

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

---

# 2

**B**EFORE PLUNGING DEEPLY into details of whale hunting, Hermann Melville explains:  
Out of the trunk, the branches grow; out of them, the twigs.  
So, in productive subjects, grow the chapters.

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

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

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

### **Provenance: Finding Northern Sources**

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

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

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

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

1. Inscription of date and provenance.
2. Inscription of provenance alone.

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

3. Autograph of a copyist known only in a particular locale.
4. Signs of early possession in a locale.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> The particular example of *Una pantera* is made easier by the explicit mention of the city of Lucca later in the text.



Lacking unified tables of symbolic elements, our task of connecting symbols to locations remains daunting.<sup>5</sup>

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

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

8. Dialectical features.
9. Paleographical analysis.

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

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

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

### **Polyphony in Trecento and Early Quattrocento Padua**

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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1998), pp. 34–38.

<sup>9</sup> From 1328–37, Padua was under the rule of the della Scala family of Verona, themselves famed patrons of trecento music.

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

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

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

<sup>10</sup> A list of Carrara rulers is found in Hallmark, “Some Evidence for French Influence,” pp. 194–95.

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

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

TABLE 2.1: POLYPHONIC SOURCES CURRENTLY IN PADUA

---

Cathedral:

Padua 55

Padua 56

Archivio di Stato:

Padua 14

Padua 553

University Library:

Padua 656

Padua 658 (Pad C)

Padua 675 (Pad D)

Padua 684 (Pad A)

[ Padua 1027 (see below)]

Padua 1106 (Pad D)

Padua 1115 (Pad B)

Padua 1225 (Pad D)

Padua 1283 (Pad D)

Padua 1475 (Pad A)

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Inventory*

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

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

The following abbreviations and standards are employed:

Folio numbers out of order, such as “34r,33v” indicate that the cantus (or cantus 1) appears on f. 34r, but other voices appear on the previous page. Original folio numbers appear without marking; modern foliations are in square brackets. Folio numbers in italics from the Paduan fragments signify the work is not copied at the top of a page. For reasons of space, folio numbers appear after sigla without the customary “ff.” markings.

Concordances are grouped approximately by region with Paduan and other sources from the Veneto first, then Tuscan manuscripts, other Italian manuscripts, foreign sources, and finally text sources (in italics).

<sup>13</sup> Facchin, “Una nuova fonte,” pp. 128–130.

Symbols appearing in the designation of voices:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TABLE 2.2: INVENTORY OF THE PADUAN FRAGMENTS

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer ( <i>Poet</i> )	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Pad A							
1	229	33r [53r]	<i>Sanctus</i>		{C1}, C2, [T]	<i>PMFC 13.A11</i>		
2	229	33v	<i>Benedicamus Domi- no</i>		C, T	<i>PMFC 12.26</i>		Other works with the same tenor exist. See Chapter 4.
3	229	33v	<i>Per chi'o te from O cieco mondo</i>	[Jacopo da Bolog- na] ( <i>Guido Caualcanti?</i> )	C, T	<i>PMFC 6</i> , Jacopo 16	<b>Reina</b> 5v <b>Pad C</b> Av <b>Squarcialupi</b> 11v/12r <b>Pit.</b> 5v/6r <b>San Lorenzo</b> 2211 12v/13r <b>Panciaticchi</b> 65r <b>Perugia</b> 15755 binding fragments Ar <sup>14</sup> <b>Faenza</b> 117 (diminution) 71r–72r <b>Bologna</b> 1072 242r <b>Chigi</b> 131 385v <b>Florence</b> 105 123v <b>Florence</b> 315 88v <b>Florence</b> 1041 51r	Ritornello only with no missing music. Ex- tremely different from other sources, and not transcribed in <i>PMFC 6</i>

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



#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
4	229	34r/33v [54r/ 53v]	<i>Sanctus</i>	Mediolano	C1, C2, T, Ct	<i>PMFC</i> 12.18 <i>PMFC</i> 23b.69	all these versions are 3vv or fewer, some troped with “Benedictus Marie Fi- lius”: <b>Apt</b> 16bis 11v <b>Gerona</b> 33 2v/3r <b>Barcelona</b> 853d 2v <b>Kernascléden Frescos</b>	
5	229	34v	<i>Credo</i>	Berlatus	C, {Ct}, {T}			<b>Ivrea</b> 115 46v/47r and <b>Strasbourg</b> 222, f. 50r are not concor- dances.
6	229	37r [55r]	<i>Gloria</i>		{C1}, C2, {T}	<i>PMFC</i> 13.A5		
7	229	37r	<i>Sones ces nachares apertment</i>		T, C/Ct			Order of voices re- versed. Possibly missing C.
8	229	37v	<i>Sanctus</i>	Barbitonsoris	C, T, Ct	<i>PMFC</i> 12.19		
9	229	38r [56r]	<i>Donna s’i’r’ò falito</i>	M[agister] Francis- ci de Flo- ren[ti]a	C, T	<i>PMFC</i> 4.1	<b>Reina</b> 34r <b>Mancini</b> 47v <b>Assisi</b> 187 108r <b>Panciatichi</b> 1r <b>Pit.</b> 85v/86r <b>London</b> 29987 23r <b>Squarcialupi</b> 158r	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of <i>Il Sapo- retto</i> . Lauda contra- fact as <i>Donna, s’i’ son partito</i> in <i>Ric- cardiana</i> 2871, f. 59r

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
10	229	38r	<i>Ma fin est mon commencement</i>	[Guillaume de Machaut]	C, T	PMFC 3.p. 153 [rondeau 14]	Machaut A 479v Machaut B 309r Machaut E 136r Machaut G 153r Machaut Vg 321r <i>Machaut M</i> Mod A 27r/26v	Text of first line present but not placed accurately.
11	229	38v	<i>Sus unne fontaine</i>	[Johannes Ciconia]	C, T, Ct	PMFC 24.45		
12	1475	41r(?) [2r]	<i>Sanctus</i>	Sant. Omer	C1, C2/Ct, T	PMFC 23b.127	Budapest 297 2r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming.
13	1475	41v	<i>Agnus Dei</i>		C1, C2/Ct, T			All voices fragmentary due to trimming Possibly also by Sant. Omer
14	1475	41v	<i>Sanctus</i>		{C1}, Ct?, {T}			Fragment due to trimming.
15	1475	43r(?) [6r]	<i>Gloria: Spiritus et alme</i>	Engardus	{C1}, C2, [T]	PMFC 13.18	Padua 1225 1r Utrecht 1846 <sup>1</sup> I Av	Fragment due to trimming.
16	1475	43v/44r [6r/4r]	<i>Gloria</i>	Johannes Ciconia	C1, C2, T	PMFC 24.9	Padua 1283 1v Nuremberg 9a 3r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming.
17	1475	44r	<i>Ite missa est</i>	[Guillaume de Machaut]	Tr, Mo, T	Leech-Wilkinson, 212	Machaut A 451r Machaut B 294r Machaut E 170r Machaut G 133v Machaut Vg 296r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming.
18	1475	44v	<i>Gloria: Clementie pax</i>		{C?}, T, Ct	PMFC 12.9	Padua 1475 47v/48r Vatican 171 225r	All voices fragmentary due to trimming. Tropes only.
19	1475	44v	<i>Giovine vagha i' non senti'</i>	[Francesco da Firenze]	C, {T}	PMFC 4.p. 96	Squarcialupi 160r	Fragmentary due to trimming.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
20	1475	47r [3r]	<i>Gratiosus fevidus/ Magnanissimus opere</i>		Tr, Mo, T	<i>PMFC</i> 12.43	Mod A 50v	Possibly by Gratiosus de Padova. Tenor similar to a Kyrie melody, Melnicki 108.
21	1475	47r	<i>Donna l'animo tuo</i>	[Francesco da Firenze]	none ({C}, {T})	<i>PMFC</i> 4.p. 9	<b>Panciatichi</b> 2v/3r <b>Squarcialupi</b> 151v	Text residuum only.
22	1475	47v–48v [3v/5v]	<i>Gloria: Clementie pax</i>		C, Ct, T	<i>PMFC</i> 12.9	See no. 18 above.	
23	1475	48v	<i>Se questa dea</i>	Joha[nn]is baçi coreçarij de bon[oni]a (Matteo Griffoni)	C, {T}, {Ct}	<i>PMFC</i> 10.p. 92	<b>Reina</b> 33r	
24	1475	50r [1r]	<i>Gloria</i>		{C}, T			
25	1475	50r	<i>Die non fugir</i>	M[agister] Fran[cis]ci de Flore[n]tia	C, T	<i>PMFC</i> 4.31	<b>Reina</b> 51r/50v <b>Panciatichi</b> 32r <b>Squarcialupi</b> 144v	
26	1475	50v	<i>Lux purpurata/ Dili- gite visticiam</i>	M[agister] Jacobi de bononia	Tr, Mo, T	<i>PMFC</i> 13.43	<b>San Lorenzo</b> 2211 185r	
27	684	51r/50v [1v/ 1475 1v]	<i>Sanctus</i>	Gratiosus	C, T, Ct	<i>PMFC</i> 12.17		Contratenor begins on f. 51r (Padua 684) and continues onto f. 50v (Padua 1475)
28	684	51v	<i>Gran pianto a gli occhi</i>	M[agister] Fran[cis]ci de Floren[ti]a	C, Ct, T	<i>PMFC</i> 4.104	<b>Reina</b> 34v <b>Panciatichi</b> 26r <b>Pit.</b> 67v/68r <b>Squarcialupi</b> 133v <b>London</b> 29987 29v/30r	Cited in Sollazzo no. 34.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer ( <i>Poet</i> )	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
29	684	51v	<i>S'i' ti so' state</i>	[Francesco da Firenze]	C, T	<i>PMFC</i> 4.16	Reina 49r/48v Mancini 97v Panciatichi 8r Pit. 89v/90r Squarcialupi 142v San Lorenzo 2211 109v	Used as the music for a lauda <i>Sempre lauda- ta e benedetta sia</i> in Chigi 266, f. 204v
30	684	[195r]	<i>Gloria</i>	Gratiosus	C, T, Ct	<i>PMFC</i> 12.6		
31	684	[195v]	<i>Credo</i>	Perneth	[C1], [T], {C2}	<i>PMFC</i> 23b.51 <i>CMM</i> 29.55	Grottaferrata/Dartmouth 5r Cortona 2 2r Strasbourg 222 3v/4r Apt 16bis 29v/32r Barcelona 853c 8rv Brussels 2 rv Washington LOC 14 1v <sup>15</sup> Grottaferrata/Dartmouth 2v–3v Brescia 5 71r Rochester 44 1v/2r Cambrai 1328 3v/4r Ivrea 115 36v/37r Munich 29987.8 Arv Nuremberg 9a 2v/3v Strasbourg 222 40v/41r Budapest 297 1r	Composer called Bon- bard or Perrinet in other sources. Layout suggests three- voice version with- out contratenor.
32	684	60r(?) [2r]	<i>Gloria: Qui sonitu melodia</i>		{C}, T, Ct	<i>PMFC</i> 23a.27 <i>CMM</i> 29.27		

<sup>15</sup> Noted in Reinhard Strohm, “The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musiekgeschiedenis* 34 (1984), p. 126, fn. 34.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
33	684	60v	<i>Poy che partir</i>	M[agister] Fran[cis]ci de Flor[enti]a	C, Ct, T	PMFC 4.98	Panciatichi 23r Pit. 92r/93v Squarcialupi 165v San Lorenzo 2211 106r Prague 9 248r	Used as music for the lauda <i>Po' che da morte nessun si ripara</i> in Riccardiana 2870 f. 60r
34	684	60v	<i>Alta regina de vir- tute</i>	Gratiosus de Pa- dua	C, {T}, +?	PMFC 10. frag. A		Used as music for the lauda <i>Alta regina e virgine beata</i>
Pad D								
35	675	[1v]	<i>Alma..te</i>		2vv			Later addition, fragment
36	675	[2rv]	<i>Gloria: Suscipe, Tri- nitas</i>	[Johannes Ciconia]	[C1], C2, {T?}	PMFC 24.7	Oxford 56 0rv Grottaferrata/Dartmouth 9v–10v Grottaferrata s.s. 2v Warsaw 378 25v–27r	
37	1225	[1r]	<i>Gloria: Spiritus et alme</i>	[Engardus]	{C1}, C2, [T]	PMFC 13.18	See Padua 1475, f. 43r(?) (no. 15), above.	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.a.
38	1225	[1v]	<i>Gloria</i>	[Engardus]	C, [T], {Ct}	PMFC 12.7	Udine 22 recto Grottaferrata/Dartmouth Dv–4r Mod A 21v–22r Kras. 204v–205r	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.a Top half of page offset onto Ba 2.2.b.
39	1225	[2r]	<i>Gloria: Laus honor</i>	[Magister Anto- nius] Dictus Çacharias	{C1}, C2, {T}	PMFC 13.7 CMM 46/I no 33 Perz, pp. 420–26 E15cM 6.16	Bologna Q15 86v–88r Siena 207 326.1v Munich Emmeram 37v/38r (folios missing) Old Hall 28r Warsaw 378 18r–19r	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.c.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer ( <i>Poet</i> )	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
40	1225	[2v]	<i>Credo</i>	M[agister] Antonius [Dictus Çacharias]	[C1], {C2}, {T}	<i>PMFC</i> 13.21 <i>E15cM</i> 6.17	<b>Grottaferrata/Dartmouth</b> 6v <b>Boverio</b> 9r <b>Mod A</b> 23v–25r <b>Bologna Q15</b> 88v–90r <b>Warsaw 378</b> 6v–9r <b>Boverio</b> 18v	Fragment call number: Ba 2.2.c. Top half of page offset onto Ba 2.2.b
41	1283	[1r]	<i>Sanctus: Benedictus Marie filius</i>		[C1], [C2], {T}	<i>ZiinoT</i> , pp. 87–89.		
42	1283	[1v]	<i>Gloria</i>	[Ciconia]	C1, {C2}, [T]	<i>PMFC</i> 24.9	see Padua 1475, f. 43v (no. 16), above.	The attribution has been cut; a few descenders can still be seen. Previous inventories have called this folio 1r, but the layout of the <i>Gloria</i> suggests verso.
43	1106	[1r]	<i>O Maria virgo/O Maria maris stella</i>		C1, C2, T, Ct, solus T	<i>PMFC</i> 12.41	<b>Bologna Q 15</b> 230v–231r <b>Munich Emmeram</b> 56v/57r	Cited in treatises in <b>Breslau 16</b> <sup>16</sup> and in the <b>Sterzing Miscellany</b> . <sup>17</sup>
44	1106	[1v]	<i>Paduas ex panis. . . serenas</i>		C1, {C2}, T	<i>PMFC</i> 24.20		Possibly by Ciconia?

<sup>16</sup> Tom R. Ward, “A central European repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14272,” *Early Music History* 1 (1981), pp. 330 and 332.

<sup>17</sup> Lorenz Welker, “Ein anonymes Mensuraltraktat in der Sterzinger Miszellen-Handschrift,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1991), pp. 269–70.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
45	1106	[2r]	<i>Principum nobilissime</i>	"me Franciscum peregre canentem" [=Francesco da Firenze?]	{C1}, C2, {T}	<i>PMFC</i> 4.p. 222		
46	1106	[2v]	<i>Hic est precursor</i>		C1, T	<i>PMFC</i> 12.42		C2 on following recto?
47	1106	[3r]	<i>Laudibus dignis</i>		{C1}, C2, {T}	<i>PMFC</i> 13.A13		Visconti dedicatee suggests composition by Jacopo da Bologna.
48	1106 Stresa 14	[3v]	<i>O proles Yspanie</i>		C1, {C2}, T	<i>PMFC</i> 24.21		Possibly by Ciconia?
49	Str. 14	133r [1r]	<i>Amor m'a tolto</i>	M[agister] Jacobus Co[r]bus de Padova	C, T, Ct	<i>PMFC</i> 10.p. 135		
50	Str. 14	133v	<i>Ben che da vui, donna</i>	M[agister] Joh[ann]es Ciconia	C, {T}, +?	<i>PMFC</i> 24.35		
51	Str. 14	141r [2r]	<i>Se le lagrime antique</i>	M[agister] Çanin[us] de Peraga de Padua	C, T, Ct	<i>PMFC</i> 10.p. 130		Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of <i>Il Saporetto</i> .
52	Str. 14	141v	<i>Io crido amor</i>	M[agister] Joh[ann]es Ciconia	C, {T}, +?	<i>PMFC</i> 24.36		
53	Str. 14	141v	<i>Amor, per ti sempre</i>		C?, {T}, +?	<i>PMFC</i> 24.37		

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



#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Pad B							
56	1115	[Ar]	<i>Se per dureça</i>		C, T	<i>PMFC</i> 11.71		Used as music for the lauda <i>Se tu l'iniquità osserverai</i> in <b>Florence</b> 130 23v. <sup>18</sup>
57	1115	[Ar]	<i>Ay si</i>		{C}, {T}, <i>Ct</i>			Not a later addition (contra RISM B IV 4)
58	1115	[Av]	<i>Aler m'en veus</i>	Johes [Ciconia]	C, {T}	<i>PMFC</i> 24.44	<b>Bologna Q15</b> 266v/267r (contrafact)	
59	1115	[B]	<i>En ce gracieux temps</i>	[Senleches]	C, T, <i>Ct/Tr</i>	<i>PMFC</i> 21.3 <i>CMM</i> 53/I.91	<b>Reina</b> 58v <b>Mod A</b> 25v <b>Strasbourg</b> 222 51r	
60	1115	[Bv]	<i>Dolçe fortuna</i>	Jo. Ciconia M[agister]	C, T	<i>PMFC</i> 24.30	<b>Paris</b> 4379 (PC II) 48v/49r	Used as music for the lauda <i>Dolze Signore de'</i> in <b>Chigi</b> 266 120r. <sup>19</sup>
61	1115	[Bv]	<i>A piançer l'ochi</i>	tonelus [=Antonellus Marot]	C, T, {Ct}	<i>PMFC</i> 10.1	<b>Mancini</b> 67v <b>Pistoia</b> 5 Br	

<sup>18</sup> Blake Wilson, "Madigral, Lauda, and Local Style in Trecento Florence." *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997), p. 146.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Pad C							
62	658	[Ar]	<i>Uselletto selvaggio</i> (caccia/ madrigal)	[Jacopo da Bologna]	[C1], [C2], [T]	<i>PMFC</i> 6.18	<b>Reina</b> 8v <b>Panciatichi</b> 72v/73r <b>Pit.</b> 43v/44r <b>Squarcialupi</b> 13v <b>San Lorenzo</b> 2211 15v/16r	
63	658	[Av]	<i>O cieco mondo</i>	[Jacopo da Bologna]	C, T	<i>PMFC</i> 6.16	See no. 3 above.	
64	658	[Br]	<i>Or sus vous dormes</i> <i>trop</i>		[C], <i>T</i> , <i>Ct</i>	<i>PMFC</i> 21.48 <i>CMM</i> 53/III.212	<b>Reina</b> 78v/79r <b>Mancini</b> 76v <sup>20</sup> <b>Pit.</b> 122v–124r <b>London</b> 29987 76v/77r <b>Faenza</b> 117 (diminution) 48v/49r (no. 28) <b>Ivrea</b> 115 15r/14v <b>Copenhagen</b> 17a frag. 2409. <b>Gent</b> 3360 1r <b>Strasbourg</b> 222 76v/77r	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of <i>Il Saporetto</i> .

<sup>20</sup> John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, “Two Newly Discovered Leaves of the Lucca Codex,” *Studi musicali* 34 (2005), p.8.

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

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

<sup>22</sup> Ward, “A central European repertory,” p. 330–331.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Padua 656							
66	656	[2]	<i>Con lagrime bagnandome</i>	[Johannes Ciconia]	[T] (cantus never copied)	<i>PMFC</i> 24.29	<b>Mancini</b> 54r <b>Paris 4379</b> (PC III) 62v <b>Bologna Q15</b> (back of an initial letter) <sup>23</sup> <b>Pit.</b> 52v/53r <b>Buxheimer Orgelbuch</b> (diminution) nos. 38, 137–39 <b>Lochamer Liederbuch</b> (diminution) no. 73 <b>Bologna Archivio Covers Riccardiana 1764</b> 86r <b>Paris 1069</b> 45r <b>Treviso 43</b> 6v <b>Vatican 251</b> 34r (?)	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 35 of <i>Il Saporretto</i> . Used as the music for the lauda <i>Colla ment' e col cor peccator fiso</i> in <b>Chigi 266</b> f. 71r and <b>Riccardiana 1764</b> f. 86v. Two different tenor incipits counted as one attempt at copying.

<sup>23</sup> I thank Margaret Bent for this information.

#	MS	f.	Title/Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Voices	Editions	Concordances	Comments
	Padua 553							
67	553(a)		<i>Gloria</i>		[Two instrumental voices in score]	<i>PMFC 13.A2</i>		Amen only. Tenor: Gloria IV. Diminutions on the same Gloria found in <b>Faenza 117</b> , ff. 3v–5r and ff. 90r–92v.
68	553(b)	[3r]	<i>Ave Mater nostri Redemptoris</i>		[C], {T} +?			
69	553(c)	[6r]	<i>E par che la vita mia</i>		C, T	<i>Gallo</i> after p. 44	<i>Florence 1040</i> 55r	
70	553(c)	[6v]	<i>Fenir mia vita</i>		C, T	<i>Gallo</i> after p. 44 <i>PMFC 11.38</i>	<b>Reina</b> 26r <i>Florence 1078</i> 36r	Cited by Prodenzani in sonnet 48 of <i>Il Saporetto</i> as “Finir mia vita de Cicilia.”

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

*Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Latin Patristic (= Pat. Latin) [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 229.*

RISM B IV 4: *GB-Ob 229*, pp. 668–671. CCMS 2: *OxfBC 229*, p. 277.

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1475.*

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

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 684.*

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

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

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

<sup>24</sup> Measurements and other technical matters will be discussed with **Padua 1027**, below.

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

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

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

FIGURE 2.3: POSSIBLE GATHERING STRUCTURE OF PAD A

Folio numbers are reconstructed. Current numbers are given parenthetically.

Attributions taken from concordant sources are in square brackets. \**p<sub>sc</sub>* = possible short composition.

## Gathering 4

	31r
	31v
	32r
<i>Sanctus</i> [C,T]	32v
<i>Sanctus</i> [Ct, T (cont.)]	33r (229: f. 53)
<i>Benedicamus domino</i> [C, T], <i>Per chi'o te</i> (= <i>O cieco mondo</i> ) ([Jacopo da Bologna]) [C, T]; <i>Sanctus</i> (f. 34)[Ct]	33v
<i>Sanctus</i> (Mediolano) [1,2, T]	34r (229: f. 54)
<i>Credo</i> (Berlatus)[C]	34v
<i>Credo</i> [T, Ct?]	35r
	35v
	36r
<i>Gloria</i> [1, T], ( <i>Sones ces nachares</i> [C] ?)	36v
<i>Gloria</i> [2], <i>Sones ces nachares</i> [T, Ct]	37r (229: f. 55)
<i>Sanctus</i> (Barbitronsoris)[1, 2, T]	37v
<i>Donna s'i't'ò fallito</i> (Francesco da Firenze)[C, T], <i>Ma fin est mon commencement</i> (Machaut), [1, 2, T]	38r (229: f. 56)
<i>Sus unne fontaine</i> ([Ciconia])[C, T, Ct]	38v
	39
	39v
	40
	40v



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

<i>Sanctus</i> (Sant. Omer) [1, 2, T]	<i>h</i>	41r (1475: 2)
<i>Agnus Dei</i> [1, 2, T] ([Sant. Omer?]), <i>Sanctus</i> [2 or Ct?]	<i>f</i>	41v
<i>(*psc); Sanctus</i> [1, T]	<i>f</i>	42r
<i>Gloria: Spiritus et alme</i> ([Engardus])[1]	<i>h</i>	42v
<i>Gloria: Spiritus et alme</i> (Engardus)[2, T]	<i>h</i>	43r (1475: 6)
<i>Gloria</i> (Johannes [Ciconia])[C, T]	<i>f</i>	43v
<i>Gloria</i> (Ciconia)[Ct], <i>Ite missa est</i> ([Machaut])[Tr, Mo, T]	<i>f</i>	44r (1475: 4)
<i>Gloria...Clementie pax...</i> [Ct, T] (tropes) <i>Giovine vagha</i> ([Francesco]) [C]	<i>h</i>	44v
<i>Gloria...Clementie pax</i> [C] (tropes) (or <i>*psc); Giovine vagha</i> [T]	<i>h</i>	45r
	<i>f</i>	45v
	<i>f</i>	46r
<i>(*psc); Donna l'amico</i> ([Francesco]) [C, T]	<i>h</i>	46v
<i>Gratiosus ferridus/Magnissimus</i> /Tenor, <i>Donna l'amico</i> [residuum]	<i>h</i>	47r (1475: 3)
<i>Gloria...Clementie pax</i> [C]	<i>f</i>	47v
<i>Gloria...Clementie pax</i> [Ct, T]	<i>f</i>	48r (1475: 5)
<i>Gloria...Clementie pax</i> , cont. ( <i>Qui pandis</i> ) [C, Ct, T], <i>Se questa dea de virtù</i> [1 (Ct?)]	<i>h</i>	48v
<i>*psc; Se questa dea de virtù</i> (Johannes Baçi Correçarii de Bon[oni]a) [2 (C?), T]	<i>h</i>	49
<i>Gloria</i> [C]	<i>f</i>	49v
<i>Gloria</i> [T], <i>Die non fugir</i> (M. Franc[is]ci de Florentia) [C, T]	<i>f</i>	50r (1475: 1)
<i>Lux purpurata</i> (M. Jacobi de Bononia)[C, T, Ct], <i>Sanctus</i> (f. 51) [Ct, cont. ("Benedictus")]	<i>h</i>	50v

## Gathering 6

<i>Sanctus</i> (Gratiosus) [C, T, Ct]	<i>h</i>	51r (684: 1)
<i>Gran pianto</i> (M. Fran[cis]ci de Flor[enti]a) [C, Ct, T], <i>S'i te so stato</i> ([Francesco]) [C, T]	<i>f</i>	51v
<i>Gloria</i> (Gratiosus) [C, T, Ct]	<i>f</i>	52r ? (684: 3/195)
<i>Credo</i> (Perneth) [1, T]	<i>h</i>	52v ?
<i>Credo</i> [2, T]		53r
<i>Credo</i> (cont.) [1, T]		53v
<i>Credo</i> (cont.) [2, T]		54r
		54v
		55r
		55v
		56r
		56v
		57r
		57v
		58r
		58v
		59r
<i>Gloria... Qui sonitu</i> [C]		59v
<i>Gloria... Qui sonitu</i> [T, Ct]	<i>f</i>	60r (684: 2)
<i>Poy che partir</i> (M. Fran[cis]ci de Flor[enti]a) [C, Ct, T], <i>Alta regina</i> (Gratiosus de Padua) [C]	<i>h</i>	60v

## Gathering 7

<i>*psc; Alta regina</i> (Gratiosus) [Ct (?), T]		61r
		61v
		62r
		62v

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

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

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

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

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

### *Oxford 229 and its Works*

The two bifolios from **Pad A** today in Oxford are testaments not only to early destruction of a polyphonic source (as are all of the fragments in this chapter) but also to early preservation of fragments from the past. The two bifolios are found today after f. 52 of the manuscript but were originally used separately as flyleaves. The folios of bifolio 33/38 were the front flyleaves of the section of the manuscript collecting the writings of Aquinas. Worms have eaten holes through these two leaves (but not through ff. 34 and 37); the holes continue to the first folios of **Oxford 229**.<sup>28</sup> The Aquinas section was originally a separate manuscript, number 572 in the valuable fifteenth century catalog of manuscripts of the Abbey of Santa Giustina.<sup>29</sup> As f. 38v attests, the source received the signature ZZ 2 n° 111 in the 1724 catalog of manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> Since call numbers are usually added on the flyleaves or on the first folio of the manuscript, we can assume that bifolio 33/38 was still at the front of the manuscript at that time. After the Napoleonic dispersal of the S. Giustina manuscripts, the book was acquired by Matteo Luigi Canonici, from whose nephew Girolamo Cardina it

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

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

<sup>30</sup> There are numerous references in musicological literature stating that the “ZZ” and “YY” call numbers on the Paduan fragments come from the catalogs of 1453 and the rest of the fifteenth century. They were instead added in 1724, many by the librarian Bacchinus. An additional set of location numbers (e.g., AE. 3) were added in 1740.

was purchased by Oxford in 1817. By the time of the “Quarto” catalog of Canonici manuscripts at Oxford (1854), the manuscript had been rebound together with volume of letters of St. Ambrose. The flyleaves were bound in their current position between the two previously independent volumes and (unusually for this period) cataloged along with the rest of the manuscript.<sup>31</sup> The binder must have recognized the common provenance of the musical manuscripts and their continuous foliation, since they were placed in the correct, original order.

The bifolio 34/37 may have either been the back cover of the Aquinas manuscript or even part of the twelfth-century manuscript of letters of St. Ambrose from which ff. 58–73 of **Oxford 229** was taken (if that manuscript also came from S. Giustina). In any case, more of the Ambrose manuscript can be found in Canonici Pat. Lat. 210; in fact, Pat. Lat. 211 is crossed out at the front of **Oxford 229**. The whereabouts of gatherings 1–2 of the original Ambrose manuscript are unknown to me. Gathering 3 is ff. 66–73 of **Oxford 229**. Gatherings 4–14 are found in Pat. Lat. 210, except for two folios which are now ff. 76–77 of Rawlinson D. 893. Gathering 15 is ff. 58–65 of **Oxford 229**, and the end of the manuscript is missing.<sup>32</sup> The Ambrosian context for the flyleaves is important because it solves a mystery in the manuscript. The Sanctus by Barbitonsoris has the word “ambrosius” written near the contratenor. The suggestions that the composer’s name was Ambrogio del Barbitonsoris,<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars tertia codices graecos et latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1854), no. 19215. Folio 57 is a single folio from a twelfth- or thirteenth-century chant manuscript with the incipit, “Johannem baptistam precursorem domini Euouae.”

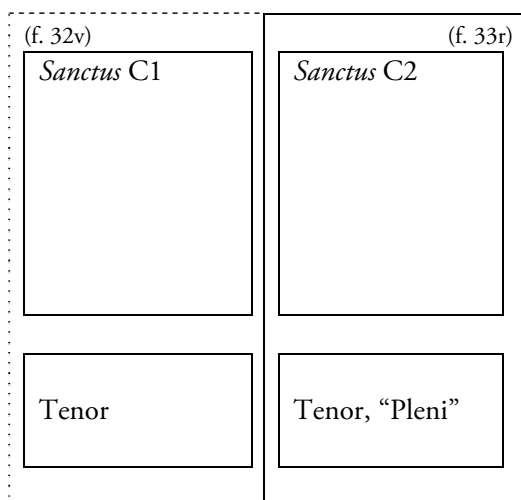
<sup>32</sup> Oxford Pat. Lat. 211 contains more writings by Ambrose but not from the same original manuscript. It, like Pat. Lat. 210 and Pat. Lat. 228, contains no music.

<sup>33</sup> Layton, “Italian Music for the Ordinary,” p. 129.

or that another composer named Ambrosius wrote the contratenor,<sup>34</sup> can now be dismissed. The marginalia simply records the contents of the book.<sup>35</sup>

The four folios of **Oxford 229** contain a total of eleven pieces, some have been studied often (in particular, Ciconia's *Sus unne fontaine*), while two have never been transcribed, and one is extremely different from the published transcriptions, which were taken from other sources. The first recto, f. 33r, contains fragments from an otherwise unknown, three-voice Sanctus. We possess all of one upper voice and the second half of the tenor. Figure 2.4 shows the page's layout, including the hypothetical reconstruction of the preceding verso:

FIGURE 2.4: LAYOUT OF OXFORD 229, FF. 32V–33R.



This layout is typical for three voice works with equal (or nearly equal) upper voices. It is sufficiently standard, that we can use it as a model to suggest which side of a single folio

<sup>34</sup> Suggested in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, p. 197.

<sup>35</sup> This argument skirts the line near circular reasoning, hopefully without crossing it. I wish to argue that the word "Ambrosius" refers to contents of the manuscript containing the flyleaves, but if I do so then I cannot also use the note as evidence that the flyleaves were originally connected to the Ambrose manuscript.

is the verso and which the recto. (Bifolios present no such problem.) The layout also informs us about the amount of activity in the missing voices. The layout of Figure 2.4, implies equal upper voices. The alternate three-voice structure of cantus, contratenor, tenor usually places the cantus voice on the recto alone and the contratenor and tenor on the verso together.<sup>36</sup>

The Sanctus changes meters often, but favors the Italian divisiones of *octonaria* and *duodenaria*.<sup>37</sup> It is particularly unfortunate that we are missing the page containing cantus 1, since numerous sharps appear in cantus 2, especially near cadences. The work could have been especially informative about *musica ficta* in Padua at the turn of the century. A peculiarity of the piece which may be welcome to performers who are frustrated with scribal text underlay is the texting of the ligature “[ex]celsis” in the tenor. The final two syllables appear under a single ligature which appears alone on the penultimate staff. Thus, we must sing two syllables to a ligature. That the scribe was so casual about necessitating the breaking of a ligature may give us some comfort as we make our own choices of underlay.

