

## Chapter 3 :

### *A French legacy in the hands of Italian masters: The manuscript Modena, Biblioteca estense, α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568)*

The contents of parchment manuscript α.M.5.24 (*olim* Lat. 568; IV.D.5) now shelved in the Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria di Modena (henceforth MOe5.24) represent the cultivation of the *ars subtilior* style in northern and central Italy. Although the manuscript is connected through its repertoire to several other musical manuscripts from the same era, for the most part it contains unique works ascribed to composers with Italian geographical origins. This manuscript attests to the international status of the *ars subtilior* style, even if this internationalism resided in the eclecticism of a limited number of musicians practising music on the north Italian peninsula. Its value as a testimonial to the local practices in musical style and notational processes without doubt necessitates further examination. In particular the question of this source's origin, dating and relation to other extant sources requires reconsideration, despite the presence of several studies already conducted by musicologists during the course of the twentieth century.

Although already known in literary scholarship of the later nineteenth century,<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Ludwig was the first scholar to draw serious attention to musical aspects of this codex.<sup>2</sup> Johannes Wolf included its inventory and examples of its unusual notation in his pioneering *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation*.<sup>3</sup> Thirteen years later, the texts contained in this manuscript were published in a diplomatic edition by G. Bertoni.<sup>4</sup> In 1923, a catalogue of musical works in the Estense library compiled by Pio Lodi was published. This brief assessment of MOe5.24 is noteworthy as it contains the original suggestion that miniatures in the manuscript were from the school of Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Cappelli, *Poesie musicali dei sec. XIV, XV, XVI*, Bologna, 1868; Valdrighi, in *Giornale d'erudizione*, Firenze, 1890; G. Carducci, *Cacce in rima dei sec. XIV e XV*, Bologna, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Ludwig, 'Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts', pp. 21 and 24.

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Wolf, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 335-339.

<sup>4</sup> Giulio Bertoni, 'Poesie musicali francesi nel cod. estense lat. n° 568', *Archivum Romanicum*, vol. 1, 1917, pp. 21-57.

<sup>5</sup> Pio Lodi, *Catalogo delle Opere Musicali: Teoriche e pratiche di autori vissuti sino ai primi decenni del secolo XIX, esistenti nelle Biblioteche e negli archivi pubblici e privati d'Italia : Città di Modena, R. Biblioteca estense*, Bollettino dell'associazione dei musicologi italiani Series VIII, Modena, 1923 (repr. Forni Editore, Bologna, 1967), pp. 522-24.

It was not until after the Second World War that the first major study of the manuscript by the late Nino Pirrotta was published.<sup>6</sup> His study, which was actually commenced before the war, in many ways remains exemplary in its methods. Pirrotta concluded that the manuscript was the work of two scribes. Essentially, he determined that Gatherings 2 to 4 were the work of a single scribe and Gatherings 1 and 5 of a later scribe. Of the five quinterns, Pirrotta suggested, based on repertorial considerations and the assumption (after Lodi) that initials in the second and third gatherings were representative of a Bolognese school,<sup>7</sup> that the inner three gatherings were copied in the vicinity of the Bolognese chapel of popes elected under the Pisan obedience, Alexander V and John XXIII during the years 1409-1414. Pirrotta also concluded that the two outer gatherings (1 and 5) were compiled at Milan by an associate of Matheus de Perusio (or, in Pirrotta's terms,<sup>8</sup> an *amanuensis*) after 1419/20 based on his view that the work of Frenchman Nicholas Grenon in the fifth gathering could not have been transmitted to Italy at an earlier date.<sup>9</sup> These more recent gatherings were joined to the earlier layer, which Pirrotta suggested had returned with Matheus de Perusio to Milan.<sup>10</sup> The central aspect of Pirrotta's study is the instrumentality of Matheus de Perusio in the manuscript's earliest layer and his subsequent influence attested to by the predominance of works ascribed to him in the outer gatherings. Pirrotta proposes that Matheus' employment with Cardinal Pietro Filargo was the connecting thread between both layers. After entering into the cardinal's service in 1406 at Pavia, Pirrotta suggests that Matheus travelled in 1408 in the cardinal's entourage to Pisa, becoming a member of Filargo's papal chapel in 1409 when the cardinal was elected Alexander V at the Council held there. After Alexander V's death, only ten months after his election during the night of either 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> May 1410 at Bologna, Pirrotta suggests that Matheus remained in the chapel of Filargo's successor, John XXIII (former Cardinal Baldassare Cossa), until 1414, when the composer is once more documented at the Duomo of Milan. By situating Matheus in or near the chapel of the Pisan popes, Pirrotta sought to establish the means by which Matheus would have had contact with other composers represented in the oldest portion of the manuscript. To this end, Pirrotta proposed Antonius

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<sup>6</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', pp. 101-154.

