15 the *Gloria* has a two-voice canonic opening, removing the Contratenor, altering the Cantus and introducing an entirely new Tenor. This removes the concept of a head-motif entirely from the lower two voices as well as reducing the parity in the Cantus lines to only two perfections (see Ex. 40). This means that in the two sources containing the complete Mass only the Sanctus and Agnus actually share head motifs in all three voices, with the first three movements showing a melodic similarity, but little else in common.

This is an important point when we come to discussing the authority of the versions in this piece. Jean Widaman highlights the fact that all three *Gloria/Credo* pairs by Arnold de Lantins copied in Q15 have identical head motifs of several perfections²⁴⁷ and uses this to argue for the BU opening being the original version.²⁴⁸ I agree with her analysis of this section and her suggestion, echoing Charles Hamm,²⁴⁹ that there was originally a *Gloria/Credo* pair, to which Arnold added a *Kyrie* and finally a *Sanctus/Agnus* pair. It also seems plausible, as Widaman suggests, that the revision of the *Gloria* opening came about when the Mass was completed, although this is perhaps a little more speculative. It does seem to me to be odd that Arnold would introduce a *Sanctus/Agnus* pair with identical head-motifs at the same time as he scrapped that idea in his earlier movements. Perhaps more likely is that this canonic

²⁴⁷ Widaman i, pp. 248-249.

²⁴⁸ She also argues, quite persuasively, that Q15 appears to have been copied directly from Ox. While this lies outside the scope of this thesis, this point will be of relevance when we examine the other concordant works.

²⁴⁹ HammR, p. 13.

opening instead reflects a solution to an earlier corrupt reading of the original head motif that became established in the exemplars of Ox and Q15.

This possibility perhaps helps explain the deviation from the original head-motif and the change to a new style of mensuration and harmony in the last two movements. The *Sanctus* and *Agnus* were written to complement the first three movements, but as these were already well known there was no need to retain the stylistic features of the earlier part, or modernise the older movements. As the only two surviving works by Arnold to use cut signatures, these movements must be considered as late in his output and it is possible that he was adding them to a first part composed several years before.

So should we consider this as being a unified cycle? There are substantial differences in compositional style, head-motif and even mensuration that would argue against the movements being copied at the same time and present an immediate case against unification.

However, to the scribe of Q15 this was clearly a full five-movement Mass and he copied it as such. We know that the scribe of Q15 favoured Mass cycles and grouped sections, even where they did not exist before. Indeed, in some cases, he even created pairs and Masses that were not “compositionally related”.²⁵⁰ Is this an example of two similar groups of movements by a composer being juxtaposed to meet the standards of Q15’s scribe?

Evidence that the Q15 version was compiled from separate exemplars is found in the margin of f.152v in Q15 where the scribe has scribbled an attribution to Arnold at the side of the *Sanctus* opening, something that he did not elect to do for the *Gloria* or *Agnus* movements that similarly begin part way

²⁵⁰ Widaman i, p. 82, BentQ15, pp. 153-157

down a side. Charles Hamm's theory on manuscript compilation²⁵¹ argues that ascriptions are often found in sources only where they appear in the original exemplar. For this reason Mass movements often have ascriptions only above the first movement of the set, the subsequent movements not requiring ascriptions in the original format as they form part of a deliberate unit. The copying of the Mass movements by both Arnold and Reson into BU are examples of this practice, with the later movements appearing anonymously. In an instance such as this, therefore, the presence of a seemingly redundant ascription by the Sanctus may indicate that these last two movements were drawn from a different source (or from different locations within the same source) to the other movements.

Certainly the scribe of Ox would seem to have been presented with the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* separated from the first three movements and most probably from each other. Both movements have ascriptions to Arnold, so the scribe cannot have been in any doubt as to their origin, yet they were still not presented as a pair by the scribe, despite the fact that he presented the first three movements together. This separate transmission of the last two movements into both Q15 and Ox also helps to explain their absence from BU. Regardless of whether the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* had been added to the Mass at the time the first three movements were copied into BU, there is no evidence that the complete Mass was in circulation before it was entered into Q15 and it is more than likely that the scribe simply did not have the movements to hand.

So there remains just one more question in this discussion: What do we mean when we talk about this work as a cyclic mass? Reinhard Strohm argues the case for this Mass being based on the motet by Arnold, *O pulcherrima*

²⁵¹ See the discussion of this on pp. 91-93.

mulierum, which could precede the Mass in performance.²⁵² This Marian work is found, strangely enough, only in the three sources at the centre of this discussion, and has a similar harmonic structure, and the same final, as the Mass movements. Strohm also points out that its mensural structure ([C] ○ C) matches that of the *Gloria* in the same way that the *Kyrie* and *Credo* match, making the Mass “symmetrical”.²⁵³ Finally, there are several passages of music, identified by Strohm, which are found in both the Mass and the Antiphon.

Yet even this does not provide much in the way of tangible evidence. The direct quotes are brief and hidden in the body of the works, which could perhaps indicate that their similarities are simply coincidental or the product of being written by the same composer at around the same time. Which leaves us with five movements, of which the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* are clearly musically related in both of the sources in which they appear, but would appear to have been composed later than the earlier three. The *Gloria* and *Credo* are a definite linked pair, but only in BU, and the *Kyrie* displays some links to all of the other movements.

