



# studi musicali

nuova serie ● anno 01 ● 2010 ● numero 01

Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia ● *Fondazione*

**Studi musicali. Nuova serie**  
Rivista semestrale di studi musicologici

*Direttore*  
Agostino Ziino

*Redazione*  
Teresa M. Gialdroni

# Studi musicali

Nuova serie, I, 2010, n.1



ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE  
DI SANTA CECILIA  
*Fondazione*

*Questo volume è stato pubblicato grazie al contributo  
del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali*

*Progetto grafico*  
Silvana Amato

*Impaginazione*  
Roberto Grisley

Composizione tipografica in Cycles di Summer Stone

«Studi musicali» pubblica articoli riguardanti tutti i campi della ricerca musicologica in italiano, inglese, francese, tedesco e spagnolo. Gli articoli proposti per una eventuale pubblicazione possono essere inviati in copia cartacea al seguente indirizzo: Agostino Ziino, Via Giovanni Antonelli, 21 - 00197 Roma, e, in allegato a una e-mail, all'indirizzo [studimusicali@santacecilia.it](mailto:studimusicali@santacecilia.it). La pubblicazione è subordinata al parere di due studiosi specializzati cui l'articolo sarà sottoposto in forma anonima. Una volta accettato, l'articolo dovrà essere redatto secondo le norme editoriali della rivista disponibili in italiano e in inglese al seguente indirizzo: <http://studimusicali.santacecilia.it>.

Per gli annunci pubblicitari rivolgersi all'indirizzo [editoria@santacecilia.it](mailto:editoria@santacecilia.it)

Nessuna parte di questo periodico può essere riprodotta o trasmessa in qualsiasi forma o con qualsiasi mezzo elettronico, meccanico o altro senza l'autorizzazione scritta dei proprietari dei diritti e dell'editore

ISSN 0391-7789

© 2010 Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia – Fondazione, Roma  
Tutti i diritti riservati

[www.santacecilia.it](http://www.santacecilia.it)  
[studimusicali.santacecilia.it](http://studimusicali.santacecilia.it)  
[studimusicali@santacecilia.it](mailto:studimusicali@santacecilia.it)

**Soci Fondatori dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia**  
Stato Italiano, Comune di Roma, Regione Lazio, Provincia di Roma,  
Camera di Commercio Roma, ENEL, Telecom, BNL-Paribas, ENI,  
Amministrazione Autonoma dei Monopoli di Stato, La Repubblica,  
Autostrade per l'Italia, Ferrovie dello Stato, Poste Italiane, Astaldi

## Sommario

- 7 Michael Scott Cuthbert  
*The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International Ars Nova*
- 53 Carlo Bosi  
*Musica ficta Usage: Old Questions and a Reappraisal*
- 79 Paolo Sanvito  
*L'armonia musicale entro il sistema delle arti di Daniele Barbaro.  
Un contributo alla storia dell'estetica musicale*
- 105 Jennifer Bain, Judith E. Dietz  
*Family Ties and the Salzinnes Antiphonal*
- 147 Giulia Giovani  
*«Old and Rare music and Books on music»:  
le Cantade 'ritrovate' di Alessandro Grandi*
- 187 Marina Toffetti  
*«No haria de haverse mezclado el conde».  
Ancora su Carlo Donato Cossoni nella Milano spagnola  
(con documenti inediti)*
- 251 Elisabetta Fava  
*«Im Legendenton»: reinvenzione dell'arcaismo e infanzia dello spirito*



The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International *Ars Nova*  
Michael Scott Cuthbert

*For John Nádas,  
without whose guidance  
none of my work would be possible*

In the late nineteenth century, the most bright and capable students of science were being discouraged from becoming physicists. It was generally assumed that all the fundamental forces and equations that governed the universe had been discovered and all that was left for the few generations of future physicists to accomplish was ‘mopping up’ some undistinguished parts of the story. That the remarkable series of musical editions *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* [hereafter PMFC] has not added a volume in almost twenty years could easily lead an outside observer to think that the same fate awaits the field of the *Ars nova*, the flowering of polyphonic music beginning around 1310 and ending in fourteenth century in France and approximately 1420 and later in Italy and the east. The great repository of secular Italian music, the Squarcialupi codex, was completely transcribed long ago, and the French composer Guillaume de Machaut’s insistence on compiling complete manuscripts of his works yields little hope of finding new pieces by this master. Since almost all the new discoveries are tiny fragments, often of already known works, what more can be learned about this era?

Yet, just as the so-called few remaining problems in physics ended up opening the doors to quantum theory and general relativity, making the twentieth-century one of the most exciting ages in the history of physics, the problems and unsolved questions being raised by new *Ars nova* sources are turning out not to

be tiny issues that are easily solved. Instead, these discoveries are exposing substantial problems in the established narratives of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Why is there so much sacred music in the Italian fragments when the intact codices contain almost entirely secular music? Why is there so much music in French but so few manuscripts from France? Why do a few pieces by Machaut turn up again and again but so much of his output seems to have been unknown? And why are the ‘French’ pieces in German, Austrian, Bohemian, and other Central European sources so often more connected to Italian than to French sources?

The answers to these questions will fundamentally alter our view of fourteenth-century music. Yet they cannot be found by studying the intact, carefully-preserved sources ever more closely. Rather their solutions require a broad view of the entire landscape of musical sources of the *Ars nova*.

This brief article touches on some of these larger questions of fourteenth-century music through an examination of a group of fragments from the edges of the *Ars nova* traditions.<sup>1</sup> The study, albeit still not much more of an overview itself, reveals not just much larger, hidden structures within the sources. It also exposes deeper connections among Austria, Italy, and Flanders that help give a more complete picture to the international styles emerging in Europe at the dawn of the fifteenth century.

### *The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments*

The three sets of fragments that are at the center of this study are now divided between two cities and libraries. Two sets of fragments are in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek where they were removed from manuscripts to which they were formerly attached (Centurio v, 61 and Centurio 111, 25) and now have the designations Fragm. lat. 9 and Fragm. lat. 9a, respectively. Nuremberg 9 is two folios

<sup>1</sup> Two excellent articles that complement this paper by summarizing work on recently-discovered and seldom-studied fragments are FRANCESCO FACCHIN, *Le fonti di polifonia trecentesca italiana alla luce degli ultimi ritrovamenti: parte prima*, «Fonti musicali italiane», 11, 1997, pp. 7-35, and MARCO GOZZI, *Liturgia e musica mensurale nel Trecento italiano: i canti dell'Ordinarium*, in *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 2007, (“Musica Mensurabilis”, 3) pp. 53-98.

containing parts of three motets and a textless, possibly instrumental virelai.<sup>2</sup> Nuremberg 9a comprises most of a bifolio (with the right side of one page and the tops of both pages cut off) along with a small strip of another bifolio containing the top staff alone. The repertory of this fragment is slightly later and contains Glorias and Credos of Italian and unknown provenances. Another set of fragments are flyleaves for manuscript 749 of the Stiftsbibliothek in Melk. The two fragments of Melk 749 originally formed the top and bottom of two contiguous single sheets. The connection between the two sheets was not immediately obvious to their discoverer because the *recto* of the front flyleaf (here called *or*) is the top of the *verso* of the current rear flyleaf (*zv*) and vice-versa for their other sides. Photos of Melk 749 and f. 2r of Nuremberg 9 have been published elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The rest of the pages are reproduced here as Plates 1-7.

Reinhard Strohm has argued persuasively for a shared origin in Vienna for the three fragments, probably at the collegiate school of St. Stephen's. He noted that the Nuremberg fragments had been used as flyleaves during the 1450s or 1460s by the bookbinder Mathias von Wien while the Melk fragment was part of a book owned by a doctor of theology in Vienna at about the same time or just before.<sup>4</sup> Nuremberg 9 contains both a work with a German title (*Bobik blazen*) and two courtesy cues to performers in the lower voices of *Degentis vita* («sichs an» and «lug auff», both meaning 'watch out' or 'look up').<sup>5</sup>

Strohm has argued that all three of the sources stem from the same codex, but as a more detailed examination of the fragments will show, this connection is not certain. Table 1 (see pp. 27-28) gives the contents of all three manuscripts. Voice

2 All manuscript sigla are expanded at the end of the article. Secondary sources are expanded in Table 1. Nuremberg 9 is called D-Nst9 in GILBERT REANEY, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1320-1400)*, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (hereafter RISM), B-IV<sup>2</sup>, München, G. Henle Verlag, 1969, pp. 84-85, while Nuremberg 9a is called D-Nst25 on pp. 82-84.

3 Melk 749 was reproduced in JOACHIM ANGERER, *Die Begriffe 'Discantus,' 'Organa' und 'Scolares' in reformgeschichtlichen Urkunden des 15. Jahrhunderts*, «Anzeiger der philosophischen-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften», CIX, 1972, pp. 146-171. Nuremberg 9, f. 2r appears in REINHARD STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, plate 4.

4 REINHARD STROHM, *Native and Foreign Polyphony in Late Medieval Austria*, «Musica Disciplina», XXXVIII, 1984, pp. 215-216.

5 Thanks to Thomas Schmidt-Beste and Bettina Schergaut for aid in understanding subtleties of the Alemannish and German inscriptions.

parts in square brackets indicate missing parts. Voices in curly brackets indicate that large sections are missing.

### *Nuremberg 9 and The Lost Gdańsk Connection*

Nuremberg 9 collects three motets and one secular, probably instrumental, piece in the form of a virelai. The fragments were first brought to light by Gilbert Reaney when they were still connected to their host manuscript, Centurio v, 61.<sup>6</sup> One of the motets, *Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici* appears in many sources and different versions; the contratenor of this version is unique.<sup>7</sup> Though the layout is unusual, the duplum had to be on the previous page to avoid certain bare fourths (such as mm. 22 and 23). Another motet, *Comes Flandrie / Rector creatorum / In cimbalis*, appears to be an odd choice for a Viennese manuscript, as it celebrates a victory in Bruges from 1382.<sup>8</sup> But it appears that this motet circulated widely—not just in another Germanic manuscript, Strasbourg 222, from the region from Basel to Strasbourg, but also in an Italian source, Ascoli Piceno 142,<sup>9</sup>

6 GILBERT REANEY, *New sources of Ars nova music*, «Musica Disciplina», XIX, 1965, pp. 63-64.

7 The problems of this contratenor are discussed in REINHARD STROHM, *The Rise of European Music*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 116, which he connects to the *naïveté* of a (probably) Austrian composer encountering music at the Council of Constance in a style with which he was unfamiliar.

