

Michael Scott Cuthbert

MELODIC SEARCHING
AND THE ANONYMOUS UNICA OF SAN LORENZO 2211

With so much already having been written and discovered about the remarkable palimpsest Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL), it may come as little surprise that what I have to contribute to the discourse must be brief.¹ In fact, if I were to use this space to present only what was newly found, this paper would nearly be over already. This essay is an example of negative research: that is, of reporting what has not been found and perhaps what cannot be found, rather than what has been discovered for the first time. I offer this paper to the editors of the facsimile edition, Andreas Janke and my mentor John Nádas, hoping that they will take as a compliment to the exhaustive nature of their research my inability to go much beyond what they have done with their magisterial study of the San Lorenzo Palimpsest.

From the moment of Frank D'Accone's discovery of SL up to the publication of the multispectral facsimile and beyond, the race was on to decipher what compositions lay hidden on these treasured pages.² D'Accone's initial study uncovered, by my count, fifty-four compositions known from other sources and, on the other hand, twelve of which were sufficiently identifiable to be reasonably sure that they were new pieces. Nádas's presentation at Certaldo in 1984 (published in 1992),³ brought the number of identifiable pieces

1. I am grateful to Margaret Bent and Elina G. Hamilton for helpful comments on this paper.

2. Frank A. D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211", *Studi musicali* 13 (1984): 3-31.

3. John Nádas, "Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some Further Observations", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VI*, Atti del Sesto Congresso Internazionale (Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 19-21 Luglio 1984), ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Certaldo: Edizioni Polis, 1992), 145-68.

up to ninety-seven, with many more that one could be sure had no concordances. His work, however, also drew attention to a second layer of pieces at the bottoms of pages, many of them apparently French-texted, leaving far more compositions to be identified. Those scholars who were fortunate enough to be at the 1989 conference of the American Musicological Society in Austin, Texas, or those even luckier to be in the possession of a copy of this most rare handout – now included with the talk itself in the volume of Nádas's collected essays⁴ – had access to Nádas's findings in the intervening half decade, and found 111 pieces identified through concordances, including works by Machaut, along with many more unidentifiable works and works by composers, such as Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli and Ugolino da Orvieto, that we knew did not have other surviving copies. While a few more identifications came out over the following years, made by many of the scholars present in this volume, it was not until the publication of the facsimile edition in 2016 that the present state of knowledge on the extent of the source became apparent.⁵ Janke and Nádas identified 216 separate compositions, of which, by my count, 121 are known from concordances in other sources (or 120 depending on the status of one composition by Zacara⁶ to be discussed below). Forty-eight other pieces, principally the works of the Mazzuolis and Ugolino, anonymous *cacce*, and works with clearly visible text incipits, can be classified with a high degree of certainty as unique and otherwise unknown. The attributed works cast light on an otherwise little-known period of Italian song composition, and the transcriptions of many of these pieces by Janke will yield stylistic insights on early Quattrocento music for a long time to come.⁷

My contribution here concerns the pieces that I have not mentioned: the forty-seven that survive in such illegible or incomplete forms that they have resisted identification over the course of thirty-five years of scholarship on the Palimpsest. Many of these works have only a few legible passages containing

4. John Nádas, "The Lucca Codex and MS San Lorenzo 2211: Native and Foreign Songs in Early Quattrocento Florence", in *Arte psallentes. John Nádas: Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento*, ed. Andreas Janke and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2017), 105-43.

5. *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo Ms. 2211: Introductory Study and Multispectral Images*, ed. Andreas Janke and John Nádas (Lucca: LIM, 2016).

6. I am spelling the sobriquet of Antonio da Teramo as "Zacara" here for consistency with other authors in this volume. I have argued elsewhere that "Zachara" is a more appropriate spelling given the surviving sources. See Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006), 495.

7. Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)*, Musica Mensurabilis, 7 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016).

only a handful of notes each. Texts are often incomprehensible, and even the normally simple task of identifying where any given voice begins was a gargantuan undertaking for the editors of the facsimile. Some of the most difficult-to-read pieces found at bottoms of folios or on well-scraped pages have been identified recently by Janke and Nádas, such as Machaut's rondeau *Cinc, un, trese* or the anonymous *Marticius qui fu de Rome* (a space-filler whose attribution to Paolo da Firenze in the source may refer only to the space's intended use for more works by the composer).⁸

The question I wish to raise is this: are the forty-seven pieces that remain unidentified merely elusive concordances that will eventually be revealed? Or, after three decades of searching, have Janke and Nádas identified all that is not unique? To put it another way, are these difficult pieces known works with concordances that these scholars have missed due to the difficulty of reading them, or does the San Lorenzo Palimpsest contain a high number of unica at the bottoms of pages?

COMPUTATIONAL INTERVAL SEARCHING

Computer technology allows a way of comprehensively searching a known repertory for connections, similarities, and concordances. Given specialized software that can find exact and inexact matches among various works, along with a complete encoding of the known works of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, it is possible to identify the legible but unidentified fragments from the San Lorenzo codex if they exist in any other source, or at least to say with some certainty that no concordance exists in the known (and published) literature.

