THE POLYPHONY OF LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS   4

T HE PRECEDING CHAPTERS expanded our view of the trecento by placing fragmentary manuscripts on an equal footing with those which survive more or less completely. Despite the widened perspective afforded by such a study, we still have not considered all of the types of polyphonic music which would have been heard in Italy during the fourteenth century. A rich variety of works is found in a group of manuscripts which are not fragments at all but which have often been considered with manuscript fragments.[1] These are codices, nearly always of liturgical chant, which were never intended to be solely collections of polyphony.[2] In many cases what survives today is exactly what the compiler of the manuscript intended to be preserved—a collection of monophonic music with a few polyphonic pieces contained in the corpus. In other cases we have what might be considered the opposite of a fragment: additional polyphonic works added to already completed codices, mostly at the back of the book or at the bottoms of pages. In neither case is it correct to call these sources fragments.

The study of liturgical sources of polyphony in the trecento deepens our knowledge of existing musical styles—several compositions known from other manuscript types reap-

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[1] See Chapter 1, note 65 for *2ndNG's* division of trecento sources into "principal individual sources" and "other fragments."

[2] Those non-fragmentary manuscripts which are not liturgical will be discussed in Chapter 5.

pear along with a few new compositions by previously known composers—while also giving us a view of new genres, new notational styles, and new performance contexts. In contrast to the principal secular sources, these manuscripts have pieces which span the whole of the fourteenth century, seamlessly connecting this period's polyphonic practice with styles of the duecento and quattrocento. By considering these styles as an extension of those found in the secular manuscripts, what we lose from what we thought was the uniqueness of the trecento, we more than gain in historical completeness.

Notation and the Idea of Repertory: or Was Polyphony Special?

The story of polyphonic works in liturgical manuscripts is a complicated one. A question rarely asked but of utmost importance is why we consider polyphonic additions separately from chant at all. We suppose that the singers of polyphony were among the more talented singers whose performances would have been in high demand when they were available.[3] We can show that the surviving polyphonic pieces were more likely to be locally composed and transmitted, compared to chant which was, at least in theory, common to all Western Christendom;[4] if we presuppose an interest in the compositional innovation of specific regions, we need no further justification for our interest in polyphonic development.

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[3] An unfortunate fact is that incontrovertible evidence for this view is hard to come by. One might point out that the groups we would suppose to be comprised of the best singers, such as the Papal chapels, also performed more polyphony than average groups; again we have no clear proof on account of this that they sang polyphonically more often because they were better singers. That the first polyphonic elaborations of chant were from the soloist's section of the chant is also strong but ultimately circumstantial evidence. But see Chapter 1, fn. 48 for an important caveat to the association of difficult music with better performers.

[4] Important differences among traditions of chant in the late-Middle Ages should not, of course, be glossed over. However when placed in the context of the overwhelming differences among regional languages of secular song and polyphonic practice, Reinhard Strohm's characterization of

We also know that polyphony was used to make certain occasions more solemn or special. The polyphonic Benedicamus Domino which are additions to the fourteenth-century antiphoners **Aosta D16** (formerly 9-E-19) and **Aosta C3** (formerly 9-E-17; Figure 4.1) testify to an association of greater solemnity with polyphonic performance. The rubrics provided to the polyphonic additions (Table 4.2) strongly imply that the occasions for polyphonic singing were in most cases feasts of high solemnity.[5]

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the disparities among regional chants as both "fiercely defended" traditions and "local dialects" is apt. (*The Rise of European Music: 1380–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 3.)

[5] Distilled from Frank Ll. Harrison, "Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly-Discovered Source," *Acta Musicologica* 37.1-2 (1965), pp 35-36. It should be noted that the added *monophonic* pieces, mostly troped Benedicamus, of the added folios 78r-85v are also generally for the more solemn feasts. Thus it could be argued that the correlation of polyphony with solemn feasts might be a result of an indirect causation. That is, if troped Benedicamus gave added solemnity to certain feasts and if listeners preferred to hear the Benedicamus sung polyphonically, then polyphonic Benedicamus may have been heard on solemn feast days without the polyphonic aspects themselves adding to the solemnity of the occasion. An analogy may be in order to clarify this complex point: the presence of a professional football squad may lend prestige and importance to a city, and sales of pretzels and fried dough may be highly correlated with football matches, but it would be a mistake to imply that sales of these snacks in themselves give prestige and importance to the city.

Aosta D16 and the similar **Aosta C3** do not contain *mensural* polyphony and are thus not included in the main part of this study, though **Aosta C3** contains some music with distinct note shapes among the monophonic pieces, implying rhythmic performance.

If we are willing to reach further back to an earlier repertory, we can regard the *Ordo Officiorum* of Siena from 1215 as strong further evidence for use of polyphony (including Benedicamus Domino) specifically on more important festivals, although some organum was also sung at First Vespers on nearly every feast day. See Frank D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 56. On the **Siena Ordinal** and the role of polyphony in the early duecento, see also Kurt von Fischer, "Das Kantorenamt am Dome von Siena zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli, 1962*, edited by Heinrich Hüschen (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1962), pp. 155-160; idem, "Die Rolle der Mehrstimmigkeit am Dome von Siena zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19 (1961), pp. 167-182. One would prefer to have a greater number of sources which show a preference for singing polyphonically on higher feast days before declaring the evidence incontrovertible. See also Reinhard Strohm's discussion of the relationship between feast solemnity and the singing of polyphonic Benedicamus Domino in "Neue Quellen des Mittelalters in Italien," p. 79.

FIGURE 4.1: **AOSTA C3**, F. 67R

TABLE 4.2: POLYPHONIC ADDITIONS TO **AOSTA D16** WITH THEIR ASSOCIATED FEASTS

Ad cantus leticie, ff. 78r-v. In vigilia nativitatis domini ad vesperos [sic] benedicamus
Laudemus cum ermonia, ff. 79r-v. In die nativitatis domini ad vesperas benedicamus
Benedicamus Domino, f. 81r. In magnis festivitatibus benedicamus
Voce digna corde, f. 81v. In die sancto pasche ad vesperas benedicamus

Documents also show that performers of polyphony were in some cases paid more than singers of monophony. An early citation of extra payments for singing polyphony is

found in an article by Fétis in *Revue Musicale* in 1827 where he (colorfully) mentions that the French were:

> so fond of this cacophony [i.e., polyphony of the Gothic age] that those who caused Masses to be sung consented willingly to pay the singers *six deniers* for having the pleasure of hearing it, instead of the two deniers due for plainchant.
>
> *On était même alors si friand de cette cacophonie, que ceux qui faisaient chanter des messes consentaient volontiers à payer aux chantres* six deniers *pour avoir le plaisir de l'entendre, au lieu de deux deniers qui étaient dus pour le chant simple.*[6]

The documented need for specifically hired musicians, in particular brass and wind players to perform polyphony also supports its separate examination.[7]

Separation and Continuity between Polyphonic and Monophonic Repertories and Practices

We thus might wish to consider polyphonic works separately from monophonic works because of the different performing forces employed and the greater importance accorded to some polyphonic expression. Two other commonly stated reasons for studying the two repertories separately are the preserving of the different repertories in different types of manuscripts and the copying of polyphony only in cosmopolitan centers. The remainder of this chapter will confirm these two reasons in part, but will argue against them in important ways. In particular, the chapter shows that among the several manuscripts which preserve both monophony and polyphony, the interactions between chant and polyphony (and be-

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[6] François-Joseph Fétis, "Découverte de plusieurs Manuscrits intéressans pour l'historie de la musique: Premier Article," *Revue Musicale* 1 (1827), p. 5. Translation from Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 159. The source of Fétis's statement is unclear.

[7] The hiring of "banditoribus," "tubatoribus," and "biffaris" for polyphony at St. Peters in 1409 has been shown in Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995), p. 20.

tween the physical features of the source and its contents) are not casual, but are vital to our understanding of music production and performance in the trecento. Recent discoveries of fragmentary manuscripts throughout the peninsula, along with the argument (first by Di Bacco and Nádas) that the mobile papal chapels were polyphonic centers in their own right, have already been used in the preceding chapters to weaken the argument that polyphony is the exclusive property of a few cultural centers. That many locations included mensural polyphony in their liturgical manuscripts also raises objections to using cosmopolitanism as a reason for considering polyphony and chant separately. (The cases where sacred contrafacts were made of Francesco's ballate will arise as a further argument for the wider distribution of high art forms.)

The Special Role of Rhythm in Liturgical Polyphony

Though polyphony is defined solely by the presence of multiple lines, in written sources the rhythm of polyphony has always been the most varied element in its notation. Thus, the notation of rhythm gives rise to some of the most difficult questions of performance practice in both repertories. We should therefore divide the works of polyphonic music in liturgical manuscripts into two groups: pieces with definite rhythm (called mensural regardless of whether they fit in strict meter or mensuration) and music written without rhythmic indication. Much recent literature calls two-part works of the latter group *cantus planus binatim*.[8] Although the non-mensural works are beyond the scope of this project, the

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[8] For background on the *cantus binatim* traditions, see F. Alberto Gallo, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy From the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-*

gap between the two genres is not as large as is often thought. Indeed, polyphonic works of all degrees of rhythmic complexity, or lack thereof, exist in this period. Some of the pieces under study exist in both mensural and non-mensural versions in different manuscripts. And as we shall see, scribes of every degree of sophistication and experience with mensural notation exist as well.

Performers of mensural music who were learning from written sources (as opposed to by ear) needed specific training in the reading of the rhythms of musical notation. Many of the most significant theoretical writings on music from the late thirteenth through the early fifteenth centuries are, at least in part, the products of this need to train performers in the reading of notation. Although the discussions of rhythmic interpretation that are mainly philosophical or theoretical have received the most attention from modern scholars,[9] many treatises, including such famous works as Marchettus's *Pomerium* and the treatise by Anonymous IV, concern themselves with seemingly mundane features such as the interpretation of drawn figures such as tails, stems, or lozenges. The emphasis on understanding written

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24 agosto 1980, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 13-30.

[9] Among the purely philosophical discussions, one may mention Marchettus's defense of the "via naturalis," which places the longer part of the beat after the shorter note. Marchettus argues his position by cites mathematics as an authority. He stresses that just as we cannot conceive of "two" without first conceiving of "one," so too can we not conceive of the two-unit note (altered breve) without first conceiving of the one-unit note. (Marchettus, *Pomerium*, ed. Vecchi, pp. 92–93; trans. Renner, p. 91). Earlier, in explaining why tail stems on the right side of notes make them perfect (i.e., longer and stronger), but added to the left side (as in descending ligatures) make them imperfect (shorter and weaker). This placement seems to contradict the natural way suggested by the human heart, the source of strength for living creatures, which is placed in the left side of the body. Marchettus explains that the heart, though it lives in the left, or weaker side of the body, first sends its blood rightward, and therefore the right side of the note is stronger. (Marchettus, *Pomerium*, ed. Vecchi, pp. 51–52; trans. Renner, pp. 25–27.)

rhythm stands in contrast to discussions of pitch in treatises of the same time. In those treatises, knowledge of physical features, such as clefs and the staff, is largely assumed. The focus of the chapters on pitch is mainly on the inflection and execution of what has already been read on paper, rather than puzzling difficulties inherent in what is to be read.

Like those authors of treatises on pitch, writers of treatises on rhythm also discuss the inflection of the written shapes before they are to be executed according to their context. These inflections include alteration and imperfection of note forms (in both French and French-inspired Italian notational systems), along with (in the purely Italian *divisiones* of octonaria and duodenaria) deciding to which of the two rhythmic levels a given semibreve belongs. Performers of rhythmic music are thus trained in how abstract basic shapes (or "primitives" in the language of modern graphic design) arrange themselves into conceptual forms such as longs, semibreves, or ligatures *cum opposita proprietate* which, by their interactions, become sounding durations such as 1, 2, or 3 tempora.[10]

In addition to the performers, when discussing written mensural polyphony we are also dealing with another group of experts: the scribes who were notating the music in the surviving manuscripts. To notate *cantus planus binatim* or other forms of non-mensural polyphony requires little additional training beyond what is used in chant. The scribe need only align the voice parts when the parts are notated in score; it therefore requires absolutely

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[10] The breaking down of the elements of rhythmic notation in this way has analogues in many systems of teaching Western music notation but has its closest compliment in the programming of optical music recognition systems. In OMR systems, the stages typically are clearly demarcated and error correction is performed by considering the recognized symbols by the context in which they relate to each other.

no special expertise if the parts are written consecutively, as happens most often.[11] To notate

mensural music, particularly music which has not been previously notated or written in a

different rhythmic system, requires a much wider skill set.[12] These skills extend beyond

knowing the interpretation of ligatures and the understanding of proportions between note

lengths—skills which were also needed by performers, as discussed above. When not directly

copying from a previous source (of which we have little evidence when art polyphony is con-

cerned) scribes needed to make difficult decisions about the choice of rhythmic system—

many scribes seemed to have been familiar with French and Italian notational systems along

with hybrids—and of different ways of notating syncopation, alteration and imperfection.

Additionally, texted mensural music typically begets far greater problems of word alignment

than texted non-mensural music; a stream of semibreves and minims may be separated quite

differently in those voices where each note is texted than in those where the whole line carries

a single syllable. (See Figure 4.3])

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[11] In some cases, what appears to be a copy in score may be successive copying, arranged so that each voice part occupies exactly one complete staff, with little attempt at aligning parts. **Todi 73** and **Reggio Emilia 408** transmit mensural works in this manner, while **Vatican 4749** and the fif-teenth-century **Bergamo 37** are examples among many non-mensural sources for following this practice.

[12] The contrary opinion, that just about any professional scribe could have notated polyphonic music, was presented by the paleographer Teresa De Robertis (Università di Firenze) at the Dozza con-ference of 2003. This view states that the professional scribes could have at least preserved the look of a page that they were copying. I do not dispute that graphical similarity could be achieved, but the tiniest slip could have rendered long passages meaningless. We would also have to posit the existence of identically notated exemplars of pieces from which these untrained scribes copied. The paucity of evidence for direct copying among trecento sources chafes against this view.

FIGURE 4.3: VARIED SPACING DEPENDING ON THE TEXTING

These two examples are taken from two voices of Senleches's *En ce gracieux tamps joli* in **Padua 1115** (f. Br). The first is an excerpt from the texted superius part showing wide spacing between notes. The second is from the untexted contratenor part (the text reads "[C]ontratenor de *En ce*") where the notes are spaced much more closely.

Scribes noting polyphonic mensural music may have needed training in reading the mensural values of what they were writing in order to know which notes would coincide between voices. This knowledge would be vital to apply accidentals to avoid certain harmonic dissonances,[13] or to check their work.

Finally, we might add that discussing mensural music separately from plainchant is not merely a phenomenon of modern times. The distinction between *musica mensurata* and *musica plana* was also of great interest to theorists of the early fourteenth century, Marchettus and Jacobus of Liège in particular. Such a division continues in treatises throughout the century.[14]

[13] That the accidentals often go unapplied and errors missed can be attributed either to a lack of this expertise, though in the case of ficta two other oft-heard arguments are also compelling: that the notes were altered without comment, or that modal conflict was common.

[14] See Kurt von Fischer's discussion of the theoretical distinction between *mensurata* and *plana* in, "The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 100 (1973–74), pp. 146–147. This distinction is blurred in practice. Fischer may be incautious in equating Prosdocimus's discussion of the rhythmic implications of the ligatures of *cantus planus binatim* with the sort of rhythmicized binatim which comes down to us in surviving manuscripts. (These form group (b) in his list of style groups, which I have paraphrased in Chapter 1, Figure 1.7).

As we shall see, the rhythmic notations of cantus binatim are varied and rhythms implied by one source are at times incompatible with other sources. Prosdocimus may be implying a certain con-

(note continues)

The Rhythm of Polyphony and the Rhythmicization of Monophony

A larger study of mensural notation, including its use for monophonic works, is needed because of disagreement about its broader significance. Scholars have tried to link the mensural writing of monophonic chant with unwritten polyphonic practices. There is a sense that the former may shed light upon the latter. In an article in the Gallo Festschrift, Agostino Ziino advances three different reasons for writing a piece of chant in mensural rhythm:[15]

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fusion in ways of singing the rhythm of binatim. Fischer reads Prosdocimus as saying that only the knowledgeable knew binatim. My reading of the passage takes the theorist to mean that, among modern singers, only the knowledgeable apply to cantus planus binatim the ways of singing the rhythms of the *antiqui*:

> Propter quod est sciendum, quod antiqui in cantando cantum planum sive organicum et hoc binatim, dum ligaturam aliquam inveniebant semper primam figuram ipsius ligature in valore brevis proferebant, alias vero figuras in ipsa ligatura sequentes sub minori valore quam sub valore brevis pronuntiabant. Et ista de causa antiqui ipsum valorem brevis prime note ligate in cantu plano pro proprietate attribuerunt, qui sibi soli conveniebat et omni tali et semper, ut dictum est. Talem etiam modum cantandi cantum planum binatim habent aliqui moderni, licet non omnes, sed solum scientes, et est modus dulcissimus cantandi ubi voces pares et dulces inveniantur.

(Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *Opera 1: Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris*, edited by F. Alberto Gallo. Antiquae Musicae Italicae Scriptores 3 (Bologna: Arti Grafiche Tamari, 1966), p. 163). The Catania manuscript, one of only two to preserve the text, omits both mentions of "binatim." The second omission in particular strengthens the reading that it was the sweet way (i.e., the rhythm) of singing and not *what* was being sung that the knowledgeable moderns knew.

[15] Agostino Ziino, "Dal latino al cumanico, *ovvero* osservazioni su una versione trecentesca della sequenza *Sagïnsamen bahasïz kanïnï* in notazione mensurale," in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica: studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, edited by Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restani (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), p. 41.

1. To convey greater solemnity.

2. To allow an instrumental accompaniment, especially on the organ.

3. To sing an improvised "contracantum" on top of it.

Although the first reason does not relate to polyphony it needs discussion. Ziino cites as evidence for the first reason that mensural notation is present on particularly important feasts within the context of liturgical manuscripts, particularly feasts for St. Francis in Franciscan manuscripts. But in stating his first reason he seems to suggest that it is the complexity of this *notation*, "with respect to the so-called 'square' or 'chorale'" notation, and not necessarily its rhythmic *performance*, which conveys the prestige.[16] The greater solemnity is thus felt only by the reader and not the listener. This view (if it is indeed the view Ziino intended) would not necessarily rule out a mensural performance for those pieces (i.e., the vast majority) which are not written in mensural rhythm.

