

UNDERSTANDING FRAGMENTARY SOURCES IN ISOLATION is as difficult as solving a crossword puzzle on the first pass and on the basis of the clues alone. Fragments yield some of their secrets easily. But just as some crossword clues can only be solved when other answers have filled in some of the letters, so can many fragments only be understood in the context of other manuscripts and documents. The more inscrutable aspects of fragments become comprehensible only after repeated examination, always in the light of recent discoveries and new theories.

This chapter revisits six such sources. Like the fragments discussed in Chapter 2, each appears to be the remnant of a larger polyphonic collection, equivalent to those which remain mostly intact today. Most of these sources have received little attention since 1925.¹ Though it is my intention to present these manuscripts as a representative sample of manuscript fragments, in fact these sources also form a group. All of these sources are currently in the vicinity of Rome, a city whose importance as a center of trecento holdings today is increasing in the same measure as our perception of its stature in the fourteenth century.²

¹ Heinrich Bessler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters. I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7.2 (1925), pp. 167–252.

² Three further sources in Rome, **Vatican 1419**, **Vatican 129**, and **Casanatense 522** (the last of which may or may not be part of a larger manuscript) are discussed in Chapter 5. On Rome and the Papal Chapels, see especially, Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian

(note continues)

Vatican 1969

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. *Ottobonianus latinus* 1969.

RISM B IV 4: *I-Rvat* 1969, p. 1034. CCMS 4: *VatO* 1969, p. 21.

At the front of the tiny volume of the Satires of Juvenal of Aquino, lies an equally tiny bifolio, now used as a pair of loose flyleaves but which seems to have once been bound to the front cover. The document, containing parts of a secular composition and two Credos, forms an important link between the musical style of the trecento and the types of Mass compositions familiar throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. The flyleaves are 140mm in height and 105mm in width, of which the inner *c.* 5mm is bent around the main corpus, emerging between ff. 8 and 9. The partially cut-off decorated initial letter on the first verso shows that the leaves have been trimmed slightly on the outside edge (though this trimming may have occurred before it was bound into the host manuscript), but the writing space of 110x90mm, has not been disturbed. The five-line staves are of normal or even largish size (17mm with *ca.* 27mm from system to system); that there are only four staves per page allows the manuscript's diminutive size.

A red foliation number on the top right recto reads 49 for the first folio and 60 for the second. If the numbering is original, as it probably (but not certainly) is, it indicates that the manuscript was of substantial length at some point. The remains of three compositions are preserved on the two surviving folios, but the small size allows us to posit the contents of several lost folios, as Figure 3.1 describes. The gathering structure showing sexternions is an educated guess, but seems likely since larger gathering sizes are uncommon.

Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, edited by Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 44–92.

FIGURE 3.1: HYPOTHETICAL GATHERING RECONSTRUCTION OF VATICAN 1969

	47
	48
Virelai [C]	
Virelai(?) [T, CT]	49
Credo ("Patrem...de deo vero") [C]	
[T]	50
[cont.] ("Genitum non factum...et homo factus est") [C]	
[T]	51
[cont.] ("Crucifixus etiam...non erit finis") [C]	
[T]	52
[cont.] ("Et in Spiritum ...[end?]") [C]	
[T]	53
[cont.] (possible Amen, if long) [C]	
[T]	54
[Another five opening work? 1/5]	55
[2/5]	56
[3/5]	57
[4/5]	58
[5/5]	59
Credo (Tailhandier) (C: "Patrem...deo de deo")	
[T: "Patrem...de deo vero"; C: "lume de ... deo vero")	60
[cont.] ("Genitum non factum...et homo factus est") [C]	
[T]	61
[cont.] ("Crucifixus etiam...non erit finis") [C]	
[T]	62
[cont.] ("Et in Spiritum ...remissionem peccatorum") [C]	
[T]	63
[cont.] ("Et exspecto...Amen.") [C]	
[T]	64

The manuscript contains the remains of three pieces, the first of which is mostly illegible and cannot be reconstructed. The second and third are two Credo's, the second of which is known to be written by Tailhandier with concordances in **Apt 16bis**, **Barcelo-**

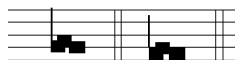
na/Gerona, **Barcelona 2**, **Barcelona 853b**, **Munich 29775.8**, and the burnt codex **Strasbourg 222**.³ Both Credos are listed among the *exclusa* of *PMFC 13*, probably indicating that Fischer and Gallo were unaware of the *Tailhandier* concordance which was published soon thereafter as *PMFC 23b* no. 54. The manuscript does not appear anywhere in Layton's study of Italian mass music, suggesting he was unaware of the source rather than convinced of entirely non-Italian contents.

The first work is nearly illegible. It has been called a ballade probably on account of the open and close endings (visible at the beginning of the second staff) which are then followed by further music.⁴ A closer examination reveals a change of clef after the close ending (from C5 to C4), thus probably indicating a new voice part, and another "clus" ending at the bottom of the fourth (i.e., final) staff. The remaining text of the last line seems to read, "da pars con...or" (= "secunda pars contratenor"), making it more likely that we possess the lower voices of a three-voice *virelai*. (There are some ballate with open and close endings at the end of the piece, but this format is more commonly found in *virelais*). The visible use of two adjacent minim rests in line four along with the void coloration in the second and third lines indicates *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* (§). The folio is a palimpsest; thus ultraviolet light only hinders the reconstruction by making the underwriting more legible (to the relative detriment of the notes). The open and close endings of the tenor line are distinctive, as Figure 3.2 shows:

³ See the section on **Barcelona 2** in Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of its concordances.

⁴ *RISM B IV* 4, p. 1034.

FIGURE 3.2: VATICAN 1969, F. 49R TENOR ENDINGS



The pattern of ascending and descending seconds before the cadence note in both the open and close is unknown in other surviving pieces, and will help in future searches for concordances.⁵ The cadence tones are probably A and G, respectively, though the clef cannot be made out for certain. Although the beginning of the contratenor cannot be read with any confidence, much of the rest of the first two lines can be transcribed. It is a low voice with frequent use of void notation. Example 3.3 attempts a transcription; again, unfortunately no concordances could be found.

EXAMPLE 3.3: VATICAN 1969, F. 49R, CONTRATENOR, OPENING



At the top of the folio are two words which tantalize with the possibility of an attribution but are best read as “fecit cantum.”⁶ This attribution suggests that the name of the one who made the song would have appeared at the top of the previous page.⁷

⁵ Surprisingly, the closest matches for this distinctive tenor ending are found in the Cypriot codex **Turin 9**. For instance, the perfect *modus ballade*, *Contre tous maulz*, no. 42 in Hoppin’s edition, has open and close tenor endings at the same pitch level as **Vatican 1969**’s work. (Richard Hoppin, editor, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 21* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960).)

⁶ “Cantum” is abbreviated as “cāt” followed by a sign of truncation.

⁷ The head of the page also contains the old shelfmarks, V.2.32 and Q.13.17. The manuscript comes from the collection of Dukes of Altemps; the arms of Pope Pius VI (reigned 1775–99) on the cover give approximate dates for the (re-)binding of the manuscript.

The verso of the folio contains one voice of the opening of a Credo in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori*. The surviving music implies a simple work, similar in phrase length, meter, and gesture to the Tailhandier Credo or Matteo's Credo, *PMFC 13* no. 24, but with less syncopation than either. But perhaps the most similar work in the Italian trecento repertory is Philippoctus de Caserta's Credo, formerly thought to be incomplete, but transcribed in Chapter 2, above. The figure ♩ ♩ is the only significant detail of this Credo lacking in Philippoctus's. Example 3.4 provides a transcription of the Vatican 1969 Credo.⁸

EXAMPLE 3.4: VATICAN 1969, F. 49V

Pa - - - - - trem o - mni-po - te - tem, —

10 fa - cto-rem ce - li et ter - re, vi si-bi-li - um o - mni - um, et in-vi-si - bi - li - um. —

21 — Et in u - num Do-mi-num Je - sum Chri - stum, Fi - li - um De - i un-ni-ge-ni-

32 tum. — Et ex Pa - tre na - tum an-te-om-ni - a se-cu-la. De - um de De - o, lu - men de —

43 lu - mi - ne, — De - um ve - rum de [De] - o ve - - - - ro.

⁸ *RISM B IV 4*, p. 1003 gives the Credo beginning on f. 140v of **Parma 9** as a concordance for this work. This is incorrect and probably refers to the polyphonic credo of **Vatican 657** instead (see Chapter 4).

In its range, use of the figure ♩, cadence patterns, nearly syllabic setting, and probable two-voice structure, the work also resembles the Credo of **Houghton 122** (*PMFC 13.A10*). Unfortunately, only the end of that work is preserved, so there is no music or text in common with **Vatican 1969**.⁹

The size of **Vatican 1969** is similar to other tiny sources from the fifteenth century, such as the composite **Venice 145** and **Parma 3597**, a manuscript of plainsong with one polyphonic work in *Stimmtausch*.¹⁰ The connection to the Venetian source, the copying of a *virelai* (or *ballade*), and scribal interest in French Mass music (exemplified by Tailhandier's Credo) make a northern provenance more likely for the source, but a more precise location is impossible.

⁹ There is not the space for a detailed consideration of the Houghton source (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Houghton Library, fms Typ 122), but the possibility should be raised that it is not an Italian source at all. It omits custodes; this occurrence is common outside Italy, but rare in Italian sources of the trecento and early quattrocento. The serifs on letters and on square notes such as breves and longae are more pronounced than normally seen in Italian sources. The notation shows no Italianisms and uses French mensural signatures throughout. Though I defer to Margaret Bent's assessment of stylistic connections between the motet *...cordis psalteris* and Ciconia's motets ("New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 9 (1980), pp. 181–82), it is rare to find in Ciconia's works a fifty measure passage where neither the tenor nor cantus 2 have a long rest to change the texture as we see in the Houghton source. That there are stylistic connections between this Credo and the English and French Gloria settings in **Foligno** (*Ibid.*, p. 184) does little to hint at an Italian origin for the Cambridge source or its contents. A date for the source from later in the fifteenth century would alleviate some of these concerns about provenance, but would make the motet's presumed subject (the three-fold Schism) no longer topical.

¹⁰ Giulio Cattin has written two invaluable articles on these manuscripts, "Il manoscritto Venet. Marc. Ital. IX, 145," *Quadrivium* 4 (1960), pp. 1–57, recently reprinted in Cattin 2003 (q.v.), pp. 37–96, and "Persistenza e variazioni in un tropo polifonico al *Benedicamus*," in *L'ars nova Italiana del Trecento* 5, edited by Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'ars nova Italiana del Trecento, 1985), pp. 46–56. Although the dates and contents of these manuscripts put them beyond the scope of this dissertation, they will figure again in the discussions of liturgical polyphony in Chapter 4.

