

KNOWING THE ENVIRONMENT in which a polyphonic work was sung or played is crucial for understanding what that music meant for its performers and listeners. The surrounding manuscript is one of the environments for written works. The manuscript context suggests how much the scribe (or compiler) valued the work, what sorts of people collected polyphony, and in particular what sort of education they possessed. The fragmentary polyphonic collections studied in Chapters 2 and 3 present one group of contexts for music, reflecting the tastes of collectors who, to all appearances, were interested in creating albums solely (or primarily) of mensural, polyphonic compositions. The contexts implied by the liturgical manuscripts of Chapter 4 reflect a different purpose. In those sources, either the original editor or a later scribe considered polyphony one important element of the larger tradition of sacred music represented mainly by plainsong.

Other contexts for the transmission of polyphony imply other usages and environments for its cultivation. The manuscripts which contain treatises on music theory might seem to have a simple explanation for why they also record polyphony. Yet the connections between the treatises and the nearby compositions are often tenuous. Though we might think that a discussion of rhythm, mode, or counterpoint would be aided by musical examples, neighboring works are rarely demonstrative of the subject at hand. (The same statement can be made about most compositions in medieval music theory treatises outside Italy as

well). The reasons for copying these compositions are not obvious, and will need to be examined on a case-by-case basis.

Pieces copied into books which have nothing else obviously concerning music are likewise frustrating to scholars.¹ Although the connections among their contents may be tenuous and difficult to comprehend, examining these manuscripts may give us our best chances to observe the role that polyphonic music and its written distribution played in the larger cultural life of the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. Three of the four manuscripts of this type we will examine, **Vatican 129**, **Padua 656**, and **Assisi 187** consist of a single page's worth of music or less. The fourth, **Vatican 1419**, on the other hand is a substantial collection of a ten-folio music section (some of which are blank) containing sacred and secular music of both French and Italian origin—a remarkable collection perhaps indicating an extremely well-read or well-traveled collector. We will begin with this intriguing source.

¹ The term “obviously” works as a disclaimer and sign of caution in the statement above since, more and more, links between obviously musical and seemingly non-musical sections of treatises are emerging. See Giuliano Di Bacco, “‘Non agunt de musica’: alcune ricette quattrocentesche per la cura della voce in due manoscritti di teoria musicale,” in *Trent'anni di ricerche musicologiche: Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, edited by Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restani (Roma: Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), pp. 291–304 and Jan Herlinger, “Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Latini, Cl. VIII.85: A Preliminary Report,” *Philomusica on-line* 4 (2004–5), <http://philomusica.unipv.it/annate/2004-5/saggi/herlinger/>.

Manuscripts with no other contents relating to music

Vatican 1419

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Urbinas latinus 1419.

RISM B IV 4: *I-Rvat 1419*, pp. 1030–32.

CCMS 4: *VatU 1419*, p. 68.

One of the largest musical collections in this study is also among the most puzzling. **Vatican 1419** is a paper manuscript of 94 numbered folios (not counting three modern additions on either end). The section beginning at f. 84 transmits polyphonic works of the trecento or early quattrocento. **Vatican 1419** may be the least studied trecento manuscript for its length: ten folios of music first described by Heinrich Besseler in his important 1925 article on new fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century musical sources.² There, he gave it the still used sigla RU₁. The musical contents are given in Table 5.1 below:

² Besseler, “Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters: I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), pp. 226–27.

TABLE 5.1: VATICAN 1419 CONTENTS, FF 84R–93V.

84r	[blank]
84v–85r	Credo 1 ¹ to be paired with the (unnotated) <i>Credo Cardinalis</i> cantus firmus
85v–86r	[blank ruled]
86v	[blank]
87r	<i>Je porte mieblemant</i> 2 ⁰ (Donatus) London 29987, f. 70r (<i>Gi porte mie brammat</i>), Prague 9, f. 247r (<i>Je porta my ablement</i>)
87v–88r	Sanctus 2 ²
88v–90r	Gloria 2 ² ([Gherardello]) Pit., ff. 131v–133r
89v–90r (bot.)	<i>La bella giovinetta</i> 2 ¹
90v–91r	Sanctus 2 ² ([Lorenzo]) (T: f. 90v, C: f. 91r) Pit., ff. 136v–137r
90v (bot.)	Kyrie “Rondello,” 3 ⁰
91v–92r	Gloria 2 ²
92v	<i>Verbum caro factum est</i> 2 ²
92v (bot.)	[three short sketches] ³ <i>Poy ch’i’o perdutu</i> [sic] <i>amor</i> 1 ⁰ (tenor only)
93r	[blank ruled]
93v	<i>Kyrie, Summe Clementissime</i> ([Johan[n]es Graneti]) 2 ¹ Apt 16bis, f. 24r, Barcelona 2, f. 5r; Barcelona 853b, f. 12r; Madrid 1474/17, f. 1r; ⁴ Munich Emmeram, f. 32v; Paris Geneviève 1257, f. 36v.

The manuscript is approximately 210x145mm, with a writing space of 180x120cm, though it must be said that the scribe of the music was not particularly concerned with staying within the defined margins. There is the possibility that the manuscript was lightly trimmed at the top, since the top margin is approximately one-third the height of that of the (widely varying) bottom margin.

³ The sketches show descending tenor lines ending on longae. They may be sketches of cadences for open and close endings.

⁴ On the identification in this source, see Bernat Cabero Pueyo, “El fragmento con polifonía litúrgica del siglo XV E-Ahl [sic] 1474/17: Estudio comparativo sobre el Kyrie *Summe clementissime*,” *Anuario musical* 47 (1992), pp. 39–76. I disagree with that article’s interpretation of the sign, “o.” in the *Kyrie, Rex immense maiestatis* and the Gloria f. 2r as *divisio octonaria*. If any Italian *divisio* letter were to be used in these works—unlikely given the date and provenance—it would be “.q.” for *quaternaria*.

The remainder of the source, containing seven dictionaries and treatises on logical, philosophical, and judicial matters in addition to music, seems to have been joined together after it was written. There are at least three different hands in the non-musical sections including one hand (III) which filled in empty spaces earlier in the manuscript (such as ff. 36v–38r).⁵ It was probably this same later hand which added commentaries to the first section of the manuscript. Prior restorations have made determining the original structure of the codex difficult. These reconstructions have a long history: a binding strip between ff. 88 and 89 is made from an even earlier parchment manuscript.⁶ Further, the delicate current state of the source necessitates another restoration, currently being conducted, probably further affecting the manuscript. The pre-restoration state prevented the use of betagraphy to determine relations among the paper types in the manuscript, but an abundance of differing watermarks can be observed.

The deteriorating binding, which has left many folios loose, combined with earlier restorations which have joined folios together which were not originally bifolios, conspires against definite statements about the codex's structure. However, we can see that the foliation of ff. 1–31 is probably original, and certainly older than the rest of the manuscript's, employing archaic forms of the arabic 4 and 5. An examination of the source reveals small numbers at the bottoms of certain rectos, almost certainly indicating gathering numbers.⁷

⁵ Cosimo Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinales latini*, Tome III (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1921), pp. 319–21.

⁶ Folio 72r also has part of an earlier manuscript (possibly the same) as a binding strip, indicating a connection with the music fascicle.

⁷ A roman numeral "XI" appears at the bottom left corner of f. 91r. Its significance is unclear.

TABLE 5.2: VATICAN 1419 GATHERING NUMBERS PRESENT AT THE BOTTOMS OF FOLIOS

Folio	Gathering	Folio	Gathering
1	1	60*	7
11*	2	72	8
21*	3	80	9
31*	4	84	10
41	5	94	11
51*	6		

In Table 5.2 an asterisk next to the folio number indicates that the first words of the recto are found on the preceding verso as guides to the binder. In no case do the guide words span sections that change hands.⁸ The first gathering number in the manuscript is written on a repair strip, again suggesting that the manuscript in its current form was assembled some time after the copying.

The organization of the manuscript is important because of the evidence it provides that the music section may have once circulated separately. The gathering numbers indicate that the music formed a separate quire of five bifolios, of which f. 94 was probably not a part. That the gathering which precedes the music has only two bifolios (ff. 80–83) confirms our suspicions that the music was not entered as an integral part of a pre-planned manuscript.⁹

That a music manuscript may have had an independent life as a single gathering is not a new idea. Charles Hamm first raised the notion that this format may have been the

⁸ The guide on f. 59v that falls between two treatises copied by the first scribe hints that his entire section (ff. 1–71) were planned at one time.

⁹ The connection of f. 94 to the music section is difficult to ascertain. The margins of f. 94r are similar to that of the music section. Further, two pen tests, a longa and a semiminim, suggest a connection to the musical section. As Bessler has noted (“Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts.” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), p. 227) the note on the same page (*sic*, not. 94v) indicates the loan of the book from a cloister in Forlì.

norm in the early fifteenth-century.¹⁰ Hamm's hypothesis was provocative. That is to say, it has been influential without necessarily being accepted. Citations of Hamm's article are as likely as not to argue that the manuscript at hand does not accord with his argument.¹¹ Even manuscripts which other scholars have agreed fit the general characteristics of a fascicle manuscript are usually not single fascicles, making **Vatican 1419** all the more interesting.¹²

The contents of **Vatican 1419** are also revealing about its purpose. The blank opening, ff. 85v–86r, internal within the gathering, suggests that the fascicle was never completed. It was almost certainly intended to hold more works later. The gathering may have traveled for some time in this state however: the many different clef shapes, custodes, and nib sizes, all sharing some traits with other hands in the section, suggests (for the most part) the work

¹⁰ Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962), pp. 166–84.

¹¹ E.g., Christopher Reynolds, "The Origins of San Pietro B 80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory," *Early Music History* 1 (1981), pp. 257–58; See also the excellent discussion of more recent responses to Hamm's hypothesis as it relates to **Cambrai 6** and **Cambrai 11** in Liane Curtis, "The Origins of Cambrai, Bibliotheque Municipale Manuscript 6 and Its Relationship to Cambrai 11," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 44 (1994), pp. 28–30. Elizabeth A. Keitel projects the concept back in time in, "The So-Called Cyclic Mass of Guillaume de Machaut: New Evidence for an Old Debate," *The Musical Quarterly* 68 (1982), p. 311, a view which appears in her dissertation, "A Chronology of the Compositions of Guillaume de Machaut Based on a Study of the Fascicle-Manuscript Structure in the Larger Manuscripts," (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1976); see also Miroslaw Perz, "The Lvov Fragments: A Source for Works by Dufay, Josquin, Petrus de Domarto, and Petrus de Grudencz in 15th-Century Poland," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 36 (1986), pp. 29–30, and Alejandro Enrique Planchart's classification of **Munich Emmeram** as a fascicle manuscript in, "What's in a Name? Reflections on Some Works of Guillaume Du Fay," *Early Music* 16 (1988), p. 173. However, few of these manuscripts (with the notable exceptions of the Cambrai sources) remain in the small formats that Hamm describes and which we see in **Vatican 1419**.

¹² On fascicle manuscripts in Cividale which do not survive today, see chapter 2.

of one, probably not professional, scribe acting over a period of time in several settings.¹³ Variations in size and angle of staves contribute to the sense of non-professionalism of the scribe. The first staves on ff. 84v and 85r are 14mm (possibly indicating the opening was ruled as a set); the rest are closer to 17mm. Opening 85v–86r was ruled unevenly with a six-line tool, probably with the sixth line intended for the text (as was done in the previous opening). In a few cases, such as the fifth staves on ff. 89v–90r or staves 3–6 of f. 93v, a six-line staff is used for notating the music. In other cases, the text drifts into the lowest space of a five-line staff, creating in effect a four-line staff. The use of red initials on ff. 90v–91r, and only on those pages, is additional evidence for copying over multiple sessions separated in time.¹⁴

The concordances and organization of **Vatican 1419** connect the work with two different types of Italian sources. The concordances group the manuscript with the Florentine sources **Pit.** and **London 29987**, particularly in the transmission of a natively Italian style of Mass composition. However, in the organization of its contents **Vatican 1419** most closely resembles **Pad A**. Six of its openings contain sections of the Mass Ordinary (ff. 84v–85r, 87v–88r, 88v–89r continued on 89v–90r, 90v–99r, and 93v) or, in one case, a sacred carol (*Verbum caro factum est*, on f. 92v). Empty staves at the bottoms of ff. 89v–90r were filled with a secular song, *La bela giovinetta*, and at the bottom of f. 90v with a second liturgical

¹³ The musical sketches on f. 92v and the tenor “Poy ch’i’o perdutu amor,” however, are probably written by a different scribe.