The second and third reasons are directly connected with polyphony (or heterophony at least). If true, they also would greatly enlarge the repertory of chant which was performed mensurally or with polyphonic accompaniment. If mensural notation of chant was introduced in order to coordinate instrumental accompaniment (Ziino's second hypothesis), then presumably it is because the organist must know the duration of each note to create an accompaniment. However, if (non-mensurally notated) chants were normally performed in equal note values, then the durations of their notes would always be known! Consequently, any chant which was sung in equal notes could just as well be accompanied with the organ.

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[16] The full quotation is as follows: "La presenza della notazione mensurale, proprio in virtù della sua maggiore complessità rispetto a quella cosiddetta 'quadrata' o 'corale,' avrebbe potuto attribuire al componimento liturgico stesso una maggiore solennità, una maggiore sacralità e quindi un maggior prestigio." *Ibid., op. cit.*

Only those chants sung *but not notated* with unpredictable, or irregular rhythms could not be accompanied. A nuance must then be added to Ziino's statement that "this [second] hypothesis accords very well with the first."[17] Only if a region wished to increase the solemnity of a chant by both a mensural performance and an improvised accompaniment would the chant need to be written in mensural rhythm.

For the third reason—the improvisation of polyphony above the chant—Ziino notes that the *Cronica* of Salimbene de dam da Parma describes such a "making" (facere) of a contracantum (though not necessarily on mensural chant) by one Vita da Lucca. The contracantum seems similar to those made on top of a Credo which is always mensurally notated, Credo IV, also known as Cardinalis, and to be discussed later.[18] (I will leave for another time whether "facere" should be better translated as singing, that is improvising, or composing; the evidence in this case is not clear cut.)

Evidence from surviving manuscripts poses a problem for the third hypothesis. There are a number of pieces in mensural rhythm with polyphonic Amens, such as **Todi 73** and **Siena Servi G** (both of which Ziino mentions). And we might note in addition that in

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[17] *Ibid. op. cit.*

[18] Among the most exciting recent additions to the scholarly tradition of relating mensural chant to polyphonic practice are contributions by Marco Gozzi to our understanding of the *Credo* "Cardinalis," a chant he believes (on the basis of its opening intervallic structure among other reasons) was originally conceived to be sung polyphonically. (Gozzi's arguments have recently appeared in print as "Canto Gregoriano e Canto Fratto," in Giulia Gabrielli, *Il canto fratto nei manoscritti della Fondazione Biblioteca S. Bernardino di Trento*, Patrimonio storico e artistico del Trentino 28, (Trent: Soprintendenza per i beni librari e archivistici, 2005), especially p. 30, but also pp. 34–45. On the later life of the chant see idem, "Il canto fratto nei libri liturgici del quattrocento e del primo cinquecento: l'area trentina," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologica* 38.1 (2003), pp. 3–40.

some manuscripts there are monophonic mensural pieces in the vicinity of polyphonic mensural pieces, such as in **Florence 999**.[19]

The problem arises that the notated polyphonic sections are often of the simplest type; note against note (or almost note against note), often simplified with *Stimmtausch* (an exchange of voices where each part performs the part the other voice had just performed previously). If these simple works were the type which needed to be notated, are we thus forced to imagine an even simpler style for improvised polyphony? Or should we instead suppose that these sections with preserved notated polyphony are in some ways exemplars toward which the improvisations strove? Were these the few places where multiple singers performed the biscantus and thus needed coordination?

Ziino's theories connecting the relationship between mensural monophony and polyphony are provocative, and potentially open up huge new repertories of unwritten polyphonic music. However, they rest on an understanding of mensural monophonic chant which is still largely incomplete. The task of filling these scholarly gaps has only recently been taken up *con brio* among musicologists, but the potential rewards are great.[20]

Notational Adaptation in the Trecento

For the musically literate in fourteenth-century Italy, there was no single way of writing music which could be called trecento notation. Italian, French, and the so-called mixed

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[19] A list of the mensurally notated monophonic works in **Florence 999** appears as Table 4.11.

[20] Among those contemplating mensural monophonic chant (the so-called *cantus fractus*), Marco Gozzi should again be singled out for his efforts to bring together scholars to solve this task. The papers from the conference he organized, "Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano: Raphael in Plainchant" (December 2003), are eagerly awaited.

notation are the categories most familiar to modern scholars, but these terms do little to describe the mélange of mensural notational systems available to scribes in Italy around the end of the fourteenth century. As many trecento sources make clear, notation stretched itself to accommodate the needs of repertories and of individual works. Scribes, theorists, and probably composers as well, invented new signs and broke old rules in order to notate newly received or newly composed works.

We can only begin to discern whether new rules and signs were created only when circumstances absolutely demanded it or, alternatively, with little regret or even glee at the inventor's own cleverness. For instance, several of the newly created *ars subtilior* noteshapes duplicate forms which were already in circulation. Often it is difficult to tell whether a particular scribe or theorist knew of the preexisting form. However, on occasion the scribe's knowledge of existing forms is clear. One such occasion is when two forms are used by the same writer in the same piece. (The numerous ways of notating three imperfect semibreves in the space of two perfect semibreves or three minims in the space of two minims are exemplary).[21] Anne Stone and Anne Hallmark have extensively discussed the invention of new mensural signs (or more specifically, new meanings for old signs) in the **Oxford 229** (**Pad A**) copy of Ciconia's *Sus unne fontainne*.[22] I have also remarked on the unnecessary use of the sign ♦ in the context where imperfection of the semibreve by the semiminim is allowed (see

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[21] See for instance, Francesco's ballata *Nessun ponga* from **Squarcialupi,** f. 162v where both ◇ and ♦ take the space of ♦♦.

[22] Anne Stone, "A Composer at the Fountain," pp. 361–90; *eadem,* "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song," pp. 169–94, esp. 169–76. Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 207–12. See also the discussion in the context of **Pad A** in Chapter 2, p. 136.

Chapter 2, note 69). These examples hint at differing levels of willingness, from eager to adverse, in the invention of new figures to write music of increasing complexity.

Simplified or Seemingly Incomplete Rhythmic Systems in the Trecento

Within the polyphonic mensural repertory found in liturgical manuscripts, the other extreme of notational adaptation, that of simplification, occurs frequently. This simplification of notational systems to accommodate simpler pieces, or perhaps inexpert scribes and performers, has, however, received little attention.

Many simple liturgical works in mensural notation exclude the breve or use breves and longs interchangeably. For instance, a monophonic, mensural version of Credo I (Credo du Village) found adjacent to the single polyphonic work in **Siena 10** uses exclusively longs and semibreves on the first page of the credo (opening 324r; modern f. 320r; see below) but uses breves and longs separately on the following pages; in fact, the tails of two longs have been removed on op. 324r, converting them to breves (specifically from "propter *no*stram salutem descen*dit*"). See Figure 4.4:

FIGURE 4.4: **SIENA 10**, DETAIL OF OP. 324R SHOWING ERASED TAILS AND LACK OF BREVE
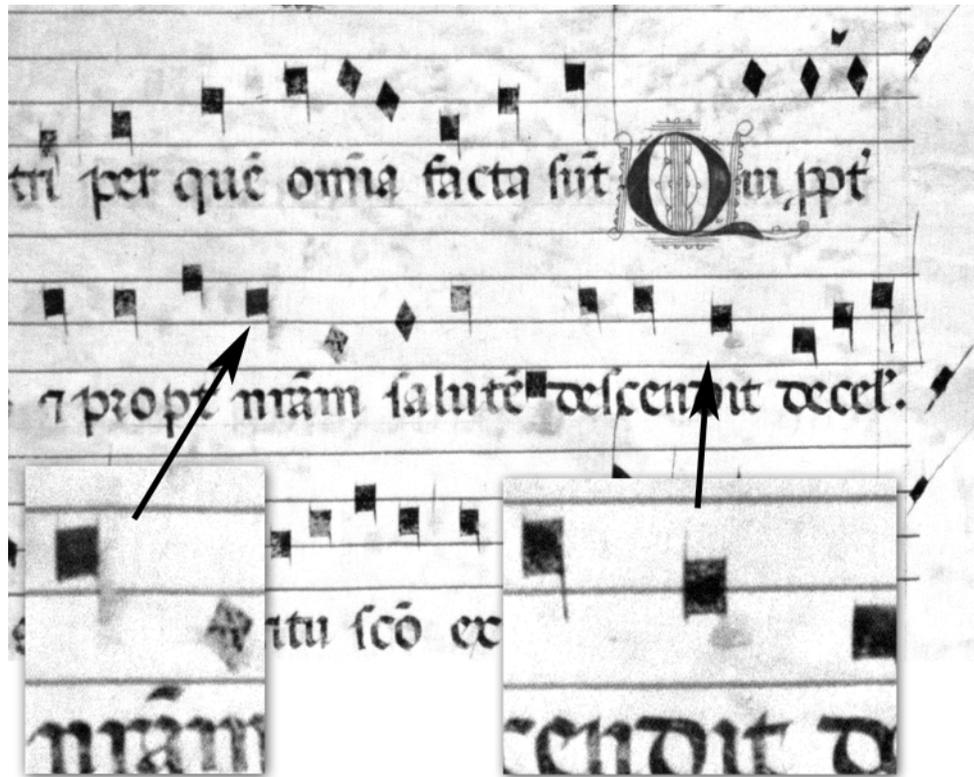
A mensural monophonic Kyrie on the page preceding the only polyphonic work in **Parma 98** is also written with long/breve equivalence; but, disagreeing with Fischer and Gallo, and agreeing with Reaney, I see an English provenance for the source and the polyphonic addition.[23]

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[23] Fischer and Gallo: *PMFC 13*, pp. 181 and 279; Reaney: *RISM B IV 2*, pp. 304–5. As evidence, I offer the Sarum Rite in the gradual (noted by Reaney), the English handwriting, and the piece itself, a Deo gratias, a text more commonly set in English manuscripts (see, for example, London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale 146 (Misc. 26), London, British Library, Additional 38651, Durham, Cathedral Library C. I. 20, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 55). Among Italian sources, a *Deo gratias conclamemus* appears in **Munich 3223** (a motet known in Germany also), while among Italian-influenced sources, a *Deo gratias papales* is among the works in the German fragment, **Nuremberg 9**. Before leaving this source entirely for students of English music, it is worth noting that we are seeing an early use of the so-called "filled notation," that is, black mensural notation which is cre-

(note continues)

The early trecento processionals **Padua 55** and **Padua 56** also contain works which seem to use ars nova notation as an inexact shorthand for a different conception of rhythm.[24] An example from the processionals is the two voice *Quis est iste qui venit de Edom*, which presents several other problems for mensural interpretation. A facsimile of the work was published by Gallo and Vecchi as well as in selected copies of Vecchi's edition of the Paduan manuscripts. (See Figure 4.5).

FIGURE 4.5: **PADUA 56**, F. 51R

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ated by first drawing the outline of the lozenge-shaped notehead, and then filling it; a notational style more common in later in the fifteenth century.

[24] **Padua 56** also contains later pieces in white mensural notation, indicating that it was used throughout the trecento and beyond. See the section on the Paduan fragments in Chapter 2.

Vecchi provides a transcription of the work which can be sung satisfactorily, complete with a newly contrapuntal second line in place of the unison ending; see Example 4.6.[25]

EXAMPLE 4.6: VECCHI, *UFFICI DRAMMATICI PADOVANI*, P. 108

Duo ANGELI super pergulo, ostendendo crucem, dicant: Quis.

This edition of *Quis est iste* obscures some of the unusual notational features of the work. The first note of the lower voice is a breve, which Vecchi has transcribed as a quarter note. The notes in the second measure are semibreves, which he also transcribed as quarter notes. Later, in measure 4, a semibreve *caudata* is transcribed as a half-note, twice as long as the first breve of the piece: Further, the ligature on the antepenultimate syllable, "de-" in Vecchi's transcription, appears from his edition to be an impossible ligature of three longs.

[25] Giuseppe Vecchi, *Uffici drammatici padovani* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1954), p. 108.

Table 4.7 shows the correspondences between fourteenth-century and contemporary note values implied by Vecchi:

TABLE 4.7: HIERARCHY OF NOTE VALUES IMPLIED BY VECCHI:

■, m. 1 (C) = ♩

■, mm. 5–7 (C+T) = ♩.

■, mm. 11–13 (T) = ♩.

■, m. 1 (T) = ♪

♦, m. 2 (C+T) = ♪

♦, m. 4 (T) = ♩

The edition by Fischer and Gallo contains the same irregularities while noting that "there is no distinction between the shape of B [breve] and L [long]. The one-bar note is normally written as a L, but despite this the Lig. c.o.p. fills one bar only."[26] The concluding word, "only" seems misplaced: we would normally expect a trecento ligature *cum opposita proprietate* to fill the space of a breve, either one-third or one-half of the space of a long, and never more. Even their interpretation of the lack of distinction between breve and long does not explain some of the notational eccentricities of the work. Perhaps the most important is the use of the semibrevis caudata (m. 4) as a length which exceeds that of the breve (m. 1, tenor). (Unlike Vecchi, Fischer and Gallo transcribe the semibreve as a dotted-quarter note, but the argument remains the same.)[27] These statements are not meant to be criticisms of

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[26] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, p. 114. It should be noted that Vecchi, Von Fischer, and Gallo had access to both **Padua 55** and **Padua 56** while my work was conducted on the basis of **Padua 56** alone. However, Von Fischer and Gallo's critical notes (p. 200) suggest that the two manuscripts are in agreement on the points I have outlined above.

[27] There is theoretical precedence for semibreves caudate of the same length as breves. Alba Scotti, in the questions and answers to her paper, "Individualità e pragmatismo delle notazioni di brani di

the published transcriptions—I have not been able to make other editorial choices which provide a workable option given the notational peculiarities of the piece.[28] The transcription from **Parma 3597** later in this chapter makes similar compromises to create a performable piece. But the difficulty we have in finding solutions for these notational choices illuminate the continued need for study of incomplete notational systems in the trecento.

The Trecento as a Continuation of a Tradition: The History of adding Polyphonic Music to Liturgical and Paraliturgical Monophony

By the late fourteenth century, the practice in Western Europe of using polyphony within the liturgical year was already hundreds of years old. Polyphony on the Italian peninsula must have existed at least by the turn of the millennium. Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus,* written before 1033, discusses organum in quasi-parallel fourths where the lower line is re-

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polifonia semplice in manoscritti italiani," presented at the *cantus fractus* conference in Parma (December 2003) noted that an entry in *Ars cantus mensurabilis* has semibreves caudate the same length as breves. Semibreves of double the length of breves, however, are unknown aside from this piece.

[28] Indeed, a transcription which respects the implied mensural values of the work lurches amuscially:

strained by a boundary tone.[29] That Guido also leans on the traditions given by the *Enchiri-adis* group of treatises in at least one part of *Micrologus*, dismissing the use of daseian nota-tion, suggests that polyphony in Italy may have been widespread from a century (or more) earlier.[30] Although important eleventh-century practical sources of polyphony are available in England (Winchester) and France (Chartres), the connection between the sacred poly-phonic practice of Guido's time and that of the trecento has barely been considered.

Richard Hoppin opened the chapter on "The Italian Ars Nova" in his *Medieval Mu-sic* with the sentence, "Italian secular polyphony suddenly appeared and flourished with no apparent antecedents." By this statement, I do not believe Hoppin was arguing that the secular polyphony differed from sacred polyphony; rather, the omission implied that there is not enough sacred polyphony to consider its origins.[31] As we now know, that repertory is both significant in size and varied in contents.

Some general statements on the early history of Italian sacred polyphony should be made not for the sake of completeness but rather because of how many of the characteristics of thirteenth-century (and even twelfth-century!) polyphony remain in polyphonic sources of

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[29] The dating of the treatise is based on a reference to the plan of the cathedral church of St. Donatus, commissioned in 1026 and completed in 1032. For further details, see Claude V. Palisca, editor, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises,* translated by Warren Babb, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 50, and J. Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino*, (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1953), p. 13.

[30] Though the *Scolica Enchiriadis* and *Musica Enchiriadis* almost certainly are not products of Italy, there are at least two Italian copies of the treatises that date before 1100, Florence, Biblioteca Na-zionale, Conv. Soppr. F. III. 565 and the southern Italian manuscript Montecassino, Biblioteca Abbaziale 318, both of which also contain the writings of Guido.

[31] Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 452. I use Hoppin as an example of a view of sacred music in the trecento, not because his idea is unusual but precisely be-cause of its prevalence in generalist texts.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. From the beginnings of polyphonic practice in Italy, settings of the Benedicamus Domino, both troped and untroped, were numerous. Perhaps the earliest surviving Italian polyphonic work is a Benedicamus trope *Regi regum glorioso* in **Lucca 603**.[32] Later but lost Lucchese polyphony is mentioned in a fragmentary ordinal from Lucca. Similar to the **Siena Ordinal**, settings of the Benedicamus Domino are numerous in these thirteenth-century sources.[33]

Most of the notation which survives implies note-against-note performance of liturgical polyphony, a style commonly called *cantus planus binatim*, but there is also some evidence for florid singing over a slower moving tenor. This latter type of performance is typically seen as more characteristic of French practice than Italian, but as the next section demonstrates we have reason to believe that the Italians were aware of and had interest in more florid practices.

Italian Knowledge of Foreign Thirteenth-Century Polyphony

A repertory of polyphony not commonly associated with Italy is the late twelfth and early thirteenth century collection of music from the orbit of the Parisian cathedral of Notre Dame. It may be surprising that a substantial and growing body of evidence can be gathered

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[32] See facsimile in Gallo-Vecchi, plate 97. Discussion in Reinhard Strohm, "Neue Quellen zur liturgischen Mehrstimmigkeit des Mittelalters in Italien," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966), p. 79; Anselm Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony," in *The New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), vol. 2, p. 281; Raffaello Baralli, "Un frammento inedito di 'discantus'," *Rassegna Gregoriana* 9 (1912), pp. 9ff.