Vatican 171

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Barberinianus latinus 171.

RISM B IV 4: *I-Rvat 171*, pp. 1018–20 CCMS 4: *VatB 171*, p. 11.

Another fragmentary source of sacred music with Northern Italian connections is found in the Barberini collection of Latin manuscripts in the Vatican. **Vatican 171**'s music is found at the rear of a manuscript of miscellaneous medical tracts.¹¹ The remainder of the manuscript has nothing to do with music. The source opens with a palimpsest bifolio whose first folio was formerly pasted to the front cover, apparently dealing with arithmetic problems. The first verso contains the old siglae 766 and IX.40 in addition to the current Barb. lat. 171. The following verso contains a modern inventory of the manuscript. Approximately half the source (ff. 1r–114v) is dedicated to the *Sinonima* of Magister Simonis de Janua (Simon of Genova), a dictionary of Greek and Latin medicine translated into Latin. The remainder of the manuscript is dedicated to four treatises “de simplicibus medicinis.”

Tipped into the back of the manuscript are several parchment leaves mounted on four modern preservation sheets. The first two of these sheets are a bifolio on which has been mounted two strips of music; the third is a single folio of music. The final sheet, which will not be discussed, contains a letter of 1447 also cut into two strips, between Pope Nicholas V and “Henricus” (Enrico Rampini di Sant’Allosio, archbishop and cardinal of Milan). The contents of the letter show no connection with the music manuscripts. The distance in time between the production of the music manuscript, the writing of the letter, and the cut-

¹¹ The manuscript is described in Theodore Silverstein’s study, *Medieval Latin Scientific Writings in the Barberini Collection: A Provisional Catalog* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), pp. 43–45, with some errors concerning the musical contents and the concluding letter.

ting and reuse of both give little reason to suspect either a Roman (“apud Sanctam Petram”) or a Milanese provenance for the music section of the manuscript.¹²

The remainder of this section will naturally focus on the three music folios. Because they have been referred to by so many different systems of foliations, it is important to present the different systems in Table 3.5 below:

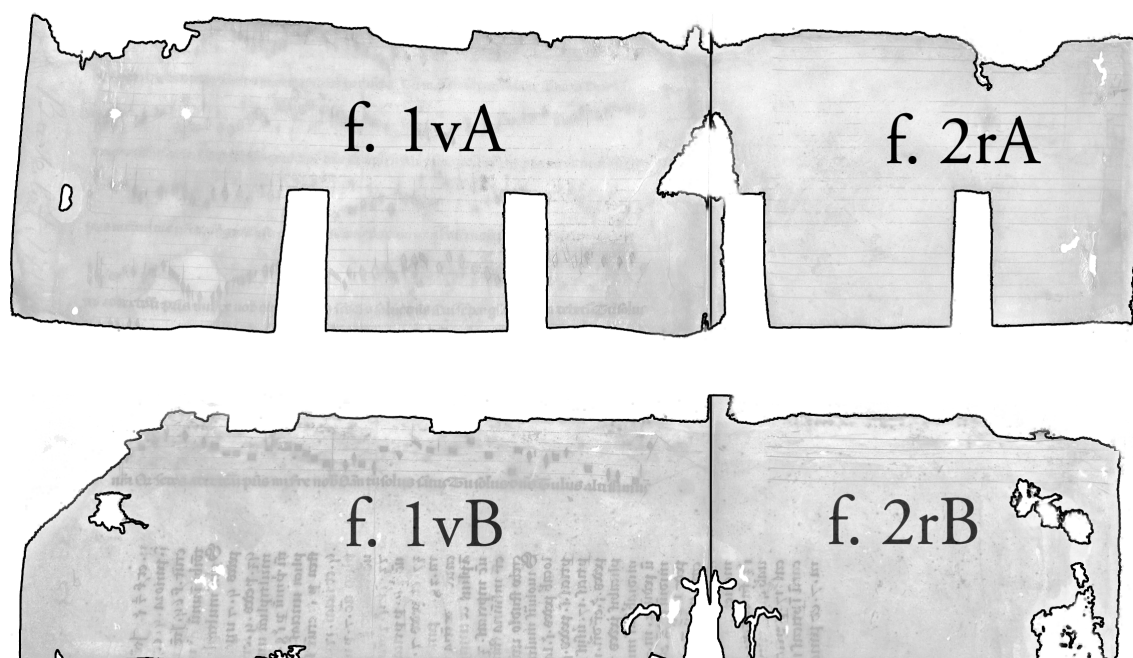
TABLE 3.5: FOLIATION SYSTEMS IN VATICAN 171

Numeration on fragments	Layton/Cuthbert	MS Folio/ <i>PMFC/RISM</i>	Besseler
1a + 1b (also 2)	f. 1r (A + B)	f. 223r	f. 2r
2a + 2b	f. 1v (A + B)	f. 223v	f. 2v
3a + [no mark]	f. 2r (A + B)	f. 224r	[blank folios]
4	f. 2v (A + B)	f. 224v	[blank folios]
5 (also 2)	f. 3r	f. 225r	f. 1r
[none]	f. 3v	f. 225v	f. 1v

A schematic showing the bifolio when it is fully opened appears in Figure 3.6:

¹² Although the month of the letter does not survive, the year and location lead to the suspicion that Rampini was still in Rome for the election of Nicholas V.

FIGURE 3.6: INNER BIFOLIO OF VATICAN 171



The oddly-shaped vertical cuts show that the fragments were wrapped around the spine of the book where spaces were left for the four chords which joined the front and back covers.

For the sake of not introducing another system of foliation, I will use Layton's in this study, adding designations for fragments A and B, despite two misgivings. First, I will argue that, unlike what other authors have written, fragment A of bifolio 1–2 is not from the same leaf as fragment B. Second, ff. 1 and 2 were not originally adjacent; more likely they were near the outside of a gathering. Folio 1v concludes mid-movement with a *custos* indicating continuation, while what remains of f. 2r is blank. The non-adjacency is seen in the following list of contents, Table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7: VATICAN 171 CONTENTS:

-
- f. 1r A: **Troped Gloria fragment**, beginning: “te, Benedicimus te, Adoramus te.” Probably missing one line of music. With troped, divisi duo sections, “O redentor noster pu[ri]ssime resspice nos tam[?] clementissime ut uiuam tecum purissime feliciter.” Ending: “Agnus dei filius patris. D.[uo] Alme de.” Single voice, C2.
 - f. 1r B: **Troped Gloria fragment**, with full text: “...quos libriata [?] salutris [?], Jesu Christe. Cum sancto spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Am[en].” Single voice with red coloration indicating divisi, C2.
 - f. 1v A: **Troped Gloria fragment**, with illegible beginning. Ending: “Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam ...s sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Qui semper gl...a debetu[r?]. Tu solus.” Single voice, C2.
 - f. 1v B: **Gloria fragment**, with full text: “nostra. Qui sedes a dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus dominis. Tu lus [*sic*] altissimus.” Single voice, possibly tenor, F-clef fragment, probably F3. Also, offsetting from the front (former) pastedown.
 - f. 2r A: Four blank staves.
 - f. 2r B: A blank staff and offsetting from the front pastedown.
 - f. 2v A: Four blank staves
 - f. 2v B: A blank staff.
 - f. 3r: **1. Gloria fragment**, two voices, beginning: “Tu solus dominus.” Incipits only (“Tu solus dominus; Tu cuncta; Cum Sancto Spiritu; Amen”). No denomination of first voice, second voice labeled “Tenor.” Identifiable as [Contratenor] and Tenor of *Gloria: Clementie Pax*, concordant with Padua 1475. **2. Gloria fragment**, beginning, “Et in terra pax.” Ending: “In gloria Dei, Patris.” Single voice, C3.
 - f. 3v: Eleven blank staves.

Since the staves are similar in color and size on all pages (14mm in height with 24mm intersystem distance; first line indentation 2.5mm), all the fragments were probably from the same manuscript. Given this conclusion, we can estimate an original size for the pages: 332x220 with a writing space for eleven staves of 259 (from the first line of the first staff to the last line of the last; plus 5mm for a hypothetical final line of text) by 175mm. The size is comparable to the Paduan fragments (which also have 14mm staves) or **Florence 5**.

The handwriting is largely similar on all pages, though one may identify a change of hand on f. 3. The handwriting of “Benedicimus te” of f. 1rA and of the second Gloria on f. 3r allow a comparison. Folio 3 uses more capital letters and a more prominent horizontal mid-line. Continuing to “Gratias agimus,” we see that f. 1’s decorated capital “G” is more

elongated than f. 3's, and that not only does f. 3's hand use more rounded P's ("propter") but the abbreviation is different. But as a general family of hands, the two are compatible, and given the assumption of lost intervening folios, it is possible that the two hands may belong to the same scribe at different times.¹³ The last point is important to make given the influential work tracing changes in scribal hands in large manuscripts such as **Bologna Q15** and **Oxford 213**.¹⁴ Such changes would explain some perceived differences between scribal hands. We would identify fewer different hands both within and between fragment collections if more of the original manuscripts survived today. Since these sections do not survive, our decisions about what do or do not comprise independent scribal hands must be more tentative.

The Glorias on f. 3r are the best preserved and are the only to have already appeared in modern transcriptions.¹⁵ The first four systems of the page contain the end of the contra-tenor and tenor of the Gloria "Clementiae Pax," known from **Pad A**, where it is copied twice, once with tropes alone (see the section on the Paduan fragments in Chapter 2). The ending of the cantus voice was presumably on the preceding verso and the beginning of the composition on the opening before this. Below these voices one voice of another, otherwise unknown Gloria is written. The activity of this voice, combined with the low C3 clef, sug-

¹³ Both hands use two forms of a terminal *s*, one resembling a modern *s*, another like a lowercase *c* with a small hook.

¹⁴ Margaret Bent, "A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), pp. 183–201, especially p. 187; Hans Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1971), especially pp. 44–45.

¹⁵ Gloria f. 3r, 1: Guillaume de Van, *Les monuments de l'ars nova: la musique polyphonique de 1320 à 1400 environ* (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1946), pp. 31–41; Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC* 12, pp. 30–37 and pp. 194–95. Gloria f. 3r, 2: Fischer and Gallo, *PMFC* 13, pp. 232–33, p. 287.

gests that it may be a low second cantus; however, C3 top-voices do exist (Zachara, Gloria “Rosetta,” for instance). This work is the only of the Glorias in **Vatican 171** definitely not in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* (no minims appear on f. 1vB, so the prolation of that fragment cannot be determined).