8 STROHM, *Bruges* cit., p. 104. Strohm suggests that the piece might be a work of the composer Petrus Vinderhout, the «Petrus de Brugis» of *Apollinis eclipsatur* and *Musicalis scientia*. If this supposition be true then might the work be purposely paired with *Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici*? That motet's duplum names the speaker as «Petrus.» The name could refer to St. Peter, and thus represent the church, as A. G. Riggs suggests in the *Supplement to Motets of French Provenance*, ed. by Frank L. Harrison, PMFC 5, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968. But might it not instead name the composer? This is the meaning that STROHM, *The Rise* cit., p. 42 attributes to the name without connecting it to a specific Peter. Why could it not be Petrus Vinderhout? Though there is not enough evidence in text or music to prove that Vinderhout wrote either work, it is worth further investigating possible links between the two pieces.

9 On this source see PAOLO PERETTI and AGOSTINO ZIINO, *Ancora sul frammento di Montefortino*, in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento*, VIII, a c. di Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, Francesco Zimei, Certaldo-Lucca, Centro di Studi sull'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento-LIM, 2010, forthcoming, and on the identification of the concordance, MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT and SASHA ZAMLER-CARHART, *International Style and Medieval Italian Music: A Flemish Motet in the Ascoli Piceno/Monte-*

so looking for a specific connection between this manuscript and Bruges might not be necessary: good music traveled widely as tastes in polyphony became more homogenized across the continent.

The third motet in the source, *Deo gracias papales / Deo gracias fidelis*, is in more urgent need to study, having never been transcribed and seldom discussed. Though Nuremberg 9 is the single surviving source for the motet, it was apparently well known throughout Central Europe. A music theory treatise in Wrocław 16 (Bres.) uses the motet as an example of a piece in perfect mode, perfect time, minor prolation.<sup>10</sup> More significant is a textual reference in a lost manuscript: two works with the same text once appeared in a manuscript in Gdańsk (Danzig) lost during World War II. Gdańsk 2315 was a miscellany of medical texts that, like many manuscripts from Gdańsk, has not yet resurfaced.<sup>11</sup> It has long been thought that the only information about this source was the few lines dedicated to the manuscript in a pre-war Danzig library catalog, that gave the incipits of four musical items, *Et in terra*, *Deo gracias papales*, *Deo gracias fidelis* (believing the two to be separate single-voice pieces) and a monophonic German song, *Erentreiche lobesam, iuncfrauwlliche czir*.<sup>12</sup>

More recently, and apparently unnoticed by medieval musicologists, a more detailed description of the manuscript surfaced. Before turning his attention to Jewish music, Hanoch Avenary (born Herbert Loewenstein) wrote a dissertation on the music of Oswald von Wolkenstein. In the course of his work on medieval song, he took notes on this manuscript from his hometown. These notes were not published until the end of his long career when they formed the basis for a short article in Polish on the fragment.<sup>13</sup> In the article, Avenary transcribed the Gloria,

*fortino Fragment*, in *Fama e publica vox nel Medioevo*, Proceedings of the international conference in Ascoli Piceno, 3-5 December 2009, forthcoming.

10 JOHANNES WOLF, *Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», 1, 1919, p. 336.

11 The connection between the two copies was made in TOM R. WARD, *A central European repertory in Munich*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274, «Early Music History», 1, 1981, p. 331.

12 *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, hrsg. von Otto Günther et al., vol. 3 of 6, Danzig, 1909, p. 252, online at: <<http://www.archive.org/stream/katalogderhandsoogdagoog#page/n858/mode/1up>>. To emphasize the great, and ever increasing, availability of sources on the Internet, web addresses of relevant printed and manuscript sources are given in this paper in lieu of reprinting easily available facsimiles.

13 HANOCH AVENARY, *Kompozycje muzyczne z zaginionego rekopisu z Biblioteki Miejskiej w Gdańsku*

giving both a diplomatic and modern edition, as well as incipits for the *Deo gracias* pieces, believing them to be single-voice works and not part of a single piece. Contrary to the entry in the Danzig library catalogue, there were actually three voices to the motet; the third voice (probably a contratenor) was titled *Deo gracias, salvator* and (based on the six surviving notes) began above the tenor but also went below it. Harmonically, it is an inessential voice; that is to say, there are no unresolved perfect fourths between the two surviving parts that require a third voice to have appeared below. Musically, however, it seems essential, for it surely added movement and interest to some of the more static sections of the piece.

The text of the upper voice is in four-line stanzas in trochaic tetrameter with the final line of each stanza ending with the stress. The rhyme is *aaab* throughout, with an added *b* line at the end of the poem. The text pleads for donations, asking clergy of every grade to give what is fitting, knowing that they cannot match the gift God has given of sharing his table.<sup>14</sup> In a way, it shares a topic with the texts of *Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici* which both lament the problems of clerical poverty.<sup>15</sup> Table 2 (see p. 29) transcribes this text and Ex. 1 (see pp. 30-31) provides an edition of the music.

The two voices were obviously composed with an ear towards interaction between parts (hocket, sequence, etc.), but it is unclear to what extent they were composed with their texts in mind. Words often must be split across rests (even outside of the hocketing sections) and unimportant words receive much of the musical emphasis. However, true judgment of effect of the work can only come if and when we discover a source for the third voice, either in some still undiscovered manuscript or transcribed somewhere in Avenary's *Nachlaß*.

(MS 2315), «Muzyka», XXXIV, no. 3, 1989, pp. 87-92. A second article based on Avenary's notes, DIETRICH HUSCHENBERG, *Ein Danziger 'Lied' Fragment*, «Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur», CXVI, 1992, pp. 412-427, focuses on the text of the German song. Huschenberg also gives Avenary's diplomatic transcription of the Lied's music but does not put the song in modern notation.

<sup>14</sup> I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Emily Zazulia for their insightful comments on the paleography and text of the motet (and for Zazulia's close reading of a draft of this article as a whole). The text of the lower voice has been transcribed and discussed in STROHM, *Bruges cit.*, pp. 104-105, so the text of that voice in Ex. 1 is based on his edition. Contra Strohm, I do not believe that the similarities between the text of this voice and that of *Comes Flandrie* are so strong as to suggest an origin in Bruges for this work as well.

<sup>15</sup> See A. G. RIGGS, *Supplement* to PMFC 5 cit. On the text, see also note 8 above.

Avenary did completely transcribe a different work in Gdańsk 2315: a three-voice Gloria. Like several Italian and French Mass movements, most notably Zachara's Credo "du Village" and Bosquet's later Glorias, neither of the top voices sings the entire text of the Gloria.<sup>16</sup> Rather, they alternate short phrases with either rests or more decorative passages in between. Unknown to Avenary, we already possess concordances of both upper voices of the Gloria. Cantus 1 appears in Ghent 133, a fragment formerly used as a register for Groenen Briel, an abbey of Augustinian canonesses of the congregation of St. Victor.<sup>17</sup> Strohm notes a quotation of Gloria IX at the start of the line and suggests either French or English origin for the piece.<sup>18</sup>

The second cantus was also previously known, but not connected to the Ghent fragment. It can be found on f. 37r (now f. 55r) of Oxford 229, a set of fragments now in the Bodleian library but originally part of a much larger source of at least 70 folios from the Abbey of S. Giustina in Padua.<sup>19</sup> Like Ghent 133 and the Nuremberg/Melk sources, it is a *liber motetorum*, that is, a collection of Mass movements and motets at the tops of folios with secular compositions at the bottoms of pages.<sup>20</sup> Though this voice is very similar to the first cantus, the editors of the Italian sacred volumes of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* did not suspect an English or French origin for the piece, wondering instead if it could be a work by Zachara da Teramo on the basis of its extended (and one

16 Zachara's Credo is transcribed in *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, ed. by Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, PMFC 13, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987, no. 22; the Bosquet Glorias are in *French Sacred Music*, ed. by Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin, PMFC 23, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1989-1991, nos. 44 and 45, the second of which has conflicting attributions to Nicolaus de Capua and, unnoted in PMFC 23, Zachara.

17 R. STROHM, *The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent*, «Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis», XXXIV, 1984, p. 109.

18 Ivi, p. 113. The edition in *French Sacred Music*, PMFC 23 cit., no. A6 concurs with Strohm's assessment.

19 MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT, *Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006, pp. 87-230, esp. 118-138. Online at: <<http://www.trecento.com/dissertation/>>. High quality scans of Oxford 229 are available on-line through the DIAMM project: <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?sourceKey=505>>; lower quality, but downloadable scans are available on the Bodleian website: <<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/canon/pat-lat/229.htm>>

20 STROHM, *The Rise* cit., p. 94.

might add, slow) liturgical intonation.<sup>21</sup> This disagreement between the editors of the two volumes shows the amount to which the provenance or current location of a *source* can cloud judgments about the provenance of a *piece* that are supposedly based on the piece's musical style alone. This pitfall has caused me elsewhere to caution strongly against using musical style as an important factor in determining the origin of manuscripts and pieces.<sup>22</sup>

The three sources for this Gloria – one Flemish, one Northern Italian, and one Germanic – point to a flowering and interchange of polyphonic music independent of France, the land often thought of as the main strand of compositional development in the *Ars nova*. The sources from Ghent and Padua contain versions of the top voice that are more decorated than the Gdańsk manuscript along with an elaborate Amen full of hockets that is absent in the three-voice copy. Thus a composite version of the Gloria is given in Ex. 2 below (see pp. 32-34), taking cantus 1 from Ghent 133, cantus 2 from Oxford 229, and the tenor from Gdańsk 2315. Since the work is not only of musicological interest but also a composition of extraordinary beauty and masterful text setting, I have provided a completion (in a somewhat conservative style) of the tenor's Amen so that the entire work can be performed.