<sup>36</sup> The layout is reminiscent of earlier French manuscripts, such as the motet fascicles of the Montpellier and Bamberg codices. Those sources replicate this layout not on an opening but on a single page. The tenor staves also run under both staves with no gap in the center. These two differences might make my proposed derivation seem tenuous, but there is at least one layout which can be seen as an intermediate stage between these two well-known examples. The manuscript **Oxford 112**, which contains the motet *Ave regina celorum/Mater innocencie* by Marchettus de Padua, appears on ff. 61v–62r. It uses the entire opening to present the work, similarly to **Oxford 229**, but like the earlier sources, music runs along the entire opening at the bottom (in this case, the end of the triplum). Because of the style of composition and the author, a date of *ca.* 1325 has been generally assigned to both the manuscript and the work. However, despite the note on f. 58v dating the corpus of the manuscript to 1325, the music could be a later addition, even after mid-century.

<sup>37</sup> Layton, “Italian Music for the Ordinary,” calls it “unequivocally Italian,” as assessment with which I agree wholeheartedly.

From the sonorities of the cadences between the surviving upper voice and the tenor, we can deduce some information about the lost voice. In the cadences at the end of the first and second Osanna, the two voices move outwards from a major sixth to an octave. This motion indicates that the missing voice is either below the second voice (sounding the fifth of the triad) at both the major cadences of the second half of the composition or is a quite high voice sounding a perfect twelfth above the tenor, as we see in certain works by Ciconia.

At the bottom of the folio is a quotation from the annunciation in a different hand, “Ave gratia plena dominus tecum ben.” Although it is probably from the fifteenth century, the text has nothing to do with our composition. The scribal hand is similar to one which added marginalia throughout the first 52 folios of the main corpus.<sup>38</sup> This addition is the first of several suggestions of quick reuse of the Paduan fragments that we will encounter.

The decoration of f. 33r deserves a final comment. No other folio in **Pad A** is decorated with such (relative) splendor. Not only do the initial letters possess more filigree and attention than others in the source, but even the words of the text are highly decorated (see, for instance, the phrase “celi et terra gloria” in cantus 2, or the final line of the tenor). Either we are at the end of section containing a different type of decoration, or the Sanctus was a special work in this manuscript.

The following opening, ff. 33v–34r, contains three unusual works. The first work on is a two-voice *Benedicamus Domino* setting. The top voice is florid and may be instrumental (we will see a further instrumental work in **Oxford 229** shortly), while the bottom voice is

<sup>38</sup> See for example, “Gregori in homilia,” on f. 5. The repairs to the damaged text in the first column of f. 1r are also similar.



written entirely in longae. That voice is simply the “Flos Filius” melisma of the responsory verse *Stirps Jesse*. Since this tenor appears in several polyphonic settings, we will discuss them as a group, together with other works based on equal-note chant tenors, in Chapter 4.

A second composition takes up just two staves in the middle of f. 33v. Unusually, we have just the ritornello of a madrigal, Jacopo da Bologna’s *O cieco mondo*. The lack of initial letters suggests it may have been a slightly later addition to the manuscript by the principal scribe. If this is the case, and the scribe was adding music in any available space, then the remainder of the madrigal could have been written anywhere between ff. 1 and 32r. But this need not be our only explanation. The isolated copy of Machaut’s *Ite missa est* later in the manuscript tells us that the brevity of a work did not hamper the compiler from including it.

The differences between this ritornello and other versions of *O cieco mondo* are so great that Marrocco originally would not acknowledge that they were from the same work.<sup>39</sup> Example 2.6 is a comparative transcription of two versions of the ritornello, the first from **Pad A** and the second, more typical of the other sources, from **Pad C (Padua 658)**. (The idiosyncratic spelling of **Pad C** has been retained.) Both versions use closely spaced notes on the same pitch that should be interpreted as one-pitch ligatures (tied notes in modern notation). This reasoning is supported by the text underlay and by the lack of any other way of notating the value which  $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$  equals. The groupings of the notes, especially in the tenor, imply meters other than  $\frac{3}{4}$ , namely  $\frac{6}{8}$  and  $\frac{12}{16}$ . The beaming of Example 2.5 reflects these meters.

<sup>39</sup> W. Thomas Marrocco, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), p. 157: “There is no similarity between its music and the ritornello of manuscript 658 at Padua.”

EXAMPLE 2.6: JACOPO DA BOLOGNA, *O CIECO MONDO*, RITORNELLO FROM PAD A AND PAD C

[P]er ch'i' ò te de-spri - sian do - ta ban -

Pe - rò - ça - may - de - ti

do - no

vol - ta el sum - mo pia - - -

co - luy non cu - - - ri. Che fru - ctu vol

cer che tu - - - to do - no.

gu - star - de do - ci - fiu - - - ri.

star - de - dul - ci fiu - - - ri.

The only four-voice work in the Paduan fragments fills the remainder of the opening. It is a Sanctus attributed to the otherwise unknown “Mediolano.” Although often con-

sidered an *unicum*, it is instead a variant of a piece known from four other sources. Of those sources, only the copy in **Gerona 33** is complete.<sup>40</sup> One source (**Barcelona 853d**) is both incomplete and missing the following folio. Another (**Apt 16bis**) had only the second and third “Sanctus” of the highest voice copied—evidentially this was a mistake, since the voice was erased, and the original Sanctus, whose first invocation which had already been copied, was completed. The final source, the **Kernascléden Frescos**, depicts angels playing the work and only preserves the incipit.<sup>41</sup>

This closer look at the sources tells us that we cannot know if the anomalous version is the four-voice Paduan version or the Gerona version. It is unknown if the source for **Apt 16bis**’s copyist had three or four voices, or if **Barcelona 853d** originally had a contratenor on the following recto. And we cannot know whether the trope found in **Gerona 33**, “Benedictus Marie Filius,” appeared in these other sources.

A close look at the style of the work reveals that the fourth voice was probably not present in the earliest version.<sup>42</sup> Although **Gerona 33** designates the second highest voice as “Contra,” it is more appropriately a second cantus. This voice has no designation in **Barcelona 853d** (i.e., it is the cantus), while the highest voice is labeled “triplum.” The second highest voice is called “Duplum” in the **Kernascléden Frescos**. Thus, only one source claims

<sup>40</sup> Some source information taken from Cattin and Facchin, *PMFC 23b*, no. 69, though there are several errors in the critical remarks.

<sup>41</sup> Various descriptions of the frescos have implied that the incipit of incipit only this Mass movement has been preserved, instead of those of a four-section Mass cycle. See Ursula Günther, “Les anges musiciens et la messe de Kernascléden,” in *Les sources en Musicologie* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), pp. 109–36.

<sup>42</sup> This observation does not conflict with the argument directly above, since the original version was not necessarily the most copied.



mensuration (though that too is not entirely impossible). Example 2.8 presents the complete work.

EXAMPLE 2.8: *CREDO*, BERLATUS

Pa - - - trem o - mni - po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem

ce - li et ter - re, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um, et in - vi - si -

bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je - sum Chri - stum,

Fi - li - um De - i un - i - ge - ni - tum. Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a se - cu -

la. De - um de De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, De - um

ve - rum de De - o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa -

tri: per quem o - mni - a fac - ta sunt. Qui pro -

pter nos ho - mi - nes, et pro - pter no - stram sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de -

ce - lis. Et in car - na - tus est - de Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri - a

Vir - gi - - - ne: Et - - ho - mo fa - ctus est.

possibly missing punctus, thus:

82  
Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro no - bis sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la -

91  
to pas - sus, et se - pul - tus est. Et re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a di -

100  
e, se - cun - dum Scrip - tu - ras. Et a - scen - dit

109  
in ce - lum: se - det ad dex - ter - am Pa - tris. Et i - te - rum ven - tu - rus est cum

116  
glo - ri - a, ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: cu - ius re - gni non e -

125  
rit fi - nis. Et in Spi - ri - tum San - ctum, Do -

134  
mi - num, et vi - vi - fi - can - tem: qui ex Pa - tre Fi - li - o - que

142  
pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et Fi - li - o

148  
si - mul a - do - ra - tur et con - glo - ri - fi - ca - tur. *text setting in MS: ca- tur. Qui*

154  
*lo-* Qui *cu-* lo - cu - tus *tus.* est per Pro - phe - tas.

160  
  
 Et u - nam san - ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li - cam Ec - cle - si - am.

167  
  
 Con-fi - te or u - num ba - pti - sma in re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum.

174  
  
 Et ex - spe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o - nem mor - tu - o - rum.

184  
  
 Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri se - cu - li.

193  
  
 A -

201  
  
 men.

This Credo has been called a concordance of Credos in **Ivrea 115** (no. 59, ff. 46v–47r; *PMFC* 23b.61) and **Strasbourg 222** (no. 78, f. 50v), which may have aided its neglect.<sup>43</sup> Although only the incipit of the Credo from **Strasbourg 222** survives, there is enough evidence even there to suggest that these are three distinct works. Example 2.9 shows that despite the similar incipits, **Oxford 229** and **Ivrea 115** diverge quickly.

<sup>43</sup> *PMFC* 13, p. 295 (“Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume XII”); Facchin, “Una nuova fonte,” p. 129 (as f. 50r in Strasbourg).

## EXAMPLE 2.9: CANTUS 1, CREDO INCIPITS FROM THREE MANUSCRIPTS

Oxford 229  
Pa - - - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem,

Ivrea 115  
Pa - - - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, fa - cto - rem ce - li

Strasbourg 222  
Patrem

Ox229  
fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um,

Iv115  
et ter - re, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um, et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.

The octave displacement of **Strasbourg 222** suggests that it also is a different work; though transposition by fourth or fifth occurs on occasion, transposition by octave is exceedingly rare. These may simply be examples taken from among the large family of works based either closely or loosely on the intonation of Gloria I.<sup>44</sup>

The piece has some connections to the well-known Credo by Steve Sort (or Sortes). It contains moments and even chains of breves imperfected *a parte ante* and *a parte post* (i.e.,  $\cdot \blacklozenge \blacksquare \blacklozenge \cdot = \frac{6}{8} \text{ } \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ ), also connecting it to the motet *Deo gratias conclamemus* of **Munich 3223** and **Cortona 2**.<sup>45</sup> According to an anonymous treatise in the **Sterzing Miscellany** (which cites this motet), this double imperfection is an element found “in cantibus

<sup>44</sup> This connection was suggested in *PMFC 23b*, p. 490.

<sup>45</sup> It has become almost a commonplace to suggest that this rhythm could not have been written in Italian notation even as evidence is becoming nearly insurmountable that competent scribes knew to use a one pitch ligature,  $\cdot \blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge \cdot$ , creating the same rhythm without imperfecting a breve.



subtilibus.”<sup>46</sup> A further connection with the Sortes Credo is the possible use of word painting. Although generally not a feature of the fourteenth century, it is not completely unknown.<sup>47</sup> Berlatius’s line “Et ascendit” is set to an ascending tetrachord in equal breves, while the similar passage in the Sortes Credo also ascends in slow note values but even surpasses the Berlatius example by spanning an entire octave.<sup>48</sup>

The significance of the word “cor[r]ecto” added twice in **Oxford 229** (on ff. 34v and 38r) is unclear. It may suggest that the work has been proofread or otherwise sung through, since in both cases there is at least one correction made to the work (an incorrect final custos on f. 34v and the correction of a  $\blacklozenge$  *a* to  $\blacklozenge$  *g* at “sempr’el tuo volere”).

The first work after the missing inner bifolio is a single voice of a Gloria. It is probably the cantus 2 of a three-voice work. Its brevity is aided by the fact that the text alternates between the two cantus voices. Fischer and Gallo noted that the opening “Et in terra,” in longae and breves is an extended liturgical intonation of the type that we seen in many of Zachara’s Glorias and Credos.<sup>49</sup> There is also a hint of liturgical recitation on a tone in places such as the “Qui sedes ad dexteram.” The work ends with an extended “Amen” which involved hockets.

The final five staves on the page are filled with a textless work of which we have two voices. An incipit, “Sones ces nachares apertmant:” asks us to “loudly sound the nakers,”

<sup>46</sup> Lorenz Welker, “Ein anonymer Mensuraltraktat in der Sterzinger Miszellen-Handschrift,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1991), p. 277.

<sup>47</sup> Bent and Hallmark identify several uses in Ciconia’s Credo, *PMFC* 24.10 (p. 204), though some of these are more ambiguous than the Berlatius and Sortes examples.

<sup>48</sup> Further connections between Berlatius’s Credo and the extant Paduan copy of Sortes’s Credo will be discussed with **Padua 14** below.

<sup>49</sup> *PMFC* 13.A5, p. 287.

that is two-tone drums. (The title recalls later German pieces of the “Tönet ihr Pauken” group). The piece is in two sections of about equal length (a virelai or rondeau?) and is written in French notation, *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* (the same as the preceding Gloria). A transcription appears in Example 2.10.

EXAMPLE 2.10: *SONES CES NACHARES*

The musical score for "SONES CES NACHARES" is presented in French notation, specifically *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*. The score is divided into two main sections, each of approximately equal length. The first section begins with a drum part (Sones ces nachares apertmant) and a tenor part (Tenor de sones ces nachares). The second section features a vocal part (S[ecund]a pars) and a tenor part (S[ecund]a pars). The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and lyrics. A manuscript reference "MS: ■" is noted at the bottom of the second section.

8 Sones ces nachares apertmant.

8 Tenor de sones ces nachares

8

15

22 MS: ■

30 S[ecund]a pars.

8 S[ecund]a pars.

MS: lig. c.o.p

The styles of the voices obviously suggest instrumental performance, though not by makers. The middle sections of both the *prima* and *secunda pars*, which move mainly by thirds and fifths, seem most appropriate to a brass instrument, though the diatonic passages are more idiomatic to other wind instruments.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Goffredo Degli Esposti of Ensemble Micrologus suggested to me that it might have been possible for trumpeters, even in the pre-slide trumpet era, to play diatonically and even chromatically by means of strategically positioned objects in the mouth which would interrupt the air flow enough to bend the pitch. Degli Esposti also pointed out that the text placement of the incipit, which

(note continues)

The biggest unresolved question of the work is whether or not it is complete. Those who have studied the work—primarily instrumentalists, since it has never been published in transcription—are of divided opinion. The members of Ensemble Cantilena Antiqua, who have performed it, said that they felt it was missing a voice. Privately, Pedro Memelsdorff has strongly argued that the work is complete, particularly in the cadences and voice exchange. I agree with Memelsdorff's assessment of the completeness of the counterpoint, but disagree with the overall conclusion on the grounds of its layout on the page. The tenor is the first voice on the page. This may seem a minor point, but if the only other voice is the cantus then the layout is either unique or extremely rare, so we should look for other options. If there were a third voice on the (lost) preceding verso, then it would have to be a triplum or a textless cantus which always cadenced at the twelfth above.<sup>51</sup> This would also be unusual. However, unusual works and unusual counterpoint are still much more common than unusual layouts. In either case, the work is a *rara avis*. It may be the only (non-monophonic) instrumental composition not written in score notation.

The remaining four works in **Oxford 229** can be discussed briefly. The three-voice Sanctus by the otherwise unknown Barbitonsoris is somewhat similar to a Sanctus by “Sant. Omer” in **Padua 1475**, which will be analyzed more fully. Barbitonsoris's Sanctus can be divided into two parts on the basis of musical style and notation. The Sanctus and first Osanna are in *ternaria*, i.e. *senaria imperfecta* or *novenaria* without minims, an antiquated mensuration. The Benedictus and second Osanna switch to *quaternaria*. The influence of

---

avoids the stems from the voice below, informs us that the scribe of the work wrote the music before the text.

<sup>51</sup> The style of the second voice and the lack of any voice designation makes it unlikely to be a contra-tenor.

French notation is seen in the lack of *puncti divisionis* in *quaternaria*. Even in the first section, the *puncti* are dots of perfection and not of division.<sup>52</sup> The first section is isorhythmic and employs the parallel 6–3 sonorities later characteristic of fauxbourdon. Though also simple, the Benedictus is an extreme contrast to the first section, with the tenor clearly differentiated by reduced rhythmic activity. We may be witnesses to an Italian composition grafted onto an anonymous English work.

Of *Don[n]a s'i' t'ò falito* there is little new to say. One writer noted that the short division marks ¶ (3 dots) and ¶ (4 dots), present in this and other works in **Pad A**, show changes of *divisio* from ternary to binary similar to a system proposed by Prosdocimus and the occasional usage in **Squarcialupi**.<sup>53</sup> This theory would be compelling were it not absolutely contradicted by the musical evidence.

We have already discussed Machaut's *Ma fin est mon commencement*, leaving one remaining French-texted composition in the manuscript. This work is *Sus unne fontaine*, about which one must choose either to say next to nothing about or devote half a dissertation to.<sup>54</sup> I will choose the former, and make but three comments on the notation in **Pad A**.

<sup>52</sup> It should be noted that if this piece were written in a more "Italian" notational style, *fewer* rather than more *puncti* would be used in the first section. This is due to the presence of *puncti* before and after breves, unnecessary in true Italian notation.

<sup>53</sup> Antonio Garbellotto[*sic* — spelled incorrectly with two *l*'s in this article], "Il trecento musicale italiano in alcuni frammenti padovani," pt. 3, *Padova* [*Rassegna Mensile a cura della "Pro Padova" nuova serie*] 3.3 (March 1957), p. 30. Garbellotto's three-part series of articles on the Paduan fragments is little known: I have seen no prior citations of it. At the time it may have added much to our knowledge of the manuscripts, but today the information and transcriptions have appeared elsewhere, and the articles are of mainly historical interest.

<sup>54</sup> Among the most recent discussions of the work are Anne Stone, "A Composer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*," *Music and Letters* 82 (2001), pp. 361–90; *Eadem*, "The Composer's Voice in the Late-Medieval Song: Four Case Studies," in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, Philippe Vendrix, editor (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 169–94, esp.

This is the only work in **Pad A** to use French mensural signatures (inasmuch as the odd usage of  $\circ$ ,  $\subset$ ,  $\supset$ , and  $\mathfrak{z}$  can be called French). The *Ave Mater nostri Redemptoris* in **Padua 553(b)** is the only other Paduan work to use French mensural signatures. The use of  $\subset$  at the opening of that piece (according to the transcription by Cattin)<sup>55</sup> has the same interpretation as *Fontaine: tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maior*. This usage suggests that *Fontaine*'s signatures are a Paduan practice and might not be a "playful contribution" to the meaning of the text.<sup>56</sup>

One may also note that the scribe evidentially was familiar enough with *Fontaine*'s signatures that he understood their rhythmic significance. At the end of the second system, the custos is void. Most trecento custodes give more than just pitch information; they also tell whether the next note will be black, void, red, or void red.<sup>57</sup> In the case of *Fontaine*, though, between the custodes and the next note is a change from *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori* ( $\circ$ ) to *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* (**Pad A's**  $\subset$ ). Although the next note is a black semibreve in  $\subset$ , it could have been written as a void semibreve in  $\circ$ . Even if the scribe were copying directly from an exemplar, it is unlikely that the line breaks would

---

169–76; Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus un' fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta," in Vendrix 2003 (*op. cit.*), pp. 131–68; Galliano Ciliberti, "*Sus un' fontayne*: Ciconia e il meraviglioso nella musica franco-italiana tra XIV e XV secolo," in Vendrix 2003 (*op. cit.*), pp. 195–214. Nearly every discussion of the differences between the two sources uses as a starting point Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 207–212.

<sup>55</sup> Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," p. 35.

<sup>56</sup> As stated by Anne Stone in "The Composer's Voice," p. 175, a distillation of her main argument from "A composer at the fountain," pp. 382–86. I thank Anne Stone for comments on this point.

<sup>57</sup> To the best of my knowledge this usage has not been remarked upon by scholars, but it is nearly universal among works which employ fat custodes and coloration.

have been in the same position. Thus we can conclude that the copying of this work was not mindless, but required knowledge of developments in the *ars subtilior*.<sup>58</sup>

The last point is merely a point of caution. *Sus unne fontaine* is attributed to Johannes Ciconia not in **Oxford 229** but in **Mod A**. *Fontaine* is the only unattributed work by Ciconia in a Paduan fragment, except the sketches of **Padua 656** and where the first opening does not survive or the space at the top of the page for attributions has been cut. Why was the work not attributed? It almost certainly cannot be because of lack of familiarity with the composer and his works on the part of the scribe. Given the few sources for trecento music, a single attribution is generally above the minimum standard for assigning the work to that composer. But given the amount of ink spent writing about *Fontaine* and the major changes to Ciconia's biography (with no corroborating documentation)<sup>59</sup> and musical influences it creates, this writer would feel more secure if the only assigning manuscript, **Mod A**, were not also one with a conflicting attribution to another Paduan composer.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The many small corrections in **Pad A** are further evidence of conscious musical involvement in the copying process.

<sup>59</sup> However, the attribution to Ciconia of *Le ray au soleyl* combined with the text of *Una pantera* furnish us with other Visconti connections for the composer. Stone, "A Composer at the Fountain," p. 378.

<sup>60</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 66 on the conflicting attributions to Bartolino de Padua or Dactalus de Padua. It should be noted though that I see merit in **Mod A**'s Dactalus de Padua attribution.

One point of similarity between **Pad A** and **Mod A**'s versions of *Fontaine* is an odd use of clefs. In both sources, a C-clef on the fourth line is used for the contratenor while the tenor uses an F-clef on the second line. (The use of F<sub>2</sub> without an accompanying C<sub>4</sub> is unusual in **Pad A**). These two clefs allow for an identical range of music to be written, and indeed, the range of the contratenor and the tenor are similar. Why should different clefs be used? Is it possible that the choice in clef says something about the nature of the voice in addition to delimiting the range for the notes?

### *Works in Padua 1475*

The next gathering of music is found on the three bifolios of **Padua 1475**. Before discussing the musical folios, an important note about the host manuscript must be made. **Padua 1475** (and thus **Pad A** as a whole) has a connection, if an indirect one, to Rolandus de Casali, the scribe of **Pad D**. On f. 8v of the host manuscript, MS 1475, we find a variation on the typical note of possession: “Iste liber est de S[anct]e Justina vir[gin]is clarissime de Padua. Fr[ater] Rolandus.”<sup>61</sup> Though the note is too short to be absolutely conclusive, the handwriting is similar enough to Rolandus’s to make the attribution (and there are no other known monks with this name in S. Giustina in the first half of the fifteenth century). He is probably also responsible for the similar indication on f. 9r (“Justina virgo clarissima de Padua”), and possibly of other marginalia, though it is unlikely that he copied the manuscript himself. The connection between the musical folios and Rolandus may be coincidental; there were only a few scribes and several hundred manuscripts in the Abbey at the turn of the century, so the probability is not negligible that Rolandus had a role in writing any given one. But given evidence for the early reuse of the Paduan fragments (to be presented below), another hypothesis presents itself. Rolandus (and one can only hope with a heavy heart) may have had to dismantle the polyphonic sources himself; he may have then used them to protect text manuscripts with which he had a prior connection.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> This note was discovered by Lavinia Prosdocimi of the University Library, and presented as, “I frammenti musicali nei codici della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova,” at the conference *I frammenti musicali padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa*, Padua, 15 June 2006.

<sup>62</sup> However, see below under **Padua 1283** and the **S. Giustina Project** for evidence concerning other theories of reuse in the fragments.



We can return to a **Padua 1475** for some more definite statements about its musical works. The fragment contains the two surviving motets of **Pad A**, both of which are quite removed from the French motet tradition. *Lux purpurata/Diligite visticiam* is ascribed to Jacopo da Bologna and is his only Latin-texted composition. It appears also in **San Lorenzo 2211**, showing that it may have been known throughout Florence, but is excluded from the other large collections on grounds of language and genre. The anonymous motet *Gratiosus ferridus/Magnissimus opere* also has a concordance (**Mod A**).<sup>63</sup> Its presence, along with Machaut's *Ma fin est mon commencement*, may show a scribal interest in works with retrograde motion.<sup>64</sup> That the incipit of the triplum begins with the name of a composer, Gratiosus de Padua, has been noted and suggests at least the possibility that he composed it. However,

<sup>63</sup> It also has a possible tenor concordance with the neuma of a Kyrie (Melnicki 108) found in Bohemian and Hungarian graduals; see Gordon A. Anderson, "Responsory Chants in the Tenors of Some Fourteenth-Century Continental Motets," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), p. 122. However, Margaret Bent in "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), p. 99, calls the attribution "not entirely convincing." The line is so short and non-distinctive (basically an ascending and descending tetrachord with a "mordent" on the third note) that anything but a perfect match seems like a stretch.

<sup>64</sup> Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 214–15. Although she at first is convinced by Ursula Günther's link of the motet to the 1384 dedication of the chapel of St. George at the Basilica of St. Anthony (Günther, *The motets of the manuscripts Chantilly, Musée condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568)*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 39 ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1965), no. 11), on the next page Hallmark is more skeptical, saying "even if [the motet] can be linked to Padua, it need not have been written specifically for the chapel's dedication: it could equally well...be a later piece sung within the chapel." I support Hallmark's reserve on this issue and extend my skepticism to the dating of many other so-called occasional pieces, most of which could just as easily have been composed for anniversaries of dedications, treaties, and appointments, as for the events themselves.

when the composer is named in a motet, it generally happens at the end of the piece. Is it possible that in a motet with a retrograde tenor, even this tradition would be put in reverse?<sup>65</sup>

Brief comments will need to suffice also for the remainder of the secular works in **Padua 1475**. Several passages, including the beginning, in Francesco's *Die non fugir di mi* in **Padua 1475** use two semibreves caudate, which are extremely close to each other though not touching. (Figure 2.18, below, reproduces the cantus opening while discussing another topic). **Padua 1475** is the only copy of this work in *duodenaria*, probably the original notation.<sup>66</sup> The other sources reduce the note values and transmit the work using only one type of semibreve.<sup>67</sup> The diversity of types of semibreve in true Italian notation, including minor, major, and caudate, are sufficient to notate most of the commonly used note values (at least within a perfection) except one. Traditionally, the note value of eight minims cannot be notated except at the end of a measure or in unusual circumstances. For instance, the tenor at "usando villania" reads as follows:

Pad A: 

Modern:  $\frac{3}{4}$  

Prosdocimus in his fourteenth rule of note values in the *Tractatus . . . ad modern ytallicorum* allows for a semibreve of eight minims but only if there are fewer than three semi-

<sup>65</sup> Other textual games in the motet make this interpretation less far-fetched. To read the acrostic, "Georgius miles," one must read every other line of the triplum and then every line of the duplum (Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," p. 214).

<sup>66</sup> Though the concept of original notation with Francesco is always somewhat suspect due to his blindness. See Chapter 1, fn. 54.

<sup>67</sup> The notation of this work in **Pad A** has been discussed by Sucato, "Landini nella tradizione di alcuni codici settentrionali," p. 38, but she this particular passage does not come into discussion.

breves between two *puncti* or their equivalents.<sup>68</sup> In the second measure of the example above, there are three semibreves, but the notation still has need for a note longer than four minims yet shorter than a breve.<sup>69</sup> The **Pad A** scribe solves this problem with the one-pitch ligature of two semibreves caudate, eliminating all doubt for the performer about the extent to which the length of the first sound exceeds that of the last two.

*Se questa dea de virtù* on f. is another work which uses one-pitch ligatures, though the published transcription ignores this evidence.<sup>70</sup> Rather than express an otherwise impossible-to-write note value, the one-pitch ligatures in this piece show syncopation across a bar line. The typical form of these ligatures is  $\blacklozenge$ , a form that we are encountering more and more of-

<sup>68</sup> Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *A Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the Italian Manner* (*Tractatus practicae cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytalicorum*) (MSD 29), edited and translated by Jay A. Huff (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), p. 41.

<sup>69</sup> While on the subject of Prosdocimus and Italian notation, one can note that his sixteenth rule also raises some difficult questions for its use in pure Italian notation. The rule discusses those cases where a note can be both altered and imperfected at the same time. As Huff translates it (p. 42), “An altered note can sometimes be imperfected by a preceding part but never by a following part because then a note would be altered unnecessarily. . . since such a note can be changed to the next longer value without any inconvenience.” In other words, altered notes exist because of the *similis ante similem* rule, but if a shorter note is added after an altered note, then *s.a.s.* is no longer in effect. Prosdocimus is correct for all note values except for semibreves in Italian notation. Changing an altered and imperfected (*a parte post*) semibreve to a breve is not an option in figures such as “ $\frac{3}{4}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$  = .p.  $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$ ”. The second semibreve cannot be changed to a breve in pure Italian notation because breves must remain inviolate. This is why the form  $\blacklozenge$  (=  $3\text{♩}$ ) is necessary in Italian notation but not in French. The existence of the form  $\blacklozenge$  (=  $3\text{♩}$ ) is not explained by this rule since there is no prohibition against imperfected the semibreve similar to that against imperfecting the breve. The note shape  $\blacklozenge$  may instead be considered a helpful, practical simplification that allows scribes to avoid complex passages such as:

$\frac{9}{8}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$  = .n.  $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$

by rewriting them as “.n.  $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$   $\blacklozenge$ ”

<sup>70</sup> Marrocco, *PMFC 10*, pp. 92–94.

ten as we reexamine previously known sources (such as the **Rossi** codex) and study newly discovered manuscripts (such as **Macerata 488**).

Only a single voice of *Se questa dea* survives. Based on the single concordance, **Reina** f. 33r, the voice has twice been described as the contratenor.<sup>71</sup> However, this voice is above **Reina**'s cantus for most of the *ripresa* of the ballata, so it could just as easily be considered the cantus. Furthermore, in the **Pad A** version, the voice is on the verso, not the recto, in the place where the cantus would normally be found, and the attribution—the only one of the two sources to possess one—appears over this voice. The **Pad A** version of the work may have originally had only two voices. The top voice in **Reina** is not absolutely necessary to the counterpoint; at the beginning of the piece, it moves in barely disguised parallel unisons with the second voice, and serves only to obscure a hocket created in mm. 6–7 of the piece. Example 2.11 transcribes the opening after both **Padua 1475** and **Reina**.

<sup>71</sup> Marrocco, *PMFC 10*, p. 151; *RISM B IV 4*, p. 1001. Marrocco also states that the poet of the ballata is unknown, but Fischer (*Studien*) had already identified him as Matteo Griffoni.

EXAMPLE 2.11: *SE QUESTA DEA DE VERTÙ*, OPENING

The musical score for Example 2.11 is in 2/4 time. It consists of three staves: Cantus (Reina), Cantus (Pad A) = C2 (Reina), and Tenor. The lyrics are: "Se que sta de - a de ver - - - - - tù e d'o - ne - sta - - - - - te, - - - - -". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

The surviving voice in **Pad A** has what appears to be a second ending, however, the text underneath these four measures does not read “chiuso,” but instead “vel sic. to,” which is to be read as an alternative ending (“vel sic”) with “-to” being the final syllable of the piece. These two endings also appear in **Reina**, but in reverse order, and not designated in any way. Since the ending differs in many other ways from the published edition, it is reproduced in Example 2.12.

EXAMPLE 2.12: *SE QUESTA DEA DE VERTÙ*, CONCLUSION OF PADUA 1475 CANTUS

The musical score for Example 2.12 is in 2/4 time. It consists of two staves. The lyrics are: "la soa mai - e - stà non - - - - - sia - - - - - so - - - - - çer - - - - -". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

The prospect that these two versions could be quite different from each other should make us more cautious in our descriptions of the work. Further caution is urged in discussing the composer. The only thing which could be said about his biography was “he was evidently a Bolognese saddler by trade.”<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, the attribution of *Se questa dea de virtù*—his only known work—is to “Johannis Baçi Coreçarii de Bononia.” The form of “Baçi Coreçarii” makes it likely that it was instead his father who was a saddler, and thus our only piece of biographical information would be far less relevant.

Three of the sacred works in **Padua 1475** remain untranscribed due to their miserable state of preservation. Two of these works are found on the verso of the second folio of the manuscript, which was probably f. 41v (Figure 2.13).

<sup>72</sup> Kurt von Fischer, “Johannes Baçus Correçarius de Bononia,” s.v. in *2ndNG*.

FIGURE 2.13: PADUA 1475, F. 41V



Though only the clef for the second cantus survives, on the basis of contrapuntal clues we can make an edition of the whole work, particularly since all voices survive for the first “miserere” and the third “Agnus.” (The clefs and the tenor’s flat signature are hypothetical in Figure 2.14, but are almost certainly correct.)

EXAMPLE 2.14: *AGNUS DEI* FROM PADUA 1475, F. 41V

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Bass). The time signature is 3/4. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

**System 1:** The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "ta mun -". The second staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -". The third staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature.

**System 2:** The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "di: mi - se - re - re". The second staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "di: mi - se - re - re". The third staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "di: mi - se - re - re no -".

**System 3:** The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "no - bis. Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis [pec]". The second staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "ca -". The third staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are "bis. Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca -".



27

no - bis. Ag -

ta mun - di: mi - se - re - re - no - bis. Ag -

ta mun - di:

36

nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no -

nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta -

nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no -

45

bis pa

cem.

bis pa - - - - - cem.

The simple-looking rhythm may be the most difficult part of the work to transcribe. Though the work is in French notation, it does not observe the rule *similis ante similem non potest imperfici*. In melismatic passages, the figure ♫ is expressed with a ligature *c.o.p.*, the second semibreve being altered (a typical usage). In syllabic passages, ♦■ is used, despite the following note also being a breve. The whole piece has the effect of being in an archaic rhythmic mode 3, and in fact even has the ligature groupings formerly used to express that mode. With few, short exceptions the whole work is homophonic.