[33] On the **Siena Ordinal** of 1215, see fn. 5 above. The Lucca ordinal is discussed by Agostino Ziino, "Polifonia nella cattedrale di Lucca durante il XIII secolo," *Acta Musicologica* 47 (1975), pp. 16–30. I am grateful to Aaron Allen for access to his unpublished research and for discussions on this topic.

for Italian knowledge of and interest in collecting Notre Dame and ars antiqua music and manuscripts. Peter Jeffery and Rebecca Baltzer have both studied Italian holdings of Notre Dame manuscripts in from the late thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries.[34] Of the manuscripts we still have, **Florence 29.1** was in the possession of the Medici family (in whose library it remains) at least by 1456. We can move the date of Italian ownership of lost manuscripts further back. We also know that two manuscripts similar to **Florence 29.1** and **Wolfenbüttel 1** were in the possession of the Papal library of Boniface VIII in Perugia in 1295.[35] The contents of the manuscripts must be inferred from words at the beginning of pages, such as "viderunt," "glorie laus," and "sidere procedere," cited in inventories of the library. Nothing in Jeffery and Baltzer's studies requires that the manuscripts be recent imports into Italy, so the presence of Notre Dame polyphony in Italy could have extended throughout the duecento. However, Jeffery wisely cautions against assuming that the books were used for performance by the papal chapel (or by anyone else), by citing the example of **Assisi 695**, a French source which was inherited by the papal collection after the death of its French owner.[36]

Jeffery and Baltzer did not note that, though there is no further proof that the pope was interested specifically in Notre Dame polyphony, there is further evidence that Boniface VIII was interested in some polyphonic singing during his papacy. The sequence, which was

[34] Peter Jeffery, "Notre Dame Polyphony in the Library of Boniface VIII," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32.1 (Spring 1979), pp. 118–24. Rebecca Baltzer, "Notre Dame manuscripts and their owners: lost and found," *Journal of Musicology* 5.3 (Summer 1987) pp. 380–399.

[35] Jeffery, *op. cit.,* pp. 118–19. The manuscripts are not identifiable as Notre Dame manuscripts in the 1295 inventory, but they reappear with a detailed description in an inventory of 1311 when the collection was being prepared for transfer to Assisi.

[36] Jeffery, *op. cit.,* pp. 121–22.

"notata sub duplici cantu…diei competens medicine," was written for an illness of Pope Boniface VIII by Bonaiutus de Casentino. [37] The sequence is one of two musical works (the other, an "Ymnus cum simplici cantu," is "Sacnguis demptus et retemptus.") in the "Collectio variorum sed non omnium opisculorum" of Bonaiutus, written by one "G. de Romaniola," and found in **Vatican 2854**.[38]

More recently uncovered evidence for Italian interest in (slightly later) French repertories comes from Joseph Willimann's forthcoming Habilitationsschrift on the Engelberg motets. Willimann suggests that **Bamberg 115** passed through Northern Italy (in particular a Dominican center, possibly Bologna) on its journey to Germany.[39] Willimann notes that the only concordance for the two two-voice motets which appear as appendices to the manuscript is found in a Northern Italian source: "Dulcis Jesu memoria," no. 110 in **Bamberg 115** is in the laudario, **Florence Rari 18**, no. 106.[40]

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[37] Jeffery, *op. cit.,* p. 121 noted this manuscript and its expression "sub duplici cantu" but did not comment on its connection to Boniface VIII.

[38] A quick search turned up no information on G. de Romaniola. The citations are from f. 2r. Although Boniface VIII is not mentioned explicitly in the text, the illness of the pope appears on f. 19v and discussions of the life of Boniface on either side of this work (e.g., f. 14v and f. 22v) make clear that he is the reference.

[39] I thank Professor Willimann for kindly providing access to his unpublished work. His intriguing hypotheses about **Bamberg 115**, of which this citation plays only a small part, comes as Chapter 3, "Zur aktuellen Einordnung einer grossen französischen Motettensammelung (Ba): Nachträge und Hypothesen zum Transfer," of *Die sogenannte "Engelberger Motette:" Studien zu den Motetten des Codex Engelberg 314 im Kontext der europäischen Überlieferung,* (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Basel).

[40] Edited by Blake Wilson, *The Florence Laudario: an Edition of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18*, texts edited by Nello Barbieri (Madison, Wis.: A-R Editions, 1995). The musical version of **Bamberg 115** and **Florence Rari 18**, no. 106 differs from that of **Florence Rari 18**, no. 105 and **Oxford 42**. However, that both of the other sources of the text have Italian provenances supports Willimann's theory.

The most convincing testament to Italian interest in Notre Dame polyphony comes from a source, currently in Berlin.[41] **Berlin 523** preserves a trecento ballata together with sections of the "Magnus Liber" repertory. (The manuscript is discussed further in Chapter 5). Corrigan notes that the Notre Dame sections of **Berlin 523** are almost certainly not Italian, but the manuscript must have been transferred to Italy by the mid-to-late fourteenth century.[42] The transfer raises the question of whether the Notre Dame repertoire was still being performed or consulted at the time of the addition of the ballata to the manuscript.

Individual Liturgical Manuscripts Containing Mensural Polyphony

The remainder of this chapter examines individual manuscripts containing mensural polyphony, touching also on some key non-mensural polyphonic compositions of the trecento and early quattrocento.

When considering the role a polyphonic work plays in the context of a liturgical manuscript, it is important to note whether the work was originally intended to constitute a part of the manuscript, or whether it is a later addition, either added in empty spaces on pre-existing pages or copied onto folios which were then bound or tipped into the book. Both types appear in music of this period and of the immediately preceding and following periods.

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[41] Discovery by Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36.2/3 (April/September 1964), pp. 80–83. Extensive study in Vincent J. Corrigan, "A Study of the Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (*olim* Preussischer Staatsbibliothek) lat. 4o 523," (Thesis (M.M.): Indiana University, 1972).

[42] *Ibid.,* p. 9, notes that the Tironian "et" sign (e.g., f. 2r, beginning of staff six) is not commonly found in Italy before the fourteenth century, and even then has a slightly different form. The manuscript could not have followed the same path to Germany as other Notre Dame books, since the source was in England in the collection of Thomas Phillipps until relatively recently.

Polyphony integral to the structure of the larger monophonic manuscript will be examined first (from roughly most complex to most simple) followed by additions to earlier manuscripts. Of the eighteen manuscripts covered in this section, seven contain integral polyphony while eight have later polyphonic additions. Three manuscripts present a mix: either both types in close proximity or polyphony integral within a large monophonic addition to a manuscript; they will be taken up later in this chapter. Table 4.8 illustrates this breakdown:[43]

[43] The numbers after the work titles show the number of voices and the number with texts.

TABLE 4.8: INTEGRAL AND ADDED MENSURAL POLYPHONY IN LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS

Principal manuscripts discussed in this chapter are marked with a (*) after their sigla.

Integral:

Florence 999(*)	*Gaudeamus omnes* (Paolo da Firenze). 2^2
	Verbum caro factum est. 2^2
Gubbio Corale	Gloria ff. 105v-109r. 2^2 (probably a late work, on the edge of the time period for this study)
Parma 3597(*)	*Quy nos fecit* (Benedicamus Domino versicle), ff. 10-11. 2^2 (partially mensural)
Padua 55	*Quare sic aspicitis* ff. 50r-51r. 2^2
Padua 56[44]	*Quis est iste qui venit* ff. 51r. 2^2
	Iste formosus ff. 51r-51v. 2^2
Rome Trastevere 4	*Salve regina misericordie*
Todi 73	*Celi solem sequit pater*, ff. 10r-12v with polyphonic Amen 3^3, on f. 12v.[45]

[44] This list of pieces in the Paduan processionals does not include four two-voice works in chant notation: *Ave gratia plena* ff. 15v-16v 2^2, *Suscipiens symeon* ff. 17r-17v 2^2, and *Celum terre* ff. 36r-36v 2^2 found in both sources and *Popule meus quid feci tibi* f. 59v 2^2 found only in **Padua 56**, nor does it include **Padua 56**'s six later white note pieces. Because of their early age, **Padua 55** and **56** are not fully included in this dissertation. However, see the discussion of the Paduan group in Chapter 2 and the section on incomplete mensural notation earlier in this chapter for more information.

[45] I have chosen not to include the manuscript **Siena Servi G** in this table owing to its slightly earlier date, though it contains similar repertory to **Todi 73**. The Todi manuscript also contains a two-voice composition not in mensural notation, *Ave verum corpus*, f. 24r. See Beatrice Pescerelli, "Un 'Ave Verum' a due voce nel codice 73 della Biblioteca Comunale di Todi," *Esercizi, Arte, Musica, Spettacolo* 7 (1984), pp. 26–29.

Additions:

Cividale 57	*Letare felix civitas* f. 308r. 3³
	Iste confessor domini f. 326r. 3³ (Either of these works may have been copied later than the period covered in the dissertation. See the end of Chapter 2 for a discussion of the Cividalese manuscripts)
Cividale 101	*O salutaris hostia* f. 82v. 2¹ (Again from just beyond the period under discussion, probably of the mid-fifteenth century. The scribe attempted to match the hand of the main corpus at least in clef and custos. See Chapter 2)
Gemona Gradual	Credo (IV), ff. 295v–296v. (Brief mention at the end of Chapter 2)
Guardiagrele 2	Credo (IV), ff. 53r–54v. 2¹ (The second voice is an addition, the first is integral to the manuscript).
Messina 16(*)	Benedicamus Domino f. 169r. 2¹ (tenor (!) texted)
Perugia 15	Four Benedicamus Domino (three 3³, one 2²)
Reggio Emilia 408(*)	*Crucifixum in carne* f. 65v. 3³, 3?²
Siena 10(*)	Credo (IV), openings 326-327. 2²

Mixed

Guardiagrele 3	The polyphonic works are on added folios (ff. 1–10, 193–194) and on the last page of the main corpus (f. 192v), but within the context of the added folios, which contain the feast of the visitation, the polyphony is integral.
Parma 9	Credo (I) ff. 140v-148r. 2² (integral polyphony)
	Credo (IV), ff. A-D (front addition). 2²
	Credo (IV), ff. Q-U (rear addition).[46] 2²
Vatican 657	Credo, ff. 419v–423r. 2². Like **Guardiagrele 3**, the polyphony is integral within the large addition to an earlier manuscript, ff. 406–429).

[46] A second addition to the back of the manuscript is a Deo gratias on f. Uv from a later period, written in white mensural notation.

Florence 999

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

The manuscript currently in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana with the shelfmark Ashburnham 999 is a lavishly decorated collection of music and readings for various major feasts throughout the year.[47] Throughout the source, music is notated on four-line staves except for the cantus of Paolo's *Gaudeamus omnes*, which I will discuss below. The first recto of the manuscript gives us the original possessors and date of the manuscript: "Iste liber est ecclesie sancte lucie de magnolis de florentia, quem fieri fecit rector eiusdem ecclesie ac sacerdos. Mᵒ. ccᵒcc. xxiiᵒj," that is, the church of Santa Lucia dei Magnolis in Florence in 1423/4.[48]

The main section of the manuscript begins with nine readings on the passion of St. Lucia, virgin and martyr. Surprisingly, after the end of the readings, on f. 3r, we are given another statement of possession and dating along with a note of manufacture: "Quem [*i.e.,*

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[47] The contents of this diverse chant manuscript are summarized in the announcement study, Kurt von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex [I-Fl 87]," *Quadrivium* 9 (1968), p. 6.

Fischer reports that the manuscript passed from the collection of Count B. Boutourlin to the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in 1880. This transfer does not explain how the manuscript came to be part of the Ashburnham collection, which mostly came from the collection of the mathematician, bibliophile, and book thief Guglielmo Libri who sold the collection in 1847 to Lord Bertram, Count of Ashburnham. His collection was purchased by the Italian government after his death in 1878 and it entered the Laurenziana in 1884. Since the origin of the manuscript is clear and the book is intact, the intermediary stages of transfer are less important than usual. For more information on Libri, see P. Alessandra Maccioni Ruju and Marco Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri (1802–1869): Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief: A Nineteenth-Century Story,* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

[48] Dates such as 1423/4 indicate the year beginning on Annunciation 1423 (March 25) and ending on the eve of Annunciation 1424.

liber] ad laudem dei presbiter antonius bartholi tunc eiusdem ecclesie rector. in mon[asterio]

sancte marie de angelis fieri fecit." (Figure 4.9)

FIGURE 4.9: **FLORENCE 999** INSCRIPTIONS [LEFT: 1R; RIGHT: 3R]
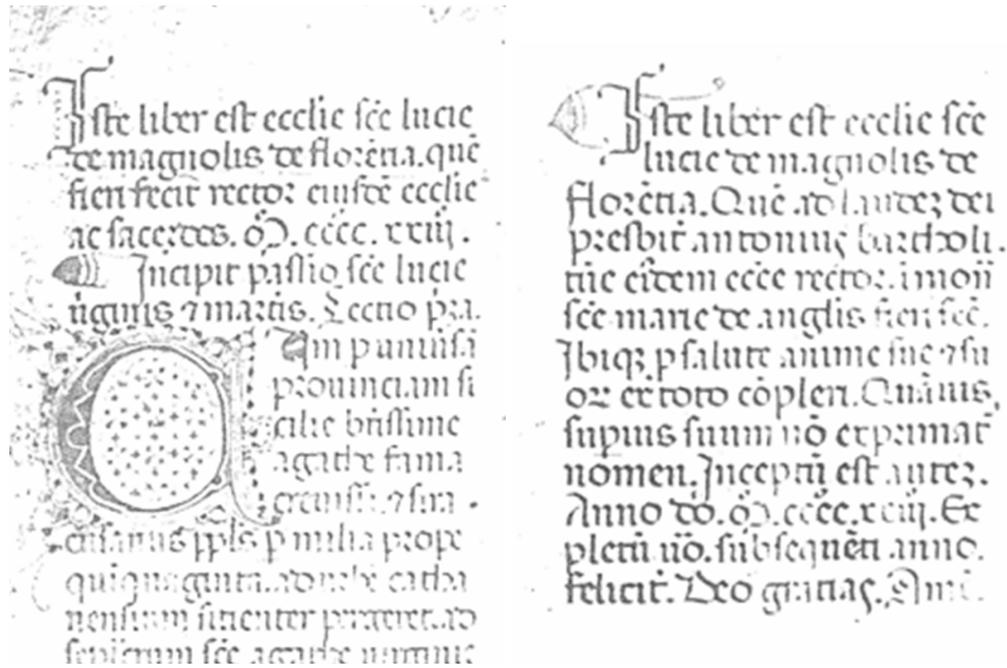
The church of Santa Lucia degli Magnoli [in Latin, "dei Magnolis"] in the Oltrarno

was known at this time for the adjacent hospital. The church, named for the Magnoli family

which was responsible for its founding in 1078, was an important participant in the artistic

life of the city. It was approximately 20 years after the Ashburnham manuscript was com-

pleted that Santa Lucia degli Magnoli received Domenico Veneziano's famous altarpiece,

now in the Uffizi.[49] The commissioning of a large and beautifully-decorated liturgical manu-

script from the Florentine scriptorium of Santa Maria degli Angeli (in present day Piazza

[49] Inv. 1890, n. 884.

Brunelleschi; see Figure 4.10) is further evidence of a high position of this church within Florence.

FIGURE 4.10 LOCATIONS OF SANTA MARIA DEGLI ANGELI AND SANTA LUCIA IN PRESENT-DAY FLORENCE
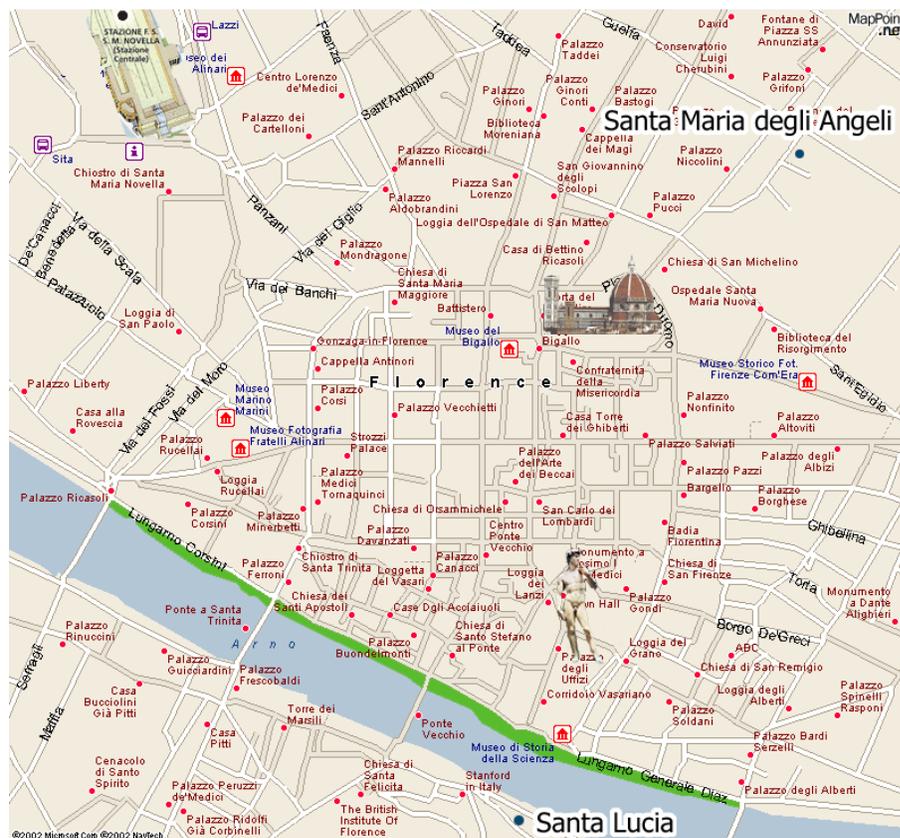
This manuscript is nearly unique in presenting polyphonic mensural music using a large format, ca. 560x400mm. The four-line staves of chant measure 32mm each while the six-line staves used for a mensural cantus are approximately 48–50mm. By contrast, Squarcialupi, at ca. 400x285mm, the largest complete manuscript of polyphonic music uses eleven staves of *ca.* 16mm, per page, that is, staves one third the size of the Ashburnham source.

The notation of this beautifully decorated manuscript is primarily four-line square-note chant notation, but in five places in the manuscript, works are notated mensurally. (See Table 4.11).

TABLE 4.11: MENSURAL PIECES IN **FLORENCE 999**[50]

Festum sacrate virginis. Cuncti lucie martiris. (f. 4rv). Hymn. Mode 1. ■, ♦, one ♦, final ■.

Gaudeamus omnes. (ff. 19v-21r). Introit for the feast of Santa Lucia (December 13). 2vv, lower voice in chant notation. Ascription "PAU" (in ligature).

Credo (Tenor of *PMFC 12*, no. 11a/b). (ff. 26v–29r). Imperfect tempus. ■, ■, ♦.

Salve regina misericordie vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve. (ff. 91v–92v). Mode 1. ■, ♦, final ■s.

Verbum caro factum est de virgine Maria. (f. 95rv [the verso contains further stanzas]). 2vv.

f. 4r

f. 91v

f. 26v

...

