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Style, Locality, and the Trecento Gloria: New sources and a Reexamination*

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Discussing local style in sacred music makes the problems that arise in secular music seem simple by comparison. Nearly all the traits that locate a piece of secular polyphony, both geographically and chronologically, disappear when one talks about sacred music, and about music for the Mass in particular. A madrigal may have a text that associates the work with an event or with a patron; in a Sanctus, the text yields no such clues. The changing form of a ballata says something of the tastes of the culture that produced it; the form of the Agnus Dei does not change. Indeed, the contents—musical and textual—of secular works can provide such a wealth of information that the works often provide the context for the manuscript or printed book in which they are housed. For sacred music, the flow of information is usually reversed: the book and its history say something about the culture that produced the work.

Yet the process of pinning locations on sacred works is not as hopeless as we have so far made it out to be. Indeed, many sacred pieces have texts which tie them to occasions, to patrons, and to institutions. For late medieval and early Renaissance music, motets are the obvious repertory of works that reveal their origins. But they are not the only pieces to do so. *Cantasi come laude* and parody Mass movements take from (or give to) their secular models hints at provenance. Troped Mass sections likewise are often tied to certain places, dates, and events. All sacred works, even untroped Mass movements, retain traces of provenance in their musical style; traces that brand them with the marks of a nation, region, city, or author.

Given the importance of these hallmarks of style, it is strange that scholars so often treat them lightly, by taking them for granted and leaving many assumptions about their veracity unexamined. This article questions one such fundamental assumption about musical style and locality in the era of the Great Schism—the notion that one can easily (or even at all) distinguish Italian from French sacred music—by reexamining

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the surviving Glorias in Italian sources from the period (1378–1417). The paper takes the occasion of reporting the discovery of a new musical manuscript as an opportunity for a fresh study that challenges our conception of the known repertoire. Our transcription of the new source will show that two previously known Gloria fragments, one identified as French and one as Italian, actually form parts of the same piece. Thus, while the paper will render the process of localizing a piece based on its style even murkier, it will compensate by shedding new light on the vast breadth and depth of ingenuity shown by composers of Trecento Glorias.

The surviving Italian Glorias

What then can be learned about Italian behavior from the manuscript evidence? From the surviving sources, the Gloria and Credo emerge as the most common sections of the Mass to be set polyphonically. In the earliest Trecento manuscripts, Glorias and Credos were seldom paired. The pairing of Mass movements was mainly a retrospective form of organization applied by manuscripts from the beginning of the era of polyphonic cycles, most notably, Bologna Q 15.¹ Pre-Du Fay era manuscripts collect Mass movements either in no particular order, or, as in earlier plainchant sources, in collections of multiple versions of the same text: all Glorias together, all Credos together, and so on. Of the manuscripts which contain collections of consecutive Glorias, special mention should be made of Vatican 171, Grottaferrata s.s., and two parts of Cividale A: Cividale 63 and Udine 22.²

The sheer number of surviving Trecento Glorias will surprise readers. (See Table 1.) There are 57 known polyphonic, Italian Glorias. This number does not count four diminutions, the three Glorias in Foligno (which we suspect may not be an Italian source at all),³ nor three anonymous Glorias that are found in both Italian and foreign sources from Western Europe, and thus are not securely Italian.⁴ Note how few Glorias

1. The only strong Mass movement pairing from earlier sources is the paired Sanctus “Sant. Omer” with following anonymous Agnus Dei in Pad A. All manuscript sigla are given appear at the end of the article.
2. The third fragment of Cividale A, Cividale 98, comprises a Credo collection with French secular compositions added in empty spaces. On Cividale A and Grottaferrata s.s., including transcriptions of all previously untranscribed works, see Michael Scott Cuthbert, “Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex,” (Ph.D. dissertation: Harvard University, 2006), pp. 230–76.
3. The first Foligno Gloria is almost certainly of English origin and thus does not appear in the table at all. See Janet Palumbo, “The Foligno Fragment: A Reassessment of Three Polyphonic Glorias, ca. 1400,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), pp. 169–209. The paleography of the fragment is strikingly different from other Italian sources while closer to French and even English text hands of the time.
4. Because of their many connections to the Italian sources, works which have both Italian and Polish or Hungarian sources are listed among the Italian Glorias. However, anonymous works found only in Polish sources, such as *PMFC* 13 #10, are not included.

overlap between Italian and Franco/Flemish sources, just the *Qui sonitu melodie*, known throughout Europe, a Gloria in a source in Utrecht that can now be identified with the little-studied Veneto source Oxford 56, and a Gloria known previously through a recently discovered fragment in Siena, but which, as we will show below, is the missing cantus to a Gloria known from Spanish and French concordances.

Table 1: Surviving Trecento Glorias, ordered by modern edition.

The column marked M indicates the initial meter of the piece in modern time signature equivalents. (See Table 2 for the medieval equivalents)

#	Edition	Composer/Title	M	Manuscripts
<i>PMFC 12</i>				
1	#2		$\frac{3}{4}$	Gubbio, ff. 105v–109r
2	#3	Gherardello	$\frac{2}{4}$	Pit, ff. 131v–133r; Vatican 1419, ff. 88v–90r
3	#4		$\frac{2}{4}$	Vatican 1419, ff. 91v–92r
4	#6	Gratiosus	$\frac{6}{8}$	Padua 684, f. 195r
5	#7	Engardus	$\frac{3}{4}$	Mod A, ff. 21v/22; Kras. ff. 204v/205r; Padua 1225, f. 1r; Grottaferrata/Dartmouth ff. Dv–4r; Udine 22, recto ⁵
6	#8	“Zeltenpferd”	$\frac{6}{8}$	London 29987, ff. 82v–83r; Strasbourg 222, no. 59
7	#9	Clementie Pax	$\frac{6}{8}$	Padua 1475, f. 44v and ff. 47v–48v; Vatican 171, f. 3r
<i>PMFC 13</i>				
8	#3	Zachara, <i>Micinella</i>	$\frac{2}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 17 (Arabic ff. 18v–19r; Roman ff. 16v–17r); Bologna 2216, f. 4v; Atri 17, recto; Bologna Q 1, recto; Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, f. 4v; London 82959
9	#5	Zachara, <i>Rosetta</i>	$\frac{3}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 56 (Arabic ff. 67v–69r; Roman ff. 66v–68r)
10	#6	Zachara, <i>Fior gentil</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 58 (Arabic ff. 72v–74r; Roman ff. 71v–73r); Siena 207, ff. 326 2r/v
11	#7	Zachara, <i>Laus honor</i>	$\frac{3}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 69 (Arabic ff. 87v–89r; Roman ff. 86v–88r); Munich Emmeram, ff. 37v/38v (folios now lost); Warsaw 378, ff. 18r–19r; Old Hall, f. 28v; Padua 1225 f. 2r; Siena 207, ff. 326/1v
12	#8	Zachara, <i>Ad ongni vento</i>	$\frac{2}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 143 (Arabic ff. 177v–179r; Roman ff. 154v–156r); Warsaw 378, ff. 12v–14r; Kras. ff. 196r, 198r–200r; Melk 749, r/v