The other Gloria fragments have been much less discussed. Three of the fragments (1rA, 1rB, 1vA) contain sections of troped Glorias with C2 clefs. The fragment on f. 1vB is the only fragment besides Gloria 2 of f. 3r not to contain a trope (in the small amount of text which survives). Understanding the overlap among the four fragments is difficult but essential to understanding the source. Figure 3.8 provides the (standard) text of the Gloria along with any tropes from any of the sources. The use of highlighting, italics, underlining, and sans-serif fonts show which parts of the text survive in each of the four fragments. Text which has more than one formatting change indicates that it survives in more than one copy.

FIGURE 3.8: VATICAN 171, GLORIA FRAGMENTS, F. 1R AND 1V.

Bold = tropes. Yellow highlight = f. 1rA. Italics = f. 1rB.

Underline = 1vA (speculative parts in dotted underline). Sans-serif = f. 1vB.

Text with no special formatting does not survive in any of the four fragments.

[Gloria in excelsis Deo.]

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te.

O redemptor nos purissime,

respace nos tam clementissime ut vivamus tecum purissime feliciter.

Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.

Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens.

Panis vivus sanc...a viva caro lux rectaque via noc dinge matins pre

...signiguit[?]

Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christi.

[Illegible trope]

Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris.

Alma de...

Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

[Illegible trope]

Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.

[Illegible trope]

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus.

Qui semper gl...a debetur[r]

Tu solus Altissimus,

...quos libiata salutis

Jesu Christe.

Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris.

Amen.

We will use this text and transcriptions of the surviving music to show that none of the four possible pairs of fragments come from the same Gloria or the same folio.

It can immediately be seen that the two settings on f. 1v (A + B: underlining and sans-serif, respectively) are textually incompatible with one another, since fragment 1vA contains an intralinear trope “Qui semper gl...a debetur” which 1vB omits. Further, the two fragments move through their texts at different rates. For instance, the phrase, “miserere nobis” which follows “Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris” requires four breves in fragment 1vA

and seven (assuming imperfect modus) in fragment 1vB. The other comparable sections are similar in length.

Fragment 1vB is also musically incompatible with the second Gloria of f. 3r: the repeated notes of “miserere nobis” cannot be made to fit with the same passage on f. 3r no matter which hypothetical clef is employed. To see this, compare Example 3.9 to *PMFC* 13, pp. 232–33.¹⁶

EXAMPLE 3.9: VATICAN 171, F. 1V, B.



Since it seems unlikely that two complete, texted Gloria settings could share a single opening, we must conclude that fragments A and B of f. 1v stem from different bifolios, both of which end with a blank folio.

Now we turn to f. 1r to see if it supports this conclusion. The two fragments of f. 1r present problems similar to, though less striking than, those of f. 1v. As Figure 3.8 showed, the two fragments do not share any text in common. Fragment 1rA begins with “te. Benedicimus te,” from near the beginning of the Gloria. This beginning suggests that only a single line is missing and that we possess staves 2–5 (and a small section of line 6).¹⁷ Fragment 1rB preserves what is undoubtedly the final staff of both the folio and the composition. It is thus possible from the perspective of the folio’s layout that the two fragments could pre-

¹⁶ A future study will compare all untrope French and Italian Gloria fragments to find previously unidentified concordances. It should be noted though that **Vatican 171** shows no match with the “Legrand” Gloria fragment of **Krakow 40582** or the Gloria on f. 2v of **Cortona 2**.

¹⁷ If there were a long trope between “bonae voluntatis” and “Laudamus te,” such as is found in Gloria, “Clementiae Pax,” then we could be seeing the third staff on the page.

serve the beginning and end of one voice of a single-opening Gloria. But there are differences between the two parts which call this speculation into question. The tropes in fragment 1rA appear between the lines of the text as separate duo sections. The one surviving trope in fragment 1rB, on the other hand, interrupts the line “Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe.” It is thus similar to the use of tropes in fragment 1vA where “Qui semper gl...a debetur,” also falls within the expressions of “Tu solus.”¹⁸ Although difficult to read, even under ultraviolet light, a *divisi* passage at the end of “in gloria Dei Patris” of fragment 1rB also highlights a difference between the two fragments. The *divisi* appears not in a trope but in the main text of the Gloria. It also appears to end on a bare perfect fourth (D-G), necessitating a 8-5 sonority created by a supporting lower voice G. By contrast, in fragment 1rA, the *divisi* passages stand on their own, using fifths, thirds, and unisons (hence, the marking of “D[uo]”). Examples 3.10 and 3.11 allow a comparison of the transcription of f. 1rA with a (partly hypothetical) reconstruction of the damaged f. 1rB.

¹⁸ For an example of short intralinear tropes in this section of the Gloria text, see the *Gloria: Corona Christi lilia* in **Boverio**. This work uses both intra- and interlinear tropes, which is unusual.

EXAMPLE 3.10: VATICAN 171, F. 1R FRAGMENT A

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

9 Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te. .D. O re-den-tor nos

19 pu[r]i[s]-si-me, res-spa-ce nos tam cle-mentissi-me

28 ut vi-va-mus te-cum pu-ris-si-me, fe-li-ci-

37 ter .C. Gra-ti-as a-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter

45 ma-gnam glo-ri-am tu-am. Do-mi-ne De-us, Rex ce-le-stis,

54 De-us [Pa-ter o]m-ni-po-tens. .D. Pa-nis vi-vus sanc-

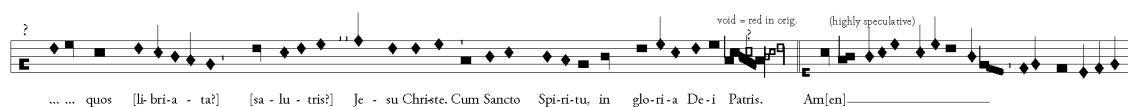
62 []a vi-va-ca-ro lux re-cta-que vi-a

72 nos di-gne ma-tris pre- (s?)i-gni-gu-it.

81 .C. Do-mi-ne Fi-li u-ni-ge-ni-te. [Jesu Christe] [Do-mi-ne] De-us, A-

90 gnus De-i, Fi-li-us Pa-tris. Al-me de-

EXAMPLE 3.11: VATICAN 171 F. 1R FRAGMENT B



The only combination of fragments which has not been ruled on codicological, textual, or musical grounds is fragment 1rB with fragment 1vA. This manuscript combination is possible if fragment B comes from the bifolio immediately following fragment A in the same gathering. However, this pairing too is unlikely (though not impossible) on notational grounds. The Gloria on fragment 1vA is the only one to use red notation to indicate a temporary shift to *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori*. In fragment 1rB, however, red notes indicate divisi. Although it is not impossible that a scribe would use red notation to mean two different ideas in the same work, in the absence of other positive evidence it is safest to conclude that these also are independent compositions. On the basis of the current study, descriptions of Vatican 171 should be revised to indicate six independent Gloria settings, of which five are unknown from other sources, and at least three of those are troped.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the works in the source, we can observe the unusual use of divisi in the best-preserved, unpublished Gloria, fragment 1rA. The divisi sections enter into the duos slowly, emerging more fully with each successive section. The first duo section in the work (“O redentor noster”) divides the line only for the last two notes of the section. The second section (“Panis vivus”) divides from approximately the midpoint of the line and continues in divisi until the end.¹⁹ The last surviving divisi section (“Alme de...”) commences with divisi notation (to be heard as divisi after the first unison).

¹⁹ The text also recalls a similar trope in the Gloria, Clementiae Pax, which reads “Panis vivus iriticeus.” The rise in the use of the expression may be related to a growth in Eucharistic cults in the

Like the divisi sections of Zachara's Credo 23 (see Chapter 1) in **Grottaferrata/Dartmouth**, it is assumed that, unless otherwise specified, the voices begin in a unison; thus, only one note (in black notation) is used at the beginnings of the divisi passages.²⁰ However, for unison notes in the middle of phrases and at the ends of passages, both red and black notes are written, the black on top of the red, but the red visible by being offset slightly from its normal position. In this way, the use of divisi notation is similar to the use of white notation in the same Zachara credo in the **Boverio** codex. Although Zachara's authorship should be suspected any time divisi notation is employed, the long sections of "duos" in unison finds no precedent in his work. The shift to red ink brings with it one other change in notation: the red custodes are in the shape of gruppetti : ∞.

Fragment 1vA contains the only other fragment of significant length not yet transcribed. Unfortunately we can reconstruct only part of the work (mainly the last line), owing to its miserable state of preservation. The text is extremely difficult to apprehend; even finding the non-troped sections of the Gloria among the general smear of text is only possible in places. Thus what is offered in Example 3.12 is provisional. The first line is too damaged to reconstruct (excepting a small passage) and is thus omitted. The stems of line two (the first line of the transcription) could not be discerned for the most part, so notes which are semi-breves may have been minims.

fourteenth century. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 143–44.

²⁰ Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels," p. 78.

EXAMPLE 3.12: VATICAN 171, F. 1V, FRAGMENT A.

un-i-ge-ni-te Je-su Chri - ste [trope] Domi-ne De-us, Agnus De-i, Fi - li-us Pa-tris, Qui tol - lis — [pec-ca-ta mun-di mi - se-re - re]

[trope. ending "nostris"] [Qui tollis peccata mundi susci-] [...pe de-pre-ca-ti-o-nem] no - stram. [trope Qui se -]

des ad dex-te-ram — Pa - tris, mi-se-re-re no-bis, Quo-niam [tu sol-] ...us sanctus. Tu solus do-mi-nus. Qui — semper glo... a de-be - tur. Tu so-lus

No concordances could be found for either of the fragments on the bottom (B) fragment. Fragment 1vB (Example 3.9) has unusual pacing. It begins the “Quoniam” with two semibreves rather than the typical breve or a longa. Only the fragmentary Gloria on 3r and the Glorias *PMFC 23b* nos. 111 and 116 share this feature.

Whether the music of **Vatican 171** is Italian in origin or not remains an open question.²¹ The rhythmic notation shows no specifically Italian traits, but the divisi passages are not uncommon in Italian mass sources. The use of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* in simpler sacred works is perhaps even more an Italian trait than a French one. One notes, for instance, the many Benedicamus Domino settings in this mensuration. In the end, it is the absence of any of these works from French manuscripts that is most striking in arguing for their Italian origins. If in style they betray nothing of the legacy of Marchettus or of Gherardello’s truly Italian Gloria, that may have been the intention of Francophile, but Italian-born composers.