However, one final piece of evidence exists to confirm that Arnold did indeed compose the *Sanctus/Agnus* pair to complete his Mass. Jean Widaman concludes her discussion of the Mass with the comments:

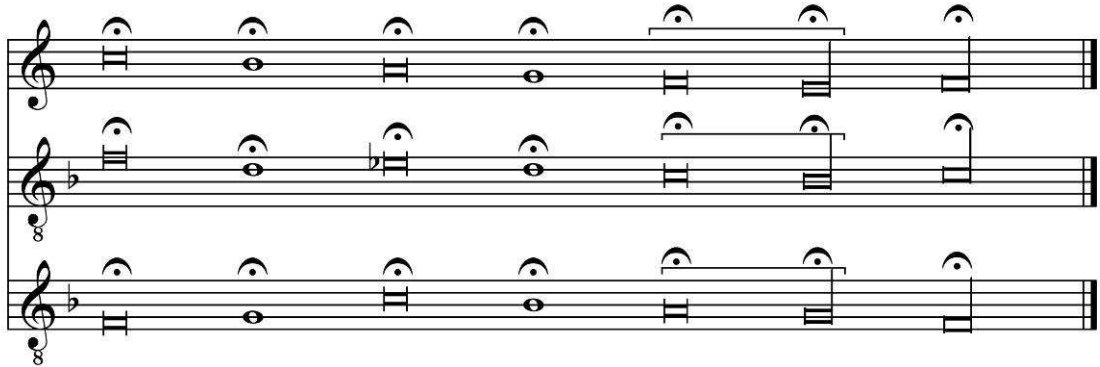
the only clear indication that Arnold intended for all five movements to form a cycle is his use in the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* of a head motive similar but not identical to that found in the earlier movements. As in other pretenor cycles by continental composers, we do not yet find a concern

²⁵² Reinhard Strohm, 'Einheit und Funktion früher Meßzyklen', in *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Dubowy (Munich, 1990), pp. 99-116 and *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 176-177.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

with clearly audible connections among all five movements of the Mass Ordinary.²⁵⁴

Ex. 41: Ending of the *Agnus* (Q15).



Widaman had earlier noted that the ending of the *Agnus* under fermata made for a more “conclusive ending for the final movement of the cycle.”²⁵⁵ In fact, this ending is the proof of the connection. The declamation, in all three voices, is an almost note-for-note presentation of the *Gloria/Credo* head-motif presented in such a way that it must have been a significant audible reference point for the listener, but only if the Mass was performed in its entirety (See Ex. 41). Although the rhythm is altered, this is clearly the same musical material and would be instantly recognisable as such. Indeed, given its prominence, at the opening of two movements and the conclusion of the cycle, that one would almost expect that this was drawn from the work on which it was based, if this work ever existed.

Defining musically related Mass cycles is often complicated. But once a Mass is considered unified (by head-motifs, tail-motifs, finals, clefs or general style) there is also the temptation to identify some other related work, easy in

²⁵⁴ Widaman i, p. 147.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

the case of the *Cantus firmus* format that began to dominate later in the century, but less so in the earlier cycles.

The notion of musically related Mass cycles being drawn from, based upon, or leading to other works is a common concept, albeit fraught with pitfalls. The designation by Reinhard Strohm of the title *O pulcherrima mulierum* to this Mass is an example in point. Although there are undoubted similarities between the two works, there are few conclusive arguments that can be drawn on. A similar problem exists in the musical relationship between Du Fay's ballade *Resvelliés vous* and the *Missa Sine nomine*, two movements of which have been copied, at separate times, into BU. Although there are clear similarities, the ballade must postdate the Mass by at least two years if Margaret Bent's dating of the first section of Q15 is correct. This makes it extremely difficult to say that the Mass has any external unifying influence. With both *O pulcherrima mulierum* and *Resvelliés vous* the presence of musical similarity between them and the Mass is best explained by the composer recycling, or being inspired by, material he has written, in one direction or another, rather than deliberate referencing.

Of course, examples do exist where there are clear external influences. Du Fay's *Credo...Amen, dic Maria/la villanella* quotes what must surely be a pre-existing secular work in all four voices of the *Amen*,²⁵⁶ although sadly the original song is now lost to us. This loss means that it is not possible to say whether the rest of the movement was based on parts of this song too. The fact that such a relatively small amount of the music that must have been composed has survived to the present day has necessarily robbed us of some linked works, but it may also have taken from us the ability to accurately recognise

²⁵⁶ BentQ15, p. 171.

some composer's stylistic development or musical gestures that characterised certain stages of his output.

It is for these reasons that I approach this next discussion with some caution. Nevertheless, there is a work in the surviving canon that shows distinct relationships with Arnold de Lantins' Mass, but has not to my knowledge ever been associated with it. The lauda setting *In tua memoria* copied in Ox (f. 52v) and Q15 (ff. 309v-310) lacks many of the similarities that you would expect to see in a connected work: the clefs are different, starting notes and finals are different and the starting mensurations differ.