5. Cuthbert, “Trecento Fragments,” pp. 252–53.

#	Edition	Composer/Title	M	Manuscripts
13	#9	Zachara, <i>Anglicana</i>	$\frac{9}{8}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 144 (Arabic ff. 179r–180r; Roman ff. 156v–157r); Warsaw 378, ff. 16v–17v
14	#11	Matteo da Perugia	$\frac{6}{8}$	Mod A, ff. 2v–3r
15	#17	Matteo?, <i>Spiritus et alme</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Mod A, ff. 3v–4r
16	#16	Matteo?	$\frac{6}{8}$	Mod A, ff. 4r–5v
17	#12	Matteo da Perugia	$\frac{3}{4}$	Mod A, ff. 10v–11r
18	#13	Matteo da Perugia	$\frac{6}{8}$	Mod A, ff. 23v–24r
19	#14	Matteo da Perugia	$\frac{2}{4}$	Mod A, ff. 49v–50r
20	#15	Matteo da Perugia	$\frac{6}{8}$	Mod A, ff. 50v–51r
21	#18	Engardus, <i>Spiritus et alme</i> ⁶	$\frac{6}{8}$	Padua 1225, f. 1r; Padua 1475, f. 43(?)r; Utrecht 1846 ⁷ I, f. Av
22	A3	Rentius de Ponte Curvo, <i>Descendit Angelus</i>	$\frac{2}{4}$	Cividale 63, verso
23	A4		$\frac{2}{4}$	Vatican 171, f. 3r
24	A5		$\frac{6}{8}$	Oxford 229, f. 37r
<i>PMFC 24</i>				
25	#1	Ciconia	$\frac{3}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 71 (Arabic ff. 90v–92r; Roman ff. 91v–93r); Trent 87, ff. 52v–53v
26	#3	Ciconia	$\frac{2}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 74 (Arabic ff. 95v–96r; Roman ff. 95v–96r); Kras., ff. 197, 196v; Warsaw 378, ff. 15v–16r
27	#5	Ciconia, <i>Spiritus et alme</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Oxford 213, ff. 101v–102r
28	#6	Ciconia, <i>Spiritus et alme</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 4 (Arabic ff. 4v–6r; Roman ff. 2v–4r)
29	#7	Ciconia, <i>Suscipe Trinitas</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Warsaw 378, ff. 25v–27r; Padua 675, f. 1r/v; Grottaferrata/Dartmouth ff. 9v–10v; Grottaferrata s.s. f. 2v; Oxford 56 f. orv ⁷
30	#8	Ciconia	$\frac{2}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 149 (Arabic ff. 184v–185r; Roman ff. 161v–162r); Oxford 213, ff. 103v–104r; Kras., ff. 192v–193r; Warsaw 378, f. 25r
31	#9	Ciconia	$\frac{6}{8}$	Padua 1475, ff. 43v–44r; Padua 1283, f. 1v; Nuremberg 9a, f. 3r
<i>E15cM 5</i>				
32	#6	Antonius de Cividale	$\frac{6}{8}$	Cividale 79, ff. IIv–IIIr
33	#7	Antonius de Cividale	$\frac{6}{8}$	Bologna 2216, ff. 7v–8r
34	#8	Antonius de Cividale	$\frac{3}{4}$	Bologna Q 15, no. 65 (Arabic ff. 82v–83r; Roman ff. 81v–82r); Munich Emmeram, f. 39v; Munich 3224, f. 2v; Budapest 297, f. 2v

6. Although this work is found also in a foreign source, the evidence for Engardus's activity in Italy, and almost exclusive distribution in Italian sources, compels us to list it with the Italian sources.
7. On new identifications of "Suscipe Trinitas" in Padua 675 and Oxford 56 see Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," pp. 172–79.

#	Edition	Composer/Title	M	Manuscripts
35	#6	Bartholomeus de Bononia, <i>Vince con lena</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Oxford 213, ff. 135v–136
	<i>Cuthbert</i>			
36	293	"O redentor noster"	$\frac{6}{8}$	Vatican 171, f. 1r A
37	294	"...quos libriata"	$\frac{6}{8}$	Vatican 171, f. 1r B
38	296	"Qui semper"	$\frac{6}{8}$?	Vatican 171, f. 1v A
39	291		?	Vatican 171, f. 1v B
40	157 & see below		$\frac{2}{4}$	Padua 1475, f. 50r
41	258		$\frac{2}{4}$	Cividale 63, recto
42	266		$\frac{6}{8}$	Grottaferrata s.s., f. Ar
43	269	Frater Antonius	$\frac{6}{8}$	Grottaferrata s.s., f. Av
44	264	<i>Johannem Colladamus</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Grottaferrata s.s., f. Br
	<i>Others</i>			
45	Pressacco	Rentius de Ponte Curvo	$\frac{6}{8}$	Udine 22, verso
46	Peretti	(non-troped)	$\frac{2}{4}$	Macerata 488, f. Nv
47	Peretti	"Jesu clementissime"	$\frac{6}{8}$	Macerata 488, f. NNr
48	Marchi, 397–404		$\frac{3}{4}$	Turin 2, #28
49	Marchi, 411–31	<i>Corona Christi lilia</i>	$\frac{2}{4}$	Turin 2, #31
50	Marchi, 459–87	<i>O felix certe civitas urbevetana</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Turin 2, #36
51	none		?	Oxford 56, f. i r (Gloria?)
52	none		$\frac{2}{4}$?	Oxford 56, f. 81v
53	none		$\frac{6}{8}$?	Oxford 56, f. 80r (may be $\frac{2}{4}$, later securely $\frac{3}{4}$)
54	none		$\frac{6}{8}$?	Oxford 56, f. 81r (Gloria?)
55	none		$\frac{6}{8}$?	Oxford 56, f. 80v (Gloria?)
56	none		?	Cortona 2, f. 1r (b)
57	none		$\frac{6}{8}$?	Cortona 2, f. 2v
	<i>Diminutions</i>			
d1	PMFC 12 A2	(Gloria IV)		Faenza, ff. 3v–5r
d2	PMFC 12 A6	(Gloria IV)		Faenza, ff. 90r–92v
d3	Memelsdorff	Dominicalis (Gloria XI)		Faenza, f. 26v
d4	PMFC 13 A2	(Gloria IV)		Padua 553(a)
	<i>Foreign(?) / Foligno</i>			
f1	PMFC 23 #27	<i>Qui sonitu melodie</i>	$\frac{6}{8}$	Apt 16bis, ff. 5v–7r; Ivrea 115, ff. 36v–37r; Padua 684, f. 60(?)r; Rochester 1 ff. 1v–2r; Grottaferrata/Dartmouth, ff. 1v–3v; Cambrai 1328, ff. 3v–4r; Munich 29775.8, f. Ar/Av; Nuremberg 9a, ff. 2v–3v; Strasbourg 222, f. 40v–41r; Brescia 5, f. 71r; Budapest 297, f. 1r

#	Edition	Composer/Title	M	Manuscripts
f2	PMFC 23 #48		$\frac{6}{8}$	Utrecht 1846 ¹ , f. III Bv; Oxford 56, f. i v
f3	(this article)		$\frac{2}{4}$	Siena Ravi 3, f. 70v; Madrid 1474/17, f. 2r; Columbia College 5, verso
fol2	PMFC 23 A3		$\frac{6}{8}$	Foligno, f. Bv
fol3	PMFC 23 A4		$\frac{6}{8}$	Foligno, f. Br

Cuthbert: Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments." Transcriptions of Vatican 171 forthcoming in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 8 (2010).

E15cM 5: Gilbert Reaney, editor, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. 5. *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 11/5 ([Rome]: The American Institute of Musicology, 1975).

Marchi: Lucia Marchi, "La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il codice Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2," (Tesi di dottorato: Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2000).

Memelsdorff: Pedro Memelsdorff, "Siena 36 rivisitata: Paolo da Firenze, Johannes Ciconia, e l'interrelazione di polifonia e trattatistica in fonti del primo Quattrocento," *Acta Musicologica* 76.2 (2004), pp. 159–91.

PMFC: *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, Leo Schrade, Frank Ll. Harrison, and Kurt von Fischer, general editors (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre).

PMFC 12: Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, *Italian Sacred Music*, 1976

PMFC 13: Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, 1987.

PMFC 23: Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin, *French Sacred Music*, 1989 (vol. 23a), 1991 (vol. 23b).

PMFC 24: Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, 1984.

Peretti: Paolo Peretti, "Ancora sul frammento di Recanati: descrizione, esegesi e trascrizione," In *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo: In memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani, editors (Florence, Sismel: 1999), pp. 453–84.