Given the probable origin of the Ghent fragment, it is important to ask if this Gloria was sung by the canonesses there. The range of the piece would fit a trio of soprano, mezzo-soprano, and alto assuming an A anywhere close to 440hz: the lowest note is F and both upper parts are rather high. We know so little about what polyphony, and especially what sacred polyphony, women sang during the *Ars nova*, that any evidence should be considered carefully. (While on the topic of eliminating unique Glorias through concordances, we may subtract one more. The Italian fragment Cortona 2 has been thought to have sections from two diffe-

21 FISCHER and GALLO, PMFC 13 cit., no. A5.

22 MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT and ELIZABETH NYIKOS, *Style, Locality, and the Trecento Gloria: New Sources and a Reexamination*, «Acta Musicologica», LXXXII, 2010, forthcoming. There we show that scholars were too certain about the probable origins of Glorias in Siena Ravi 3 and Madrid 1474/17 not knowing that they too are part of the same piece. The number of Glorias cataloged in that article (currently in press and, unfortunately, too late to change) should be reduced by two on the basis of this paper's contributions. On Siena Ravi 3 see ENZO MECACCI and AGOSTINO ZIINO, *Un nuovo frammento musicale del primo Quattrocento nell'Archivio di Stato di Siena*, «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», XXXVIII, 2003, pp. 199-225.

rent unique Glorias. In fact, the Gloria on f. 1r(b), of which only part of the Amen is extant, is almost certainly the countertenor to the Gloria on f. 2v, of which the cantus and tenor survive, albeit in terrible condition.<sup>23</sup>

Space at the bottom of f. 2r of Nuremberg 9 was filled by *Bobik blazen*, a textless piece in virelai/ballata form. The title (*Bobik blows*) suggests that it was intended to be performed by wind players. We might take the lack of text as a clue that the piece was not intended for singers, but if that were the case, we would have to come to the same conclusion for the many other pieces in the secular repertory of Austria and Central Europe that survive with incipits alone but full texts in concordant manuscripts. A concordance of the piece in Munich 29775/8, is likewise textless, but uses a different incipit, «Hollaner». This incipit suggests that the work either is Dutch or that it is written in a style that listeners ca. 1400 would have identified with Holland. Its pairing on the same page as a Flemish motet might be no coincidence. But even if the two pieces travelled together, they probably had quite different uses and audiences: that «bobik» has been used in other times in German history as a vulgar slang term for penis gives the possibility that the incipit might hide a more sexual meaning.<sup>24</sup>

#### *A New Motet from an Old Source: Celice rex regum / Ingentem gentem*

While preparing the transcription of *Deo gracias papales / fidelis / salvator*, I naturally became interested in the other *Deo gracias* motet from the same period, *Deo*

23 On this source see the excellent forensic recovery done by GIULIANO DI BACCO and JOHN NÁDAS, *The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism*, in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. by Richard Sherr, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 82-83. I plan to offer a transcription and further discussion of the source in a forthcoming monograph on Italian *Ars nova* sacred music.

24 WALTER KURT KREYSZIG, *Anonymous Compositions from the Late-Fourteenth and Early-Fifteenth Centuries*, Wien, Braumüller, 1984, p. 224 suggests that «bobik» could be related to neuniederländisch 'boven', or 'high', wondering if it might have been a piece for flute or similar high instrument. If the word does indeed mean 'high' it could instead have the same sense as haut, that is 'loud'. Martin Kirnbauer suggested to me another explanation of the piece that I am equally inclined towards: the inscription «Hollaner» may indicate it is the work of Johannes Hollandrinus (Olendrinus), the mysterious music theorist probably from central Europe. In this case, the inscription «Bobik blazen» may be read in Czech as «Crazy Bob».

*gracias conclamemus*: a motet long known from the Italian fragment Munich 3223 and for the last decade from a tiny snippet in Cortona 2.<sup>25</sup> The motet has found a more international distribution with Oliver Huck's recent identification of a concordance of the piece in a Central European fragment, Klosterneuburg 499, about which he will publish soon.<sup>26</sup> My attention was soon diverted by the two fragmentary works on the verso of Munich 3223, a two-part motet *Celice rex regum* and a single voice from a motet identified originally, and I believe correctly, as *Ingentem gentem*, but more recently called *Agentem gentem*.<sup>27</sup> Like *Deo gracias conclamemus* (which begins on the A a whole-step above gamma-ut), all three of the voices on the verso have quite low ranges.<sup>28</sup> I was intrigued by another similarity among the works in the source: not only are all the motets isorhythmic, but *Celice* and *Ingentem* have the same basic isorhythmic structure, same mensuration, and almost the same length. Studying the published transcription allowed me to make some corrections to *Ingentem* that gave the pieces exactly the same length, namely that the rule of *similis ante similem non potest imperfici*, which the composer knew well and used to create some lengthy syncopated passages, also applies to longs when the piece is in perfect modus. Furthermore, the mostly cut-off clef that had been read as C<sub>3</sub> was actually F<sub>3</sub>. It then became obvious that all the music on this page belonged to a single motet. The three voices that are present are transcribed in Ex. 3 (see pp. 35-37); the long measures in the transcription emphasize the perfect modus. The motet is still incomplete, however: the 6-4 and 8-4 sonorities that appear now and then require a contratenor on the follo-

25 DI BACCO and NÁDAS, *Papal Chapels* cit., p. 83.

26 OLIVER HUCK, *Il frammento di Klosterneuburg*, presentation in Certaldo 2009, forthcoming in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, VIII (see above).

27 High-quality digital images of the entire fragment are available online at: <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00036712/images/>> The newer name *Agentem* is found in *Italian and Sacred Ceremonial Music*, PMFC 13 cit., p. 290. Every voice in Munich 3223 is introduced by a red initial letter and a smaller, but still capitalized second letter – typical of Italian manuscripts of this time. Therefore the single surviving capital letter here, A or N, is the second letter of the incipit.

28 Only a smallest strip of the other half of the original bifolio remains, but on the recto the clefs that remain (C<sub>4</sub>, C<sub>2</sub>, F<sub>3</sub>) suggest that the trend of low voices continued. If the C<sub>4</sub> voice were the duplum of a low-voiced motet (like *Deo gracias conclamemus*) then the lower two clefs might have been for a two-voice added secular composition such as we saw with Nuremberg 9's *Bobik blazen* and Nuremberg 9a's *De petit peu*.

wing page. The contratenor's melodic constraints tell us that even if it were isorhythmic it could not have had the same repetition scheme as the tenor. For instance, in m. 2 its pitches were probably D, E, while in m. 20 they were almost certainly G, A.<sup>29</sup>

#### Gratiosus fervidus and the Belfast fragment

Conflating *Celice rex regum* and *Ingentem gentem* removes a Italian motet. And this removal followed fast on the footsteps of another Italian motet's disappearance, when the unknown motet with the text fragment «igitur Boetii» in Ascoli Piceno 142 was found to be the Flemish *Comes Flandrie* of Nuremberg 9 (see note 9, above). It might therefore seem too cruel to remove another, but evidence from a new source argues strongly for reconsidering a previously securely Italian motet as instead a work of unknown provenance.

A random Google search lead me to discover an otherwise unknown *Ars nova* fragment, Belfast 1-21-1, a single damaged folio in the Queen's University library, at the time recently digitized and placed in an new on-line catalog. The fragment, acquired in 1936 from the Edinburgh bookseller James Thin, is probably of northern French or Flemish origin and transmits fragments of two isorhythmic motets.<sup>30</sup> The recto (originally folio 10 or, more likely, 50) adds to the motet repertory. It contains the motetus and tenor of an new work, *Tu venerandus presul Amandus*. (Its triplum would have appeared on the preceding verso). The text of the work still has too many illegible sections to make an edition of it without time *in situ* with the source, but it does contain the tantalizing phrase «ego muris» (I, [Johannes de] Muris?) that makes further textual restoration a must. The music – pan-isorhythmic, with five repeating rhythmic phrases but no melodic repetition – presents few problems for transcription and thus appears in Ex. 4 (see p. 38).

29 Other measures where we can be reasonably sure of the contratenor's pitches (always the lowest sounding at the moment) include: 1 G, 3 D, 6 F or A, 8 F, 11 D E, 15 beat 2 G or B, 23 E or G, 24 F or A, 28 beat 3 E or G, 29 beat 1 D or F, 30 beat 2 D or F, 32 E or G, 33 D or F, 35 beat 1 D or F, 37 beat 1 D, 44 beat 1 D or F.

30 I thank Diarmuid Kennedy, subject library at Queen's University, for information on the source. High resolution images of the source are available at the DIAMM website <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Source.jsp?sourceKey=3071>>.

While this interesting piece adds to our knowledge of *Ars nova* polyphony, the work on the reverse side of the folio raises problems for our ideas about motet composition in Italy. On that side we find the top voice of the motet *Gratiosus fervidus / Magnanimus opere*, a motet was previously known only from two Italian sources, Padua 1475 and Mod A.<sup>31</sup> The incipit was thought possibly to allude to authorship by Gratiosus de Padua and the subject matter, venerating St. George, fit well with a Paduan origin. With the addition of the Belfast concordance, it is likely that the work was a foreign import into Italy. It may be a work in a style appreciated by Italians rather than one composed on the peninsula.<sup>32</sup> But some aspects of the work might still suggest Italy as a source, in particular the placement of the tenor above a fully-texted voice. Though there is a Vitry-style motet (*Quoniam secta latronum*) and a motet with French text (*Amer amours est*) that have the same vocal disposition as *Gratiosus fervidus*,<sup>33</sup> the voicing is more common in Italian motets of the *Ars nova*. Several early Italian motets use this voicing, including Marchetto's *Ave regina celorum / Mater innocencie*, the anonymous *Ave corpus sanctum gloriosi Stefani*, and of course the newly added *Celice rex regum /*

31 *Italian Sacred Music*, ed. by Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, PMFC 12, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1976, no. 43.

32 On the diversity of forms of the Italian motet see MARGARET BENT, *The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet*, in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, VI, a c. di Giulio Cattin, 1992, pp. 85-125. It is impossible for me to concur more strongly with her statement (pp. 92-93) that, «the general neglect [towards the Italian motet that] has been perpetuated in modern scholarship [is] an example of the way in which apparently rich and encyclopedic early patterns of collecting and therefore of survival (the Trecento collections, the Machaut manuscripts) can narrow or distort our view of a musical culture.» Further on *Gratiosus fervidus* and its relationship to typical fourteenth-century Italian motet writing, see THOMAS SCHMIDT-BESTE, *Textdeklamation in der Motette des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003, pp. 207-209.

33 *Quoniam secta latronum* is edited in *The Roman de Fauvel, the works of Philippe de Vitry, and French cycles of the Ordinarium Missæ*, ed. by Leo Schrade, PMFC 1, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956, pp. 54-56. Kurt von Fischer has suggested that *Quoniam secta latronum* may have been an important influence on Italian composition; see his *Philippe de Vitry in Italy and an Homage of Landini to Philippe*, in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, IV, a c. di Agostino Ziino, 1978, pp. 225-235. See also MARGARET BENT, *Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur and its 'Quotations'*, in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Dolores Pesce, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 82-103. The low voice carrying the text «Zodiacum» in *Apollinis eclipsatur* is more contratenor-like than the cantus-like voices in the pieces discussed above. I thank Anna Zayaruznaya for discussions on this topic.