Vatican 1790

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ottobonianus latinus 1790.
RISM B IV 4: *I-Rvat* 1790, p. 1033.

Like a middle child, never fully ignored, but never the center of attention, the Vatican manuscript, Ottob. lat. 1790, known by musicologists since 1913, has never been the ob-

²¹ More to the point, I believe that Margaret Bent’s statement about **Bologna Q15** can be pushed further back in time when it comes to turn of the century sacred music, “It makes little sense to consider French and Italian music of the early fifteenth century separately” (“A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style,” p. 183).

ject of special study nor had more than a single page reproduced in facsimile.²² The first identification of the source's contents remains the last significant discussion of the manuscript: a footnote by Friedrich Ludwig in 1923.²³ There are, of course, reasons for this neglect. **Vatican 1790** contains no complete pieces—three sides of each folio have been trimmed—and of the four identifiable works, each is known from at least four other sources. Further, the manuscript gives neither a hint of a broader context for its contents nor the vaguest indications of its provenance. It is in order to make some headway toward understanding these puzzles that a brief description of this source is presented below.

The musical contents of **Vatican 1790** were not the concern of the binder of the source. The main subject of the manuscript is the lives of Cicero (by Plutarch, incipit: “Ociosus mihi nuper ac lectitare aliquid cupienti: oblatus est libellus”) and Virgil.²⁴ The manuscript was once owned by Giovanni Angelo, Duke of Altemps (d. 1620).²⁵ Two older shelfmarks remain on the first folio of the corpus: Q.12.12 and V.9.55. The parchment hides a palimpsest—the underwriting is rotated ninety degrees with respect to the main text. But examining the remains of this text makes plain that what lies below is of no musical concern. The main corpus is numbered from 1–76 in the top right recto in modern numbering, a numbering which includes the rear flyleaf as f. 77. The script is a humanistic cursive book hand, probably of the fifteenth century.

²² A brief description of the manuscript appears in Henry Marriott Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, 2 volumes (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1913), p. 188. A facsimile of *La bella stella* appears as plate 130b.

²³ “Die Quellen der Motetten Ältesten Stils,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923), p. 201.

²⁴ f. 76v, “Vita M.T.C et P. Virgilij Maronis.”

²⁵ f. 76v, “Ex codicibus Joannis Angeli Ducis ab Altaemps.” See also **Vatican 1969** for another Altemps manuscript.

A musical flyleaf from the trecento or early quattrocento appears at the front (labeled f. I in a modern pencil hand) and back of the manuscript (f. 77 in the modern numbering; f. II in this dissertation's usage). To serve as covers for the manuscript, the pages have been rotated ninety degrees to the left and trimmed to *ca.* 110x170. The original length of the staves (see below) was *ca.* 145mm. Based on the concordances of the works in the manuscript, we can see that the trimming has removed only a few notes from the sides. Sometimes nothing except the clef or custos and sometimes just a single note has been removed (see for instance, the end of the second and beginning of the third full staves of f. Iv, where only the clef of the third system is missing). Thus, if we suppose a equal inside and outside margins, the original width must have been around 200mm. Manuscripts of similar size (Reina and London 29987) would lead us to suppose a height of 260–280mm as normal.²⁶

The five-line staves of the manuscript were drawn by a rastrum and measure 17mm on the front flyleaf and 16mm on the back flyleaf. The distance between systems also differs between folios: 32mm on the front and 30 on the rear leaf, but the difference between these two measurements may be due to greater warping of the rear leaf.

The contents of **Vatican 1790** are summarized in Table 3.13:

²⁶ *RISM B IV 4*, p. 1033 gives a larger estimated size of 300x220mm.

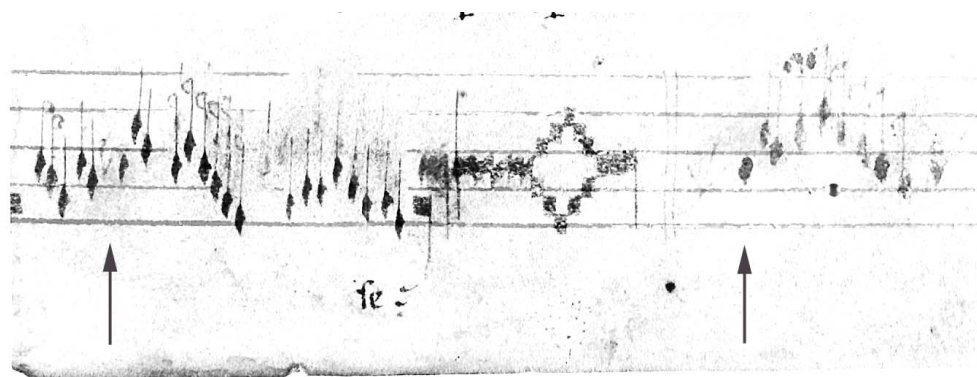
TABLE 3.13: VATICAN 1790, CONTENTS

- f. Ir [originally verso]: [Giovanni da Cascia], *Più non mi curo* (M)
 [C: strophe only, lacking first line of music]
Panciatichi ff. 53v–54r, **London 29987** ff. 17v–18r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 1v–2r, **San Lorenzo 2211** ff. 4v–5r, **Venice Giorgio Maggiore** f. 2v (fragment of the text only)
- f. Iv [originally recto]: [Giovanni da Cascia], *La bella stella* (M),
 [T: complete except first line of music]
Panciatichi ff. 47v–48r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 1v–2r, **San Lorenzo 2211** ff. 17v–18r, **Pit.** ff. 19v–20r, **Rossi** f. 23v (Cantus only), **Florence Conservatorio** f. 2v (Cantus only), **Seville 25** f. 59v (Cantus only),²⁷ **Florence 1041** f. 47v (text only),
 [Unidentified work. Possibly cantus of a madrigal]²⁸
- f. Iir [originally verso]: [Lorenzo da Firenze], *Vidi nell'ombra* (M)
 [C: end of strophe and the complete ritornello]²⁹
Panciatichi ff. 78v–79r, **London 29987** ff. 32v–33r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 47v–48r, **Pit.** ff. 23v–24r
- f. Iiv [originally recto]: [Giovanni da Cascia], *Nel mezo a sei paon* (M)
 [C and T]: Ritornello only, plus the text of the final syllable of the strophe, [“-na”]
Panciatichi ff. 55r, **Squarcialupi** ff. 3v–4r, **Reina** f. 32v, **San Lorenzo 2211** f. 1 (Jacopo da Bologna!).
 Cited by Prodenzani in *Sollazzo* 48.

²⁷ Oliver Huck generously shared his identification of this textless version. It is written mainly without minims and skips from m. 51 to the ritornello. See Chapter 5 for more on **Seville 25**.

²⁸ The presence of additional music was noted by Fischer in *RISM B IV 4* (p. 1033).

²⁹ After the end of the work, an arrow, nine notes and a custos are written by a different hand. These notes reproduce notes from the final staff of the work (beginning with the final solid semibreve) but with the last six notes up a third. An examination of the manuscript shows that from this point on, the work was originally transmitted up a third, but was scrapped and rewritten a third lower. The correct version requires both groups of nine notes, one a third higher than the other. What has happened is that the scribe has copied the first group correctly and then skipped the second group, thus writing the cadence a third too high. The copyist then realized he had made a mistake, but rectified it incorrectly by notating only the second group of notes and the cadence (at correct pitch). A latter hand (one who performed from the manuscript, perhaps?) realized this mistake and added an indication within the melody of where the second group of notes was to be placed, see the detail in Figure 3.14.

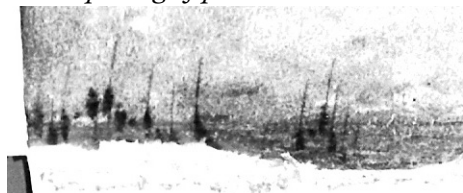
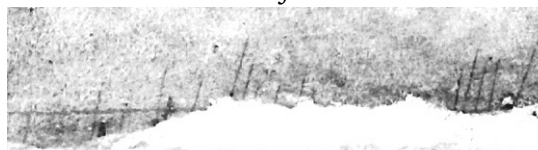
FIGURE 3.14: *VIDI NELL'OMBRA* CORRECTIONS ON FINAL STAFF

Each of the flyleaves has been reversed, so that their original rectos are now versos. For instance, we can suppose that the cantus of *Più non mi curo* was originally on the left side of an opening, with the tenor on the opposite recto, while the cantus and tenor of *La bella stella* filled the previous opening. (Since we can know nothing else about the manuscript's structure, nor the relationship between the front and rear flyleaf, a gathering diagram would be meaningless).

Below each of the pieces which survive there may have been an additional work, possibly written with the cantus on the recto of the opening and the tenor on the preceding verso to maximize the use of space. (Such a layout can be seen in *Panciatichi*, beginning in the section transmitting Francesco's madrigals, f. 41v and following).

The hypothetical layout of the leaves is significant since another, neglected composition occupies the flyleaves. At the bottom of *La bella stella*, the top two lines of the staff of another, unidentified work are preserved. Bannister's cropped facsimile of the folio makes recovery of this line impossible, but in fact at least 18 of the initial notes can be read. Further, the scribe is extremely consistent with stem heights, making at least some further minims recoverable (See Figure 3.15).

FIGURE 3.15: VATICAN 1790, DETAILS OF UNIDENTIFIED PIECE ON F. IV

Near opening of piece*Middle of line**End of line*

Given the other contents of the manuscript, the most likely match for this line would be the beginning of a Florentine madrigal. However, I could find no work with the same opening or similar gestures at other logical places to begin a new page (such as ritornelli of madrigals or piedi of ballate). There are several distinctive features from the surviving line which should aid future searches:

- (1) We lack at the beginning at most a single note or ligature, so we can easily place the notes which survive. The work may begin directly with a minims rather than with a longer note. Such works are rare (particularly those with a mordent-like figure). Niccolò da Perugia's ballata *Molto mi piace* (PMFC 8, Niccolò no. 22) is the only example I found.
- (2) The figure: $\text{♩} \cdot \text{♩} \cdot \text{♩} \cdot \text{♩}$, that is with a descending second after each eighth note, is unusual. The opening of Donato da Firenze's madrigal *L'aspidio sordo* (PMFC 7, Donato no. 10) is similar, as is the melisma on "Amor" from Lorenzo's madrigal *Vidi nell'ombra* (PMFC 7, Lorenzo no. 16; seen in f. Iir of this manuscript) and Vincenzo da Rimini/Imola's caccia *Nell'acqua chiara* (PMFC 7, Vincenzo no. 6). However, we may be seeing an idiosyncrasy of this source which is not replicated

in other sources (or at least in our published editions), see the discussion of *La bella stella*, below.