Pressacco: Gilberto Pressacco, "Un secondo Gloria cividalese di Rentius de Ponte Curvo," *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 4 (1988), pp. 235–41 (transcription by Francesco Facchin).

The total number of Glorias is one-third the number of madrigals and about double the size of the caccia repertory; thus there is a substantial repertory not only for making observations and generalizations about Italian Glorias but also for identifying even more localized styles.

Not all composers found it important to write new polyphonic Glorias. In particular, the Gloria is almost completely absent from sources of simple polyphony. No *cantus planus binatim* settings of the Gloria are known, and of the polyphonic mensural types derived from *cantus simplex figuratus* or *cantus fractus* only two representatives survive. The first, Antonio da Cividale's Gloria in Cividale 79 (E15cM 5, #6), is unusual in many ways. It stands out as an ascribed piece of simple polyphony, and is much less rhythmically complex than the rest of his works. (The only work that comes anywhere close in simplicity is another Gloria of his, E15cM 5, #7). The second Gloria, an anonymous composition in Gubbio Corale O, is somewhat less homorhythmic.⁹ That manuscript's late date (unknown, but possibly as late as the middle of the fifteenth century), the low ranges of both its voices, and its notation on four-line staves, are all anomalous; despite these anomalies, the work is still in line with mid-Trecento practice in its basic contrapuntal

9. Facsimile in F. Alberto Gallo and Giuseppe Vecchi, *I più antichi monumenti sacri italiani*, I. Edizione fotografica (Bologna: Università degli studi di Bologna, 1968), plates xc–xciii.

ideas. By contrast, simple polyphonic settings of the Gloria in non-Italian sources are less rare, though still not entirely common.¹⁰

We noted earlier that using musical style as a determinant of provenance or influence is a task fraught with danger. This danger emerges particularly in the use of mensuration to decide on French or Italian provenance for sacred works: assumptions and conclusions constantly need to be reevaluated in light of new evidence. For instance, *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* and *senaria imperfecta* ($\frac{6}{8}$) have long been considered a mark of French provenance or, at the least, French influence.¹¹ However, an analysis comparing the mensurations of the Italian and French Glorias tells a different story. Table 2 gives the total number, in each significant mensuration, of Glorias found in Italian and French manuscripts from the Trecento and early Quattrocento. (The Italian sources used are those numbered Table 1 above, excluding those marked “Diminutions” or “Foreign(?) / Foligno”).

Table 2: Initial Mensurations in Italian and French Sources

Meter/French Mensural Equivalent	Italian total		French total ¹²	
($\frac{9}{8}$) <i>tempus perfectum cum prolatione maiori</i>	1	2%	1	2%
($\frac{3}{4}$) <i>tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori</i>	8	15%	1	2%
($\frac{6}{8}$) <i>tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori</i>	31 ^a	57%	27 ^b	55%
($\frac{2}{4}$) <i>tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori</i> ^c	14 ^a	26%	20	41%
totals	54	100%	49	100%
<i>unknown or no minims present</i>	3		5	

a Does not include two pieces in Italian and foreign sources or two pieces in Foligno alone. If one of these repertories is included, the total would be 33 (59%); if both are included: 35 (60%).

b Includes one German source, but does not include two pieces in Italian and foreign sources or two pieces in Foligno alone. If one of these repertories is included, the total would be 29 (57%); if both are included: 31 (58%).

10. See for instance the example by Barbara Haggh, “Simple polyphony from Ghent: representative or exceptional?” in *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, edited by Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2002), pp. 99–117.
11. The connection between $\frac{6}{8}$ and French influence pervades the literature on Italian sacred music, but is most evident in Hallmark, “Some Evidence,” p. 206. How this connection of $\frac{6}{8}$ to France affects our ideas of provenance can be seen in Palumbo, “Foligno Fragment,” *passim*, where she argues that the styles of the second and third Foligno Glorias are closely connected to that of homophonic Glorias in Apt 16bis and Ivrea 115 without showing that they differ from the $\frac{6}{8}$ Glorias in Italian manuscripts. (We have chosen to use modern time signatures throughout this article since many of the pieces we are discussing give no indication of whether they were conceived in French mensurations or Italian divisiones. Furthermore the meaning of French mensuration signs was not at all standard in northern Italian sources of the period. In these sources C meant $\frac{6}{8}$ almost as often as it meant $\frac{2}{4}$. (See Cuthbert, “Trecento Fragments,” pp. 136, 225–26.)
12. The total in this column includes French-influenced non-Italian sources classified with French sources in *PMFC* 1 and *PMFC* 23, all sources in the “exclusa” of these volumes and several further pieces not known at the time they were published. Also included is the Franco-Cypriot polyphonic repertory of Turin 9, excluding one Gloria added to the manuscript later.

c Includes pieces in duodenaria and octonaria.

d Neither the Italian nor the French total includes the Gloria from Siena Ravi 3/Columbia College 5, since its provenance will be under discussion below.

In both the Italian and French repertoires, *tempus imperfectum* dominates over *tempus perfectum*. However, the Italian sources contain a sizeable minority of pieces beginning in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori*, a mensuration almost totally absent at the beginnings of French Glorias.¹³ Glorias found in French manuscripts use imperfect time with minor prolation only slightly less often than major; Italians composing in imperfect time, on the other hand, have a significant preference for the major prolation.

Taking the pieces as a whole, there are two repertoires of approximately the same size, with approximately the same preference for $\frac{6}{8}$. Naturally, individual scholars may want to argue about the inclusion or exclusion of one particular work or another. But even if the numbers are altered somewhat, the conclusion will remain the same: there is no longer a reason to consider $\frac{6}{8}$ as a particularly French mensuration. There is also no longer a reason to dismiss the vitality of Italian Mass composition.¹⁴ In fact, this new vitality raises further issues about style and provenance, as our discussion of a new source demonstrates.