¹⁴ Although I believe the rest of the gathering is the work of a single scribe over a period of time, an argument instead for multiple scribes can be seen in the contrast between the thin musical hand of f. 87v and that of the tenor on the facing 88r. In the larger context of the gathering, the level of inconsistency, though high, is not unprecedented. For instance, it is difficult to find any standard in the writing of “Osanna,” and its initial O in particular, among folios 87v, 88r, 90v, and 91r.

piece, though again in the form of a secular song: the Kyrie “Rondello” (however, see below for arguments for a secular of origin of this copy). The mixture of sacred works at the tops of pages with secular works at the bottom makes it similar to other *libri motetorum*.¹⁵

Also similarly to **Pad A**, secular pieces can, exceptionally, also appear at the head of folio. This is the case for the two-voice virelai *Je porte mieblemant* on f. 87r. **London 29987** and **Prague 9** also contain this work.¹⁶ Remarkably none of those sources have text in the upper voices either; both have only an incipit in the tenor. The incipit in **Prague 9** ends with “etc.” so we should not automatically conclude that the work had no text in any version. The significance of the incipit’s placement in the tenor instead of the cantus is unclear; if we supposed that it was on account of an independent transmission of the tenor from the upper voice, or greater weight given to the tenor, then we would expect quite divergent traditions for the cantus. But, though we see some variation among the sources it is not more extensive than usual for a song with a wide geographical distribution. It may be that there was wide disagreement about the cantus text which necessitated waiting for a better version before texting the cantus,¹⁷ though this would not explain why all three sources chose this texting.

¹⁵ On *libri motetorum*, see Reinhard Strohm, “The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musiekgeschiedenis* 34 (1984), p. 117; idem, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 66–67; and idem, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 102–3.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, a (sorely-needed) re-examination of **Prague 9** is beyond the scope of this project. It is still worth noting, however, that this manuscript contains some of the same problems as **Vatican 1419**, namely that it is the only music fascicle lying at the end of a much larger, composite manuscript. It also may have been used for collecting music asystematically from a variety of sources for different purposes.

¹⁷ A similar explanation may account for the many untexted versions of the rondeau *Esperance*. See the section on **Rome 1067** in Chapter 3.

The published diplomatic transcription of this piece, showing the variants among the manuscripts, does not note Vatican 1419's *puncti divisiones* (found at the end of m. 2 and in the middle of m. 6) which alter the pacing of the upper voice.¹⁸ The first half of the work appears as Example 5.3.

EXAMPLE 5.3: VATICAN 1419, *JE PORTE MIEBLEMANT* (DONATUS), FIRST PART

Tenor je porte mieblemant

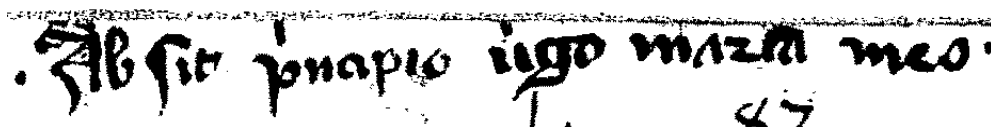
In the manuscript, unusually, the entire B section of the Virelai is written out twice, just to give the differences of in the open and close endings. The name “Donatus” appears after the tenor incipit in Vatican 1419. Though we may assume this is the name of the

¹⁸ Friedrich Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Codex XI E 9*, Veröffentlichungen des Musikwissenschaftlichen Institutes der Deutschen Universität in Prag 1 (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1931), pp. 115–17.

composer, it may be too much to immediately conclude that this is the same Donato da Firenze of the Squarcialupi codex.¹⁹

A line of text reading, “Ab sit principio virgo maria meo,” heads the page. See Figure 5.4.

FIGURE 5.4: INSCRIPTION ON F. 87R, VATICAN 1419



It has been suggested that the text may indicate a liturgical application for the piece,²⁰ but the far more common plea is “Adsit (or Assit) principio Virgo Maria [or Beata] meo,” or “May the Virgin Mary be present at my beginning.”²¹ The substitution of “absit” (from “absence”) for “adsit” inverts the meaning of the invocation and asks for the Virgin’s *absence* from the writer’s task. Either the first word is a mistake or it is an intentional joke. *Je porte mieblemant* may have had a vulgar subject that made it otherwise inappropriate for a collection of sacred pieces. If, on the other hand, we take the hypothesis of a mistake of “ab” for “as,” then we are left with the mystery of why the scribe wrote an inscription which would pertain to the beginning of a task in the middle of writing a gathering.

¹⁹ Donato da Firenze wrote no other surviving works with French texts (though the editing procedures of **Squarcialupi** and other complete Florentine manuscripts lessen the chances of our possessing such pieces even if he had written them). Of the similar Italian form, the ballata, we know of only two such works by Donato, *Senti tu d’amor, donna?* in **Squarcialupi**, and the lost ballata on a text by Sacchetti, *Fortuna avversa*. (See Giuseppe Corsi, “Madrigali inediti del Trecento,” *Bel-fagor* 14 (1959), p. 81.)

²⁰ Kammerer, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

²¹ Examples of the invocation in this standard form are found at the top of f. 70r of the manuscript, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1042 and on f. 1r of **Rome 1067**.

Though the notation of source has been described as almost purely French,²² this statement is weakened by a closer examination of the music. The Credo on ff. 84v–85r, a single voice to be used as counterpoint against the Credo Cardinalis, shows neither French nor Italian idiosyncrasies. It has a single *punctus* as the only opportunity to see French influence (on the “et” of “Et vita[m] venturi seculi”). This *punctus* is not necessary since the cantus firmus has no dot of addition there. Despite its French incipit, *Je porte mieblemant* is written with clear points of division in the upper voice. Many of the remaining pieces up to f. 92r are written with *puncti divisiones* and/or Italian division letters (including .!., .s!., s.i!., .q., and .i.) indicating strong Italian influence.

The curious role of the Kyrie “Rondello” in the manuscript must also be explained. Though a French origin is the most likely explanation for the form of this work, one does not need to leave Italy for examples of “rondeau” form. The **Rossi** codex, for instance, contains a rondellus, *Gaiete dolce parolete mie*. Further, Prodenzani reports in sonnet 47 that Bartolino da Padova composed “Rondel franceschi.” Although the name of the composer could have been chosen simply to rhyme with “a modo peruscino,” the genre is not governed by rhyming constraints.²³ Looking at the origins of this work, it is not beyond speculation that the copying of a song was intended for these staves and that the making of a Kyrie contrafact happened “on-the-spot.”

²² Heinrich Bessler, “Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), p. 226: “fast rein französisch.”

²³ Among foreign rondeaux in Italian sources one might mention the rondeau *Esperance qu'en mon cuer* in **Pit.**, **Ascoli Piceno 142**, and **Rome 1067**; **Ascoli Piceno 142** even carries the text, indicating the form was sung. The presence of Machaut’s rondeau *Ma fin est mon commencement* in **Pad A** (**Oxford 229**) is also worth noting.

The Sanctus on the same opening has an unusual layout. The short (but high) tenor is copied on the verso and the longer cantus on the following recto. This arrangement implies that the voices were copied around the pre-existing Kyrie rather than the Kyrie being added to blank space on the page. The position of the work on the bottom of the page implies a secular piece. The copyist may have intended the music to accompany a secular text but the text was not copied while a better version was sought. None being found, we can speculate that the work was only then converted into a Kyrie. In any case, direct copying from another source seems highly unlikely. The poor “text setting,” with an incipit and two initial letters in the wrong place and spellings such as “eleys-sono” do not suggest careful copying from an existing Kyrie “Rondello” exemplar.²⁴

Given the Florentine connections of the manuscript, including the composers Gherardello, Lorenzo, and possibly Donato, it is tempting to consider the manuscript a product of Tuscany. In the only piece with an Italian text, *La bela giovinetta*, the orthography of “dolceza” in the residuum argues against a Northern Italian provenance. The directions of flagged notes shorter than minima do not help identify a region. Folio 92v uses rightward flags for triplets and leftward flags for semiminims. Folio 90r uses leftward flags for both, while f. 91v writes both with rightward flags.²⁵

²⁴ Even the other Kyrie in **Vatican 1419**, *Summe clementissime* does not have a purely French pedigree. Margaret Bent (review of *PMFC 12* in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979), p. 568) notes many differences between this version and that of Apt. As Bent observes, in the Vatican version, there are more parallel fifths and a typically Italian two-voice texture. The piece also exists in a version in **Barcelona 2** (the only copy with an attribution, J. Graneti) a manuscript which may be Italian in origin, see below.

²⁵ A serious omission appears in Gallo and Fischer’s transcription of the piece on f. 91v, a two-voice Gloria with no concordances. The second note of the cantus line, G, is preceded by a sharp sign in the manuscript, making their editorial B♭ in the tenor unnecessary. Since the G is repeated

In many ways, the collector of **Vatican 1419** was omnivorous in his tastes. He transcribed French and Italian songs, Mass movements with Italian and French characteristics, a less complex Christmas lauda, and simple mensural settings of the Credo. He was more discriminating when it came to the number of voices in the pieces he copied. With the exception of the Kyrie “Rondello,” all the compositions in **Vatican 1419** are in two parts.²⁶ The number of voices may give us an indication of the performing forces available to the compiler of the manuscript.

Vatican 129

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vaticanus latinus 129.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Rvat 129*, p. 1018.

The single musical work in the **Vatican 129** is a mysterious addition. It is a two voice *Benedicamus domino* with the (otherwise unknown) trope, “quem chorus angelorum.” The work has already been transcribed well by Fischer and Gallo,²⁷ and appeared in a facsimile by Bannister, still adequate for most purposes.²⁸

The challenge that **Vatican 129** still presents us with is that of giving perspective to the work. The context of the piece is not in a collection of other, mostly more complex, Be-

three more times, once in unison with the other voice, and descends to F(#), this small accidental will significantly affect the sound of the opening and also requires editorial intervention to untangle.

²⁶ The tenor of *Je porte mieblemant* is separated from the cantus by two blank staves. This separation may indicate that the scribe was interested in finding or writing a contratenor to fill these gaps. However, the otherwise-empty staves each have a clef on their middle line, the first a C-clef, the second an F. For whatever reason these clefs were written, they do not support the idea of a single voice filling the gap.

²⁷ *PMFC 12*, no. 29 (pp. 108 and 199).

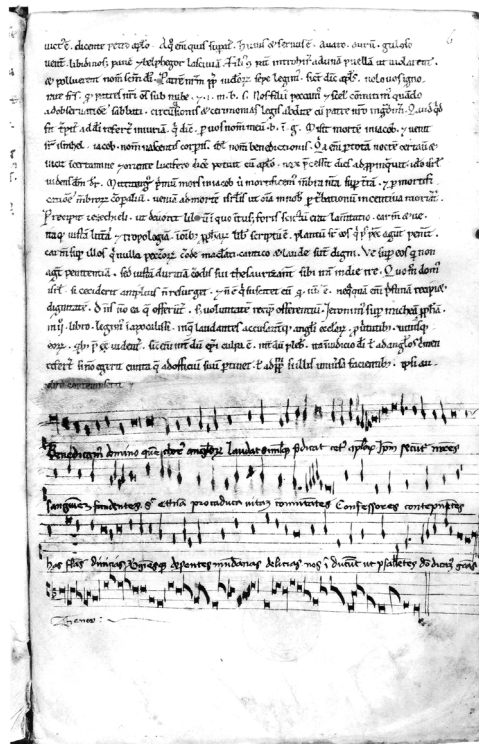
²⁸ H[enry] M[arriott] Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Ottone Harrassowitz, 1913), volume 2, table 130a. Bannister’s commentary appears in volume 1, p. 188.

medicamus settings, as we might suppose by the location of the transcription in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*. Nor do its four staves sit isolated on the page, as the facsimile (which is a detail of only one-third of the leaf) implies. A discussion of the whole manuscript will dismiss these views.

The last 64 of the 69 folios in the manuscript (ff. 6v–69v) contain the Gospel of Mark, with extensive glosses written in a protogothic hand, probably of the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. At the opening of the manuscript (ff. 1r–6r), various hands, roughly contemporary to the main text, have written at least six sermons.²⁹ At the bottom of f. 6r, without connection to its surrounding texts, we find four five-line staves, transmitting music in an early fifteenth-century hand, but containing music which could have been written (or originally improvised) any time during the preceding sixty or more years. An overview of the full page appears in Figure 5.5.

²⁹ Folios 1–5 form a gathering of two bifolios and a single folio. Folios 6–13 form another gathering, presumably originally separate from the first. Since the last sermon continues directly from f. 5v to f. 6r, the sermons must have been connected to the Gospel before the music was added.

FIGURE 5.5: VATICAN 129, F. 6R, THUMBNAIL VIEW OF THE ENTIRE PAGE



Each staff is hand drawn (the first is of particularly amateurish quality), and thus each is of different height than the others. However, the lower three systems are each of approximately 15mm in height and 160mm in width. The page itself is 270x170mm.³⁰ There is little besides the genre of polyphonic composition that would otherwise suggest that the work was originally Italian. The mensuration of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*, though often connected with French music, is also typical for what few fully-mensural Italian Benedicamus settings survive. The non-liturgical tenor written with longs, breves, and semi-

³⁰ Though measurements are unlikely to be useful in classifying the *sui generis* source compared to other musical sources, it should be noted that the folios of the manuscript vary slightly in size. Thus my measurement, which differs from the twice-published height of 276mm, refers only to f. 6.

breves is unusual for a two-voice anonymous piece; slower tenor lines are generally accompanied by two cantus. The notation is French with no *puncti divisiones*; the only dots show imperfection. No notes are altered in the work, but none needed to be to express its rhythms. The breves and longs have “ticks” on either edge, similar to what is common in Italian music theory treatises of the time. The custos on the first line appears as a faint square-root-like check (that is, entirely written with thin lines; similar custodes appear in the chant sources from Cividale including **Cividale 79**). No custos was used on the second line, an omission more typical of non-Italian sources and may even call into question the provenance of the scribe.