- (3) The fourth and fifth notes are the highest notes of the line (probably the first quarter of the piece?) and most of the work lies a fourth or more lower. Pieces which begin near the top of their compass are not exceedingly unusual, but typically the highest notes are rearticulated many more times before descending than we see here. Francesco da Firenze uses this pattern far more often than other composers, not only at the beginnings of ballate but also at the beginnings of the piedi.
- (4) The eleventh and twelfth surviving notes are a descending *c.o.p.* ligature. Ligatures are unusual for upper voices, but the number of minims also makes identification as a tenor unlikely.
- (5) Densely-packed notes at the beginning imply a melisma, suggesting that the work is indeed a madrigal (or caccia).
- (6) Leftward flagged notes (in the detail in the middle of the line) imply either semiminims or, more likely according to the usage of f. IIr, triplets.

As the manuscript concordances may suggest, **Vatican 1790**'s gathering together of early trecento madrigals in one section is similar to the organizational strategies of the Tuscan, retrospective trecento manuscripts. These sources include **Panciaticchi**, where three of **Vatican 1790**'s pieces also appear in close proximity, **Squarcialupi**, where all three Giovanni da Cascia works appear near the beginning of his section, **London 29987**, and **San Lorenzo 2211**. Also included among these sources are fragments such as **Florence Conservatorio**, which shares one work in common with the Vatican source, and **Florence 5**, which shares

none of the same pieces but also demonstrates somewhat similar organizing principles (all works in a single genre by one composer).

The notation of these “classic” trecento works shows few native traits. Dots of division are not used, but *puncti additionis* are common. Leftward-flagged minims indicate triplets on f. IIr. No Italian (or any other) mensuration symbols appear in the manuscript. No coloration is present in the source.

Though the only initial letter is a red “P” on f. 1r, any other letters would have been trimmed. The C-clef has no slant to it (unlike some northern sources, such as the Paduan fragments, among other sources), while two different F-clefs are employed, one with a plica joined to a C-clef and one with a single dragma joined to a C-clef. What custodes survive are all “checkmark” type but at different angles.

Some readings in **Vatican 1790** connect the source more closely to **Pit.** and **Squarcialupi** than to **Panciatichi**. For instance, the tenor of *La bella stella* remains in g in the first three sources throughout a passage that is in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* in the last manuscript.³⁰ In Example 3.16, **Vatican 1790**’s reading accords with both **Pit.** and **Squarcialupi** in m. 52, with **Pit.** alone in m. 53, and with **Squarcialupi** alone in m. 55—thus no direct filiation can be seen.

³⁰ John Nádas discusses the notation of some of the works which appear in **Vatican 1790** though without a discussion of this source, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony,” pp. 96–98. The critical notes to Marrocco, *PMFC 6* omit discussion of the Vatican source.

EXAMPLE 3.16: COMPARISON OF TWO VERSIONS OF A TENOR PASSAGE FROM *LA BELLA STELLA*

Vatican 1790

PMFC 6
(Panciatichi)

Lu - - - chi - da - - - chia - - - re

Lu - - - ci - da - - - chia - - - ra - - - ça

It is difficult to definitively decide between the arguments for northern and Tuscan origins for the fragment.³¹ The repertory of **Vatican 1790** (and its apparent organization by composer) is certainly closer to that of the typical Tuscan collection than most Northern sources. We would be more willing to consider it central Italian if it had six-line staves, but the staves have five. The leftward-flagged triplets of f. IIr are generally considered central Italian,³² but this argument is no longer easily sustainable in the face of many new fragments. The orthography of *La bella stella* in **Vatican 1790** is closer to the presumably northern **Rossi** than to the Tuscan sources. For instance, the two sources in the Vatican use “sua fiamma” where **Pit.** and **Panciatichi** write “suo fiamma.” Further evidence for a northern provenance comes from the frequent use of “ç,” for instance in “ça” instead of “gia” found in the Tuscan manuscripts.

³¹ Northern: Heinrich Bessler, “Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters,” p. 226. Tuscan: Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik*, p. 97.

³² Kurt von Fischer, “Ein neues Trecentofragment,” in *Festschrift für Walter Wiora*, edited by Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), p. 267 and Idem, *Studien zur italienischen Musik*, p. 119.

Rome 1067

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica. MS 1067.

No entry in RISM or CCMS.

A little-known source of polyphonic music is found as a single folio in the middle of manuscript 1067 of the Biblioteca Angelica of Rome. The source, known since 1982, provides the only concordance for a ballata found in **Reina** (f. 3r), *Deh, non mi fare languire*, along with an illegible second work whose incipit was identified as “Spera[vi],” but which will be shown to be voices from the well-known composition, *Esperance qui en mon cuer*.³³

The music folio is found within a collection of sermons by the fourteenth century Camaldolite monk Antonio de Azaro da Parma.³⁴ The first 41 folios of the 100-folio manuscript contains his *Sermones dominicales*, folios 45r–90v contain his *Expositiones evangeliorum quadragesimalium*, while the final folios (ff. 90v–100r) present miscellaneous sermons. The manuscript had two previous shelfmarks, “VI(?) .6.32,” written (and partially cut off) on the top of f. 1r, and R.8.21.

An explicit on f. 41v tells us that the manuscript was copied by the Augustinian Andrea da Chieti in 1400.³⁵ A note of possession on f. 100v reveals that the manuscript re-

³³ Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, “Una fonte trecentesca della ballata ‘Deh, no me fare languire,’” *Studi medievali* serie 3, 23 (1982), pp. 303–9.

³⁴ Information on the manuscript is found in Henricus [i.e., Enrico] Narducci, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica Olim Coenobii Sancti Augustini De Urbe, Tomus Prior: Complectens codices ab instituta bibliotheca ad a. 1870* (Rome: Ludovici Cecchini, 1892), p. 436. Antonio de Azaro da Parma is mentioned by Jacques Quétif and Jacobus Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati* (Paris: J. B. C. Ballard, 1719–21; reprinted several times in the twentieth century, including Paris: A. Picard, 1934), vol. 1, pp. 529–31.

³⁵ “Fratr Andreas de ciuitate Th[eatin]a ordinis he^{mm}. amen deo gratias. Factus est sub anno dni M^o cccc^o 4^o die Iune [com]p^{li} [=complevi?].” Carboni and Ziino read an extra X after the “M^o cccc^o” and moving the date of the manuscript to 1410. The reading of “Iune” (Monday) must be amended to “Junii,” that is, June 4. I thank Thomas Forrest Kelly for assistance with this reading.

mained in Andrea's library after the copying was completed. (All foliations, given in the top right recto of the manuscript, are modern). It is impossible to say whether the Augustinian order of the copyist has any bearing on the manuscript's current location within the library of a former Augustinian monastery. Nor can we, without other evidence about Andrea da Chieti's life, speculate an Abruzzese origin for the manuscript.

The parchment of the manuscript is inconsistent in terms of size and preparation. If, as it seems, Andrea acquired his parchment from many different sources, then it is unlikely he ever possessed a complete music manuscript, and a search for further music among works he copied may be fruitless.³⁶

The manuscript is primarily organized in quaternions with guide words on the bottom, center verso of the last folio of a gathering. The exceptions are the fifth gathering (with the music folio) which is a sexternion and the last two gatherings, a ternion and quinternion respectively.³⁷ The music of **Rome 1067** lies in a gap between the main items in the manu-

Neither previous transcription of this explicit, i.e., those of Carboni and Ziino and of Narducci, report the final word of the explicit. A similar explicit on f. 90v spells out Chieti (Theatina) fully, but omits a date. That explicit gives the only other biographical information about the scribe: the sermons were "scripti a uenerabile studente frater Andrea." The expression "heremitorum" usually refers to the order of St. Augustine, but without further elaboration could also mean the Camaldolese.

³⁶ It seems that at least some gatherings were acquired as a group. The folios of gathering three, for instance, were pricked (and probably ruled) as a group.

³⁷ The last gathering, ff. 91–100, is probably misbound, as a guide word appears at the bottom of f. 99v which does not appear at the head of f. 100r. Further, the connections between 90v (the final folio of a gathering, but without a guide word) and 91r and between 91v and 91r are unusual. However, the note of possession on f. 100v, "Iste liber est mei fratris Andrea de civitate theatina ordinis heremitorum," leaves no doubt that the current ordering was present during Andrea's possession.

script, which helped preserve it for posterity. The entire contents of the gathering are important for our understanding of the origin of the music section, and are given in Figure 3.17:

FIGURE 3.17: ROME 1067, GATHERING FIVE

33	<i>r</i> <i>v</i>	red, five-line staves can faintly be seen, but no music can be made out. These staves are ignored by Andrea in favor of a new black-
34		ink ruling. On verso, a red “S,” oriented 90 degrees counter-clockwise with respect to the main manuscript (henceforth 90deg CCW) can be seen in the right margin (c.f., f. 42v)
35	<i>r</i> <i>v</i>	remains of red, five-line staves; these are more easily seen than those on 33rv. These lines were later used for ruling the text,
36		with a black line inserted between each system to make the page’s ruling basically consistent
37		
38		
39		
40		
41		
ff. 33r–41v: final section of <i>Sermones dominicales</i>	<i>v</i>	explicit of <i>Sermones dominicales</i> , plus six blank, ruling lines
42	<i>r</i> <i>v</i>	8 blank ruling lines at the top of the page, over an erased text (90 deg CCW)
		text (90 deg CCW), scraped. Red letter “X” still visible. At bottom of page, one hand-drawn, five-line staff (on top of scraped text). Clef, C4 (see below). Text underlay illegible. The staff itself has also been rubbed out.
43	<i>r</i> <i>v</i>	blank
		beginning (?; space left for initial letter) of a treatise on Latin grammar; older than rest of the manuscript. Erased at top and bottom. Rotated 180 degrees with respect to the rest of the manuscript
	<i>r</i>	<i>Deh, non me far languire</i> written on top of another document (90 deg CCW). Previous document trimmed. Music erased at top.
44	<i>v</i>	<i>[E]speranc[e] [qu’en mon cuer]</i> erased poorly. Some traces of underwriting, but may be show through.

Folio 44 has been erased twice, first to remove a Latin text (rotated 90 degrees counter-clockwise with respect to the rest of the manuscript), then to remove the music which had been added on top. The second erasure has particularly affected the verso of the manuscript, leaving the show through more prominent than the material on the page.