<sup>7</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', pp. 123-141 and 151-152.

<sup>8</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 142.

<sup>9</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', pp. 152-153.

dictus Zacharias de Teramo, Johannes de Janua, Bartholomeus de Bononia (=Bologna) and Corradus de Pistoria (=Pistoia) were members of the papal chapel.

The second major study on this manuscript appearing in 1970 was conducted by Ursula Günther.<sup>11</sup> It was preceded by two studies that made ancillary observations concerning MOe5.24 in relation to the central concerns of their respective studies. Perhaps the most influential study was Claudio Sartori's investigation of the first two *maestri di capelle* (Matheus de Perusio and Bertrandus Feragut) at the new Duomo of Milan at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Contrary to Pirrotta, Sartori suggested that the manuscript as a whole was compiled at Pavia in 1406/7 or Pisa in 1409 and was directly connected to Matheus and his employment by Cardinal Filargo.<sup>12</sup> Yet, another view was present by Suzanne Clercx in her study on the composer Johannes Ciconia. Clercx proposed that the older portion of the manuscript was compiled at Avignon, before being brought to Italy by a member in the entourage of one of the several Italian magnates who had visited Avignon.<sup>13</sup>

Günther, conscious of Pirrotta's precedent, sought to update Pirrotta's inventory and findings, as well as supply new information critical to the dating of the manuscript. Most importantly, Günther dismisses Clercx' hypothesis concerning an Avignonese origin of the inner gatherings by recalling Pierluigi Petrobelli's then-recent dating of *Inperial sedendo* to 1401<sup>14</sup> and stating her own convincing observations for the dating of *Ore Pandulfum* to 1399.<sup>15</sup> By considering the historical fact that Avignon was besieged by French forces between 1398-1403, making Pope Benedict XIII a prisoner in his own palace, Günther convincingly concludes that these two datable works from the inner gatherings could not have found their way into a manuscript compiled in that pope's court.<sup>16</sup> Günther also observes that the lack of ascriptions to works ostensibly by members of the Avignonese papal

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<sup>11</sup> Ursula Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568=Mod)', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 24, 1970, pp. 17-69.

<sup>12</sup> Claudio Sartori, 'Matteo de Perugia e Bertrand Feragut i due primi maestri de cappella del Duomo di Milano', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 28, 1956, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Suzanne Clercx, 'Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des MSS. Italiens, Mod. 568 et Lucca (Mn)', in *Les Colloques du Wegimont II (1955): L'ars nova: recueil d'études sur la musique de XIVe siècle 1955*, Society d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1959, pp. 112ff.

<sup>14</sup> Petrobelli, *op.cit.*, pp. 94ff.

<sup>15</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', pp. 35-40. Günther's observations were based upon Pirrotta's more general suggestions, in Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 140.

<sup>16</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 34.

chapel and that the italianisation of Jacob de Senleches' name to Jacopinus Senleses further indicate the unlikelihood of this manuscript's origin at that essentially French court.<sup>17</sup>

Günther's study further proposes a mode of transmission of the works that she believed originated from Avignon. She sees Benedict XIII's departure and travels through Italy with his chapel as an opportunity for the southwards transferral of the repertoire from this court. In particular, she focuses on Benedict's sojourn in Genoa, a city not unknown for its French cultural tendencies in this period. Based on the appearance of two Johannes in the papal chapel at this time, Günther suggests that one may be the composer Johannes de Janua, represented by two works in MOe5.24.<sup>18</sup>

The privilege of conducting the last detailed study of this manuscript during the twentieth century belongs to Anne Stone.<sup>19</sup> The first chapter of her doctoral dissertation from 1994 reopens the question of MOe5.24's origin by bringing new methodological tools and recent archival findings to bear. Chief among Stone's claims is that, based on codicological evidence and repertorial considerations, the inner gatherings of the manuscript represents at least two different initial projects that were subsequently joined together. In particular, Stone suggests that the second gathering was originally commenced as a collection of the works of Anthonellus de Caserta and the third gathering as a collection of liturgical works.<sup>20</sup> Stone draws our attention to recently discovered archival evidence placing a *Frater Antoniello de Caserta* in the archbishop's curia at Pavia and the suggestion that Anthonellus' *Del glorioso titolo de duce*, connects him to Pavia in the 1390s.<sup>21</sup> Stone also highlights recent studies that suggest that the illumination style of Niccolò di Giacomo was practised by imitators beyond Bologna into the Veneto.<sup>22</sup> These observations and Matheus' associations with Pavia, led Stone to conclude that the manuscript was commenced at Pavia, before travelling to Pisa, where works by Tuscan composers were included.<sup>23</sup> Stone maintains the view that Matheus de Perusio was instrumental in the copying of the more

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<sup>17</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', pp. 41-44.