Evidence that the music was performed (or at least double checked) come from a series of erasures in the middle of the first and second staves of the cantus. Figure 5.6 shows first an erased minim stem and changed cadence on “simulque” and the correction of a line copied a third too low on the following staff. Two different places involve the rewriting of a line a third higher. This type of error suggests that the scribe may have been copying from an exemplar with six-line staves.

FIGURE 5.6: VATICAN 129, DETAIL OF F. 6R



Vatican 129 leaves us with more questions than answers about the placement of this musical work. Does the presence of a musical work suitable for liturgical singing imply that the sermons at the front of the manuscript were being used as homilies as late as 1400? Do they imply that the owner of the manuscript at the time was him- or herself a singer? Unfortunately we cannot begin to answer such questions on the basis of one source alone; but posing such questions may make us more aware of the cultural and religious settings of other polyphonic works we find outside of musical manuscripts.

Padua 656

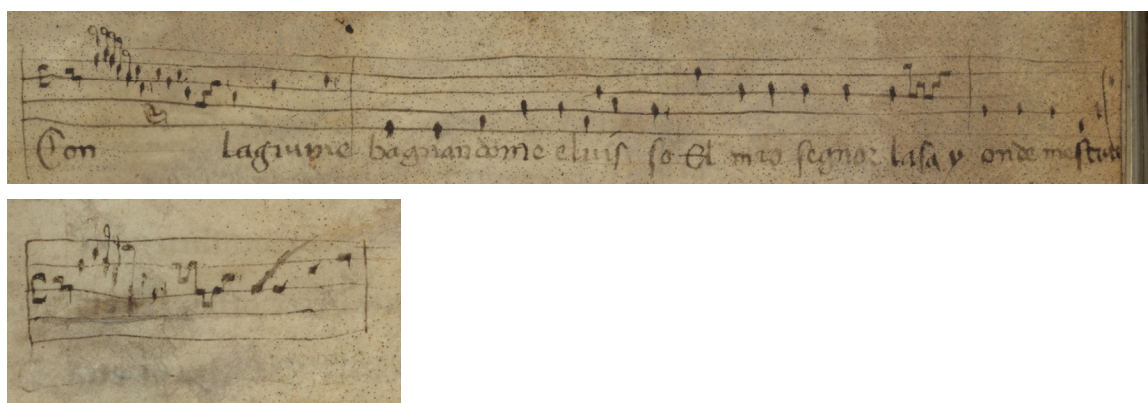
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 656
RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 656*, p. 988.

One manuscript somewhat similar to Vatican 129 has already been mentioned in this dissertation. The main text of Padua 656 is also a commentary on a biblical gospel, this time the Gospel of St. Matthew. On a page of handwriting tests, prayers, notes of possession, unidentified texts, and other scribal doodles (f. 2r), the tenor of Ciconia's *Con lagrime bagnandome* has been added twice. See Figure 5.7.

Contrary to the Kurt von Fischer's inventory (as reported to him by Plamenac), the music is on the second folio in the manuscript.³¹ The folio is neither a flyleaf nor made of paper. The bifolio is parchment, and the verso begins the main content of the manuscript, the gospel written in two hands (though not necessarily by two scribes).

Detail photographs of the both copies of the tenor appear in Figure 5.8.

FIGURE 5.8: DETAIL OF THE TWO TENOR LINES IN PADUA 656, F. 2R



Apparent immediately is the amateur nature of the music notation. Also apparent are the differences between the two copies and between these copies and other versions of the work. The differences in the tenors imply that the scribe was trying to either reconcile two different sources, or (more likely in my estimation) was trying to transcribe an example he held in his head.³²

³¹ *RISM B IV 4*, p. 988.

³² This view has also been suggested by Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark in their notes to PMFC 24, p. 210. They note that neither version accords with any other version as support for their view. The undifferentiated semibreves beginning with the word “bagnandome” in the first version imply that the scribe had given up (or was postponing) notating precise rhythm after that point. The first fast melisma in the first version is a tone lower than other sources; between the semibreve rest and the end of the word “lagrime,” a C₂-clef must be assumed; after this point, the

(note continues)

The presence of the tenor alone could imply that a keyboard version of the work was being planned. Four keyboard versions of the piece exist, all in later sources.³³ The tenors do not bear the classic transpositions up of a fourth or fifth seen in many keyboard versions, but the high range of *Con lagrime*'s tenor make such transpositions unnecessary. Little else can be understood for sure about the manuscript. The date "1232" appears just below the first version of *Con lagrime*, but it cannot refer to the copying date of any part of the manuscript.

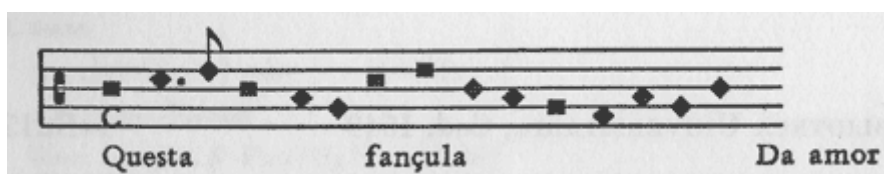
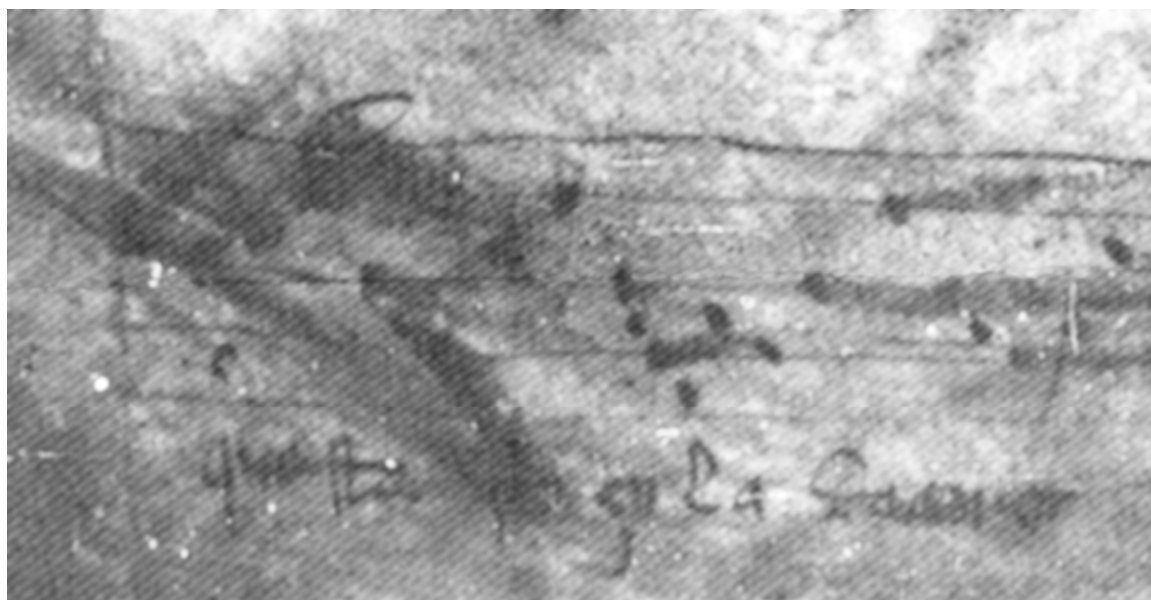
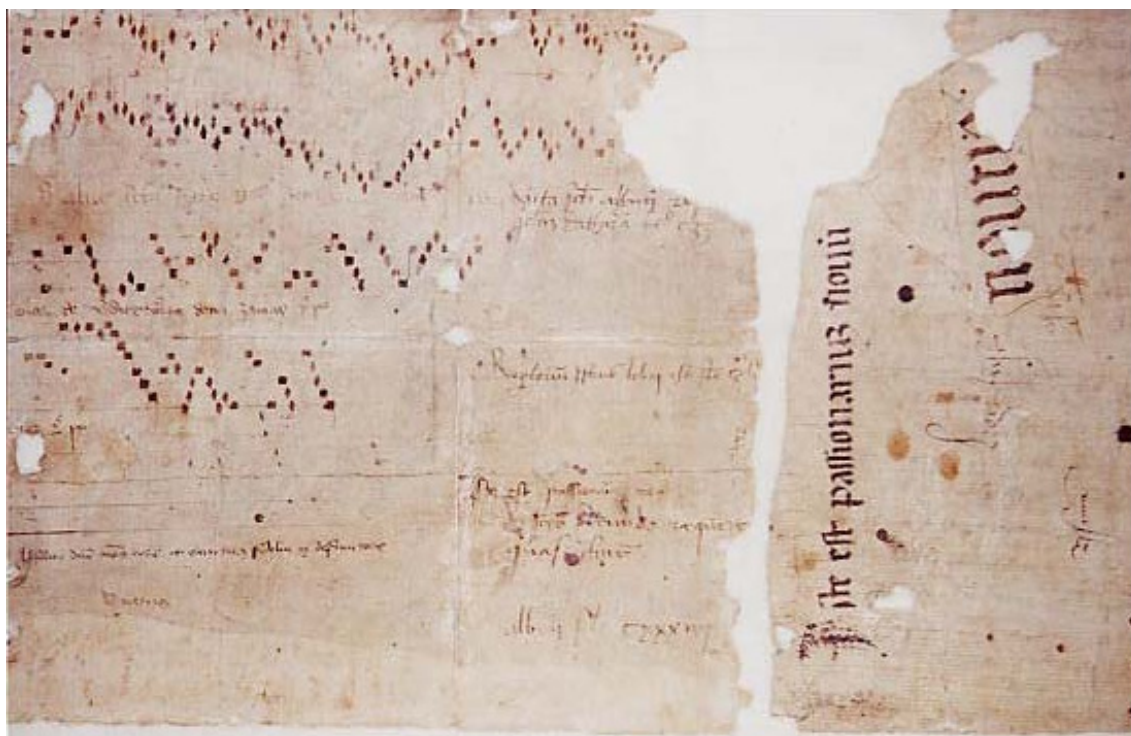
The copying of a single work in isolation by a non-expert scribe can also be seen in two other manuscripts. **Bologna 1549** contains on f. 199v a nearly illegible copy of a work with the text "Questa fançula da amor" (not on the same melody as Francesco's ballata). **Ivrea 105**'s back paper flyleaf contains an actual ballata by Francesco, *Vidite vaga donna*, slightly less poorly-notated, with an almost Aquitanian, vertical notation of the tenor line.³⁴ Unfortunately, Figures 5.9 and 5.10 reproduce both excerpts from the only available photographs; the first is augmented by Fischer's transcription of the incipit.³⁵

C₃-clef returns without notice. *C.o.p.* ligatures are missing upward stems in the first version, while descending longa-longa ligatures in both versions have unnecessary downward tails.

³³ One copy in the **Lochamer Liederbuch** and three in the **Buxheimer Orgelbuch**. *PMFC 24* Appendix 1a–1d transcribe these versions. Although Eileen Southern supposed that the initials M.C.C. above the version in Buxheimer stood for "Magister Ciconia canonicus," ("Foreign Music in German Manuscripts of the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968), p. 261), the reading as Magister Conradus Caecus (or Contrapunctus) (or the generative case forms thereof) has become accepted. Christoph Wolff, "Conrad Paumanns Fundamentum organisandi und seine verschiedenen Fassungen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1968), p. 200.

³⁴ Discovered and discussed by Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), p. 84. The conclusion that the manuscript is northern Italian is perhaps premature to announce (especially given the use of "z" instead of "ç" in the incipit of the work), but the diffusion of Francesco's works beyond a small Florentine circle of aficionados of secular polyphony is safe to assume.

³⁵ *RISM B IV 4*, p. 740.

FIGURE 5.9: BOLOGNA 1549, *QUESTA FANÇULA DA AMOR*FIGURE 5.10: IVREA 105, *VIDITE VAGA DONNA*

Together, the three manuscripts hint at a repertory of music being carried along in the heads of a number of musicians with amateur scribal training. In sum, they suggest a larger readership of trecento manuscripts than we would otherwise have evidence for.

Assisi 187

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

No entry in RISM or CCMS

Secular vocal compositions were not the only types of works that amateur scribes notated in spare spaces at the ends of manuscripts. The final folio of the manuscript **Assisi 187** presents an unusual case of an instrumental melody on top of a chant tenor, *Kyrie, Cunctipotentis genitor*, that is written in a source with no other musical contents.³⁶ Its two versions suggest amateur notation or copying.

The manuscript today consists of 108 folios measuring *ca.* 240x160mm. The nineteenth-century binding unites two codices that were originally separate. The first is a collection of *Quaestiones* by “cuiusdam scotistae” (f. 1r) (*i.e.*, Scotus), beginning “Queritur utrum aliquo fundamento reali creato vel increato possint fundari diverse relationes opposite.”³⁷ These 33 *quaestiones* take up the whole of the first 61 folios of the codex.³⁸

³⁶ The musical contents of the source were described in Agostino Ziino, “Un antico ‘Kyrie’ a due voci per strumento a tastiera,” *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 15 (1981), pp. 628–33.