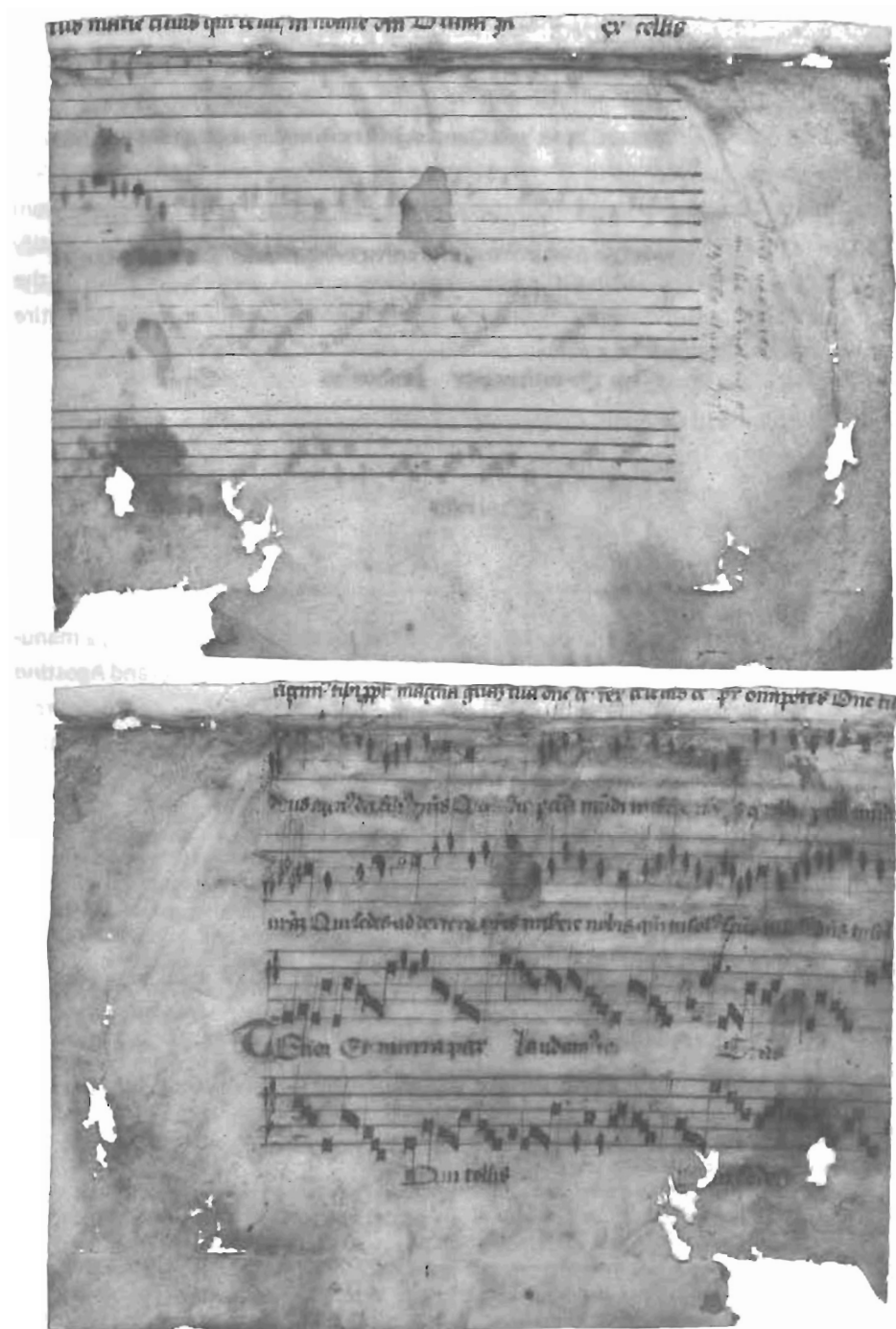
A New Source: Columbia College 5

The music fragment Columbia College 5 is part of a collection of formerly uncatalogued medieval manuscripts held in the library of a private women's college in South Carolina. Scott Gwara came across the fragment while compiling a census of medieval manuscripts distributed throughout the state and, recognizing it as polyphonic, brought it to our attention.

The fragment is the lower half of a single vellum folio, approximately 130 x 180 mm. Its inside margin has also been cut, leaving an extant music area of 135 x 100 mm. Estimating the missing music from concordances, we can hypothesize that the complete music area would have been closer to 170 x 215 mm, and the dimensions of the whole leaf

13. A more comprehensive study would take into account mensuration changes within the pieces, ways of notating mensuration, and temporary shifts of meter via intrinsic notational symbols. However, examining openings alone provides a first approximation of the norms of composition in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. For the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic notational symbols and the diversity of methods for indicating mensuration *ca.* 1400 see Jason Stoessel, "The Use of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Notation of the *Ars Subtilior* and their Socio-Cultural Context," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on Codex Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly*, 564, edited by Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). When the incipit of the piece does not survive, the earliest legible material's mensuration was used in Table 2.
14. Space does not allow for a comparison of Italian and French settings of the other sections of the Ordinary, however, the same general observations seem true for settings of the Credo and the Sanctus. However, there seem to be somewhat more French settings of the Agnus Dei and significantly more French Kyries.

figure 1: Columbia College 5, recto (above), verso (below).



around 200 x 260 mm. The manuscript is ruled with five-line staves 13 mm in height; the consistency in their spacing suggests the use of a single-staff rastrum. There is one initial letter, the “T” in “Tenor,” painted red at half a staff’s height. Regrettably, the manuscript has suffered a history of damage including reuse in binding and the stamping of an old library label. The upper edge of the manuscript has been folded and there are binding holes at the crease and along the left edge. A penciled gloss on one side indicates, “This was used in the binding of [a] fourteenth-century MS.” Only a single line of the text from the Sanctus remains on the recto, yet even with this information we were able to identify a miniscule trope; namely, “[Benedic]tus *marie filius* qui venit in nomine domini.” On the verso, the damaged polyphonic setting of an anonymous Gloria provides almost the entire tenor part, but only half of the cantus.

We identified Columbia College 5 as a concordance of a Gloria in a manuscript in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Madrid 1474/17 where the tenor and contratenor parts of the Gloria appear a fifth higher. These two lower voices are found in a bifolio, later used as the cover for a notary’s register, which also contains two troped Kyries and another unicum, anonymous Gloria.¹⁵

A concordance for the upper voice appears in another recent discovery, a manuscript currently in the Archivio di Stato of Siena reported on by Enzo Mecacci and Agostino Ziino in 2003.¹⁶ The musical source forms the cover of the Sienese Fondo Vicariato’s register of 1568–69 for Ravi, a small town in the vicariate of Gavorrano (Grosseto). Whether the fragment was in Siena before 1568 cannot be determined.¹⁷ Because the manuscript

15. The contratenor and tenor parts of the Gloria in Madrid 1474/17 are transcribed by María del Carmen Gómez in *PMFC* 23b, pp. 403–404. The manuscript was given a more in-depth examination, including transcriptions of all pieces, by François Reynaud, “Les sections de messe d’un fragment de tropaire espagnol inconnu,” in *Les sources en Musicologie* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), pp. 87–107. Though it could be shown before the discovery of Columbia College 5 that his attempt to conflate the two fragmentary Glorias was incorrect, the new discovery makes the fallacy of his transcription obvious.
16. Enzo Mecacci and Agostino Ziino, “Un altro frammento musicale del primo quattrocento nell’Archivio di Stato di Siena,” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 38.2 (2003) pp. 199–225. The first transcription of the Gloria’s cantus appears in Marco Gozzi, “Liturgia e musica mensurale nel Trecento italiano: i canti dell’Ordinarium,” *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, edited by Sandra Dieckmann, Oliver Huck, Signe Rotter-Broman und Alba Scotti (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007), pp. 53–99.
17. The notation of the Siena source is already a mishmash of Italian and French styles. The lauda *O regina* begins in the Italian mensuration *octonaria*, with two levels of semibreves and puncti divisionis, but moves in its second section to the French mensuration of *O* while retaining Italian notational forms such as the oblique-stemmed semibreve and puncti divisionis. These notational *chanpurū* show both the openness of Italian music and notation to foreign influence and also the dangers of using notational style to locate individual pieces. (We also take the opportunity to correct Ziino’s transcription of the virelai *C’est le doulz iour* by moving the beginning of the first ending

was until recently unknown and, no doubt, because of discrepancies between its cantus and the lower voices found in Madrid 1474/17, the music of these two sources has so far not been associated. (We thank Margaret Bent for sharing with us her identification of the cantus in Columbia College 5.)

Though none of the three sources are complete, by conflating them, we can offer an edition of the complete Gloria, using Siena Ravi 3 and Madrid 1474/17 as a base for performance (Example 1). Since the two sources' Amens are incompatible, we have given two different versions, each supplying realizations for the voices missing in that source.

Example 1: Gloria in Siena Ravi 3, f. 70v; Madrid 1474/17, f. 2r; and Columbia College 5, f. 1v

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the Gloria. The cantus (Siena Ravi 3) is in the treble clef, and the lower voices (Madrid 1474/17 and Columbia College 5) are in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "Et in ter ra pax ho-mi - ni - bus bo - ne vo -". The second system continues the Gloria. The cantus is in the treble clef, and the lower voices are in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "lun-ta - tis. Lau - da-mus te. Be-ne - di - ci-mus te." The third system continues the Gloria. The cantus is in the treble clef, and the lower voices are in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "Laudamus te. Laudamus te. Laudamus te."

one measure later than printed). For further discussion of *O Regina* including a transcription, see Cuthbert, "Changing Musical Time at the Beginning of the Renaissance (and Today)," forthcoming in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors* (Firenze: Olschki, 2011).

12

A - do - ro - mus te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

16

Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - bi prop - ter mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am.