(*cont'*: first section with rhythm)

The three monophonic works in definite mensural rhythm, commonly called *cantus fractus* but what we might also call *cantus simplex figuratus* after Tinctoris's term from 1475, could be joined by several other pieces with possible mensural significance, but I have chosen the most cautious reading of the manuscript here.[51]

The most significant polyphonic work in **Florence 999** is the introit to the Mass for Santa Lucia, *Gaudeamus omnes* written for two voices. Paolo da Firenze presumably composed this unique work, if the ligature "PAU" can be equated with the similar "PA" ligatures

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[50] A few scribbles of marginalia added centuries later on the final folio are excluded.

[51] Though commonly used in contemporary literature to describe any rhythmicized monophonic source based on liturgical chant, the term *cantus fractus* did not seem to have such a broad meaning in the late Middle Ages. The term "fractus" refers to the breaking up of a single note of the original chant into multiple notes, possibly rhythmic but not necessarily. In contrast, the monophonic rhythmic works described in Table 4.11 retain one note for every note in the non-mensural versions of the chants (where they exist), lengthening some in relation to others.

of **Pit**. Because the attribution situation for Paolo is complicated, and his titles give some

clues to his biography and the dating of manuscripts, I have listed in Table 4.12 the extant

attributions to Paolo:[52]

TABLE 4.12: ATTRIBUTIONS TO PAOLO IN EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

Ciliberti	"D.P."
Florence 999	"PAU"
London	"di don paghollo"
Lowinsky	(all works unattributed)
Mancini	(all works unattributed)
Pit.	"Don Paolo Tenorista Da firenze," "PA", "Don Paolo" (sometimes erased), "D.P.," (sometimes erased) "Don Pa," "Abbas Paulus," "Pa", "Do. Pa." (sometimes erased) "Franciscus"(!)[53] (erased).
Reina	"Dompni pauli"
San Lorenzo 2211	"P. Abbas,"
Squarcialupi	"Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia,"[54] "Abate Paulus de Florentia" (in a small hand at the top of f. 55v)[55]

Additionally, his treatise *Ars ad adiscendum contrapunctum* is designated as "secun-

dum paulum de Florentia" in the Ashburnham source, **Florence 1119**, and as "secundum

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[52] One might note that only one source, **Pit.**, appends the description "tenorista" to Paolo's name. The term tenorista, which appears in other records of musicians but which is not applied to any other trecento composer, is still not fully understood. It is commonly supposed to mean a specialist at singing the tenor line. However, it is unclear when the term acquires the clear association with lute players which it carries at least from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.

[53] The **Ciliberti** manuscript attributes this work, *Mort'è la fe' e lo sperar*, to "D.P." Certainly we are dealing with conflicting ascriptions and not another unknown name for Paolo.

[54] "Magister Dominus" is missing on the scroll on f. 55v.

[55] On this attribution, see Nádas, "Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony" p. 367 and Ursula Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23.2 (1966), p. 81, which counters the reading of the ascription as "a fato Paulus de Florentia" seen previously in Bianca Beccherini, "Communications sur Antonio Squarcialupi et notes au Cod. Palatino 87," *Bericht über den Siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), p. 65 as well as in "Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 1 (1962), pp. 155-60.

magistrum paulum de florentia" in **Siena 36.**[56]

FIGURE 4.13: SELECTED PAOLO INSCRIPTIONS [57]

Florence 999 **Pit.** f. 34v

Pit. f. 35v f. 37v f. 38v

Pit. f. 50v f. 51r f. 51v **Ciliberti,** f. 94r

Pit. Index folio **Reina**
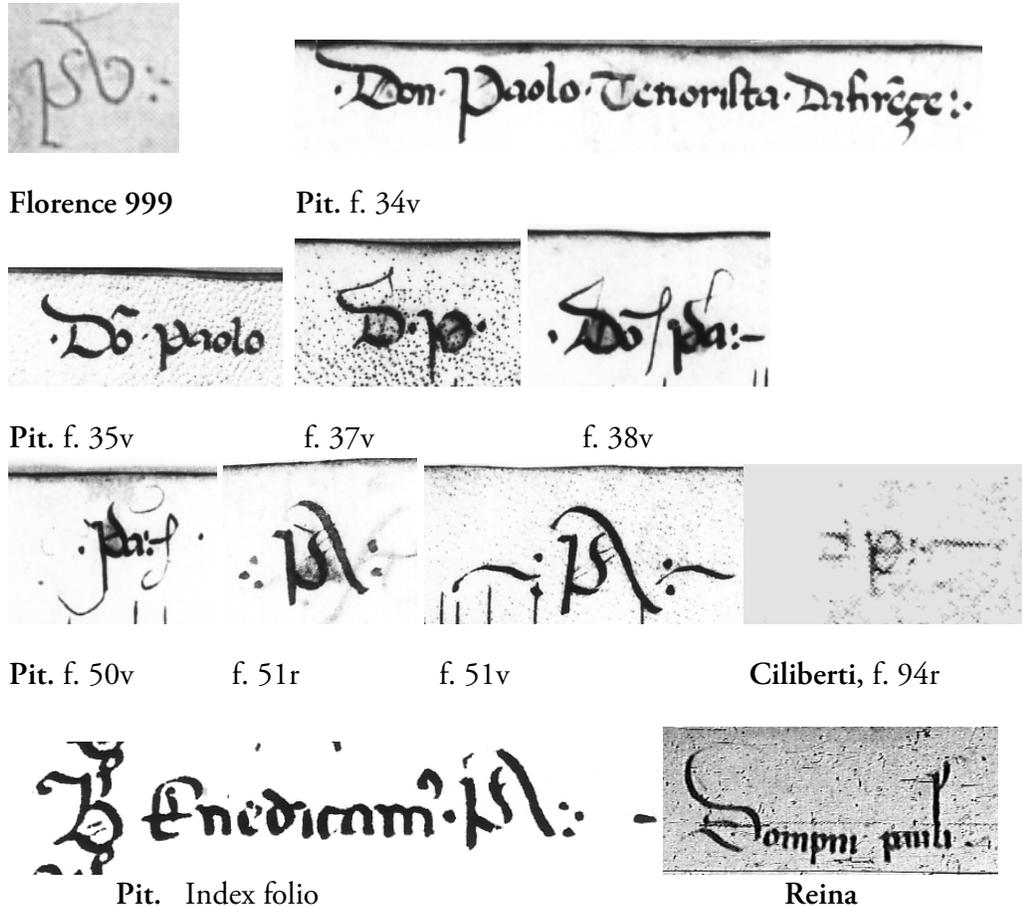
[56] A further reference to Paolo can be found in the inscription at the beginning of the Florentine mixed liturgical book, **Douai 1171**, f. 1r, which names him as, "pater Dominus Paulus abbas Sancti Martini de Pino, ordinis Sancti Benedicti. Eiusdem ecclesie Sancte Marie [i.e., Sancte Marie Annuntiate Virginis de Florentia, qui locus vulgo dicitur Orbatello] tunc rector existens." A final important reference to Paolo's name is found in one of the last statements, his will of 1436 where he is called "Do[m]pnus Paulus Marci de Florentia cappellanus Sancte Marie Annuntiate de Orbatello de Florentia." See Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 209 and 227.

[57] A more comprehensive list of inscriptions, including erased attributions, in **Pit.** is found in Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," pp. 83–84.

Gaudeamus Omnes *and Compositions with Equal-note Tenors*

Though the two polyphonic pieces in **Florence 999** are both on Latin sacred texts and for two voices little else can be found in common between the works. The anonymous *Verbum caro factum est* is for two equal voices, written with only two note values, breve and semibreve, and moves almost entirely in homophonic contrary motion. Paolo da Firenze's *Gaudeamus omnes* on the other hand has a top voice which employs additional note values, including red notes which indicate a hemiola (imperfect tempus within a prevailing perfect tempus, or $\frac{3}{4}$ in the place of $\frac{6}{8}$), rests of all types, and complex syncopations created through the use of *puncti divisionis* and *puncti syncopationis* in ways still not completely understood or agreed on by modern scholars.

The lower voice of the work, presented on the following recto, has been composed in a totally different style. Indeed, it is best to say that it has not been composed at all, being simply a borrowing of the well-known chant introit "Gaudeamus omnes" in mode 1, written in chant notation on a four-line staff (the top voice uses the central-Italian six-line staff). Each notes is to be interpreted as a breve. Were the top voice missing, this tenor would be indistinguishable from a typical chant. A facsimile of the opening of the work appears in Figure 4.14:

The relationship between the two voices in *Gaudeamus omnes* contrasts with the prevailing view of the Italian repertory of being freely composed and having voices whose rhythmic interest is, if not equal, at least somewhat comparable. Paolo's work is not the only piece which fails to accord with conventional wisdom. Several other works have been discovered over the past century which also combine a freely composed upper voice (or voices) with chant tenor notes of equal length. The most well-known of these pieces is also by

Paolo, the *Benedicamus Domino* in **Pit.**, the only such work to have three voices (see Figure

4.15):[58]

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[58] The proper reading of this work, ignoring a rhythmic interpretation for the chant voice, was first discovered by Johannes Wolf who made it an example in his *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250–1460*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1904). Willi Apel further stimulated interest in the work by choosing it to appear in facsimile in *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600* (Sixth, Revised Edition) (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), p. 379.

FIGURE 4.15: **PIT.** F. 138R: PAOLO, *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*

As a group, pieces written on equal-note tenors are not at all homogenous. Fischer and Gallo's general remark that two such pieces, found in **Pad A (Oxford 229)** and **Messina 16,** are "written in the Florentine madrigal style of the 14th century" dismisses the signifi-

cant differences between the two works, let alone between these works and any madrigal ever composed.[59]

Certainly, different composers had different ideas about how fast the upper voice (or voices in Paolo's *Benedicamus*) should move with respect to the chant tenor. Table 4.16 gives the ratio of number of notes in the upper voice per tenor note for the equal-note repertory and two related repertories, *cantus planus binatim* and instrumental diminutions:[60]

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[59] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[60] Related but different work on ratios of the number of notes has recently been conducted by Marco Gozzi, who studied the number of notes in a given voice (usually the tenor) per breve. His work reveals that the number of tenor notes of Jacopo da Bologna's perfect time ritornelli per breve is near 2.0 ("New Light on Italian Trecento notation, Part 1: sections I–IV.1," *Recercare* 13 (2001), pp. 36–37). Gozzi calls this number the density or density ratio of a tenor. While admiring Gozzi's methodologies, I have some reservations with their execution and his paper's conclusions. Throughout, but particularly in discussing Francesco's compositions in Table 1 (pp. 28–29), he carries his numbers to far too many decimal places to have significance. For instance, is there a perceptible difference between *Altera luce*'s density ratio of 1.12820513 and *Somma felicità*'s 1.12837838? In Table 4, Gozzi divides Jacopo's *senaria perfecta* compositions into two groups according to their mean density ratios. He suggests these ratios cluster around 1.7 and 2.2 respectively, but the data instead suggest a single group clustering around 1.7 and a long, one-sided tail increasing beyond this group to 2.4. A plot of the data on a simple graph makes this distribution clear:

TABLE 4.16: RATIO OF THE NUMBER OF UPPER VOICE NOTES TO TENOR NOTES IN EQUAL NOTE TENOR WORKS [61]

[*Cantus planus binatim*; theoretically][62]	1	:	1
Three *Cantus binatim* found in Cividale sources[63]	1.2	:	1
Fava: *Dicant nunc Judei*	1.4	:	1
Siena 36: *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor*	2.8	:	1
Florence 999: Paolo da Firenze, *Gaudeamus Domino*	3.4	:	1
Messina 16: *Benedicamus Domino*	3.9	:	1
Pit.: Paolo da Firenze, *Benedicamus Domino,* top voice	5.2	:	1 [second voice: 4.8 : 1]
Oxford 229: *Benedicamus Domino*	6.2	:	1
Faenza: *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor, no. 1, pt. 1*[64]	9.6	:	1

(The differences in style among various settings of *Benedicamus Domino* will be taken

up shortly). The notation of the tenor voice differs in various versions. In **Florence 999,**

Pit., Fava and **Messina 16** the tenor is written in square (chant) notation.[65] Figure 4.17

gives some examples:

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[61] Those who argue that medieval music is always governed by symbolic, whole number ratios will find little comfort in this table.

[62] By "theoretically," I mean by the definition as used by contemporary scholars. The evidence for widespread theoretical use of the term besides the ubiquitous quotation from Prosdocimus de Beldemandis is slight to non-existent. (Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *Opera 1: Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris*, edited by F. Alberto Gallo (Antiquae Musicae Italicae Scriptores 3), (Bologna: Arti Grafiche Tamari, 1966), p. 163).

[63] *Amor patris et filii* (**Cividale 56**, ff. 247v–50r), *Quem ethera et terra* (**Cividale 56,** ff. 244r–45r), *Verbum bonum et suave* (**Cividale 56**, f. 327r–29r). I have weighed their ratios, 1.07, 1.16, and 1.30, equally in the result I have included in the table; *Amor patris* is a much longer composition than the others and would otherwise dominate the listings. About half of the binatim in the Cividale sources, e.g., *Missus ab arce veniebat, O lylium convallium,* or *Submersus iacet pharao,* are closer to 1:1 than the three works chosen.

[64] The edition from Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12,* p. 160, was used to make this count; other reconstructions would not change the ratio noticeably.

[65] Recently on **Fava** and **Florence 999**'s tenors (along with **Florence Rari 18**), see Francesco Facchin, "Polifonia d'arte: polifonisti del Trecento italiano e polifonia semplice," in *Polifonie Semplici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Arezzo, 28-30 dicembre 2001*, Francesco Facchin, editor (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2004), pp. 112–13.

FIGURE 4.17: **MESSINA 16** AND **FAVA**, TENORS
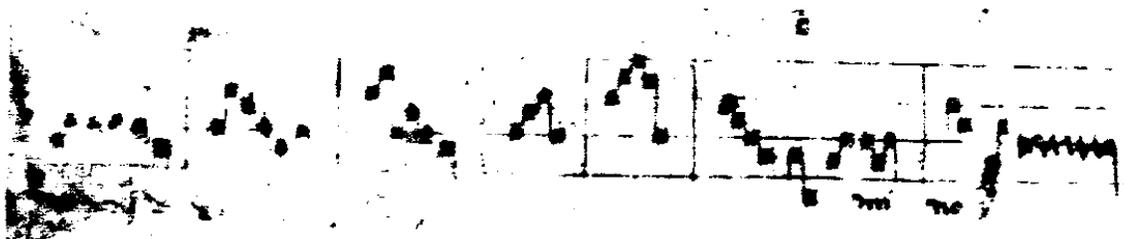
Messina 16, f. 169r
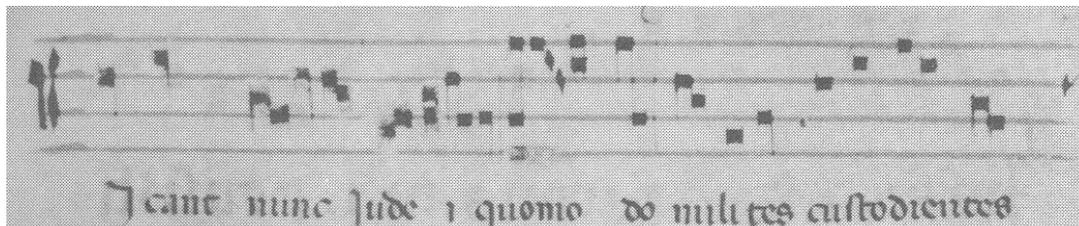
Fava, f. 42v

By contrast, the scribes of **Siena 36** and **Oxford 229** transcribe their chant tenors into mensural figures, each of equal duration (Figure 4.18):

FIGURE 4.18: **SIENA36** AND **OXFORD 229**, TENORS

Siena 36, f. 16v (excerpt)[66]
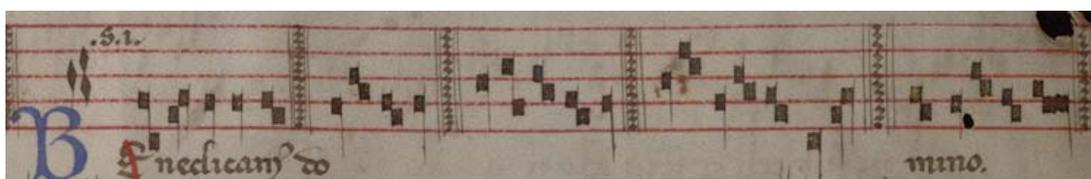
Oxford 229, f. 33v

[66] Discovered by Pedro Memelsdorff, "Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica." *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968). pp. 49–76.

The tenor of **Oxford 229** is unique among the surviving examples of this repertory in having every note equal a long rather than a breve. The version of the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* in **Siena 36** is not, strictly speaking, entirely written in equal notes, since twice a chant note is fragmented into two unequal notes. This re-articulation of tenor notes occurs frequently in **Faenza** versions of this Kyrie and of other chant tenors (see below).

Paolo's *Gaudeamus omnes* gives a rare example of a composition with a (nearly) continuous melody—the chant tenor has no contrapuntal function within the beat and there is only one upper voice—ascribed to a composer whom we have every reason to believe was well-regarded. Like Paolo's *Benedicamus Domino*, the mensuration of the work is not constant, moving from an implicit *senaria perfecta* ($\frac{6}{8}$) to *quaternaria* ($\frac{2}{4}$)—the same ending mensuration as the *Benedicamus Domino*— explicitly labeled in both voices. The labeling of mensuration changes in the tenor strongly suggests minim rather than breve equivalence and results in an accelerando from the beginning to the end of both works.[67] Changes of mensuration within equal-note tenor composition occur also between sections of the Gloria in the instrumental diminutions of the **Faenza** codex.

Gaudeamus omnes has been transcribed twice—both times, at least in part, by Kurt von Fischer.[68] In neither transcription do the editors comment on the frequent and unusual

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[67] Breve equivalence would have the opposite effect, that of a ritardando. It may be telling that in **Pit**.'s *Benedicamus Domino*, which moves from .o. to .s.i. (or .i.) to .!. to .q., the transition to .i. is not marked in the chant part. This omission at least allows the possibility that the breve in .o. was equal to the breve in .i., creating a minim beat in .i. that was three-quarters the tempo of .o.

[68] "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex," pp. 21–24, and Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, pp. 110–12. Except for some differences in recommended ficta and correction (and creation) of errors, the two versions do not differ substantially.

(over-?)use of *puncti* in the upper voice. The *puncti* allow the frequent switching between perfect and imperfect time. Fischer called this a switch between an implied $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ which forms Paolo's style, but the regularity of the *puncti* more commonly create an implied $\frac{2}{4}$ within the $\frac{6}{8}$ (see mm. 38–40 in the transcription below).[69] But this usage is perplexing given that the scribe had access to coloration at his or her disposal as a way of expressing an imperfect semibreve (or non-altered minim). Many of the *puncti* thus seem superfluous.