³⁷ Cesare Cenci, OFM, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad Sacrum Conventum Assisensem* (Assisi: Casa Editrice Francescana, 1981), no. 573, p. 313. Cenci also provides a facsimile of the manuscript (Figure 16) which is slightly clearer than the version given by Ziino. I was unable to find this particular *quaestio* among the *Quaestiones* of the Franciscan theologian John Duns Scotus (1265/6–1308); however, the phrasing (particularly “creato vel increato”) is typical of Scotus. Not all of his *Quaestiones* have been edited, nor is the extensive collection on-line at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France complete. I will use the classical form *quaestio* and *quaestiones* for clarity despite the inventory and manuscript’s uses of the more conventional seeming “questiones.”

³⁸ At the time of the 1381 inventory, the manuscript was housed in the third loft of the west part of the “*libraria secreta*.” Of the 41 books in the loft, it is one of two marked with the letter E; the

The bulk of the final 47 folios (ff. 62r–101v) contain the *Summa logicae* of William of Ockham.³⁹ Following Ockham’s large work is a much shorter treatise on logic (ff. 102r–7v), beginning “Quia antiqui modernique magistri artem volendo tradere loyce.”⁴⁰ Also on f. 107v, and legible with ultraviolet light is a note of possession by Jacobus Angeli [Joannis] de Assisio (de Bivilio), also known as Jacobus Grassus, who lived from 1423–1464.⁴¹ The history of this manuscript, the second half of **Assisi 187**, is complicated and, though it may be of passing interest to musicologists, a summary at least is needed to understand the connection of the two parts:

Assisi’s inventory of 1600 catalogs a “Hocham in logica. t. 1,” (No. 1077) but identifies it as among the “Manuscript in 8^o.”⁴² Since **Assisi 187** is closer to quarto size, Cenci’s identification of No. 1077 instead with a manuscript now split as Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 647 and 666, is more likely. Two later inventories, from ca. 1666, identify a paper, quarto manuscript of the *Logicae* of Ockham more likely to be the second half of **Assisi 187** (“E[iusdem] [=Ockham] Logica est impressa 4o pap.”).⁴³ The manuscript (No. 1871 in Cenci’s list) was no. 26 in the first of the ca. 1666 inventories, following two other manuscripts of Ockham (now Vatican, Chigi B. VI. 93 and Vatican, Chigi E. V. 161) and followed by an unrelated manuscript (Vatican, Chigi I. V. 182). In the other inventory, however, the manuscript, now no. 6, follows the same two other Ockham books, but is followed by a book of miscellaneous quaestiones (Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale 138). That manuscript was the book following the *Quaestiones* of Scotus in the 1381 catalog! To clarify the problem: the two books of quaestiones (Assisi 187, part 1 and Assisi 138) are adjacent in 1381; the manu-

other, the *Quaestiones Quodlibeta* of Egidius of Rome, is today in the Vatican Library, Lat. 13001 and also ends with a musical addition, a flyleaf of a psalter (*Ibid.*, p. 312).

³⁹ Ziino noted that only ff. 94r–101v contain this treatise, but ff. 62r–93r follow f. 101 with the second part of the work. Obviously some reordering of the source has taken place after it was written. The current manuscript still does not contain the entire *Summa logicae*.

⁴⁰ I was unable to locate this treatise in other sources, but there are Aristotelian overtones to the concluding sentence, “homo est substantia et sic subiectum supponit personaliter.”

⁴¹ Cesare Cenci, OFM, *Documentazione di vita assisana*, 3 vols., (Grottaferrata: S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1974–76), vol. 3, pp. 391 and 393 (Index).

⁴² Cenci, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta*, vol. 2, p. 500.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 529.

script of Ockham (Assisi 187, part 2) and the miscellaneous quaestiones (Assisi 138) are adjacent in 1666, but later it is the Quaestiones of Scotus and the Summa Logicae of Ockham which are bound together despite having no connection to each other in the documented inventories.

That the first half of the book can be found in Assisian catalogs of the trecento and the second half of the book can be traced to an Assisian owner of the quattrocento gives strong support to a local provenance for the manuscript.

The final folio contains works seemingly unrelated to the rest of the manuscript (or manuscripts). Folio 108v contains twelve vernacular versus beginning, “Orete enea ch’è nostro rectore”—beyond the scope of this study—while f. 108r contains the only music in the manuscript, a keyboard version of the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* (discussed in part with other equal-note tenor compositions in Chapter 4), the tenor of Francesco da Firenze’s *Donna s’i’ t’ò fallito*, and other, unidentified mensural lines.

The *Kyrie* has been begun twice. The scribe abandons the first copy because he has accidentally written two breves worth of music in system 1 against a single breve in system 2. Systems 4–5 correct this error, and the composition concludes on systems 6–9. (See Chapter 4, Figure 4.37 for this error and a similar error in **Reina**). System 7 also is riddled with errors stemming from neglecting to repeat an *E* twice that necessitated moving all further notes right one measure. See Figure 5.11.

FIGURE 5.11: ASSISI 187, SYSTEMS 6–7.



The second known work on this folio has been identified for us by the scribe. It is the opening of the tenor of Francesco's *Donna s'i' t'ò fallito*. Ziino noted that the voice is notated a fifth higher than it is in other sources.⁴⁴ It was normal to transpose tenors (both of chants and of secular compositions) upwards for use in keyboard settings, so we should expect that *Donna s'i' t'ò fallito* was also not intended for vocal performance but instead for the addition of an instrumental upper voice, perhaps improvised.⁴⁵

Most of the remaining empty spaces on the folio are filled with unidentified mensural lines. The three works on the third system appear to be tenor voices of a mensural composition; none of these could be identified. The first is possibly a work in .o. of thirty-two minims with a long descending line from E to G. The second may be another version of the first, without rhythm but correcting certain errors. The third resembles most closely a standard tenor line and is thus most ripe for future identification. Other doodles on the final two systems could not be matched with known works.

⁴⁴ Ziino, "Un antico 'Kyrie'," p. 629.

⁴⁵ The "Flos Filius" *Benedicamus* settings and Zachara's *Rosetta* in **Faenza** are two examples of transposed keyboard works in Italian manuscripts. That the version of *Esperance* in **Groningen 70** is transposed up a fourth shows that such transpositions are not unique to Italy.

Assisi 187 is among the few manuscripts to offer a connection, if tenuous, between its host contents and the music added to the end. Perhaps it is no coincidence that a collector interested in a copy of Ockham's *Summa logicae* would also be interested in a ballata by Francesco da Firenze. Francesco's prowess of mind had renown nearly equal to that of his musical talent, and nowhere is this strength more evident than in his poem in praise of Ockham's logic (and an attack on Ockham's detractors) found in **Riccardiana 688**, ff. 132r–35v.⁴⁶ Francesco's connection to Ockhamite principles and circles may be even closer than we currently believe.

Polyphonic Works in Manuscripts Relating to Music Theory

Of the many known manuscripts from the trecento and quattrocento relating to music theory, we are aware of four which also contain mensural polyphony from the period under consideration.⁴⁷ This study will consider one in depth, **Seville 25**, so let us touch on the others briefly. **Siena 36** has been the subject of a recent and exhaustive investigation.⁴⁸ **Sie-**

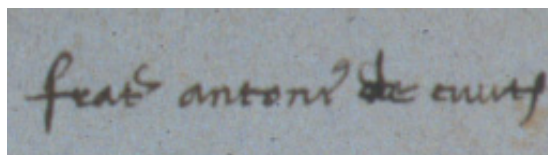
⁴⁶ Edition in Antonio Lanza, *Polemiche e berte letterarie nella Firenze del primo Rinascimento (1375–1449)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1971), pp. 233–38. The discussion in Michael Long, “Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite,” *Early Music History* 3 (1983), pp. 88–93, is an expansion of that in, idem, “Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), pp. 133–52, which includes an English translation of the poem.

⁴⁷ The wording of this sentence is carefully chosen since, despite the great efforts of the *RISM B III* project (with special lauds for Christian Meyer's masterful *RISM B III 6*), most of the “esempi musicali” have not been described or investigated, and therefore more mensural polyphony may lurk in understudied sources.

⁴⁸ Pedro Memelsdorff, “Siena 36 revisitata: Paolo da Firenze, Johannes Ciconia, e l'interrelazione di polifonia e trattatistica in fonti del primo Quattrocento,” *Acta Musicologica* 76 (2004), pp. 159–91. The source was also studied in F. Alberto Gallo, “Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica,” *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), pp. 73–76 where the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* discovered by Memelsdorff is a “frammento musicale” of the type the previous footnote warns about (see Chapter 4 in the discussion of equal-note tenors).

na 30 is a late manuscript containing a single textless ballade, *Io vegio per stasone*, one of the few works which actually seems to be used for illustrating the preceding treatise, the anonymous *De diversis figuris*.⁴⁹ The three-voice work contains most of the rhythmic elements of the *ars subtilior*, though without meter changes. Antonius de Cividale may thus join Ciconia and Zachara as composers with exactly one subtilior composition to their names.⁵⁰ However, a close examination of the inscription on f. 47v shows that the final word is not unambiguously “civitate,” and may even be “cumis” (the city of a composer in **Perugia** 15755).⁵¹ See Figure 5.12.

FIGURE 5.12: SIENA 30, F. 47V, INSCRIPTION



Finally, the complete copy of Ugolino da Orvieto’s *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* from the middle of the fifteenth century, **Casanatense 2151**, contains on its final three folios what used to be the only surviving copies of Ugolino’s music. The discovery of a gathering dedicated to his works in **San Lorenzo 2211**, however, has greatly enriched the sources for

⁴⁹ *E15cM* 5, p. ix, edition pp. 1–2.

⁵⁰ John Nádas, in conversation, has suggested that producing one such work may have been a rite of passage for later composers. The work can also be taken as an illustration of the *Tractatus figurarum* contained on ff. 41r–44r; nearly every form of making discant over *tempus perfectum cum prolatione maior* is shown in the piece using note forms, including odd ones such as \blacklozenge (=4.5 \downarrow), explained in the *Tractatus figurarum*.

⁵¹ However, the work has no stylistic connection to that composer. For hypotheses of the meaning of “Cumis” see Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, editors, *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell’incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004), pp. 67–68. Also see the discussion of **Cividale 63** and **Grottaferrata s.s.** in Chapter 2 for a paucity of other likely composers named “Frater Antonius.”

his musical works and moved the date of his compositional activity to (somewhat) within the realm of this study. Nonetheless, examination of his output as a whole awaits restoration of the nearly illegible notation in both sources.

Seville 25

Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina. MS 5.2.25 (olim Z Tab. 135, n. 32 and BB-147-32).

RISM B IV 3: *E-S 25*, pp. 426–28. CCMS 3: *SevC 5-2-25*, pp. 141–42.

RISM B III 5: *E-S 25*, pp. 110–120.

When examining any medieval manuscript we need always to be mindful of whether its structure is that which was intended by its scribe, or whether later interventions have rearranged gatherings, inserted pages, added texts, or removed sections. Ascertaining the situation is even more difficult when the original product of the scribe (or scribes) was a collection of short, quasi-independent texts, as many music theory treatises and all polyphonic compilations are.

Discerning the interrelationships in **Seville 25** is a *tour-de-force* for the codicologist. It is a seventeenth-century compilation containing at least forty-seven treatises and ten independent compositions from at least six (probably many more) original manuscripts. The sources come from the early sixteenth-century book-collecting trips of Fernando Colón, son and biographer of Christopher Columbus. All but one of the original sources are Italian; ff. 98–109 comes from a Spanish manuscript written in Catalan.⁵²

Descriptions of the manuscript have treated its polyphonic compositions as scattered seemingly randomly throughout. This is not the case, though there is no single pattern

⁵² F. Alberto Gallo, “Alcune fonti poco note di musica teorica e pratica,” *L’Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), p. 59; *RISM B III 5*, p. 110.

which explains every single piece. Gumpel recently gave a detailed description of the source,⁵³ which will allow us to reconstruct several important aspects of its contents.

Each of the first three large sections of the manuscript consists of two or three gatherings held together by a parchment bifolio (or in the case of the first section, the remains of a bifolio). These folios, f. 22, ff. 23 and 39, and ff. 40 and 59, are the remains of at least one and probably more polyphonic sources, though not every page has music and some of these folios are now palimpsest and illegible. In Figure 5.13, these binding folios are shown as dark lines in the gathering diagrams in the lower left-hand corner (the remainder of the figure will be discussed later) and contain musical works 1, 2, 3, 8, and 9 in Table 5.14. Parchment folios in Seville 25 are shown in black, while paper folios are in gray.⁵⁴

⁵³ *RISM B III 5*, pp. 110–120.

⁵⁴ The gathering diagrams for the theory treatises show approximately the right gathering sizes but do not show subtle elements such as single sheets no longer attached to the rest of the bifolio.