Gratias agimus tibi.

Gratias agimus tibi.

Gratias.

20

Do - mi - ne De - us rex cœ - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens.

24

Do-mi-ne Fi-li u-ni-ge-ni-te, Je-su-Chri-ste. Do-mi-ne De-us.

Domine Fili.

Domine Fili.

De us.

28

A-gnus De-i, Fi-li-us Pa-tris. Qui tol-lis Qui tollis peccata mundi. Qui tollis peccata mundi.

A-gnus De-i, Fi-li-us Pa-tris. Qui tol-lis.

33

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

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

36

Su-sci-pe de-pre-ca-li-o-nem no-stram. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa-tris. Qui se-des. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris. Qui se-des ad dex-te-ram Pa-tris. Qui se-des. Qui sedes.

* tenor: for performance

41

tris, mi-se-re-re no-bis. Quo-ni-am tu so-lus san-ctus. tris, mi-se-re-re no-bis. Quo-ni-am tu so-lus son-ctus.

45

Tu so-lus Do-mi-nus. Tu so-lus Al-tis-si-mus Je-su Chri-ste. Cum * (2) Cum Sancto. Cum Sancto. Tu so-lus Do-mi-nus. Tu so-lus

51

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

57 Suitable Ct and T composed by the authors

A - - - - - men.

(Amen.)

57 Suitable C composed by the authors

(A - - - - - men.)

Amen.

Amen.

- (1) Both Columbia and Madrid sources contain a single semibreve before the long, creating what is in modern terms an irregular measure. At this point in the Madrid source, the extra semibreves in the contratenor and tenor parts have been partially erased. Is the defacement a corrected mistake or the work of a later scribe? The evidence is unclear. The Columbia version contains the same orphan semibreve, not erased, so it is unlikely that the meter change was merely a copyist's error.
- (2) The notation in Siena and Madrid sources is longa with fermata followed by a semibreve rest surrounded by two puncti.

The Gloria's style is typical. The music is in imperfect time, minor prolation, with rhythmic motion predominantly in semibreves and minims for the cantus, and breves and semibreves for the tenor and contratenor, with longs in all voices at cadences and at the beginning of the "Qui tollis" section. A descending syncopated line recurs in the upper voice at the termination of phrases (for example, at the end of "Benedicimus te," "Pater omnipotens," or "deprecationem nostram"), a motive almost invariably paired with descending semibreves in the tenor line. A semibreve followed by two ascending minims also occurs several times at the initiation of phrases, as at "Benedicimus te," "Glorificamus te," or "Gratias agimus tibi."¹⁸

The compiled transcription exposes a number of surprising differences among the sources. Variance in the choice of either a breve or long is normal in the period; but, in this piece, there are even differences of breve versus long mid-phrase. In the Siena source, moreover, the Gloria is written entirely without breves: passages of minims and semibreves always run into resting points on longae. It is entirely possible that the piece lurched between fast and slow passages. But simpler chant and polyphonic repertories open up another interpretation. Many pieces in these styles do not use the breve; instead, the semibreve is worth half the value of the longa. In such pieces, maximae, doubled longae (𐝰𐝰), and longae with fermatas are common (as in the "Cum Sancto Spiritu" section of this work). Another rhythmic feature connecting the Gloria to simpler, or at least older, repertories is the longa plica found toward the beginning, at "bone voluntatis."

Columbia College 5 is written a fifth lower than the other two sources (it has F-clefs and B-flats in the signature where the other sources use C-clefs), a transposition that is unusual in this period. Occasionally, elsewhere, transposition is the result of material being quoted in another source. A case in point is the anonymous ballata *Spinato intorno*, which quotes Zachara's *Rosetta chi non cambi mai colore* a fifth higher than the original pitch level. Transposition of previously existing material is also found in the keyboard/intabulation repertory.¹⁹ However, the peculiarity of an uncommonly low tessitura in a Mass movement setting—one that appears at a higher pitch level elsewhere—also leaves open the consideration that transposition may, in this case, be the vestige of a local practice, perhaps designed with specific singers in mind.

In addition, the Columbia source handles certain cadences differently than Siena and Madrid. For example, at "Domine Deus, Agnus Dei," the Madrid and Siena versions do not make a cadence, but the Columbia manuscript comes to a full cadence.

18. The figure was noted in Gozzi, "Liturgia e musica mensurale nel Trecento italiano," p. 75.

19. See, for example, the "Flos filius" *Benedicamus Domino*, and one version of Zachara's *Rosetta* in the Faenza Codex and Francesco's *Donna s'i' t'ò fallito* in the keyboard source Assisi 187. Zachara's *Deduto sey* in Faenza is the only exception we are aware of to transposition by fifth. It is transposed up an octave and a fourth, reflecting its unusually low register.

The “miserere nobis” cadences also differ between the Columbia and the Madrid-Siena sources. In general, the scribe of Columbia College 5 places an octave between the outer voices at cadences, whereas the Madrid tenor and contratenor imply that they originally had 5-3 or 6-3 sonorities. Can we use these cadential decisions as signs of local preference or broader patterns of transmission? To answer these questions about the style and provenance of this Gloria, we will first re-examine and establish general rules that locate the origin and style of medieval music.

Problems of provenance: a methodology

Determining the provenance—or at least local style features—of sacred works becomes particularly important to the grouping of music of the “long Trecento.”²⁰ Most of the sources come from such a compact chronological range, roughly from 1390–1420, that determining any groups based on the ages of manuscripts is nearly a hopeless endeavor. However, it is somewhat easier to formulate groups based on their locations of origin.

The criteria used by scholars to establish provenance of musical sources and works have not been laid out precisely. Yet it is particularly important to enumerate and discuss them in order to avoid circular justification. It is all too easy to begin by using the traits of a particular manuscript to formulate a general rule for identifying manuscripts from that region, and then (wrongly) to continue by using this general rule to strengthen the certainty that the first manuscript is from that region. For instance, one could use the codex Pit to posit a Florentine preference for organizing manuscripts according to composer.²¹ If so, the same feature (careful separation of works by composer) cannot be used later to claim a Florentine origin for Pit. Manuscripts used to establish rules cannot also have the same rules applied to them as evidence.

This careful separation between evidence for rules and consequences of rules is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain when making generalizations from an extremely limited set of sources, such as the intact Trecento polyphonic codices.²² Bringing in multiple sources and many witnesses allows the scholar to avoid these errors in causality. The much larger collection of fragmentary manuscripts provides this body of evidence. Having a collection to work with, and having stated these admonitions at length, the rules can be set down by which one might consider a manuscript to be of a particular provenance—ordered from most convincing to least. Listing the rules in a hierarchical

20. For the sake of simplicity, we will often use the term “Trecento” to refer to the entire musical style of Europe in general but Italy in particular during period from 1330 to approximately 1430, following long-established Anglophone norms and leaving aside the literal Italian meaning of the term.

21. This example is purely hypothetical.

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

order ensures that no manuscript which is used to derive a rule will reappear later in the list as supported by that rule.

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

These two types of inscriptions are certainly the gold standards of provenance research, distinguished as much by their rarity as their usefulness. Only a single Italian manuscript or fragment from the period meets this standard, the Florentine liturgical manuscript Florence 999. However, even when these declarations exist, one must be certain that the descriptions are coeval with the musical portion of the manuscript.