The recto of the leaf is not difficult to read, particularly after the first two staves.³⁸ Folio 44r transmits the two-part ballata, *Deh, non me fare languire*, which Ziino and Carboni have identified as containing elements of the *siciliana* tradition.³⁹ **Rome 1067** thus joins a small but distinguished and diverse group of sources which transmit these reworked Southern songs as ballate: **Reina**, **Padua 553**,⁴⁰ and **Mancini**.⁴¹ These three sources are all of probable Northern Italian origins. (Since the **Mancini** *siciliana*-ballate are by Antonello da Caserta and thus in the section of the manuscript with Pavian connections we are prevented from speculating an origin at Padua (or at least in the Veneto) for all these sources).⁴² Based on textual evidence in the piece, Ziino and Carboni suggest that the version in **Rome 1067** reads better (the rhyming of “pianto” with “tanto” replaces **Reina**’s worse “tempo” and “tanto”) and, based on the explicit on f. 41, that the music precedes **Reina** (supposing a date after

³⁸ A facsimile of f. 42 taken under ultraviolet light appears as Tables 1 and 2 of Carboni and Ziino, “Una fonte trecentesca.”

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 305–6. Against the identification as a *siciliana*, see Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des Frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), p. 125.

⁴⁰ See the discussion of this source above and F. Alberto Gallo, “Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all’inizio del II Quattrocento: due ‘siciliane’ del Trecento,” *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1978), pp. 43–50.

⁴¹ Nino Pirrotta, “New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition,” in *Words and Music: The Scholar’s View: A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt*, edited by Laurence Berman (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 288–91.

⁴² On Antonello in the **Mancini** codex see Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 39–40.

1400 for that codex).⁴³ The piece is transmitted in Italian notation (*senaria perfecta*) without division signs but with *puncti divisiones*, used particularly regularly in the tenor.⁴⁴ The text of this ballata will need to be reexamined in light of the recent discovery of another copy of this text on some **Bologna Archivio Covers**.⁴⁵

The music on the reverse side cannot easily be understood. It appears to contain four voices, all untexted, labeled “Speranc,” “Tenor contra,” “Tenor,” “Contratenor,” and with incompatible initial tones, *d, F, G, G*.⁴⁶ The lengths of the various voices also vary widely; the last contratenor, for instance, has far too few notes for the rest of the work. Though much of the folio is difficult to read, the distinctive tenor opening allows us to identify the work. It is *Esperance qui en mon cuer*, a French-texted rondeau known from many “peripheral” sources in the international repertory, but not from the principal French manuscripts. See Table 3.18.

⁴³ The discovery of pre-existing staves on ff. 33 and 35 assures us that the music must precede 1400. The musical folios had to be in the manuscript before completion of the *Sermones dominicales*. Further, the erasures of the notation on f. 42 indicate that music was already written on the manuscript before they were used by Andrea.

⁴⁴ One *punctus additionis* is used in the piece, missed by Carboni and Ziino. The ligature *c.o.p.* in m. 3 of their edition has a punctus on the first note and should thus be transcribed “*♪ ♪*” instead of “*♪ ♪*”. **Reina** uses a one-pitch ligature to achieve the same reading. Another correction to Carboni and Ziino’s tenor is the substitution of “*♪ ♪*” for their “*♪ ♪ ♪*” in m. 8; only one rest appears in the manuscript and the semibreve has a tail. This reading differs from **Reina**.

⁴⁵ Armando Antonelli, untitled presentation at *Dolci e nuove note: Convegno internazionale del Centro Studi sull’Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, Certaldo, December 2005.

⁴⁶ Facsimile in Carboni and Ziino, Figure 2.

TABLE 3.18: SURVIVING COPIES OF *ESPERANCE QUI EN MON CUER*

<i>Sigla and folio</i>	<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Voices and text notes</i>
Rome 1067 , f. 44v	Speranc	C, Tenor contra = <i>d</i> , T; no text
Pit. , ff. 6v/7r ⁴⁷	Esperanse qu'en mon cuer	C, T, Ct = <i>a</i> ; no text
Ascoli Piceno 142 f. Nv	Esperance qui en mon cuer senbat	C, T, (Ct lost?); texted with residuum
Prague 9 , f. 247r	Espirance	C, T; no text
Strasbourg 222 , f. 72v	Esperange (in Brussels 56.286)	C, T, Ct?; Only incipit of C survives
Tongeren 490 , f. Bv	[lost due to trimming]	Text residuum and T or unknown Ct(= <i>c</i> ?) ⁴⁸
Vorau 380 , f. 87v	D'esperancze	C, T, Ct = <i>b</i> ; no text
Gent 133 , ff. IIIIv–Vr	Espirance qui en mon cuer senbat	C, Tr, Ct ¹ = <i>c</i> , Ct ² = <i>d</i> , T; text to one strophe
Groningen 70 , f. 1rv	Aspirance de xij semiminimis...	2vv. keyboard version
Helmond 215 , f. 97v	[textless]	Tenor only in stroke notation
Cambridge 5943 , f. 165r	Esperance, ki en mon quer	C, T; text to one strophe
Philadelphia 15 , f. 66r	<i>Esperance, qui en mon cuer</i>	<i>Text only</i>

Despite being badly smeared and seeming to have always been missing some minim stems, the cantus of *Esperance* is now easily identified in **Rome 1067**. But the search for a match for the contratenor or contratenors is more difficult. In fact a number of different versions of these inner voices exist; I have labeled them *a–d* in Table 3.18. The contratenors found in **Pit.** (*a*) and **Vorau 380** (*b*) are unique to these sources.

The greatest number of additional voices is found in the copy in **Gent 133**.⁴⁹ The source is an inner bifolio bearing the folio numbers IIII and V, containing three Glorias and

⁴⁷ The index to **Pit.** calls the work “Speranza Rondello.” See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, p. 154 for this observation and others which go far beyond the call of duty for a summary catalog in also listing quotations in “En attendant Esperance conforte” and “Je voy mon cuer,” a possible citation in Prodenzani’s *Saporetto*, sonnet 25 (which I mention with some reservations), and a basse danse with the same title from 1449. The quotations were identified by Reinhard Strohm, “Filipotto de Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia,” in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, edited by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1989), p. 70.

⁴⁸ Karl Kügle, “Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music Fragments in Tongeren: I. The Fourteenth-Century Music Fragment,” in *Musicology and Archival Research*, edited by Barbara Haggh, et al., Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, Extranummer 46 (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1994), p. 478 identifies this voice as a tenor, but the small fragment also matches contratenor *c*.

⁴⁹ Facsimile in Eugene Schreurs, editor, *An Anthology of Music Fragments From the Low Countries*. Leuven: Alamire, 1995, p. 17. Inventory in Strohm, “Ars Nova Fragments of Gent,” pp. 112–14.

two French-texted songs added by a different hand.⁵⁰ The Gent version contains three voices not previously published, no more than one of which can be performed with the cantus and tenor without making dissonances and parallel perfect consonances. (Which is not to say that this type of performance would never be done!) The triplum of **Gent 133** is, thus far, unique. The first countertenor (*c*) may be the same as the small fragment of music, **Tongeren 490**, f. Bv, which also contains the text residuum of *Esperance*.⁵¹ The second contratenor of **Gent 133** (*d*) is actually a concordance for **Rome 1067**'s contratenor, but what seems to be a major scribal error in **Rome 1067** makes the identification difficult. The second contratenor section (staff six) is the opening of contratenor *d* (though the rhythm “ $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ ” is replaced with the simpler “ $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ ”). This line is then continued above on staff two—eliminating what seemed to be an intractable problem of an opening note *F*; the note simply becomes an internal longa.

The abundance of recently discovered texted copies free us from needing to use **Cambridge 5943**, a later manuscript in white notation with corrupted French texts, if we want a texted version as our principal source.⁵² We can also underlay the text of the residuum, found in a non-musical source and recently edited.⁵³ However, the damaged state of **Rome**

⁵⁰ Strohm, *op. cit.*, p. 117 identifies spelling choices which identify this second scribe as Flemish.

⁵¹ Fascimile in Schreurs, *An Anthology*, p. 22. The large ligature toward the end of the line matches a similar ligature at the bottom of **Gent 133**, f. Vr.

⁵² Willi Apel's edition following **Pit.** ignores the Cambridge version but is otherwise commendable, particularly for emendations of the Vornau manuscript's contratenor which make it concord better with the cantus. (*CMM* 53/3, pp. xxv and 89–90). The Gent reading of the cantus usually accords best with **Prague 9** or **Vornau 380** and only occasionally with **Pit.** **Cambridge 5943**'s readings, while occasionally musically smoother as in its approach to the internal cadence, are unique.

⁵³ David Fallows, review of Richard Rastall, *Two Fifteenth Century Song Books*, *Early Music* 20 (1992), pp. 348–49.

1067 also precludes use; thus Example 3.19 uses **Gent 133**'s clear text as its base reading. The example presents all known contratenors since performing groups may wish to switch among them between repetitions of the musical sections.

EXAMPLE 3.19: *ESPERANCE QUI EN MON CUER*

Gent 133
Triplum

1.4.7. Es- per - an - ce — qui — en —
3. Mais faulx Dan - gier — le — re —
5. Che - oir ne - peut — se — franc —

Gent 133
Tongeren 490
(Contratenor *c*)

Gent 133
Rome 1067
(Contratenor *d*)

Pit.
(Contratenor *a*)

Vorau 380
(Contratenor *b*)

Tenor

7

Tr.

mon — cuer —
fuse — et —
cuer — ne —

Ct *c*

Ct *d*

Ct *a*

Ct *b*

The musical score is written for a group of voices. The top part features a Triplum (Gent 133) in treble clef, 3/4 time, with lyrics in French and Latin. Below it are four Contratenor parts (Gent 133, Tongeren 490, Rome 1067, and Pit.) in bass clef, 3/4 time. A Tenor part is also present in bass clef, 3/4 time. The bottom section starts at measure 7 and includes a Tenor part (Tr.) in treble clef, 3/4 time, and four Contratenor parts (Ct c, Ct d, Ct a, Ct b) in bass clef, 3/4 time. The lyrics for the bottom section are in French and Latin.

15

Tr.

8

s'em - de - le bat, bat, bat.

Ct c

Ct d

Ct a

Ct b

24

Tr.

8

2.8. Sen - tir de me fait d'a -
6. Qui dou - cour tien -

Ct c

Ct d

Ct a

Ct b

31

Tr.

mer la dol ce vi e.
gne la sei gnou ri e.