By far the most prominent sonority in the surviving sections is a series of parallel 6–3 chords which occasionally move outward to 8–5 perfect sonorities. It is certainly an example of the “*stili vaganti*” wandering within Italy and throughout Europe.<sup>73</sup> Similar works are found in the Tournai Mass (**Tournai** 476, f. 33r), especially the *Agnus Dei* which shares the same first seven pitches in cantus 2 with the Paduan *Agnus Dei*, but moves in longae and breves instead of breves and semibreves, and is not as regularly based on 6–3 sonorities. The *Agnus Dei* in **Pad A** corresponds more closely to what we would come to expect from later sources, and may be among the earliest examples of fauxbourdon style in Italy. And, as such, we may complete the work without much difficulty (Example 2.15).

<sup>73</sup> Francesco Facchin, “*Stili vaganti*!” in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), pp. 359–60. Facchin is making a larger research project out of the cataloging and describing of these sources.

EXAMPLE 2.15: COMPLETION OF *AGNUS DEI*

The musical score is written for three voices (Soprano, Alto, and Bass) in 3/4 time. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Latin, and the score is divided into three systems.

**System 1:**

- Soprano:** [Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca] - ta mun
- Alto:** Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun
- Bass:** [Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun] -

**System 2:**

- Soprano:** di: mi - se - re - re
- Alto:** di: mi - se - re - re
- Bass:** di: mi - se - re - re no - - - - -

**System 3:**

- Soprano:** no - bis. Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis [pec - ca - ta
- Alto:** [no - bis. Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec] - ca - ta
- Bass:** - - - bis. Ag - nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta

28

mun - di: mi - se - re - re] — no - bis. Ag - nus De -

37

i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: do - na no - bis

46

pa - - - - - [cem.]

cem.

The *Agnus Dei* has some connections to the first part of the *Sanctus* of Barbitonsoris in its use of repeated rhythms (but not isorhythm, unlike Barbitonsoris's) and its fondness for proto-fauxbourdon parallel 6-3 sonorities. However, the true pair for the *Agnus Dei* is the *Sanctus* "Sant. Omer" found on the preceding verso (and in the manuscript **Budapest**

297).<sup>74</sup> The music is so similar that we should consider these two works a Mass pairing.<sup>75</sup> Though it is unclear whether Sant. Omer refers to the French city by that name (or the abbey in the city) or, one would expect given the position on the page, a composer “X de Sant. Omer,” in any case we can be reasonably sure that our mystery composer wrote both works.<sup>76</sup>

These two works present a problem for music history more troubling than the identification of any particular composer. If Paduan musicians were well-aware of the technique and effect of composition in parallel 6–3 sonorities by the turn of the fifteenth century, what does this fact do to the importance of the “*contenance angloise*” for music composition in the quattrocento? Italians were already listening to the sweet *frisque concordance* long before the flowering of Dunstaple, Du Fay, or Binchois. It seems that Martin le Franc was either ignorant of these types of works being distributed forty years earlier or, more likely, his enigmatic term refers to something else.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> The *Sanctus* has been transcribed on the basis of **Padua 1475** alone in *PMFC* 23, no. 127. On **Budapest 297**, see Charles Brewer, “The Historical Context of Polyphony in Medieval Hungary: An Examination of Four Fragmentary Sources,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1990), pp. 10–15. Of the two other polyphonic works in **Budapest 297** known from Western European sources, one has a strong connection to northern Italy (composed by Antonio da Cividale and appearing in **Bologna Q15**) and the other, the Gloria “Qui sonitu melodie” appears in **Pad A** and in **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**. Although there are connections other than Italy for the source, there are no English connections.

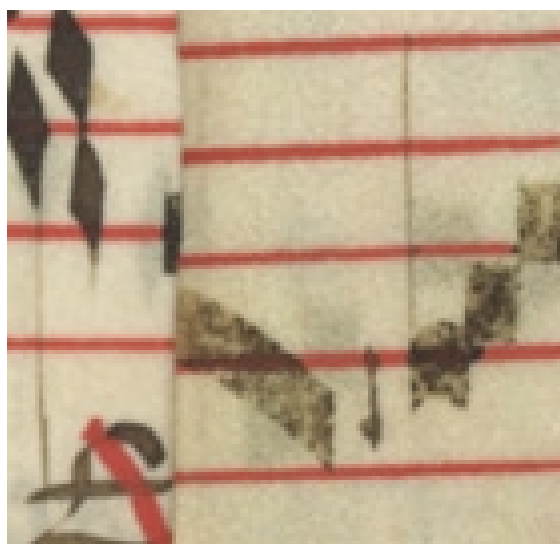
<sup>75</sup> First suggested by Layton, “Italian Music for the Ordinary,” p. 359.

<sup>76</sup> References to assemblages of trumpeters in Sant. Omer have been collected in Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1361–1419: A Documentary History* (Henryville, Penn.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979), p. 42. Wright, p. 68, also records two singers with prebends at St. Omer (Symon le Corier and Toussains Prier); though prebends were often awarded near the home town of singers, this evidence is not enough to begin to suppose that either of these musicians is our “Sant. Omer,” particularly since the documentation for the prebends come from 1389 and 1390 while the rhythmic style of the work (though not necessarily the harmony) suggests several decades earlier.

<sup>77</sup> In this context, the Gloria in English style and with an English concordance in **Foligno** and **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** becomes even more extraordinary. On **Foligno** and English connections see

A final point to observe in the *Agnus Dei* is what appears to be a rather clumsy attempt to avoid a parallel fifth between the second cantus and the tenor in mm. 50–51. A dot of addition has been cancelled out by a semibreve rest, temporarily eliminating the forbidden parallel (which appears only once in the composition, just prior to the end, between the same two voices). Figure 2.16 magnifies this notational detail.

FIGURE 2.16: *AGNUS DEI*, CANTUS 2, MM. 50–52



Below this composition are the remains of a *Sanctus* in a different style. The single surviving flat sign suggests a clef of  $C_2$ , rather high for a contratenor, which is the voice-type suggested by the slow moving notes and ligatures.<sup>78</sup> Although any transcription is bound to be speculative in the absence of clefs, a third of the music, and (probably) two other voices, the piece suggests not only perfect mode but perhaps also a transcription from the Italian

Janet Palumbo, "The Foligno Fragment: A Reassessment of Three Polyphonic Glorias, ca. 1400," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), pp. 169–209.

<sup>78</sup> Alternatively, the flat could be a rarer  $E_b$  of an  $F_2/C_4$ -clef complex, in which case the transcription would be interpreted a fifth lower. Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary," p. 361, suggests that the voice is a tenor.

mensuration of duodenaria. In any case it is not the missing tenor of the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus Marie Filius* of Padua 1283. Example 2.17 transcribes the surviving music.

EXAMPLE 2.17: PADUA 1475, *SANCTUS*, F. 41V

8 [San] ctus.

12 San

24 ctus.

36 Do mi nus

42 [o]th.

48 Ple ni sunt ce li et ter

62 ra glo ri a tu a.

72 O sa na in

87 [B]e ne dic tus qui ve nit

98 in no mi ne do mi ni.

109 ni. Osanna ut supra

Although **Pad A** has the largest collection of polyphonic Sanctus settings among Italian trecento manuscripts, Gloria settings still dominate numerically, both in the source as a whole and in the section from **Padua 1475** in particular. Two Glorias, Engardus's *Gloria: Spiritus et alme* and Ciconia's *Gloria* (*PMFC 24.9*), appear in other Paduan sources and will be discussed with **Padua 1225**. A third Gloria, the anonymous *Gloria: Clementie pax* on ff. 47v–48v, also has a concordance within the Paduan fragments, in fact, within **Padua 1475** itself. On the damaged folio 44v, the lower two voices of the Gloria are present but with only the troped sections copied. We must ask why the scribe only copied the tropes. So far, the answers have been unsatisfying. The tropes could have been sung or performed by a different set of musicians,<sup>79</sup> but this explanation would be more compelling if we did not have the second, complete copy of the Gloria. The singers of the trope could not have performed from the same manuscript as the other singers. The tropes could have been used to augment a non-troped Gloria, such as the preceding Gloria by Johannes Ciconia. But this theory not only requires the (missing) cantus tropes to be on the following recto (an unusual but not inconceivable layout), but also supposes that trecento listeners were not picky or discerning about details such as voice ranges or clashing modalities, a conclusion I am not prepared to accept. Finally, the repetition of a work within the same manuscript is a cautionary sign to researchers. We cannot necessarily suppose that two fragments cannot belong to the same source just because they share a work in common. We will return to this point when we discuss the larger **S. Giustina Project**, below.

<sup>79</sup> Suggested by Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, p. 194.



The last sacred work in **Pad A** to remain neglected in transcriptions is the tenor voice of a Gloria found on f. 50r; presumably the cantus was on the lost f. 49v. The first line of music from the Gloria (from “Et in terra” to “Dominus Deus”) was folded and has been rubbed badly. Figure 2.18 reproduces a detail of the page showing the tenor voice and two initial letters. The remainder of the folio contains Francesco’s ballata *Die* [or *Deb*] *non fugir*. The scribe who added the initial letters to the source evidentially was not paying attention and thought that it was a three-voice ballata and not two, accidentally putting an initial letter “D” for the tenor of the Gloria as well. (No guide letters are evident below the initials). After the first line, the remainder of the work can be transcribed with confidence, as in Example 2.19.

FIGURE 2.18: PADUA 1475: F. 50R, DETAIL OF TOP-LEFT.



EXAMPLE 2.19: PADUA 1475: *GLORIA*, TENOR, F. 50R

Denor [sic] de Et in terra

12 Laudamus te.

23 Adoramus te.

36 Gratias agimus.

49 Domine Deus rex celestis.

62 Domine Fili unigenite.

74 Domine Deus, Agnus Dei.

87 Qui tollis peccata. miserere.

100 Qui tollis peccata. suscipe.

113 Qui sedes.

126  
Quoniam.

139  
Tu solus altissimus.

152  
Cum Sancto Spiritu.

165  
A men.

The Gloria is unusual in being divided into phrases all of roughly equal length. Many of the phrases echo melodic gestures from previous phrases. For instance, the phrase “Cum Sancto Spiritu” can be seen as a variant of the prior phrase “Tu solus altissimus,” which itself borrows freely from the previous two phrases. It would be tempting to consider the original Gloria a piece of little imagination or consequence if we did not recall that the innovation of the upper voices in many Mass movements by Ciconia and Zachara, among others, is supported by such simple tenor lines.

Unless the upper voice is exceptionally austere and its text written almost entirely abbreviated, it would be difficult to include even an untexted contratenor on the missing f. 49v. Thus we can suppose this work was a cultural hybrid: a two-voice composition, thereby showing Italian style, with an untexted tenor voice in ligatures, thus showing French influence; in one fragment of a tenor, a microcosm of Paduan musical tastes.

### *Works in Padua 684*

The final surviving folios of **Pad A** are found in **Padua 684**. The music fragments have been trimmed on their top and outside edges to make them fit the dimensions of

212x312mm manuscript. The trimming of the right edge of all the rectos has removed the original foliation. Since different edges were trimmed between **Padua 1475** and **Padua 684**, an estimate of the size of the original folios of **Pad A** can be determined: each folio originally measured 339–344mm in height and 217–222mm in length.

The decorated initial letters which had been present in both **Oxford 229** and **Padua 1475** stop after f. 51r in **Padua 684**. However, the scribe continued to enter black initials for works at the bottoms of pages, probably indicating that, as previously, blue and red were to be the main colors used for initials, with black used for the third initial on any page. Because of this trend, we can also see that the contratenor of the Sanctus on f. 51r (continued onto f. 50v of **Padua 1475**) was probably a later addition. The initial letters may have already been entered at the time the voice was added, and thus the scribe makes the “S”s of the word “Sanctus” larger to compensate for the lack of color. Further, the decorative marks dividing the sections of the Benedictus are not the same as the other voices’. The contratenor has full sectional endings for “In nomine” and “Domine” where smaller dividing marks are used in the upper voice.<sup>80</sup>

All three of the known works of the local composer Gratosus de Padua are found in **Padua 684**. Presbyter Gratosus was a *custos* of the cathedral chapter in Padua in 1391.<sup>81</sup> He may have later moved to the Abbey of S. Giustina, if six references to a “Gracioso” or “Anto-

<sup>80</sup> The writing of “In nomine domini” (misaligned) and possibly “Osanna ut supra” in the tenor voice is different enough from other handwriting that it may have been added by another scribe. However, there are enough similarities that it may be the case of the principal scribe accidentally using another “hand” that he knew.

<sup>81</sup> Anne Hallmark, “Gratosus, Ciconia, and other Musicians at Padua Cathedral: Some Footnotes to Present Knowledge,” *L’ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), p. 74.

nus Gratosus filius Mundi” are to the composer. Five of these references come from 1397, but one shows the composer as beneficed by 1380.<sup>82</sup> Given the new biography of Ciconia, these dates would make Gratosus at least ten years older than him.

Although he did not have the benefit of this biographical information in describing the works, Layton’s discussions of Gratosus’s complete output are still stunning in their comprehensiveness and insightfulness.<sup>83</sup> Layton suggested that the *Sanctus* and the ballata *Alta regina* represent older, immature compositions while the *Gloria* was representative of Gratosus’ later style.<sup>84</sup> While I agree with Layton’s assessment of the immense differences between the two Mass pieces, I disagree for two reasons with his dating and judgment of the relative quality of the works. First, he supposed that the French traits of the *Gloria* may have been learned from the venerable composer Ciconia and thus would represent a later stage in development. The new dates for Ciconia suggest that the influence could have just as easily gone in the other direction. There is also no reason to assume that French style continued to gain popularity in the last decades of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth. This is particularly true in Padua where Prosdocimus is advocating a return to earlier Italian notational styles during the early fifteenth century. Note, for instance, that even the “French” *Gloria* uses *divisio* letters and hockets. Secondly, Layton cites a “poverty of melodic invention” as evidence for the *Sanctus* being an earlier work.<sup>85</sup> I find this claim untenable. I do not find the amount of this repetition in the piece extraordinary, but more to the point,

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>83</sup> Layton, “Italian Music for the Ordinary,” pp. 118–28.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

repetition of melodic motives is not necessarily a mark of an immature work. The Sanctus compensates for its melodic predictability with its rhythmic creativity. Particularly noteworthy is the “Benedictus” which juxtaposes *octonaria* in the cantus with *senaria imperfecta* in the other voices. This type of metrical change is also found in *Alta regina*, though there the changes are not notated. Although long passages employing two or more mensurations simultaneously are common in the *ars subtilior* repertory, the juxtaposition of these particular meters is found in several works of more modest rhythmic complexity, such as in Vaillant’s *Par maintes fois*.<sup>86</sup>

The beginning of a Credo variously ascribed to Bonbarde, Perrinet, or (as here) Perneth is found on the verso of the back folio of **Padua 684**. Since we only have about one-quarter of the work, and it is known from seven other sources, we can keep our comments brief. Reinhard Strohm has discussed the influences and style of this work in scrumptious detail.<sup>87</sup> However, a detail within his discussion of counterpoint is disputable. He notes two instances of curious counterpoint between cantus 1 and the contratenor, resulting in parallel octaves (m. 62; measure numbers from his edition) and parallel sevenths (m. 69) for a whole measure each (see Example 2.20).

<sup>86</sup> An anonymous Gloria in **London 29987** has similar passages, but the lower voices never move more quickly than the semibreve level, thus losing the effect of two simultaneous meters.

<sup>87</sup> *The Rise of European Music*, pp. 26–34.

EXAMPLE 2.20: PERNETH, CREDO, MM. 62 AND 69.<sup>88</sup>

m. 62

Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro

m. 69

re - sur - re - xit ter - ti - a

ter - ti - a di

ter - ti - a di

These parallels may not be the result of a “disregard of the upper voices for the countertenor,” as Strohm states, or even, vice-versa, disregard of the countertenor for the upper voices.<sup>89</sup> Rather they may show conscious choices by the composer of the contratenor to create such forbidden consonances and dissonances. My reasoning is that if composers did tend to write upper voices and contratenors without regard for each other, then passages such as Example 2.20 would not be exceptional. If Strohm’s theory were correct, small passages of perfect parallels or repeated dissonances would be commonplace. (They should be as common as if we took an upper-voice measure and a contratenor measure in the same time signature set to the same tenor note from two different places in the same piece and put them together!) That this passage is so exceptional implies that normally the composer of the contratenor was fully aware of what intervals it would make both with the tenor and with the cantus.

<sup>88</sup> Edition adapted from Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33. His diagram (Figure 1) implies that the contratenor disregards the upper voices rather than vice-versa.



### **Pad D: Padua 675, Padua 1106, Padua 1225, and Padua 1283**

In the span of one decade, the amount of musical material from the trecento increased dramatically. Between 1955–65 scholars learned of a new source for the previously marginal figure of Paolo da Firenze (**Lowinsky**, 1956), saw new evidence for the coexistence of trecento music with quattrocento music and music theory (**Siena 30**, 1957), and encountered tantalizing new fragments hinting at a larger role of polyphonic music (**Berlin 523**, **Ivrea 105**, and **Casanatense 522**, 1964). The increase in the number of sources of motets and sacred polyphony was of great importance. These sources included three in Cividale (to be discussed later in this chapter) and, discovered at either end of this decade, the four Paduan fragments which are the objects of this section of the study.

Four manuscript fragments in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Padua—675, 1106, 1225, and 1283—share similar handwriting, layout, and repertoires, and, collected under the siglum **Pad D**, are generally considered part of the same manuscript. Rolandus de Casali, a monk of the monastery of S. Giustina, signed his name on two of the fragments (**Padua 1225** and **Padua 1106**). His handwriting was also quickly matched with the writing on another S. Giustina fragment, **Stresa 14**.

Although the four fragments of **Pad D** have been connected primarily based on the identification of the single hand appearing throughout, the repertory of three of the four forms an even closer group. The three fragments of **Pad D** discovered at the same time, **Padua 675**, **1225**, and **1283** (conveniently housed together as **Busta 2** today) devote their contents entirely to the preservation of movements of the Mass.<sup>90</sup> In this context the first

<sup>90</sup> Discovered by Kurt von Fischer, “Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964), pp. 79–97.

fragment to be discovered, **Padua 1106**, seems quite a contrast.<sup>91</sup> Its three, non-contiguous folios contain parts of six motets. Considering the limited number of Italian motets—at the time of its discovery, an essay on the subject could easily begin and end with this source—the works of **Padua 1106** encompass a wide geographical and chronological range. We will begin our discussion with the three fragments of Mass movements and end with this valuable source.

### ***Padua 1283***

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/1 (from MS 1283).*

RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1283*, pp. 997–98. CCMS 3: *PadU 1283*, p. 10.

The single folio of sacred music removed from a fifteenth-century Latin grammar presents only two incomplete works, but they are each of considerable importance. The verso of the folio contains cantus 1 and the tenor of Ciconia's *Gloria* (*PMFC 24.9*). An attribution has been trimmed at the top of the page, though some of the descenders are still visible. Nonetheless, it is difficult to connect them to any of the words "M. Johannes," "Johes," or "Ciconia," (see Figure 2.21).

FIGURE 2.21: PADUA 1283, ATTRIBUTION ON VERSO



The *Gloria* is also known from **Padua 1475**. The two versions of the work in the Paduan fragments are close enough to each other that they may testify to direct copying.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Discovered by Dragan Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8 (1955), pp. 165–181.

<sup>92</sup> Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. 204.

Bent and Hallmark argue on the basis of a missing minim stem in the **Pad D** version (m. 150.2) that it was copied from **Pad A**. The argument supposes that if **Pad A** instead were copied from **Pad D**, either **Pad A**'s scribe would have transmitted the erroneous version without realizing the (easily detected) rhythmic mistake or would have not only corrected **Pad A** but also the manuscript from which he was copying. Though this is a persuasive argument, the absence of a single minim stem (in the middle of a passage of repeated rhythms) is not conclusive evidence for direct copying of the whole of **Pad D** from hypothetically lost passages of **Pad A**. The two manuscripts share another work which we can consult for evidence, Engardus's *Gloria: Spiritus et alme* (see **Padua 1225** below). The single difference between the readings in **Pad D** and **Pad A** of that work, also suggests an error in **Pad D** where none exists in **Pad A** (a dissonant minim *a* instead of the imperfect consonance *b* in cantus 2, m. 232). But this difference is explainable in other ways as well.<sup>93</sup> I stress our uncertainty because of what a remarkable situation we would have if this hypothesis were true. We have no other evidence of complete trecento manuscripts having been copied from each other.<sup>94</sup> And, as Bent has pointed out, unlike literary stemmatics where the written text is the literary

<sup>93</sup> That these two *Glorias* are on the recto and verso of the same folio in **Pad A** but in separate sections of **Pad D** may be seen as contrary evidence for this stemma, but there are other explanations. In order to not have to wait while the ink on one side of a folio dried, compositions may have been copied on different folios, thus not preserving the order of the manuscript being copied.

<sup>94</sup> Though supported by copious transcriptions and detailed research, Eugene Fellin's arguments in favor of larger stemmata, featuring many hypothetical lost sources, have not received much critical support; however, his conclusions about relative closeness of different copies of madrigals remain useful and surprisingly under-cited. (Fellin, "Le relazioni tra i manoscritti musicali del Trecento," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 8 (1973), pp. 165–80). In sum: the evidence for influence of source traditions upon individual copies is clear, but for direct copying of pieces or whole manuscripts it is murky.

work, the notation of a composition is not the music.<sup>95</sup> Thus, even a scribe unfamiliar with a composition can play the role of musical editor by adding valuable information about performance practice through his choice in text setting, layout of parts, and use of ligatures. These differing choices enrich our knowledge of how music was performed and conceived in the Middle Ages, but simultaneously frustrate our ability to make definitive statements about the order of copying.

The recto of the fragment contains fragments of two voices of a Sanctus. The top voice is nearly illegible and was not identified as part of the Sanctus until recently. A concordance for the work in the **Boverio** codex was first noticed by Francesco Facchin who provided a transcription with critical commentary.<sup>96</sup> In both sources, the Benedictus is troped with “Marie filius,” just as the Sanctus “Mediolano” of **Pad A** is in its concordance in the **Gerona** fragment. Because of a vertical cut in the manuscript, we are missing mm. 1–9 of cantus 1 and mm. 1–12 of cantus 2. Lucia Marchi has suggested that cantus 2 rested during the first invocation of the “Sanctus,” and thus we have lost little of the work.<sup>97</sup> But we can note that we have only lost three more measures of cantus 2 than cantus 1. This similarity argues strongly that nearly as many notes were cut from both voices (rests being small and unlikely to take up much space).

<sup>95</sup> Margaret Bent, “Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony,” in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 296.

<sup>96</sup> In Agostino Ziino, *Il Codice T.III.2: Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile*, Ars Nova 3 (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1994), pp. 83, 87–89. A second transcription appears in Lucia Marchi, “La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il codice Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2” (Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2000) pp. 451–58.

<sup>97</sup> Marchi, “La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma,” p. 138.

The fragment is also important because it gives us our best information about the Paduan music manuscripts after 1409. A note on the verso reads “Iste regule sunt congregationis monachorum Sancte Justine...~~sine numero~~ 508.”<sup>98</sup> The “regule” of the note of possession refers to the main content of manuscript 1283, the *Regulae grammaticae* of Stephanus Fliscus (Stefano Fieschi da Soncino). Thus we know that at the time the note of possession was written, the music manuscript had already been destroyed. Except for the number “508,” the note is in the hand which matches Cantoni Alzati’s “mano B,” who wrote the prologue to the inventory of manuscripts at S. Giustina in 1453.<sup>99</sup> Thus 1453 is the latest possible date for the dismemberment of **Pad D**. A similar note in another hand in **Oxford 229** of **Pad A** (“Istud quo[d]lib&”) also definitely refers to the host manuscript (the Quodlibet of St. Thomas Aquinas) and thus gives a latest possible date for the reuse of that manuscript at 1453 or slightly thereafter.

Though we cannot make a *definite* statement about any earlier possible date, the contents of **Padua 1283** give a *likely* range of years for its reuse. Stefano Fieschi seems to have completed his studies with Gasparino Barzaiza around 1430, and his most important work, the *Synonyma* probably comes from the middle of that decade.<sup>100</sup> If we suppose that the musical books were dismembered after the books they reinforce had already been written and

<sup>98</sup> The significance of this note for detailing the continued possession of the manuscript at Padua between 1453 and *ca.* 1465 (when hands “D” and “E” were cataloging the manuscripts around no. 508) was discovered by Prosdocimi, “I frammenti musicali.” The further observations I make in this paragraph would have been impossible without her work.

<sup>99</sup> Cantoni Alzati, *La biblioteca*, pp. 16–19, including tables 1 and 2.

<sup>100</sup> Daniela Mazzuconi, “Stefano Fieschi da Soncino: un allievo di Gasparino Barzaiza,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 24 (1981), pp. 257–285. Later, after Fieschi’s son Eusebio da Ragusa had joined the congregation of S. Giustina (1465), a second note of possession was added to f. 1r of the main manuscript including this biographical detail. Cantoni Alzati, *La biblioteca*, p. 116.

acquired, then we have but a limited period between *ca.* 1435 and 1453 for the reuse of the Paduan fragments.

### ***Padua 1225***

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/2 (from MS 1225).*

RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1225*, pp. 996–97. CCMS 3, 4: *PadU 1225*, vol. 3, p. 9, vol. 4, p. 461.

There is a saying in baseball that anything can happen in a short series. The same holds true for short manuscripts. We should never be surprised by the presence, or particularly the absence of a work, genre, or composer in a small collection of music. What survives in any single fragment might be an unrepresentative sample of the whole.<sup>101</sup> All this being well-known, we might still be tempted to think that Padua had provincial musical tastes if in the surviving fragments there were no works by the most widely distributed composer of sacred music in the trecento.

Hence, the importance of **Padua 1225**, a bifolio containing parts of four Mass movements, two of which are by Antonio Zachara da Teramo. Folio 2r contains the final page of his *Gloria, Laus Honor* while the verso begins the popular Credo, no. 21 in the

<sup>101</sup> On the basis of this observation, I must disagree strongly with Oliver Huck's assertion that, "if the Frammento Cialiani [**Perugia 15755**] is really of Viscontean provenance, we would surely find it surprising that none of those madrigals which Jacopo da Bologna composed in honour of members of the family is included," (review of *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.*, edited by Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004), forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*). In a manuscript of at least 171 folios originally, of which we possess only four, no conclusions about the significance of a few missing works can be drawn. However, I agree with his skepticism of the manuscript's connections to the Visconti on the other grounds he gives.

*PMFC 13* numbering.<sup>102</sup> The other folio contains both of Engardus's known Glorias, two-thirds of his entire known output.

Contrary to some published reports, the heavily abbreviated attribution "Dcūs Çacharias" on f. 2r should read "Dictus Çacharias" and not "Dominus Çacharias."<sup>103</sup> Combining this attribution with the following verso's, we can suppose that each opening of the Zachara section read "M[agister] Antonius Dictus Çacharias." The attributions on f. 2 reveal that the Rolandus de Casali was familiar with at least some aspects of Zachara's biography, that Zachara was a nickname whose use (to all appearances) Antonio did not fully support.<sup>104</sup> The familiarity with this aspect of Zachara's name seems to be a northern (or more specifically, northeast) Italian trait. The unique Credo found in **Civiale 98** (see below) is ascribed to "M. A. dictus Ç," an abbreviated form of **Padua 1225**'s attribution.

Though we have no evidence that he was ever based in Padua, Zachara may be among the other illustrious composers who were in the city for shorter periods or made their

<sup>102</sup> The folio numbers 1 and 2 are used merely for convenience and in keeping with prior literature; they were certainly not consecutive and may not have even been in this order. However, it is more likely that f. 2 came after f. 1 given the number of Credos by Zachara which survive. If f. 2v begins a section of Zachara's Credos, and **Padua 1225** contained even a third of the total, it is unlikely that they would finish before the end of a gathering and have room to spare for the works of Engardus.

<sup>103</sup> Correctly identified in John Nádas, "Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo." *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), p. 174. Unfortunately, the latest digital images available of this manuscript do not reproduce the top edge of f. 2, so old photos will need to be kept around.

<sup>104</sup> An autograph bull by Zachara, reproduced as Plate 2 of *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), gives his name as "A de Teramo."

existence otherwise strongly felt. An “Anthonio de Teramo,” possibly the composer, witnessed the awarding of a doctorate at the University of Padua in 1410.<sup>105</sup>

The other composer represented (anonymously) in **Padua 1225** also has tantalizing but unclear relationships with Northern Italy. Engardus (or Egardus, or perhaps Echgaerd or Eckart) composed only three surviving works. Though we know nothing for certain about his life, research has given us many tantalizing hypotheses.<sup>106</sup> His name, a concordance in **Utrecht 1846**<sup>1</sup>, and a textual relationship with Thomas Fabri, all suggest a Flemish origin.<sup>107</sup> But with only one other exception, all of his works are found in Italian manuscripts probably from areas north of Tuscany.<sup>108</sup> This exception, the Polish manuscript

<sup>105</sup> Nádas, “Further notes on Magister Antonius,” p. 178. Anne Hallmark has also tied Zachara to the University of Padua through the citation of the “Humilior tauro,” in *Je suy navrés tan fort/Gnaffa le guagnele*. (“Rhetoric and Reference in *Je suy navrés tan fort*” in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), p. 225). Though the “bull” has a long tradition associating it with the University, it stems from the relocation of the seat of the University to the Palazzo Bo (or “Albergo del Bove,” a former butchery), which did not occur until 1493. The possibility should be raised that the line refers to Thomas Tauri (de Sancti Servatoris de Monasteriovillari) a member of the Papal Chapels at least of Gregory XI and Clemente VII. (On this figure, see Di Bacco and Nádas, “Verso uno ‘stile internazionale’,” p. 38). In a further digression, it can be noted that the cries of “Saccra Saccra” in *Je suy navrés*, which Francesco Zimei suggested evoke cries of the name “Zachara,” are found also in the anonymous bilingual ballata *Le temps verrà*, lending further support to the hypothesis that it is by Zachara. (Hallmark, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Lucia Marchi and Elvira Di Mascia, “*Le temps verrà tamtoust après*: Una proposta di attribuzione ad Antonio Zacara da Teramo,” *Studi Musicali* 30 (2001), p. 20).

<sup>106</sup> See, above all, Reinhard Strohm, “Magister Egardus and other Italo-Flemish Contacts,” *L’ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), pp. 41–68.

<sup>107</sup> Concordance identified independently by both Strohm, *op. cit.*, and Bernhold Schmid, “Zur Rekonstruktion einer Gloria-Motette von Engardus in den Paduaner Fragmenten,” *Musikforschung* 38 (1985), pp. 195–201.

<sup>108</sup> Strohm, *op. cit.*, p. 41 errs when he says that both Glorias are “represented more than once in the Paduan fragments;” only the troped Gloria appears twice. Robert Nosow’s *2ndNG* article on the composer (“Egardus”) contains incorrect details of manuscript sigla, and about which Glorias appear in which manuscripts. A new source for the untroped Gloria is **Udine 22**, see below.



**Kras.**, also suggests Engardus's Italian connections, since the other foreign composers represented in Polish sources have connections to Northern Italy and/or the Italian Papal chapels.

***Padua 675 (and Oxford 56)***

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS busta 2/3 (from MS 675).*

RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 675*, pp. 989–90. CCMS 3: *PadU 675*, p. 6.

*Oxford, Bodleian Library. Canonici Latin Patristic (= Pat. Latin) [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 56.*

RISM B IV sup<sup>1-2</sup>: *GB-Ob 56*, pp. 70–73.

A Paduan fragment was removed from the front of manuscript 675 of the Biblioteca Universitaria and is now housed as “Busta 2/3.” The fragment is usually considered part of the collection **Pad D**. The fragment proper consists of a bifolio of music, ff. 1–2, but a single folio of an unrelated text contains much of the music from f. 2v and is now an important part of the collection. Folio 2r has a troubled history. When he first discovered it, Fischer described the manuscript as containing a blank page (1r), a fragment or possibly a sketch of a two-voice work (1v), a totally faded and illegible work (2r), and a motet by “M. Jo. Ciconia” (2v).<sup>109</sup> The motet was soon correctly identified as the second half of the troped *Gloria: Suscipe Trinitas* and brought the only attribution to this important work, now known from five sources.<sup>110</sup> The text of the tropes calls upon the Trinity to remove the cloud of schism.

<sup>109</sup> Fischer, “Neue Quellen,” pp. 84–85. Other references to the manuscript (including the photos in the DIAMM collection) have reversed the designation of ff. 1 and 2. There is no way of definitely knowing the order of the two folios, but if they are arranged in Fischer’s order they cannot be center bifolio given the discovery of music on f. 2r, described below. (Even if they are arranged in the opposite order, they are unlikely to be a center bifolio given that the other folio was left blank).

<sup>110</sup> See Table 2.27 for the sources of this composition. *RISM B IV 4*, p. 990 updated by *RISM B IV 1-2<sup>sup</sup>* p. 73.