To transcribe *Gaudeamus omnes,* a few assumptions must be made about the notation.[70] First, the semibreve rest is never imperfected (a common assumption), even when immediately followed by a minim with a *punctus* (a rarer assumption); however, the value of an imperfect semibreve rest can of course be created with two minim rests (ᵢ ᵢ). Previous editions of the work have drawn a distinction between the figure of two minims, the first contained within *puncti* (◆· ◆ ; e.g., m. 5 below), and two minims without any *puncti*. A new transcription, Example 4.19, does not allow the second minim to be altered as it normally would, and instead creates a long-term syncopation. In the transcription, all *puncti* are given outside of the staff. Altered minims are marked with an "A" to distinguish them from

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[69] Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex," p. 7.

[70] It may be significant that Tinctoris cites *Gaudeamus Omnes* in his *Treatise on Notes and Rests* as a piece of plainchant with uncertain rhythmic performance which are sung "now with measure, now without measure, now under perfect quantity, now under imperfect, according to the rite of churches or the will of those singing." (*Tractatus de Notis et Pausis,* ch. 15. Translation in Richard Sherr, "The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and its Interactions with Polyphony," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 180-81. As Sherr notes, Tinctoris's *Book on the Art of Counterpoint* (*Liber de arte contrapuncti,* bk. 2, ch. 21) gives a fuller account of the ways in which a chant can be used rhythmically as a base on which a counterpoint may be added. Paolo's usage in *Gaudeamus Omnes* seems to fall into Tinctoris's second type of counterpoint "at the will of the singers," where each note of the chant equals a breve of tempus imperfectum.

imperfect semibreves. The principal differences with previous transcriptions can be found in the added syncopations of mm. 5–8, an emphasis on $\frac{2}{4}$ in mm. 38–40, a reinterpretation of mm. 71–72, and changes to the ending, to be discussed below.

EXAMPLE 4.19: PAOLO, *GAUDEAMUS OMNES,* IN **FLORENCE 999**

Prosdocimus's fifth rule on note values in the *Tractatus practicae cantus mensurabilis ad modum Ytalicorum* is important for our understanding and transcription of this piece. This rule concerns notes which remain in isolation after the calculation of some perfection:

"[the note] must be assigned to the first place it can take." This much is relatively clear at least compared to what follows: "If there is a note immediately preceding or immediately following, that place will be clear enough." Not only the place, but the meaning of the sentence as a whole does not seem clear enough, although the following sentence applies to our work:

> if [it is not clear enough], it [the note] should be enclosed between two *puncti* to show that it must be assigned to another position. And the same applies if there should be more than one note remaining isolated after the calculation of some perfection.[71]

At the end of *Gaudeamus omnes* a short, ad libitum alleluia was created out of the last fourteen notes of the introit (though with a quite different set of ligatures). The counterpoint above the tenor differs between the two settings; the vertical transcription given in Example 4.19 allows a comparison. The first seven measures (mm. 101–7 and mm. 114–20) project the same basic dyads with the tenor (excepting perhaps the fourth measure). This similarity gives a rare glimpse at the variety of surface figurations which composers employed in the trecento and early quattrocento. In general, half of each measure (two eighth notes) is consonant, but there seems to be only a slight preference for this consonance to fall at the beginning of the breve; other positions are also common. After m. 107/120 the two versions play different roles, as the introit passage remains near its upper limit to create a cadence of a perfect twelfth above the tenor while the alleluia passage descends to its lowest note in the work in order to create a contrary motion cadence at the octave.

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[71] Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *A Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the Italian Manner* (*Tractatus practicae cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytalicorum*) (MSD 29), edited and translated by Jay A. Huff, (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), pp. 37–38.

At the end of the introit the upper voice sustains a long against a breve in the tenor; in the alleluia, the duration of three breves is sounded against the tenor breve. (See the conclusion of Example 4.19). The penultimate note in both passages thus conflicts rhythmically with the breve beat of the tenor. *Gaudeamus omnes* is not alone in having a metrical conflict on the penultimate note. The two-voice *Benedicamus Domino* in **Oxford 229** contains two seeming metrical errors, both just before cadences. Example 4.20 transcribes the work and emphasizes these discrepancies at mm. 14 and 80.

EXAMPLE 4.20: **OXFORD 229** *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*

Oxford 229 (Pad A), f. 33v

A similar discrepancy appears in another version of the same *Benedicamus Domino* tenor as **Oxford 229**. In **Messina 16**, the penultimate ligature of the top voice contains two breves, against a single breve in the tenor.[72] Example 4.21 transcribes this final passage:

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[72] The rhythmic problems of the final phrase are exacerbated by a missing breve D in the tenor, easily supplied from other chant sources.

EXAMPLE 4.21: **MESSINA 16** *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO,* ENDING

[domi]no

That these notational errors are systematic at penultimate notes of phrases suggests not scribal sloppiness but rather a practice of flexible rhythm just prior to the cadence. Like final notes, which often do not agree in duration, the preceding notes may have been held at the liberty of the singers.

***Contrasting Polyphonic Styles:* Verbum caro**

Though we will return to our examination of composition over equal-note tenors when we consider **Messina 16** and *Benedicamus* settings, our consideration of **Florence 999** is incomplete without attention to the other polyphonic work, the Christmas song *Verbum caro factum est,* shown in facsimile in Figure 4.22.[73]

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[73] Other appearances of the text are listed in Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols. (Louvain: Lefever; Polleunis and Ceuterick; et al., 1897–1921), no. 21347.

FIGURE 4.22: **FLORENCE 999**: *VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST*, F. 95R[74]
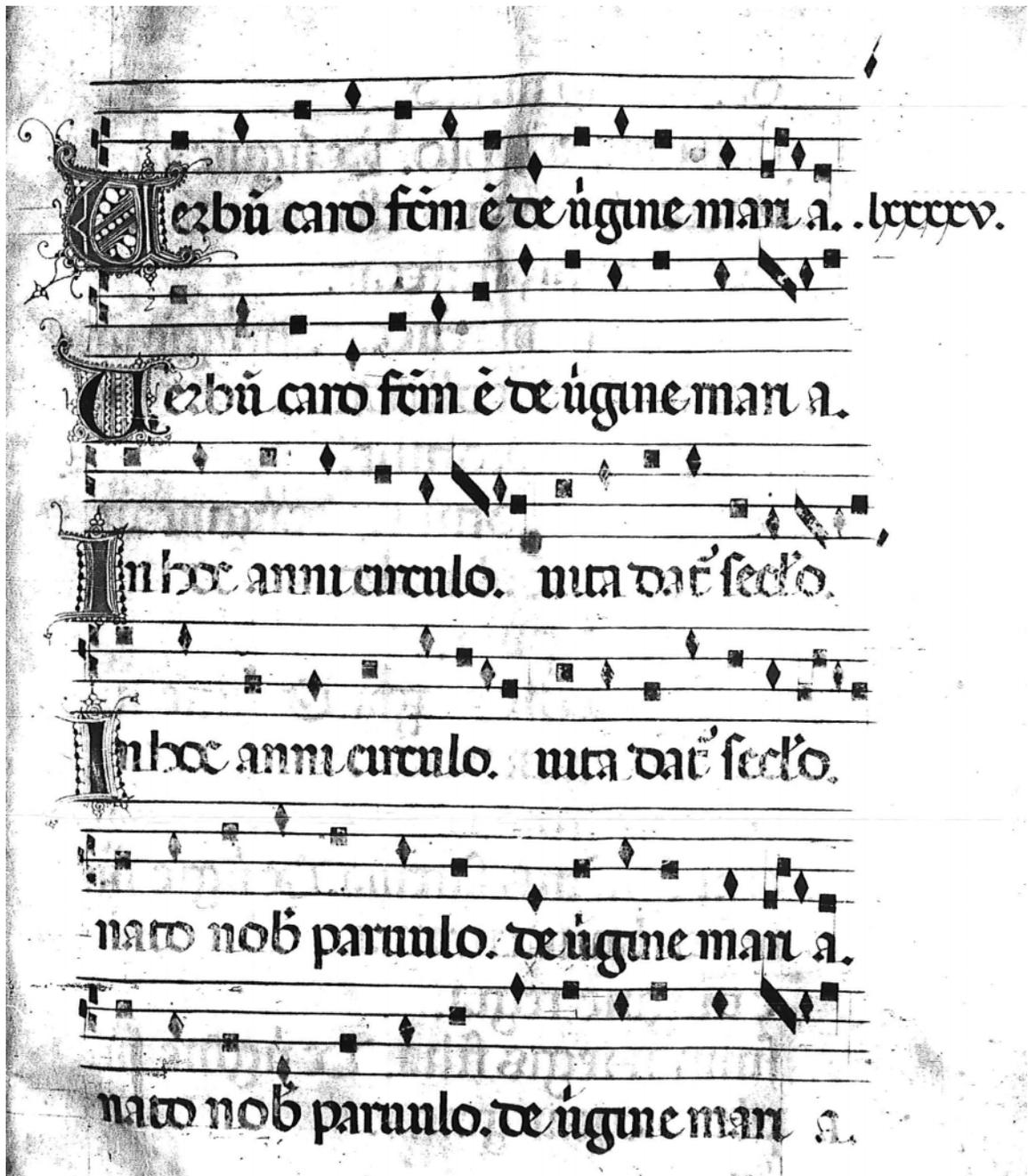
The combination of more complex and simple polyphonic notation is not unheard of in manuscripts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Such contrasts can be

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[74] This image has been digitally cleaned slightly to remove marks added by the scanning process.

found in **Siena 36** and **Pad A**—in both cases a simple sacred work such as the Sienese Kyrie (f. 16v) or the Paduan *Benedicamus Domino* appears in the same manuscript as more complex works by Ciconia (*O virum omnimoda* and *Sus unne fontainne*).

In addition to **Florence 999**, at least two other manuscripts of the early-fifteenth century transmit two-voice polyphonic versions of this "Verbum Caro" text and chant melody in the context of more elaborate polyphony.[75] Folio 15v of **Oxford 213** contains a short fragment of the music alongside an untexted work in a middle or late fifteenth-century hand (Figure 4.23). The top of the page contains an attribution to "Presbyter P. del zocholo de portunaonis," the only surviving work by a musician of this exact name, but possibly to be identified with the lauda composer Pietro Capretto (Heydus).[76]

[75] I use the term "chant melody" rather than tenor deliberately here since in the **Oxford 213** version, the chant is plainly marked cantus and the added voice is the tenor.

[76] Iain Fenlon, Review of *Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, edited by David Fallows, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122.2 (1997), pp. 292–93. Fenlon notes that Zocholo or Zocul are dialectical forms of Capretto and that the name "de portunaonsis" implies an origin in or near Pordenone in the Friuli. Capretto, b. 1427, was the composer of many laude; this composition may stem from the middle of the fifteenth century. Fenlon tentatively ascribes the version of the same text on f. 16v to the same composer.

FIGURE 4.23: *VERBUM CARO* FROM **OXFORD 213**, F. 15V

A three-voice version with the original tenor is found on the following folio of **Oxford 213**, f. 16v, and a version similar in style is found in **Bologna 2216** on p. 37.[77] A transcription of the opening of this work appears in Figure 4.24:

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[77] Giulio Cattin, "Il manoscritto Venet. Marc. Ital. IX, 145,"*Quadrivium* 4 (1960), pp. 30–31 and
D. P. Damilano, "Fonti musicali della lauda polifonica intorno alla metà del sec. XV," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 3 (1963), pp. 70–71.

FIGURE 4.24: *VERBUM CARO* FROM **BOLOGNA 2216** [78]

The melody also appears four times in various sections of **Venice 145**, f. 1r, ff. 104rv, 116r–17r (with text continuing to 118v) and in an altered contrafact as *El nome del bon Jhesu* in **Venice 145**, ff. 138rv (text continues to f. 140r).[79] The openings of the first, second, and last of these settings appear as Figures 4.25, 4.26, and 4.27.

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[78] The unusual text-setting in the cantus, mm. 6–7 follows the manuscript.

[79] Further on this complex of works, see Don Piero Damilano, "Fonti musicali della lauda polifonica intorno alla metà del sec. XV," *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 3 (1963), pp. 70–71.

FIGURE 4.25: *VERBUM CARO,* F. 1R, FROM **VENICE 145**

FIGURE 4.26: *VERBUM CARO* IN **VENICE 145**, F. 104R

FIGURE 4.27: *EL NOME DEL BON JHESU,* CONTRAFACT OF *VERBUM CARO* IN **VENICE 145**, F. 138R
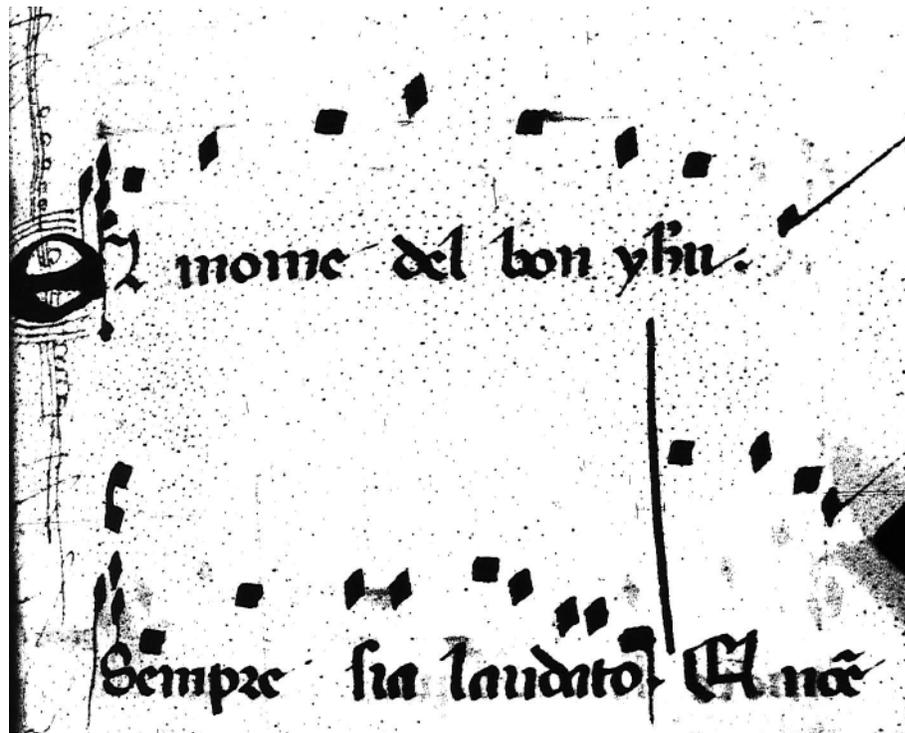
The melody also appears much later as the Sanctus Pastoralis. The work's presence can also be traced with its original text and melody in the turn of the sixteenth-century manuscript Cape Town, Grey 3 b. 12.[80] The text had continued importance in polyphonic settings even if not musically related to the common tenor found in the **Florence 999** version. Johannes de Lymburgia wrote a three voice version found in **Bologna Q 15**, while **Vatican 1419** has a two voice version in imperfect time on an unrelated, probably free tenor.[81] The setting in the miniscule processional **Feininger 133**, pp. 232–33, is unusual for

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[80] Giulio Cattin, "Nuova Fonte Italiana della Polifonia intorno al 1500 (MS. Cape Town, Grey 3. b. 12," *Acta Musicologica* 45.2 (July - December 1973), p. 199.

[81] The composition is no. 283 in the De Van numbering and no. 46 in the Lymburgia complete works. Lymburgia's composition shows some connections to the earlier tradition, particularly in the rhythm of the tenor in the first line of text. Etheridge was evidently not aware of other settings of this text, and in any case did not use them in reconstructing an awkward passage in the

(note continues)

being a simple version not based on the *cantus prius factus* of **Florence 999**.[82]   Finally, it must be noted that this list of sources is not at all exhaustive.[83]

Beyond looking at *Verbum caro factum est* as a representative of a class of polyphonic work, I want to take a moment to consider it as a composition. The survival of simple polyphony through the centuries and the international transmission of particular works should remind us that for many listeners these works must have been aesthetically powerful. There are musical gems to be found even in such a simple composition.

The phrases in the work are of slightly uneven lengths, giving a charming roughness to an overall sense of uniformity. The first line of the text "Verbum caro factum est de Virgine Maria" is set in an even, trochaic rhythm (rhythmic mode 1), differing only to create a three-semibreve melisma at the end of the line. The phrase divides musically and textually into two phrases each of four breves in length (the second phrase leading with a pickup-semibreve):

■　◆　|■　◆|■　◆　|■　　　◆|■　◆|■　◆|◆◆◆|■ .[84]

Ver-bum ca-ro　 fac-tum est　　 de Vir-gi- ne Ma- ri　- a

contratenor. Jerry Haller Etheridge, "The Works of Johannes de Lymburgia," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Indiana University, 1972), vol. 2, pp. xxi–xxii and 351–53.

[82] Description, facsimile, and literature list in Cesarino Ruini, *I manoscritti liturgici della Biblioteca L. Feininger*, Patrimonio storico e artistico del Trentino 21 (Trent: Servizio beni librarie e archivistici, 1998), pp. 298–99.

[83] A newly discovered version of this work appears at the beginning of the fifteenth-century **Rocca di Botte** fragment, preserved on four-line staves. I am grateful to Francesco Zimei for sharing this discovery with me.

[84] The final long seems insignificant as a measure of the phrase given that the following phrases and half-phrases end with conflicting settings between the voices: a long against a breve with breve rest in the first case and a breve against a long alone in the second.

While the rhythm of the second musical line, "In hoc anni circulo / vita datur secolo" begins with the first three perfections of "Verbum caro" and ends with the last two of "de Virgine Maria," as follows:

■ ♦ |■ ♦ |■ ♦ |♦ ♦ ♦ |■ [85] |■ ♦ |■ ♦ |■ ♦ |♦ ♦ ♦ |■ [86]

In hoc   an-ni cir-cu-lo_____   Vi-ta da-tur se-cu-lo_____

The two phrases share so many rhythmic (and melodic) elements that the asymmetry of their phrases—four- against five-measures—is arresting. The odd, five-perfection phrases of the second line are even more striking when the text-setting is taken into account: there is no textual need for the extra measure.

Though the lengths of phrases are common to all settings of this tenor, the intervals between voices are specific to **Florence 999**'s version of *Verbum caro*. An important musical point is the accented minor sixth which falls on the text "*cir[*-culo]," in measure 11 of Example 4.28.

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[85] Long in top voice against breve in lower voice.
[86] Long in lower voice against breve in upper voice.