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

Though not as watertight as the first two arguments, a local copyist or a connection to an institution (such as an early, local *ex libris*) is considered, in the absence of other evidence, a strong argument for attributing a source's creation to the same locale (or possibly a nearby scriptorium). A set of sources known as the Paduan fragments gain their provenance from these two rules.²³ Giulio Cattin's documentation of the biography of the Paduan scribe Rolando da Casale can be held up as exemplary for this type of locational research.²⁴

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

These rare mentions are of particular importance for locating individual works. Yet even when these figures are present, it is only the provenance of a *piece* that has been established. The provenance of manuscript as a whole can still be doubted. Pieces dedicated to specific rulers were sometimes transmitted beyond the reach of the ruler. (Since this non-local transmission was more common than the situation of scribes making manuscripts for other locations, this rule is less watertight than rules 3–4 above).²⁵ Particular caution must be exercised before attributing a provenance to a fragment on the basis of a work found within it. Large manuscripts tend to have several works that hint at different provenances and must be untangled. The large manuscripts from which small fragments came were similar and thus likely had multiple works implying differing provenance, that would have made identifying the origin of the whole source difficult.

23. On the Paduan fragments see Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, edited by Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 193–225, and most recently, Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments" pp. 92–230.

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

25. However, letters exist written to Rolando asking him to copy musical works and then send them to another monastery, so such examples of long-distance copying do exist. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

8. Dialectical features.

9. Paleographical aspects of music notation.

10. Paleographical aspects of texts.

These three features move overtly into the area of what might be termed derived features. There are few contemporary documents saying how one figure of dialect might point to one location, and the contemporary evidence is even sparser for paleography. These locative interpretations are inferred or derived from the study of documents whose provenance was secured by one of the non-derived methods above. In the cases of dialect and handwriting, certain features have been so thoroughly documented over such a long period, that one may use these traits almost as secure laws in themselves. But many more features shift with new scholarly discoveries.

We have placed musical paleography above textual for two reasons. First, unlike textual hands, there are few, if any, clear instances of scribes mimicking the musical paleography of a person from another region.²⁹ The second reason is more practical: musicologists should trust their own judgments of specifically musical features before venturing into the specialties of others.

Examples of musical features particular to Trecento manuscripts include locating six-line staves in and around Tuscany, or connecting left-flagged triplets with northern Italy.³⁰ Aside from those from Florence, few of these derived features have been able to place a source in a specific city.

11. Musical style.

It may come as a surprise that we are placing musical style last on a list of features that establish provenance. After all, accurately describing musical style and compositional norms are among musicology's key enterprises. With a clear articulation of musical style, one can construct musical grammars and, more importantly, find those exceptional moments that make music so interesting. Surely such a powerful a tool should possess substantial efficacy in determining where a piece originated?

And yet it does not. Or at most, it does so to an extremely tenuous extent. The failure of style as a reliable means for demonstrating location comes from its mobility. Popular musical styles tend to be both exported to, and frequently, imported from

29. By this sentence, we do not mean to contradict John Nádas's demonstration that scribes consciously emulated the hands of other scribes working on the same book or in the same scriptorium ("The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1985), *passim*, but esp. pp. 81 and 164). We point out instead that the evidence for scribes imitating the musical paleography of a distant region is far less clear, and that in the absence of stronger locating features, we find musical paleography more indicative of regional style than text style or especially musical style (see #11).

30. Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento*, (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1956), p. 119. But there are also contradictions in Paduan sources such as Padua 658, which has six-line staves, and Padua 1115, which uses right-flagged triplets.

other areas. They are not necessarily more common in their places of origin (the “no prophet is accepted in his own country” syndrome). To take a (not arbitrary) example: the presence of French musical styles in a manuscript of unknown, but questionably Italian, origin may lead to the conclusion that the manuscript is either French or a copy of a lost French original. But it is just as likely (if not more) that what should happen instead in the scholarly discourse is a reconsideration of the traditional classification of these musical features as French. In fact, the suffix “-influenced”—as in “French-influenced”—though it might seem a safe compromise, is actually among the most dangerous terms in locational research. Without documentation of specific channels of influence, the term retains as little authority as “French-like” or “Frenchish.”³¹

In fact, a mistaken idea of French musical style has been applied too broadly, causing the field to overlook the variety of Glorias found solely in Italian manuscripts, and most likely created by Italian composers themselves.

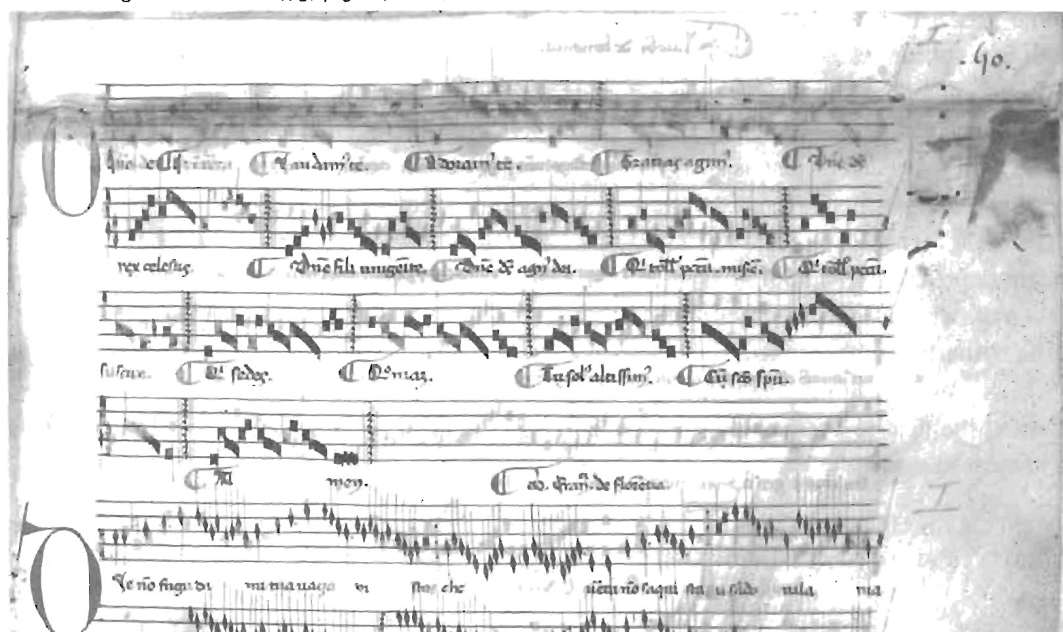
An Unusual Case in the Italian Gloria repertoire: Padua 1475's f. 50r Gloria

Within the Italian repertory, there exist a great many forms and styles of Glorias. Even the most fragmentary of works have unique traits and particular charms. The two fragments transcribed and described in this article are dissimilar in many ways. The first has been known for over a century; the other is a recent discovery. One comprises a textless tenor; the other survives as two rhythmically active upper voices. Yet both add to the conception of typical (and atypical) style in the late Trecento.

The Paduan fragments are without a doubt the most important sources for the study of Northern Italian sacred music at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Ten of the fragments stem from a common project at the abbey of Santa Giustina to create music manuscripts with identical sizes and layout, though probably not all are from the same manuscript. The damage done to several fragments, prominent among them Padua 1475, has hampered efforts to understand and perform their works. The Gloria on f. 50r of Padua 1475 has suffered three separate indignities: the loss of its (probably two) other voices, damage to the first line of music (leaving some notes nearly illegible), and complete neglect by modern scholars. Perhaps the last dishonor can be removed by a transcription (Example 2) and some further observations.

31. The concept of “international style” likewise is in constant need of reexamination and redefinition in light of new manuscript discoveries. Though it has shown considerable utility for describing the large-scale changes happening in Europe in the early fifteenth century (see the writings of Reinhard Strohm, in particular in *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)), one must keep in mind that “international” is primarily a description of style based on identifications of provenance and not, conversely, an identification of provenance on the basis of style. In fact, the rise of pan-European music styles is itself another argument for not using style as a primary factor in judging provenance.

Figure 2: Padua 1475, f. 50r (detail)



Example 2: Tenor of Gloria in Padua 1475, f. 50r (now f. 1r)

The image shows a musical score for the Tenor of Gloria in Padua 1475, f. 50r (now f. 1r). The score is in bass clef and 2/4 time. It includes the text "Tenor de Et in terra", "Laudamus te.", "Adoramus te.", "Gratias agimus.", and "Domine Deus rex celestis." The notation is in a modern style, with square neumes on four-line staves. The text is written in a Gothic script. The page is numbered "40." in the top right corner.