FIGURE 5.13: SEVILLE 25 AND RELATIONSHIPS AMONG COLOMBINA AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

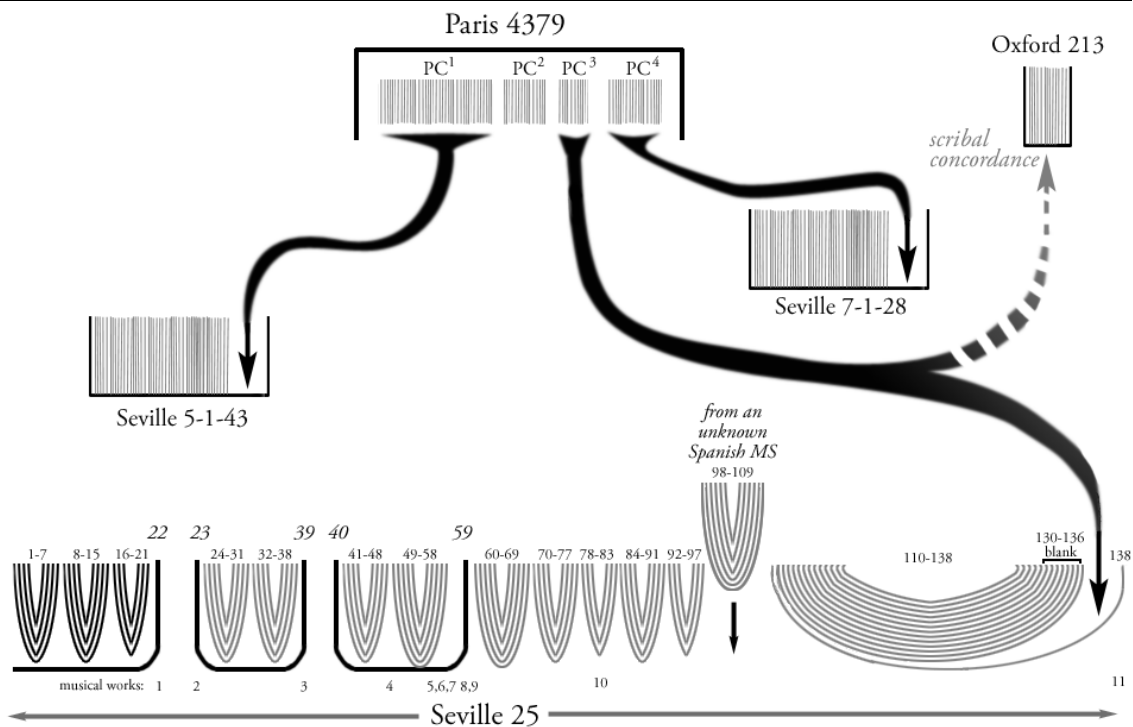


TABLE 5.14: SEVILLE 25, POLYPHONIC CONTENTS AND SELECTED WRITINGS ON THE NEARBY FOLIOS⁵⁵

1	f. 22r	Fragment of a theological treatise.	
	f. 22v	<i>La du... mi fa... desir</i> 2vv + 1v (see below). Untexted <i>Kyrie</i> , <i>Cunctipotens genitor</i> chant.	
2	f. 23r	“Liber cantus, id est rationum:” inscription possibly with some erased music below.	
	f. 23v	Illegible palimpsest of mensural music.	
3	f. 39r	Erased page of mensural music.	
	f. 39v	Two illegible 15th c. lines of text.	
4	f. 40r	Melodic formulae in three hexachords. Misc. texts.	
	f. 40v	Moral or theological treatise (14th c., fragment).	
	ff. 48v–49r	<i>Fortuna ria</i> (Francesco da Firenze), 4vv (C, T, alius T, Ct).	
5	f. 57r	Two voice <i>Klangschrittlehre</i> (continues onto f. 58r).	
	f. 57v	“Tenor de monacho so tucto ziusu,” 1v.	
6	f. 58r	Unidentified melodic line. “Flos Filius” <i>Benedicamus Domino</i> (square notation). Unidentified melodic line in <i>tempus imp., prolatio maior</i> .	
	7	f. 58v	Counterpoint treatise, incipit, “Sciendum est, quod novem sunt species contrapunti.” “Contratenor de monaco so tucto ziusu.”
		8	f. 59r
9	f. 59v	Textless copy of <i>La bella stella</i> , C. ⁵⁶	
10	ff. 79r–81r	Treatises on discant	
	f. 80r	<i>Kyrie</i> , <i>Cunctipotens genitor</i> , 3vv.	
	ff. 130v–136v	blank	
	ff. 137rv	Fragment of a treatise on the church modes	
	f. 138r	untexted tenor of <i>Mercé per Dio</i> and Latin text or contrafact.	
	f. 138v	blank	

The large-scale switch from parchment to paper between f. 21 and f. 24 shows that the first three gatherings were extremely unlikely to have come from the same manuscript as the remainder of the source. Not all of the polyphonic works occur on the outside folios of a

⁵⁵ Descriptions of the non-musical sections translated from *RISM B III 5*.

⁵⁶ The identification of this melody was generously shared with me by Oliver Huck.

section. A professional music hand copied Francesco's *Fortuna ria*, the only copy with four instead of two parts, in the space between gatherings six and seven (ff. 48v–49r). Several unidentified works, including a tenor and contratenor voice labeled, “de monacho so tucto zisu,” are found at the end of the gathering seven. These works may have been added to blank space left over after the copying of treatises. We will return to these works in a moment. A three-voice, non-mensural *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* on f. 80r is the only polyphonic work in the manuscript actually integral to a treatise. The treatise, or group of treatises, begins “Ad habendum discantum artis musice primo videndum est, quid sit discantus,” and is also known from **Barcelona 883** (beginning f. 20r), which has the same *Kyrie*, shown in Example 5.15:⁵⁷

EXAMPLE 5.15: SEVILLE 25, *KYRIE, CUNCTIPOTENS GENITOR* (FIRST KYRIE), F. 80R

The image shows a musical score for a three-voice setting of the Kyrie. It consists of three staves: a top staff in treble clef, a middle staff in alto clef, and a bottom staff in bass clef. The music is written in a non-mensural style with square notes and rests. The word "Kyrie" is written below the first staff, and "leyson" is written below the third staff. The score is enclosed in a rectangular frame.

⁵⁷ The *Kyrie* has also been transcribed in Jacques Handschin, Review of “Festschrift für Johannes Wolf,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1934), p. 120, who also noted the “aus Marchettus bekannten ‘echten Chromatismen’.” The opening gesture in the top voice could be read as A-C#-B(♯), but the # is clearly on the space for B, and a C# is not necessary to remain consonant with the tenor, while a B♭ might be implied by the descending line. The surrounding treatise has been transcribed after **Barcelona 883** by Jocelyn Chalcarne < <http://www.lml.badw.de/info/e-b883a.htm> > (2002) and after a version without the *Kyrie* found in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, II I 406 (Magliab. XIX 19) by Christian Meyer < <http://www.lml.badw.de/info/ifn406b.htm> > (2000).

Worth noting in the Kyrie is the characteristic Marchettian chromatic cadences between the middle voice and the tenor at the end of the penultimate and final sections.⁵⁸ This motion strongly suggests an Italian origin for the surrounding treatise. (See Chapter 4, *fnn.*, 122–123 for more on this cadence). Not totally unexpected are moments such as the sixth note of the piece where the two voices are each consonant with the tenor (assuming the F# is still in effect) but form a dissonant minor second with each other.

The final polyphonic work comes at the end of the manuscript, after a long blank section. It is a single voice written in white mensural notation, probably copied near the end of the first half of the fifteenth century. David Fallows recently identified the voice as the tenor of *Mercé per Dio*, the final composition of part three of **Paris 4379** (PC³), a composite manuscript of quattrocento music in four parts.⁵⁹ The gathering structure of the final section of **Seville 25** is unclear (*RISM B III 5* suggests 13 bifolios and a single folio, practically without precedent) but it is unlikely that we could add the eight folios of PC³ to this already overloaded structure.⁶⁰ In any case, it is not clear that PC³ has been removed from **Seville 25**. Instead, f. 138 of **Seville 25** (and perhaps the preceding 7 folios) may have been taken

⁵⁸ Performance of this work would be greatly aided by the discussion of tuning and diesis in Ronald Woodley's thought-provoking article, "Sharp Practice in the Later Middle Ages: Exploring the Chromatic Semitone and its Implications," *Music Theory Online* 12 (2006). I thank Prof. Woodley for sending this article to me.

⁵⁹ Fallows, "I fogli parigini del 'Cancionero musical' e del manoscritto teorico della Biblioteca Colombino," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 27 (1992), pp. 25–40, and especially the chart on p. 30, without which Figure 5.13 would be inconceivable. See also his description of the manuscript in *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, pp. 36–37.

⁶⁰ Further, the multiple copies of single treatises in this section promote the idea that the section is a compilation of originally separate sources. For instance, there are three copies of the *Tractatus figurarum* alone: ff. 84r–85v, 87r (fragment), and ff. 114r–116r. See Philip Schreur, *The Tractatus Figurarum: Treatise on Noteshapes* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 4.

from the same dismembered source of which PC³ is the other surviving part. PC³ is usually referred to as a “tenor partbook,” though the name is misleading in two ways. First, the section containing only tenors of polyphonic works ends at 65r; the remaining pages contain complete or incomplete pieces with other voices. Second, based on our familiarity with later partbooks, we expect the term to imply the (one-time) existence of a cantus and perhaps contratenor partbook. On the contrary, tenors seem to have traveled more frequently without cantus parts than vice-versa in the trecento and early quattrocento, so we may not be missing any other voices’ partbooks.

The connection between **Paris 4379** and **Seville 25** is not an isolated coincidence. As Fallows has demonstrated and Figure 5.13 illustrates, three other manuscripts are caught up in the web of connections of this source. The scribe of the first part of PC³ seems to be the same as the scribe of the important Veneto song collection, **Oxford 213**.⁶¹ Although we cannot say anything definite about PC², the earliest section of **Paris 4379** containing music by Ciconia among others, the manuscript as a whole seems to have been made out of Columbina sources.⁶² The first section is made out of parts originally bound with the chanson-

⁶¹ PC³ has at least two scribes and possibly three, though the potential third scribe, that of ff. 65v–66r, is in my estimation the scribe of ff. 64v–65r imitating the (different) scribe of ff. 61r–64v, 66v, and **Oxford 213**. Fallows, “I fogli parigini del ‘Cancionero musical’,” p. 30, also notes different paper types which further distinguish interwoven layers of activity.

⁶² PC³ may also contain a work by Ciconia, if Fallows’s attribution of *Fugir non posso* to him is correct (“Ciconia’s last songs and their milieu,” in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, edited by Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 124). Based on his comments about *Mercé per Dio* in “I fogli parigini del ‘Cancionero musical’,” p. 26, he could easily have included it in the discussion of Ciconia’s late influence in the latter article. For a conflicting view of *Fugir non posso*, attributing it to Antonio Zachara da Teramo based on its position in **Bologna 2216** and connection to such works as *D’amor languire*, see Marco Gozzi, “Zacara nel *Codex Mancini*: considerazioni sulla notazione e nuove attribuzioni,” in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei, (Luca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), pp. 155–56.

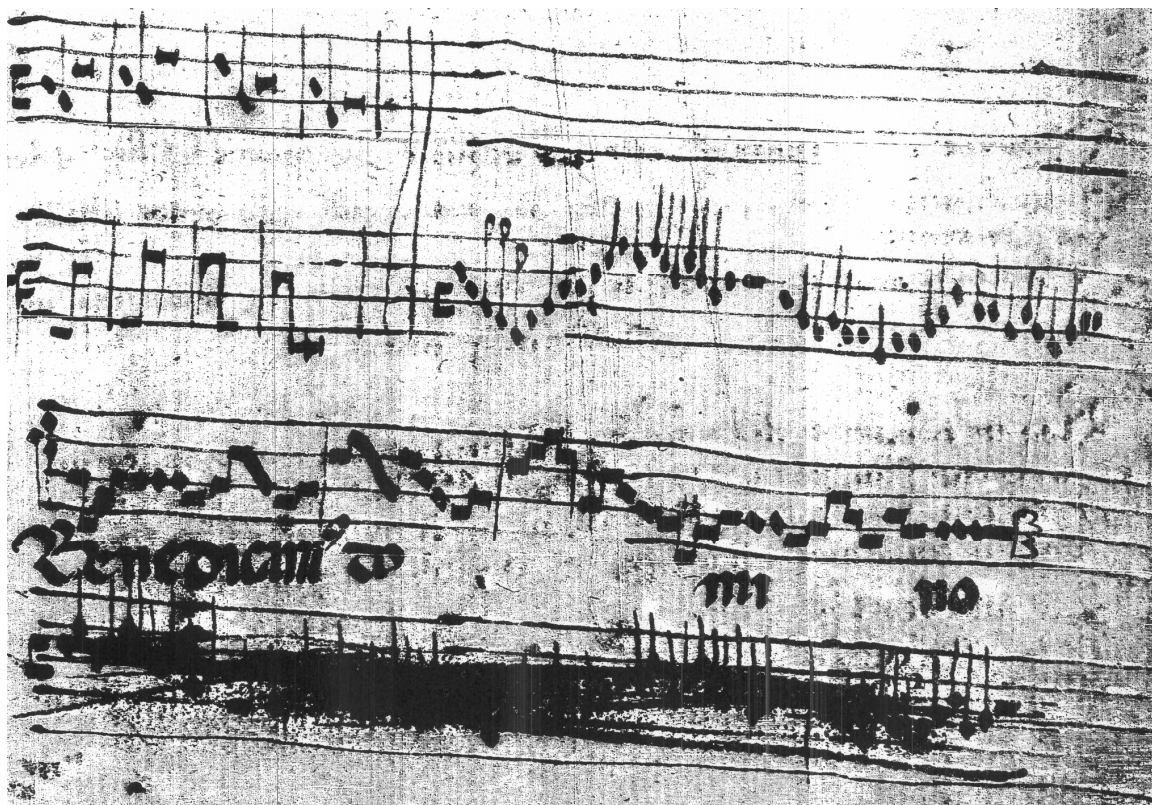
nier Seville 5-1-43; the final section comes from the same Spanish *Cancionero* as Seville 7-1-28.