Yet there are strong similarities that are hidden just below the surface. The opening perfections of *In tua memoria* (Ex. 42) are, transposed down a third, almost identical to the opening perfections of the first three movements of the Mass and the ending of the *Agnus dei* in all three parts. *In tua memoria* further repeats this motif, over the words *simus ut sit*, with both the Cantus and Tenor repeating at the same pitch as the Mass head-motif, although the Contratenor here is different. There are other similarities that are less obvious, which could on their own reflect compositional practice or simply coincidence. However, I believe the stark comparison between the principal motifs of these works is sufficient to suggest that they are closely related and that the deliberate intention of the closing motif of the *Agnus* is to echo *In tua memoria*.

Not that I believe that this necessarily requires a further rebranding of the Arnold's Mass as the *Missa In tua memoria*. Further work is needed to indicate whether there is a tangible compositional relationship that goes beyond this quoted motif and it is probably best for the time being to retain the works original title, based on its trope text, of the *Missa Verbum incarnatum*.

Ex. 42: First section of *In tua memoria* (from *Ox*).

[Cantus] In tu - a me - mo - ri - a vir - go ma - ter

Contra In tu - a me - mo - ri - a vir - go ma - ter

Tenor In tu - a me - mo - ri - - - a vir - go ma - ter

8

C na - - - ta si - mus ut sit glo - ri - a per -

Ct na - - - ta si - mus ut sit glo - ri - a per -

T na - - - ta si - mus ut sit glo - ri - a per -

15

C pes no - bis da - - - ta.

Ct pes no - bis da - - - ta.

T pes no - bis da - - - ta.

Transmission through the sources

One question not discussed above relates to the way in which Arnold's Mass, whatever designation it is given, was transmitted through the surviving sources. Gilbert Reaney²⁵⁷ argues strongly for a copying order in relation to these three manuscripts which has BU being a direct copy of Q15. However, his

²⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 495.

reasons for reaching this conclusion are not clear. As Widaman says, “Reaney gave no evidence in support of his claim that the BU scribe copied Arnold’s Mass from BL [Q15].”²⁵⁸ She then goes on to present a case to support this view, which I shall turn to shortly.

Although not necessarily pivotal to the dating of the manuscript itself, such a suggestion has a significant impact on the authority of BU as a source and also raises questions about why this scribe was apparently copying early versions of works when more modern “revisions” were available, particularly as the date for the compilation of BU now appears to be contemporaneous with the final stages of Q15 and the early stages of Ox.

The most obvious place to start this discussion on transmission is with the fact that the final two movements of the Mass have not found their way into BU. As Hamm suggested,²⁵⁹ this is most likely as a result of the scribe not having these movements available to him at the time of copying. After all, the Q15 scribe begins copying the Sanctus immediately following the conclusion of the Credo and so, if BU is indeed a direct copy from Q15, BU’s scribe must have deliberately omitted these two movements.

There is an argument against this, citing BU’s bias away from *Sanctus* and *Agnus* settings. There is only one polyphonic settings of each of the Sanctus and Agnus in the first layer of copying, both of which are in Reson’s Mass, in comparison to four of the *Kyrie* and five of the *Gloria* and *Credo*. Widaman suggests that the absence of these movements reflects a deliberate decision on the part of the scribe to exclude them from his plan, perhaps due to his having no liturgical need for polyphonic versions of these sections of the

²⁵⁸ Widaman i, p.215.

²⁵⁹ HammR p. 15.

Mass.²⁶⁰ While this could be a general trend for the source as a whole, it should be noted that there are relatively few settings of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus* anywhere else in the surviving repertory and the majority of those that have survived are associated with full Mass settings.

Furthermore, this suggestion fits particularly poorly in relation to Lantini's Mass as it has been copied into BU. Immediately following the copying of the Lantini Mass movements, the scribe has copied Reson's Mass in its entirety, complete with *Sanctus* and *Agnus*, and makes no attempt to divide the Mass other than on the same structural grounds as he used for Lantini's. In short, the apparent bias away from *Sanctus* and *Agnus* settings does not seem to have affected the scribe's plan when he had a complete cycle available to him at around the same time as he copied the first three movements of Lantini's Mass. The scribe clearly saw Lantini's works as being of great importance, with only Du Fay being represented by more items, and with Reson coming third in total works behind these two one feels compelled to agree with Charles Hamm that the reason for the missing movements is that they were not there to begin with. But the argument against direct copying goes further than this and is important in establishing how BU's contents fit into the transmission of music in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth-century.

From the outset, the *Kyrie* from the *Missa Verbum incarnatum* (pp. 2-3) shows all the hallmarks of having been a problematic piece for the scribe to copy, something which continues to be evident throughout the work. There are several erasures and corrections, some of which are straightforward to explain: although difficult to see in the facsimile (Ex. 43), at the beginning of the penultimate *Kyrie* of the Cantus (all six verses of the *Kyrie* and all three of the

²⁶⁰ Widaman i, pp. 89-90.

Ex. 43: Opening of penultimate *Kyrie* of Cantus on p. 2 line 8. Note the faint scratched out note-heads below the correct pitches.

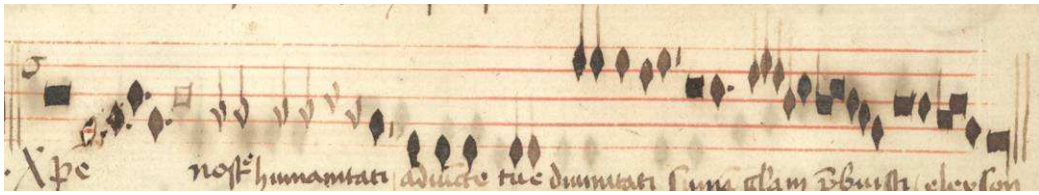


Christe are copied here with continuations of the trope text) the scribe originally began copying into the space below the correct pitch. The error was spotted and subsequently erased and corrected, but as it is so obvious there seems no reason to suppose that this problem was caused by anything other than a scribal oversight.