Ct c

Ct d

Ct a

Ct b

Critical notes on the version in Gent 133:

Cantus:

m. 21: *B* instead of *d*

m. 22: *c* instead of *e*

m. 25 and m. 26: *ı* instead of *ı*

Triplum:

m. 12/2: *♦* with punctus in MS

m. 19: *ı* instead of *ı*

(note that omitting both of these two emendations would result in a long synco-
pated passage from mm. 12–19).

Text:

senbat for *s'embat*

d'amours for *d'amer*

douche for *dolce*

The added contratenors are independent but show some influence on each other. The alternation of D and A in the first few measures of the second part is particularly striking. *Esperance* joins works such as *Je voy mon cuer* (which quotes the incipit of *Esperance*)⁵⁴ in possessing many copies some of which have undergone striking transformations (diminutions, stroke notation, contrafact) while leaving no trace of their original composer or country of origin.

Although it was the only sheet studied by Carboni and Ziino, f. 44 is not the only folio with musical notation. On f. 42v, a single, hand-drawn five-line staff (of greater sloppiness even than those of f. 44) has been added at the bottom of an erased Latin text. The contents of this staff are difficult to read since it too has been erased. It appears to be a single line, probably a tenor voice judging by the number of ligatures, but even possibly a melismatic section of a work in square notation.

That ff. 42 and 44 are not isolated sheets but parts of bifolios immediately necessitated a search for music on the opposite sheets, ff. 33 and 35. Although discolorations similar to those on f. 44v may indicate erasures underneath the densely-packed overwriting, I could find no traces of music notation on either folio. Red five-line staves that match those of ff. 42 and 44 can, however, be seen on both folios 33 and 35. On f. 35, the neatly drawn staves were used as ruling for the tiny text; between staves, an extra line has been added in

⁵⁴ See Chapter 5 for more on this quotation. Further on *Esperance*, *Je voy mon cuer*, and related songs in the *En attendant* group, see Yolanda Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late 'ars nova': the case of 'Esperance' and 'En attendant' songs," *Early Music History* 18 (1999), pp. 287–363 (esp. pp. 317–19), and more specifically on notational issues of the borrowing works, see Jason Stoessel, "Symbolic Innovation: The Notation of Jacob de Senleches," *Acta Musicologica* 71 (1999), pp. 136–164.

the black ink used to rule the rest of the gathering. On f. 33 the staves are ignored and written over. Since no notation can be found even with a detailed search, most likely these staves were never used. Musical staves do not surface on any other folio of the manuscript.

Rome 1067 was probably not part of any other known trecento source. When we consider their size and number of staves, the folios of the music section differ from all other trecento sources. **Rome 1067**'s dimensions, *c.* 205 x 145, are similar to those of **Florence Conservatorio** and **Vatican 1419**, but **Rome 1067** can be distinguished from the other two by the number of staves per page (6 as opposed to **Florence Conservatorio**'s more normal 7) and by its material (parchment instead of the paper of **Vatican 1419**).⁵⁵ The staves (drawn without a rastrum) on f. 44 vary in width. The first on f. 44r is 17mm with 25mm between staves; the last is 24mm with 28mm between staves.

The early date for the destruction and reuse of **Rome 1067**—hinting at a date not much later than 1390 for the copying of the music—impels us to reassert the ephemeral status most music manuscripts had in the trecento. We have the remains of a manuscript, perhaps only a fascicle and almost certainly never finished, whose preservation was of no concern to the one who acquired it after the initial scribe. Andrea da Chieti's desire to copy Antonio de Azaro da Parma's sermons expressed itself in a voracious appetite for recycling parchment, probably acquired piecemeal: the layout of the manuscript changes at least 21 times, often reflecting preexisting ruling patterns. In part, we as researchers should be given hope from palimpsest sources such as **Rome 1067**, and especially the reused folios 33 and

⁵⁵ Folio 35 of **Rome 1067** does, however, have seven staves, each of 20mm with 24mm of inter-system distance. There are still other reasons, including differences in custos, which discourage a connection with the **Florence Conservatorio** manuscript.

35: hope that many more polyphonic sources lie under the surface of manuscripts, and hope that advances in technology will recover these lost caches of trecento practice.

Frosinone 266 and 267

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

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

New polyphonic discoveries, however small, are always significant enough to be worth the concern of scholars. An even more significant event is the discovery of new manuscript sources which bring with them collections of new music, completely unknown from previous finds. The two parchment bifolios, **Frosinone 266** and **Frosinone 267** thus spark a great deal of interest with their contents: eight secular works in French and Italian all brought to light for the first time.⁵⁶

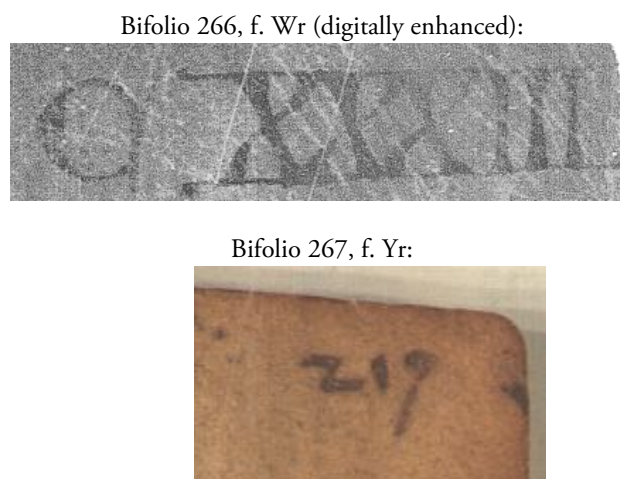
The two sources (which are also referred to by a second set of signatures, 31 and 38 respectively) were formerly covers for documents stemming from the notarial archive of the district of Ceccano, approximately five miles south of Frosinone (where they are currently housed in the Archivio di Stato). **Frosinone 267** was used as a cover for documents from 1523–25 copied by the notary Jacobellus Augustini Paniscaldi (protocollo 12 from Busta 3) while **266** protected documents from 1525–27 (protocollo 21 from Busta 5) written by an unnamed notary, but possibly also Paniscaldi.⁵⁷ Surviving foliation numbers, 133 on **266**

⁵⁶ The music folios were first mentioned by Viviana Fontana, “La collezione delle pergamene dell’Archivio di Stato di Frosinone,” in *In the Shadow of Montecassino: Nuove ricerche dai frammenti di codice dell’Archivio di Stato di Frosinone*, Quaderni dell’Archivio di Stato di Frosinone 3, (Frosinone: Archivio di Stato, 1995), p. 96 [*sic*; cited incorrectly elsewhere]. Fontana described their contents simply as “music polifonica dell’Ars Nova italiana datati intorno alla fine del XIV secolo.”

⁵⁷ Gialdroni and Ziino, “Due nuovi frammenti di musica profana,” p. 185.

and 217 on 267, reveal that both bifolios were once part of large manuscripts. They may have come from the same manuscript, but the number 133 is written in roman numerals while 217 is newer and in arabic.⁵⁸

FIGURE 3.20: FROSINONE 266 AND 267 FOLIATION



The bifolios were unfolded and then refolded along their widths to form long, narrow covers for the notarial documents. Like certain of the **Mancini** folios which were used for similar purposes, this reuse has caused the loss of music along the middle of most pages. Most of the contents of the folios can, however, still be read. When refolded along the original (that is, music manuscript) folds, a single work is transmitted on each page. Three of the works survive in their entirety, five incompletely, as Table 3.21 shows:

⁵⁸ **Squarcialupi** is an example of a codex with two different styles of foliation, both original. The smaller, black ink, folio numbers were presumably the guide for a later, larger set of folio numbers.

TABLE 3.21: CONTENTS OF FROSINONE 266 AND 267

Bifolio	Foliation			Contents
	Original	G.-Z.	Cuthbert	
266	CXXXIIIr	Bv	Wr	<i>La rire bande mortal</i> , ballade (C, T, Ct)
266	[CXXXIIIv]	Ar	Wv	<i>De cuer, de cors</i> , virelai (C, T)
266		Br	Xr	<i>Venes a moy</i> , virelai (C, Ct, T)
266		Av	Xv	<i>Le [...] vendra que tant desir</i> , virelai (?) (C) [inc.]
267	217r	Br	Yr	<i>Messere, chanta che vuogli</i> , ballata (T) [inc.]
267	[217v]	Av	Yv	<i>Fili parien ben d'oro</i> , ballata (C, T (inc.)) ("d.L.")
267		Bv	Zr	<i>Tout jours</i> , virelai (Ct, T) [inc.]
267		Ar	Zv	<i>De bone foy et de loial desir</i> , virelai (C) [inc.]

In studying these fragments, I have, reluctantly, assigned new foliations. The foliation designed by Gialdroni and Ziino has the advantage of deemphasizing order among the folios—we do not know whether f. W precedes or follows f. X, for instance—but at the expense of removing connections between a folio's recto and verso, and even calling some verso faces (containing only cantus voices) rectos.

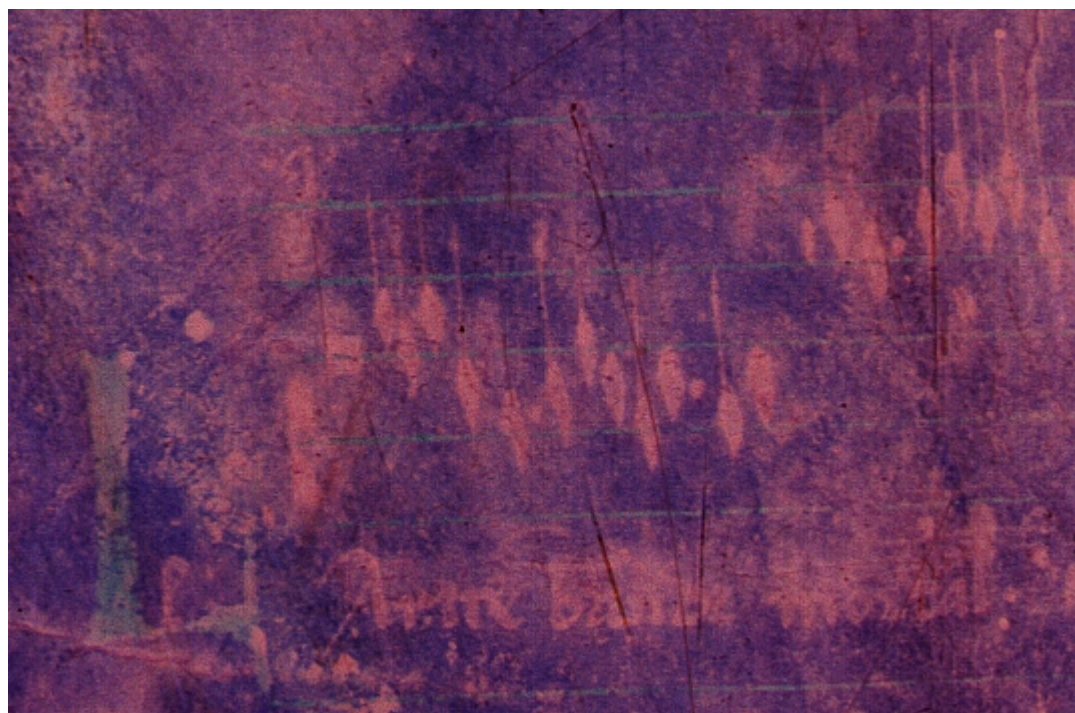
All of the compositions contained are anonymous, with the exception of *Fili parien ben d'oro* which is preceded by the initials ".d.L.," (the reading of "L" is somewhat speculative; it may be a "C" instead). Although no true attribution can be made of such an abbreviation (perhaps a name such as "Don Lorenzo"?), the shortened form typically is used in the middle of a section dedicated to a single composer's works. As a verso page, it would stand for the beginning of the composer's name and not the end (i.e., not "X de Lymburgia" etc.).