Returning to the music of the trecento, we can begin with some sad observations. The music on ff. 23r, 23v and 39r is too damaged to make any sort of statements about it from the current photographs.⁶³ The surviving final bar lines on f. 23v suggest a connection to the scribe of *Fortuna ria*, but these are parchment folios and that work is on paper.

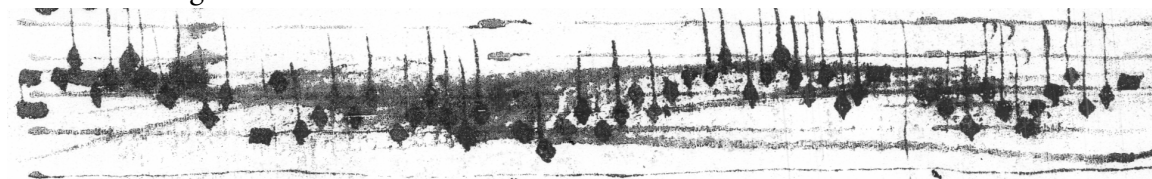
Providing further disappointment are the three melodic lines on f. 58r, a detail of which appear in Figure 5.16.

⁶³ A study *in situ* with digital magnification and ultraviolet light has not yet been undertaken.

FIGURE 5.16: SEVILLE 25, F. 58R, DETAIL OF BOTTOM OF PAGE



Final line in high contrast:



The middle line is the “Flos Filius” *Benedicamus Domino* in square notation, a line often used as a tenor for polyphonic elaboration.⁶⁴ However, neither of the other lines works well with it. The top line begins on E and has a strong cadence on the same note, making it impossible as a mate for the *Benedicamus* tenor (Example 5.17). It also does not work as a cantus for “monaco so tucto ziusu,” which we will discuss shortly.

⁶⁴ See “Using the ‘Flos filius’ *Benedicamus* as an Equal-Note Tenor” in Chapter 4.

EXAMPLE 5.17: SEVILLE 25, MENSURAL LINE, F. 58R, OPENING



The lowest line seems to work somewhat with the *Benedicamus* tenor, but there are terrible clashes (m. 5; end of m. 8 and beginning of m. 9), too many thirds and sixths, unusual use of the tenor as semibreves, and no especially smooth instances of contrary motion. (See Example 5.18). These may be the reasons why the scribe(/composer?) scratched out the line, but if this were the case then we would be dealing with a composition of extremely low aesthetic merit.

EXAMPLE 5.18: SEVILLE 25, POSSIBLE 2V “FLOS FILIUS” *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*

E: normally present in polyphonic settings, missing in tenor.

Fortunately, there are two lines in this section which work, at least somewhat, as a piece. These are two lower lines from a brief work with what seems to be a strange title, *Monaco so tucto ziusu*; see Example 5.19. The title could refer to a (hypothetical) composer or instructor named Sotucto Ziusu.

EXAMPLE 5.19: SEVILLE 25, FF. 57V AND 58V: *MONACO SO TUCTO ZIUSU*

The work is almost certainly missing its top voice. Strangely, the four-line staves containing the two lines are found on consecutive versos, so they could never have been read together. Also, we do not seem to be missing any pages where the cantus would have been written.⁶⁵ Further, the contratenor is found in the middle of a treatise and seems attached to that treatise, while the tenor is disconnected from the remainder of the manuscript. The tenor has air somewhat of an exercise, rather than part of a composed work. This is not the only tenor which seems like an exercise; the tenor of the first section of the textless rondeau *Dame playsans* (Pit., ff. 18v–19r) has a similar feel (Figure 5.20).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Transcriptions of each line separately in original notation are found in Gallo, “Alcune fonti poco note,” p. 64. Note the parallel unisons in m. 11 and the odd fourth in m. 20. These intervals suggest a composer in the early stages of learning. Another case where the notated voices of a polyphonic work are separated is in a manuscript without signature in the Archivio Capitolare of Cividale. There, the lower voice of *Submersus iacet Pharao* is twenty-four folios apart from the upper voice. However, given that *Submersus* is a *cantus prius factus*, the analogy is not particularly strong. Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Congresso internazionale “Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa:” Catalogo della mostra* (Cividale del Friuli: Associazione per lo Sviluppo degli Studi Storici ed Artistici di Cividale del Friuli, 1980), p. 21.

⁶⁶ The suggestion that *Dame playsnas*’s tenor was “a kind of compositional exercise” was also made in *PMFC* 22, p. 173.

FIGURE 5.20: PIT. F. 18V, DETAIL: TENOR OF *DAME PLAYSANS*

It is possible that the tenor “de monaco so tucto ziusu” was intended to have an improvised discant placed above it of the type described in the *Klangschrittlehre* on ff. 57r–58r. The intervallic progression correspond to those identified as characteristic of “fifthing” (quintare).⁶⁷ In short, the progressions show motion from octave to fifth whenever the tenor ascends and the reverse, from fifth to octave, whenever the tenor descends. The top voice of each example on f. 58r is decorated with a minim providing a (non-harmonic) decoration of the progression. When the tenor interval is a second, the upper voice moves in contrary motion by a third, and the decoration thus is a passing tone filling in that third. For ascending intervals of a third, fourth, and fifth, the minim is a third, second, and third lower respectively than the initial note. The progressions for descending intervals are always the exact retrograde of the ascent. Since it is uncommon to find *Klangschrittlehren* which show as this one does the types of decorations actually found in mensural polyphony, I have chosen to reproduce the tables from ff. 57v–58r in full (See Example 5.21).

⁶⁷ Sarah Fuller, “Discant and the Theory of Fifthing,” *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978), p. 254.

EXAMPLE 5.21: SEVILLE 25, FF. 57V–58R, FIFTHING/KLANGSCHRIFFT-LEHRE

f. 57v

tonus tonus semitonus tonus tonus tonus tonus semitonus tonus tonus

ditonus semiditonus semiditonus ditonus ditonus semiditonus semiditonus ditonus

f. 58r

Happily, several other interesting works from **Seville 25** survive in better condition. The new identification of the cantus of *La bella stella* on f. 59v, written with few minims in what seems to be an early notation, has already been mentioned. The recto side of that folio contains a two-part ballata, *Chi temp' a per amore*, transcribed in Marrocco, *PMFC 11* (no. 14). Two works remain to be discussed. On f. 22v several musical lines are written on largely freehand-drawn staves. The folio appears to be the bottom half of a larger sheet, now rotated clockwise with respect to the rest of the manuscript. This orientation makes it extremely unlikely to come from the same original manuscript as the other polyphonic folios. At the top of the sheet is an illegible inscription. At the bottom is an unlabeled copy of the *Kyrie, Cunctipotens genitor* (Kyrie I and Christe). In between are three mensural voices; the bottom two are not texted at all, while the top contains an Italian text only in the first half. (The difficulties of reading the text force me to omit it in the transcription below).⁶⁸ The work appears to be a ballata but the three voices cannot be reconciled together. Instead, any one of the two tenor voices work with the cantus to form two different two-voice pieces (Example 5.22).

⁶⁸ There is also an illegible text at the extreme top of the page.

EXAMPLE 5.22: SEVILLE 25, F. 22V, *LA DUR... MI FA... DESIR*

The transcription emends the first tenor line going into the large cadence at m. 18. An additional breve appears before the final note, matched by a breve in the cantus voice. That breve appears to have been cancelled as if to bring that voice closer in line with the second tenor. The original cantus/tenor 1 cadence was

Measures 21–22 are difficult to read in both the cantus and tenor 1.

Instead of *La dur...mi fa...desir* being a work with interchangeable tenors—which would be rare—it may be a work with a version for cantus and solus tenor and a second version for cantus, contratenor, and tenor. The missing contratenor voice would then have been found on a lost adjacent recto.

We need not go far for an example of such a work. Francesco da Firenze's ballata *Fortuna Ria* appears with four parts on ff. 48v–49r. Although usually described as a four-voice work, it instead offers two variants: a two-voice version known from **Squarcialupi**, **Panciaticchi**, **Pit.**, **Pistoia 5**, and a unique version for three voices (sharing the same cantus as the two-voice version). Although other works by Francesco appear in two- and three-voice readings, this is the only copy to use a solus tenor (though unlabeled as such) and alius tenor pair. Unsurprisingly for a one-of-a-kind version, the variants of the cantus and tenor show no direct connection to any other source. Both the added voices are of highly doubtful authenticity, but neither do they show obvious contrapuntal errors. The alius tenor is more active than the original, while the contratenor is even more rhythmically active than the cantus.⁶⁹

Surprisingly for a unique version of a work by a major composer, no transcription of **Seville 25**'s copy of *Fortuna Ria* has ever been published. We thus conclude this section with an edition, Example 5.23.

⁶⁹ Pedro Memelsdorff has connected the addition of this contratenor to the wider movement of modernization in the name of *subtilitas* pervasive throughout the trecento and early quattrocento. “La *Tibia* di Apollo,” in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo*, edited by Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (Florence, Sismel: 1999), p. 249.

EXAMPLE 5.23: FRANCESCO DA FIRENZE, *FORTUNA RIA*, VERSION FROM SEVILLE 25

[Cantus]

1.5. For - tu - na ri - a, (A) -
 4. Con For - tu - na e

Contratenor

Alius Tenor

[Solus Tenor]

mor, e cru-del don - na, Son -
 mor og-nor si te - ne, In -

con - tra me, per - ch'i di vi - ta - pe - ra; Ma -
 un - vo - le - re al mio do - lor e in - te - ra. ra.

12 (♯*)

pur non te - - - mo, ch'an-cor non è se - - -

16 (♯*)

ra. 2. Re - - - - gna'n que - st'al -
3. Suo - - - - - fiam - me in es

20

ta don - na tal vir - tu - - - te, Ch'a - - - cor -
sa son tut - te per - du - - - te, Tant' a - - -'

24

da - r'è a - mo - re col lei a dar - mi pe -
du - re'l suo co - re più che non si con - vie -

28

na.
ne.

#* recommended ficta for the three-voice version only

(#*) recommended ficta for the two-voice version only

Many ficta suggestions in the cantus appear explicitly in one or more other sources.

Lengths of notes and rests at all cadences vary among the voices and have been standardized.

C: m. 2: F ♠ ♠ instead of F ♠ ♠.

Ct: mm. 20–21: final note is ■ with an unconnected stem next to it which might be an attempt to correct it to ■ | which is correct in context. m. 22: ■ | (B Lr)

Miscellaneous and unclear relationships

Adding to the Polyphony of the Past: Berlin 523

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (olim *Preußische Staatsbibliothek*, then *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz*). *Lat. 4^o 523* (olim *Thomas Phillipps's Library 23928*).

RISM 1^{sup}: *D-Bs 523*, p. 413 (*1^{sup} is located in RISM 2*).

RISM 3: *D-Bs 523*, pp. 325–27.

All the sources discussed up to this point have *either* been remnants of larger codices or polyphonic additions to musical or non-musical sources. Nothing however prevents *both* of these situations from occurring to or in the same manuscript. This is the case of **Berlin 523**.⁷⁰ As far as we can tell, the source began as a collection of Notre Dame period organum in France. It probably was not a large or systematically organized source since it mixes Office and Mass organa together and the feast days for these texts are scattered throughout the year.⁷¹ The notation of this section shows a mixture of modal and early mensural elements.⁷² Although the chronology of the next two steps could be reversed,⁷³ the most likely explana-

⁷⁰ Discovery announcement in Kurt von Fischer, “Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13. 14. un 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), pp. 80–83. Further studies and transcription in idem, “Una ballata trecentesca sconosciuta. Aggiunte per i frammenti di Siena.” *L’Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), pp. 39–42.

⁷¹ Vincent J. Corrigan, “A Study of the Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (olim Preussischer Staatsbibliothek) lat. 4o 523,” (Thesis (M.M.): Indiana University, 1972), pp. 12–19 discusses the liturgical uses of the organa in (convincing) detail. Corrigan draws on a letter by Michel Huglo to counter the earlier statement (which had likewise been supported by correspondence with Michel Huglo) in Fischer, “Neue Quellen,” p. 80, that all the Notre Dame polyphony could have come from All-Saints Day.

⁷² Corrigan, “A Study of the Manuscript Berlin,” p. 20. *RISM B IV 2*, p. 413 notes that the *c.o.p.* ligatures of **Berlin 523** are used also in the treatise of Anonymous IV, suggesting a dating in the late thirteenth century.