In the *Kyrie* at least, the majority of the amendments are in the Tenor line. This could initially be taken as being representative of changes being made by the scribe to alter the rhythm to allow for a fully texted voice. However, the full picture is more complicated than that.

Certainly it appears that the scribe probably altered the latter sections of the Tenor for this purpose. The opening three presentations of the *Kyrie* are notated in a very similar manner to those of Q15, where these sections are also fully texted. But as the scribe moves into the *Christe*, Q15's text ceases and the note values become longer, even though there is plenty of space available to insert the full text. BU's scribe is more pushed for space (Q15 places the last *Kyrie* of each voice on the following opening) and while the note values are divided to allow the text to be copied, both music and text become increasingly bunched towards the end of the page. This would seem to be strong evidence that, in this instance, BU's scribe was the originator of the fully texted Tenor, and that his exemplar looked similar to Q15.

Ex. 44: Opening of the final *Christe* Tenor, p. 3 line 8.



Ex. 45: Final *Christe* opening section

[Cantus]

Contra.

Ox Tenor

Q15 Tenor

BU Tenor

5

C

Ct.

Ox

Q15

BU

However, in the same work, at the opening of the final *Christe* of the Tenor a different type of amendment is made (Ex. 44). Here the final version is difficult to read, but appears to be two dotted semibreves, although it is clear that there was originally something else beneath that has been scratched out. Indeed, the scratching was so vigorous that the first semibreve is now nothing but a hole.

Comparison with Ox and Q15, shows that both have colored breves on the same pitches as the erased notes found in BU and it seems highly likely that this is what the scribe originally copied here. It is also clear that these two breves are part of the 'correct' version of this line. This section of the piece opens with an unusual set of cross-rhythms, particularly in the Tenor, which the composer has articulated using irregular groups of coloration and dots of addition on consecutive semibreves (Ex. 45). Assuming that this was the original intention, the composer could not have replicated this passage in any other way, although it seems unnecessarily complex in the context of the piece. However, only Ox provides a Tenor that contains the correct number of semibreves. BU's solution is a semibreve too short, although there is no apparent attempt to correct this further error. Q15, on the other hand, only colors the second of the breves in the second coloration group, leading to the first breve being perfect. This leaves Q15's Tenor a semibreve too long.

BU shows the second coloration group (divided into smaller note values) in the same manner as Ox and must surely have been copying from an exemplar that, like Ox but unlike Q15, had a six semibreve coloration group in this location. Unfortunately the scribe appears to have remained confused by the apparent lack of a colored breve in the original ligature and tried to correct what he thought was an error in his exemplar. However, this is an instance when scribal initiative had an entirely detrimental impact. The failure to provide an effective solution, whatever it may be, also shows that while the scribe had some musical intuition, his ability was limited.

While there are other amendments in the *Kyrie* that could be noted, it is more important for this discussion to move onto the *Gloria*, which lies at the heart of the arguments, both for and against, about a linear copying sequence.

In particular, any argument that the Mass in BU was copied from Q15 needs to confront the problems raised by the opening of the *Gloria*. Both Ox and Q15 transmit the *Et in terra* section with a canonic opening in the Cantus part, with the Tenor annotated as *Tuba sub fuga*. Q15 also transmits a further opening, in three parts marked *sine fuga*, which Jean Widaman has accurately identified as being composed in order to correct an error in his copy of the Cantus part.²⁶¹ As can be seen from the examples below (Ex. 46), a breve has been omitted from the fifth perfection of the Cantus in Q15, which has obvious knock-on effects for the canonic part. It is clear that the scribe noticed that there was an error relatively early on. There was an initial attempt to correct just the Tenor part: Widaman notes that perfections 5 through 7 have been amended in a lighter ink over an erased original which reads exactly the same as that in Ox. But this emendation is clumsy in itself, and more importantly it fails to address the true problem which is the now contradictory canonic part. This error became irredeemable and so the scribe has subsequently added a new three-part introduction, which retains his original (and incorrect) Cantus and freely rewrites the Tenor and adds a “sy placet” Contratenor in place of the canon to produce a musically acceptable opening.

²⁶¹ Widaman i, pp.226-227

Ex. 46: Openings of the *Gloria*: BU, Ox, Q15 *con fuga* and without.

The image displays a musical score for three vocal parts: Cantus, Contratenor, and Tenor. It is organized into four systems, each representing a different opening of the Gloria. Each system consists of three staves. The Cantus part is written in a soprano clef, the Contratenor in an alto clef, and the Tenor in a tenor clef. The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. The first system shows the initial entries of the three voices. The second system features a more complex rhythmic pattern in the Cantus part, with the Contratenor and Tenor parts providing harmonic support. The third and fourth systems continue the development of the musical themes, with the Cantus part often leading the texture.