*Ingentem gentem*. Thus the provenance of *Gratiosus fervidus* will remain an open question for now.

### Nuremberg 9a

While the form of Nuremberg 9 was relatively easy to discern, its sister fragment, Nuremberg 9a, has a much more complex structure. The foliations given to the fragments in RISM are revealed as incorrect once the Credo on f. 1r is identified as a continuation of the work whose opening appears on f. 4v. Only a tiny section of that cantus is legible, but the alignment at «et invisibilium. Et in unum» is unmistakable (Ex. 5, see p. 39).<sup>34</sup>

This connection allows us to reconstruct the contents of most of the gathering of which Nuremberg 9a was a part: a collection of Glorias followed by a collection of Credos with secular music filling in any empty spaces. In order to avoid confusion with previous foliations, I have used letters instead of numbers for my renumbering of the surviving leaves, with Greek letters denoting missing sheets (Figure 1, see pp. 40-45).

The recreated layout of individual pages suggests that the fragment of a Gloria with many fermatas on *Ar*, previously identified as a contratenor alone, actually commences with the second half of the Amen of a tenor that had begun on the preceding verso. The change of voices occurs in a of the part of the music that is missing because of the vertical cut to the side of the folio; see the transcription in Ex. 6 (see p. 39).

One more piece once existed in the manuscript but is now an illegible palimpsest covered by Zachara's Credo *Cursor*. It has been suggested that the piece that is covered is another Credo,<sup>35</sup> probably because few of the words on the page show signs of erasures. However, not only do no two Credos have exactly the same text-setting, few are even close; thus since the spacing of the notes of Zachara's Credo *Cursor* seems natural, it is more likely that the palimpsest work was a

34 Margaret Bent made the same discovery; see *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, PMFC 13 cit., p. 264. This information did not make it into Cattin and Facchin's edition of the work, PMFC 23 cit., no. 124, which does not include this passage of the cantus.

35 *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, PMFC 13 cit., p. 264.

textless composition using only incipits (in the manner of *De petit peu*). In fact, the end of staff six and beginning of staff seven both show the remains of vertical lines indicating sectional divisions. The only common usage for sectional divisions so close to each other are first and second endings for ballades, virelais, and ballate. The staves earlier on the page appear to have had a C2 clef, while the lower staves were C3, suggesting a change in voices. Unfortunately, even though the pitches of several passages are plainly legible, an exhaustive search (both manual and computer-assisted) through these repertoires (as well as all the Credos) found no match for the music.

The version of Zachara's Credo found here was almost certainly different from the four-voice version found in Bologna Q15 (arabic ff. 19v-21r; roman ff. 17v-19r). In that source, each of the two cantus voices required eleven staves and each of the lower voices used a bit more than three staves. The scribe of Nuremberg 9a managed to fit the entire cantus voice on nine staves – with the last added in the lower margin. It is inconceivable that he could have fit all three other voices on eight, nine, or even ten, staves on the lost recto that followed. Thus the version of Credo *Cursor* here had at most three voices, most likely with the second cantus omitted. There is precedent for such a variant. *Cursor*'s paired piece, Zachara's Gloria *Micinella*, exists in two versions, one with two cantus voices, contratenor, and tenor, and one, in Bologna 2216, with only a single cantus, contratenor, and tenor. Indeed, the second cantus in Credo *Cursor* may be a later addition by another composer, since it adds many more parallel perfect consonances than are found in other works by Zachara da Teramo.

That Zachara and Ciconia are the two known composers with Mass movements in this non-Italian fragment should not be a surprise: they are Italy's only truly successful *Ars nova* 'exports' (in as much as Ciconia can be considered Italian). Both were apparently well-known in Poland, as copies of their pieces in Kras. and Warsaw 378 attest. Zachara was particularly well known outside of Italy, with a piece in the English Old Hall codex and a Spanish fragment, Valladolid 7.<sup>36</sup>

It is not only the attributed pieces in Nuremberg 9a that travelled widely. The transmission of the Gloria *Qui sonitu melodie* has become even more international in scope than at the time of its last edition. Already known then from nine

36 On this fragment, see JESÚS MARTÍN GALÁN, *Una nueva fuente para el estudio del Ars Nova en Castilla*, «Revista de Musicología», xx, 1997, pp. 77-102.

Germanic, Italian, and French sources, two more sources of the piece have recently been discovered: Brescia 5, an Italian source also containing Machaut's *De petit peu*, and Budapest 297, probably of Slovakian or Hungarian origin but with Italian influences.<sup>37</sup> Though it is no surprise that no English sources contain the piece, the lack of Spanish and Flemish concordances is a bit of a mystery. We do not have enough manuscripts to ever suppose that a piece was unknown in an area just because it does not exist in a source from the region today; nonetheless, the high concentration of Italian and Central European sources may give an indication of some roads of influence in *Ars nova* polyphony.

The various sources transmit *Qui sonitu melodie* in an extraordinary variety of forms, with particularly telling variations in the opening up to the *Qui sonitu* trope (whether monophonic, two-, or three-voiced) and in the seven different Amen settings – Ivrea 115 itself transmits two unique forms.<sup>38</sup> Untangling these traditions is made even more difficult by the damage to most of the sources, with missing voices and sections and illegible passages being the norm. The two newest fragments are among the most difficult to read: Brescia 5 is completely scraped and contains just the endings of the lower two voices. The faded fragments making up Budapest 297 were difficult enough to read when they were first discovered; since 1993 they have been lost and now exist only on a blurry microfilm. However, a close examination of the relationships among sources reveals certain regional traditions. Table 3 (see p. 29) breaks down by source the two major variations in the pieces: when each voice enters and what general type of Amen is used.

The table shows that the extant central European sources descend from the same line. All three use the same Amen, and the two whose lower voices survive use the same opening variant that is not found in any of the French or Italian sources. We can further see that Cambrai 1328 and Rochester 1 are closely related, and what survives in Brescia 5 is similar to Grottaferrata 224, though there

37 Brescia 5 was announced by STEFANO CAMPAGNOLO, *Un nuovo frammento di polifonia del Trecento*, at the conference *Antonio Zaccaria da Teramo e il suo tempo*, 2002 (not in the conference proceedings). Budapest 297 is discussed in CHARLES BREWER, *The Historical Context of Polyphony in Medieval Hungary: An Examination of Four Fragmentary Sources*, «Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae», XXXII, 1990, pp. 11-15. I thank the staff of the Egyetemi Könyvtár for their help in working with the sources there.

38 See *French Sacred Music*, PMFC 23 cit., p. 474-476. Lacking Budapest 297, they did not identify the two-voice opening as a separate tradition.

are significant variations in the contratenor's Amen. Strangely, as Cattin and Facchin have noted, within the French and Italian sources the choice of opening formulas is not closely paired with Amen styles.

Similarly large variations appear in the transmission of voice parts of Machaut's *De petit peu* (f. *Ar*). Unfortunately, such a discussion is beyond the limits of this paper, suffice to say that the voices found in Nuremberg 9a have been incorrectly described in all the literature that I have located. Reaney says that the tenor and contratenor are present,<sup>39</sup> Earp instead states that the voices are cantus and contratenor,<sup>40</sup> while Strohm simply calls it a two-voice version.<sup>41</sup> In fact, fragments of all three voices of the original three-voice version are on the page. The entire cantus and contratenor (both untexted) were originally on f. *Ar*. Parts of these voices are now missing due to a vertical cut. The tenor originally began on the previous page, below the ending of the previous Gloria (f.  $\beta v$ ). There apparently was not room to copy the entire voice, so the final fifteen breves were placed on a makeshift staff at the bottom of f. *Ar*.

#### *The Melk fragment and Scribal Process*

Another set of musical fragments is similar enough in appearance that after Reinhard Strohm's suggestion, it is usually considered a part of the same original manuscript as Nuremberg 9 and Nuremberg 9a. Yet experience has shown that not declarations of «part of the same manuscript» are created equal. All three of the fragments use similar initial letters and were written with similar scribal hands. They all contain sacred repertoires. But unlike cases such as Grottaferrata 224 and the Dartmouth fragment, or Padua 684 and Padua 1475, none of the Nuremberg or Melk fragments were originally adjacent. In fact, the most likely structure for Nuremberg 9a, that is, a five-bifolio gathering, leaves no space for Melk 749 in the transition section from Gloria to Credo. Thus the relationship between the sources may be closer to those of the Paduan S. Giustina project, where a set of scribes produced a set of distinct manuscripts of similar size and repertory, or of the three

<sup>39</sup> REANEY, RISM B-IV<sup>2</sup> cit., p. 83.

<sup>40</sup> LAWRENCE EARP, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, New York, Garland, 1995, p. 127.

<sup>41</sup> REINHARD STROHM, *The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent* cit., p. 116.

sections of Cividale A where a change of scribal hands occurred between fragments, most obvious in their use of different custodes.<sup>42</sup> In fact, at least two different hands are identifiable in the Nuremberg and Melk sources. The main hand of the Nuremberg fragments, including the palimpsest composition, used a custos shaped like a checkmark. The Credo *Cursor* copied on top of the palimpsest consistently uses a custos shaped like a 'U' – a mark that appears only in one other place in the Nuremberg sources, in the middle of a line on f. 1v of Nuremberg 9 which in light of its odd position might be a later addition. Melk 749 by contrast reveals a transition state on the part of its scribe between the checkmark custos (used five times) and the 'U' custos (used twice). The chronology of copying thus seems to be Nuremberg 9 and 9a (including the secular, palimpsest piece), followed by Melk 749, and finally Zachara's Credo *Cursor*. The timeline suggests that a single scribe had access to the three fragments (whether part of a single source or not) over enough time for his handwriting to change subtly but perceptibly.

The paths of influence and of transmission contained in the fragments just examined are both complex and numerous. The internationalization of European music in the first decades of the fifteenth century bears little resemblance to the orderly hub-and-spoke model that the metaphors of 'central' and 'peripheral' traditions suggest.<sup>43</sup> Rather, the lines of influence form a disordered, crisscrossing net, like a

42 On the S. Giustina project and Cividale A see CUTHBERT, *Trecento Fragments* cit., pp. 87-276, and more recently on the latter source, REINHARD STROHM, *Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale?*, in *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. by Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 229-243.