⁷³ An examination of the text of the host manuscript has not yet been undertaken. Reaney’s description of the hand as “semi-Gothic” (*RISM B IV 2*, p. 413) is not sufficient to date the source, and conflicts with Corrigan’s dating of the manuscript as thirteenth-century (*op. cit.*, p. 4).

tion has the manuscript as a whole brought to Italy, perhaps Tuscany,⁷⁴ where around 1400 a two-voice ballata was added to the source. After this, but definitely before the seventeenth century, the musical manuscript was dismembered and one bifolio was used to protect a twenty-folio manuscript containing an *Ars grammatica* of the fourth-century writer, Donatus.⁷⁵ Eventually the whole source became an uncataloged part of Thomas Phillipps's collection in England—the number 23928 was assigned after his death—whence it came to Berlin.

The ballata on f. Bv is a straightforward work with a texted top voice and a tenor written primarily in ligatures.⁷⁶ The scribal hand seems unknown from other sources; the particular curled-check custos is seen also in the mid-fifteenth century **Cividale 101**, but nothing else connects the two manuscripts. At the top-left of the page, the name “Fr Reynaldus” is written in a faint hand while across the top of the ballata, “Ja cho pa” is written in the same hand and ink and the rest of the page. In the top right, but separated from “Ja cho pa” is the word “mia.” Figure 5.24 gives a detail of the top of the page.

⁷⁴ Fischer, “Una ballata trecentesca sconosciuta,” p. 40 presents his argument for a Tuscan provenance for the ballata, though the evidence for “influsso francese” (seen in the use of “sans” for “senza”) being a specifically Florentine trait is weak.

⁷⁵ Whether the contained work is the *Ars Maior* or the more common *Ars Minor* is unknown to this writer.

⁷⁶ The work has been transcribed three times, first in Fischer, “Una ballata trecentesca sconosciuta,” pp. 40–42, then in two versions which add little or nothing new: Corrigan, “A Study of the Manuscript Berlin,” pp. 61–62, and *PMFC 10*, pp. 103 and 152.

FIGURE 5.24: BERLIN 523, DETAIL OF TOP OF F. BV



The position of the word “Jachopa” is more standard for the name of a composer than that of Fr[anciscus] Reynaldus’s. Further, the suggestion that “ja cho pa” could be the text underlay for a trimmed work above *L’adorno viso* can be dismissed for several reasons: there is no evidence for works trimmed from the tops of ff. Ar, Av, or Br; there is too much empty space between the text and the top of the page for the text to be underlay, and we lack any other text on the line.⁷⁷ We may also want to consider both texts to be part of a longer, composite name. Even if “Jachopa” is the name of the composer, as this writer is inclined to believe, we are no closer to knowing anything about the composer of the work. The work is definitely not by Jacopo da Bologna who only wrote one ballata (without *aperto* and *chiuso* endings) and whose style is radically different.

The context of the ballata provides both the main reason for returning to the source and the main unanswered question. Is it possible that Italian composers *ca.* 1400 had an appreciation for music of the duecento and earlier? Could they read the music? It may seem

⁷⁷ Suggested by Fischer, “Neue Quellen,” p. 83.

unlikely, but as the evidence for Italian collection of Notre Dame polyphony in the early trecento continues to mount,⁷⁸ we need a critical reexamination of trecento treatises concerning earlier notational systems. This examination will let us understand what they knew about Notre Dame music, and when they knew it.

Barcelona 2

Barcelona, Biblioteca Orfeo Català. MS 2.

RISM 2: *E-Boc 2*, pp. 93–94.

Brief mention should be made to a manuscript whose provenance and original construction are both mysteries. The parchment quaternion **Barcelona 2** today sits in a Spanish library, consists of mass movements with French concordances, and is notated without any obvious trace of Italian mensural training. But though it was described in the RISM volume primarily consisting of French sources, an ascription hints at an Italian connection. Folio 8v names one “Johannis Andree” of Bologna.⁷⁹ The possibility has been suggested that a student in the Spanish college in Bologna brought the manuscript to Catalonia.⁸⁰

The contents of the source are incorrectly printed in RISM, so a new inventory is given below in Table 5.25:

⁷⁸ See “Italian Knowledge of Foreign Thirteenth-Century Polyphony,” in Chapter 4.

⁷⁹ *RISM B IV 2*, pp. 93–94. Reaney (following Bessler) writes “Johannis Andree civis Bononiensis” while the manuscript transmits “Johannis Andree Bononie[?] civis.”

⁸⁰ Heinrich Bessler, “Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), p. 205.

TABLE 5.25:BARCELONA 2 INVENTORY

f. 1r	[blank ruled]
ff. 1v–3r	Gloria <i>Splendor patris</i> (“Mass of Barcelona”), 3 ¹ Apt 16bis, ff. 22r–23v; Barcelona 971, ff. 1v–4r; Strasbourg 222, f. 52vff. (lost). Each of the surviving sources has a different contratenor.
f. 3r (bot)	Agnus Dei, 2 ⁰
ff. 3v–4v	Patrem ([P. Tailhandier]), 3 ¹ Apt 16bis, ff. 36v–37v; Barcelona 853b, f. 2v–3v; Barcelona/Gerona, f. 24v; Munich 29775.8, f. 1rv; Vatican 1969, f. 60rv (2vv); Strasbourg 222, ff. 56v–57v. None of these sources has Barcelona 2’s contratenor.
f. 5r	Kyrie <i>Summe clementissime</i> (Johan[n]es Graneti), 3 ¹ Apt 16bis, f. 24r; Barcelona 853b, f. 12r; Madrid 1474/17, f. 1r; Munich Emmeram, f. 32v; Paris Geneviève 1257, f. 36v; Vatican 1419, f. 93v.
ff. 5v–8v	[blank ruled, with added text indicating possession on f. 8v]

The naming of the contratenor voice varies throughout the manuscript. In the Kyrie *Summe clementissime*, the familiar term “contratenor” is used. By contrast, the third voice of the Gloria *Splendor patris* is called “Quinta,” while the same voice of the Tailhandier Patrem is called “contratenor” on f. 4r and, in the margin and perhaps added by a different hand, “quinta.”

Three of the four compositions in the source are well known from the international repertory (though the diverse contratenor treatments suggest that each work was adjusted to the norms of its locale). However, the two-voice Agnus Dei is unique to this source. The piece has been thought to be a three-voice composition missing its cantus voice, but the arrangement of the manuscript makes this suggestion impossible since we have all the surrounding pages.⁸¹ The two low voices are out of place in a collection of French music, but

⁸¹ *RISM 23b*, p. 507. Hanna Stäblein-Harder (*Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France, critical edition of the text*, Musicological Studies and Documents 7 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), p. 77) comes down more strongly in favor of the work as two-voiced, but also has doubts that it may be three voiced.

make perfect sense in the context of simpler Italian compositions.⁸² A transcription of the first Agnus verse gives an idea of the style (Example 5.26). In keeping open the possibility of an Italian origin for the work, I have added *ficta* to give a Marchettian chromatic cadence in mm. 6–7.

EXAMPLE 5.26: BARCELONA 2, F. 3R, *AGNUS DEI*, FIRST VERSE

The Agnus Dei by Franciscus de Cumis in the recently discovered source, **Perugia** 15755, offers a point of comparison for this work.⁸³ It is also a two-voice work in a moderately simple style, though with a more active upper voice and no voice-crossing (as happens in the second and third verses. Example 5.27 gives the first Agnus for that work, correcting a ligature error in mm. 8–10 in the published example.⁸⁴

⁸² Instance of similar use of two low voices appear in the Credo of **Gubbio Corale**, the homophonic Credos on *GR 1* and the *Credo* “Cardinalis” cantus firmi, and the voice-crossing Amen of *Ave Stella Matutina* in **Siena Servi G**.

⁸³ Brumana, Biancamaria and Galliano Ciliberti, editors. *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* Florence: Olschki, 2004.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 143–45. The only other errors of note concern their mm. 83 and 86 which are probably one-pitch ligatures to be notated “*♩. ♩. ♩*”. Other errors and points of disagreement in the book are addressed in Oliver Huck’s review forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*. Though there is not space to reassess the entire source here, I want to point out that one of the authors’ main contentions, that a Credo in the vernacular is a unique event, is false. After all, Prodenzani rewrites the creed as the 130th sonnet of *Il Saporetto* as follows:

L’Articol della Fede, po’ c’ài in core.
e volelli sapere ài nella mente:

Crede nel Padre Dio Omnipotente,

(note continues)

EXAMPLE 5.27: PERUGIA 15755, *AGNUS DEI*

Ag - - - - - nus

Ag - - - - - nus

14 De - - - - i, qui tollis pec - ca - ta - - - - mun - di:

De - - - - i qui tollis pec - ca - ta - - - - mun - di:

25 mi - - - - se - re - re no - - - - bis.

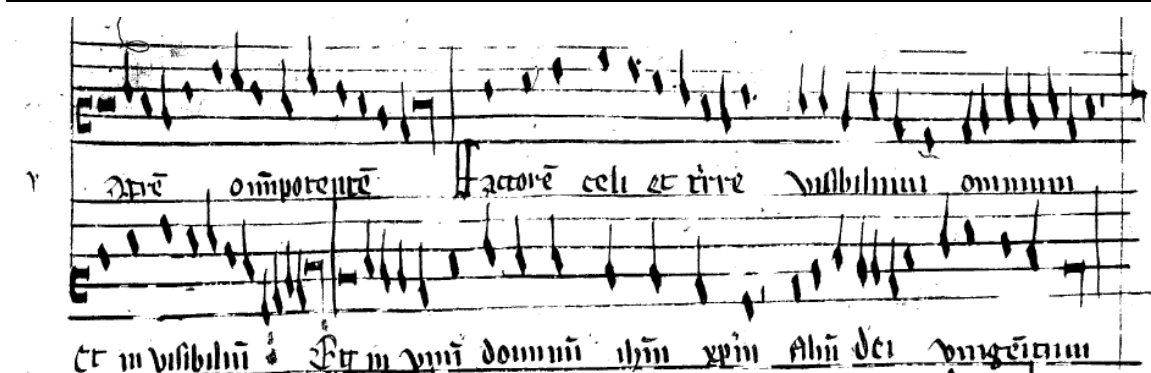
mi - - - - se - re - re no - - - - bis.

del Cielo e della Terra creatore
 e in Giesu Christo *che per nostro amore*
volse morir per salvar tutta gente
 e da Maria verginevilmente
 concietto fu da quel Santo Splendore.
 Sotto Pilato passo e crocifisso,
 morto e sepolto *e poi nel Linbo andòne*
 e 'l terço dì, da morte resurrexso,
 andò in Cielo e de' tornar quagiùne
 a giudicar li vivi e morti *apresso*;
 e cred'e' Ecclesia e Ressurrettione.

Like the Perugia text, Prodenzani alters the text of the creed when changing the language from Latin to Italian. Huck notes that the Italian Credo in **Perugia 15755** is also poetry instead of prose. Text from Carboni's edition, p. 68; in Debenedetti's edition, the sonnet is no. 147. Italics show texts without direct parallel in the Creed. Sabbadini's announcement study of **Stresa 14** (then the Domodossola fragment) also mentions a manuscript at Domodossola from the fifteenth century (MS 2) containing the ten commandments, seven deadly sins, and the Creed set in vulgar tercets ("Frammenti di poesie volgari musicate," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 40 (1902), pp. 271–72). I have not yet consulted this manuscript to ascertain from which part of the quattrocento it stems. Nonetheless, the ease with which two other examples of vulgar creeds were found demonstrates that we are not dealing with an isolated phenomenon.

If the contents of the *Agnus Dei* are the best argument for Italian provenance, the overall look of the notation is the strongest contrary evidence. Figure 5.28 shows a typical passage, from the start of Tailhandier's *Credo*.

FIGURE 5.28: BARCELONA 2, F. 3V, CREDO OPENING



Barcelona 2's *custos* is of the "spinner" type: a rectangle with upward stem on the left and downward tail on the right, which is the same notation some theorists propose for an imperfect semibreve (as we see for instance in *Assisi 187*). Though unusual, it is found in three other manuscripts of Italian or possibly Italian provenance: the *Cortona* fragments, *Bern 827*, *Grottaferrata 219* (formerly *Grottaferrata 16*) along with *Chantilly* (of disputed provenance). As it stands, without conclusive evidence, the notation and contents of *Barcelona 2* should be of interest to scholars of Italian, Spanish, and French musical style.

Casanatense 522

Rome, *Biblioteca Casanatense*. MS 522 (olim B. VI. 6).

No mention in either *RISM* or *CCMS*.

We conclude with a source whose original structure and even provenance cannot be precisely determined. Rome, *Biblioteca Casanatense*, MS 522 is a little-known manuscript written in a Gothic hand probably of the late trecento or early quattrocento. According to a nineteenth-century note on the second flyleaf, the manuscript contains a "trattato aescetico

d'incerto autore" (Treatise on asceticism by an unknown author).⁸⁵ Though an identification of this treatise could not be completed in this study, we will be more interested in the other work contained between the volume's modern leather covers: a single folio serving as one of the two back flyleaves.⁸⁶ The folio contains two lines of music in mensural notation. Kurt von Fischer first brought this musical source to our attention in 1964, describing it as a single-voice (with a cautionary "(?)" placed after "einstimmigen"), French-texted song, probably a ballade.⁸⁷ Fischer noted that the unusual and difficult text probably indicated that the work was copied by an Italian without a clear understanding of his French text.