This error and its correction indicate that Q15 originally copied from a source that was very similar to Ox, although it perhaps already had the missing breve in the Cantus.²⁶² It also shows that Q15's scribe was musically literate and revisited his work after copying, although he does not appear to have had access to a further correct copy of the Mass on which to base his corrections. BU, on the other hand, fails to provide either of the two versions presented in Q15. Instead, the version presented here is more in keeping with the other movements, beginning with the *In tua memoria* head-motif, which is identical to that of the *Credo* and similar to that of the *Kyrie*, and retains independent voices rather than pursuing a canon. It is substantially shorter than the canonic versions and prefers to use the syllabic style found in the rest of the movement rather than the extended melismas found in Q15 and Ox. The BU version also cadences on C, rather than the F transmitted in the other two, meaning that all the sections in this *Gloria* have the same cadence.

This would seem to be quite conclusive evidence that that work could not have been copied directly from Q15. While there is an obvious error in the original copying of this work in Q15, the rewritten version is both competent and musical, and it seems odd that the scribe of BU should (if the presumed copying sequence is indeed correct) dismiss both versions out of hand in favour of his own handiwork. We have seen that BU's scribe did make changes to his works, but not elsewhere on this scale. Once again, it seems that our scribe was unaware of the other versions transmitted in Ox and Q15.

²⁶² Jean Widaman uses this error as part of an argument that the Q15 scribe copied from Ox itself.

Ex. 47: P. 5 of BU showing the error in the Contratenor and the new line beneath the residuum Tenor (indicated by the pointing finger). Below is the corresponding section from Q15.



However, later in the same movement there is a correction by BU's scribe that has been used to argue against this. The passage in question relates to several measures in the Contratenor which the scribe has written and subsequently deleted (See Ex. 47). The original copy is too short and so he has added an alternative passage, after copying the Tenor, to render the Contratenor performable.

The fact that this amendment exists at all is, in itself, an interesting area for discussion. How did the scribe come to identify the erroneous passage, and then how did he correct it? It is clear that he did not realise his error immediately as the Contratenor continues to its conclusion and is followed by the residuum Tenor before the corrected passage is inserted below. Yet he clearly realised the problem soon after, as the new passage is inserted in the same layer and style of copying as the main body. Jean Widaman cites this section as proof that BU must have been copied from Q15.²⁶³ She says that while the scribe was copying he has mistaken the end of the deleted section for a later passage and jumped from one breve rest on a c' to another. Certainly the erased section is identical, musically, with the similar passage in Q15 (although the use of ligature has more in common with Ox), and Widaman's explanation of the cause of this error must surely be correct as the part continues immediately after a subsequent breve C that forms a line end in Q15 (Ex. 47).

Errors such as these can be a good indication of a stemmatic link, but there are a number of characteristics in this particular error which show that in this case there cannot be a direct relationship between Q15 and BU. Although the source of this error is a simple reading problem, BU's exemplar was already different to Q15. Before even reaching this passage, BU omits a perfection,

²⁶³ Widaman i, pp.236-41

almost simultaneously in all three parts, over the word near the beginning of the *Qui tollis* section (see Ex. 48). This appears to have caused the scribe no problems in his copying and serves no musical purpose, with the omitted sections of the Tenor leading to some uncomfortable harmony in BU which is consonant in Q15. This would seem to indicate that the change originated in BU's exemplar rather than with the scribe. A similar instance occurs at the end of the corrected Contratenor passage where four perfections in Q15 are reduced to three in BU in the passage beginning *Quoniam tu solus sanctus*. Again the scribe appears to have had no problem in making simultaneous changes in all three parts at once (Ex. 49.), this time without any harmonic problems either.

Widaman refers to this second instance and uses it to suggest that the scribe had access to two sources, Q15 and another that was different in many respects, the conflicts in BU being the result of the scribe combining the two sources as he wrote.²⁶⁴ However, I think it more likely that instead BU was copying from a single source that had several errors.

²⁶⁴ Widaman i, p. 241-8.

Ex. 48: Opening of *Qui tollis* from the *Gloria*. BU (top) is missing material found in Q15 (marked in grey, bottom).

The image displays a musical score for the opening of "Qui tollis" from the Gloria. It is organized into four systems, each containing three staves: [Cantus], Contra., and Tenor. The first system shows the initial vocal entries. The second system, starting at measure 6, shows the instrumental accompaniment for C, Ct., and T. The third system shows the vocal parts again, with a grey highlight on the final note of the Tenor part. The fourth system, also starting at measure 6, shows the instrumental accompaniment with extensive grey highlighting across all three parts, indicating the missing material from Q15.

Ex. 49: Gloria section beginning *Quoniam tu solus sanctus*. BU (top) is shorter and significantly different to Q15 (missing material marked in grey, bottom).*

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system contains three staves: [Cantus], Contra., and Tenor. The second system also contains three staves: [Cantus], Contra., and Tenor. In the second system, the Cantus and Tenor parts have grey shading under the final two measures, indicating missing material. The third system contains three staves: C, Ct., and T. In this system, the C and T parts have grey shading under the first two measures, indicating missing material. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. The Cantus part in the first system is shorter than the corresponding parts in the second system.

*The Contratenor here is freely composed by the scribe in order to correct the copying error in Ex. 48, so does not resemble Q15 in any way. It is not possible to say what BU's exemplar may have had here.