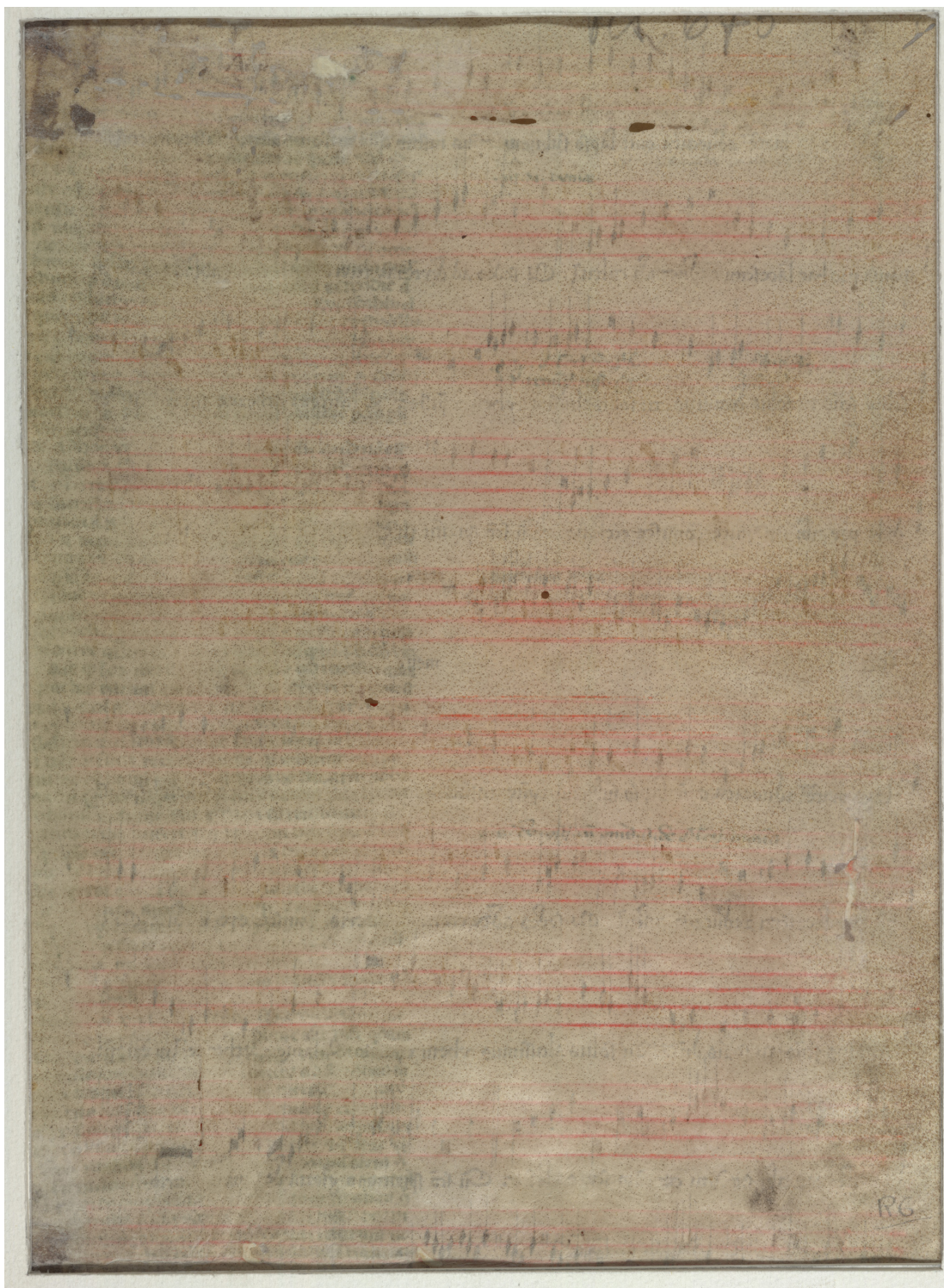
The invocation of a three-fold deity has been suggested by some to refer to the period of the three-fold schism (1409 and after), but the connection is not entirely clear.<sup>111</sup>

In their edition, Bent and Hallmark assert that preceding recto of **Padua 675** is “completely blank, not faded as others have claimed.”<sup>112</sup> Their claim was probably based on observation that the dark musical notation plainly obvious on this folio is show-through from the verso. (See Figure 2.22).

<sup>111</sup> See, *pro*, Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. 203 (commentary on the text by M. J. Connolly) and, *contra*, Di Bacco and Nádas, “Papal Chapels,” p. 71. If Bent and Hallmark are correct, then the manuscript would have to have been copied in or after 1409, a year when others have asserted that Ludovico Barbo banned polyphony (“Cantus figuratus vitetur omnino.” See Cattin, “Ricerche sulla Musica à S. Giustina di Padova,” p. 29). However, Cattin also offers the possibility that Rolandus de Casali could have copied polyphony on commission after 1409, and others have noted that Barbo’s prohibition cannot be dated to 1409 itself. (Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. xiv). An insightful interpretation of the conflicting documentation appears in a footnote in Stoessel, “The Captive Scribe,” pp. 149–50.

<sup>112</sup> Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, p. 201.

FIGURE 2.22: PADUA 675, F. 2R



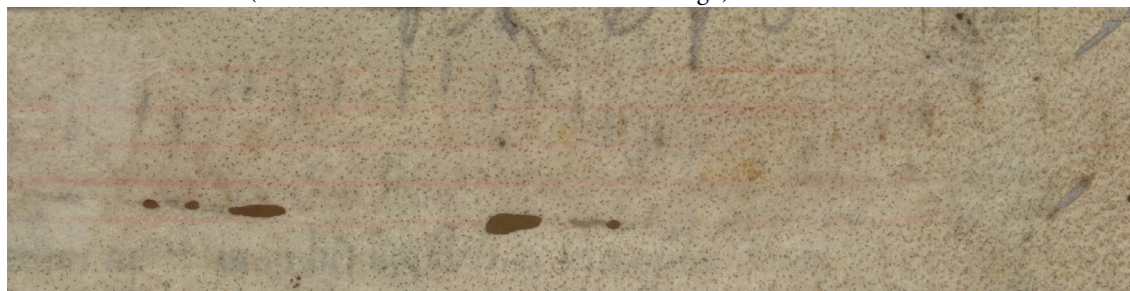
Despite Bent and Hallmark's correction to Fischer's statement, careful study of f. 2r reveals that it is not in fact blank, but instead contains the remains of the second cantus of the Glo-



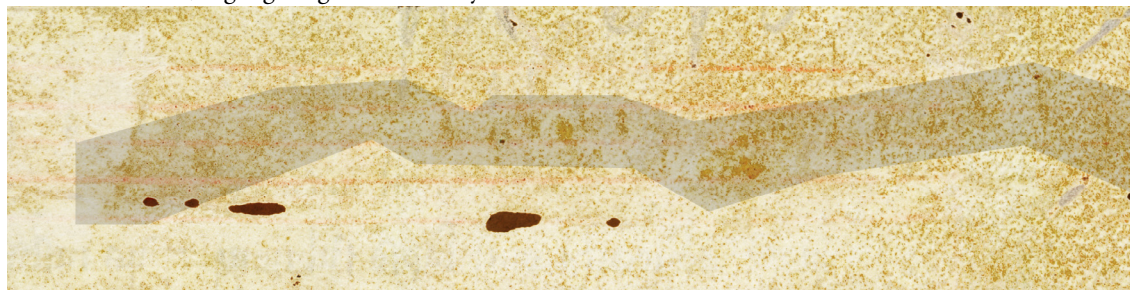
ria from f. 2v. Traces of a second, yellowish melody can be faintly discerned in high quality photographs. Figure 2.23 highlights this notation from the end of the first staff.<sup>113</sup>

FIGURE 2.23: PADUA 675, F. 2R, DETAIL OF STAFF ONE

Non-enhanced version (most dark notes and words are show-through)



Enhanced version, highlighting erased melody

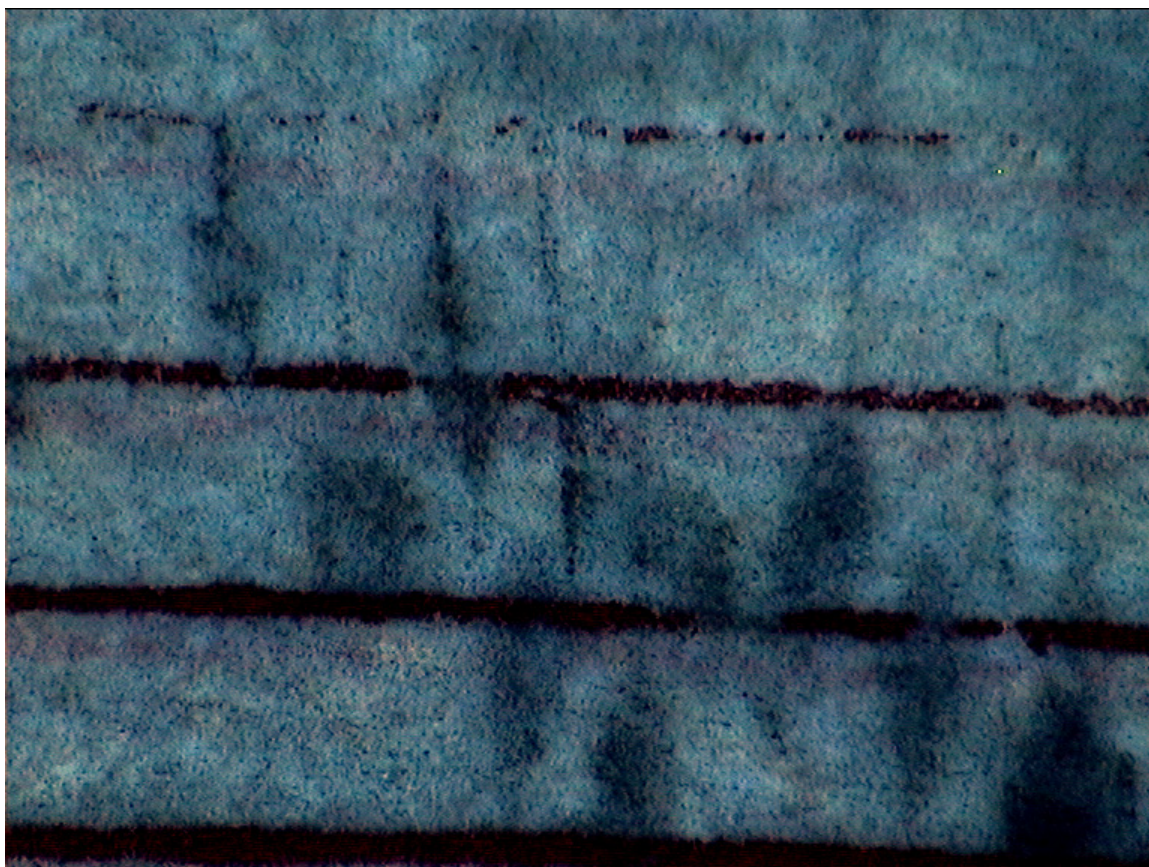


Close examination under ultraviolet light shows that notes written on the near side of the page remove part of the staff, while show-through lies under the lines. See the extreme close-up in Figure 2.24.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Recovery of the melody is hampered further by the show-through from the document pressed against f. 2v (appears only on the left-hand side of the page). Because this text has been reversed twice (once from the offsetting and again from the show-through) it appears that f. 2r is a palimpsest, but it is not.

<sup>114</sup> I again want to thank Pietro Gnan and the staff of the Biblioteca Universitaria for unfettered access to these fragments over many years, without which this study would have been impossible.

FIGURE 2.24: PADUA 675, EXTREME CLOSE-UP (UV)



The remains of the notation on the fifth and sixth staves is easier to see and can be enhanced further with photo manipulation software. The post-reconstruction melody of parts of staves five and six appears in Figure 2.25:

FIGURE 2.25: PADUA 675, F. 2R, DETAIL OF STAVES FIVE AND SIX (DIGITALLY MANIPULATED)

The passage on staff five corresponds to mm. 94–102 of cantus 2 of Ciconia’s *Gloria: Suscipe, Trinitas* while mm. 112–19 are clear on staff six.<sup>115</sup> The few differences in this section are worthy of note. In m. 97, the Paduan source agrees with **Warsaw 378** by using two ligated semibreves *d-f* in place of the *d* *g* *f* reading of **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**. Again, in mm. 116–117, the four semibreves of **Padua 675** read more closely to Warsaw’s reading of two semibreves and a breve than to the Grottaferrata source’s two breves. (The Paduan and Warsaw sources share several readings on f. 2v not found in other sources as well). It appears that the entire voice to m. 175 is contained on the folio; no trace of any music is vis-

<sup>115</sup> Measure numbers from Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC* 24.

ible on staff 10. Discerning other musical variants on this folio may be more easily done in the near future now that the initial identification of the contents has been made, but still remains a difficult process.

Another copy of this Gloria was discovered recently. The flyleaves of the Canonici manuscript **Oxford 56** contain several works, but only the composition on the exposed side of the front pastedown has been identified.<sup>116</sup> The Amen of cantus 1 of *Suscipe, Trinitas* is visible on staff two of f. 0v, though partly disguised by the less florid setting of “Patris” which is unknown in other sources.<sup>117</sup> As f. 0 is still pasted to the boards of the host manuscript, identification of the preceding side must be done purely on the basis of show-through.<sup>118</sup>

The reverse side can be identified as cantus 2 of the same Gloria. The sixth staff preserves the clef and a continuous line of music, both aiding identification. Like the version in **Padua 675**, the folio ends at m. 175; see Figure 2.26.

<sup>116</sup> *RISM B IV 1–2<sup>sup</sup>*. Wathey’s transcription of the incipits is a remarkable effort given the state of the manuscript. The manuscript as a whole is described in Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars tertia codices graecos et latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1854), col. 323 and in Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol 2. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 49 (No. 476).

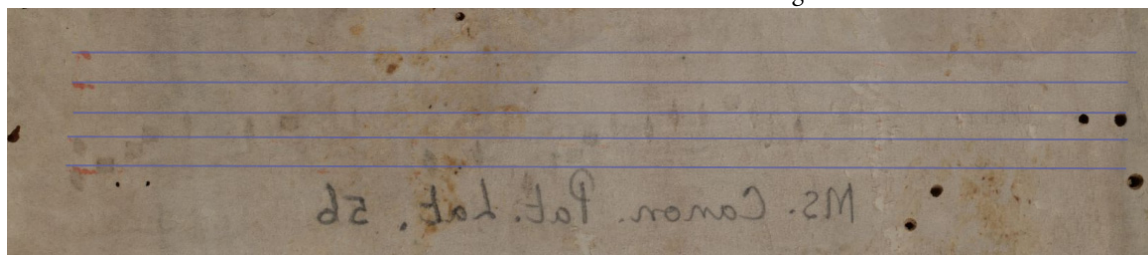
<sup>117</sup> Because both **Padua 675** and **Oxford 56** contain the Amen of cantus 1, a theory that one could form the continuation of the other must be dropped.

<sup>118</sup> The container for **Oxford 56** contains an admonition to musicologists reminding them that “do-it-yourself” attempts at lifting the flyleaf will result in expulsion from the Bodleian. Fortunately, this is no longer necessary to identifying the contents of the front leaf.



FIGURE 2.26: OXFORD 56, F. 0V, STAFF SIX, MIRRORED HORIZONTALLY

Staff lines have been added to aid identification and are not visible in the original



Transcription of this staff:



Transcription in *PMFC* 24, mm. 163–75:

A complete list of the contents of **Oxford 56**, Table 2.27, gives an idea of the context in which this work is transmitted in that source:



TABLE 2.27: OXFORD 56 CONTENTS

*front bifolio flyleaf*

- f. 0r (hidden) *Gloria: Suscipe, Trinitas* ([Johannes Ciconia]): cantus 2, to m. 175  
 f. 0v (continued): cantus 1, conclusion from m. 224 (mm. 175–223 cut)  
     **Padua 675** f. 2rv, 2<sup>2</sup>; **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** ff. 9v–10v, 3<sup>2</sup>; **Grottaferrata** s.s. f.  
     Bv, 1<sup>1</sup>; **Warsaw 378** ff. 25v–27r, 3  
     [continued onto lost folio continuing *Suscipe, Trinitas*, cantus 2 ]
- f. i r Unidentified work (badly rubbed); possible C<sub>5</sub> clef (Tenor?)  
 f. i v *Gloria* (PMFC 23, no. 48): cantus, m. 63–end.  
     **Utrecht 1846**<sup>1</sup>, f. III Bv, 2<sup>1</sup>

*back bifolio flyleaf, upside-down with respect to the rest of the manuscript*  
*(rectos originally versos and vice-versa)*

- f. 81v (hidden) Two low, texted voices (Ct and T?) of an unknown *Gloria*  
 f. 81r Unidentified work (badly rubbed).  
 f. 80v Unidentified work (badly rubbed). T? <sup>119</sup> *Tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*  
 f. 80r *Gloria* (beginning, “Agnus dei filius patris”) 3<sup>1</sup>. Similar to *PMFC 24*, no. 6: *Ciconia, Gloria: Spiritus et Alme*.<sup>120</sup>

Though trimming of the top of the page has reduced it to eight staves, f. 0 originally had ten: we note that there is an average of 45 musical symbols per staff on the 3.5 filled staves of f. 0v. Since there are approximately 95 symbols missing between the end of f. 0r (m. 175) and the current beginning of f. 0v, it would have taken two staves to notate them. However, ff. 80 and 81 may have only had nine staves since the first surviving staff of f. 81v begins with “Laudamus te,” hardly necessitating two previous staves.

The copies of *Suscipe, Trinitas* in **Oxford 56** and **Padua 675** are similar in their layouts. They both break the end of the first opening at m. 175, after “suscipe deprecationem nostram.” Much more importantly, neither of the two sources contain any trace of the

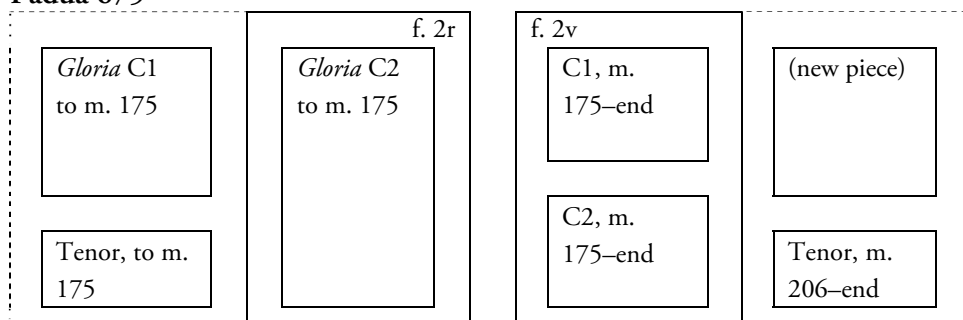
<sup>119</sup> The incipits for f. 80v and 81r have been exchanged in *RISM B IV 1-2<sup>sup</sup>*, p. 72.

<sup>120</sup> Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, p. 257 (“exclusa”) describes ff. i and 80 as containing a single *Gloria*, however the surviving music does not support this conclusion even for the only conceivable pairing, f. 80r (originally verso) and f. ir.

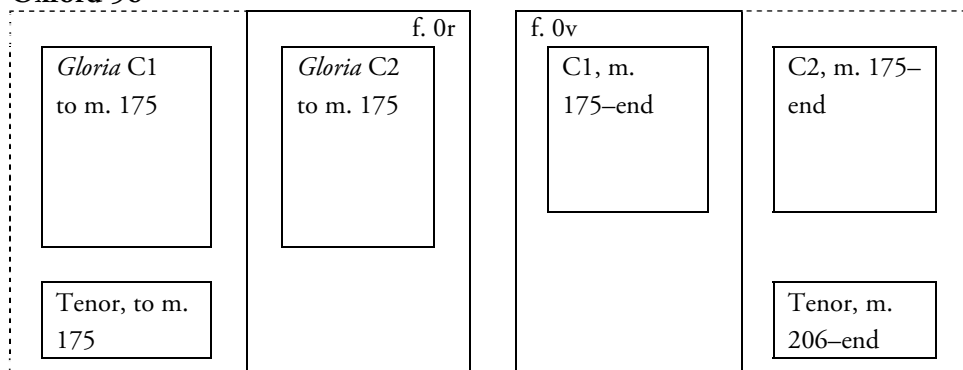
tenor voice which, in the other sources, supports the upper voices during the non-trope sections. Since we are missing portions of each source, it is impossible to say for sure that the tenor voice is not on the absent pages, but the evidence suggests that it is unlikely. The hypothetical layouts of both manuscripts are given in Figure 2.28, below.

FIGURE 2.28: LAYOUTS OF PADUA 675 AND OXFORD 56 INCLUDING TENORS

### Padua 675



### Oxford 56



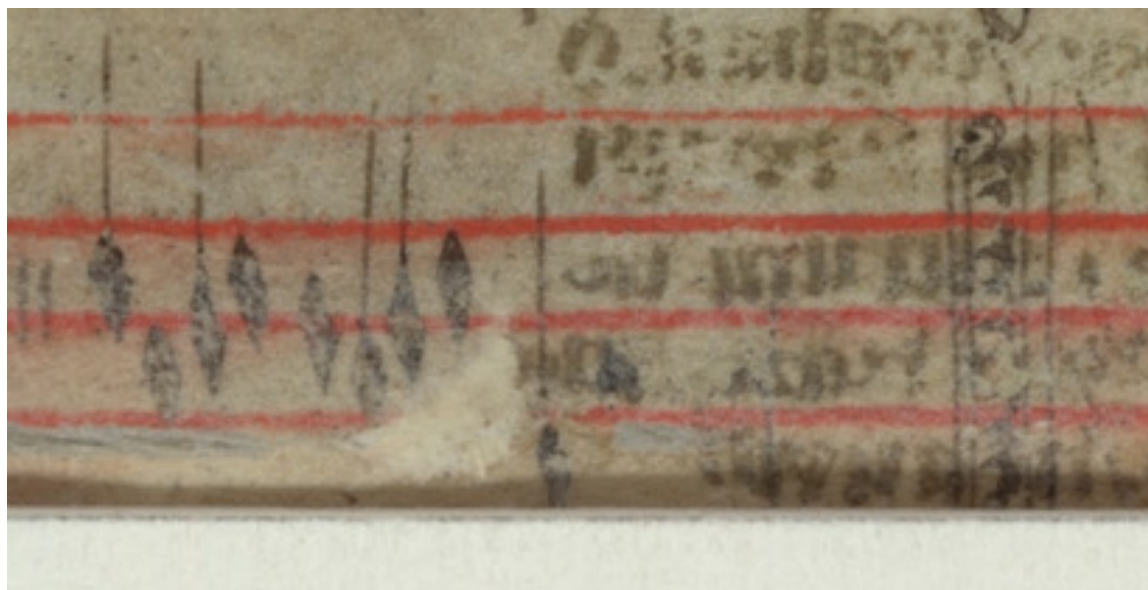
The hypothetical layout of **Padua 675** would be unusual but not inconceivable. The tenor is not text-bearing and can be expressed mainly in ligatures; thus it could probably fit on a single line on the folio containing the beginning C1 and then appear at the foot of page following the end of C1 and C2. But the best hypothetical layout for **Oxford 56** borders on the bizarre. The tenor would move from the bottom of C1's page at the beginning to the bottom of C2's at the end.

The problems of layout disappear if we suspect that the tenor was not ever copied, and that the work had been adjusted to allow for performance by the two upper voices alone. Though this adaptation would be almost as unusual as an odd layout of voices, there is reason to suspect that this may have been the case. The largest problem with removing the lowest voice of a composition is the lone interval of the fourth between the upper voices. The consonant 8–5 sonority becomes a dissonance; the *C–G–c* final chord becomes a bare *G–c*.

Missed in the critical notes in the Ciconia edition is that the final note in cantus 2 is not a *G* in **Padua 675** at all, but an *F*, creating a consonant perfect fifth with the upper voice (and a dissonance with the conventional tenor, if it were present). Figure 2.29 magnifies the end of this work. The majority of the ink from the end has been lifted off of the original folio and is now present on an unrelated folio. It is clear from both folios that the G-line is clear of ink, and clear from the offset folio that a decorated final note is visible on the second space of this *C*<sub>1</sub>-clef. None of this is conclusive evidence that a two-voice version was present, but the possibility should at least be considered.

FIGURE 2.29: PADUA 675, END OF CANTUS 2

Folio 2v



Offsetting on to unrelated folio (mirrored horizontally)



Although there still remain a few (non-passing) perfect fourths in the **Padua 675** version of the Gloria (including at least one added and not in other versions), others have been removed, often through large alterations of the cantus 2 line. For instance, in other sources the phrase “Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe,” ends with cantus 2 descending to *C* below the

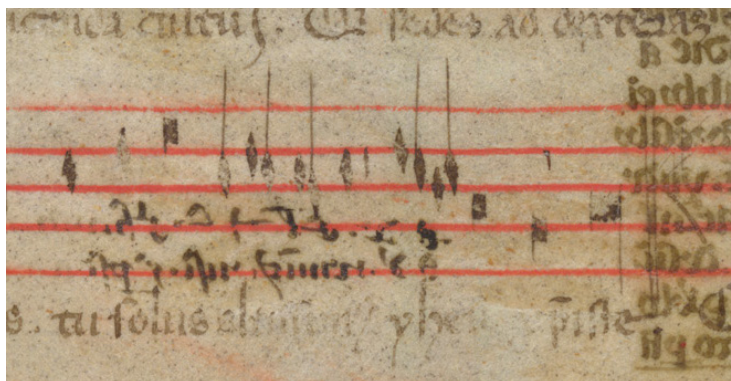
*F* of cantus 1. However in **Padua 675**, like **Warsaw 378**, cantus 2 ascends to *c*, an octave higher, creating a perfect fifth instead of fourth. Compare Figure 2.30 (a) and (b).

FIGURE 2.30: CICONIA, *GLORIA: SUSCIPE TRINITAS*, “TU SOLUS ALTISSIMUS,” *PMFC 24* AND **PADUA 675**

(a) *PMFC 24*, no. 7

Figure 2.30(a) shows a musical score for two voices. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics are: "Tu so - - lus al - - tis - - si - - mus, Je - - su Chri - - ste." The score includes measure numbers 225 and 229-230. A box highlights the final measure of the second staff, which contains the lyrics "Je - - su Chri - - ste." and a final cadence.

(b) **Padua 675** (both voices, *C*<sub>1</sub> clef)



Cantus 1



Cantus 2

We observe treatment of perfects fourths in another of Ciconia's works for two equal voices, *Aler m'en veus*. In that work, perfect fourths are acceptable on both strong beats (especially

between *A* and *d*) so long as a neighbor note between these beats creates a third.<sup>121</sup> The version in **Oxford 56** is too damaged to make any definite judgments about its readings; it is hoped that with further digital restoration we might see if perfect fourths are also evaded in that source.

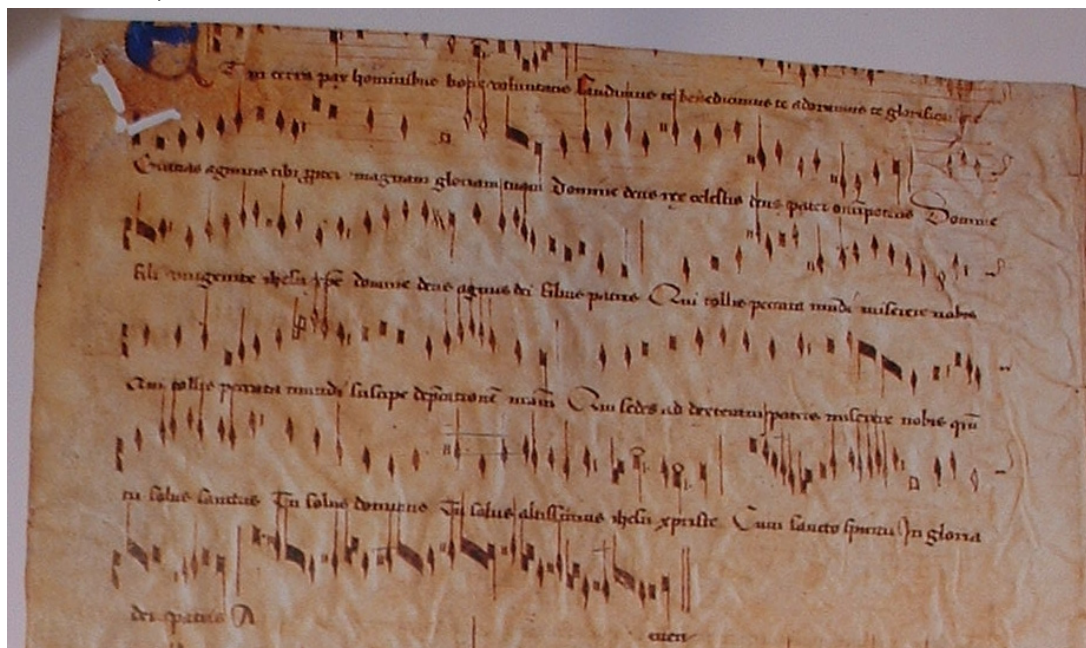
A further identification can be made in the Oxford source. The ending of a Gloria voice on f. 1v is the same as the cantus of a Gloria found in the first of three unrelated manuscripts in Utrecht bound under the shelfmark 1846. A published transcription of the **Utrecht 1846**<sup>1</sup> Gloria questions whether it is complete in two voices or whether a third voice is missing.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately, not enough of the work survives in **Oxford 56** to answer this question, but the presence in an Italian manuscript, where two-voice works are common, suggests that no third voice need be postulated. Details of both sources appear in Figure 2.31.

<sup>121</sup> See m. 2 in the edition Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC 24*, no. 44. Also note the perfect fourth moving to minor seventh in m. 26 with a passing perfect fifth.

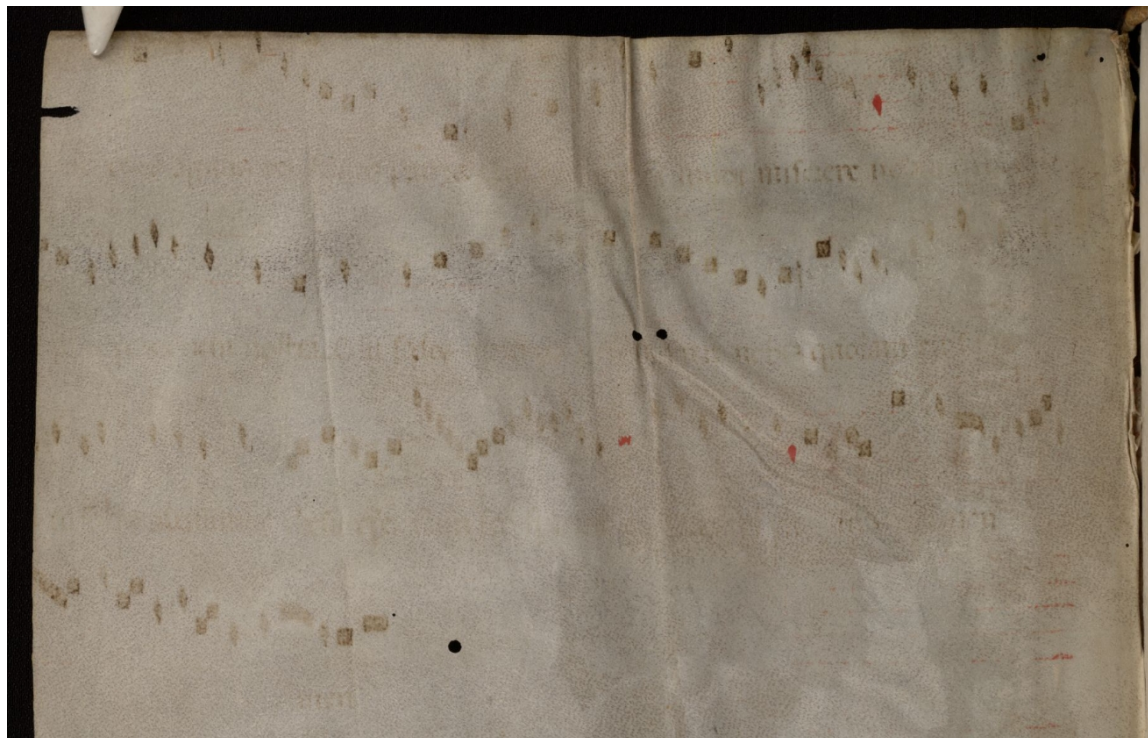
<sup>122</sup> Cattin and Facchin, *PMFC 23a*, no. 48.