My recent work has been devoted to creating such a combination of these tools and encoded repertory. The tools are an outgrowth of my music21 project, which is a Python-language computer library for analyzing and manipulating musical scores.⁹ The repertory comes from the Electronic Medieval Music Score Archive Project (EMMSAP), a project I have been running since

8. Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, 23. The case of *Marticius* is different from the other French space-fillers mentioned by Janke and Nádas (26) in that it is one of only two works found at the top of a page (Grimace's *Des que*, *Buisson* being the other) and is the only one with a clear attribution. The position of the piece in Gathering XIV and not in the gap between gatherings also argues that the scribe intended the work to be connected with the attribution.

9. Michael Scott Cuthbert and Christopher T. Ariza, "music21: A Toolkit for Computer-Aided Musicology and Symbolic Music Data", *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Music Information Retrieval* 11 (2010): 637-42.

2011. I have spoken about the project and its results elsewhere,¹⁰ and hope soon to publish the results which include approximately thirty newly identified concordances and quotations that had escaped notice until now.¹¹ I will describe here a mode of using EMMSAP that I have not presented elsewhere, which is particularly useful for searching the contents of palimpsests and other damaged sources.

Searching the EMMSAP database can be done in a number of ways, the most powerful being a comparison of each thirty-note segment of fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century music against every other segment. One of the discoveries made in this way indirectly concerns SL: a new identification of Hubertus de Salinis's motet *Psallat chorus in novo carmine*, previously known from Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.15 (Q15) and SL, in the fragments, Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 6 E 37 (Cat. 1846) (Utrecht37.1), section I, folio V.¹²

Any method of working that depends on thirty-note contiguous segments cannot, however, suffice for working with SL. For most of the unidentified pieces, only a few notes can be read at a time, and often the exact pitch levels of these notes are impossible to discern; only relative intervals can suffice. In searching for concordances with SL, I generally worked directly with the database and constructed searches based on interval patterns using "regular expressions".¹³ For instance, to match a pattern of an ascending fourth, followed by two descending seconds, the regular expression "4-2-2" is used. Note that only the generic interval and not specific intervals, such as perfect fourth or minor second, is part of the search, since the precise size of intervals cannot be determined in the absence of clear clefs or key signatures. Regular

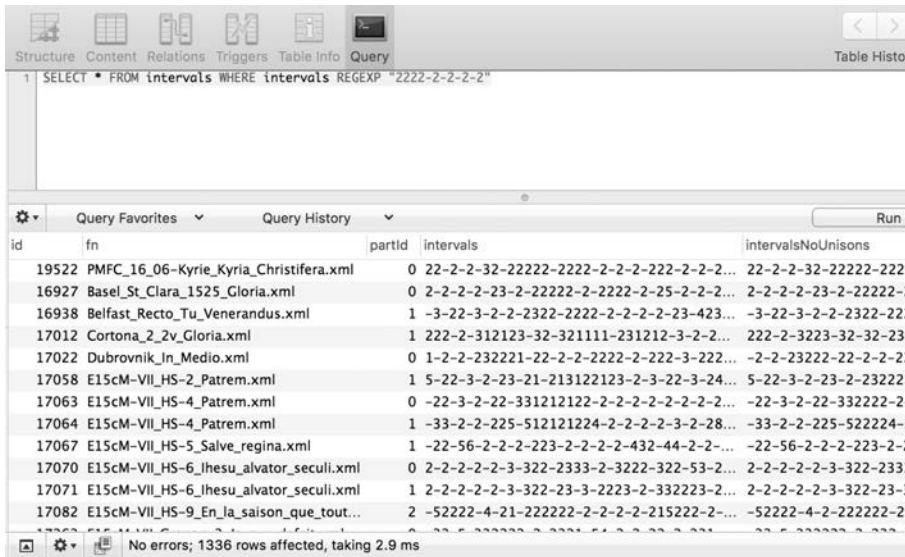
10. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Hidden in our Publications: New Concordances, Quotations, and Citations in Fourteenth-Century Music" (Paper presented at the 82nd Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, November 3-6, 2016).

11. Two of the identifications have already been published: new sources for *Esperance, qui en mon cuer*, in Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore (Museo), Graduale without call number in the Sala dei Papi [Roma, Archivio Liberiano di Santa Maria Maggiore, Manoscritti s.n. "Graduale-Kyriale-Sequenzario"], and *Io son un pelligrin* in Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 187 (As), in which the context gives further evidence for an attribution of the piece to Francesco da Firenze. See Michael Scott Cuthbert and Nicola Tangari, "Identificazioni di composizioni vocali italiane e internazionali in alcuni manoscritti liturgici del tardo Trecento", *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 37 (2016): 219-27.

12. Eliane Andrea Fankhauser has discussed these fragments in detail, including this new identification, in *Recycling Reversed: Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries Around 1400* (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2018), esp. 57-8. Available online at <https://www.ris.uu.nl/ws/files/45638566/Fankhauser.pdf>. Margaret Bent discusses Hubertus de Salinis's connection with SL in her contribution to this volume, "The Motet Collection of San Lorenzo 2211 (SL) and the Composer Hubertus de Salinis".