There is considerable evidence that this exemplar was particularly flawed or at least problematic for the scribe to copy from. Of all the works found in BU, this movement is one of the most significantly altered, in all voices, and while many of the errors are corrected a number of stark problems remain in the final version (see Table 10 below). Some of these represent clear errors transmitted from the exemplar that were easy to amend. The opening of the *Laudamaus te* in the Contratenor shows how the scribe originally wrote the f as part of a recta ligature, which would leave it with the incorrect value of a long. Ox shows the ligature in its final, correct, oblique form, whereas Q15 instead uses a separate breve. Either version could have been incorrectly copied by BU's scribe, but this seems an elementary mistake to make by a scribe that we have already seen to have a degree of musical skill.

Further errors are more complex, however. The cadence preceding the *Amen* in BU now ends on F, rather than the C found in Ox and Q15. This change would seem to have originated as a result of an original error in the Tenor (Ex. 50). It is unclear what was originally copied but there is a clear erasure and correction from the two-semibreve ligature over the word *dei* until the final closing ligature. The fact that the final f is copied across the double bar line proves that this was added after the initial copying had been completed.

The Contratenor originally ended on a g, as it does in the concordances, which is now crossed out, and a further small e' has been added before the original leading note to complete the new cadence on F. The Cantus ends on 'c' as it does in the other sources. It is difficult to see how these errors could have arisen from Q15 and it seems likely that they must originate from either a further exemplar, or with the scribe. As this new cadence has ended up with the fifth in

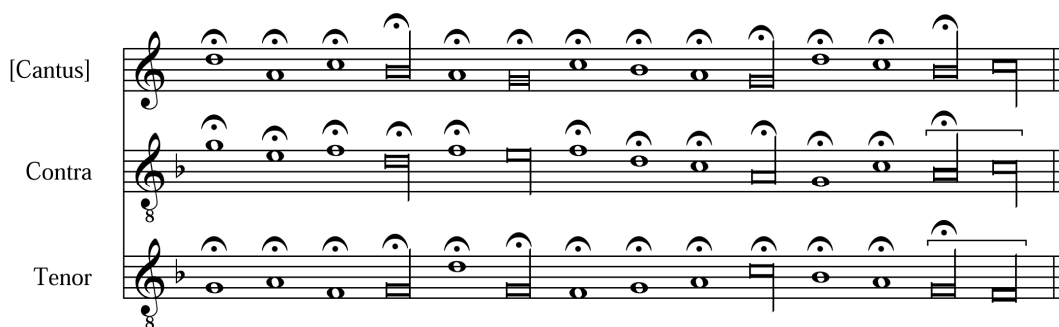
the Cantus it seems likely that, for whatever reason, the scribe has deliberately modulated this cadence for his own purposes.

Ex. 50: End of Tenor in BU (top) and Q15.



There are no visible erasures or alterations to the closing *Amen* in any of the voices, but here again there is a clear error. In this instance the error is in the Cantus, where the final four notes are inexplicably copied a fifth too high (and the long before a third too high). Again it seems highly unlikely that this could have been caused by copying from Q15 and while there is strong evidence that it was BU's scribe that amended the rhythm of this section he seems to have been quite content to write at these pitches despite the horrific clash five notes from the end and the double-fifth cadence that finally arrives (Ex. 51). This would seem to suggest that, for this section at least, the scribe

Ex. 51: *Gloria Amen* (BU). Note the particularly flawed ending.



appears to have had access to only one extremely flawed source.

Returning to the extended Contratenor correction at the beginning of this discussion, there remains the question of how the scribe came to the conclusion that this section was incorrect and where the replacement part came from. Jean Widaman's argument is that this proves the presence of two sources. She notes that the original version copied into BU and subsequently erased was the same as Q15, but also notes that both the Cantus and Tenor parts differ here (measures 62-83) from those in Ox and Q15, which are identical with each other. While most of these variants are not particularly dramatic, Widaman quite rightly points out that the number of changes, coupled with the abbreviation by a perfection of all three parts, suggest that the scribe was copying these from a source that was not Q15. Her interpretation of this is that the scribe intended to use the unknown second source for this section, and copied the Cantus and Tenor parts accordingly, but erroneously began to copy the Q15 Contratenor. "Discovering his double error – copying from the wrong source and furthermore omitting a portion of it – he began to erase, then crossed out the [Q15] reading and copied onto stave 7 the reading that agreed with the other voices."²⁶⁵

While this is possible there are a number of problems posed by this solution. The principal objection is that the original version, if copied in exactly the same manner as Q15, would have been musically appropriate. The differences between BU and Ox/Q15 in the outer voices are real, but do not interfere with the harmony and neither of the two omitted bars mentioned above are found within this relatively short erased section. It is also clear that the Contratenor line inserted to fill the omission is exceedingly simple musically: it

contains just two minima in its 21 measures, has a range which barely reaches a sixth (where movement of at least an octave is common in the surrounding sections), and it is written predominantly in note against note movement with the Tenor. While this is in keeping with the generally simple style of this section of the piece, it would also have been quite straightforward for the scribe to have composed this passage himself, without any need for an exemplar. It is clear that he did not find the job of writing this section entirely straightforward. In particular there is a passage of six perfections before the end of the newly written Contratenor section, where the scribe had originally omitted a perfection and tried to give the Contratenor the same fanfare like repetition that is found in the Cantus and Tenor. This would make musical sense, although it is not in either Ox or Q15, but the scribe clearly miscounted and later had to erase these notes in order to insert another perfection.