EXAMPLE 4.28: **FLORENCE 999**, VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST, WITH FIRST TWO LINES OF TEXT (BREVE/LONG CONFLICTS SHOWN)

If a ficta sharp were applied to the C, it might be taken as the preparation for a cadence on D in the following measure. But the interval does not resolve outward to an octave, nor does it move obliquely to a fifth. Rather, both voices move inward to a third, setting up the extra measure before the cadence, discussed above.   If we think of the work as a relic of an old tradition, then the dissonance, sustained for an imperfect breve, and its lack of resolution are outstanding. On the other hand, if this copy is an updated version or a recently composed work in a long-standing rhythmic style, then the sixth becomes not only a much milder dissonance, but also an emblem of musical change. Perhaps in the same way guitars and pop rhythms have influenced the church of the twentieth century, updated sonorities gave evidence to the listeners of a religious experience, while connected to tradition, which was relevant to their modern lives.

The important role of the sixth also provides links between this work and the teachings of Paolo. In his treatise, *Ars ad adiscendum contrapunctum*, Paolo demonstrates several

ways in which a sixth in the biscantus can substitute for the more traditional fifth.[87] Paolo also notes that multiple dissonant notes (his term for the more traditional "imperfect consonances") can be used "propter licentiam" (by license); the sixth followed by third of "circulo" is an exercise in this license.

As we noted in the "web of connections" graphic in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1), **Florence 999** claims similarities with many more sources than those we have had space to examine here. Further investigation of these connections will be crucial to gaining an understanding of this provocative source.

Parma 3597

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina. MS 3597.
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

Parma 3597 is an extremely small volume containing a single polyphonic work. Its size varies throughout but is approximately 110–115mm x 75–80mm.[88] The manuscript is parchment, save for a small section on paper from ff. 126–29.[89] The only polyphonic work appears toward the end of the Kyriale on ff. 10v–11r, a two voice *Stimmtausch* composition,

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[87] More extensive information about Paolo's advocacy of the sixth along with several musical examples maybe found in Sarah Fuller, "Discant and the Theory of Fifthing," *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), pp. 263–64. Paolo's treatise is edited by Albert Seay in "Paolo Tenorista: A Trecento Theorist," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 1 (1962), pp. 133–140. Although the details surrounding Paolo's biography are much clearer today than at the time of Fuller's article (see the extensive report in Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 203–46 or David Fallows's concise summary as "Paolo da Firenze," s.v. in *2ndNG*), her word of caution surrounding the phrase "secundum magistrum Paulum," suggesting it could be a second-hand report of Paolo's teachings, still stands. (The word "magistrum" appears in the version in **Siena 36** and not in **Florence 1119**).

[88] *RISM B III 6,* p 548, gives 113x80mm, a precise measurement presumably referring to the treatise on tones on ff. 20v–21r.

[89] *Ibid., op. cit.*

"Quy nos fecit ex nichilo." A detail of the opening appears in Figure 4.29 below; the two

voices are distinguished by a change in ink color.

FIGURE 4.29: **PARMA 3597** FF. 10V–11R
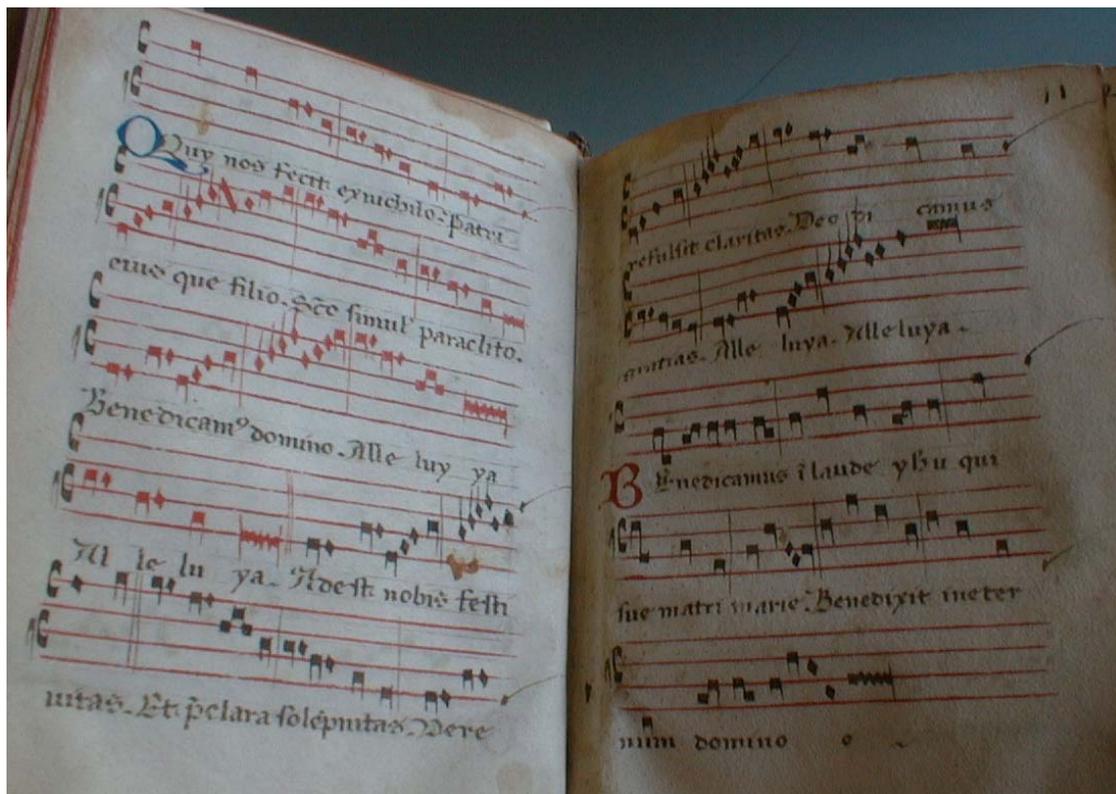
The text is often called a "Benedicamus trope," although textually it is also closely re-

lated to the *Benedicamus* versicles of the Aquitanian repertory. Works on the same text ap-

pear in **Las Huelgas, Venice 145,** and other manuscripts.[90] The composition in **Parma 3597**

is difficult to date but it probably comes from the early-fifteenth century; slightly later than

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[90] See transcription and extensive discussion in Giulio Cattin, "Persistenza e variazioni in un tropo
polifonico al *Benedicamus*," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 5 (1985), pp. 46–56.

the main period under study.[91] However, that the work is connected to other problems of the late trecento (see **Messina 16** below) makes it worth bending the limits somewhat.

By transcribing the work only in original notation, Cattin acknowledged the imprecision of the scribe's paleography. However, rendering the work in an even triple rhythm presents few difficulties and few distortions of the original. In Example 4.30, ◼ = ♩ or ♩.

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[91] While announcing his discovery of the source, Reinhard Strohm dated it between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. "Polifonie più o meno primitive. Annotazioni alla relazione di base e nuove fonti," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, eds. (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 86, 90. Cattin placed it more squarely in the fifteenth century. *RISM B III 6*'s placement at "Fin XVᵉ s." seems rather late.

EXAMPLE 4.30: "QUY NOS FECIT," **PARMA 3597** FF. 10V–11R

The composition consists of a single phrase of eight syllables or eight longs in length repeated

five times. Every successive repetition exchanges the line between the two voice parts. Three

lines consist of two words of five and three syllables each ("Benedicamus" and "Domino");

the texting of these lines is speculative. The work appears slightly altered in a non-mensural

version in another small-sized manuscript, **Venice 145**, f. 103rv (adjacent to one of the *Verbum caro* settings).[92]

The similarity between this work and the two-voice *Benedicamus* in **Krakow 40592** has until now gone unnoted. That manuscript is an Italian, Dominican psalter and hymnal of the later fifteenth century, formerly of Berlin's Preußische Staatsbibliothek. The version in black notes on ff. 180v–81r contains few to none of the mensural suggestions of the version in **Parma 3597**. The second half of each phrase in **Krakow 40592** is embellished in a way that obscures the underlying relationship to the quasi-mensural version. See the detail of the page in Figure 4.31, reproduced from Gallo-Vecchi, table 17.

FIGURE 4.31: **KRAKOW 40592** DETAIL OF FF. 180V AND 181R

The Benedicamus "Die sancti Pasche ad Vespera," *Voce digna corde* in **Aosta C3** is also related to the *Stimmtausch* setting both textually, by also using the line "Sancto simul

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[92] See Cattin, "Persistenza e variazioni," pp. 53–54 for transcriptions from this source and from **Las Huelgas**.

paraclito," and musically, though the connection is not exact.[93]

Later additions: Messina 16 (and Further on Equal-Note Tenors)
Messina, Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile. O. 4.16.
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

The three lines of music added to the end of a thirteenth-century antiphoner may seem an afterthought but their contents tie the manuscript to an important and largely un-explained polyphonic compositional technique of the fourteenth century. Folio 169r of the antiphoner Messina, Biblioteca "Painiana" del Seminario Arcivescovile, MS 0.4.16 contains a two-voice Benedicamus Domino on the "Flos filius" tenor. In the fourteenth century, the antiphoner was probably in Otricoli, a town on the border of Umbria and Lazio in the pre-sent-day province of Terni. The presence of offices for the locally venerated saints, St. Medicus (Medico) and St. Fulgentius (Fulgenzio) in a section of the manuscript added in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century provides the principal evidence for assigning prove-nance.[94] At the same time as these offices were added music was written on two folios at the

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[93] Gallo-Vecchi, tables 8 and 9 presents a facsimile of the relevant folios, ff. 68v–69r. The incipit, though, is difficult to read.

[94] Ziino, "Nuove fonti di polifonia," p. 241, and Giuseppe Donato, "Appendice: Nota sul manoscrit-to 0.4.16 della biblioteca 'Painiana' del Seminario Arcivescovile di Messina," following Ziino, *op. cit.,* p. 247. The offices of the saints has been edited by Donato in "Due uffici inediti dei SS. Medico e Fulgenzio di Otricoli," *Helikon: rivista di tradizione e cultura classica* 18-19 (1978-1979), pp. 41-140. An otherwise uncited reference to the life of S. Medicus is found in "Mémoi-res sur S. Medicus, martyr, et citoyen d'Otricoli," *Magasin encyclopédique: ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts,* New Series 9 (September 1809). This source is obviously related to the 1812 publication, *Memorie di S. Medico martire e cittadino di Otricoli raccolte da Francesco Cancellieri* cited by Donato, "Due uffici" as footnote 4 (p. 42).

end of the manuscript, containing psalm forms for the eight modes and the two-voice Bene-dicamus Domino.[95]

Although the polyphonic notation is of a later date than the bulk of the manuscript, the tradition of singing the Benedicamus Domino polyphonically may be as old as the source itself. A rubric on f. 73r after *Et valde mane una sabbatorum,* an antiphon "ad Benedictum," notes that "postea duo fratres cantent altissime Benedicamus domino alleluia alleluia."[96]

Unusually for a polyphonic mensural setting, the music of f. 169r is written on four-line staves, as if an extension of monophonic practice. The lower voice is written entirely in chant notation with each note to be interpreted as a breve of the upper voice. The work is thus one of the equal-note tenor compositions the general style of which was discussed earlier in this chapter during the examination of **Florence 999**, but which warrants further examina-tion focused particularly on **Messina 16**'s melody.

Using the "Flos filius" Benedicamus as an Equal-Note Tenor

The most common text set as an equal-note tenor for polyphonic composition is *Benedicamus Domino*, the formula which forms part of the dismissal for both the Office and sometimes the Mass. The same tenor melody is employed by three of the settings mentioned in the list of equal-note tenor works in Figure 4.16 above (p. 370): Paolo's *Benedicamus Domino* from **Pit.** and the anonymous compositions of **Messina 16** and **Oxford 229**. It is a

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[95] The gathering structure of the last folios of the manuscript is complicated. See Donato, "Appen-dice: Nota," pp. 249–51 for details.

[96] Ziino, "Nuove fonti di polifonia," p. 241. Not every reference to chants being sung by two broth-ers is necessarily a reference to polyphonic singing, so this rubric should be taken as a possible suggestion of polyphonic performance, not a definitive statement.

plagal Dorian (mode two) chant taken from the melisma on "Flos filius" of the verse "Virgo dei genetrix virga est" of the responsory *Stirps Jesse*.[97] The melody is found in the *Antiphonale Romanum* as 59*.[98]

The melody has two histories of long use: one as a *Benedicamus Domino* and one as a tenor for polyphonic composition. An early citation of the melody as *Benedicamus* appears in the customary of Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny from around 1146.[99] While confirming its usage, Abbot Peter's citation of exactly the part of "Virgo dei genetrix est" to be used for the *Benedicamus* would be sufficient to make clear that the tradition was relatively new at the time even if he did not call it "very new, yet good."[100] The melody appears polyphonically in the Saint Martial sources.[101] It also appears as a tenor for two, three, and four part motets in **Montpellier 196**.[102] Motets based on the Flos filius melody have appeared in

[97] A translation of the responsory text appears in Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the French Motet* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997). The responsory, "Strips Jesse" was composed by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres in the years around 1000. Yves Delaporte, "Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine de chant liturgique au XIe siècle," *Etudes grégoriennes* 2 (1957), p. 52.

[98] *Antiphonale sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* (Paris: Desclée, 1924).

[99] Kassius Hallinger, "Statuta Petri Venerabilis Abbatis Cluniacensis IX," in *Consuetudines Benedictinae Variae: (saec. XI–saec. XIV)*, edited by Giles Constable (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1975), p. 103. Cited in Anne Walters Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino," s.v. in *2ndNG*. The date is from Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41.1 (Spring 1988), p. 11. A more lengthy treatment of the early history of "Benedicamus Domino" is in Barbara Marian Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* Settings," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 5–23. The "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* is No. 32 in Barclay's catalog, pp. 53–91.

[100] Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition," p. 11.

[101] In **Paris 1139**, the notes of "Flos filius" are written under the new polyphonic trope *Stirps Jesse florigeram* thereby creating a double reference to the original *Stirps Jesse* responsory.

[102] For more on these uses see Sylvia Huot, "Languages of Love: Vernacular Motets on the Tenor *Flos Filius Eius*," in *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly,* edited by Keith Busby and Norris J. Lacy (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 169–80.

treatises on polyphony from the thirteenth century such as Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantus mensurabilis* which uses *O Maria mater dei/Flos filius* and *Castrum pudicicie/Virgo viget melius/Flos filius* as examples.[103]

On account of its plagal, D-mode opening (the same gesture as the modal antiphon *Secundus autem*), the *Flos filius* melody, when used as a polyphonic tenor, has one of the lowest tessiture in the trecento. The second note of the melody descends to the A below the C which forms the normal lowest extent of trecento pieces (Zachara's absurdly low *Deduto Sey* excepted). Given the low range we should not be surprised to find the *Flos filius* melody sometimes transposed up a fourth, on G, as it appears in the instrumental **Faenza** codex (see below) and the sixteenth-century manuscript, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AN II 46 (f. 138r).

It would be incorrect to view Paolo's complex three-voice setting of *Benedicamus,* which changes mensurations, imitates, syncopates, and employs multiple types of dotted rhythms, as typical for these settings. The *Benedicamus* settings in the fragments from Padua and Messina are rather simple. **Pad A**'s version is written in the Italian *senaria imperfecta* with *puncti divisionis.* **Messina 16** lacks these dots, so it is better to describe it as being in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori.* Both tempora amount to six minims to the breve, or $\frac{6}{8}$ in a modern transcription. Motion is nearly entirely stepwise, except between phrases, and the rhythms used are mostly trochees. The simplicity of the melodies suggests they

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[103] Sandra Pinegar's *Thema* project lists concordances of the second motet: <http://www.uga.edu/thema/virgovig.html>. The passage appears in translation and transcription in Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler, editors, *Source Readings in Music History,* revised edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), p. 241.

could be improvised. These sources might be written records of a normally unwritten tradition. This suggestion is aided by the position of the *Benedicamus* in **Messina 16**, an addition scribbled on the last page of a four folio gathering, itself an addition to a completed antiphoner.

The presence of the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* tenor in unusual positions in other manuscripts further suggests that it may have been used for improvised polyphony. In several sources with one or few polyphonic works, the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* is found near these works. (Table 4.32). For instance in **Reggio Emilia 408** and **Parma 3597**, the manuscripts' only polyphonic work is near this *Benedicamus*. This nearness is less surprising in the Parma manuscript, since the only polyphonic work, *Quy nos fecit ex nichilo* contains the text "Benedicamus Domino" and appears with other *Benedicamus* at the end of a Kyriale.[104] But in the case of the **Reggio Emilia** hymnal, there is little reason for the placement of Benedicamus tones near the processional hymn *Crucifisum in carne*.

TABLE 4.32: MANUSCRIPTS WITH THE "FLOS FILIUS" SETTING OF *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO* NEAR POLYPONY, OFTEN THE ONLY POLYPHONIC WORK IN THE SOURCE

Cividale 56	2vv. *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris*, ff. 252v–54r.
	Benedicamus Domino "Flos filius," f. 254r.[105]
	2vv. *Tam diu quippe salutaris*, ff. 254rv.
Parma 3597	2vv. *Quy nos fecit* (Benedicamus Trope), ff. 10v–11r. [106]
	Troped "Flos filius" *Benedicamus*, f. 11r.

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[104] On **Parma 3597,** including a facsimile of this opening, see earlier in this chapter. Note also that this "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* is troped "In laude Jesu."

[105] Facsimile on Gallo-Vecchi, plate 58.

[106] See Figure 4.29 above for a facsimile of this opening.

Reggio Emilia 408	Five *Benedicamus* settings, including "Flos filius," f. 64v.[107]
	Hymn (no notation) and *Benedicamus* with difficult mensural notation, f. 65r.
	3vv. *Crucifisum in carne* plus two additions, f. 65v.
Seville 25[108]	Adjacent to rules for constructing contrapuntal lines and between two lines marked "Tenor" and "Contratenor". f. 58r.
Vatican 657	2vv. *Credo* ("Cardinalis"), ff. 419v–23r.
	"Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino*, ff. 422v (bottom).[109]
Vatican 4749	3vv. *Benedicamus Domino* (not "Flos filius"), f. 15r. (Example 4.33)
	"Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* copied four times, f. 15v (Figure 4.34)

1. In large neumes on the second line, below a different *Benedicamus.*
2. In small neumes on the final line, below a brief treatise on the modes and a *Kyrie.*
3. Erased, in extremely large neumes taking up much of the folio, underneath (1) and (2).
4. Erased and underneath (3), in enormous neumes taking up the whole of the large (33x24cm) folio.