Tenor de Et in terra

14
Laudamus te.

27
Adoramus te.

40
Gratias agimus.

53
Domine Deus rex celestis.

66 Domine Fili unigenite.

79 Domine Deus, Agnus Dei.

92 Qui tollis peccata. miserere.

105 Qui tollis peccata. suscipe.

118 Qui sedes.

131 Quoniam.

144 Tu solus altissimus.

157 Cum Sancto Spiritu.

170 A men.

The form of the Paduan Gloria is peculiar. It is divided into fourteen sections, each lasting eleven breves plus a final note, usually a longa. (Differences in the final note are trivial, as lengths of final notes tend to vary among copies of the same piece in multiple manuscripts.) The number of syllables in each section (excluding the Amen) varies from 10 to 19 despite the sections' fixed musical length. The strong sectional divisions and

constant line lengths call to mind the norms of secular composition; they do not suggest either an Italian or French origin, since both sectional and continuous Glorias are found in works of secure provenance within both traditions.

Origin, Style, and the Columbia College Gloria

We come again to the Columbia College Gloria, and the three sources in which it appears. If we follow the criteria enumerated in our previous discussion to establish manuscript provenance, then there is certainly an absence in Columbia College 5 of either an identifying inscription (of date, provenance or copyist), or a reference in the text to a local saint/symbol that would identify a particular geographic region. We can thus rule out features 1 through 7 for determining locale. Statistically, there is a slight margin of French over Italian Glorias in imperfect time, minor prolation (twenty French compared with fourteen Italian); however, mensuration alone is not necessarily a reliable indicator for determining provenance, as it is a feature of musical style (number 11), the very last guideline on our list. The manuscript's origin, it seems, can be considered French only on this basis and on the basis of criteria 10, as the script is not likely to be Italian hand.

While the manuscript may not give us much room to narrow its geographic origin, Columbia College 5 does offer one clue to the provenance of its music, which would support the hypothesis of a northern origin. The appearance of the *Marie filius* trope in the Sanctus on the recto is of particular interest, as it known on the continent only in a handful of other sources, all containing French or North Italian repertory.³² Such a feature might be considered as falling under rule 6 or 7 in that the trope seems to have a precedent in a specific locale, even though it does not mention a local figure or symbol. Still, this provides little ground to establish any truly definitive conclusions regarding musical provenance. We must turn to the manuscript's concordances for further insight into this area.

Using the same systematic approach of determining locale, we consider Siena Ravi 3 an Italian manuscript. This is inferred primarily from the manuscript's early use in Siena (feature 4). Derived features 8, 9 and 10 also point to an Italian origin, on the basis of a local Italian dialect, musical notation and scribal handwriting respectively. In his introduction of the manuscript, Ziino favored a North-Italian origin for Siena Ravi 3; in both structure and repertoire it resembles Northern-Italian sources such as Bologna Q15 and Mod A.³³

32. Agostino Ziino, *Il Codice T.III.2* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1994), pp. 48, 61-63. Sources containing the trope include an anonymous Sanctus in Turin 2, Padua 1283, and the Sanctus "Mediolano" in Oxford 229, Gerona 33, Barcelona 853d, Apt 16bis (as a palimpsest), and in the frescos of a church in Kernasclédén.

33. Siena Ravi 3 contains both the motet *Sanctus itaque patriarcha Leuntius* by Antonio da Cividale found in Bologna Q 15 and the anonymous *Puer natus in Bethlehem* found in Mod A, both Northern Italian.

On the other hand, Madrid 1474/17 is almost certainly non-Italian—both Reynaud and Gómez suggest that it came from Avignon during the “Babylonian captivity”, and may have transferred to the royal collection of the house of Aragon along with French singers, at the time in high demand.³⁴ Yet the only strong evidence for its locality comes far down the feature list, at the level of handwriting (feature 10). That the fragment is not Italian leans toward a French (or Spanish) origin for the Glorias contained in it, since practically no French manuscripts collect Italian Glorias. However, it is much less well-known that securely French Mass movements are also rare in Italian manuscripts, so the manuscript’s origin does not give firm evidence of the piece’s origin. It is also worth mentioning that distinctly Spanish styles have only begun to be studied, and these studies suggest that Italian music was a stronger influence on Spanish composition than on French compositions.³⁵ For instance, the recently discovered manuscript Valladolid 29 contains a Credo by Zachara da Teramo, while Barcelona Orfeo contains a note indicating possession or preparation by an Italian.³⁶ Thus for Madrid 1474/17, the Spanish manuscript decoration and the current location of the manuscript, rather than conferring a French origin on the Gloria, only open up further possibilities of interpretation for this source and its contents.³⁷

There are other reasons why one might consider the Gloria Italian and not French. Gozzi notes its resemblance to the mensuration, treatment of text, and cadential motion of a Ciconia Gloria.³⁸ To this we would add that the Columbia-Madrid tenor line also

34. María del Carmen Gómez, “Musique et Musiciens dans les Chapelles de la Maison Royale d’Aragon (1336–1413),” *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984), p. 67.
35. In-progress dissertations on sacred music of the Spanish *ars nova* by David Catalunya and Luis Gustavo Masutier Cervantes promise to shed more light on these understudied sources. We thank both authors for discussions about these manuscripts.
36. On Valladolid 29, see Jesús Martín Galán, “Una nueva fuente para el estudio del Ars Nova en Castilla,” *Revista de Musicología* 20 (1997), pp. 77–102. We would not go so far as Gilbert Reaney in *RISM Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music* (c. 1320–1400), B IV 2 as to suggest that the note in Barcelona Orfeo (which correctly reads “Johanis Andree Bononie civis”) implies an Italian origin. The note is not an unequivocal sign of early possession in a locale (our criterion 4) while the paleographical features point more toward Spain than Italy for its origin.
37. Bernat Cabero Pueyo, “El fragmento con polifonía litúrgica del siglo XV E-Ahl [sic] 1474/17,” *Anuario musical* 47 (1992), p. 42 suggests that this Gloria along with the *Kyrie, Rex immense* on f. 1v use the Italian “o.” signature (for octonaria), though without dots of division and with French dots of addition. This usage suggests to Cabero Pueyo a mixture of Italian and French influences. It is true, that there are northern Italian sources with similar usages, and even in the presumably Dutch keyboard manuscript Groningen 70 we can find Italian and French notational mixtures. However, there is no particular reason to believe that the “o.” in Madrid 1474/17 suggests octonaria or any sort of Italian influence: it is placed above the works in the upper margin, where mensural signatures are not to be expected. In addition, there is only one level of semibreve, so the notation does not reflect an interpretation as octonaria. Thus despite the fact that his evidence would help our argument for a mixture of influences, we reject Cabero Pueyo’s argument.
38. Marco Gozzi, “Liturgia e musica mensurale nel Trecento italiano.” For the Ciconia Gloria, see *PMFC* 24 n. 3, pp.13–17. Ciconia’s liminal identity between Italian and Northerner might weaken any identification of Italian provenance on the basis of a similarity to Ciconia’s music. However, it can

resembles the tenor in the same Ciconia Gloria. Ciconia's tenor twice repeats a descending line of breves terminating in a longa, a figure that appears no fewer than six times in the Columbia-Madrid tenor, three times at the same pitch level as Ciconia's. The descending tenor line to D is present in other pieces, notably the Sanctus "Mediolano"—possibly the Sanctus on the recto of Columbia College 5. Although obviously no definitive conclusions about which Sanctus is on the recto can be made on the basis of only a few words and no music, we may note that the spacing of the text of the trope is more similar to that seen in sources of the Sanctus "Mediolano" than of the troped Boverio Sanctus. If the title "Mediolano" in Pad A indicates a Milanese origin for the whole piece (and not merely for the contratenor, only present in the Paduan version), then it is one of the growing handful of Italian pieces that travelled outside of Italy. Thus—and we grant that this conclusion requires more than one tentative hypotheses to be true—if the troped Sanctus on the Columbia manuscript's recto is the Sanctus "Mediolano," then the scribe of Columbia College 5 may have a habit of collecting Italian pieces that contained stylistic similarities with the French repertoire, including the Gloria on the reverse side.