13. An explanation of regular expressions with tutorial can be found online at <https://regexone.com/>.

expressions include powerful search tools such as the dot (“.”) operator which represents any number or other character. A regular expression such as “222-.” could be used to model a passage of three ascending seconds ending with a descending ligature of indeterminate size. If we were able to see that the ligature is likely to be a fifth or sixth, then the regular expression “222-[56]” could be used, where the numbers in square brackets represent a choice of one (but not both) of those intervals. The number of matches for a passage is generally determined by the rarity of the interval pattern along with its length. For instance the eight-interval expression “2222-2-2-2-2” (that is, four ascending seconds followed by four descending seconds) appears in at least 1336 voice parts (see Figure 1), while the much shorter but also much rarer pattern “5-68” appears in exactly one piece (the contratenor by Matteo da Perugia to Nicholas Grenon’s *Je ne requier* in Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24 [ModA]). Thus, finding legible sections involving large leaps was important to being able to find potential matches.



The screenshot shows a database query interface with a toolbar at the top containing icons for Structure, Content, Relations, Triggers, Table Info, and Query. Below the toolbar, a query editor displays the SQL statement: `SELECT * FROM intervals WHERE intervals REGEXP "2222-2-2-2-2"`. Below the query editor, a table of results is shown with columns: id, fn, partid, intervals, and intervalsNoUnisons. The table contains 10 rows of data, each representing a match for the specified interval pattern. At the bottom of the interface, a status bar indicates: "No errors; 1336 rows affected, taking 2.9 ms".

id	fn	partid	intervals	intervalsNoUnisons
19522	PMFC_16_06-Kyrie_Kyria_Christifera.xml	0	22-2-2-32-22222-2222-2-2-2-222-2-2-2...	22-2-2-32-22222-2222-
16927	Basel_St_Clara_1525_Gloria.xml	0	2-2-2-2-23-2-22222-2-2222-2-25-2-2-2...	2-2-2-2-23-2-22222-
16938	Belfast_Recto_Tu_Venerandus.xml	1	-3-22-3-2-2-2322-2222-2-2-2-23-423...	-3-22-3-2-2-2322-22-
17012	Cortona_2_2v_Gloria.xml	1	222-2-312123-32-321111-231212-3-2-2...	222-2-3223-32-32-23-
17022	Dubrovnik_In_Medio.xml	0	1-2-2-232221-22-2-2-2222-2-222-3-222...	-2-2-23222-22-2-2-2-
17058	E15cM-VII_HS-2_Patrem.xml	1	5-22-3-2-23-21-213122123-2-3-22-3-24...	5-22-3-2-23-2-23222-
17063	E15cM-VII_HS-4_Patrem.xml	0	-22-3-2-22-331212122-2-2-2-2-2-2-2...	-22-3-2-22-332222-2-
17064	E15cM-VII_HS-4_Patrem.xml	1	-33-2-2-225-512121224-2-2-2-3-2-28...	-33-2-2-225-522224-
17067	E15cM-VII_HS-5_Salve_regina.xml	1	-22-56-2-2-2-223-2-2-2-2-432-44-2-2-...	-22-56-2-2-2-223-2-
17070	E15cM-VII_HS-6_Ihesu_alvator_seculi.xml	0	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-2333-2-3222-322-53-2...	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-233-
17071	E15cM-VII_HS-6_Ihesu_alvator_seculi.xml	1	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-23-3-2223-2-332223-2...	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-23-
17082	E15cM-VII_HS-9_En_la_saison_que_tout...	2	-52222-4-21-222222-2-2-2-2-215222-2-...	-52222-4-2-222222-2-

Figure 1. Example of search results for a common interval pattern

“FRACTIO MODI”: IGNORING UNISONS IN TWO SEARCH RESULTS

Among the most common variants among copies of the same piece is the breaking up or splicing together of notes, which thereby changes the intervallic pattern of the work. Such variants are especially common when the text and/or language of a piece is changed or when one form of notation substitutes for another. For this reason, an index that omits all unisons (called “intervalsNoUnisons” in the database) has been one of the most valuable tools in EMMSAP. In this index, two passages that read “C D D E E F” and “C D E F” would have the same representation as “222” in “intervalsNoUnisons”.