FIGURE 2.31: GLORIA, PMFC 23A, NO. 47, UPPER VOICES

Utrecht 1846<sup>1</sup>, f. III Bv

Oxford 56, f. 1v



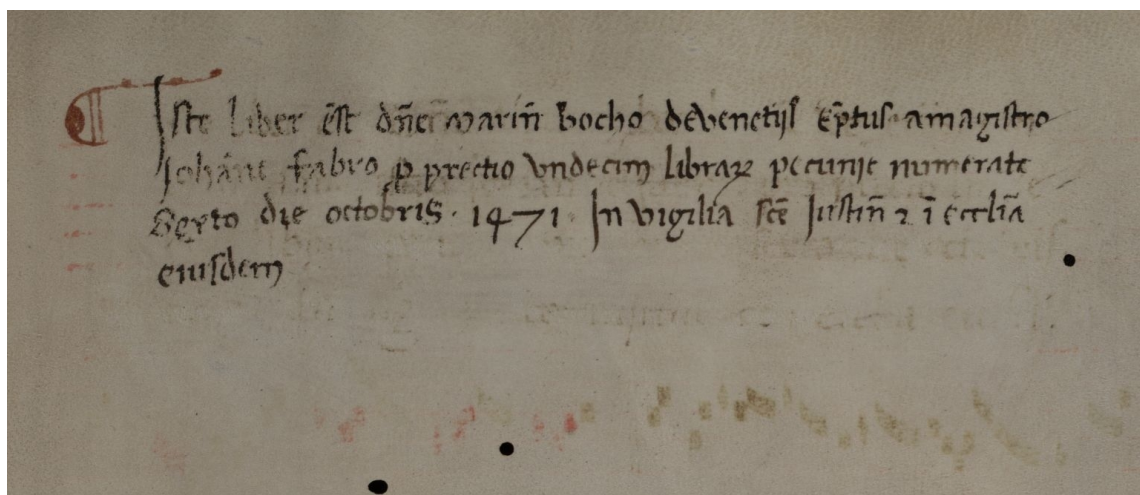
We bring up **Oxford 56** in this section also to raise a question about its connection to Padua and the fragments. Is it a Paduan fragment? It has no mark of possession from S. Giustina, nor is the hand identical to Rolandus's. We have no surviving accidentals to connect it to Paduan practice. But there are some tempting reasons to draw a connection. The repertory is one, to be sure—but on this basis alone, the manuscript could be connected with other sources of Mass music such as **Mod A** or **Civiale**. However, what draws my attention to Padua is not just its presence in Oxford's Canonici collection, which implies it was in the Veneto at the end of the eighteenth century. More interesting are two notes of possession from 1471 and 1475 belonging to the host manuscript: "Iste liber est domine Marine Bocho de Venetiis...sexto die octobris. 1471. In vigilia sancte Iustine et in ecclesia eiusdem" ("On the vigil of St. Justina and in her church," Figure 2.32) and from 1475, "Iste liber est meus Iohannes Barbus." Marina Bocho was the wife of Zuan Barbo, possibly a relative of (or even the same as) Iohannes Barbus (Giovanni Barbo?).<sup>123</sup> I have not yet traced down this Venetian family in the 1470s, so no definite conclusions can be made. But it is possible that this Barbo family is connected to Ludovico Barbo,<sup>124</sup> the reorganizer of the monastery of S. Giustina in Padua. Could this explain the significance of mentioning a purchase not only in the church of St. Justina but on her vigil?

<sup>123</sup> *RISM B IV 1-2<sup>sup</sup>*, pp. 70–71.

<sup>124</sup> And from Ludovico they may be related to the powerful Venetian family which by this point had already seen one of their own, Pietro Barbo, become Pope as Pius II. On Pietro Barbo and music, see Christopher Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995), pp. 43–44, 77.

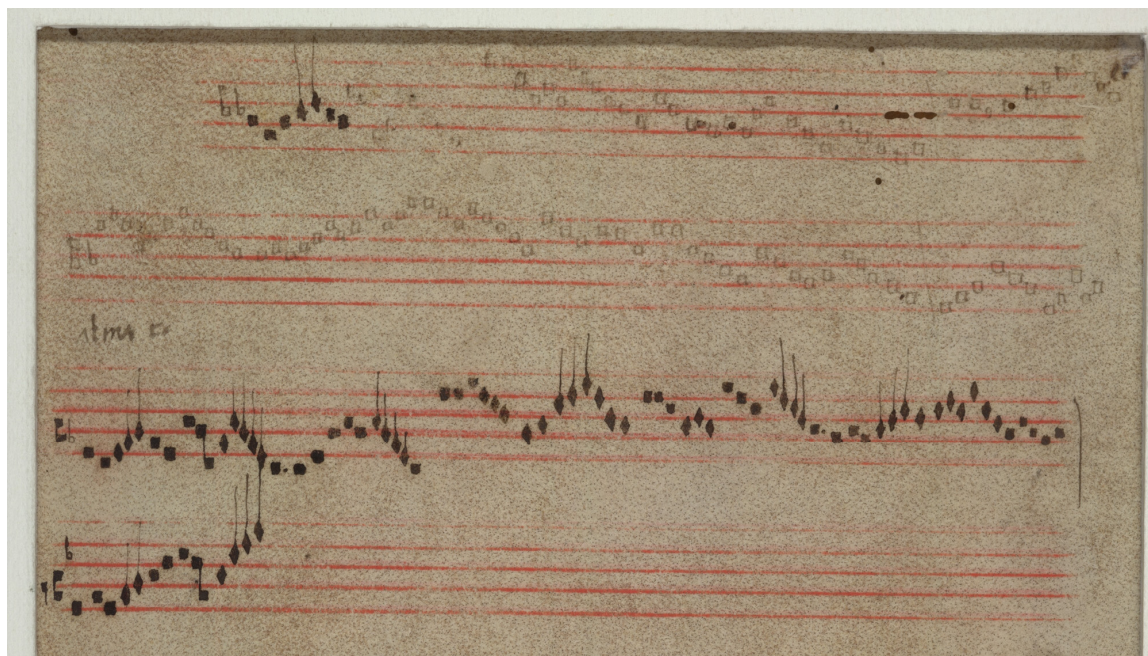


FIGURE 2.32: OXFORD 56, F. 80R, INSCRIPTION (UPSIDE-DOWN WITH RESPECT TO MUSIC)

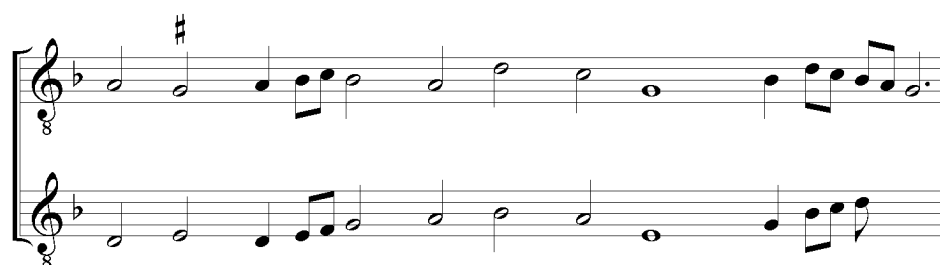


The manuscript has a size and layout that recall that of the Paduan sources. The staves are slightly bigger than most Paduan staves (14.5mm vs. 13.5–14), but the manuscript probably had ten staves per page, like most of the Paduan sources. Though it is a bit heavier, the C-clef slants downward and the custos is shaped like a check. At the least, we may want to move **Oxford 56** (and perhaps **Oxford 16** also of the Canonici collection) into the circle of sources such as **Trent 60**, the **Grottaferrata** sources, and **Reina**, as a manuscript with some ties to Padua or its influence.

Before concluding, brief mention should be made of the other surviving work in **Padua 675**: what appears to be a two-voice composition added later in the fifteenth-century on f. 1v. A detail of the folio appears in Figure 2.33.

FIGURE 2.33: PADUA 675, F. 2V: *ALMA TE*

The incipit at the beginning of the page appears again on the third system but with a different clef. The melody of the second system is duplicated a tenth lower at the beginning of the fourth system—a better solution since it creates opening sonorities of 5–3–5 rather than 6–8–6. In the off-chance that it someday yields a concordance, the two-voice opening in transcribed in Example 2.34, with several errors silently corrected. (The top voice of the work seems to continue in major prolation after the bottom voice was abandoned).

EXAMPLE 2.34: PADUA 675, F. 2V: *ALMA TE*

### **Padua 1106**

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1106.*

RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1106*, pp. 992–94. CCMS 3, 4: *PadU 1106*, vol. 3, pp. 7–8, vol. 4, p. 461.

Though they share a scribe and manuscript layout, **Padua 1106** contains a related but distinct repertory of works from **Padua 1283**, **Padua 1225**, and **Padua 675**. It may be for this reason that the earliest studies of these manuscripts were apprehensive about using the siglum **Pad D** for all four manuscripts.<sup>125</sup>

The source comprises a single folio at the front of the manuscript and a bifolio at the back of the manuscript. (The first folio is now joined to an unrelated folio with modern binding strips, but they do not form a real bifolio).<sup>126</sup> Each page contains a different motet (indicating, among other things, that the bifolio was not the center of a gathering). Since most of the motets occupied an entire opening, at least four of the motets are fragmentary.<sup>127</sup> It is an unfortunate coincidence that the only motet which is surely complete, *O Maria virgo davitica*, is also the only motet for which we have concordances.<sup>128</sup>

Although no attributions survive on any of the motets, tentative attributions have been proposed for four.<sup>129</sup> The strongest is that of *Principum nobilissime* to Francesco da Firenze. The text of that motet includes the line “me Franciscum peregre canentem,” or “I,

<sup>125</sup> Cattin was still cautious about applying the siglum to **Padua 675** and **Padua 1283** in “Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova,” pp. 27–28. Fischer, who discovered three of the fragments, accepted the term from the start, but was more cautious in *RISM B IV 4*, p. 990, saying, “perhaps from the same manuscript.”

<sup>126</sup> The much later hand of the unrelated flyleaf is also found on f. 150 of the host manuscript, indicating a closer connection between that flyleaf and the manuscript than between the music flyleaves and the manuscript.

<sup>127</sup> *Hic est precursor* may be complete or it may be missing a second cantus.

<sup>128</sup> However, neither **Bologna Q15** nor **Munich Emmeram** preserve the alternate four-voice version of the motet found in **Padua 1106**.

<sup>129</sup> On the motets as a group, see Plamenac, “Another Paduan Fragment,” pp. 169–74.

Francesco, singing abroad.” The antiquated style and Visconti dedicatee of *Laudibus dignis* makes Jacopo da Bologna the strongest candidate for that motet’s authorship. Although other composers worked for the Visconti, the acrostic “Luchinus Dux” connects it to Jacopo’s two other works in praise of Luchino, *Lux purpurata* and *Lo lume vostro*.<sup>130</sup> Two motets with Paduan connections, *Paduas ex panis. . . serenas* and *O proles Yspanie*, have been tentatively ascribed to Ciconia, though it should be admitted that a Paduan manuscript would probably have access to more than one composer who might write a piece in praise of Padua.

Bent and Hallmark suggest that the surviving upper voice of each of the two possible Ciconia works is a second cantus. They use two pieces of evidence: the 6–8 cadences at the end of the piece and that the pages were originally rectos and not versos.<sup>131</sup> However, the second statement is a merely a consequence of their conclusion and not evidence for it. Without their belief that the voices are second cantus, there is no reason to believe the folios are reversed.<sup>132</sup> Their first assertion, however, has much merit. Indeed every motet securely ascribed to Ciconia ends with an octave between the tenor and cantus 2, with cantus 1 cadencing a twelfth above the tenor. There is a grand caveat to this assertion: all but two of these motets exist in four-voice versions, which necessitate a wider spacing between tenor and cantus 1 than in three-voice works, if all four voices have a unique cadence tone. All but two of Ciconia’s motets begin with rests in cantus 2, so there is equally strong evidence that these are not cantus 2 voices. We should also consider whether these motets would be more likely

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>131</sup> Bent and Hallmark, *PMFC* 24, p. 208.

<sup>132</sup> Indeed, if *O proles Yspanie* is on a verso then the back flyleaves cannot be a bifolio and my description is of modern repairs rather than the original structure.

to have the cadence structures of other Ciconia motets, found only in later sources such as **Bologna Q15**, or of his three-voice Mass movements, particularly those found in earlier sources. The Mass pieces are almost equally divided between those which favor 12–8 sonorities (four works) and those in which cantus 1 is an octave above the tenor (three works, or four if the one *opus dubium* composition is included). If these are cantus 2 voices, then both of the two pages with a Ciconia motet on it would have to have been bound incorrectly. There is only a 1 in 4 probability that this arrangement would happen by chance. And since the third folio has the same layout of voices as the (possibly) Ciconia works, we would then suspect that it too was bound backwards, lowering the probability to 1 in 8 (12.5%).<sup>133</sup> These probabilities are on top of the low probability that the person who used these folios for binding material did not care which way they were inserted. It seems that substantially more than half the separate folios used as flyleaves are bound in the correct orientation; misbound flyleaves such as **Civiale 63** are the exception.<sup>134</sup> Further, since the layouts of f. 2r and f. 3r are the same, and all three versos are the same, it would be hard to explain how f. 2r, which begins with two longa rests, could be a verso, since the rests clearly indicate that that folio

<sup>133</sup> Since each folio has a 1 in 2 chance of being misbound verso first, the probability of  $n$  folios all being bound backwards is 1 in 2 raised to the  $n$  power.

<sup>134</sup> Bent and Hallmark note that the tenor of *Paduans ex panis* reads “Tenor pastor bonus,” which may indicate either the text of a hypothetical missing cantus 1 (if *Paduans ex panis* is the cantus 2 voice) or be an epithet for the dedicatee, Andrea Carrara (as was done for Francesco Zabarella in *Doctorum principum/Melodia Suavissima/Vir Mitis*). However, for *O proles Yspanie* they concede that the tenor is the same as the incipit of the surviving voice (p. 208). But this tenor is instead evidence to support their view. The incipit differs in detail from “O proles Yspanie,” and is “O proles nobile depositi.” If they are right and the surviving voice is cantus 2 then the motet could have two upper voices with similar incipits like we find on f. 1r with *O Maria virgo davitica/O Maria maris stella*.

contains cantus 2 (and thus is a recto). Thus the conclusion reached by this thesis is that whether or not the voices are by Ciconia, they are all cantus 1.

The motet *Hic est precursor* seems more closely related to secular styles than the other **Pad D** motets. It has a resemblance to **Pad B**'s *Se per durezza* or, especially in the untexted connecting passages, one of Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal such as *O cieco mondo*. Its subject matter, John the Baptist, will become important in connection with **Civiale A** and **Grottaferrata s.s.** below.

The remains of a text are found mostly trimmed at the top of f. 3v. It is much longer than a typical composer attribution, and the hand is not Rolandus's. Only two words have enough of the letters present to attempt an identification: "Sce Justine."<sup>135</sup> The text could thus be a note of possession of the book by the monastery of S. Giustina. There is nothing in the text of the surviving voice to connect the motet (in honor of St. Anthony) to St. Justina of Padua. These marks of possession did not begin to appear until the middle of the fifteenth-century. Thus, this text suggests that **Padua 1106** remained intact long enough to get an S. Giustina mark of possession, and thus longer than **Padua 1283**—impossible if they were the same manuscript! We know from codicological evidence that Rolandus copied at least one manuscript besides **Padua 1283**, i.e., **Stresa 14**. And we also know that other manuscripts with the same layout as **Pad D** (=1283, 1225, and 675) exist (namely, the other

<sup>135</sup> The rebinding of the manuscript between Plamenac's first viewing of it in 1952 and his article of 1955 might have lost us some of the ink of this inscription, which would have been on the old brown-leather covers. Thankfully, the outside boards were preserved. Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment," p. 167.

members of the **S. Giustina Project**; see below). We should then revisit the possibility that **Padua 1106** could have been a different manuscript than the other parts of **Pad D**.

#### **Padua 14**

*Padua, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, catastico VII, busta 14.*  
*No mention in either RISM or CCMS.*

The most recent fragment of sacred music from Padua to be discovered is the remains of a bifolio used as protection for part of the “registro degli istrumenti del monastero di S. Giustina.”<sup>136</sup> Although it is a bifolio, it contains only a single work. Folio B is cut so that only 39mm of parchment remains, containing an initial letter P (= “Patrem”?) and a second letter, which is difficult to read, while f. Av is blank.<sup>137</sup> These blank sheets may indicate that the folio is the outside folio of a gathering,<sup>138</sup> but between **Padua 675** and **Padua 1027** (see below) there are enough empty sheets to suggest that the typical music manuscript in Padua was unfinished even in inner bifolios. Rather than being the remnant of a large codex, Facchin has suggested that the page could be from a *pecia*, that is, a section of a larger manuscript, usually a university approved exemplar, divided up for easier copying,<sup>139</sup> or the manuscript could just as easily be an apopecia, a copy made from a *pecia*,<sup>140</sup> but these theories are mainly speculative.

<sup>136</sup> Facchin, “Una nuova fonte,” p. 116.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117. **Munich 3223** is another Italian bifolio with only the tiniest sliver of music remaining on one of the folios. All that remains from the second sheet of that source are clefs on the recto, and custodes and a hand (pointing to continuation of a voice on the following sheet) on the verso.

<sup>138</sup> Suggested in *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

<sup>140</sup> Defined in the writings of Father Leonard E. Boyle, including “Peciae, Apopeciae, and a Toronto MS. of the *Sententia Libri Ethicorum* of Aquinas,” in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*:

The recto of f. A contains a the cantus voice of a Credo attributed to Sortes (or Sortis) in some of its many concordances (including **Civiale A**, below). The work and the numerous *differentiae* in **Padua 14** were comprehensively described by Facchin.

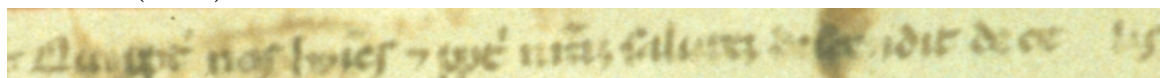
The scribe of **Padua 14** uses many signs of abbreviation in the text, enough that Facchin asserted that this usage distinguishes the fragment from the other Paduan sources.<sup>141</sup> However, the extreme compression of textual space may not be a scribal peculiarity, but instead a result of trying to squeeze an entire text-bearing voice of a Credo onto one folio. We should compare this voice to other such attempts in the Paduan fragments.

Indeed there is one such case for comparison, Berlatus's Credo in **Oxford 229**, f. 34v (inventory no. 5). When we compare the two works' texts side-by-side, **Padua 14**'s use of abbreviations no longer stand out (Figure 2.35).

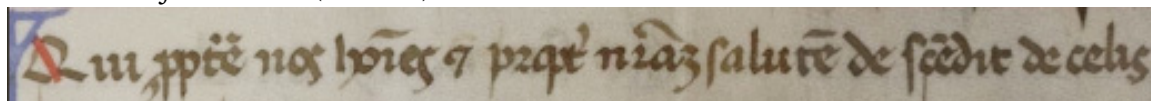
FIGURE 2.35: USE OF ABBREVIATIONS IN CREDOS

*Text: Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de celis.*

**Padua 14** (Sortis)



**Oxford 229** from Pad A (Berlatus)<sup>142</sup>



*Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September–1 October 1982*, edited by Peter Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 71.

<sup>141</sup> Facchin, “Una nuova fonte,” p. 118.

<sup>142</sup> The text of two staves has been digitally connected at “salu-tem” and the brightness of the two lines equalized. However, obviously, the width and height of the two examples have not been altered.



Although much remains to be said about the relationship between the physical dimensions of **Padua 14** and other Paduan fragments, it is best delayed until a discussion of **Padua 1027** and the **S. Giustina Project**.

### **Padua 1115 (Pad B)**

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1115.*

RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 1115*, pp. 995–96. CCMS 3, 4: *PadU 1115*, vol. 3, pp. 8–9, vol. 4, p. 461.

The fragment, **Padua 1115** or **Pad B**, consists of a single parchment bifolio of secular polyphony used as front flyleaves for a 15th century manuscript. That manuscript, rebound in modern covers, contains the *Sermones* of Hieronymus and treatises on morality. The first folio in the present ordering, designated folio A, bears on its recto side the call number of the manuscript from the catalogues of the manuscripts and books in the library of the monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua from 1724 and 1740, “YY.2.n° 23” and “AC 3” respectively. The cover of the manuscript has been replaced by modern cardboard and the spine of the manuscript has become detached from the end gatherings of the manuscript, allowing easy examination of the gathering structure. There are thirteen gatherings in the main manuscript. The manuscript lacks a consistent layout, suggesting it was the work of several scribes.

The two folios of music give no indication as to their original foliation. The current foliation found in the upper-right corner of the versos is A and B. In their size and layout, the fragments resemble extremely closely **Pad A**, **Pad D**, and **Padua 14**. The top and bottom edges of the folios have probably not been trimmed since the fragment is smaller than the parchment of the rest of the manuscript. Folio A measures *ca.* 315mm x 230mm (height vs. width). Each page is ruled with 10 five-line staves which measure 14mm. The staff lines begin at nearly the same distance from the left margin on every staff of each page. The exception to this is found on folio Br where the first staff has been indented to allow room for

the large initial letter “E,” which was never added. There are also slight variations which indicate the left margin was not carefully laid out. For example, the final stave on f. Ar begins several millimeters right of the other staves on the page. The staff lines on the right sides of the first folio end at various distances from the right margin. The sixth staves of f. Ar and f. Av, for instance, are shorter than the other staves on their respective pages.

As a source, **Pad B** represents a true mixture of Italian and French works and influence. The first surviving page (f. Ar) comprises two works: a two-voice, anonymous ballata in a clearly Italian style, along with an unidentified contratenor with a characteristically *ars subtilior* use of both red and void-red notation. The next two pages (ff. Av and Br) contrast a French work by Ciconia, a northern composer working in Italy (*Aler m'en veus*) with one by a French composer whose works are known primarily through Italian manuscripts (Senleches's *En ce gracieux temps*). The final page contains two works in Italian, but one by the immigrant northerner Ciconia (*Dolçe fortuna*) and one by a native (Antonellus da Caserta's *A pianger l'ochi*) who was not above composing French-texted works himself.

Although from a single bifolio we cannot say whether the manuscript was ever completed, the surviving layout allows us to make some remarks about the system of collecting music. The evidence from the works at the tops of f. Ar, Br, and Bv suggests that the scribe's preferred layout was to copy a piece on a single page rather than across an opening.<sup>143</sup> This predilection explains why we have three complete works in a single bifolio that was probably

<sup>143</sup> A similar preference is seen in the other fragments of the **S. Giustina Project**, and on f. Av of **Pad C**. However, the presence of just the first name “Johes” at the top of f. Av of **Pad B** suggests that “Ciconia” appeared at the top of the following recto, and that the entire opening was reserved for his works.

not the center of a gathering; an unusually high number. Ciconia's *Aler m'en veus* is an exception to this scheme. Folio Av contains the cantus of the work on the first five staves, leaving the final five blank. It has always been supposed that the second voice was copied on a lost, adjacent recto, but there is no good reason why it was not copied on the final five staves.<sup>144</sup> We should therefore leave open the possibility that **Pad B** never transmitted the tenor voice.

It has been asserted that **Pad B** provides us with evidence that **Reina** is Paduan. Stoessel found some evidence for direct copying of *En ce gracieux temps joli* from **Reina** to **Pad B**.<sup>145</sup> Certainly there are elements which connect the **Pad B** version strongly to the **Reina** version. Stoessel suggests three:

1. Incorrect text underlay in both sources, placing two syllables ("le bois") in the place of one ("vois")
2. A flat sign (B<sub>b</sub>) similarly placed in both sources.
3. Consistent use of the same ligature groupings.

The final two of these elements are disputable. The flat sign is not in fact similarly placed. **Reina** places it in the margin, three notes before it needed to be used, as if it were to become a new key signature. **Padua 1115**, on the other hand, places the symbol only one note before it is needed, but between an octave jump from *C* to *c*; i.e., at the point where the singer must switch hexachords.

While it is true that there is more consistency between the ligatures of **Reina** and **Pad B** than between either and **Mod A**, the evidence does not support the charge of "slavish

<sup>144</sup> Although *Aler m'en veus*'s text is unique, a contrafact of the work is found in **Bologna Q15** as "O beatum incendium." This work allows us to make statements about the number of staves needed to copy the tenor.

<sup>145</sup> Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe," pp. 161–62.

copying.” There are three ligature differences between **Reina** and **Pad B**, six between **Reina** and **Mod A**, and ten between **Pad B** and **Mod A**. Although most of **Pad B**’s differences with **Mod A** come from the triplum, the two sources agree in placing the voice below the tenor. A slavish copyist might have copied **Reina**’s placement of the voice at the top of the page. Finally, we should caution against making weighty conclusions based on evidence from one work. Most sources have individual pieces which agree closely with the reading in one concordant source. We would want more than a (slightly) higher correlation of ligatures between copies of one work to make such a strong statement about the provenance of **Reina**—a conclusion which would surely be used in the future to give provenance to other manuscripts.<sup>146</sup>

The first work in **Pad B**, the *unicum* anonymous ballata *Se per dureça*, could be passed over as it has already appeared in an accurate transcription.<sup>147</sup> However, it is in some ways a hidden gem of a piece and is worthy of a closer look. (Transcription in Example 2.36, below). The piece mixes several simple characteristics, such as unison cadences approached by ornamental parallel unisons (e.g., mm. 4–5, 6–7, 23–24). These moments,

<sup>146</sup> Another argument in favor of a Paduan provenance for **Reina** was made in Nádas, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony,” pp. 187–89. Nádas argued that the large space left for an initial letter at the beginning of gathering 2 (Bartolino de Padova’s section) indicates that this is a manuscript from Padua leaving pride of place for her native son. But why place him in the second gathering? Nádas suggests that what is now gathering 2 was intended to be gathering 1. But if it were meant to be the first gathering, and therefore the beginning of the book, we have enough reason for a large initial letter without suggesting a local connection. In fact, the ultimate presence of Jacopo’s *Sotto l’impero* at the beginning of **Pit.** argues even more strongly against postulating a Paduan origin for **Reina**. Surely, we cannot simultaneously argue that the Paduans were both provincial enough to give pride of place to their own *and* had thorough knowledge of Florentine traditions of manuscript organization?

<sup>147</sup> Marrocco, *PMFC 11*, pp. 139–40.

along with the unabashed parallel fifths of m. 38 find some resonance in the siciliana tradition.<sup>148</sup> The distinguishing motive of the cantus is a three-note descending scale. The alternation between eighth notes and triplets for this motive provide uneven accents which work against the prevailing meters of the tenor (usually  $\frac{3}{4}$  but also an implied  $\frac{6}{8}$  from time to time). The beaming of the transcription accentuates these motives. The syncopation of a triplet group by an eighth-note in m. 18 is a rhythmic complexity which would be unusual at any point after the early quattrocento and before the twentieth century.

<sup>148</sup> On this tradition, see Nino Pirrotta, "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt*, edited by Laurence Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 271–91

EXAMPLE 2.36: PADUA 1115, F. AR: *SE PER DUREÇA*

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of five systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The lyrics are in Italian. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and accidentals.

**System 1:**

Vocal: [S]e per du - - re - ça tu mo -  
 Lute: [S]e per - du - - re - ça tu mo -

**System 2:**

Vocal: 7  
 rit me fa - - - y, do-na da  
 Lute: rit me fa - - - y, do-na da

**System 3:**

Vocal: 15  
 cui mer - çe tro - - ve - rò ma - - -  
 Lute: cui mer - çe tro - - ve - rò ma - - -

**System 4:**

Vocal: 20  
 y. E me cre - - de -  
 Lute: y. E me cre - - de -

**System 5:**

Vocal: 28  
 va che'l mio gran ser - vi - - re  
 Lute: va che'l mio gran ser - vi - - re

34  
t'a - - - - - ve - se ven - ta se

40  
ma - y fos - ti cru - - - - - da.  
ma - y f[lo]s - ti cru - - - - - da.

The lack of texts for the second piede and volta is another unusual facet of the work. There was certainly room on the page to copy them, so we should not assume that they were written on the (lost) preceding verso. Instead of being a typical ballata minore, *Se per durezza* may have been part of a small group of works, including the siciliana-ballata *Fenir mia vita*, in ballata style but without the textual form of a ballata.<sup>149</sup> The lack of these texts cannot be attributed to a lack of interest in the proper transmission of the words of the ballata. An erasure of the syllable “de,” shown in Figure 2.37, demonstrates that proper placement of syllables was important to the copyist.

<sup>149</sup> *Se per durezza* has a contrafact text, *Se tu l'iniquità osserverai*, in the *cantasi come* manuscript Florence 130 f. 23v; however, no more lines of music are extant in that source either. I thank Blake Wilson for sharing his expertise on this source with me. The presence of this text in a Florentine text source, and expectation by the scribe that the reader would know the music, means that this work was not purely local in its circulation.

FIGURE 2.37: “E ME CREDEVA CHEL” FROM *SE PER DUREÇA* SHOWING ERASURE AND REWRITING OF “DE”

The other composition on f. Ar was not made part of *PMFC*. It is an untexted contratenor of a work whose incipit, “Ay si,” leaves some doubt about the language of the piece. It may be a ballade, judging by open and close endings at the middle of the music. Although it is only the contratenor, and thus probably the second most complex voice, it still presents the most complicated musical notation in the fragment (or even in the Paduan fragments as a whole, excepting *Sus unne fontaine*). The transcription in Example 2.38 begins with a long passage in void-red notes before switching to black notation with occasional solid red notes.



EXAMPLE 2.38: *AY SI*, CONTRATENOR (F. 1R)<sup>150</sup>

(void red until m. 29)

[C]ont[ratenor] de Ay si

(void red, from m. 1 ends) 2

1. 2.

Secunda pars

Contrary to Fischer's suggestion, *Ay si* is almost certainly not a later addition.<sup>151</sup> Given that the untexted contratenor occupied three staves on f. Ar, the two other voices could

<sup>150</sup> The two *d*'s of m. 38 may be interpreted as a one-pitch ligature.

<sup>151</sup> *RISM B IV 4*, p. 995.

easily have taken up the entirety of the preceding verso; thus this was not a work added to space at the bottom of a page. Instead, when taken together with Senleches's *En ce gracieux temps*,<sup>152</sup> the likelihood is high that the **Pad B** scribe also collected works of full *ars subtilior* complexity.

### **Padua 1027 and the S. Giustina Project**

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1027.*

*No description in RISM or CCMS.*

*I had not seen my father so gleeful since he found two pages of second-century papyrus between the leaves of a Lombardic breviary. — Evelyn Waugh, Brideshead Revisited*

Readers who have advanced this far will, I trust, find it as easy to understand this father's glee at his discovery as to appreciate Waugh's ironic dismissal. But even an audience captivated by the scholarly advances that even a few scattered leaves can bring may be hard-pressed to feel their hearts rise at the contents of the newest source from Padua: two blank folios of ruled music paper from the trecento. The significance of this particular new discovery then comes not from its own empty contents, but for the shift it engenders in the relations among the so-called Paduan fragments.

In her catalog of the now dispersed monastic library of Santa Giustina, Cantoni Alzati wrote the following statement within the entry for the manuscript which is today Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1027: "I fogli di guardia sono frammenti di un codice con tetragramma musicale." Since I was in the process of ordering all manuscripts with musical con-

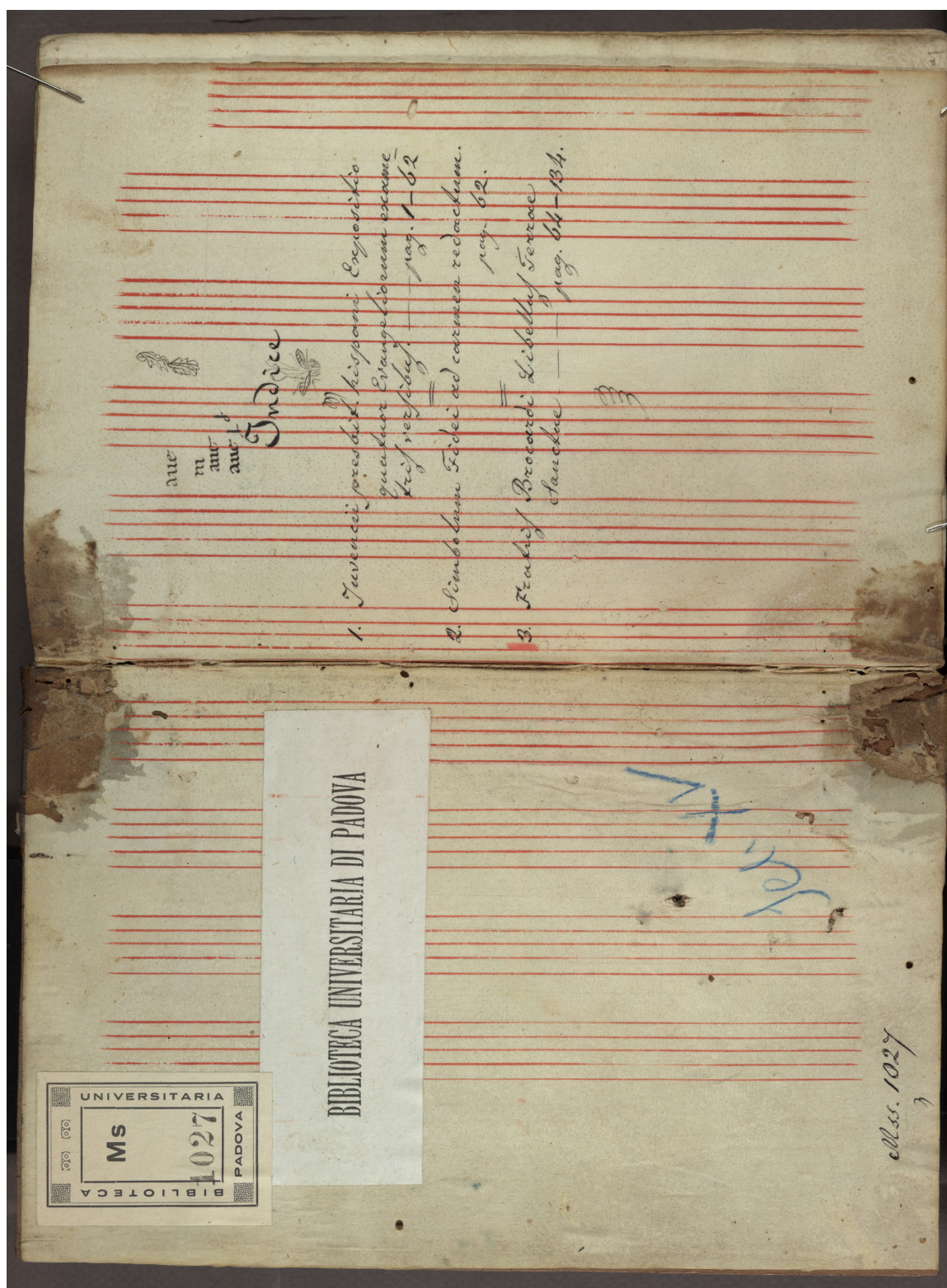
<sup>152</sup> Note the the third voice of this piece is designated "Contratenor de *En ce* sive triplum," and not "sine triplum," *contra* Garbelotto, "Il trecento musicale italiano in alcuni frammenti padovani," pt. 1, p. 12. The voice is simply called "triplum" in **Reina** and **Mod A**. Still surprising, but hardly unusual upon wider examination, are the lack of true French sources for the work. The fourth source is the Imperial manuscript **Strasbourg 222**.

tents along with manuscripts on the same fifteenth-century shelf as the known Paduan fragments,<sup>153</sup> even an entry promising four-line staves seemed worth a consultation.