43 Reinhard Strohm has contributed most strongly to establishing the metaphors of central and peripheral (or lateral) traditions (*The Rise* cit., and *Centre and Periphery: Mainstream and Provincial Music*, in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. by Tess Knighton and David Fallows, New York, Schirmer Books, 1992, pp. 55-59). Even while drawing these distinctions, he took pains to note that by 1410, «the 'central tradition' was extinct» (I would say, *largely* extinct) and that «there was now a network, not a new centre. Somehow the 'peripheral' nations in music had managed to turn the tables on the central tradition» (*Centre*, p. 59) and «these lateral traditions began to interact with each other, by-passing the centre» (*Rise*, p. 62). Yet, as so often happens with easily-expressed metaphors once released by their inventors, Strohm's careful distinctions and his elevation of undervalued 'periphery' to co-equal 'lateral traditions' have in the main been ignored in citations by other authors. Perhaps these terms lend themselves to flawed misreadings. Indeed, why have the concept of a French center if France was not, in fact, the central tradition at

black widow's nest. And this tangled web emerges even after examining only a few small fragments in relation to each other. A real understanding of influence and transmission will need to encompass all the sources of the *Ars nova*. As the web of influence becomes more and more complex, musicologists may find that graph theorists and social-network analysts become important allies and collaborators in rewriting the meta-narrative of music in the late Middle Ages.<sup>44</sup>

Manuscript sigla

Apt 16bis	Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre, Trésor MS 16bis.
Ascoli Piceno 142	Ascoli Piceno, Archivio di Stato, Notarile mandamentale di Montefortino, vol. 142, copertina.
Barcelona 971	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya ( <i>olim</i> central), MS 971 ( <i>olim</i> 946) ff. 1-12.

the time when other traditions were flourishing? My thoughts on this subject would be unthinkable without the ground work laid in AGOSTINO ZIINO, *Gli 'ultramontani' in Italia e la nascita dello 'stile internazionale'*, in *Il mondo cortese di Gentile da Fabriano e l'immaginario musicale*, Atti del congresso internazionale di studi (Fabriano, 30 giugno-1 luglio 2006), a c. di Mara Lacchè, Roma, Aracne, 2008, pp.15-27; and in GIULIANO DI BACCO and JOHN NÁDAS, *Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège*, in *Collectanea I* ("Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta", 111), Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994, pp. 7-74.

44 Such collaborations are already bearing fruit in other sectors of medieval and Renaissance studies. In *Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434*, «American Journal of Sociology», XCVIII, 1993, pp. 1259-1319, John F. Padgett and Christopher Ansell use social network analysis to show how important families with few connections to each other could access each other's strengths by marrying into the Medici family. The Medici acted as centralized power brokers facilitating otherwise distant contacts all the while solidifying their own central position. This work has become a model in other areas of sociology and computer science (see RONALD L. BREIGER, *Emergent Themes in Social Network Analysis: Results, Challenges, Opportunities*, in *Dynamic Social Network Modeling and Analysis: Workshop Summary and Papers*, ed. by Ronald L. Breiger et al., Washington D.C., National Academies Press, 2003, pp. 19-35. I thank Lisa Friedland for these citations). Although focusing on a single court or center (such as the peripatetic Papal chapels studied by DI BACCO and NÁDAS, *Papal Chapels* cit.) might be the best analogy in music to studying the influence of a single family in a social network, the data about which of the sources are or are not products of particular courts may be too disputable to use. The graph of concordances among manuscripts will likely reveal clearer patterns of hub and outlier sources.

- Belfast 1-21-1 Belfast, Queen's University Special Collections, MS 1/21 (1).
- Bologna Q15 Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna (*olim* Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale), MS Q15 (*olim* Liceo 37).
- Bologna 2216 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216 (*olim* S. Salvatore 727).
- Brescia 5 Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, Flyleaves in Inc. c.vi.5.
- Brussels 5170 Bruxelles, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archief Sint-Goedele 5170 (*olim* Archives du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques, AE 758).
- Budapest 297 Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár [University Library], U. Fr. l. m. 297.
- Cambrai 1328 Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, B 1328 (*olim* 1176).
- Chantilly Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564 (*olim* 1047).
- Cividale A Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, MSS LXIII and XCVIII. Udine, Archivio di Stato, Frammento 22 (from Arch. Not. Antico, busta 773).
- Cortona 2 Cortona, Archivio Storico del Comune, Fragment without shelfmark in a white folder marked only as «Comune» [fragment 2].
- Dartmouth Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Library, MS 002387 (*olim* Santa Barbara, Accademia Monteverdiana, fragment without shelfmark).
- Gdańsk 2315 Gdańsk (Danzig), Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (*olim* Stadtbibliothek), MS 2315 (lost).
- Ghent 133 Ghent, Rijksarchief, Fonds Groenenbriel, MS 133.
- Ghent 3360 Ghent, Rijksarchief, Varia D. 3360.
- Grottaferrata 224 Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia Greca di S. Nilo, [Crypt.] Lat. 224 (*olim* Collocazione provvisoria 197).
- Ivrea 115 Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115 (*olim* ms without shelfmark).
- Klosterneuburg 499 Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Fragment from MS CCL. 499.
- Kras Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS 111. 8054 (*olim* Biblioteka Krasieński 52, then Biblioteka Narodowa 52).
- Machaut MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fonds françaises. 843 (text only), 1584, 1585, 1586, 9221, 22545-6, nouvelles acquisitions françaises. 6221 (text). Kansas City, James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell Collection. Codex Vogüé (manuscript formerly in the Georges Wildenstein collection, New York City, and previously owned by the Marquis Melchior de Vogüé). Currently on loan to Cambridge, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College.
- Madrid 1474/17 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, Carpeta 1474, fragmento 17.
- Melk 749 Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 749 (*olim* 542 and κ 12, and others).
- Melk 950 Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 950.
- Mod A Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.M. 5.24 (*olim* IV. D.5, then lat. 568).

- Munich 3223 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS mus. 3223.
- Munich 29775/8 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung, MS Clm. 29775 vol. 8.
- Nuremberg 9 Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 9 (from Centurio v, 61).
- Nuremberg 9a Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 9a (from Centurio III, 25).
- Old Hall London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts, MS Additional 57950 (olim Old Hall, Library of St. Edmund's College, ms without shelfmark).
- Oxford 229 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Pat. Lat. [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 229.
- Padua 684 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 684.
- Padua 1283 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS busta 2/1 (from ms 1283).
- Padua 1475 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1475.
- Panciatichi Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciaticchiano 26.
- Pit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fonds italien 568 (olim Bibliothèque Royale 165 du Supplément, then Nouv. Supplément Fr. 535).
- Prague 9 Praha, Národní knihovna (formerly Státní knihovna SSR–Univerzitní knihovna), MS XI E 9.
- Rochester 1 Rochester, (New York), Sibley Music Library, Fleisher Box 1, Folder 1 (olim Fragment 44).
- San Lorenzo 2211 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, MS 2211.
- Siena Ravi 3 Siena, Archivio di Stato, Frammento sulla copertina del registro "Ravi 3" dal Fondo Vicariato di Gavorrano (1568-1569).
- Squarcialupi Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 87.
- Strasbourg 222 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (olim Bibliothèque de la Ville), MS 222.C.22 (destroyed).
- Trémoille Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23190 (olim Angers, Château de Serrant, Duchesse de la Trémoille).
- Valladolid 7 Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Pergamino, carpeta 29, documento 7.
- Warsaw 378 Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat. F. I. 378 (olim St. Petersburg, Imperial Public Library, Lat. F. I. 378) (lost).
- Wrocław 16 Wrocław (Breslau), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Cart IV. Qu. 16.
- Yoxford Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office, HA30: 50/22/13.15 fols. 1-11 (olim Yoxford, manuscript without shelfmark formerly on deposit at Keble College, Oxford).

TABLE 1: Inventory of the Nuremberg and Melk fragments

#	Folio	Title	Voices	Edition	Concordances / Comments
Nuremberg 9					
1.	1r	<i>Degentis vita</i> / [ <i>Cum vix artidici</i> ] /Tenor / Contratenor	Tr, [Dup], T, Ct	PMFC 5 nos. 23 and 23a	Strasbourg 222, Brussels 5170, Barcelona 971, Chantilly, Tré- moille, Yoxford. Cited in Wro- claw 16 and Melk 950.
2.	1v-2r	<i>Comes Flandrie / Rector creatorum / In cimbali</i>	Tr, Dup, T	Strohm, <i>Bruges</i>	Strasbourg 222, Ascoli Pice- no 142
3.	2r	<i>Bobik blazen</i>	C, T, Ct	PMFC 21, no. 21	Munich 29775/8 (as "Hollaner" with different Ct)
4.	2v	<i>Deo gracias papales / Deo gracias fidelis / [Deo gracias salvator]</i>	C, T, [Ct]	(above)	Gdańsk 2315. Cited in Wrocław 16
Nuremberg 9a					
1.	[αv]-Ar	Gloria	[C], {T}, {Ct}	PMFC 23, no. 120	Prague 9, Ghent 3360,
2.	[β]-Ar	Machaut, <i>De petit peu</i>	C, {T}, Ct	PMFC 2-3, ballade 18	Brescia 5, Panciatichi, Pit., Mod A, Chantilly, San Lorenzo 2211, Trémoille, Cambrai 1328, Machaut MSS (8 copies)

#	Folio	Title	Voices	Edition	Concordances / Comments
3.	Av-Bv	Gloria, <i>Qui somitu melodie</i>	C, {T}, {Ct}	PMFC 23, no. 27	Budapest 297, Strasbourg 222, Munich 29775/8, Brescia 5, Grottaferrata 224, Padua 684, Ivrea 115, Apt 16bis, Cambrai 1328, Rochester 1
4.	[δv]-Cr	Ciconia, Gloria	{C1}, {C2}, [T]	PMFC 24, no. 9	Padua 1475, Padua 1283
5.	Cv-Dr	Credo	{C}, T, Ct	PMFC 23, no. 124	
6.	Dv-[εr]	Zachara, Credo <i>Cursor</i>	C (=C1), [T], [Ct]	PMFC 13, no. 4	Bologna Q15
7.	Dv-[?]	Palimpsest piece	?		unidentified
Melk 749					
1.	orv-Zrv	Zachara, Gloria <i>Ad ogni vento</i>	{C1}, {C2}, {T}, {Ct}	PMFC 13, no. 8	Warsaw 378, Kras., Bologna Q15
PMFC 2-3: <i>The Works of Guillaume de Machaut, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i> , ed. by Leo Schrade, vols. 2-3, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956.					
PMFC 5: <i>Motets of French Provenance, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i> , ed. by Frank Ll. Harrison, vol. 5, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968.					
PMFC 13: <i>Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i> , ed. by Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, vol. 13, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987.					
PMFC 21: <i>French Secular Music: Virelais, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i> , ed. by Gordon K. Greene, vol. 21, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987.					
PMFC 23: <i>French Sacred Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i> , ed. by Giulio Cattin and Francesco Facchin, vol. 23, pts. A-B, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1989-1991.					
PMFC 24: <i>The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century</i> , ed. by Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, vol. 24, Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1984.					
Strohm, Bruges: REINHARD STROHM, <i>Music in Late Medieval Bruges</i> , Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990.					