Ultimately, as such conjectures are based on the derived features of paleography and style, they are not enough to merit a definitive geographic attribution. While we still suspect a French or Spanish provenance for Columbia College 5, we need deeper investigations of French and Italian notational features and musical style before making authoritative statements. Certainly our investigation leaves open the possibility of an Italian origin for the anonymous Gloria, regardless of the origin of its new source. In the known repertory of the fourteenth century, few Glorias (of any origin) appear in both French and Italian sources. That the music of the Columbia Gloria can be found in both a North-Italian and a Franco-Spanish manuscript source places it together with only two other independent Glorias. Certain consistencies of notation between the sources are thus the more surprising (such as at the "Cum Sancto Spiritu" sections in Siena Ravi 3 and Madrid 1474/17), leading us to consider whether there might not have been more interaction between these regions than previously supposed. At the very least, the Columbia College Gloria has shown us that the stylistic differences between French and Italian Glorias are more complex than one might imagine, and further research will be required to clarify the elusive relationship of the two schools and their influence on each other.

be definitely stated that Ciconia's music is representative of the type of music being copied, appreciated, and imitated in northern Italy in the early Quattrocento and is thus representative of Italian tastes. (On Ciconia's legacy in secular music, see David Fallows, "Ciconia's Influence," in Sandra Dieckmann, Oliver Huck, Signe Rotter-Broman, and Alba Scotti, eds., *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, Musica Mensurabilis 3 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2007), pp. 215–24).

Table 3: Manuscript Sigla

Apt 16bis	Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre. Trésor ms 16bis.
Assisi 187	Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale. ms 187 (Housed at the B. Sacro Convento).
Atri 17	Atri, Museo della Basilica Cattedrale, Biblioteca del Capitolo della Cattedrale. Frammento 17. (<i>olim</i> Archivio Capitolare. Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, frammento 5).
Barcelona 853d	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (<i>olim</i> central). ms 853d.
Barcelona Orfeo	Barcelona, Biblioteca Orfeo Català. ms 2.
Bologna 2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms 2216 (<i>olim</i> S. Salvatore 727).
Bologna Q 1	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna. ms Q1, frammento n. 23 (<i>olim</i> 12).
Bologna Q 15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, ms Q15 (<i>olim</i> Liceo 37).
Brescia 5	Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana. Flyleaves in Inc. C.VI.5.
Budapest 297	Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár. U. Fr. I. m. 297.
Cambrai 1328	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale. B 1328 (<i>olim</i> 1176).
Cividale A	see Cividale 63, Cividale 98, and Udine 22.
Cividale 63	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. ms LXIII.
Cividale 79	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. ms LXXIX.
Cividale 98	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. ms XCVIII.
Columbia College 5	Columbia, S.C., Columbia College Library. ms 5.
Cortona 2	Cortona, Archivio Storico del Comune. Fragment without shelfmark [fragment 2].
Faenza	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale. ms 117.
Florence 999	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. Ashburnham 999.
Foligno	Foligno, Archivio di Stato (<i>olim</i> Biblioteca Comunale, Sala A), frammenti musicali.
Gerona 33	Gerona [Girona], Arxiu Capitular. Frag. 33/I.
Groningen 70	Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek. Incunabulum no. 70.
Grottaferrata s.s.	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale (within the Abbazia Greca di S. Nilo). ms without shelfmark in a light gray binder currently on the same shelf as Lat. 219 and 224.
Grottaferrata/ Dartmouth	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale (within the Abbazia Greca di S. Nilo). (Crypt.) Lat. 224 (<i>olim</i> Collocazione provvisoria 197), and Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Library. ms 002387 (<i>olim</i> Santa Barbara, Accademia Monteverdiana, fragment without shelfmark).
Gubbio Corale O	Gubbio, Archivio di Stato. Fondo dell'ex-Convento di S. Domenico, Corale O.
Ivrea 115	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare. ms 115 (<i>olim</i> ms without shelfmark).
Kernaslédén	Kernaslédén, frescos on the church of Notre Dame.
Kras.	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa. ms III. 8054 (<i>olim</i> Biblioteka Krasieński 52, then Biblioteka Narodowa 52).
London 29987	London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. ms Additional 29987.
London 82959	London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. ms Additional 82959.
Macerata 488	Macerata, Archivio di Stato. <i>olim</i> Notarile di Recanati, vol. 488.
Madrid 1474/17	Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid. Carpeta 1474, fragmento 17.

Melk 749	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek. ms 749 (<i>olim</i> 542 (K 12)).
Mod A	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria. ms α.M.5.24 (<i>olim</i> iv.D.5, then lat. 568).
Munich 3224	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. ms mus. 3224.
Munich 29775.8	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung. ms Cim. 29775 vol. 8.
Munich Emmeram	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung. ms lat. 14274 (Tresorhandschrift 1; <i>olim</i> mus. 3232a; Cim. 352c).
Nuremberg 9a	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek. Fragment lat. 9a (<i>from</i> Centurio III, 25).
Old Hall	London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. ms Additional 57950 (<i>olim</i> Old Hall, Library of St. Edmund's College, ms without shelfmark).
Oxford 56	Oxford, Bodleian Library. ms Canon. Pat. Lat.[Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 56.
Oxford 213	Oxford, Bodleian Library. ms CANON. MISC. 213.
Oxford 229	Oxford, Bodleian Library. ms Canon. Pat. Lat.[Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 229.
Pad A	see Oxford 229, Padua 684, and Padua 1475
Padua 553(a)	Padua, Archivio di Stato. Fondo Corporazioni sopresse, S. Giustina 553.
Padua 658	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms 658. (Pad C)
Padua 675	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms busta 2/3 (<i>from</i> ms 675).
Padua 684	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms 684.
Padua 1115	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms 1115. (Pad B).
Padua 1225	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms busta 2/2 (<i>from</i> ms 1225).
Padua 1283	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms busta 2/1 (<i>from</i> ms 1283).
Padua 1475	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. ms 1475.
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. ms fonds italien 568 (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque Royale 165 du Supplément, then Nouv. Supplément Fr. 535).
Rochester 1	Rochester, New York, Sibley Music Library. Fleisher Box 1, Folder 1 (<i>olim</i> Fragment 44).
Siena 207	Siena, Archivio di Stato. Framm. Mus. b. n. 1. ins. n. 11, (<i>olim</i> Frammenti di musiche, n. 207. Previously separated as 11 (then 326) & 327).
Siena Ravi 3	Siena, Archivio di Stato. Frammento sulla copertina del registro "Ravi 3" dal Gavorrano (1568–69).
Strasbourg 222	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque de la Ville). ms 222. C.22.
Trent 87	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio. ms 1374 (<i>olim</i> 87).
Trent 1563	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio. ms 1563 (Manuscript belonging to the Biblioteca comunale).
Turin 2	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. T.III.2. (Boverio codex).
Turin 9	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. J.II.9.
Udine 22	Udine, Archivio di Stato. Frammento 22 (<i>olim</i> Arch. Not. Antico, busta 773).
Utrecht 1846 ^a	Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit. ms 1846 (<i>olim</i> 6 E 37), part 1.
Vatican 171	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Barberinianus latinus 171.
Vatican 1419	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Urbinas latinus 1419.
Warsaw 378	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa. Lat. F. I. 378 (<i>olim</i> St. Petersburg, Lat. F. I. 378). Destroyed in World War II.