While most of the essential characteristics of this description remain unchallenged, we can improve substantially upon it with a fresh examination of the source, and an identification of concordances for its musical contents. Although no known work begins with Fischer's reconstructed incipit, "Cuoï (?) mon cuer," the distinctiveness of the opening gesture, with its repeated G's, combined with Fischer's correct identification of ballade form, identifies the music as the cantus voice of the three-voice anonymous ballade *Je voi mon cuer* known from the **Reina** codex and four non-Italian sources, summarized in Table 5.29 below. Significantly, the ballade is unknown in French sources.

⁸⁵ Incipit: "FO UNO Monaco desiderante dedio et delle soe marauelle che sonno nel mondo. et in tucte cose magnificano dio nelle soe opere et creature," (f. 1r). Explicit: "Chi adempie questi comandamenti perfectamente pervene allo stato in sopra dicta," (f. 44r).

⁸⁶ The treatise is also known from Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense MS 886, ff. 60r–107r, where it is also unidentified. See Anna Saitta Revignas, editor, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, Indici e Cataloghi, Nuova Serie II, volume VI (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, 1978), p. 26. An important mistake to correct in this catalog is its substitution of "ballata" for "ballade."

⁸⁷ Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13. 14. un 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), p. 87.

TABLE 5.29: SOURCES OF *JE VOI MON CUER* WITH VOICE PARTS AND INCIPITS

Casanatense 522 , back flyleaf. C only. “[J]e voi mon cuer e ma talg veget.”
Reina , f. 73v. Tr, C, T. “Je voy mon cuer et in bactel veget.”
Prague 9 , f. 261r. C, T. “Ce voy mon cuer en un bactel nager.”
Strasbourg 222 , f. 83r. Only the incipit of C survives. “Cen mon chier.” (Cousse-maker’s transcription)
Wolkenstein A , ff. 13v–14r. Tr, C, T, Ct. “Du ausserweltes schöns mein herz, dein wunniklicher scherz.”
Wolkenstein B , ff. 19v–20r. Tr, C, T, Ct. “Du ausserweltes schöns mein herz, dein wunniklicher scherz.”

Recent editions: PMFC 20, nos. 48 and 48a, pp. 158–162. *CMM 53/ii*, no. 152, pp. 57–58.⁸⁸

The Casanatense version of the cantus is closely related to the reading in **Reina**. In every case where **Prague 9** differs from **Reina**, **Casanatense 522** agrees with **Reina**. All three sources differ considerably from the wordier **Wolkenstein** versions. Only a ten-note incipit survives from **Strasbourg 222**. It uses a ligature for the final three notes. Those notes are texted in **Prague 9**, **Casanatense 522**, and **Reina**. The differences between **Casanatense 522** and **Reina** are few: in m. 14 (referring to the transcription in *PMFC*) **Casanatense 522**’s last minim is a C. In m. 34 the second semibreve is written with an oblique tail (however, a small mark through the tail may be canceling this mistake). Measure 44 transmits an erroneous semibreve for the last minim.

The version in **Casanatense 522** finishes its second line of music at the end of m. 49 and gives a custos for the next note, but the last thirteen notes are not found on this page. If the work were transmitted in two voices and this page were a verso, then the tenor could fit on a single line and it would not be unusual to have the upper voice conclude on the second

⁸⁸ The work has also been discussed in Gilbert Reaney, “Music in Late Medieval Entremets,” *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1964–77), p. 63, where he connects the opening line, “I see my heart floating in a boat,” to tableaux at a feast where the players in a mock ship would present their hearts to their lord.

line of the facing page—but this explanation relies on too many hypothetical assumptions; we simply cannot know why the music ends where it does.

Even with the most generous reading of the scribe's intentions, many of Fischer's comments about the scribe's seemingly tenuous grasp of contemporary French remain apt. Again, the reading of the three lines of the ballade is closer to Reina in most important respects:

1. [J]E uoi mon cuer e ma talg uaget per liante men sanguiste e guimer madie.
2. [Lacking]. Cluso.
3. Lius se fait en paler et sperncsere liares desers si antent desperant ne'g [?
unclear to end] e si doue. Deuse de ne le mañ.

With six sources (or five depending on how independent one considers the Wolkenstein sources), *Je voi mon cuer* is one of the most transmitted ballades of the fourteenth century (excluding Machaut's). It is surpassed in scribal popularity only by *Fuiés de moy, envie* (found in **Reina**, **Prague 9**, **Strasbourg 222**, **Todi Carità**, **Trémoille**, **Melk 391**, **Cividale 98**,⁸⁹ and the two Wolkenstein sources) and challenged only by Grenon's *Je ne requier* (in six sources: **Mod A**, **Montserrat 823**, **Strasbourg 222**, **Parma 75** (text only), **New York Boorman**, and **New Jersey p.c.**).

To return to a physical description of the source, the treatise is written on parchment leaves measuring approximately 180x130mm. The six gatherings (three quaternions, a ternion, and two quaternions) contain 22 (ff. 1–41r) or 20 (41v–44r) lines of text; ff. 44v–46 are blank. A type-stamped modern foliation appears on top right recto for ff. 1–44. A paste-

⁸⁹ For the Cividale identification, see Chapter 2.

down in the inside front cover gives two older signatures, AR.IV.69.I (unidentified) and B.VI.6 (old Casanatense signature). A note on the same page reads “Emptus post an. 1761,” indicating the manuscript was purchased by Casanatense after 1761.⁹⁰ The seal of the Casanatense library is stamped on the first numbered recto. The two front flyleaves and the last rear flyleaf are paper and modern, judging both by the texture of the paper and the numerous worm holes which appear on the inside parchment folios but not on the flyleaves.

The musical flyleaf, the last page before a modern paper leaf (and thus a “Nachsatzblatt” not a “Vorsatzblatt” as described by Fischer), has been trimmed and rotated counterclockwise to fit the dimensions of the host manuscript. Its present size (rotated in the proper orientation) is ca. 128x175mm, with a writing space of 160mm in width. Since the distance between systems is about 27mm, if we suppose eight systems and some trimmed margins, an estimate of an original folio of approximately 260x185mm would be reasonable. This figure would place the leaf at approximately the same size as **Grottaferrata 219** or **Mancini**.

The five-line staves vary in width (i.e., they were not drawn by a rastrum) from 19mm (staff 1), to 17.5mm (staff 2), to 15–16mm (staves 3–4; some variance because of warping of the parchment). The first staff has an additional line (either a sixth line, or more likely a top margin) giving a six-line measurement of 23mm.

The music flyleaf is written on parchment which originally contained a Latin text in a Carolingian minuscule script. The text appears upside-down and is only visible on the recto. The lack of a margin on the right side of the text coupled with the large margin on the

⁹⁰ The hand of the inscription was identified by Saitta Revignas as that of Giovanni Battista Audiffredi, librarian of the Biblioteca Casanatense in the last third of the eighteenth century.

left suggests that this leaf was trimmed from a much larger original before the music was copied. Only a few words are easily read, and these words are not distinctive enough to make any sort of clear identification of the nature of the text. (The ink color of the underwriting is different enough from the musical ink color that restoration of the earlier text should be possible should high-quality digital scans produced under even lighting of the page become available. No coloration exists on the manuscript.)

Figure 5.30 is a detail of the two lines on the verso of the leaf containing the ballade:

FIGURE 5.30: CASANATENSE 522, RECTO (DETAIL OF FIRST TWO LINES)



Kurt von Fischer has already commented on an odd detail of the scribe's notation, an unusual oblique semibreve form with a short tail emerging from the lower-left body of the lozenge; unfortunately the graphic reproduced in his article distorts this form beyond any usefulness in identifying concordances.⁹¹

⁹¹ Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

The third and fourth lines of the manuscript also contain musical notation, albeit somewhat erased (see Figure 5.31).

FIGURE 5.31: CASANATENSE 522, RECTO (DETAIL OF LAST TWO LINES)⁹²



The notation on the third line does not seem to have value as a composition (Figure 5.32):

FIGURE 5.32: CASANATENSE 522, RECTO, LINE 3:



However, the notation on the fourth line implies a work in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori*. A provisional transcription is given in Figure 5.33:

⁹² Two details of the recto are provided rather than a full image since the curve of the leaf in its current state of preservation prevented a single, in focus image of the entire page using non-professional equipment.

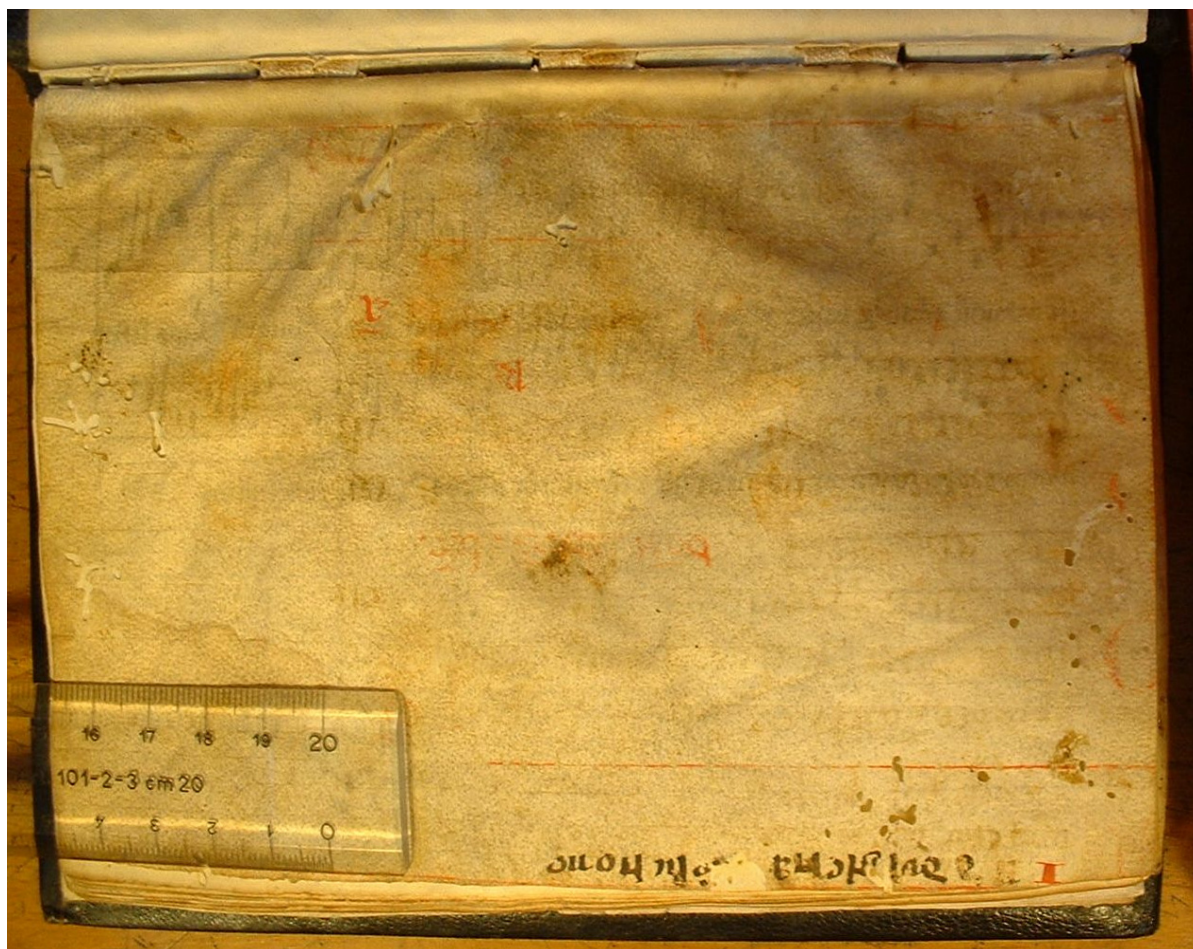
FIGURE 5.33: CASANATENSE 522, RECTO, LINE 4:



There are also a few musical figures—semibreves, a long, and a two note ligature—which can be made out on the binding strip connecting the flyleaf to the last folio of the preceding gathering. They are visible in Figure 5.30, above; no identification of their contents can be made.

The verso is mostly blank. Dry-point lines and a single red line have been marked. Although the folio appears never to have been used except for a line of text at the outside edge of the page (again upside-down with respect to the orientation of the music), there are also two red letters which tantalizingly stand out not erased: an R and an A with a bar over it, signifying “antiphon;” the verso, thus seems to be a well-scraped palimpsest, probably of an antiphoner, and thus probably not polyphonic (see Figure 5.34).

FIGURE 5.34: CASANATENSE 522, VERSO



It is difficult to say whether this fragment is part of a larger manuscript. The last custos on the recto implies further music. The rotation of the leaf and the separation from the corpus's gathering structure make it obvious that the folio originates from a different manuscript than the host; the lack of a top margin to the music strongly implies that the conversion into a flyleaf occurred after the music was copied. But the lack of ruling on the verso along with the differing gauges of the staves on the recto entail the conclusion that the manuscript from which the leaf originated was something outside what we perceive to be the norm of polyphonic manuscripts of the trecento. As the fragmentary sources of the trecento are reexamined, this norm may need to be reexamined along with them.