TABLE 2: Text of the Cantus of *Deo gracias papales/Deo gracias fidelis/Deo gracias salvator*

	Deo gracias papales presules et cardinales, abbates officiales, necnon universitas		sue mense commensales, ordines et principales** 15 dulcis altaris vas<s>alles fidei dat firmitas.
5	cleri, solvant, possunt quales, nempe prout decet tales, donisque ceptis equales* est <i>mpossibilitas.		Ergo nos hic consodales, vestisque signat equales, una qui ecclesiales 20 vivimus per decimas.
	Nam caducos et mortales		Deus Deo: gracias.
10	vicarios generales satrapasque speciales statuit divinitas		
*	MS: <i>equalis</i>	**	MS: <i>ordinas</i>

TABLE 3: Source situation for Gloria *Qui sonitu melodie*.

Region	Source	C	T	Ct	Amen
France	Ivrea 115	Start	Start*	Start*	Ia / II
France	Apt 16	Start	Start	Start	IIIa
Italy	Grottaferrata 224	? **	Qui S.	Qui S.	IIIb
Italy	Brescia 5	?	?	?	IIIb
France	Cambrai 1328	Start	Qui S.***	Qui S.***	Ib
France	Rochester 1	Start	Qui S.	Qui S.	Ib
Italy	Padua 684	?	Qui S.	Qui S.	IV
C. Europe	Munich 29775/8	Start	Start	Qui S.	V
C. Europe	Budapest 297	?	Start	Qui S.	V
C. Europe	Nuremberg 9a	Start	?	?	V
C. Europe	Strasbourg 222	Start	?	?	?

\* The opening of Ivrea 115 uses a different tenor and «biscantus» than the other sources'.

\*\* Question marks indicate that this part of this voice is missing due to the loss of the manuscript pages containing it. However, there is no reason to doubt that the cantus's opening was originally present largely unaltered in every source.

\*\*\* The lower voices of Cambrai 1328 omit the trope texts, and thus this section is labeled «Laudamus».

EXAMPLE 1: *Deo gracias papales / Deo gracias fidelis / Deo gracias salvator*

De - o gra-ci - as pa - pa - les, pre-su-les et car - di - na-

De - o gra-ci - as fi - de - lis quis - que sol -

De - o gra-ci - as sa[lvator]

10 les, ab - ba - tes of-fi-ci - a - les, nec - non u-ni-ver-si - tas cle-ri, sol-

vat, qui in ce - lis fo - vet su - os sa - tra - pas,

19 vant, pos-sunt qua - les, nem - pe pro-ut de - cer ta - les,

cu-ius nos a cor - rup - te - lis mun - da-vit

29 do - nis-que cep - tis e - qua - les est im - pos-si-bi - li - tas. Nam

et Sa - than te-lis pro - te-xit be - ni - gni - tas. Huic nos sa -

37 ca - du - cos et mor - ta-les vi-ca-ri-os ge-ne-ra - les sa - tra - pas-que

- gi - nat me - de - lis su - e car -

THE NUREMBERG AND MELK FRAGMENTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL ARS NOVA

47

spe - cia - les sta - tu - it di - vi - ni - tas su - e men - se com -  
nis et tu - te - lis ut cre - dat fi - de - li - tas.

56

men - sa - les, or - di - nes et prin - ci - pa - les dul - cis al - ta - ris vas - sal -  
Er - go si gau - de - re ve - lis

64

les fi - de - i dat fir - mi - tas. Er - go nos hic con - so - da - les,  
et tran - si - re tu - tis ve - lis

73

ve - stis - que si - gnat e - qua - les, u - na qui ec - cle - si - a - les  
ad san - ctas ce - - -

81

vi - vi - mus per de - ci - mas. De - us De - o: gra - ci - as.  
- li - co - las, di - cas "De - o gra - ci - as."

Notes on transcription: C ("papales"). 7: Br missing. T ("fidelis"). 67-68: as in manuscript. A less provocative cadence would involve altering the B $\flat$  to B $\natural$  and F to F $\sharp$ . Ct ("salvator"). 1-2: B B probably red in original, black in Avenary's transcription.

EXAMPLE 2: *Gloria* from Ghent 133, Oxford 229, and Gdańsk 2315

Et in terra pax

Et in terra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bo-ne-vo-lun-ta-tis.

Lau-da-mus te. A-do-ra-mus te. Gra-ti-as

Be-ne-di-ci-mus te. Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te.

a-gi-mus ti-bi pro-pter ma-gnam glo-ri-am tu-am.

Do-mi-ne De-us, Rex ce-le-stis,

Do-mi-ne Fi-li-u-ni-ge-ni-te, Do-mi-ne De-us, Ag-nus De-i,

De-us Pa-ter o-mni-po-tens. Je-su Chri-ste.

Notes on transcription: C1: missing passages all taken from Gdańsk. 1-2.2 missing; 13.2-3 missing; 21.4-23.1 Sbr in 23.1 moved to 21.4 following reading from Gdańsk despite the ligature (Sbr in 23 appears to have been added latter; it follows rather than pre-cedes the Br); 36.3-4 Sb (Gdańsk has two Sb, which does not fit the text); 57.3-4 alteration is unnecessary, so the Sb should be per-

21

Fi - li - us Pa - tris. mi - se - re - re no - bis.

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta

26

su - sci - pe de - pre - ca - ti - o - nem no - stram. mi - se - re - re

mun - di, Qui se - des ad dex - te - ram Pa - tris,

31

no - bis. Tu so - lus Do - mi - nus. Je -

Quo - ni - am tu so - lus San - ctus. Tu so - lus Al - tis - si - mus,

36

su Chri - ste. in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - - - tris.

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

fect and no minims should be altered, but this reading is unlikely given the prevailing musical style. C2: none. T: ms refers to Avenary's diplomatic transcription; 21 illegible sign at beginning of bar, ignored here; 25.4 ms C; 30.4 ms E; 42-end missing.

MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT

Musical score for Michael Scott Cuthbert, measures 42-60. The score is written for three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). Measure 42 includes a first ending bracket labeled 'A' above the first staff. Measure 59 includes a first ending bracket labeled 'men.' above the first staff. Measure 60 includes a first ending bracket labeled 'men.' below the second staff. The score consists of five systems of three staves each.

EXAMPLE 3: *Celice rex regum / Ingentem gentem*

Ce - li - ce rex re - gum do - mi - na - tor, fons pi - e - ta - tis nos con -

In - gen - tem gen - tem de - cet om -

5 iun - ge gre - gum Chri - sti thro - nis de - i - ta - tis

nem fe - re re - gen - tem mor -

9 Da fun - gi pa - ce cri - men psal - len - ti - bus a se. Gau - di - a

ti - fe - ram men - tem pi - e - ta - - - - - te -

13 pre - sta ce - li nos su - me fá - ce ra - pa - ce pu - ra sa - cer - do - ta - lis

que iu - re fru - - - - - en - tem, ut

16 laus cum iu - re. Re - fer - ta vi - te sit ser - ta re - li -

do - met vi - ven - tem, po - pu - lum ra - ti -

*ms: D*

(11a) *tenor, ligatures as before*

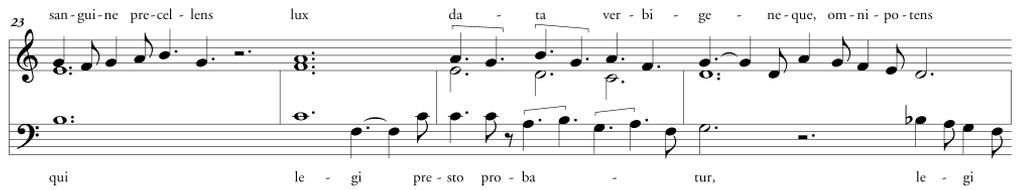
Detailed description: This is a musical score for a Latin liturgical text. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The time signature is 3/8. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: 'Ce - li - ce rex re - gum do - mi - na - tor, fons pi - e - ta - tis nos con - In - gen - tem gen - tem de - cet om - iun - ge gre - gum Chri - sti thro - nis de - i - ta - tis nem fe - re re - gen - tem mor - Da fun - gi pa - ce cri - men psal - len - ti - bus a se. Gau - di - a ti - fe - ram men - tem pi - e - ta - - - - - te - 13 pre - sta ce - li nos su - me fá - ce ra - pa - ce pu - ra sa - cer - do - ta - lis que iu - re fru - - - - - en - tem, ut 16 laus cum iu - re. Re - fer - ta vi - te sit ser - ta re - li - do - met vi - ven - tem, po - pu - lum ra - ti -'. There are performance instructions: '(11a) tenor, ligatures as before' and 'ms: D'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ligatures.

MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT

20 quo-rum laus quo- que to - ta crux pi - a, fruc - ti - fer - ens si - gna nos om - ni - a li - gna  
o - ne ca - ren - tem. Rec - tor ho - no - ra - tur,



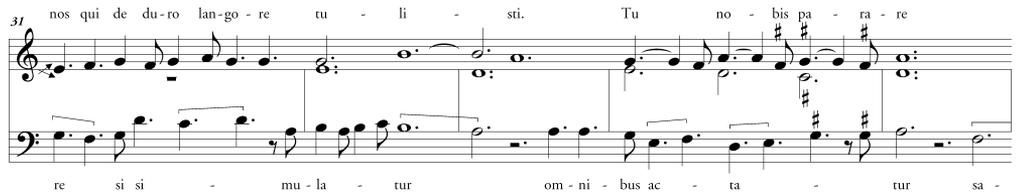
23 san - gui - ne pre - cel - lens lux da - ta ver - bi - ge - ne - que, om - ni - po - tens  
qui le - gi pre - sto pro - ba - tur, le - gi



27 Y - ti - de qui cunc - tis es - se de - di - sti san - gui - ne  
splen - do da - tur. Pro mu - ne



31 nos qui de du - ro lan - go - re tu - li - sti. Tu no - bis pa - ra - re  
re si si - mu - la - tur om - ni - bus ac - ta - tur sa -



36 ve - lis reg - na - re per - hen - ne. Non ig - nis va - le - at ve - lis mor -  
- pi - do si iu - re re - ga - tur. Nam sunt rec - to - ri



THE NUREMBERG AND MELK FRAGMENTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL ARS NOVA

41 de - re ge - hen - ne. Pax e - ter - na, de - us, ve -

pax gau - di - a gen - tis a - mo - ri si se - det mo - ri

46 ram no - bis da - to pa - cem; nam que

que su - o gens ce - det ho - no - ri, vi - vens

50 mo - ri fer - tur abs - que qui - e te fo - re.

si - cut de - co - ri qui - bit et ip - sa mo - ri.