This index has recently allowed me to identify two new concordances. The Gloria “*Splendor Patris*” found in the Barcelona Mass cycle, has long been known to have once had its cantus in the burnt Strasbourg codex (Bibliothèque Municipale [*olim* Bibliothèque de la Ville], 222 C.22 [Strasbourg]), but it was not known that a prior copy of the piece, written in stroke notation, once appeared on f. 11v as Coussemaker’s no. 14 (see Table 1). Coussemaker writes that “cette pièce est notée par des semibrèves seulment”, and he also notes that two such semibreves are equal to a breve of two tempora and three equal a breve of three tempora.¹⁴ He also records that only a single voice of the piece was copied (the only amount that could fit on a single folio, unless the subsequent chansons were in fact only bottom-of-folio space fillers and the Gloria continued on the following pages).¹⁵

Table 1: Sources of the Gloria “*Splendor Patris*”

Apt, ff. 22r-23v

BarcC, ff. 1v-4r

Barc2, ff. 1v-3r

Strasbourg, f. 11v

Strasbourg, ff. 52v-54r

Apt = Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16bis; BarcC = Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* Biblioteca Central de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona), 971 (*olim* 946) (ff. 1-12); Barc2 = Barcelona, Biblioteca i Arxiu de l’Orfeó Català, 2.

14. Edmond de Coussemaker in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, ms 56286, 5. Reprinted in Charles Van den Borren, *Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XVe siècle) brûlé en 1870, et reconstitué d’après une copie partielle d’Edmond de Coussemaker* (Antwerp: Imprimerie E. Secelle, 1924).

15. A second possible identification in the same Strasbourg manuscript is no. 153 on f. 88r, *Byen plorer doi*, which may be a variant version of the tenor of *Bonté de corps*, with a few rhythmic changes. That ballade, also found with the contrafact text “Beata es virgo”, is found as no. 121 on f. 74r.



Figure 2. Gloria "*Splendor Patris*": (a) Coussemaker's index entry and (b) modern transcription from other sources

A second identification that was aided by removing unisons brought together two previously unconnected pieces from long-known Veneto manuscripts written just after the end of the Ars Nova. In the secular song manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213 (Ox213), at the bottom of ff. 114v-115r is a unique rondeau, *Pour deleissier tristresse et joye avoir*.¹⁶ Unknown until now, the unedited, three-voice Magnificat antiphon for the first Vespers of the feast of Corpus Christi, *O quam suavis*, in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (*olim* S. Salvatore 727) (BU2216), ff. 25v-26r, is the same piece with a different text.¹⁷ Although it would be a mistake to always assume that the Latin, sacred version of a piece is a contrafact of a vernacular, secular original, in this case, the assumption seems confirmed by the better syllabic placement of words after minim rests in *Pour deleissier* as well as the somewhat superfluous "Alleluia" of *O quam suavis*. Although the cantus parts of the two pieces are nearly identical except for their texts and the contrast of black and void notation, the identification of the pieces was done through their tenors. The tenors' intervals differ greatly due to the presence of many unisons in *O quam suavis*, which are necessary to accommodate a 3³ text setting. (As noted above, in general voices with more leaps are better for making identifications through interval searches, making lower voices more suitable than upper voices. Variability in contratenors, including their presence, absence, and substitution, however, compels me to search tenors first. This focus on the tenor has also allowed for the identification of connections with both instrumental and chant repertoires. In the case of *O quam* / *Pour*

16. Images via DIAMM at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/716/#/images?p=115>. See also facsimile and commentary, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, ed. David Fallows (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

17. Images via DIAMM at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/119/#/images?p=25v>. See also the facsimile, commentary, and partial edition, *Il codice musicale 2216 della biblioteca universitaria di Bologna*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, 2 vols. (Bologna: Forni, 1968-1970).

deleissier, however, a search on the cantus voice would have yielded a match even using the index that includes unisons).

Ralph Corrigan, who has written the most recent study of BU2216, suggests, on the basis of similarity of musical style and of a parallel of scribal practice with a previous *Ave verum corpus*, that *O quam suavis* should be attributed to Arnold de Lantins.¹⁸ Gilbert Reaney, however, in his edition of *Pour deleissier* and other anonymous songs in Ox213, declines to make an attribution.¹⁹ A search using EMMSAP's similarity measure finds the most similar work to be by Carmen (*Pontifici decori*). The complete works of all of the people named Lantins, however, have not yet been encoded in EMMSAP, so the attribution must remain an open question, perhaps aided by this new source.²⁰

THE NON-IDENTIFICATION OF SAN LORENZO CONCORDANCES

More-sophisticated queries allowed me to specify the position of rests, to narrow the repertory (excluding Mass Ordinary movements, for instance), or to specify rhythmic patterns. When I built the EMMSAP system in 2014, I was able to identify five pieces in SL that at the time had not been noted in any published inventory (for instance, *Martinius qui fu de Rome* and Machaut's *Cinc, un, tresp* cited above). All five, however, were independently (and presumably already) identified by Janke and Nádas and appear in the inventory. Focused searches I have performed over the intervening four years have found no other new concordances.

None. Nada. Zip.

My system is not foolproof – it is possible that a few pieces are in readings too varied from potential concordances to find matches, or that I made errors in transcription (though the system allows me to skip notes or passages about which I am uncertain), so there may yet be a piece or two that can be identified. Nonetheless, the computer model suggests that all – or nearly all – of

18. Ralph Patrick Corrigan, "The Music Manuscript 2216 in the Bologna University Library: The Copying and Context of a Fifteenth-Century Choirbook" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011), 100. Available online at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/28/Corrigan-thesis.pdf>.

19. Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 4, *Anonymous Chansons from the Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 11 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), Rondeau 15, XXI and 16-7. Composer identifications are on XVII-XVIII.

20. On a computer-aided basis for attributing ambiguously identified works to one or the other of the Lantins, see Michael W. Beauvois, "A Statistical Analysis of the Chansons of Arnold and Hugo de Lantins", *Early Music* 45 (2017): 527-43.

the remaining pieces, primarily works found at the bottoms of folios, are unique and not merely unidentified because of their poor states of preservation. It is a testimony to the intelligence and hard work of both the editors of the facsimile that no other pieces can be found.

The added works at the bottom of San Lorenzo leaves can take their place as a repertory, such as that of the Mazzuolis and Ugolino and the *cacce*, that testifies to an otherwise unknown and – prior to the discovery of the Palimpsest – largely unhinted-at flurry of compositional activity in Italy at the end of the long *Ars Nova*. With a concordance rate of only about fifty-six percent overall, the late repertory of San Lorenzo stands apart from the conclusions of statistical analysis on the repertory from 1370-1410 that I conducted in my *Tipping the Iceberg* article, which suggested that a good proportion of the secular music of the classic Italian Trecento survived.²¹ For this repertory the numbers suggest that many further new works await discovery if they are fortunate enough to survive somewhere in some other manuscript that is still hidden from view.

For what does survive, a new task awaits us: the transcription and stylistic analysis of the remains of the works at the bottoms of pages. Based on my computational work, I believe that we cannot wait for concordances to appear to unravel the mysteries of these works, but instead each must be taken as its own testimony to musical creativity and be studied, perhaps even reconstructed and performed.

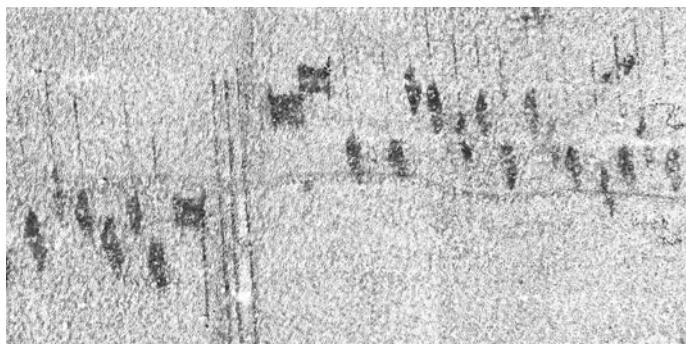
Having said all this, I do have one piece of positive research to report – one small kernel of musical citation that EMMSAP discovered and which has not yet made its way into print. In their 2015 article on the Florentine tradition of Zacara's songs in the San Lorenzo Palimpsest, Nádas and Janke discovered an oddity – even in the context of Zacara's very odd output. They noted that the ballata with the incipit *Benché lontan mi trovi* in the San Lorenzo Palimpsest is *not* the same work as the piece with the same name in Squarcialupi.²² Perhaps this was something Zacara did with his songs: reused their texts in the creation of other works. If that were indeed the case, then a similar form of reuse may have occurred with the text *Ad ogne vento*, and a lost, reused

21. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism", in *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009): 39-74. The article has often been misquoted as arguing that only a small percentage of Medieval (or even Renaissance) music from all repertories has been lost. I want to emphasize that in the paper I argue primarily for a method of estimating this number and that this method requires careful inventorying of all the surviving sources of that repertory. The conclusions from one repertory cannot be applied to another without this necessary step.

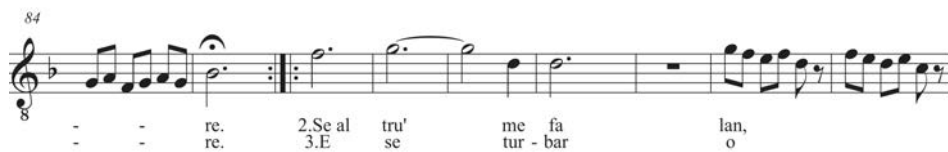
22. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, "New Insights into the Florentine Transmission of the Songs of Antonio Zacara da Teramo", *Studi musicali*, n.s. 6, 2 (2015): 197-214, at 211-2.

version, rather than a careless scribe, could explain the bizarre title Gloria “*Ad ogne vento*” in Q15, despite the Mass movement having no connection to the surviving secular piece.

There is also another form of reuse in the version of *Benché lontan* in SL. At the transition between the A and B sections, Zacara quotes another of his works, *Rosetta che non cambi mai colore*, the ballata he reused in another form to make his Gloria “*Rosetta*” (see Figure 3).



(a)



(b)

Figure 3. (a) *Benché lontan* in SL²³ compared with (b) *Rosetta che non cambi*

This quotation cannot be attributed to coincidence: no other work by Zacara or anyone else has the same interval pattern as this section, to say nothing of the same rhythm or pitch level. When we look carefully at the close relationship of this passage to the original, we see that Zacara’s little rose was indeed one that could change its color. And I believe that, as we are able to look more carefully at the San Lorenzo Palimpsest, thanks to the many changes of color applied to the recent facsimile, we will continue to find much that is hidden and that will amaze.