Venice 145	2vv. *L'amor a mi venendo,* f. 144v[110]
	"Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino,* f. 144v
	Theory treatise on intervals between hexachords, f. 145r.[111]

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[107] The *Benedicamus* settings also include a version which begins with the first phrase of *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor*, transposed down a fifth to D.

[108] The folio with *La durea,* f. 22v also contains *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor*, another tenor which may have been used to improvise polyphony above, as happens on f. 16v of **Siena 36**. Folio 80r of **Seville 25** also contains a work composed on top of *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor;* it is not improvised, but it does seem to be composed according to the rules of a treatise.

[109] On the same opening as the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus* are three other monophonic *Benedicamus Domino* chants, all important and set polyphonically elsewhere: Barclay 22 (*Kyrie Cunctipotens genitor; LU* p. 28), Barclay 69 (melisma "Mariam" from ~ *Ad nutum Domini, AR* p. 59*; used polyphonically at the top of **Krakow 40592**, ff. 180v–81r; Gallo-Vecchi, table 17), and an extended version of Barclay 83 (melisma "in perhenni seculorum" from ~ *Honor virtus*; *AR* p. 59*).

[110] Facsimile of this opening in Cattin, "Il manoscritto Venet. Marc. Ital. IX, 145." *Quadrivium* 4 (1960), plate 7 (reprinted in the 2003 Cattin collected writings edition).

EXAMPLE 4.33: **VATICAN 4749**, F. 15R, TRANSCRIPTION OF OPENING

FIGURE 4.34: **VATICAN 4749**, DETAIL OF TOP OF F. 15V, ULTRAVIOLET IMAGE SHOWING *BENEDICAMUS* 1, 3, AND 4.

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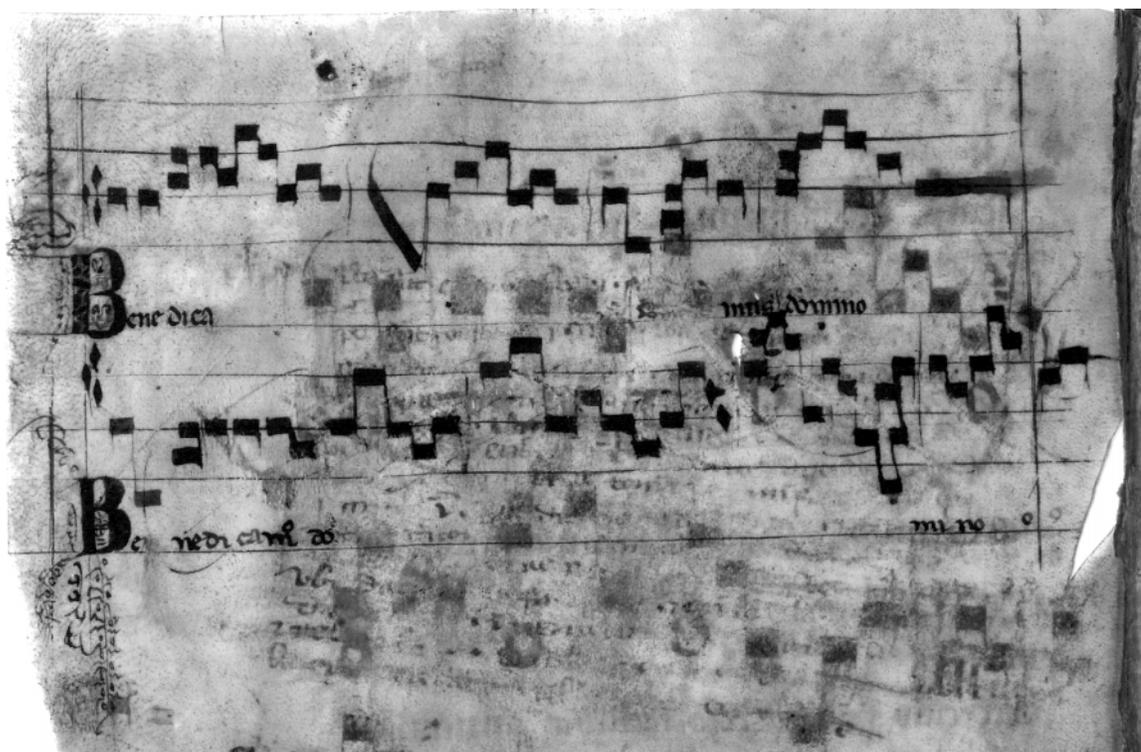
[111] This treatise is missing from Christian Meyer's *RISM B III 6* pp. 613–14 and is described incorrectly in *RISM B IV 5*, pp. 550–54. It is similar in style to the treatise found in **Parma 3597** (see above).

Note that the style of both the *notated* polyphonic pieces in **Reggio Emilia 408** and **Parma 3597** prevents them from being improvised. *Quy nos fecit* is essentially *Stimmtausch,* and *Crucifisum* is for three equal, but not-homophonic voices. (Note also that the *Benedicamus* and *Crucifisum* of **Reggio Emilia 408** are on a separate bifolio which disrupts the gathering structure of the remainder of the manuscript, discussed more fully later in this chapter.)

The presence of the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* so near to polyphonic works thus suggests that it may be a part of an unwritten tradition of improvised polyphony, a tradition of which **Messina 16** and **Pad A** are the only true notated survivors.[112] The nearness of the chant to rules of counterpoint in **Seville 25** and a short treatise on scales in **Vatican 4749** further suggests that it was used in pedagogy, perhaps as a common phrase upon which to improvise polyphony. The *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* may have been another such work—also appearing in the context of treatises (as we saw in **Siena 36**). The ascending and descending scalar patterns which appear after theoretical discussions, and even after polyphonic compositions may also be part of this tradition.[113]

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[112] One notes that this unwritten tradition is separate from (but in no way incompatible with) the unwritten tradition of using various parts of the Mass and Ordinary as Benedicamus Domino. The existence of this tradition—of which "Flos filius" is a written testament—is the central thesis of Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition."

[113] I am not suggesting that every presence of a notated scale had this purpose and certainly not that every fancy decoration at the end of a polyphonic work was meant to be used musically. However, the curious case of one such decoration should be mentioned. An Icelandic tonary concludes a line with a diamond-shaped pattern which on first glance appears decorative, but is preceded by a change of clef and carefully arranged so that the pattern of intervals is the asymmetric, but more consonant pattern: 1–3–5–8–5–3–1.

If then on the one hand, the pieces in **Pad A** and **Messina 16** can be seen as just barely on the written side of a possibly unwritten tradition, the two works by Paolo, *Benedicamus Domino* in **Pit** and *Gaudeamus omnes* in **Florence 999**, are perhaps a stylization of the technique.

Equal-Note Tenors and Keyboard Diminutions

The *Benedicamus* in **Pad A** and **Messina 16** also show strong resemblances to another usually unwritten tradition, that of instrumental (probably keyboard) music, surviving in four sources. Figure 4.35 is an example taken from the manuscript **Assisi 187**:

FIGURE 4.35: **ASSISI 187**, F. 108R, DETAIL OF SYSTEMS 4–5
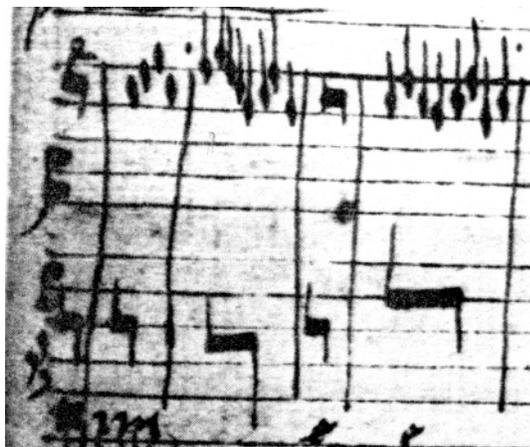
A complete list of keyboard sources appears in Table 4.36:

TABLE 4.36: KEYBOARD SOURCES IN THE TRECENTO AND EARLY QUATTROCENTO

Faenza	Many sacred pieces, including *Kyrie* (IV), *Cunctipotens genitor* and "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* in multiple versions, a *Kyrie, Orbis factor,*[114] two copies of Gloria IV, and numerous Italian and French secular compositions.
Assisi 187	*Kyrie* (IV), *Cunctipotens genitor.* (twice)
Padua 553	Gloria IV.
Reina	*Questa fançulla* (Francesco da Firenze), f. 85r, *Je voy le bon tens venir,* (twice) f. 85v.[115]

Although many of the works in the keyboard sources have tenors of exactly equal note lengths, some (especially in **Faenza**) fragment the tenor notes, creating repetitions of the note within a breve. For instance: ■ → ♦ ꞋꞋ ♦ ꞋꞋ . Passing notes appear occasionally in *Questa fançulla* in **Reina**. Finally, the short section of **Padua 553** preceding the Amen and especially *Je voy le bon tens venir* in **Reina** exceed the definition of equal-note tenor and are best described as simple tenors which emphasize the breve divisions.

One might note the frequency of errors and recopying of works in the keyboard sources. The scribes of both **Assisi 187** and f. 85v of **Reina** (Nádas's Scribe V)[116] abandon a first version of a work because the two parts become misaligned. (See Figure 4.37). These mistakes imply either sloppy direct copying from lost exemplars or a compositional method not primarily based on composing an upper-voice above a lower part already written on the page. (In fact, the order of copying in **Reina** shows that the upper voice was copied first and the tenor was added below it).

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[114] Pedro Memelsdorff, "New music in the Codex Faenza 117," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13.2 (October 2004), pp. 147–53.

[115] For this identification, see Robert Huestis, Review of Michael Kugler, *Die Tastenmusik im Kodex Faenza, Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27.3 (Autumn 1974), p. 523.

[116] Nádas, "Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," pp. 150 and 175.

FIGURE 4.37: CORRECTED COPYING MISTAKES IN **ASSISI 187** AND **REINA**, F. 85V

Incorrect versions:
Assisi 187   **Reina**, f. 85v
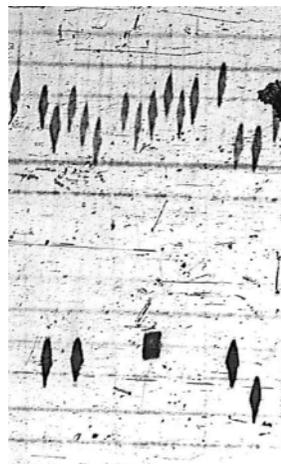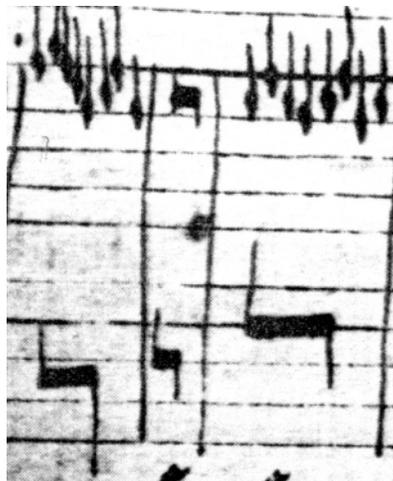
Correct versions:
Assisi 187   **Reina**, f. 85v
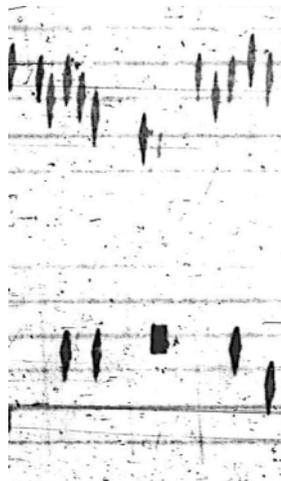
The expansion of the study of equal-note tenor composition to include instrumental style raises the question of whether the compositions not in score might also be works for instruments.[117] With the exception of *Gaudeamus omnes* in **Florence 999**, none of the equal

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[117] Keyboard works also draw into question the notion, drilled into undergraduates in nearly every medieval survey course, that it is the tenor line and not the bass or lowest note that is the important structural element in composition. In the version of Jacopo da Bologna's *Sotto l'imperio* found in **Faenza 117**, the left-hand part fills in rests in the original tenor with passages from the

note tenor compositions truly require texts. The majority of compositions are set simply to the words "Benedicamus Domino." The other exception, the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* of **Siena 36**, is textless.

The secular works on equal length tenors in **Faenza** also expand the breadth of this phenomenon. That a particular trecento compositional style is not unique to sacred music is no surprise: sacred composition in the trecento has generally been seen either to share the same styles available to secular works or to be a smaller subset of those styles.[118]

Further on Benedicamus settings ca. 1400: Ravenna 453

We can see the relationship of upper voices to equal-note chant tenors more clearly by looking at related *cantus planus binatim* repertories. A collection of polyphonic but non-mensural settings of the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino* has recently been brought to light

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contratenor and even the cantus when it is the lowest voice. This work is noted and discussed in Nino Pirrotta, "Note su un codice di antiche musiche per tastiera," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 4 (October–December 1954), pp. 334–37.

[118] The sharing of styles between secular and sacred genres is not perfect. Contrafacts, laude, and *cantasi come* of madrigals are rare, and no Mass movements exist which are direct analogues to the style of the madrigal. (An example of a rare madrigal lauda is *Appres un fiume chiaro*.)

There are also "motets" which appear to be contrafacts of secular forms which do not generally appear in compositions originally conceived as sacred. The motet, "Regina Gloriosa," (ascribed to Ciconia by Clercx but not currently accepted) appears to be a contrafact of a virelai or possibly a ballata (see Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC* 24, p. 209). On the possibility that a secular work could be a contrafact of a prior sacred work, see David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982), pp. 165–68, and my discussion of parody in the works of Zachara and Bartolomeo da Bologna in "Zacara's *D'amor Languire* and Strategies for Borrowing in the Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Mass," in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2005) pp. 337–57 and plates 10–13. One other work, if it is Italian, shows that the hunger for new forms in sacred music stretched to the edge of trecento taste for secular forms: the Kyrie "Rondello" of **Vatican 1419** borrows its form from the French rondeau, otherwise quite uncommon in Italy.

by Angelo Rusconi.[119] This mainly monophonic liturgical miscellany, containing a collectar, a Mass for the dead, a Kyriale, and offices for several saints, is currently housed in Ravenna at the Biblioteca Classense as MS 453. Although Rusconi reports as many as twelve different hands scattered throughout the layers of the source, the main work of the first section was written by a single scribe: *Frater Honofrius de Sulmona lector Perusii ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini.* Rusconi's research turned up a papal bull from 1394 mentioning Honofrius as a professor, which may be equated with lector, in Perugia.[120] Honofrius's elevation in 1405 to bishop of Ugento near Perugia suggests for Rusconi a likely period for the copying of the manuscript as 1380–1405, though I might be more cautious and allow for Honofrius's appointment as lector as early as 1370.[121]

As is unfortunately too common in the study of manuscript additions, the dating of the source as a whole does little to give us a secure date for the polyphonic additions added in different hands on ff. 5r, 14r, and 24r. Although the hand on f. 5r has many features in common with informal hands *c.* 1400 (the shape of final *l* in particular), I believe Rusconi is too certain in his statement that it is "se non contemporanea, di poco posteriore." The added polyphony is simply the addition of solmization syllables to a preexisting copy of the *Benedicamus Domino* "Flos filius." This type of polyphonic addition is unique to **Ravenna 453.** See Figure 4.38.

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[119] "Polifonia semplice in codici liturgici: due nuovi fonti," in Francesco Facchin, editor, *Polifonie Semplici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Arezzo, 28-30 dicembre 2001* (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2004), pp. 39–44, 53–57, 62.

[120] *Ibid.,* p. 40.

[121] *Ibid., op. cit.* Honofrius dies in 1427.

FIGURE 4.38: **RAVENNA 453** F. 5R, DETAIL OF POLYPHONIC BENEDICAMUS DOMINO
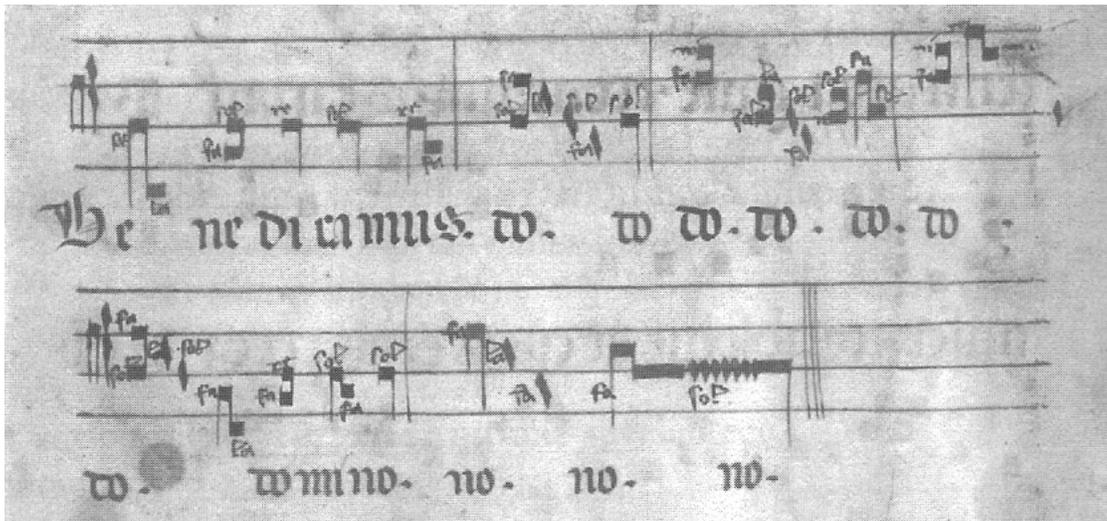
The lack of mensural rhythm in any of the works in **Ravenna 453** places the manuscript generally beyond the scope of this study. However, the simplified polyphony affords the opportunity to examine its counterpoint in the context of different contrapuntal solutions offered by different scribes and composers to the *Flos filius* tenor.

Before we can do so, however, we must fix what is surely a gross misunderstanding of the meaning of the solmization syllables. Rusconi's comments to his transcription discuss the unique use of a polyphony based on stable fourths and parallel seconds, as his transcription of this folio demonstrates. (Example 4.39)

EXAMPLE 4.39: **RAVENNA 453** F. 5V, RUSCONI'S TRANSCRIPTION [122]

However, a transcription which does not suppose that *ut* means C, and G *sol* etc. but allows the music to begin a fifth higher on D *sol*, reveals a much more typical compositional style. (See Example 4.40)

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[122] *Ibid.,* p. 42. I have removed blank space from the transcription in order to make it fit on a single system. We should recall Sarah Fuller's mention of an archaic Milanese tradition of singing in parallel seconds as a reminder that Rusconi's solution is not completely without precedent; but it seems extremely unlikely given the much more conventional transcription offered on the following page. ("Early Polyphony," in *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300,* edited by Richard Crocker and David Hiley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 485–556).