The actual manuscript, however contained on its pasted-down front and back fly-leaves not “tetragramma” but “pentagramma;” in fact they were five-line staves of a character exceedingly familiar. (See Figure 2.39).

<sup>153</sup> In the interest of not duplicating negative research, a list of Paduan manuscripts *without* polyphony is available from the author.

FIGURE 2.39: PADUA 1027, FRONT PASTEDOWN (F. AR)



After the initial disappointment that the folios were blank,<sup>154</sup> came the quick recognition based on the number of staves, their color, their size and that of the sheet, and the indentation for the first staff, that these sheets were part of a Paduan fragment. But which one?

Measurements revealed that the staves of **Padua 1027** were in fact approximately the same size as those of the three fragments of **Pad A**. However, **Pad B**'s, and the four fragments of **Pad D** also matched the new manuscript. Furthermore, the rastrum used throughout the Paduan fragments is not perfectly even. In **Pad A** and **Pad D** (and to a lesser extent, in **Pad B**), the two inner spaces are slightly narrower than the others. Precise measurements of the staves of **Padua 675** made with the Nuovo Mondo imaging machine at the Biblioteca Universitaria gave the distances as follows:

3.9 mm
3.4 mm
3.2 mm
4.0 mm

**Padua 14** may also be part of this group. Its rastrum has been measured as 13mm, slightly smaller than **Padua 1027**, and **Pad A**, **B**, and **D**. But it is possible that the 10% or so difference can be explained by less precise instruments used to make measurements and a general creasing of the parchment which may have resulted in a slight shrinking throughout. The red ink is the same throughout **Pad** fragments **A**, **B**, **D**, **14**, and **1027** (and **C** and **553(a)**).

<sup>154</sup> Since half of one face on both the front and back covers are still pasted to the manuscript, there is at least the possibility that some music is on those pages. But it is extremely unlikely, especially given that there is no show-through.

Not only did the new source have the same number of staves as Pad A, B, D, and 14, the same indentations were left on the first staff for initial letters. Further, the writing space was similar to that of the known fragments. Both the slightly smaller writing space of **Pad D** and the slightly wider space of **Pad A** are found on various staves of **Padua 1027**. Table 2.40 summarizes the measurements:

TABLE 2.40: MEASUREMENTS OF SOME PADUAN FRAGMENTS

	Originally (est.)	Currently	Writing space	Staff height
A <b>Oxford 229</b>	325 x 235 (s)	325 x 235 (s)	235 x 180 (s)	13.5 (s)
A <b>Padua 1475</b>	320 x 245 (r)	275 x 240 (c)	230 x 180 (s)	13.5 (s)
A <b>Padua 684</b>	325 x 235 (c)	315 x 215 (r)	230 x 180 (s)	13.5 (s)
D <b>Padua 1225</b>	305 x 230 (fnq)	305 x 230 (fnq)	230 x 165 (s)	13.5 (c)
D <b>Padua 1283</b>	310 x 240 (c)	210 x 140 (s)	[trimmed]	14.0 (c)
D <b>Padua 675</b>	310 x 240 (c)	280 x 210 (r)	245 x 165 (c)	14.5 (c)
D <b>Padua 1106</b>	305 x 230 (r)	290 x 205 (r)	240 x 170–75 (c)	14.0 (c)
<b>Padua 1027</b>	320 x 235 (c)	290 x 215 (c)	240 x 175–80 (c)	14.0 (c)
<b>Padua 1115</b>	330 x 230 (r)	315 x 230 (r)	240 x 185 (s)	14.0 (s)
<b>Padua 14</b>	315 x 240 (ff)	290 x 205 (ff)	230 x 180 (ff)	13.0 (ff)

All measurements are rounded to the nearest 5mm, except staff height which was rounded to the nearest 0.5mm (where such precise data was available). I have purposely chosen to take measurements from as many sources as possible to avoid the bias that could result from measuring every fragment myself, since manuscripts can be measured at any number of places to get slightly different results. The following abbreviations are used for the citations:

- (c) Cuthbert, new measurements and estimates.
- (ff) Facchin, “Una nuova fonte.”
- (fnq) Fischer, “Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts.”
- (r) *RISM B IV 4*.
- (s) Stoessel, “The Captive Scribe,” p. 151.

The column marked “currently” is the least important for studying the original relations among the fragments. The original size is the most important, but since they are all estimates (even the supposition that **Oxford 229** is not trimmed is an educated guess), it is also the least accurate. Thus writing space and staff height are the least affected by the interventions of time and scholarly judgment. Although Table 2.40 does not show complete

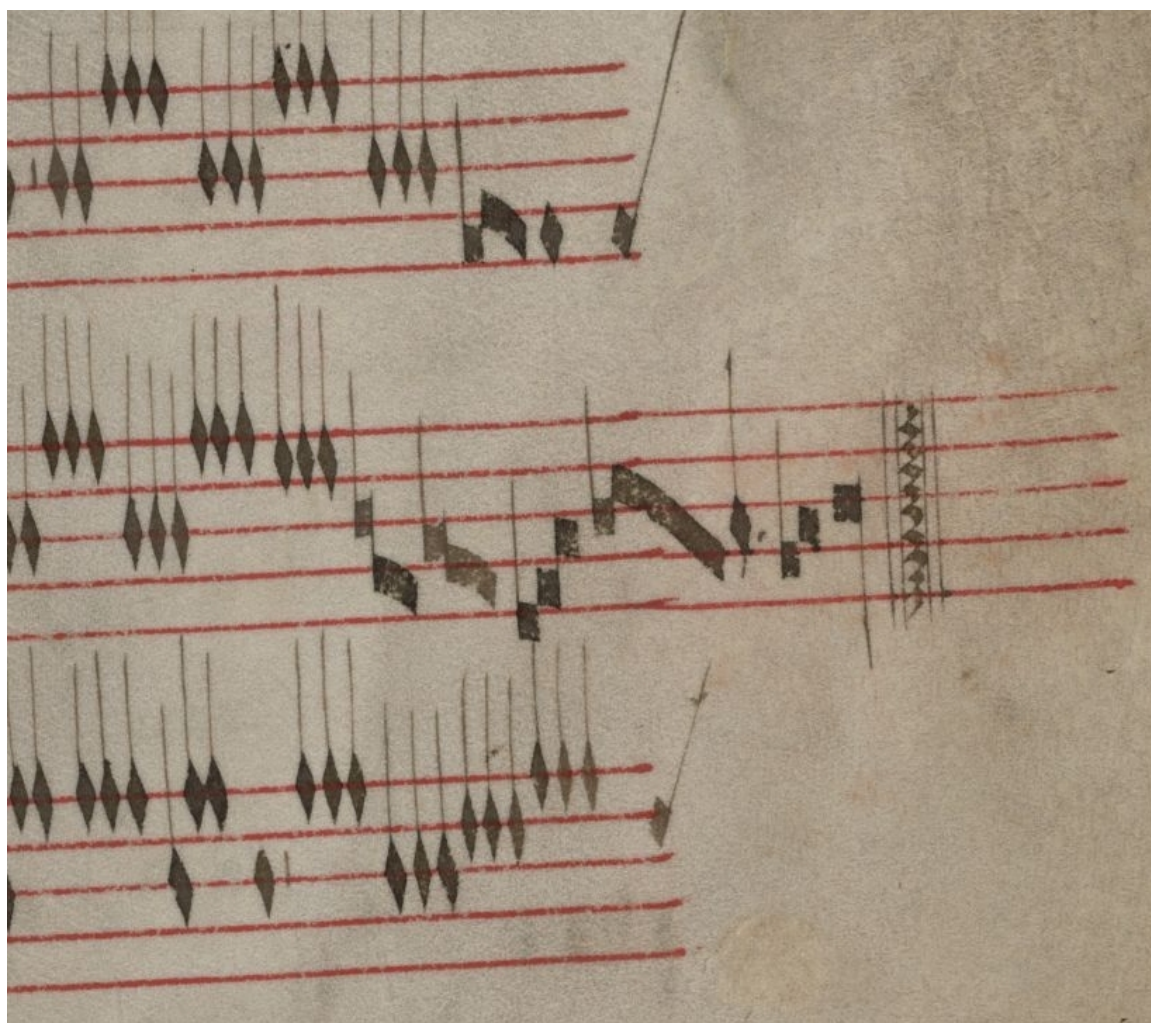
agreement in every detail among the sources, none differs more than by a centimeter or two in their estimated size or writing space. Note also that even within the **Pad A** and **Pad D** groups some variation in size occurs. Variations between the different groups manuscripts may be exaggerated since most of the estimates did not take into account the possibility that fragments outside the **Pad A** group could have margins (especially bottom margins) as large as those in **Oxford 229**. Taking such a possibility into account (as I did for my **Padua 1027** and **Padua 684** estimates, but not for **Pad D**) would reduce the differences among fragments dramatically. In short, the ten fragments did not differ codicologically from each other in any significant way that would make it possible to decide from which of these Paduan fragments **Padua 1027** comes.<sup>155</sup>

The significance of a blank, but ruled sheet of parchment would be diminished if such leaves were prepared long in advance of the manuscript itself. Perhaps such a ruled sheet could be purchased from merchants outside the scriptorium, prepared by scribes with no connection to the later production of the polyphonic manuscript. This was not the case, however, as evidence from **Oxford 229** shows (Figure 2.41).

<sup>155</sup> Many readers will note that several fragments, nearly universally discussed with the Paduan fragments, have been omitted from discussion here. These are **Padua 656**, **Padua 658 (Pad C)**, **Padua 553**, and **Stresa 14**. Their relationship with these sources will be taken up shortly.



FIGURE 2.41: OXFORD 229, F. 37R, *SONES CES NACHARES*, ADDED STAFF





(Figure 2.41 continued): Detail of staff alignment:



The scribe realizes that he is running out of space and, in the midst of copying the music, adds a few extra centimeters of staff. The rastrum and the ink that he uses match up perfectly with the rest of the page, showing that he had access to the materials used to prepare the page. Thus we can be sure that the preparation of the page was integral with the copying of the music.

Is it unusual to have ten fragments, presumably from several different manuscripts, with the same page preparation? Yes. There are no similar cases of fragments from different manuscripts having the same material, size, ink colors, rastrum width, and number of staves

and staff lines. In fact, in all other cases I have been able to find, having the same page preparation is sufficient to establish that two fragments come from the same manuscript,<sup>156</sup> even if they have no contiguous pieces, their repertories differ significantly (as in the case of **Cortona 1** and **Cortona 2**),<sup>157</sup> or if there is a change of scribal hand or decoration (such as in the Cividale manuscripts; see below). Facchin expresses this dictum most succinctly when, writing on the fragments **Frosinone 266** and **Frosinone 267** (see Chapter 3) he says:

i due frammenti non erano contigui nel codice dal quale provengono, presumibilmente lo stesso vista l'identità degli specchi di scrittura.

*The two fragments were not contiguous in the codex from which they originated, presumably the same [codex] given the identity of their writing spaces' size.*<sup>158</sup>

This statement is accepted despite the change in hands between the two fragments.<sup>159</sup> The closeness of two sources necessary to consider them a single manuscript has been loosened even further in some cases, such as the manuscripts **Trent 1563** and **Krakow 40582**, about which Martin Staehelin wrote:

Nun ist bisher übersehen worden, daß dieses Blatt innerhalb der mehrstimmigen Überlieferung dieser Zeit und Gegend nicht allein steht: es existieren sogar zwei Blätter, die offensichtlich der selben Provenienzhandschrift entstammen.

*Up until now it has been overlooked that this leaf [Trent 1563] is not alone as the contents of the polyphonic tradition of this time and region: there also exist two folios [Krakow 40582] which seemingly come from the same original manuscript.*<sup>160</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Indeed, Cantoni Alzati, working entirely on codicological rather than repertorial grounds, claimed that all these manuscripts came from the same source, excepting **Padua 1027** and **Padua 14** about which she was unaware (*La biblioteca*, pp. 23 and 57).

<sup>157</sup> Most recent and best description in Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels," pp. 82–85.

<sup>158</sup> Francesco Facchin, "Le fonti di polifonia trecentesca italiana alla luce degli ultimi ritrovamenti: parte prima," *Fonti musicali italiane* 2 (1997), p. 13.

<sup>159</sup> Identified in Giuliana Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, "Due nuovi frammenti di musica profana del primo Quattrocento nell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone," *Studi musicali* 24 (1995), p. 189.

<sup>160</sup> "Reste einer oberitalienischen Messenhandschrift des Frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," *Studi Musicali* 27 (1998), p. 8

For Staehelin, the clear evidence that **Krakow 40582** has ten five-line staves while **Trent 1563** has nine six-line staves could be overridden by similar handwriting and repertorial considerations.<sup>161</sup>

Though the necessary codicological similarities have been satisfied by these Paduan fragments, there are still two main reasons (beyond scholarly inertia) that the sources are not considered a single source: concordances between **Pad A** and **Pad D**, and handwriting differences among the groups. Concordances would seem to at least rule out uniting those two groups of sources (though not the others), but is it so rare to have the same work copied twice in the same manuscript? *Tra verdi frondi in isola 'n sul fonte* by Paolo appears twice (ff. 36v–37r, 46v–47r) in **Pit. Bologna Q 15** has a number of pieces with multiple copies, particularly noticeable when removed pieces on the backs of reused initial letters are included. We also note that manuscripts that already have at least one work copied twice, such as **Pad A** with its *Gloria: Clementie pax*, are more likely to have further works appear multiple times. **London 29987**, for instance, has several pieces copied more than once: the madrigals *O dolce appress'* (ff. 1v–2r and 3v–4r), *Quando la terra* (ff. 13v–14r and 20v–21r) and the fragmentary caccia *In forma quasi* (ff. 31r and 68v).<sup>162</sup> So though we concede that this repetition

<sup>161</sup> Compare the two parallel photographs, Plates 2 and 3, in *ibid.* Even the repertory of the Krakow fragment—N. Zacharie and Legrant—is later than the Zachara Gloria of the Trent source. The Krakow leaves have the same number of staves as the Paduan sources just described, but their dimensions are larger. A similar difference between five- and six-line manuscripts was not noticed by Brumana and Ciliberti in the binding strips of **Perugia 15755**. Fortunately, the differences were also noted by Oliver Huck who also discusses its implications in his review of their *Frammenti Musicali Del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N. F.* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004), forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*.

<sup>162</sup> Eugene Fellin, "A Study of Superius Variants in the Sources of Italian Trecento Music: Madrigals and Cacce," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970), pp. 16–18. Inventory, Giuliano

makes it less likely that the fragments came from a single source, it is nowhere near impossible.

The changes in handwriting are the final important reason given to reject a single-manuscript hypothesis. It has long been known that the four fragments of **Pad D**, along with the codicologically different (though still similar) **Stresa 14**, share a single hand, that of Rolandus de Casali who signed his name in two of the fragments. Important work on the scribes in the other fragments has recently been conducted, advancing our knowledge of these manuscripts.<sup>163</sup> Still needed is a reassessment of some of the fundamental assumptions of manuscript relationships and paleography in Padua.

---

di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (London, British Library, Additional 29987)," *Studi Musicali* 20 (1991), pp. 223–33.

<sup>163</sup> Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe," pp. 151–55. Since all but one of Stoessel's text scribes accords with a single music scribe, I believe we can state that the same hand copied both text and music. The only exception is the manuscript **Trent 60**, which Marco Gozzi has proposed is a Paduan fragment on the basis of scribal connections with **Oxford 229**, and from there, one assumes, the rest of **Pad A** ("Un nuovo frammento trentino di polifonia del primo Quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 21 (1992), pp. 238–39). There is not the place for a full discussion of this source, but some brief remarks are needed on why this study does not integrate the new manuscript. Not only are the codicological features entirely different (including the fact that the manuscript is a palimpsest on a chant source), but there are many paleographical differences. The F-clefs are not at all similar. The characteristic sectional divisions of **Pad A** are not present. **Trent 60**'s use of "Z" instead of "Ç" is seen in the Paduan fragments only in **Padua 553(c)**. And I cannot find the scribe's "S" form anywhere in **Oxford 229**. Two of Gozzi's two principal pieces of evidence linking the source to Padua are the checkmark-style custodes and the flat sign with a dot in it. Neither of these styles are unique to Padua. At least 17 non-Paduan manuscripts use the check style custodes, while the somewhat rarer flat-with-dot can be seen also in **Siena 207** and possibly other manuscripts. We will return to the unusual mensuration of **Trent 60**'s "Di vertù vidi" under the discussion of **Padua 553(b)**. Finally, it should be noted that I have not been able to successfully create a canonic line out of the fragment, ...*chi cava'l morso fuore*. Gozzi and Stoessel have independently reported in correspondence that they too were not able to align two lines to their satisfaction. Therefore, for the present we should reclassify the work as either non-canonic or as an extremely active tenor to a caccia.

Important similarities among the hands in these manuscripts have been overlooked because these similarities have been considered common to Paduan paleographic style. These characteristics, including flats and sharps with dots in them, and C-clefs which slant downward, create a local style only if they were used by multiple scribes working independently from one another. If these fragments instead represent a single manuscript or even a single concentrated effort to produce manuscripts, then the notion of Paduan paleography disappears.

In particular one should not discount the importance of the similarity, even identity, among the sectional decorations of **Pad A**, **Pad D**, and **Stresa 14**. Is it even possible to distinguish the scribes of the decorations in Figure 2.42?

FIGURE 2.42: DECORATED SECTIONAL DIVIDERS IN THE PADUAN FRAGMENTS.<sup>164</sup>



John Nádas has rightly cautioned against the use of decorations or other more conscious marks of scribal initiative to identify scribes.<sup>165</sup> However, he wrote in the context of

<sup>164</sup> The first is from **Stresa 14**, while the third is from **Padua 1225**. The other three come from **Pad A**.

<sup>165</sup> Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," p. 80.

differentiating scribes working together on a single manuscript, a situation where scribes would have good reason to imitate each other's style. There is no reason a scribe would (or could) imitate the style of a scribe working independently on a different manuscript. If we encountered these decorations in any other manuscript fragments, we would conclude that we are either dealing with a single scribe or a single manuscript.

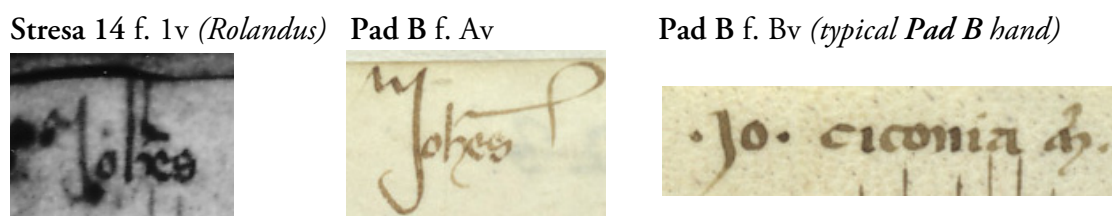
Complementing the idea that these sources were in fact written by a single scribe or, perhaps more likely, a group of scribes working in concert, is the lack of uniformity within a single scribal section. The handwriting even within **Pad D** is not nearly so even as is often asserted. Within a single fragment, **Padua 1106**, the diversity of letter forms was noted soon after its discovery.<sup>166</sup> The letter "D" in **Padua 1115** is written in more different ways than one can count.<sup>167</sup>

Even in cases which look almost certainly to be by different scribes, there are tantalizing moments where different hands intervene, disrupting the received view of independence among the sources. Are we sure we do not see the Rolandus's hand in the other Paduan fragments? Let me give a suggestive moment from **Padua 1115 (Pad B)** in Figure 2.43.

<sup>166</sup> Garbelotto, "Il trecento musicale italiano in alcuni frammenti padovani," part 3, p. 27. Garbelotto noted in particular differences among the forms of the capital letter "I" and miniscule "i" between f. B and the other two folios.

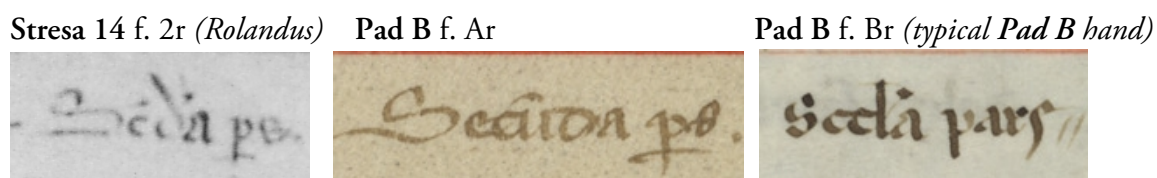
<sup>167</sup> In addition, two consecutive F-clefs from the tenor of Senleches's *En ce gracieux temps* are written in totally different styles. However, the second looks to me like it was originally a C-clef which the scribe then corrected to F.

FIGURE 2.43: THREE ATTRIBUTIONS TO CICONIA



The handwriting of the **Pad B** f. Bv “Jo. ciconia M.” is similar to most of the rest of the manuscript; the f. Av attribution is an aberration. It is much closer to the attribution found on f. 1v of **Stresa 14** than to the rest of the manuscript. Although the “h” of “Johes” differs between the two sources, it is actually the **Pad B** version which is closer to Rolando’s typical usage and not the **Stresa** source. An indication of “Secunda Pars” on f. Ar of **Pad B** may also be by Rolandus (Figure 2.44).<sup>168</sup>

FIGURE 2.44: THREE WAYS OF WRITING “SECUNDA PARS”



It seems that Rolandus had access to the manuscript **Pad B** and made additions and clarifications from time to time. Nothing is proven, but the possibility is worth considering. The intact Florentine manuscripts are the work of multiple scribes; we should not be surprised if a major Paduan source was prepared the same way.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>168</sup> In addition, the whole composition *A piançer l’ochi*, f. Bv is in a different hand, more similar to Rolandus’s than the **Pad B** scribe, but not close enough to make a definite connection.

<sup>169</sup> The lack of foliation on all sources except **Pad A** is not an insurmountable obstacle to the single manuscript hypothesis. Many musical and non-musical manuscripts (including **Bologna Q15**) are partly foliated, but in general we need not even invoke this explanation. The only surviving foliation numbers (found in **Oxford 229** and **Padua 1475**) begin above the first staff and at least 1.5cm to the right of it, that is, in a space that has been trimmed from every fragment except **Padua 1115**.

What then is to be done? Do we only have two choices: (1) unite ten fragments with two works in common, slight variations in writing space, different handwriting, and somewhat independent repertories, or (2) leave them separate and ignore the vast codicological and paleographical evidence which binds these fragments more closely than many other sources that we refer to as a single manuscript?

Fortunately we can create a third choice and avoid the false dichotomy conventional classification systems force upon us. Whether a single manuscript or not, these ten fragments were certainly part of a single project to copy mensural polyphony at the Abbey of S. Giustina sometime around 1405–1410.<sup>170</sup> Because we are certain that they came from a common origin, we can make many statements about the tastes of the project's scribes and music collectors even without deciding if these fragments came from one manuscript. Yet it is important not to fall back on the old term, "Paduan fragments," which includes several sources in different styles and perhaps from different times, and which opens the door for any future Paduan discovery to be lumped with these manuscripts without careful scrutiny of the discovery's relationship to other sources. I therefore propose introducing the term the **S. Giustina Project** for these ten fragments.

The term "project" calls to mind other grand manuscript endeavors such as the Machaut manuscripts created in his lifetime—none of which are identical but which we see were created within certain parameters and a unified purpose. The designation of a new group of sources is an attempt to supplement rather than supplant older groupings. Indeed in separat-

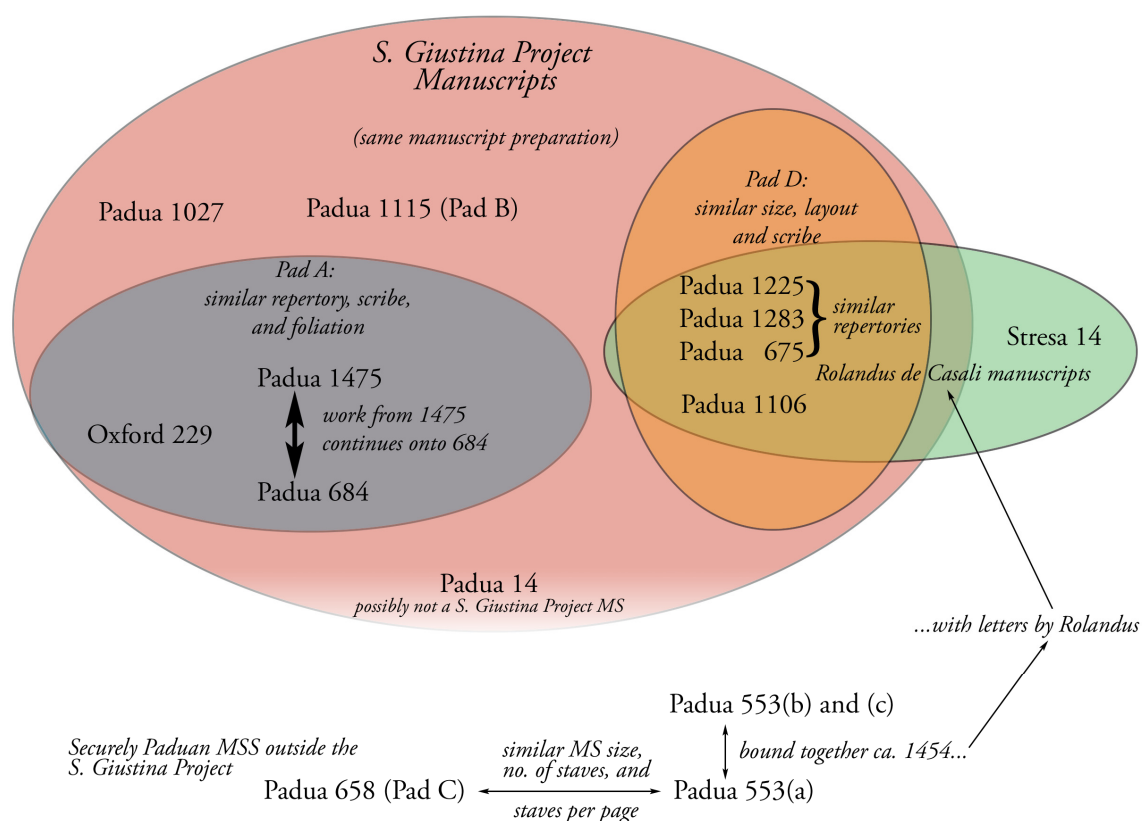
<sup>170</sup> If **Padua 1106**, with its dedicatory motets, were removed from this set, the range of probable dates would increase dramatically.



ing out three fragments of **Pad D** from **Padua 1106** earlier, it was my intention not only to continue using the older, smaller groupings, but to create new small groupings as well. Sources can, of course, belong to more than one group; certainly **Stresa 14** belongs in a group with **Pad D**, on the basis of a shared scribe, even if it not part of the **S. Giustina Project**. Scholarship has overemphasized the identification of common manuscripts and scribal concordances (many of which are never accepted by others in the field) to the detriment of flexible collections of sources, repertories, and scribal features, that identify specific features in common among manuscripts.

Some of these relationships among Paduan fragments are summarized in Figure 2.45. Not only do these connections not exhaust the possible groupings of Paduan sources, they do not begin to explore the many connections these sources have with those outside Padua. And so we must continue to expand our definitions of manuscript, manuscript project, and manuscript group when dealing with these fragmentary sources. Paradoxically, it is only when we begin to group the Paduan sources for comparison that we are able to seriously study each one on its own.

FIGURE 2.45: RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE PADUAN FRAGMENTS



### Beyond the S. Giustina Project: Other Sources and an Overview of Music in Padua

*Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte. MS 14 (olim Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario).*

RISM B IV 4: *I-STr 14*, pp. 1039–41.      CCMS 3: *StreBR 14*, pp. 166–67.

*Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 658.*

RISM B IV 4: *I-Pu 658*, pp. 988–89.

*Padua, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina 553.*  
*No mention in RISM or CCMS.*

That several sources lay outside the **S. Giustina Project** in the previous figure says nothing about their importance to the history of music in Padua or the trecento.<sup>171</sup> We will

<sup>171</sup> **Padua 656** is not really a Paduan *fragment* since the music was never part of a larger manuscript, and thus will be discussed with similar sources in Chapter 5; it is, however, an important part of

cover each briefly before turning to an overview of the musical situation in Padua around the turn of the century.

**Stresa 14** has the strongest connection to the **S. Giustina Project**. It was copied by Rolandus de Casali, scribe of **Pad D**, although its collection of five secular works—three by Ciconia and one each by Zaninus de Peraga de Padua<sup>172</sup> and Jacobus Corbus de Padua—puts it more in line with the contents of **Pad B**. The highest surviving folio number, 141, informs us that we have lost such a substantial manuscript that, even if the **S. Giustina Project** represented only a single source, we would still have no reason to doubt Padua's importance as a center of polyphony.

The two works by Zaninus and Jacobus Corbus are their only surviving compositions. As Hallmark has discovered, the only known connections of people with these names in Padua are from quite earlier periods. A Jacobus Corbus was active in 1357 while a Zaninus was a captain in 1373.<sup>173</sup> If these are our composers, then we see an interest on Rolandus's part in older music than we would otherwise suspect based on **Pad D**.

Another Paduan fragment also takes a keen interest in older music. Though **Pad C** (**Padua 658**) is generally treated as if it is as much like **Pad A**, **B**, or **D** as they are to one another, it is in fact part of a completely different project. It has six-line staves, double vertical margins on both sides, a thicker pen, and uses a more curved custos. The small fragment comprises two single folios of secular compositions which were formerly pasted down

---

Paduan music history and will be included in the overview at the end of this section. Giulio Cattin was the first to single it out for special treatment among the Paduan sources in "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," p. 28.

<sup>172</sup> On a possible connection between him and Cividale see p. 275 below.

<sup>173</sup> Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 202–3.

to the inside covers of manuscript 658, which contains *Diadema monachorum*, or “The crown of the monks,” an exemplar on the monastic life.<sup>174</sup> The two folios contain a total of four secular compositions, one per side. One composition, Jacopo da Bologna’s *O cieco mondo*, is preserved in its entirety. The two compositions on the second folio, *Or sus vous dormés* and *Apollinis eclipsatur*, are missing their beginnings and endings, respectively. The final composition, found on the recto of f. A, is the ritornello *Si e piena la terra* from Jacopo’s caccia in madrigal form, *Ogelletto selvaggio*. Though these compositions show a more conservative taste and a greater interest in the music of older composers than the other Paduan fragments, we must tack on a caveat that we might get the same impression if only two random folios had survived of **San Lorenzo 2211** or of another innovative manuscript.

The presence of *Apollinis* in **Pad C** is important because it signals at least some Paduan interest in the older French motet style.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, *Ogelletto selvaggio* is the only canonic composition found in Padua. Hallmark notes that the references to serious music and to theorists in *Apollinis eclipsatur* and in the third terzetto of *Ogelletto Selvaggio* are unsurprising considering Padua’s tradition as a center of music theory.<sup>176</sup> Jacopo’s other composition

<sup>174</sup> An edition of the *Diadema monachorum* is found in Italian translation as *Corona de’ monaci: testo del buon secolo della lingua compilato da un monaco degli angeli ora per la prima volta pubblicato*, translated by Casimiro Stolfi (Prato: Tip. Guasti, 1862).

<sup>175</sup> I want to take a moment to make an important correction to the RILM English summary of the most important article on *Apollinis*, Maria del Carmen Gómez Muntané, “Une version à cinq voix du motet *Apollinis eclipsatur/Zodiacum signis* dans le manuscrit E-Bcen 853,” *Musica Disciplina* 39 (1985), pp. 5–44. Gómez Muntané does not assert that “it is impossible to find the reason for crediting the work to Bernard (or Bertran) de Cluny.” She expresses doubt only about Bernard’s authorship of the added voices in the Barcelona version and finds no reason why his work would be popular in Aragon since he is no longer to be considered among the list of people in its royal household.