23. Reproduced with permission from Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. II, no. 137.

ABSTRACT

Will continued searching ever find concordances for the unidentified works in the San Lorenzo Palimpsest? Computer-assisted melodic searching suggests the answer is no, and that the remaining works in SL are unica. This article describes methods for writing queries of fragmentary pieces using the author's EMMSAP database. These methods find new identifications of works (including Salinis's motet *Psallat chorus*, the Gloria "Splendor Patris", and the rondeau *Pour deleissier tristresse*) in other manuscripts. However, except for a Zacara self-quotation, these techniques find no further identifications in SL beyond those already published. The repertory of works at the bottoms of folios is thus largely one of unica that awaits further study and reconstruction.

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THE END OF THE ARS NOVA IN ITALY

The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories

Edited by
ANTONIO CALVIA, STEFANO CAMPAGNOLO, ANDREAS JANKE,
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Preface

In 2016 the San Lorenzo Palimpsest (Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 [SL]), one of the latest Trecento polyphonic music collections, was presented to the academic community under a new light, literally and figuratively. The multispectral images of the Palimpsest and the introductory study published by John Nádas and Andreas Janke¹ constitute a precious opportunity for scholars to embark upon new avenues of research. The images are, in fact, the starting point for half the essays in this volume, as our authors study them as a means to better our understanding of the polyphony composed mainly in Italy – and also in France – during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the era known as the *Ars Nova*.

The idea of giving full recognition to this important scientific breakthrough was born within the framework of the project *Polifonia Italiana Trecentesca (PIT)*, promoted by the Fondazione Ezio Franceschini and the Dipartimento di Musicologia e Beni Culturali of Cremona (University of Pavia). This idea initially took shape via the international conference “The Nature of the End of the *Ars Nova* in Early Quattrocento Italy. Research Surrounding the San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories” (X Seminario Internazionale di Musicologia Medievale “Clemente Terni”), organized by Antonio Calvia, Stefano Campagnolo, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti, and John Nádas, and held at the Fondazione Ezio Franceschini in Florence and the Centro Studi sull’*Ars Nova* Italiana in Certaldo, December 14-16, 2017. It was then relaunched in the context of the wider project *European Ars Nova: Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages (ArsNova)* funded by the European Research Council, within one of the project’s three lines of

1. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211*, Vol. 1: *Introductory Study*; Vol. 2: *Multispectral Images*, *Ars Nova*, n.s. 4 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016).

research, that dedicated to the multilingualism of Ars Nova anthologies at the end of the Great Schism.²

The San Lorenzo Palimpsest (SL) provides an exceptional picture of the repertory known in Florence during the second decade of the fifteenth century. The works transmitted in this collection range from the oldest repertory, datable to before the beginning of the Schism (represented by Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna, and most probably Donato da Firenze), to compositions by authors active well after 1378 (Francesco Landini, Bartolino da Padova, Antonio Zacara da Teramo, and Hubertus de Salinis), some of whom were witnesses to attempts to end the Schism at the church councils of Pisa and Constance in 1409 and 1414-1417 (Paolo da Firenze, Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli, and Ugolino da Orvieto).

The repertory included in SL strongly favors works in Italian (one hundred and twenty-six pieces), while also including a collection of works known via “international” diffusion. Both the French-texted repertory (eighty compositions) and the Latin motets (ten) are, however, transmitted mostly without attribution. An exception is made for Hubertus de Salinis, the only non-Italian composer for whom authorship of at least some of his works entered in SL include composer attributions.³ It is not surprising that Hubertus, like other non-native composers or composers whose activity in Florence is not recorded, was known to SL’s compiler; after all, his connections with an international figure such as Pietro Filargo (Alexander V) are well-documented.

With the term “the end of the Ars Nova” we wish to evoke a discontinuity in the manuscript tradition that coincides with the years of the resolution of the Schism. After that time, the Italian composers who constitute the bulk of the “canon” of fourteenth-century music preserved in the most studied anthological collections (in addition to SL these are Fp, Pit, Sq, R) suddenly largely disappear from the cultural horizon represented in the known collections copied only a few decades later, such as Q15 and Ox213.⁴ For example, although the beginning of Q15’s compilation was not much later than that of SL, the collections have in common only two composers (Hubertus de Salinis and Antonio Zacara da Teramo) and three compositions (three motets by Hubertus).

2. Maria Sofia Lannutti, “Combining Romance Philology and Musicology through a New Interdisciplinary Approach: The ERC Advanced Grant Project ArsNova”, *Medioevo romanzo* 44 (2020): 145-71, esp. 162.

3. See on this topic the chapter by Margaret Bent in this volume.

4. Fp: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26; Ox213: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213; Pit: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; Q15: Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.15; R: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 (“Codex Reina”); Sq: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 (“Squarcialupi Codex”).