EXAMPLE 4.40: **RAVENNA 453** F. 5V, NEW TRANSCRIPTION[123]

Be - ne - di-ca-mus. do. do do. do. do. do do. do - mi - no. no. no. no.

(The penultimate note of the upper-voice could also be inflected with a C♯, producing the Marchettian cadence formula already seen in **Oxford 229**'s *Benedicamus* setting, Example 4.20, p. 380).[124]

Having offered a new transcription which is more in-line with what we know of trecento contrapuntal traditions, we can use the **Ravenna 453** counterpoint as a baseline to

[123] A couple of other misreadings of ligatures (incorrectly transcribed from top to bottom instead of bottom to top) have been fixed in this transcription as well.

There are two other polyphonic works in this same manuscript which seem to be similarly mistranscribed. The following transcriptions, first of another *Benedicamus Domino* "Flos filius" setting (f. 24r) and the second of a *Kyrie, Cunctipotens Genitor* (f. 14r), are offered provisionally, as they are corrections of the published transcriptions made without access to the manuscript or facsimile. Folio 24r's *Benedicamus* setting (below) relies on thirds and sixths to a much greater extent than f. 5v's and suggests a later date of composition.

Be - ne - di-ca-mus Do - - - - - - - mi - no.

The penultimate note of the following *Kyrie,* like its counterpart in the f. 5v *Benedicamus*, could be inflected to C♯. See the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* of **Seville 25** and **Barcelona 883** in Chapter 5.

Ky-ri - e e - - - le - i - son.

[124] This cadence formula is discussed by Jan Herlinger, "Marchetto the Pythagorean," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), pp. 380–81, 385–86.

compare the various upper voice solutions to the "Flos filius" tenor; see Example 4.41. The variety of different surface figurations is made apparent, as are the different positions within a measure where dissonances may appear, but the paucity of different underlying contrapuntal solutions is made clear.

EXAMPLE 4.41: COMPARISON OF VARIOUS *FLOS FILIUS* SOLUTIONS (FIRST THREE PHRASES)

Reggio Emilia 408

Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca municipale. MS C 408.
No entry in RISM or CCMS.

Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale MS C 408 is a composite manuscript of sacred music (mainly hymns) and liturgical readings probably compiled in northern Italy beginning in the thirteenth century and continuing through the late-fourteenth century. The manuscript contains one of the few sources for polyphonic mensural music for processions.[125] Currently the source consists of 85 folios, the last five of which were certainly added substan-

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[125] The text of the manuscript was extensively studied by Paola Casoli in her 1985 laurea thesis, "L'innario del codice C.408 della Biblioteca Municipale di Reggio Emilia" (Bologna). Contrary to the information in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC* 13 and the Medieval Music Database, the thesis does not provide a transcription of three-voice *Crucifixum in carne. PMFC* 13, p. 279 states that the manuscript corpus as a whole comes from the early fourteenth century, a century later than Casoli's dating (p. 59). Casoli's dating was based on a comparison with manuscripts which do not seem particularly similar in my opinion. In any case, as she points out (p. 60), the inclusion of Saint Maximilian puts an indisputable *terminus ante quem non* of the mid-twelfth century.

tially after the rest of the manuscript was assembled.[126] The first 43 folios comprise a mono-phonic hymnal; these are continued by a collectar of five folios. To these were added a seem-ing miscellany of antiphons, responsories, and Mass sections. The contents and gathering structure of the manuscript are summarized in Figure 4.42 below:[127]

[126] In addition to other evidence for later addition, f. 79 is worm-eaten in places where the conclud-ing ff. 80–85 are not. The main corpus of the manuscript varies in size but roughly measures 255mm by 180mm. (The last five folios are significantly smaller at 230x150mm). The six-line staves on f. 65v are approximately 19–20 mm. The manuscript has the inscription, "Inni per la diocesi di Reggio Emilia, sec. XV," written in a much later hand. Three colors of ink are used for the bulk of the manuscript, black, red (for rubrics, initial letters, and the F line), and yellow (C lines both above and below F); in addition, blue is employed beginning in the tenth fascicle.

[127] The gathering structure I present conflicts with that of Casoli in several respects. The most im-portant of which are: (1) she did not notice that the bifolio of ff. 64 and 65 form an independent gathering, (2) ff. 48–63 form two gatherings instead of one, and (3) an opening folio has been removed from the manuscript. (1) and (3) are disruptions to an otherwise regular quaternion structure of the manuscript, indicated by gathering numbers at the bottom middle verso of every eighth folio.

FIGURE 4.42: GATHERING STRUCTURE OF **REGGIO EMILIA 408**

1. ff. (0)-7 first folio lacking. Hymnal

2. ff. 8-15

Marian antiphon + Crucifixum in carne (4line staff)

3. ff. 16-23

Offertory *Stetit Angelus* (single line)
B. D. (5 versions)
Hymn. *B. D.*
Crucifisum in carne (3vv + 2 additions)

4. ff. 24-31

Stetit Angelus

5. ff. 32-39

6. ff. 40-47
end hymnal
begin collectar

7. ff. 48-55
Antiphons *in Letania Majore et variis necessitatibus*

8. ff. 56-63
Fragment of a plenary Mass and litany of the saints

9. ff. 64-65
Single bifolio.

f. 65r: Hymn w/o notation. Benedicamus Domino, mensural notation

10. ff. 66-71
Office and Mass *in Natale Confessoris*

11. ff. 72-79
Responsories, Antiphons, and *Quem quaretis*

12. ff. 80-85
Fascicle of smaller dimensions, with readings (St. Venerio and [breviary] St. Prospero)

The only (previously) known polyphonic work in the manuscript is a three-voice version of the Easter processional song, *Crucifixum in carne* (in facsimile in Figure 4.43). The work appears in a different hand than the surrounding monophonic works and appears on f. 65v, on a bifolio separate from the prevailing gathering structure (see the preceding footnote).

FIGURE 4.43: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V

This tenor of *Crucifixum in carne* bears no resemblance to the Alleluia verse of the same name found in the Notre Dame sources, such as **Florence 29.1** or **Karlsruhe 16**, nor to the second verse of the Easter procession *Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum* in the same Karlsruhe

source.[128] Fischer and Gallo note some similarities between the biscantus of this work and the chant melody of a *Cantorinus* from the **Faenza** codex.[129] More closely related in style are the independent melodies, including a setting of *Crucifixum Jesum Christum in carne*, found in **Budapest Tyrnau** (14th c.), **Trier 322** (15th c., probably second half), and **Mainz Monguntius** (15th c.) which can sung together in various combinations.[130] Example 4.44 gives some of these melodies.

[128] See Jacques Handschin, "Zum Crucifixum in carne," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7.2 (June 1925), pp. 161–166. Peter Wagner, "Zu den liturgischen Organa," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1924), pp. 54–55. *Ibid.,* "Zum Organum 'Crucifixum in carne' " 6.4 (December 1924), pp. 401–2. These versions are also discussed in Georg Paul Kollner, "Eine Mainzer Choralhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts als Quelle zum 'Crucifixum in carne'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19.3/4 (1963), pp. 208–212. See also Mark Everist's review of Franz Körndle, *Das zweistimmige Notre-Dame-Organum "Crucifixum in carne" und sein Weiterleben in Erfurt,* Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 49 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995) 89-91.

[129] Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC* 13, p. 279.

[130] František Mužik, "Die Tyrnauer Handschrift (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár c. l. m. 243)," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philosophica et Historica* 2 (1965), pp. 5–44. Rudolf Ewerhart, *Die Handschrift 322/1994 der Stadtbibliothek Trier als musikalische Quelle* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1955). Georg Paul Kollner, "Eine Mainzer Choralhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts als Quelle zum 'Crucifixum in carne'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19.3/4 (1963), pp. 208–212. Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 337–38. An important textual difference between the **Reggio Emilia 408** source and these is the use of "-ate" for Reggio Emilia's "-emus" at the ends of lines (e.g., laudate vs. laudemus).

EXAMPLE 4.44: CRUCIFIXUM MOTET FROM **BUDAPEST TYRNAU**[131]

Like the **Reggio Emilia 408** version, this setting frequently alternates between a single breve and four minims.

Two other melodic lines are found on the same page of the manuscript below the text of the three-voice Crucifixum. The first is written in black mensural notation using minims, semibreves (normal, caudate, and in ligatures with opposite propriety), breves, and longs. The notes are small in size, particularly in relation to the widely-spaced four-line staff, and the long minim stems make the notes seem particularly narrow. There is no text, nor any other indication of the line's purpose. We will return to this melody shortly.

The second melodic line occupies one and a half freely-drawn, four-line staves, and is written in white mensural notation. The scribal hand is uneven: some note heads are nearly round, some harp-shaped (in the style of **Oxford 213**). The entire melody is written in semibreves except for two longs, one at the middle and one end of the composition, and two repetitions of the figure ◇· ◇ ◇· ◇ substituting for four semibreves just before the cadence. After the final long, a custos on A indicates that more music was intended, but not a repeti-

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[131] Edition adapted from Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 337.

tion of the melody (beginning on E). A textual incipit "Crucifixum" lies under the staff followed by another word at the end of the first section ("laude"?). "Laudemus" is the complete text of the second half of the work. The melody is transcribed below, in Figure 4.45:

FIGURE 4.45: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V, BOTTOM OF PAGE

Crucifixum   laude
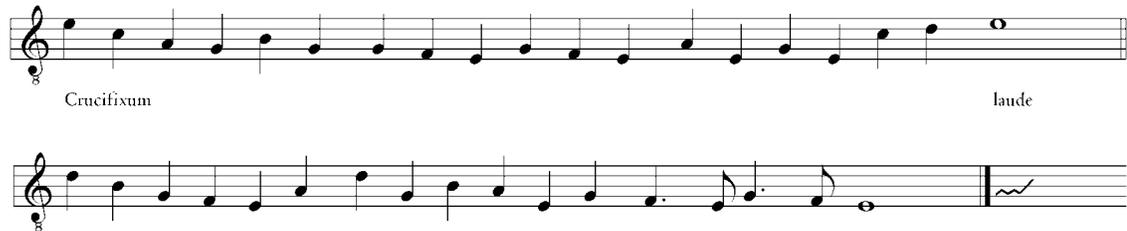
This E-mode work, probably from the mid-to-late fifteenth-century, shares nothing melodically with the three-voice D-final composition which heads the folio. The work's presence is important, since it shows the manuscript's continued use for at least a century beyond the addition of the two polyphonic trecento compositions which are the focus of this inquiry.

Two compositions? Indeed, we return to the first melodic line added below the three-voice Crucifixum, because it is not in fact an isolated melodic line. The melody, written in octonaria (with two types of semibreves), is the same length and mode as the first composition which is given in facsimile below in Figure 4.46.[132]

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[132] Two corrections should be made to the version in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, p. 182*: the rhythm of m. 13 in the biscantus is ♩ ♪♪♪ instead of ♪. ♪♪♪, and the ligature in the tenor in m. 16 should include m. 17.

FIGURE 4.46: *CRUCIFIXUM IN CARNE*, **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V, TOP OF PAGE
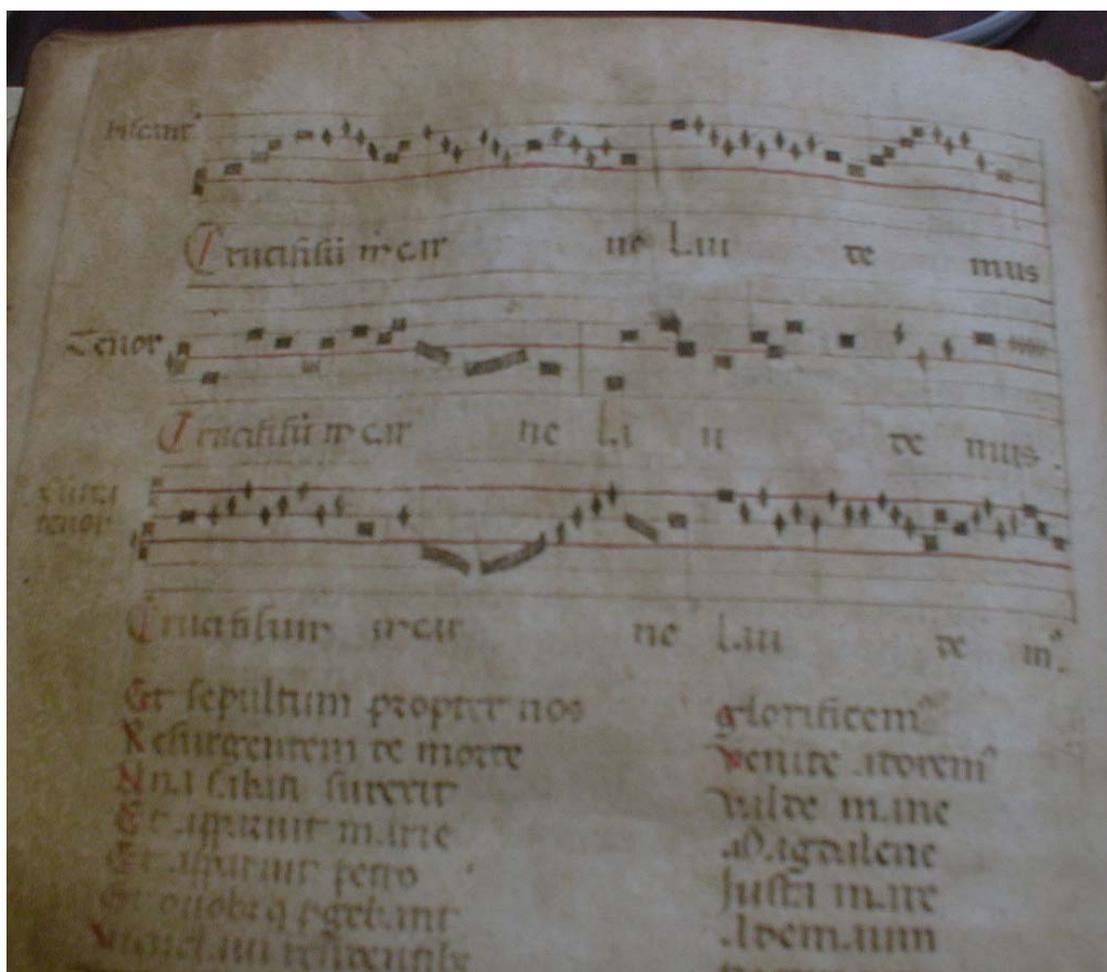
The presence of six-line staves associate the scribe with those of more complex Italian manuscripts of his time, primarily those of Tuscan origin.

Below this composition and unmentioned in Fischer and Gallo's transcription of the work is a second melodic line, written in a thinner hand without text underlay.

FIGURE 4.47: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, F. 65V
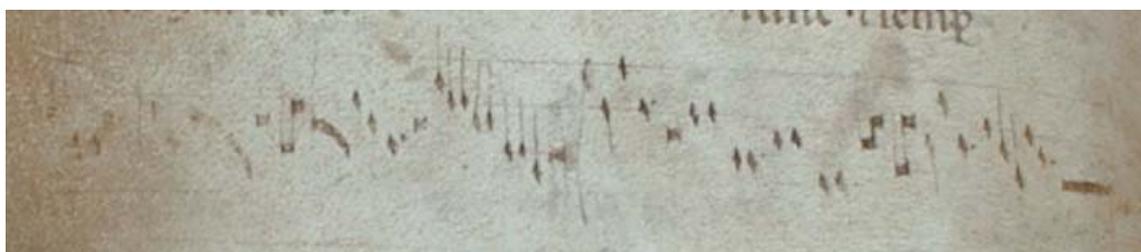
The voice works perfectly with the tenor voice, mostly alternating between remaining a third and a fifth above the tenor. Less clear is whether the voice was intended to be performed with the biscantus and/or contratenor. With the contratenor, the added voice creates parallel fifths in m. 6 and parallel unisons at m. 18 and both cadences. However, even in the original version, the contratenor hovers a fourth above the tenor in mm. 15–16, and the biscantus moves in parallel octaves with the tenor in m. 9, so none of the added voice's contrapuntal problems should be considered insurmountable. The most likely precedent from other sources is that the added voice is a substitute contratenor (See Example 4.48).

EXAMPLE 4.48: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, *CRUCIFIXUM IN CARNE,* F. 65V

A last, unusual piece from **Reggio Emilia 408** should be mentioned. On f. 65r, an unknown *Benedicamus Domino* melody has been written, by an unknown hand (though per-

haps by the same scribe as the added voice of f. 65v with a larger script throughout). See Figure 4.49.

FIGURE 4.49: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO,* F. 65R
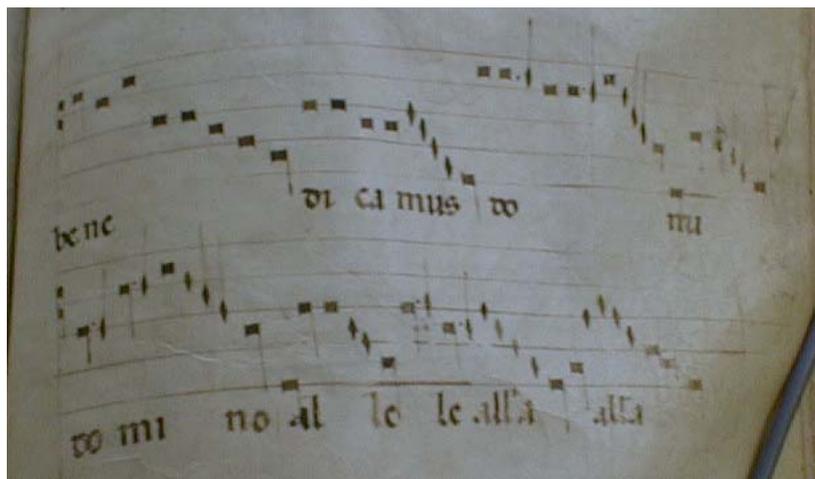
A transcription, Example 4.50, shows what a truly singular work we are faced with.

EXAMPLE 4.50: **REGGIO EMILIA 408**, *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO,* F. 65R

The syncopations caused by the downbeat minims are unusual. The text of the work suggests that it might be a counterpoint to a standard *Benedicamus* melody, such as "Flos Filius," found on the preceding verso, but no standard tenor fits. The work could also be a decorated tenor voice of a contrafact of a short secular work in longa notation, but no match

could be found for this hypothesis either. In the end, works such as this *Benedicamus* serve as reminders of how much we still do not know about the role of polyphony and mensural music in the context of late-medieval liturgical books.