There is no doubt about the Italian origin of the fragment, even despite its largely French-texted (though not necessarily French-composed) contents. Italian notational features appear even in the virelai, such as the use of the sign ".q." for *divisio quaternaria* and the Italianate designation "Seconda parte" in *De cuer, de cors* on f. Wv, or the label "chiusa"

[sic] at the end of the contratenor of *Venes a moy* on f. Xr.⁵⁹ Surprisingly, neither of the two pieces in “.q.” appear to be re-notated from the truly Italian mensuration of *duodenaria*.

Some works’ features show a real mix between the French and Italian systems. For instance the beginning of the cantus of the textless ballade *La rire bande mortal*⁶⁰ (shown in Figure 3.22 with the colors inverted to facilitate transcription) juxtaposes the *quaternaria* sign “.q.” with foreign *puncti additionis*.

FIGURE 3.22: *LA RIRE BANDE MORTAL*, F. WR, OPENING



The folio as a whole ranges from simple to read to frustratingly illegible. See Figure 3.23:

⁵⁹ The unusual text forms of these works, the first with its four-line refrain substitute, the second with its short text residuum, are also worth noticing. See Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–88 and 191.

⁶⁰ Gialdroni and Ziino’s statement that the first stanza appears in the cantus (p. 187) is incorrect.

FIGURE 3.23: FROSINONE 266, F. WR (DIGITALLY LIGHTENED WITH MARGINS TRIMMED)



Unfortunately, the first half of the contratenor is nearly illegible, and there are multiple gaps in the second half of the tenor line. Further, mm. 5–6 and 8–11 seem weak in

their two-voice skeletons. However, the provisional transcription in Example 3.24 is still sufficient to give an aural impression at least of the second half of the work.

EXAMPLE 3.24: *LA RIRE BANDE MORTAL*

The musical score for "LA RIRE BANDE MORTAL" is presented in three systems. Each system consists of three staves: Soprano, Contra tenor, and Tenor. The time signature is 4/4.

System 1:

- Soprano:** "La rire bande mortal." (Measures 8-10)
- Contra tenor:** "la rire bande" (Measures 8-10). A note in measure 9 is marked "(first system illegible)".
- Tenor:** "la rire bande" (Measures 8-10)

System 2:

- Soprano:** Continuation of the melody, ending with a first ending (marked "1.") and a repeat sign.
- Contra tenor:** Continuation of the melody, ending with a repeat sign.
- Tenor:** Continuation of the melody, ending with a repeat sign.

System 3:

- Soprano:** Marked "20" and "2." (second ending). The phrase "chiuso" is written below the staff. The section is labeled "Sechonda parte" (Second part).
- Contra tenor:** Continuation of the melody, ending with a repeat sign. Labeled "Sechonda parte".
- Tenor:** Continuation of the melody, ending with a repeat sign. Labeled "Sechonda parte".



In mm. 12–14 of the tenor, the scribe uses an usual ligature: a *c.o.p.* pair followed by an oblique upward ligature, yielding $\blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacktriangle$. The absence of text is not accompanied by any other suggestion of instrumental performance except perhaps for the contratenor. Although it is dangerous to make such judgments based on a fragmentary reading, there is little in the work to suggest a particularly rich, creative imagination.

The other work not yet transcribed is even more difficult to read. *Le ... ve[n]dra que tant desir* (the ellipsis represents a hole in the manuscript) contains only a cantus voice. The work is a presumably a virelai, though the double-texting characteristic of the piedi does not extend to the end. This “excessively long *refrain*” is indeed unusual,⁶¹ but is not unique. We see a similar usage in Ciconia’s *Aler m’en veus* in **Pad B**. Example 3.25 transcribes the music

⁶¹ Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

of the opening (unfortunately missing the first few measures) to give a sense of the work and its use of red coloration; the transcription of the text awaits another visit with the source.

EXAMPLE 3.25: *LE ... VE[N]DRA QUE TANT DESIR*, CANTUS INCIPIT

Messere, chanta che vuogli has a text which features solmization syllables set to appropriate pitches. The text, following the incipit, carries the instruction, “Or, va! leggi la ma[no] se vuo[i] ’parare.” “Now go, read the [Guidonian] hand if you want to learn.” Though it is certainly a didactic work,⁶² the rhythmic content of the piece does not accord with an interpretation where the singer is just learning to read music. The work uses void notation for 4:3 ratios, dragmae for 3:2, and without doubt imitative passages; and all this in the tenor, the only surviving voice.⁶³ One presumes that the cantus would have been even more florid. The text of the second piede is nearly the same as the first, consisting of the

⁶² Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁶³ In the second part of the ballata, each entrance of the tenor is separated by three breves of rest followed by two breves of music, implying that the tenor cannot be giving an exact imitation of the missing cantus. This theory may be supported by the text residuum at the end of the tenor music: the text may be present here not because there was not room after the cantus but instead because the text (i.e., the solmization syllables) differs between voices. The absence of a text for the volta, which would have been the same between voices, may support this interpretation.

same solmization syllables, but ends with a plea, “et non m’ingannare:” “and do not deceive me.” One may even take this line to be an admonition against the use of *musica ficta*.

Gialdroni and Ziino have identified three scribal hands at work for the text of the two folios and two musical hands, both types changing between the two bifolios.⁶⁴ The hand of the Italian texted pieces (A) on **Frosinone 267** was thought to be different from that of the French pieces (B). (Gialdroni and Ziino’s Hand C copied **Frosinone 266**’s texts.) They consider hand B closer to a “French Gothic” (while arguing for an Italian writer) without giving specific examples. However, the variation between the two scripts in **Frosinone 267** seems slight. Both of these theorized hands use the same two types of punctuation to end lines, an elevated single dot and four dots arranged in a diamond. Further, there is hardly enough text left on f. Zr to make subtle scribal identifications. Compounding our difficulty in making such judgments is the lack of consistency even within scripts considered written by the same hand. Gialdroni and Ziino note, for instance, that the semiminims of *De bon foy et de loial desir* are roundish and point to the left but that those of *Fili parien ben d’oro* are triangular and point to the right. (One must recall their contention that the music hand, but not text hand, of all of **Frosinone 267** is the same). Further suggesting that the text and music hands do coincide is the pattern established in many larger sources such as **Reina**, **Panciatichi**, and **Pit.** of compilation of words and music by the same scribal editor.⁶⁵

That there is a change of hands between the two bifolios is easier to sustain on such grounds as changing F-clefs and a change of primary graphical style, from elongated and

⁶⁴ Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁶⁵ Nádas, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony,” p. 261.

streamlined in the case of 266 (scribe B[!]) to the “more accurate, geometric, and elegant” hand of 267 (A).⁶⁶ Nevertheless, important elements remain the same between the two sources allowing a counterargument to be mounted.⁶⁷ Both scribes use C-clefs which slope downward, do not curve, and are drawn at the extreme edge of the staff. Both scribes inscribe the number “27,” “251,” or “21” (or perhaps “r [et]”?) in the decorated final barlines of works; these numbers cannot be explained.

The Frosinone scribe or scribes use the same hook-shaped custos: a distinctively uncommon mark. It is primarily known from the scribal complex responsible for certain works of Pit., Lowinsky, Mancini, Ciliberti, and Florence 5, where the left “tail” of the custos is often shorter than the right.⁶⁸ While other scribal details rule out a connection between the Frosinone scribe(s) and this group, a connection may be possible to the newly-discovered fragment, Brescia 5. Stefano Campagnolo has linked the scribe with this larger group, and tentatively to the scribe of Florence Conservatorio (who is also linked to the first folios of

⁶⁶ Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁶⁷ See also the argument raised in the context of Vatican 171 above that we are less likely to see smooth evolution of scribal hands in fragments than in complete manuscripts.

⁶⁸ Nino Pirrotta, “Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell’ars nova,” *Musica Disciplina* 10 (1956), pp. 65–66. Idem, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova* (Palm Springs, California: E. E. Gottlieb, 1961), p. 18–19. Ursula Günther, “Die ‘anonymen’ Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit),” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23.2 (1966), pp. 89–92. Nádas, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony,” pp. 273–75. Idem, “The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition,” in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, edited by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1989), pp. 41–64, esp. pp. 51–52. Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, “A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts,” *Early Music History* 3 (1983), pp. 76–77.

London 29987).⁶⁹ The second-initial letters (e.g., the “E” in Tenor) and custodes of **Brescia 5** are similar to the same elements in **Frosinone 266** and **267**; despite other differences, such as his use of curved C-clefs and “Clos” instead of “Chiuso,” a connection between these sources should be pursued.

No definite provenance can be assigned to the manuscript; as Gialdroni and Ziino put it, “in the absence of meaningful data, every hypothesis is valid.”⁷⁰ Despite their caveat, they offer four hypothetical locations of origin in the region near Frosinone: (1) Angevin Naples (that is, the Court of Anjou) under King Louis II or Ladislaus (I might add Charles III); (2) one of the feudal houses of lower Lazio; (3) one of the numerous ecclesiastical courts in Rome; (4) one of the many flourishing monastic centers in the area. In any case, their suggestions are indicative of the broader view of polyphonic center in the trecento offered by the study of manuscript fragments.

⁶⁹ Stefano Campagnolo, “Un nuovo frammento di polifonia del Trecento,” presented at the conference *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo* (December 2002) but omitted from the conference proceedings.

⁷⁰ Gialdroni and Ziino, *op. cit.*, p. 190.