EXAMPLE 4: *Tu venerandus presul Amandus*, motetus and tenor.

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The bass line is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The systems are labeled with circled Roman numerals I through V. System I includes the label 'Tenor' and a circled 'I'. System II starts at measure 8 and includes a circled 'II'. System III starts at measure 15 and includes a circled 'III'. System IV starts at measure 22 and includes a circled 'IV'. System V starts at measure 29 and includes a circled 'V'. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes in the vocal line, often beamed together, and a more rhythmic bass line with dotted and eighth notes. A question mark is placed above the vocal line in measure 12 of system II.

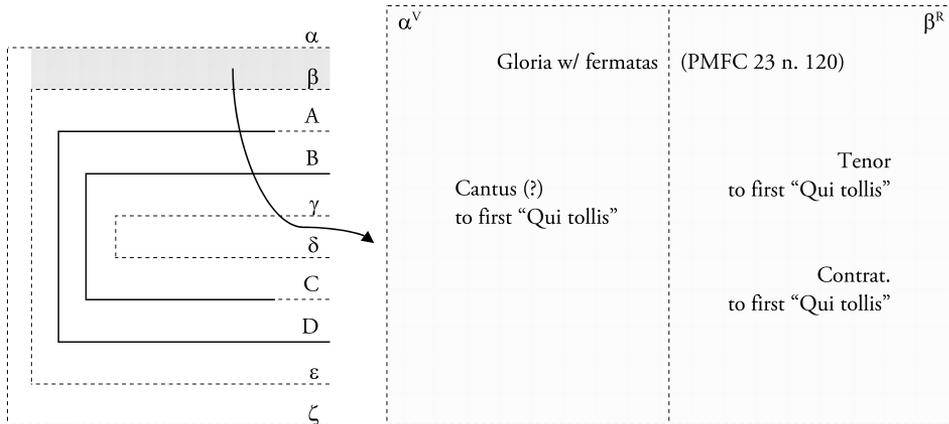
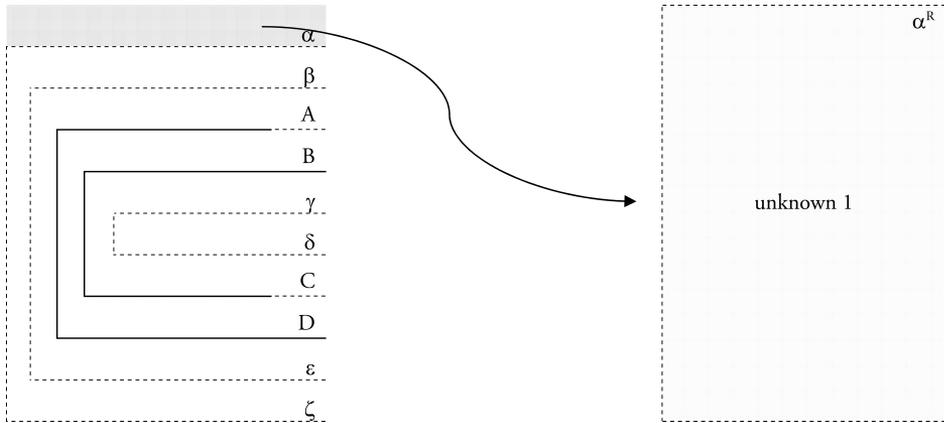
EXAMPLE 5: *Credo*, PMFC 23, no. 124, excerpt of the cantus from f. Cv (4v) and the tenor and contratenor from f. Dr (1r).

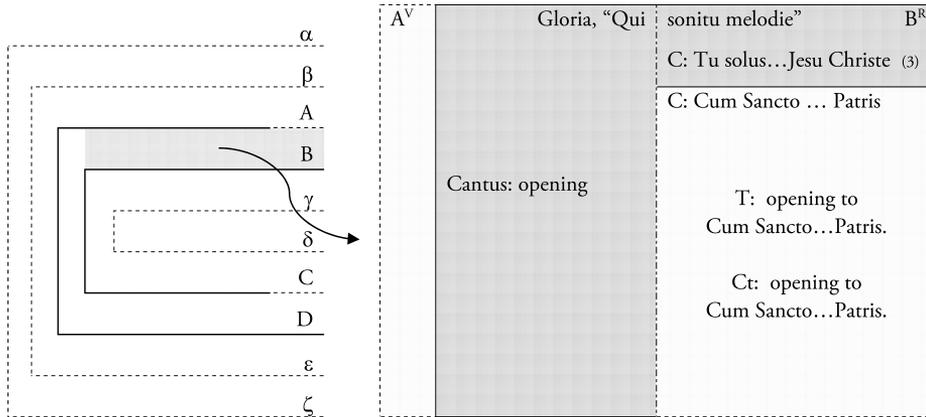
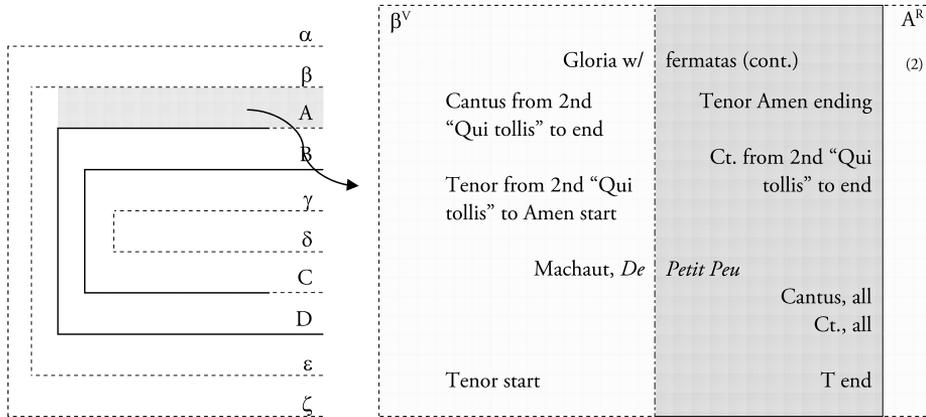
Musical score for Example 5, showing three staves (Cantus, Tenor, and Contratenor) with the text "Et in unum". The score is in G major and 4/4 time. The Cantus staff (top) begins at measure 16 with a melodic line. The Tenor and Contratenor staves (middle and bottom) provide harmonic support. The text "Et in unum" is written below the Tenor staff.

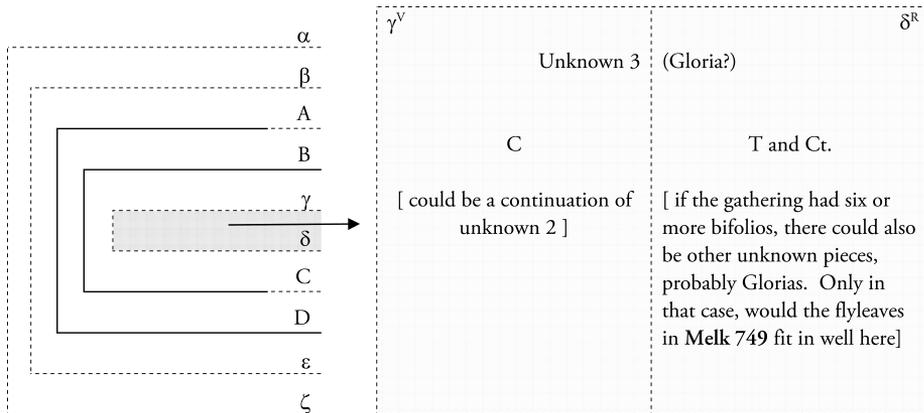
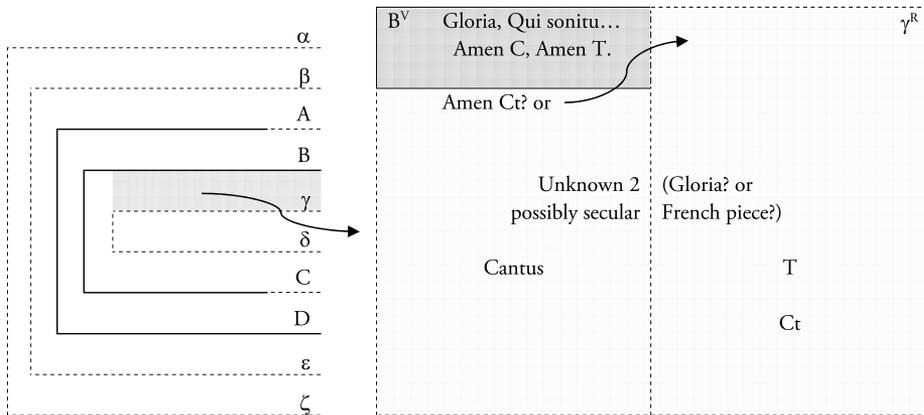
EXAMPLE 6: *Amen* of *Gloria*, PMFC 23, no. 120.