In the examples above, it is clear that there is no evidence of direct copying between Q15 and BU. On either side of the omission that Widaman considered as being proof of a direct relationship there are omitted perfections, easily handled by the scribe across all three parts, that would seem to indicate that he was copying not from Q15 but from another exemplar. Indeed, throughout this Gloria there are myriad differences between the version copied in Ox/Q15 and that of BU. Some of these are major, such as the introduction cited above, or the changing cadences towards the end. Undoubtedly some of these changes are the result of intervention, for whatever reason, by our scribe. However, the consistent range of minor differences found throughout this

²⁶⁵ Widaman i, p. 242.

movement, against the remarkable similarity of Q15 and Ox strongly suggests that BU's scribe did not have access to Q15 at all when copying this movement.

Widaman does note some of these differences, but prefers to suggest that they arise from the existence of a second source. So why did the scribe choose to copy different sections from different sources rather than choosing one over the other? Widaman is of the opinion that the scribe was trying to maintain an earlier version of the Mass, which was simpler and closer in style to the Credo, while incorporating elements from the complete Mass presented in Q15.²⁶⁶ However, I would argue that in the absence of conclusive evidence of copying from one manuscript to the other, it is far more likely that there was only a single exemplar available to the BU scribe, and that it was not Q15.

Table 10: Musical differences found between BU and Q15/Ox in the *Gloria*

Bar/Voice/Note ²⁶⁷	Difference	Comment
31:1:all	◆◆◆ in BU, ◆◆◆ in Ox/Q15.	Neither version is obviously correct here. BU's version begins the new text on the beat, but this goes against the Contratenor and Tenor that begin to move on the third minim. While Ox/Q15 does begin the text on the the third minim, it still goes against the rhythm in the lower voices.
31:3:2	e' in BU, f' in Ox/Q15.	This creates an augmented 4 th in BU and is therefore probably an error.
32:1:1-2	◆◆ in BU, ◆◆ (altered) in Ox/Q15.	As with the measure before, there is no clear right or wrong solution to this.
38&39:1,2&3	◆■ in BU, ■■ in Ox/Q15	

²⁶⁶Widaman i, pp. 241-250.

²⁶⁷ Bar/voice/note refers to Jean Widaman's edition. For measures 1-14 see the transcriptions above.

40-43:1,2&3	◆■ in BU, ■■ in Ox/Q15.	This results in their being an extra measure in BU, although, as it is under fermata, this may be figurative.
53:3	■c in BU, ■c ◆a in Ox/Q15	See Ex. 46. above. The reduction from l to b in the Cantus shunts everything forward a measure in BU. The Contratenor and Tenor omit measure 55 in Ox/Q15 entirely. It is difficult to see how these different versions can be derived from the same exemplar, although BU's copy is harmonically poor and unlikely to be the composer's original.
54:1:1	■ in BU, ■ in Ox/Q15	
54:3	■g-◆a in BU, ■g in Ox/Q15	
57/58:1	◆' in BU, ■ in Ox/Q15	(Widaman does not reconcile the differing versions until 59)
62-83:2		Error in Contratenor with rewritten passage. See Ex. 48. above.
63:1:1	◆ in BU, ◆ in Ox/Q15	
64:1	◆c'' ◆b' ◆a' ◆e' in BU ◆c'' ◆b' ◆a' in Ox/Q15	There is no apparent reason for these changes to the Cantus. Also of note is that the Cantus here uses a semibreve with an oblique stem.
65:1:1	■f' in BU, ◆◆◆◆ (last minim altered) in Ox/Q15	
66:1:1	◆◆◆ in BU, ■◆ in Ox/Q15	
70:3	■c ◆e in BU, ■e ◆f in Ox/Q15	This difference radically alters the harmonic progression creating a diminished chord on E for the last note of this measure in BU. This is unlikely to be correct.
73:3:1	g' in BU, b'-flat in Ox/Q15	
75:1:2	◆ in Q15, ◆◆ in BU/Ox	One of only two variant readings between Ox and Q15
81:1	◆a' ■g in BU, ◆c'' ◆a' ◆g' ◆f' in Ox/Q15	
81:3	◆F ■c in BU, ■F ◆F	
82/83:1:1	g' in BU, a' in Q15	1) All three parts in BU are a breve