The focus on the end of the *Ars Nova*, then, does not follow a particular narrative but looks at a time of great movement on the part of musicians and their repertoires throughout the continent; both in the context of shared musical stylistic transitions and marked by important events, the most significant of which are without a doubt the Councils of Pisa and Constance. Underscored in Italy, especially the Veneto, Rome, and Florence, is the powerful co-existence of a preservation of traditional and innovative repertoires. We have here aimed not at an individual examination of SL, but rather at placing its contents in the larger *Ars Nova* context. This also means that the focus of this publication is not limited to the city of Florence, but includes other culturally prominent areas of Italy such as Lombardy and Naples.

The point of departure of most of the essays has been the aforementioned conference “The Nature of the End of the *Ars Nova* in Early Quattrocento Italy”. Many papers have been largely reformulated in light of ongoing research (for example the chapters by Calvia and Checchi and Epifani within the ERC *ArsNova* project). A completely new contribution was provided by John Nádas.

The city of Florence has been relatively prominent in the historiography of Trecento music, which no doubt is to be explained by its rich manuscript sources. The first two essays in this volume demonstrate that it is nevertheless possible to recognize new facets and to make significant discoveries. Elena Abramov-van Rijk focuses her attention on the soundscape of Florence as seen in contemporary, music-related poetry by Franco Sacchetti. John Nádas, on the other hand, presents newly found documents that considerably expand our knowledge of Paolo da Firenze’s biography, contextualizing him as a Benedictine monk at the Badia Fiorentina, an important center of Florentine manuscript production, and also details his close association with cultural-historical forces that led to the Council of Pisa.

The multispectral images of SL and the accompanying introductory study were primarily intended to serve “as a preparatory step toward further research and study” of that manuscript and its contents.⁵ Half the contributions in this volume follow on from exactly this premise, with three authors focusing on topics that can only be investigated on the basis of this source: Margaret Bent examines the only known motet gathering that is part of a Trecento manuscript and explores, among other things, reasons that could explain the compiler’s selection of these motets; she also discusses the special role of Hubertus de Salinis in SL. Mikhail Lopatin demonstrates the possibilities of an analytical approach – applied to two settings by Giovanni Mazzuoli

5. Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, IX.

and his son Piero – that brings together the concepts of *metapoesis* and *equivocus*. In addition to the music of the Mazzuoli organists, SL contains many other *unica*, even a previously unknown ballata by Francesco Landini, transcribed and contextualized here for the first time by Antonio Calvia.

Working with SL challenges scholars to cope with its missing folios and no-longer-recoverable lacunae. Andreas Janke focuses on the incomplete composer section in this manuscript devoted to the music of Donato da Firenze. In addition to new insights on the transmission of works by this elusive composer, Janke offers a hypothesis as to how the originally complete section may have been structured. Michael Cuthbert takes the special character of SL into account by explaining how computational interval searching must be adapted if it is to be applied to palimpsested music. His particular focus is on hitherto unidentified settings, consisting mostly of the French *formes fixes*.

Our understanding of the rich musical life on the Italian peninsula in the first decades of the fifteenth century cannot possibly be limited to the city of Florence. Three of the contributors broaden our view beyond Tuscany to other significant music centers. Davide Checchi and Michele Epifani provide a special focus on *virelais* that are transmitted in the North-Italian “Reina” codex (R) as part of the French repertory regularly found in Italian music collections. They present case studies with in-depth analyses of both the music and poetry of two “realistic *virelais*”. Despite a difficult and fragmentary source situation, Anne Stone offers fresh insights into music and musical patronage in Lombardy at the beginning of the fifteenth century and suggests a new context for Matteo da Perugia’s ballade *Pres du soleil*. Turning our attention to the south, Gianluca D’Agostino seeks to trace *Ars Nova* practices in Naples despite the lack of polyphonic sources. In this process he takes into account and interconnects different sources, such as manuscript illuminations and poetry.

The present volume exemplifies ways in which the field of *Ars Nova* studies can benefit from a pluralistic approach involving musicology, literature, analysis, philology, and iconography, and how much more there is yet to discover and better understand. We would like to thank all the authors for their involvement in this undertaking and for making their valuable contributions available. We would also like to thank Letitia Glozer for her careful and skilled copy editing and Lorenzo Giustozzi for the scrupulous indexing of the book.