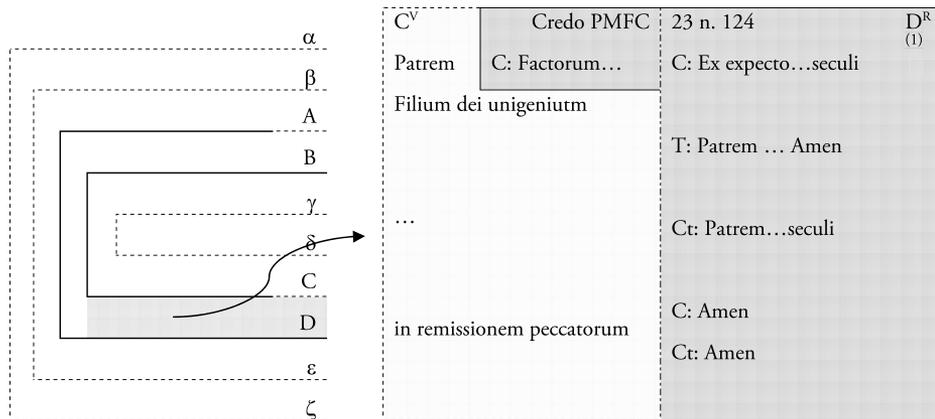
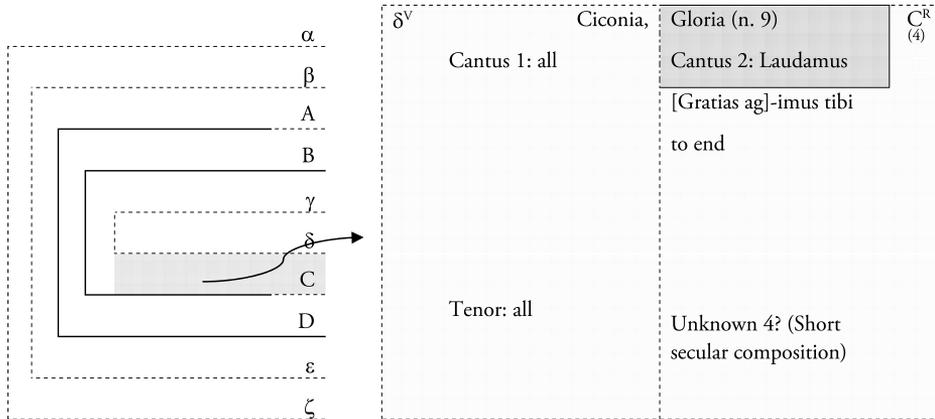
Musical score for Example 6, showing Cantus (Ct.) and Tenor (T.) parts with the text "A - (men)" and "(A) - men.". The score is in G major and 4/4 time. The Cantus part (top) begins at measure 16 with a melodic line. The Tenor part (middle) provides harmonic support. The text "A - (men)" is written below the Cantus staff, and "(A) - men." is written below the Tenor staff. The score is divided into three systems, with measures 16-17, 18-34, and 35-50 indicated.

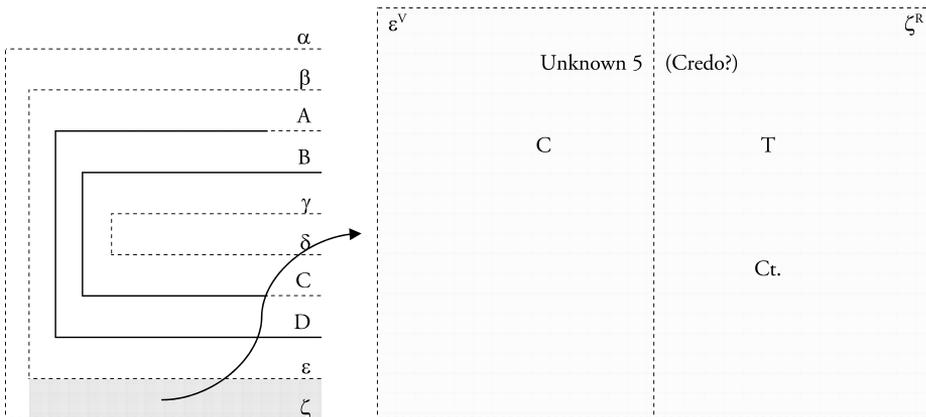
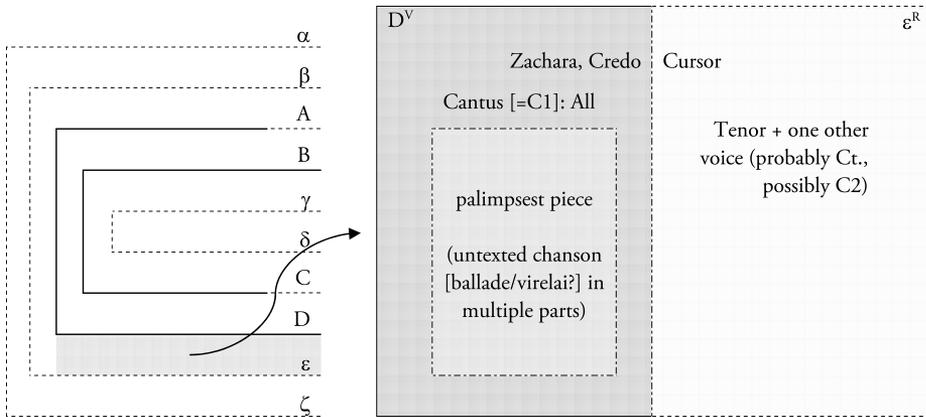
FIGURE 1: Reconstruction of the contents and layout of Nuremberg 9a











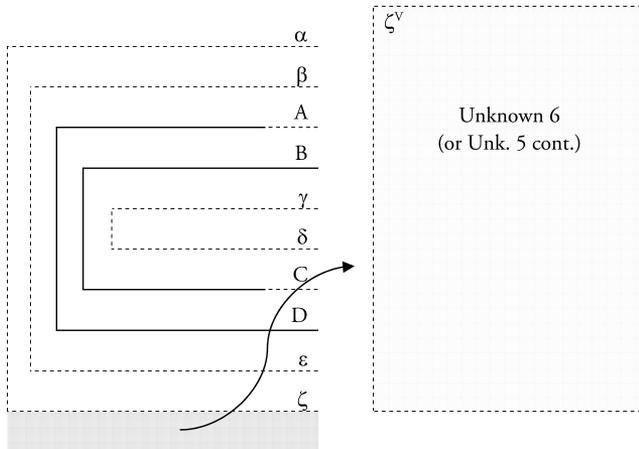


PLATE 1: Nuremberg 9, f. 1r. (All photographs reproduced with the kind permission of the Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg)

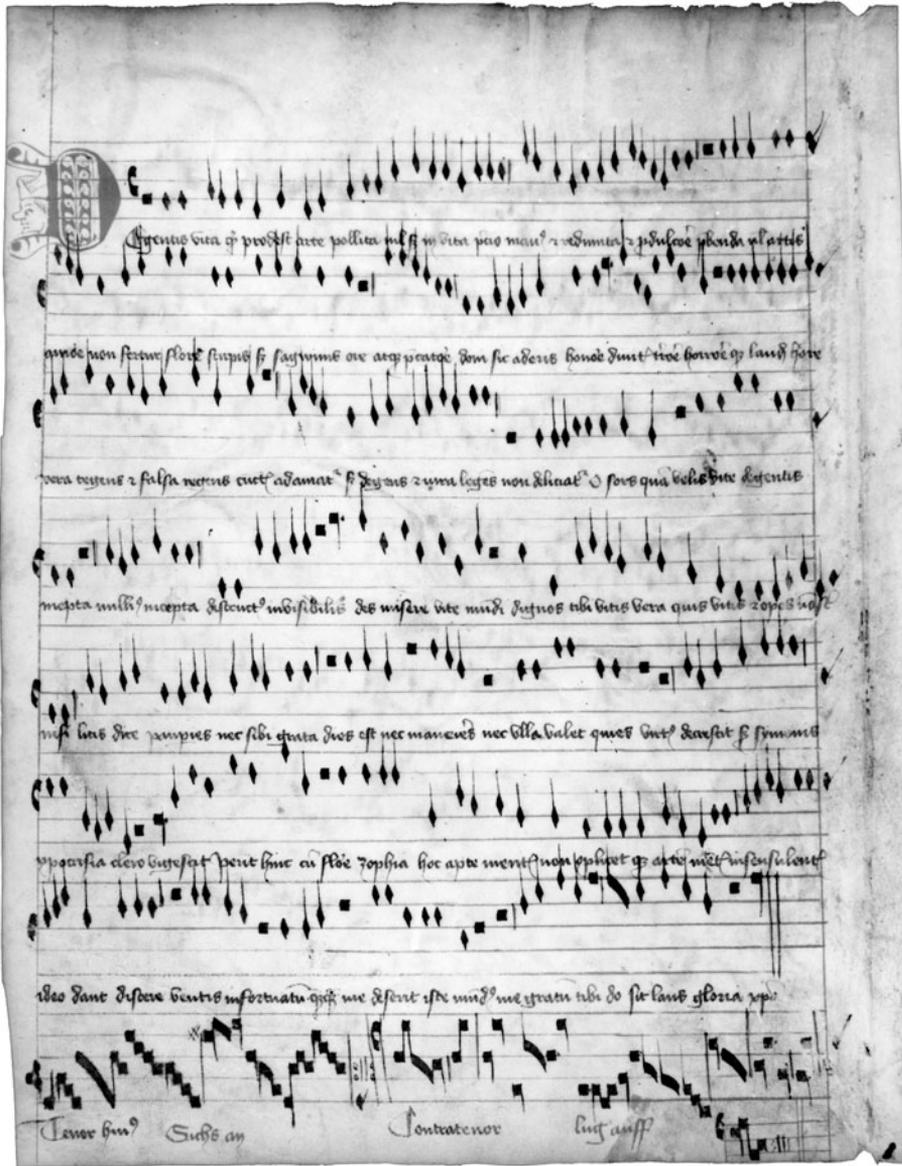


PLATE 2: Nuremberg 9, f. 1v

Q  
mos flandric flos victoris cunctis fignis hinc armonica in melodia et tempore arte  
Vare nata fuit fortuna qd ppendit hic na osuat hic manet qui parat ut contemnat malos qd priuat refici  
2  
infum tunc ad miranda celos fignis docuit armonicus pntis accidit ut pccat amos labe deletat qm  
balis in quis mulcens corda studiosoru laudib' diuinit' tangens corda par est isto  
quolibz astrologa debet homin' benedicta que sic stant so uo Ieron ta vito  
Numbalis bene sonantib' laudate hominu delectis cu angelis tunc exultantibus laborosa  
fela d'orum tunc sic cur vobis aial' absq' enim corruptelis et sic vobis hic extotantib' gaudebit  
medelis illerebr' leonatis resp' v'is lunc adp'ualis q' m' d'antib' tunc d'um q'mud'

PLATE 3: Nuremberg 9, f. 2v

W /

**D**e gratias papales psules & cardinales abbates officiales necno vniuersitates clari soluat  
possunt quales nempe put deat tales doms qe ceptis equalis est impossibilitate na caducas & mor  
tales huiusmodi quales satrapas qe spenales statuit summas sue mensis omnesales ordmas & pna  
uales dulas alams vasalles fidei dat firmitas Ergo nos hic an fozales velt qe sequat equalis  
vna qui ecclesie vnum p deamas de deo gratias  De gratias fidelis quisqz soluat  
que in celis fouet suos satrapas em nos a corruptelis mundant & satrapas celis ptegat benig  
nitas hinc nos facimat medelis sue carnis & tutelis ut accipat fidelitas Ergo si gaudeat  
velis & transire tutis belis ~ ~ ~ ad sanctas ecclesias suas deo gratias