<sup>176</sup> Hallmark, “Some Evidence for French Influence,” p. 198.

in **Pad C**, *O cieco mondo*, is (somewhat) present in **Oxford 229**, but the more typical transmission in this source reassures us that music could be carried without major modification between Padua and Florence.

Although **Pad C**'s eight, six-line staves with double marks on the side have some similarities to **Reina** (even though the notation does not), they are more similar to **Padua 553(a)**.<sup>177</sup> This final Paduan group is composed of three musical sources (and several non-musical), of which only the first is well-known. **Padua 553(a)** is one of the few surviving sources of keyboard music from the trecento. Unfortunately, only little more than a system of this music has been preserved: the final syllables of the "Cum Sancto Spiritu" and the Amen of a setting of *Gloria GR IV*.<sup>178</sup> The rest of the folio is blank, but it is this blank section which provides the link to **Pad C**. Like **Pad C**, the source is parchment and has a writing space of *ca.* 210x165.

Though the keyboard work formed the main cover for the main contents of **Padua 553**, an expense book of the funds of Guido Gonzaga, other documents were formerly stuffed in the covers and have now been removed.<sup>179</sup> Many of these documents seem to have come from the collection of Rolandus de Casali, including two letters written to him re-

<sup>177</sup> **Civiale A** (see below) is also similar, though it has ten staves. Note that the final page of **Pad C**, has nine staves. Since bifolios were usually ruled across an opening, this feature suggests that the two folios were not originally a bifolio.

<sup>178</sup> Donata Bertoldi's parallel transcription with the same setting from **Faenza 117** should not be overlooked. ("Problemi di notazione e aspetti stilistico-formali in una intavolatura organistica padovana di fine Trecento," *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 5 (1985), pp. 24–27.)

<sup>179</sup> Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," pp. 32–36.

questing the copying of music;<sup>180</sup> for this reason, the manuscript is connected to both **Pad D** and **Stresa 14** in Figure 2.45 above.

Among these documents are two folios of mensural music. Folio 3, which I will designate **Padua 553(b)**, contains the single voice of a unique *Ave, Mater nostri Redemptoris* on one side and (without staves) a letter on the reverse. **Padua 553(c)**, on f. 6rv, contains two *sicilianas* recast as ballate. Neither of these folios can be part of the **S. Giustina Project**, since they have black staves and, more significantly, are written on paper. Fragments of music written on paper are rare—among the Italian sources, only **Boverio**, **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, and **Ivrea 105** come to mind—not necessarily because such manuscripts were unusual in the late trecento, but because individual sheets from these sources they were useless as flyleaves or notarial covers.<sup>181</sup> In all likelihood they were discarded at a much higher rate than parchment codices. Despite their other similarities, according to Cattin's measurements, **Padua 553(b)** and **Padua 553(c)** cannot have come from the same original source since the former is substantially wider than the latter.

A shared text is the only musical detail in common between the *Ave, Mater nostri Redemptoris* of **Padua 553(b)** and the version by Johannes de Lymburgia found in **Bologna Q15** (De van no. 265) and **Trent 92** (ff. 176v/177r).<sup>182</sup> The text in the Paduan version is as follows:

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>181</sup> The music written on paper in **Vatican 1419** and parts of **Seville 25**, which are not technically fragments, is discussed in Chapter 5. A fuller discussion of the differences between paper and parchment fragments appears in Chapter 1, p. 43.

<sup>182</sup> Transcribed in Jerry Haller Etheridge, "The Works of Johannes de Lymburgia," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 291–96.

Ave, Mater nostri Redemptoris  
 Dei et hominis mediatoris  
 Ave, pudicie, castitatis  
 Virgo, alma, et flor virginitatis  
 Ave, lilium et rosa sine spina  
 odor agri atquem stella matutina  
*[end of text in Pad 553 – two more couplets and Amen lacking]*

Cattin provided a transcription in original notation of the opening; the transcription into modern notation is surprising. See Example 2.46.

EXAMPLE 2.46: *Ave Mater Nostri*, INCIPIT

Cattin's transcription<sup>183</sup>



In modern notation



Despite the clear indication of C at the beginning of the piece, the work is evidentially in triple time. As we mentioned in the discussion of *Sus unne fontaine* under **Oxford 229** above, this usage might be a Paduan characteristic, along with the traditional meaning of O. There is one more such usage of C in a manuscript which might be connected to Padua, the madrigal *Di virtù vidi* in **Trent 60**. Gozzi has transcribed the work in 6/8 despite the indication of C.<sup>184</sup> (The work switches into O at the ritornello). Although I have some doubts both about whether some of the work is not better transcribed in 3/4, if Gozzi's transcription and interpretation of the source's provenance are correct, then we would have three pieces of

<sup>183</sup> Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," p. 35.

<sup>184</sup> Gozzi, "Un nuovo frammento trentino:" explanation, pp. 244–45; transcription, p. 250.

evidence for a separate Paduan interpretation of “French” mensural signatures.<sup>185</sup>

The two *siciliana*-ballate of **Padua** 553(c) conclude our discussion of Paduan fragments. Gallo argues that the source is from a decade after **Reina**, in part because its copy of *Fenir mia vita* uses *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* where **Reina**’s copy uses *octonaria*.<sup>186</sup> He uses Prosdocimus’s oft-cited statement of 1412 about the neglect of the Italian art in favor of that of the French to argue that the Paduan source was written in this later period. How to interpret Prosdocimus is not so clear, however. If his lament were the *vox clamantis in deserto* protesting a recent change in systems of notation, then Gallo’s interpretation would be correct. If, on the other hand, Prosdocimus were part of an established, successful movement advocating the re-adoption of native Italian notational systems after a period of Francophilia, then **Reina**’s *octonaria* could be the later version. If **Reina** were Paduan then it would be more likely to be part of Prosdocimus’s school.<sup>187</sup> Further, although Gallo asserts that *octonaria* is a musical trait of *sicilianas*, caution should prevail before accepting this statement. Saying that *sicilianas* are natively in *octonaria* rather than *quaternaria* or *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* implies that they were conceived with a specific written

<sup>185</sup> Another piece of evidence suggests that this interpretation of mensural signatures was not entirely Paduan. Two works of Frater Andrea da Firenze use  $\subset$  and  $\supset$  to mean *tempus imperfectum* with major and minor prolation respectively. These works are *Donna, se per te moro* in **Squarcialupi**, f. 191r, and *Donna, se’ raççi* in **Pit.**, ff. 49v–50r. Contra Marrocco *PMFC* 10, p. 148, I do not believe  $\supset$  indicates diminution. *Donna, se’ raççi* also appears in **Squarcialupi**, f. 185r, but begins with no sign and then uses and the conventional  $\subset$  for major prolation.

<sup>186</sup> F. Alberto Gallo, “Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all’inizio del II Quattrocento: due ‘siciliane’ del Trecento,” *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964–77), p. 49.

<sup>187</sup> See the discussion of *En ce gracieux temps* under **Pad B** where I argue that there is not currently enough evidence to tie **Reina** securely to Padua, though I do not dismiss the possibility.



form. This contradicts the evidence that they were originally an unwritten tradition. Sicilianas were indisputably conceived with two levels of binary division, but that does not mean they were created with either Italian or French notation in mind.

At the end of the tour through the Paduan fragments it seems important to take stock of the musical situation in Padua as a whole. While the details of a composition or the observations of notational systems can at times be interesting in themselves, it is when we step back and see the relationship between these findings and the Paduan music tradition as a whole that the full significance of each oblique-stemmed semibreve or untrimmed bifolio reveals itself. These fragments were certainly not the only musical sources produced in the city. Some of the fragments tentatively connected to Padua in other publications will find secure ties in the future. Many other manuscripts have been lost over the centuries, and doubtlessly many pieces known widely in the trecento were never written down. Other written sources preserve traditions outside the realm of this study, but without doubt they were known to not only the general populace but also those who sang, composed, and copied polyphony. Sacred monophony was not only a tradition which tied Paduans to greater Western Christendom, but also one which they varied and made their own.<sup>188</sup> The newer styles of

<sup>188</sup> See Anna Vildera, "Tra S. Giustina e Cattedrale: Un esempio di rapporto liturgico-musicale," presented at the conference *I frammenti musicali padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa*, Padua, 15 June 2006, and many of the papers in Giulio Cattin and Antonio Lovato, editors, *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra a Padova*, *Fonti e ricerche de storia ecclesiastica padovana* 24 (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 1992).

*cantus simplex figuratus* (*cantus fractus*) were also being cultivated at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>189</sup>

Examples of polyphony in Padua stem from early in the century (and the richly developed thought of Marchettus's writings tempt us with the prospect of an even earlier flowering of polyphony). Two processional songs from the cathedral of Padua, **Padua 55** and **Padua 56**, survive with polyphony integral to the manuscripts. The styles of these pieces are similar to, but possibly slightly later than, the Marchettian motets of **Venice San Giorgio** and **Oxford 112**. One of the two manuscripts, **Padua 56**, has a set of polyphonic additions in white mensural notation, perhaps entered near the middle of the fifteenth century. These additions allude to a continuous use for the sources and for their polyphonic style over the entire trecento and early quattrocento.

The variety of different polyphonic styles and genres practiced in Padua is nearly staggering in its completeness. Table 2.47 attempts to capture the genres and large differences in subgenres.

<sup>189</sup> Facchin, "Le fonti di polifonia trecentesca italiana," pp. 26–27; Marco Gozzi, "I Credo mensurali nei codici trecenteschi di origine padovana," presented at the conference *I frammenti musicali padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa*, Padua, 15 June 2006.

TABLE 2.47: POLYPHONIC GENRES PRESENT IN PADUA *ca.* 1400

---

Mass movements <sup>190</sup>
Benedicamus settings
Processional songs ( <b>Padua 55</b> and <b>Padua 56</b> )
Sequences ( <i>Ibid.</i> )
Motets
In Ciconian style
Bi-textual, with isorhythmic tenor
In an earlier, Marchettian style ( <b>Oxford 112</b> )
Cacce ( <b>Pad C</b> )
Keyboard diminutions ( <b>Padua 553(a)</b> )
Ballate (2vv & 3vv)
Including sicilianas recast as ballate
Madrigals (2vv & 3vv)
From the first flowering of trecento madrigals
From the resurgence towards the end of the century
Virelais <sup>191</sup>
Including <i>ars subtilior</i> compositions
Rondeaux ( <i>Ma fin est mon commencement</i> in <b>Oxford 229</b> )

---

The Mass movements include both troped and untroped versions. Locally composed works mixed with those borrowed from the French. The nearly obsolete isorhythmic style was collected by those who were also embracing the newest (and English influenced?) works with fauxbourdon harmonies. Though compositions such as Ciconia's *Dolçe fortuna* and Zachara's *Gloria: Laus Honor* are different, they both look toward the music of the present and the future. However, the Paduan fragments preserve much music from earlier in the fourteenth century. Jacopo da Bologna, who wrote most of his works *ca.* 1340–60, has as many secular compositions in the fragments as anyone except Ciconia or Francesco da Firenze.

<sup>190</sup> We can include Kyries in the list of the types of Mass movements composed in Padua. A reference from 29 April 1433 states that Rolando da Casale notated “Kyrieleison” in addition to “ymnos” and “Gloria.” Cattin, “Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova,” p. 17.

<sup>191</sup> And possibly also ballades depending on the ultimate classification of *Ay si* in **Pad B**.

The remarkable mixture of styles and periods were not meant for separate audiences.

As Hallmark notes, Prodenzani describes:

musical evenings [where] Jacopo, Landini, Bartolino, Ciconia, and Zachar are sung and played side-by-side, and different modes and manners are celebrated in one evening, mixing sacred and secular repertoire in another.<sup>192</sup>

Indeed it is even difficult to describe Padua as having succumb to French influence, since there is no evidence that it was ever a separate part of their musical consciousness. The term “influence,” implies displacement of a native or local form by something foreign. It has never been shown, for instance, that the Paduans ever avoided French features such as open and closed endings. Even the idea that Marchettus’s teachings fully dominated in Padua cannot be conclusively demonstrated.<sup>193</sup>

The picture of Paduan musical traditions revealed by its fragmentary sources is, in itself still fragmentary. But like the narrator in Eco’s *The Name of the Rose*, we gather every scrap of knowledge we can and patiently reconstruct our sources, secure in the knowledge that our lesser library is a symbol of the far greater, vanished one.

### **Cividale and Polyphony in the Friuli**

Even in a time of schism, the prestige of the pope is not confined to his seat of power. It moves with him and his retainers wherever he decides to travel. The decision of the Roman pontiff Gregory XII to call a council at Cividale del Friuli beginning 6 June 1409 thus provides all the justification we need for the existence of the remarkable musical collection of this small town located on the northeast outskirts of modern-day Italy. Not only

<sup>192</sup> Hallmark, “Some Evidence for French Influence,” p. 201.

<sup>193</sup> Indisputable evidence that the **Rossi** Codex was from Padua would aid in promoting this generally-held belief.

would the splendor and quality of the Pope's chapel be on display in the city, but also that of the retinues of cardinals and bishops and every type of secular power from Italy, the Empire, and other parts of Europe which remained under Roman obedience. If Cividale were barren ground artistically before 1409 the conciliar displays would have lain the rich ground for a musical flowering thereafter. But even before 1409, musical culture was far from absent.

The visiting musicians encountered a city (and region) that was already musically vibrant, that had a long tradition of polyphony, and that was already producing singers and composers whose reputations and travels took them far beyond the Friuli. According to a note from 1367, the priest Albertino da Mantova left to the church of S. Maria Maggiore three manuscript items, of which the second is most important to us:

1. Item v quaternos unius psalterii non completi.
2. **Item i quaternum a motetis.**
3. Item i quaternum.<sup>194</sup>

Among other towns connected to Udine and the Friuli, we find within a 1408 inventory of the 150 books (many liturgical) in the cathedral church in Aquileia this entry, "Item unus liber de cantu mensurato copertus corio rubro, qui incipit 'Patrem omnipotentem' et finit 'Osanna in excelsis'," suggesting a polyphonic kyrie.<sup>195</sup> In documents after 1409 we see further manuscript evidence of thriving musical culture via sources that may or may not

<sup>194</sup> Cesare Scalon, *Produzione e fruizione del libro nel baso medioevo: Il caso Friuli* (Padua: Editrice Antenore: 1995), no. 104. The motets are germane to the discussion of fascicle manuscripts in the context of **Vatican 1419** in Chapter 5. A note from October 1475 referring to "Quinternus unus in carta edina in musica antiquus" is also relevant to manuscript structure in the Du Fay era and begs the question of how old is antique (Scalon no. 493, item 165).

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 176, item 46; first printed in Vincenzo Joppi, "Inventario del Tesoro della chiesa patriarcale d'Aquileia compilato nel 1408," *Archivio storico per Trieste, l'Istria ed il Trentino* 2 (1882), pp. 54–71.

have been copied before the council. In 1423 Niccolò di Filippo, deacon in Cividale since 1415, made his will. Among his possessions were six books, including the following:

3. Item legavit eidem capitulo **unum librum a biscantium** volens, iubens et mandans et ordinans quod portetur in choro ecclesie quando videbitur expedire.

6. Item legavit capitulo Civitatensi predicto suum breviarium magnum cum ista tamen conditione, quod ipsum capitulum teneatur et debeat facere fieri unam catenam ferream et ipsum breviarium incatenare in sacrestia inferiori maioris collegiate ecclesie ad hoc ut quilibet, qui voluerit dicere divinum officium, possit et valeat dicere pro anima ipsius domini testatoris et sic ibidem voluit perpetuo stare et permanere.<sup>196</sup>

Jumping out from this will is the distinction between the potential usage for the book of biscant, “which may be carried when it might be seen expedient” and the stricter conditions placed on the donation of the breviary. Were it not so dangerous to speculate from only a single example, one would be tempted to suggest that the polyphony of the time was seen as impermanent and would be replaced by a different style while a chant book was thought as having value for all time. Finally, a late document from 1431 details the possession of two books seemingly of keyboard music:

Item unum [librum] par organorum in capsula sua, que organa pulsantur cum duobus manticis. [i.e., which sounds with two bellows]

(following “*Unum librum ad cantandum laudes in missa:*”)

Unum [librum] par organorum supra choro.<sup>197</sup>

Both before and after the council, the region was connected to the musical life Padua, the largest nearby musical center. Around 1370 Cividale acquired a collection of antiphonaries, graduals, psalters, and missals from Padua.<sup>198</sup> The liturgical dramas contained in

<sup>196</sup> Scalon, *op. cit.*, no. 196. A “Nicolao quondam Philippi de dicta Civitate” is mentioned as a canon in September 1390 raising the probability that the books had been copied before 1409.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 224.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 108.

the processional manuscripts **Cividale 101** and **Cividale 102** share their contents with Paduan collections, and parts of the repertory may have originated there.<sup>199</sup> Finally, the composer Rentius, who held a benefice in Cividale and whose only known compositions appear in two Cividalese fragments, was either Paduan or of Paduan descent. (Further details under **Udine 22**, below).

A tradition of note-against-note liturgical polyphony is Cividale's best-known musical legacy. These non-mensural works, called *cantus planus binatim* by the music theorist Prodocimus de Beldemandis (another Paduan connection), appear in Cividalese antiphonaries and graduals beginning in the late fourteenth century.<sup>200</sup> Although there are isolated Kyries and motets, most of the *cantus binatim* in Cividale are tropes of the *Benedicamus Domino*, useful both in the Mass and the Office. The gradual **Cividale 56** contains (primarily in a single continuous section) all the *cantus binatim* found in other manuscripts in Cividale, though the numerous variations in upper-voice melodies and intervals used make all the manuscripts valuable testimonies.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Giulio Cattin, "Tra Padova e Cividale: nuova fonte per la drammaturgia sacra nel medioevo," *Il Saggiatore musicale* 1 (1994), pp. 7–112.

<sup>200</sup> On *cantus binatim* see, above all, F. Alberto Gallo, "'Cantus planus binatim,' Polifonia primitiva in fonti tardive," *Quadrivium* 7 (1966), pp. 79–89; idem, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy From the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 13–30 (along with many other articles by other researchers in the volume); Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo, editors, *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura* (from the conference by the same name in Venice, 2–4 May 1996), (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2002); Francesco Facchin, editor, *Polifonie Semplici: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Arezzo, 28–30 dicembre 2001* (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2004).

<sup>201</sup> The complete polyphony of **Cividale 56** was transcribed and reproduced in facsimile in Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Congresso internazionale "Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa:" Catalogo della mostra* (Cividale del Friuli: Associazione per lo Sviluppo degli Studi Storici ed Artistici di Cividale del

Musical innovation did not halt in the periods after the Great Schism. Additional works were added in the fifteenth century to **Cividale 57**, an antiphoner that also contains *cantus planus binatim*, and to the processions **Cividale 101** and **Cividale 102**. Most significantly for the long-term musical history of the town, two early sixteen-century polyphonic manuscripts were produced in Cividale and remain there, **Cividale 53** and **Cividale 59**.<sup>202</sup> The latter source combines a wide-ranging knowledge of current music and of other large manuscripts with an interest in preserving local music.<sup>203</sup>

Given the musical vitality of the region, the presence of *ars nova* fragments is of absolutely no surprise. The remainder of this chapter will focus on these sources.

### **Three Cividalese Sources: Cividale 98, 63, and Udine 22**

Two single folios found separately (**Cividale 63** and **Udine 22**) along with two, formerly contiguous bifolios (**Cividale 98**) hold the tantalizing promise that they could have originally been part of the same, larger codex. Let us examine each separately before looking at them as a group.

---

Friuli, 1980). Variations in intervallic structure are discussed in Maurizio Grattoni, "Il 'Missus ab arce' nella tradizione e nelle fonti di Cividale," in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), pp. 131–37, and in an unpublished paper by Noriko Toda.

<sup>202</sup> Lewis Lockwood, "Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli: The Manuscripts 53 and 59 of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale," *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 1.2 (1994), pp. 249–314. I thank Prof. Lockwood for information and advice on the sources in Cividale, his recollections of research in the commune, and his enthusiastic support of this project.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278–79.



**Cividale 98**

*Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS XCVIII.*

RISM B IV 4: *I-CF* 98, pp. 751–52. CCMS 1: *CivMA* 98, p. 155.

The fourteenth-century lectionary, **Cividale 98**, contains among its flyleaves a remarkable collection of Credos (with scattered pieces of secular music) which has never been fully understood, let alone closely studied. At either end of the 38-folio volume is a bifolio. The bifolios were once glued to their boards, and lifting them has made those pages nearly illegible. The difficulty in reconstructing the structure of **Cividale 98** has meant that neither of the two published inventories has correctly established either the order of the folios or their contents.<sup>204</sup> The inventories leave unnoted the two most important relations among the bifolios:

1. The rear flyleaves, ff. 41–42, form the center bifolio of a gathering.
2. That bifolio was originally placed within the front flyleaves, ff. 1–2, forming a continuous unit of four folios (1, 41, 42, 2) and leaving only the compositions on 1r and 2v incomplete.

Using these observations as a base, several conclusions followed:

3. The isolated voice “Contratenor puis” on f. 2r finds its cantus and tenor voice on the previous verso, the nearly illegible f. 42v.
4. The Credo by Philippoctus da Caserta begun on ff. 41v–42r continues on the following opening f. 42v–2r.
5. Thus only one of the two badly rubbed folios, f. 1r, had contents needing identification.

A new inventory and gathering diagram shows these contents and those of five missing pages (2.5 folios); see Figure 2.48.

<sup>204</sup> RISM B IV 4, pp. 751–52 and better in Lockwood, “Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli,” pp. 250–51.

FIGURE 2.48: RECONSTRUCTED CONTENTS OF CIVIDALE 98

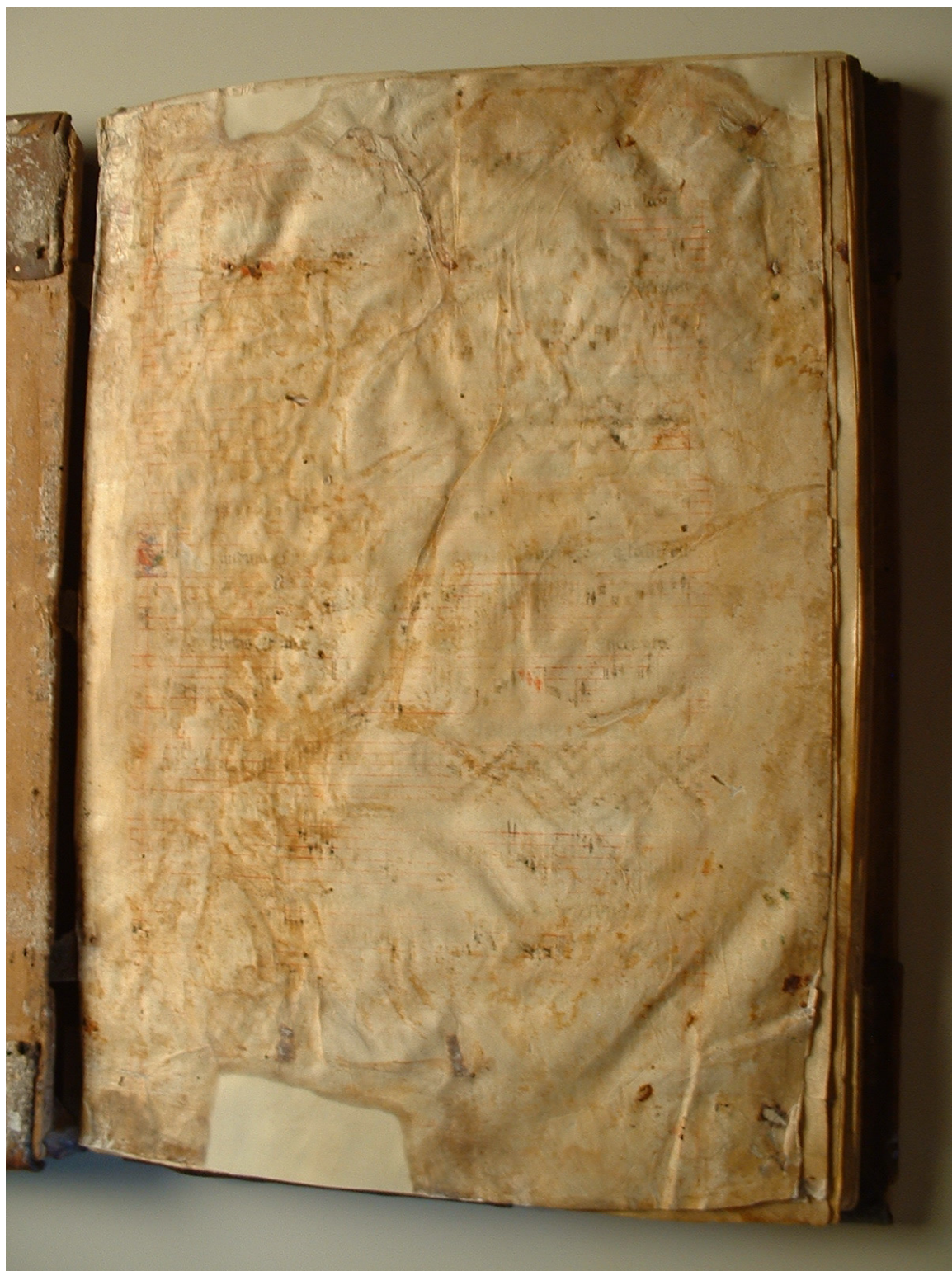
Bold type indicates newly identified compositions.

<i>Credo</i> , PMFC 13, no. 23 ([Zachara da Teramo]) [C]		
<i>Credo</i> [T, Ct]	↓	
<i>Credo</i> [C]	↓	<i>Fuyés de moy, envie</i> [C, T]
(continued from “Et in Spiritum”)		
<i>Credo</i> [T, Ct] (badly rubbed)		<i>Fuyés de moy, envie</i> [Ct] 1r
<i>Credo</i> (Sortes) [C]		1v
<i>Credo</i> [T, Ct]		41r
<i>Credo</i> (Magister F[rater] Phippactus [ <i>sic</i> ] <sup>205</sup> di Ca[ser]ta) [C]		41v
<i>Credo</i> [T, Ct]		42r
<i>Credo</i> [C] (badly rubbed)	↓	<i>Puis que l’aloë ne fine</i> [C, T] 42v
(continued from “Et in Spiritum”)		
<i>Credo</i> [T, Ct] PMFC 13.A8		<i>Puis</i> [Ct] 2r
<i>Credo</i> [C] (“M. A. dictus Ç.” = [Zachara]) PMFC 13.A6		2v
<i>Credo</i> [T, Ct]		
<i>Credo</i> Amen?		

Folio 1r seemed to have three voice-parts, all of which are in terrible condition, with much of the music either left on the front boards or completely lost. (Figure 2.49).

<sup>205</sup> Scalon transcribes this attribution as “Magister Flhippactus(!).”

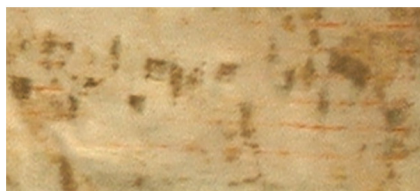
FIGURE 2.49: CIVIDALE 98, F. 1R



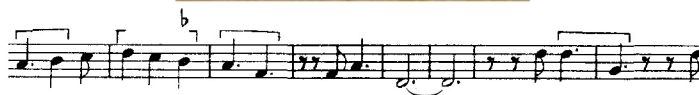
I was able to find a few places on f. 1r with consecutive legible notes to search for concordances. Judging by the rest of the contents of the manuscript, I searched among the known polyphonic Credos and discovered a match among one of the most popular compositions of the trecento, Zachara's *Credo* (*PMFC 13.23*).<sup>206</sup> The tenor and contratenor voices from "Et in Spiritum" to the end are present; presumably the cantus was on the preceding verso. The state of the page nearly leaves the identification as a leap of faith to readers who do not have direct access to the manuscript. However, two passages can be isolated as proof; see Figure 2.50.

FIGURE 2.50: CIVIDALE 98, F. 1R, ZACHARA, *CREDO* (*PMFC 13.23*), EXCERPTS

(First image digitally enhanced; transcriptions condensed from *PMFC 13*; no clefs are given since identifications were made based on relative intervals)



T: mm. 321-329 (+custos of 330)



Ct: mm. 316-323

<sup>206</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 69–70 for the argument that this work was definitely more popular than an average Mass movement, and for a list of sources.

Judging from the length of the work in concordant manuscripts, the Credo probably occupied two openings, identifying for us the contents of the previous recto and two versos.

A single, unidentified voice remained at the bottom of the folio. It was definitely not part of the cantus of Zachara's Credo. I determined that it must be a shorter piece, probably secular, which filled in space at the end of the Credo. The line is textless, probably indicating a tenor voice, unless there were enough space on the preceding verso to place two voices, in which case this could be a contratenor. The only surviving words appeared to be "ultima pars," indicating a work with at least three if not more sections. Though the absence of text and the designation "ultima pars" held open the possibility that the work could be a monophonic instrumental composition—a rare find—the rhythms were not typical of these types of works. This left the ballade repertory as the most logical place to search, especially considering there seemed to be *ouvert* and *clos* endings in the middle of the work. The third complete search through *PMFC* and *CMM 53* was fruitful.

The voice is the textless contratenor to *Fuyés de moy*, the most copied French ballade from the trecento, now attributable to "Alain" (Johannes Alanus?) thanks to a source in Todi.<sup>207</sup> The complete, known musical sources are listed in Table 2.51.

<sup>207</sup> Valeria Sargenti, "Una nuova fonte di polifonia trecentesca in lingua francese conservata nell'Archivio storico comunale di Todi," *Esercizi: Musica e spettacolo* 13 (nuova serie 4) (1994), pp. 5–15. The text of the poem is by Wenceslas of Bohemia, Duke of Brabant. See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 168.



TABLE 2.51: SOURCES OF *FUYÉS DE MOY*

Reina, f. 82r	“Fuiies demoy ami”	C, Ct, T
Todi Carità, f. 92v	“Fuyes de moy, Anvy,”	C, Ct, T
Civiale 98, f. [1r]	No surviving text	Ct
Trémoille, f. 45r	[ Lost ]	
Prague 9, f. 249v	“Fies de moy” (only text)	C, T
Strasbourg 222, f. 16v	“Quam pulchra es”	C incipit only survives
Melk 391, f. 1r	Textless	C, T
Wolkenstein A, ff. 15v–16r	“Wolauff gesell wer jagen”	C, Ct, T
Wolkenstein B, ff. 23v–24r	“Wolauff gesell wer jagen”	C, Ct, T

Recent editions: *PMFC* 20, pp. 137–42, *CMM* 53/ii, pp. 50–51.

Figure 2.52 is a detail of the wood cover (more legible than f. 1r), flipped horizontally. The end of the contratenor of the Zachara Credo is shown along with the ballade on the final two lines.

FIGURE 2.52: *FUYÉS DE MOY*, FROM CIVIALE 98 (FRONT COVER; PHOTO REVERSED HORIZONTALLY)

The following folios, ff. 1v and 41r, have already been identified as a clear copy of Steve Sort's Credo known from ten sources. (See no. 54 on the inventory of the Paduan fragments, above). It is the only one of the four Credos which is not Italian. Its presence shows that, although the Italians had a strong interest in their own sacred music, they were ultimately omnivorous in their tastes.

The following opening (ff. 41v–42r) is equally clear, but contains one of the two unique works in the fragments, Philippoctus da Caserta's Credo. The published transcription of Philippoctus's Credo ends, ironically, at "non erit finis." The editors inform us that the next folio is "illegible, the following folios lacking."<sup>208</sup> However, the following folios are not lacking, the piece instead continues on f. 2r. Since this connection was not identified, the editors were unable to make use of the quite clear tenor and contratenor voices there; instead those voices appeared in an appendix later, identified as from an unrelated Credo whose complete upper voice and first half of tenor and contratenor were missing.<sup>209</sup>

The upper voice on f. 42v is quite damaged and at present no complete edition can be made. However, given the almost formulaic gestures from the first half of the Credo, completions of the work can be made from the partial edition in Example 2.53, and the work will finally be audible in its entirety.

<sup>208</sup> Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12*, no. 14, p. 196.

<sup>209</sup> Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, A8, pp. 237–38.

EXAMPLE 2.53: CIVIDALE 98, FF. 41V–42V, 2R: PHILIPPOCTUS DA CASERTA, *CREDO*

Pa - - - trem o - mni - po - ten - tem,

Contra Tenor P[atrem].

Patrem Tenor.

9  
fac - to - rem ce - li et ter - re, vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um,

Factorum.

Factorum celi et terre visibilium.

19  
et in - vi - si - bi - li - um. Et in u - num Do - mi - num Je -

Et in unum.

Et in unum dominum.

31  
sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - i un - i - ge - ni - tum.



40

Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an - te om - ni - a se - cu - la. De - um de

Et ex patre natum.

Et ex patre natum ante omnia secula.

52

De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne, De - um ve - rum de De -

62

- o ve - ro. Ge - ni - tum, non fac - tum con - sub - stan - ti -

Genitum non factum.

Genitum non factum.

72

a - lem Pa - tri: per quem o - mni - a fac - ta sunt.

81

Qui pro - pter nos ho-mi - nes, et pro - pter no - stram sa - lu - tem

Qui propter.

Qui propter nos.