82/83:3	<p>◆B-flat ◆A ◆G in BU, ◆f</p> <p>◆b-flat ◆A ◆F ◆G in Ox/Q15</p>	<p>shorter than Ox/Q15 (Ex. 50). Widaman reconciles them at bar 85.</p> <p>2) Much of the preceding passage has rhythmic unison between the Tenor and Contratenor in BU including a ligature shared in 82. This may indicate that the Contratenor was written to match the pre-existing Tenor line.</p>
83/84:2	<p>■c' in BU, ■c'' in Ox/Q15</p>	
88:2:1	<p>■ in BU, ■' in Ox/Q15</p>	
89:1:1,2 & 3:1	<p>'◆ in BU, ■ in Ox/Q15</p>	<p>The rest is omitted in the Contratenor and Tenor, but is inferred from the Cantus. This may be another example, however, that the rhythm is notional under fermata, as without the rest in the Cantus this makes the same pattern as measures 38-43 above.</p>
96:1	<p>Coloured ■c'' ◆d'' in BU,</p> <p>◆c'' ◆d'' ◆e'' in Ox/Q15</p>	
99:2:1	<p>f' in BU, d' in Ox/Q15</p>	<p>While both parts are different here the harmony remains intact.</p>
99:3	<p>■d in BU, ■f ◆e in Ox/Q15</p>	
100:3:1	<p>e' in BU, d' in Ox/Q15</p>	<p>This would appear to be an error in BU</p>
103:3	<p>◆g ◆c' in BU, coloured</p> <p>■g◆a in Ox/Q15</p>	<p>The harmony would suggest that the Contratenor and Tenor have been changed at the same time.</p>
103:2:3	<p>g in BU, f in Ox/Q15</p>	
104-106:2&3		<p>Contratenor and Tenor lines are changed to affect a cadence on 'f' rather than 'c'.</p>
108-end		<p>There are substantial rhythmic differences under fermata in BU as compared to Ox/Q15, and a small change between Ox/Q15. This is probably notional and, therefore, inconsequential.</p>
116-120/125-end:1	<p>g'-d''-c''-b'-c'' in BU, e'-g'-f'-e'-f' in Ox/Q15</p>	<p>Copied a fifth too high in BU, leading to a final cadence with two fifths. No obvious reason for this as it is clearly notated in the other sources.</p>

Conclusions

BU has been known to academics for well over two hundred years with Padre Martini's original study proving more accurate and detailed than that produced by several later scholars who were not aware of his work. Further studies of the manuscript were made, usually in the context of Du Fay studies (Haberl and Lisio), but they did not reflect any detailed analysis of the source or its origins. Even the two main twentieth-century studies, by Besseler and Gallo, were relatively brief and superficial, although each brought new topics of discussion to the forefront. Since Alberto Gallo's study, subsequent work on the manuscript has taken his dating and provenance evidence as the basis for building arguments about the works contained in BU and their relationship to the other sources from the early fifteenth century.

It still remains possible that Gallo's proposed date of post-1440 for the completion of the main body of the manuscript is correct. The only firm evidence that can be drawn from the manuscript remains *terminus post quem* dates based on the few securely dateable works copied. The absence of later works is no guarantee that copying did not take place at a later date. However, it is a reasonable assumption, given the spread of works in the manuscript, that the last items to be entered were copied roughly contemporaneously with their composition. Without firm information from other sources, this will remain the best that we can draw upon. Therefore, Heinrich Besseler's proposed date of "the years following 1433" seems far more appropriate for the compilation of BU, although I would suggest that this is the date of its completion rather than its beginning. It is in fact likely that that copying actually began some years earlier and took place in several stages.

The restoration of this earlier date is important in terms of how we consider the works found in BU. At the later date proposed by Gallo, the music was copied later than the concordant entries in Ox and Q15. This in turn meant that the substantial differences in copying found between the versions copied in BU and elsewhere were an indication either of substantial stemmatic drift or of the scribe deliberately changing his texts when copying from exemplars that were similar to (or may actually have been) the two larger manuscripts. This view has been pervasive, but other research has suggested that story may be different.

Some works, such as *Ducalis sedes/Stirps Veneti* have been shown to be earlier versions of works found in other manuscripts, and I hope that my own arguments have shown that the same is true for other pieces including Arnold de Lantins' Mass. It can still not be categorically proven that these earlier versions were not copied into a later manuscript. However, this does appear to be unlikely. BU's readings are, therefore, critical in helping us understand how music was transmitted across the continent. Copied at the same time, and in roughly the same location, as Ox and Q15, BU allows us to see how some works were originally communicated before being modernised elsewhere. Although some works do display the signs of scribal development when being copied, I have shown that this was far from being systematic and that, for the most part, the scribe copied from his exemplars faithfully. This in turn has demonstrated that key items in BU were not copied directly from Q15, despite this being a standard view in the reference literature.

BU also carries with it another legacy in the notation found within it. Although all the symbols used have clear antecedents there is no other music

manuscript of this period that uses these symbols in the manner found here, and it is evident that the scribe of BU must have been familiar with a wide variety of notational practices. It is reasonable to assume that other manuscripts containing these practices once abounded, but now they exist only in BU. We will probably never know whether the composers in BU used this notation or whether the scribe added the symbols to conform to his own practice. Most likely it was a bit of both, but it does place BU's scribe in a unique position compared to the scribes of the other surviving early fifteenth century manuscripts.

BU also transmits a large number of works, and some composers, that are not found anywhere else in the surviving repertory. The high proportion of anonymous works in BU is more than likely explained by the fact that the scribe only appears to have copied attributions where they were found in his exemplar. This in turn has allowed me to add attributions to works by Grossin and Do Vala that were previously unknown, and undoubtedly other works may be attributed in due course.

Do Vala's name is found in BU more times than anyone else other than Du Fay, and was clearly well known in the arena in which the manuscript was compiled. Further work on his identity may help to provide more concrete evidence on the provenance of the source. But for the time being, I hope that I have managed to show that the assumed Brescian origin of the manuscript is, at best, unfounded and could be misleading. There is still much work to be done on this manuscript and the works contained within it, but I hope that I have been able to set these further studies on a firmer basis.

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