Florence, Hamburg, and Venice, March 2020

A. Calvia, S. Campagnolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

Apt	Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16bis
As	Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, Fondo antico presso la Biblioteca e Centro di Documentazione Franciscana del Sacro Convento, cod. 187
Ash569	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569
Ash574	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574
Ash999	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 999
Ba	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1571
Bamberg	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115
Barc2	Barcelona, Biblioteca i Arxiu de l'Orfeó Català, 2
BarcA	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (<i>olim</i> Biblioteca Central de la Diputación Provincial de Barcelona), 853
BarcC	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (<i>olim</i> Biblioteca Central de la Diputación Provincial de Barcelona), 971
Basel71	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F.IX.71 (fragment)
BaselUb	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, N.I.6 Nr 72
Be	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, L.III.22
Bern	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. A 471 (flyleaves of A 421)
Bern827	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 827 (fragment)
Bo596	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 596, busta HH2.1
Br5170	Bruxelles, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Fonds Sint-Goedele 5170
Br19606	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 19606
BrG ₁	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, St. Gudule fragment 1
Brno	Brno, Archiv města Brna, Fond V 2, Svatojakubská knihovna, 94/106
BU2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (<i>olim</i> S. Salvatore 727)
Ca1328	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale (<i>olim</i> Mediathèque Municipale), B 1328

CaB ₂	Ca1328 [ff. 8-15]
CaB ₃	Ca1328 [f. 16]
Ch	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564
Chigi79	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.IV.79
Chigi131	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131
Chigi142	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.VII.142
Chigi300	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.300
Cil	Perugia, Private Collection of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana, fragment s.n.
Cop17a	København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fragm. 17a, inv. 2400-2409
Darmstadt521	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 521
Darmstadt3471	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 3471
Douai1171	Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 1171
Durham	Durham, Chapter Library, C I 20
Egidi	Montefiore dell'Aso, Biblioteca-Archivio di Francesco Egidi, s.n. (lost)
F.5.5	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunabolo F.5.5
Fa	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117
Fauvel	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146
Florence	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
Fountains	London, British Library, Add. 40011 B (fragments)
Fp	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26
Gent3360	Gent, Rijksarchief, Varia D.3360
Gr	Grottaferrata, Bibl. del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 219 (<i>olim</i> 374; <i>olim</i> E.β.XVI)
Gr224	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224 (<i>olim</i> Collocazione provvisoria 197)
Houghton	Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 122 (cover)
Huelgas	Las Huelgas (Burgos), Monasterio de Santa María la Real, IX ("Codex Las Huelgas")
Iv	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115
Leclercq	Mons, Private Collection of Fernand Leclercq, s.n.

Leiden342A	Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment L.T.K. 342A
Leiden2515	Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment B.P.L. 2515
Leipzig223a	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. Lat. 223a
Lo	London, British Library, Add. 29987
LoTNA	London, The National Archives, E.163/ 22/ 1/ 24
Lw	Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MLo96.P36 (fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky)
MachA	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1584
MachB	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1585
MachC	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1586
MachE	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9221
MachG	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22546
MachVg	Kansas City, Private Collection of James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell ("Ferrell-Vogüé")
Magl1040	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1040
Magl1041	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1041
Magl1078	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1078
Man	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 ("Lucca Codex", "Mancini Codex")
ModA	Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24
Montpellier	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196
MuEm	München, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274 ("St. Emmeram Codex")
Ox56	Oxford, All Souls College, 56
Ox213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213
Ox229 (PadA)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. patr. lat. 229
Pad553	Padova, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni soppresse, Santa Giustina 553
PadA (684)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684
PadA (1475)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1475
PadB (1115)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1115
PadC (658)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 658
PadD (1106)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1106
Pal204	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204
Paris554	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 554

Paris2444	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.lat. 2444
Paris11411	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11411
Paris22069	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 22069
Parma75	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 (<i>olim</i> Armadio B, Busta 75, fasc. 2)
Patetta352	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352
Perugia	Perugia, Biblioteca Sala del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi, Inc. 2 (<i>olim</i> Cas. 3, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.)
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568
Plut37	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 90 inf. 37
Pra	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky (<i>olim</i> Národní a Univerzitní knihovna), XI.E.9 (2056)
Pz	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917
Q1	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.1
Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15
R	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina")
Redi184	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 184
Ricci118	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118
Rs	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 215; Ostiglia (Mantova), Fondazione Opera Pia don Giuseppe Greggiati, mus. rari B 35
SL	Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 ("San Lorenzo Palimpsest")
Sq	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 ("Squarcialupi Codex")
Strasbourg	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque de la Ville), 222 C.22 (destroyed)
Stresa14	Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte (<i>olim</i> Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario), 14
T.III.2	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2
Tarragona1	Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 1
Tarragona2	Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 2
Trém	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 23190
Trent60	Trento, Biblioteca di S. Bernardino, Inc. 60

Trent90	Trento, Biblioteca del Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (<i>olim</i> Museo Provinciale d'Arte), 1377 ("Tr 90")
Treviso43	Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 43
Triv193	Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 193
Triv1390	Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1390 ("Stemmario Trivulziano")
Troyes	Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque Municipale), Fonds ancien 1397
Utrecht37.1	Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 6 E 37 (Hs. 1846), part 1
Vat3213	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3213
Venice	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 145 (7554)
Vienna922	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fragment 922
Vienna3917	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3917
Vienna5094	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5094
Washington	Washington, Library of Congress, M2.I.C6a.14 Case
Westminster	London, Westminster Abbey, 33327
WoA	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2777 ("Wolkenstein Liederhandschrift A")
WoB	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, s. n. ("Wolkenstein Liederhandschrift B")
Würz	Würzburg, Franziskanerkloster, I 10