91

de - scen - dit de ce - - - lis. Et in car - na - tus est de

Et incarnatus est.

Et incarnatus est de Spiritu.

102

Spi - ri - tu San - cto ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi - ne: Et ho - mo fa - ctus

112

est. Cru - - - ci - fi - xus e - ti - am pro

Crucifixus eciam.

Crucifixus eciam pro nobis.

120

no-bis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to pas-sus, et se-pul-tus est.

131

Et re-sur-re-xit ter-ti-a di-e, se-cun-dum Scrip-tu-

Et resurrexit tertia.

Et resurrexit.

142

ras. Et a-scen-dit in ce-lum: se-det ad dex-ter-

Et ascendit in celum.

Et ascendit in celum.

153

am Pa-tris. Et i-te-rum ven-tu-rus est cum glo-ri-a, ju-

Et iterum venturus.

Et iterum venturus.

164

di - ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - os: cu - ius re - gni non e - rit fi -

174

nis. [Et in Spiritum Sanctum dominum et vivificantem qui ex patre filioque procedit.]  
Et in spiritum sanctum dominum.  
Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem.

186

con -

197

[Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et] con -  
Qui cum patre.  
Qui cum patre.

208

glo - ri - fi - ca - tur. Qui lo - cu - tus est per Pro - phe - tas.

218

Et un - nam san - ctam ca - tho - li - cam et a - po - sto - li -  
cam ec - cle - si - am. Et umum sanctam.

229

Con - fi - te - or un - um ba - tis -  
cam ec - cle - si - am. Confiteor.

239

[ma in remissionem] pe - ca - to - rum. Et ex -  
Et exspecto.

251  
 pec - to re - sur - rec - ti - o - nem - mo - tu - or - um. Et vi - tam —  
 Et vitam.  
 Et vitam.

261  
 ven - tu - ri — se [culi.] Amen.  
 Amen.  
 Amen.

272  
 Amen.  
 Amen.

280  
 Amen.  
 Amen.

On the bottom folio 2r, we find the second secular composition among the flyleaves: a single voice-part with the incipit “Contra Tenor Puis.” The work seemed to be a virelai in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori*; indeed this is all the information we need to make

an identification. We find the same contratenor in the **Reina** codex on f. 83v, attached to the virelai with a slightly different incipit, “Plus que l’aloë.” (Detail in Figure 2.54).

FIGURE 2.54: CONTRA TENOR, *PUIS QUE L’ALOË* FROM CIVIDALE 98



The work has appeared numerous times in transcription from the Paris source, though now we can confirm that Willi Apel was correct in emended the reading from **Reina**’s “plus” to “puis” to make proper sense of the first line:

*Puis que l’aloë ne fine  
De canter des qu’il est jour  
Et la violete affine  
Si plaisant et noble oudur*

Recent editions: *CMM* 53/iii, no. 220, pp. 53–54; *PMFC* 21, no. 51, p. 177.

The contours (and little else) of the cantus and tenor can be made out at the bottom of f. 42v. As with Zachara’s *Credo* (*PMFC* 13.23) and *Fuyés de moy*, the identification of the work alone will need to suffice until better technology allows us to take advantage of these new nearly illegible readings in our editions.

The final work in the fragment suggests that our losses are much greater than a few concordances of extremely popular works. On a verso headed by the inscription “M. A. dictus Ç,” we find the divisi cantus voice of an otherwise unknown *Credo*. Zachara’s work uses

void notes to indicate divisi, while red notes substitute *tempus perfectum* for *tempus imperfectum*. The work is not compatible with a contratenor and tenor of a Credo with similar characteristics in **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, f. 12r.<sup>210</sup> The presence of this unique work implies that although some of Zachara's sacred works had wide distribution, there may still be unknown Mass movements of his to be found.

The manuscript was illuminated with beautiful initial letters (including T's and C's for tenor and contratenor voices) appearing on every legible work. Notes added to f. 42r and f. 41v inform us that the music manuscript was had already been dismembered (or at least treated as "scratch paper") by 1527 and November 1565 respectively. The host volume shows long use into modern times. Folio 15 was repaired with scraps from a heightened neume chant manuscript. Traces of that chant manuscript are also found in the binding of the spine of the host, but none of the binding strips come from the polyphonic source.

### **Udine 22**

*Udine, Archivio di Stato. Frammento 22 (olim Arch. Not. Antico, busta 773).  
No entry in RISM or CCMS.*

Another manuscript from the Cividale area was discovered in Udine and reported on in 1988.<sup>211</sup> The source is a single folio used to protect documents of Francesco Paciani, a notary in Cividale in 1533.<sup>212</sup> The size and layout of the manuscript immediately connected it to the polyphonic fragments from Cividale, **Cividale 63** and **Cividale 98**. The source

<sup>210</sup> Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13.A9*.

<sup>211</sup> Gilberto Pressacco, "Un secondo Gloria cividalese di Rentius de Ponte Curvo," *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 4 (1988), pp. 235–41.

<sup>212</sup> Scalon, *Libri, scuole e cultura nel Friuli medioevale: "Membra disiecta" dell'Archivio di Stato di Udine* (Padua: Editrice antenore, 1987), p. 103.



measures 320x205mm, with a writing space of 280x(est.)190 and, like the Cividalese sources, contains 10 six-line staves per folio.<sup>213</sup> The announcement article was devoted to transcribing and discussing the work on the verso, a new Gloria by Rentius de Ponte Curvo, known from another Gloria in **Cividale 63**.<sup>214</sup> Although the name “Ponte Curvo” could refer either to the name of a city in central Italy or (more unusually) a district in southeast Padua, the composer’s full name makes the latter more likely. Documents which also show that he was a singer in the papal chapel of Gregory XII name him Laurentius Nicolai de Cartono de Pontecurvo.<sup>215</sup> It is likely that “Cartono” is a mistranscription or misreading of “cantono” or “cantone,”<sup>216</sup> or district, a term still used to designate sections of Padua.

Since the Ponte Curvo Gloria transmits the opening of cantus 1 and 2, it is more likely the verso of the folio. That the preceding side has a contratenor and the end of a tenor of a Gloria argues strongly that that would be the preceding recto. (See Figure 2.4 of **Oxford 229**, above, for an example of this layout). Ponte Curvo’s Gloria in **Udine 22** was transcribed prior to a restoration which unfortunately lost several notes from the manuscript.<sup>217</sup> The first-generation photocopies of the fragment made before the restoration should thus be treated with care normally reserved for a medieval source.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236. Pressacco estimates the writing width at 180mm, but this seems too small given the amount of missing music. Staves are 19mm with 10mm interstaff distance.

<sup>214</sup> Pressacco reverses the verso and recto, as will soon be made obvious. The manuscript also received mention by Cesare Scalon with the correct recto and verso but with the incorrect statement that both Glorias were by Rentius de Ponte Curvo. (Scalon, *Libri, scuole e cultura*, pp. 67, 103, and plate 14).

<sup>215</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, “Papal Chapels,” p. 49, with a brief biographical sketch showing that Rentius had a benefice in Cividale.

<sup>216</sup> Suggested by Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin at the conference “I frammenti musicali tra *Santa Giustina* e la diffusione della musica in Europa,” Padua, 15 June 2006.

<sup>217</sup> Francesco Facchin provided the transcription in Pressacco, *op. cit.*

The reverse side of **Udine 22** was largely ignored. A suggestion was made that it could be a continuation of Ponte Curvo's *Gloria: Descendit Angelus* of **Civiale 63**,<sup>218</sup> but transcription of the two works would have disproved this theory. A more careful examination of the recto of **Udine 22** shows that it contains Egardus's untroped Gloria (contratenor and end of the tenor) transcribed in *PMFC* 12, no. 7 (discussed in the context of **Padua 1225**, above). The Amen of the contratenor provides a particularly clear identification. (See Figure 2.55).

FIGURE 2.55: UDINE 22, RECTO, DETAIL



<sup>218</sup> Pressacco, "Un secondo Gloria," p. 238.

This identification brings the total known sources of the work to five, though only three of these sources are complete (Table 2.56).

TABLE 2.56: SOURCES OF EGARDUS'S UNTROPED GLORIA

*attributed*

**Mod A**, ff. 21v–22r (Egardus): complete

**Kras.**, ff. 204v–5r (Opus Egardi): complete

*unattributed*

**Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, ff. Dartmouth-verso and 4r: complete

**Padua 1225**, f. 1v: C complete, T to “suscipe deprecationem nostram.”

**Udine 22**, recto: Ct complete, T from “Qui sedes ad dexteram patris.”

*Grottaferrata/Dartmouth and Udine 22 are also missing some small sections due to trimming or deterioration.*

The layout of **Padua 1225** and **Udine 22** are extremely similar, and break the tenor voice at the same place; unfortunately in the first manuscript we have the material before the tenor's break, and in the later, the material after. Since they share no music we have no way of knowing whether their musical readings are similarly related.<sup>219</sup> The differences between **Udine 22**'s reading and the other sources definitely connect this source more closely to the other Italian sources and not the Polish manuscript.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>219</sup> A second *ars nova* fragment in Udine is not connected to this group of sources. **Udine 290** contains fragments of two French motets, one of the Vitry era and one somewhat later. (Description and discussion, Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Due motetti francesci in una sconosciuta fonte udinese,” *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 4 (1966), pp. 201–14). Though there is some speculation that the manuscript may be Italian (including, Ursula Günther, “Sources, MS: VII. French Polyphony 1300–1420; General,” s.v., in *2ndNG*), the repertory and the notation (particularly the lack of custodes) argue against this hypothesis.

<sup>220</sup> Differences between the Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 12* edition and the reading in **Udine 22** are as follows: Ct. 1–2: missing; 15–17: text and music missing; 18–19: nearly illeg.; 20: illeg (B SB *a* SB alt?); 24: illeg; 32.2–33.1.5: missing; 34–39.2: nearly illeg.; 35.1–2: B *a* (instead of SB, SBr ?); 48.2–50: music and text missing; 51.1: missing syllable; 55: SB lig. *c.o.p.* 56: C# (implies F# in cantus); 62–63: no lig. (text obscured); 66–67.2: music missing; 66–80: text missing (“Qui sedes...Altissi[mus]”); 69–70: missing (69 reconstructible from M stems); m. 80–83.1.5: music missing; 86.2–87.1: SBr missing, SB lig. *c.o.p.*; 91.2–3: SB lig. *c.o.p.*; 97: SB lig. *c.o.p.*, second SB

**Cividale 63**

*Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LXIII.*

RISM B IV 4: *I-CF* 63, p. 749.

CCMS 1: *CivMA* 63, pp. 154–55.

The grand codex **Cividale 63** is primarily a collection of sermons stemming from the thirteenth century.<sup>221</sup> The manuscript is mentioned in Cividalese inventories in both 1350 and 1455/6; thus it probably never has left Cividale.<sup>222</sup>

There are flyleaves at the front and back of the volume, both from music manuscripts. The front flyleaf, marked f. i (Scalon calls it f. III; his ff. I-II are modern flyleaves added during restoration) is a leaf from an antiphonal of smaller dimensions than the host volume.<sup>223</sup> Its 15 four-line staves are each 10mm in height.<sup>224</sup> Initials and rubrics are decorated with red ink. In a surprising case of either local style or scribal concordance, the flyleaf uses the same type of custos as the first music flyleaf of **Cividale 79**, f. 1v, but as the dimensions are not the same it is not from the same manuscript.

The back flyleaf of **Cividale 63** is of greater interest. On 10 six-line staves, it contains fragments of two Glorias, one ascribed to Rentius de Ponte Curvo, the other anonymous. Neither work has any concordances. Like **Udine 22**, the layout of **Cividale 63** demonstrates that the folio has been bound with the opposite side in the binding than was originally intended. The current recto (the hair side) was the verso, with a cantus 2 or con-

---

alt.; 100–104.1: missing; 104: punctus add.; 109: SB lig. *c.o.p.* T 1–68: missing; 74: C# (?); 78–80: missing; 81–83.1: text missing; 85–90(?): missing; 91–102: nearly illeg.; 106–110: missing.

<sup>221</sup> Brief description in *RISM* 4, p. 749; full description, Cesare Scalon and Laura Pani, editors, *I codici della Biblioteca capitolare di Cividale del Friuli* (Florence: Sismel, 1998), pp. 219–224.


<sup>222</sup> Scalon and Pani, *I codici*, p. 223.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix 1, no. 16, p. 381.

<sup>224</sup> Scalon and Pani describe one of the staves as five-line, probably referring to the first staff, which is a four-line staff directly below the ruling for the top margin.

tratenor voice probably on the facing recto.<sup>225</sup> Conversely, the current recto is obviously a verso since it contains a complete contratenor and the last section of the tenor voice (from “Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris”). In accordance with the precedent of **Udine 22**, I will use the designation of the original foliation and not how it is currently bound.

The scribal hand changes between the *Rentius Gloria* on the verso (hand I) and the recto (hand II). Hand I uses capital letters often (“Benedicamus te. Adoramus te,” vs. “benedicamus te, adoramus te”), longer marks of abbreviation, more decorated capitals (one can compare the Qs of “Qui tollis” or “Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris”), squarer letters throughout, and a different custos type (a check instead of a curled form written in pencil). The same differences distinguish the two hands of **Udine 22**, though no custodes survive from its verso. Also similar to **Cividale 63**, the *Rentius Gloria* of **Udine 22** (hand I) has more capital letters and squarer letters throughout than hand II. In both manuscripts, hand II uses decorated lines in groups of threes to indicate the end of the work; the surviving marks on the verso of **Cividale 63** (hand I) are in pairs.

The anonymous *Gloria* (not a *Credo*, contra *PMFC 13*, p. 257) survives only in a difficult to read contratenor voice and the conclusion of the tenor. It prominently uses the Machaut-era motive  throughout the contratenor and at the end of the Amen in imitation (see Figure 2.57).

<sup>225</sup> *RISM B IV 4*, p. 749.



FIGURE 2.57: CIVIDALE 63, ORIGINAL RECTO (PERSPECTIVE DIGITALLY CORRECTED)



Even if some liberties are taken with the underlay, the text-setting of the anonymous Gloria is not idiomatic. The contratenor begins with “Laudamus te,” which indicated that the opening was a solo or duet, the latter either with cantus and tenor or with a divided cantus. Up to “suscipe deprecationem nostram,” only the contratenor survives. With some caveats and some interpretation it can be transcribed (Example 2.58).

## EXAMPLE 2.58: CIVIDALE 63, ANONYMOUS GLORIA, CONTRATENOR

Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. A - do - ra - mus te.

12 Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti -

23 bi pro - pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu - am. Domine  
(notes missing?)

33 De - us, Rex ce - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter o - mni - po - tens. Do -

44 mi - ne Fi - li u - ni - ge - ni - te, Je - su Chri - ste.

53 Do - mi - ne De - us, A - gnus De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - tris.

63 tris.

73 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re -

83 re no - bis. Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o -

93 nem no - stram.

The tenor appears at the “qui sedes,” but despite some clear passages, I could not satisfactorily transcribe the two-voices together. The voices certainly do not declaim the text



simultaneously and there may also be a change of clef in one or both voices—clefs in general are obscured on this leaf. The verso was originally pasted to the back cover and we know from other examples that the process of lifting leaves missing ink on the cover boards. Though the binding of the manuscript is old and possibly original, a recent restoration job has covered the outside boards with modern flyleaves. The back flyleaf should be lifted so the boards can be photographed. Fortunately, the Amen is legible by-and-large, and Example 2.59 provides a transcription.

EXAMPLE 2.59: CIVIDALE 63, ANONYMOUS GLORIA, AMEN

*Cividale 63, Grottaferrata s.s., and References to John the Baptist*

The original verso contains the complete cantus (1?) and tenor of the unique *Gloria: Descendit Angelus* of Rentius de Ponte Curvo. The work is much better preserved than the Gloria on the recto and has already been transcribed.<sup>226</sup> Rather than having the text of the Gloria, the tenor is a mensural version of the chant, *Descendit Angelus*, from the feast of the

<sup>226</sup> Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, A3.

Nativity of John the Baptist. Though the text (an adaptation of Luke 1:11–13) also appears as a responsory, it is the music of the antiphon which we have here.<sup>227</sup> John the Baptist was (and as Figure 2.60 attests still is) revered in Cividale, though the town certainly did not have a monopoly on the veneration of such an important saint.<sup>228</sup> The three-voice hymn, *Iste confessor* found on f. 308r of **Cividale 57** may also be dedicated to John the Baptist.<sup>229</sup>

<sup>227</sup> The antiphon appears in [André Mocquereau], *Paleographie Musicale*, série 2, 1: “Antiphonale du B. Hartker,” (Solesmes, Imprimerie Saint–Pierre, 1900), plate 273(–79). It does not appear in the twelfth-century antiphoner from Lucca also in the series.

<sup>228</sup> Nino Pirrotta, “Zachara da Teramo,” in idem, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), note 22, p. 398; reprinted in English translation (with additions) as “Zacarus Musicus,” *Quadrivium* 12 (1971), p. 161.

<sup>229</sup> Lockwood, “Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli,” p. 251 states that *Letare Felix* concerns John the Baptist while another work in **Cividale 57**, *Iste confessor* is dedicated to San Donato, another patron saint of Cividale. However, *Letare Felix*, is dedicated to San Donato, while in the manuscript **Pavia 361** the text is changed to “Ut Queant Laxis” and explicitly honors John the Baptist.

FIGURE 2.60: CONTINUING TRADITIONS OF VENERATION OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN CIVIDALE



Outside of the Cividale manuscripts there exists another Gloria with connections to John the Baptist. This source may also have a Cividalese connection. **Grottaferrata s.s.**, a fragment discovered first by Oliver Strunk then rediscovered by Anne Hallmark, contains four incomplete Glorias on its two folios.<sup>230</sup> Ciconia's *Gloria: Suscipe Trinitas* on f. Bv is the only previously known work. An anonymous and untroped Gloria on f. Ar alternates between  $\text{C}$  and  $\text{C}$ . Another untroped Gloria is ascribed to "Fr[ater] Antonius." Among the

<sup>230</sup> Brief description in Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," pp. 223–24.

known composers named Antonio, the Dominican friar Antonio da Cividale is the most likely candidate for this identification. Antonello Marot da Caserta is a possibility since he has called “abbas” in **Parma 75** and a “frater Antoniello de Caserta” is mentioned in a 1402 document.<sup>231</sup> However, his name is given exclusively as some form of “Antoniello” or “Tonelus” and not “Antonius” in the known documents. Furthermore, he wrote no surviving Mass movements. Antonio Zachara da Teramo, an obvious Antonio, was not in a religious order. Nothing is known of the biography of Antonius de Eugubio from **Macerata 488**, whom Paolo Peretti had at one time suggested may have been identical with Zachara.<sup>232</sup> Anthonius Clericus Apostolicus, author of a single ballata in **Strasbourg 222** (once called “a rather vapid piece melodically and harmonically”)<sup>233</sup> is usually identified with Zachara.<sup>234</sup> Antonius Romanus is a slightly later composer who remains a possibility if only because we have no details about his life that would completely rule out the identification; if this were the case, the Gloria would have to be an early work. After reviewing the possibilities, Antonio da Cividale is still the most logical choice, raising the potential for tying **Grottaferrata s.s.** to Cividale.

<sup>231</sup> Ursula Günther and Anne Stone, “Antonello da Caserta,” s.v., in *2ndNG*.

<sup>232</sup> Peretti, “‘Antonius de Eugubio’: un altro nome per Zacara?” in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, edited by Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), pp. 383–90.

<sup>233</sup> Marrocco, *PMFC 10*, p. X.

<sup>234</sup> John Nádas, “Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo,” *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), p. 173; On the same page, Nádas correctly identifies the title of the Credo “Scabioso,” a detail which would go unnoticed (even by Nádas!) until the independent rediscovery of the same by Lucia Marchi in “La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma,” p. 105.

The fourth Gloria of the manuscript is connected most strongly to **Civiale 63** and the town itself. All that survives is a tenor voice with incipits for each section of the text. The text is troped and praises John the Baptist. Example 2.61 transcribes the folio.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>235</sup> The transcriptions from **Grottaferrata s.s.** were made from a low-quality black and white microfilm whose first staff was difficult to read. Therefore the transcriptions do not have the level of accuracy one would otherwise expect. Given that the fragment has been known for decades without transcription, it was thought that producing even a non-authoritative edition would be better than omitting these examples.

EXAMPLE 2.61: GROTTAFERRATA S.S., F. BR: *GLORIA: [QUI?] JOHANNEM COLLAUDAMUS*

[Qui?] Johannem collaudamus.

Laudamus te.

Baptizatum a Johanne.

Gratias agimus tibi.

Cuius vates exultavit.

Domine fili.

Qui Johannem vissitasti

130 *Qui tollis peccata.*

140

150 *Qui baptizam.*

161

171 *Qui sedes ad dexteram.*

181

191

200 *Tu laudasti precursorem.*

210

220 *Amen.*

231

241

The surviving voices of the two other Glorias would fit stylistically with the repertory of any of the three Cividale manuscripts. In particular, the untroped Gloria on f. Ar has similarities to Philippoctus's Credo. Renewing the caveat from the last Gloria about the provi-

sional nature of these transcriptions, both other *unica* Glorias are given as Examples 2.62 and 2.63.

EXAMPLE 2.62: GROTTAFERRATA S.S., F. AR, *GLORIA*

Et in— ter - ra— pax ho - mi - ni - bus— bo -

9 ne vo-lun-ta - tis. Lau - da-mus te. Be-ne-di-ci-mus te. A - do-ra - mus te.

17 Glo-ri - fi - ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as— a - gi-mus ti - bi pro - pter—

24 ma - gnam glo-ri - am— tu - am. Do - mi - ne— De - us, Rex—

32 ce - le - - stis, De - us Pa - ter o - mni - po - tens. Do-mi-ne Fi -

41 li u - ni-ge-ni - te, Je - su— Chri - - - ste.—

54 Do - mi - ne— De - us, A-gnus— De - i, Fi - li - us— Pa - tris.

65 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se - re - re— no - bis.

73 Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - di, su - sci - pe— de - pre - ca - ti -

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - di, su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti -



80

o - nem no - stram. Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram Pa -

88

tris, mi - se - re - re no - - - bis. Quo-ni-am tu so - lus San -

95

ctus. Tu so-lus Do-mi - nus. Tu so - lus Al - tis - si - mus,

103

Je - - - su Chri - - - ste.

113

Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa -

122

tris. \_\_\_\_\_ A

tris. \_\_\_\_\_ A

This system contains measures 122 and 123. Measure 122 is in 6/8 time and features a vocal line with eighth notes and a piano accompaniment with eighth notes. Measure 123 is in 6/8 time and features a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with half notes. The lyrics 'tris.' and 'A' are written below the vocal line.

133

This system contains measures 133 and 134. Measure 133 is in 6/8 time and features a vocal line with eighth notes and a piano accompaniment with eighth notes. Measure 134 is in 6/8 time and features a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with half notes.

141

ms:

This system contains measures 141 and 142. Measure 141 is in 6/8 time and features a vocal line with eighth notes and a piano accompaniment with eighth notes. Measure 142 is in 6/8 time and features a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with half notes. The lyrics 'ms:' and a musical notation symbol are written above the vocal line.

149

This system contains measures 149 and 150. Measure 149 is in 2/4 time and features a vocal line with eighth notes and a piano accompaniment with eighth notes. Measure 150 is in 2/4 time and features a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with half notes.

156

men. \_\_\_\_\_

men. \_\_\_\_\_

This system contains measures 156 and 157. Measure 156 is in 2/4 time and features a vocal line with eighth notes and a piano accompaniment with eighth notes. Measure 157 is in 2/4 time and features a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with half notes. The lyrics 'men.' are written below the vocal line.

## EXAMPLE 2.63: GROTTAFERRATA S.S., F. AV GLORIA (FRATER ANTONIUS)

Et in terra pax ho-mi-ni-bus

bo-ne vo-lun-ta-tis.

Lau-da-mus te. Be-ne-

di-ci-mus te. A-do-ra-

mus te. Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus

te. Gra-ti-as a-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter

ma-gnam glo-ri-am tu-am.

Do-mi-ne De-us, Rex ce-le-

stis, De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-

78  
8 tens. \_\_\_\_\_ Do - mi - ne Fi-li u - ni - ge - ni - te, Je-su Chri -

86  
8 - - - ste. \_\_\_\_\_ Do - - - mi - ne De - - -

94  
8 - - - us, A - gnus De - - - i, Fi -

102  
8 li - us \_\_\_\_\_ Pa - - - tris. Qui tol - lis pec - ca -

110  
8 ta mun - - - di, mi - se - re - re no -

118  
8 - - - bis. \_\_\_\_\_ Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun -

126  
8 - - - di, su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - - o - nem

134 key-sig. change?  
8 no - - - stram. \_\_\_\_\_ Qui \_\_\_\_\_ se - des ad

142  
8 dex - te - ram \_\_\_\_\_ Pa - tris, mi - se - re - re no - bis. \_\_\_\_\_

150  
8 Quo - ni - am tu so - lus San - ctus. Tu so - lus Do - mi - nus.

157  
8 Tu so - lus Al-tis - si - mus, Je - su Chri - ste.

166  
8 Cum San - cto Spi -

175  
8 ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa -

186  
8 tris. A -

194  
8

203  
8 men.

Though the scribal hand of **Grottaferrata s.s.** is not the same as either of the hands in **Civiale 63**, there are other similarities. Both manuscripts use 10 six-line staves, and have writing areas in the ratio of about 1.7:1. **Grottaferrata s.s.**'s use of French mensural signatures appears also in **Civiale 98**, as a  $\circ$  in the Amen of Philippoctus's Credo. These similarities are not enough in themselves to give a definite Cividalese provenance to the manuscript. Nevertheless, they are sufficient to remind us that when we consider the provenance of a new discovery, we have other choices than Florence or Padua.

*Cividale A as a whole*

As a final perspective, I wish to consider these three sources as a group and possibly as a single manuscript. All three fragments are the same size, use 10 six-line staves of the same color, and delimit the writing area on both sides with two vertical lines.<sup>236</sup> Further, they have similar repertoires of Mass movements. In particular, the scribe favors three-voice works with active contratenors and tenors. The same two types of custodes, both check and curled, are found throughout the manuscripts.

Pressacco commented on some important differences among the fragments.<sup>237</sup> **Cividale 98** has complete decorations while **Cividale 63** and **Udine 22** have none. However, many manuscripts have some sections which are decorated and others which are not; **Pad A** is one such example. He also argued that **Cividale 63** and **Udine 22** use color abundantly (**Udine 22** uses both red and void red), while **Cividale 98** uses red notation only for “archaic rhythmic figures” such as breves and longae. However, the closer examination of f. 1r provided above shows red semibreves in the contratenor voice of Zachara’s Credo, so this caveat may now be removed. The difference in musical hands across manuscripts may be raised, but the same hands are seen within each source, and f. 42v of **Cividale 98** employs both hands. The two hands on that page seem to merging into each other, which raises the possibility that they may actually be a single scribe. The strongest point of resistance against (conceptually) uniting the fragments into a single, original manuscript is the lack of overlap between one part and another. This is a serious charge. It may be leveled against many oth-

<sup>236</sup> Noted by Pressacco, “Un secondo Gloria,” p. 238

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 237–38.

er manuscripts as well, such as Siena 326 and 327 (now called **Siena 207**) or **Cortona 1** and **Cortona 2**. But as the examination of the Paduan group showed earlier, there are important gains to be made by understanding which groups of sources are closely related and which are less close, without making the final statement about their original relations. Though in fact every pair of sources either was or was not part of the same original source, given our current knowledge we cannot make definite statements about these relationships in every case. Fortunately, we are not forced to.

Thus, even if we cannot show definitively on the basis of continuous foliation or shared works that these three Cividalese sources formed a single manuscript (as is the case with **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth** or **Padua 684** and **Padua 1475**), they certainly were part of the same project of manuscript production. Let us optimistically designate this composite manuscript group **Cividale A** in the hopes that additional Cividalese manuscripts will be discovered in the future.

The similarities between **Pad A** and **Cividale A** are numerous. Both groups are primarily devoted to the transmission of Mass movements, mixing the music of local composers (Gratious and Ciconia in the case of **Pad A**, and Rentius and Antonio for **Cividale A**) with those of other Italian and international composers (including in both cases Zachara and Engardus). The copying of secular compositions to be sure was a secondary concern, but it would be wrong to consider it an afterthought. In both sources, the principal scribe notates these works. This attention indicates that they were intended from the start to occupy available spaces. The connections between Padua and Cividale are increasing in importance, and we may in time come to see the northeast of Italy as an even stronger counterweight to Florentine cultural power.

## Other Manuscripts in Cividale

Although **Cividale A** is the most important testament to mensural polyphony in Cividale *ca.* 1400, several other sources refine and add color to our view of the musical situation. The most important other source comprises the four flyleaves at the front of **Cividale 79**, a fifteenth-century gradual. The first and fourth flyleaves are from one musical source with a continuous repertory of ff. Av and Dr. The second and third are from another document with a different scribal hand and manuscript layout. Folios A & D have nine five-line staves per page while ff. B & C use ten four-line staves. The outer leaves contain a Credo in mensural notation (often called *cantus fractus*), a non-mensural Alleluia, and the chant *Alma mater pietatis Helisabeth* (probably also related to John the Baptist) in mensural notation, all monophonic. The inner leaves contain a monophonic, non-mensural *Kyrie, fons bonitatis* along with a polyphonic Gloria and Credo. The Gloria is securely attributed to Antonio da Cividale. The second, based on the *Credo* “Cardinalis,” begins on the same page as the Gloria and thus may also be by Antonio.<sup>238</sup> The Credo is incomplete, but a complete, two-voice version of the work can be found in an addition to the 1345 **Gemona Gradual**, from nearby Gemona del Friuli.

The presence of mensural monophonic chant in Cividale complements the collections of non-mensural polyphonic singing for which the town is better known. There is a further major source of so-called *cantus fractus*, the four passion settings of **Cividale 24**.<sup>239</sup> As

<sup>238</sup> The Gloria is edited in *E15cM* 5, no. 6; the Credo in Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC* 13, A7 with the suggestion that it may be part of the same piece as **Cividale 58**, f. 354v.

<sup>239</sup> Discovered by Lewis Lockwood and Pierluigi Petrobelli and reported on by Petrobelli, “Nuovo materiale polifonico del Medioevo e del Rinascimento a Cividale,” *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi* 46 (1965), p. 214, and Lockwood, “Sources of Renaissance Polyphony from Cividale del Friuli,” p. 252.



Lockwood notes, the source is possibly the largest known setting of mensural monophony from the first half of the quattrocento. The autograph inscription reports that the canon of the cathedral of Cividale Comuzius della Campagnolla,<sup>240</sup> “scripsit, notavit et in figuram cantus reduxit.”<sup>241</sup> The inscription further says that Comuzius was “natus magistri Zanni de Padua,” whom other documents show had died in 1427.<sup>242</sup> Could Comuzius be the son of the Paduan composer Zaninus de Peraga de Padua known from a single work, *Se le lagrime antique* in **Stresa 14**? The death date seems plausible. Further work in the archival documents before 1427 in Cividale will be needed to answer this question, but at the least by Comuzius’s name alone we have established another Cividalese composer with Paduan connections.

A few other isolated works of mensural polyphony are found in the Cividale manuscripts. Two hymns were added to empty spaces in **Cividale 57** by two different hands, neither of which copied the main part of the manuscript. On f. 308, *Letare felix civitas*, a hymn for two upper voices with tenor, has been added.<sup>243</sup> On f. 326r the three-voice hymn dedicated to a confessor, *Iste confessor domini* has been written. Though the work is known from 11 sources, **Cividale 57**’s contratenor is both unique and the most active of any of the voices in any version.<sup>244</sup> The final work to consider is *O salutaris hostia*, a piece out of our time period. It is notated as a two-voice composition and was written probably just after the middle

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

<sup>241</sup> Scalon, *Produzione e fruizione del libro*, no. 320.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

<sup>243</sup> Transcription Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, no. 40.

<sup>244</sup> Transcriptions Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC 13*, no. 39, and from all 11 sources in Cattin and Facchin, *PMFC 23b*, no. 83a.

of the fifteenth-century on f. 82v of **Cividale 101**.<sup>245</sup> Margaret Bent singles it out as unusual for being a piece of fauxbourdon (though unlabeled) in a manuscript of simple polyphony.<sup>246</sup> Example 2.64 transcribes the first line with an added, implied fauxbourdon voice.

EXAMPLE 2.64: CIVIDALE 101, *O SALUTARIS HOSTIA*, FIRST LINE

The mixtures of high and low art inherent in fauxbourdon make it an apt metaphor for the *mélange* of styles and audiences found throughout the Cividale manuscripts. No study bound within the traditional research areas of chant, simple polyphony, or *ars nova* could capture the totality of musical flowering in this remarkable town. The wide musical variety of Cividale therefore begs us to develop an equally wide view of music history.

<sup>245</sup> Both processionaries have recently been described by Michel Huglo in the second volume of his study, *Les manuscrits du processionnal, RISM B XIV 2* (Munich: Henle, 2004), pp. 305–7. Huglo notes that St. Bernardine of Siena, who was canonized in 1450, appears in the litany of the saints in the manuscript.

<sup>246</sup> Bent, “The Definition of Simple Polyphony: Some Questions,” in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d’Orfeo, 1989), p. 38. She notes also that Venice 145 is indiscriminate in its holdings.