<sup>19</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy"

<sup>20</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> These points are further discussed below, p. 131.

<sup>22</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 24. In an earlier study, Reinhard Strohm notes that the style does not necessarily indicate the illuminations in MOe5.24 where executed in Bologna, in 'Magister Egardus and other Italo-Flemish contacts', in *L'ars Nova del Trecento VI*, eds G. Cattin & P. D. Vecchia, Certaldo, 1992, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 24.

recent outer gatherings. She, however, does leave open the question of whether the scribes of the older and newer sections of the manuscript might in fact be the same individual.

The following study seeks to reconsider these earlier studies and to augment our understanding of the transmission of this repertoire by the application of methodological tools either new or formerly (and in my view prematurely) deemed inadequate for this purpose.<sup>24</sup> In particular I question Stone's conclusions concerning this manuscript's origin at Pavia on the bases of codicological evidence and stemmatic filiation. By examining the confluence of archival evidence with cultural movements and composers in this manuscript, I propose that Gatherings 2-4 of this manuscript are closely tied to the movements of the popes of the Pisan obedience in *settentrionale* Italy. But first, a re-examination of physical, scribal and repertorial aspects is necessary background to any further conclusions.

### 3.1. *Physical and scribal characteristics*

In addition to five quinterns, MOe5.24 also contains a flyleaf before the first gathering and after the fifth gathering. These two flyleaves clearly belong to the original manuscript as they contain on the inner side of the leaves respectively the T of item 1 and a rondeau in the same hand as the preceding leaves.<sup>25</sup> The slight difference in the length of these flyleaves, which measure 272-274 x 198 mm as opposed the almost uniform dimensions of the leaves of the gatherings (280 x 198 mm), suggests that they were added in the last phase of copying the manuscript, possibly when the gatherings had already been assembled. Comparison with the dimensions of manuscripts shown in Table 2.1 (Chapter 2, p. 31) illustrates the small format of MOe5.24. The implications of this small size will be discussed below.

The 52 leaves of this manuscript are surrounded by a modern binding of blue with gilt inlay.<sup>26</sup> The parchment pastedowns do not connect the flyleaf to the boards, resulting

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<sup>24</sup> *vid.* Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 122.

<sup>25</sup> These flyleaves are attached to the first and last gatherings in the usual manner whereby an overhanging edge is stitched in with the rest of the gathering and then glued to the other side of the spine edge of the gathering.

<sup>26</sup> Günther reported the new binding in 1970, in 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense  $\alpha$ .M.5.24', p. 17. The present dimensions of the manuscript as a whole (i.e. including binding) is 288 x 212 x 28 mm. The spine consists of five raised bands corresponding to the stitching of the gatherings. Below the fifth band one finds a red leather label with the shelf number of the manuscript  $\alpha$  M 5 24 in gilt tooled letters arranged vertically and enclosed in the outline of a gilt rectangle. The exterior of the manuscript is generally in good condition, although I would conclude from my inspection of this manuscripts that the blue stained leather reported in 1970 has faded somewhat to an aqua-green.

in a suitably flexible binding.<sup>27</sup> This method of binding permitted the inspection of part of the spine. It was noted that along the verso spine edge of the back flyleaf, the following was written in an ancient hand: *Nota Figura[t?]a. Sumite [lacuna] del ça[ch]ara*. This note may indicate that the manuscript was assembled, but remained unbound for some time. One also notes the erased title of *Canti francesi* on the *recto* of the front flyleaf, although this inscription would appear to be of more recent provenance.

The first inventory of this manuscript by Johannes Wolf numbered the folia of the manuscript beginning at 1 for the first flyleaf. The present study follows Nino Pirrotta's restoration of the old foliation which is found on the three inner gatherings (as ancient Indo-Arabic numerals in red ink), whereby the foliation is *a* for the front flyleaf, 1-10 (first gathering), 11-40 (three inner gatherings), 41-50 (fifth gathering) and *z* (back flyleaf). Both Günther and Stone adopt this foliation in their respective studies of the codex.<sup>28</sup> Bifolia are arranged throughout according to Gregory's rule (hair side to hair side – flesh side to the flesh).

This manuscript's five gatherings of five bifolia show three distinct layers of preparation. Layer III consists of the two outermost gatherings. These leaves bear traces of an old Indo-Arabic foliation which Nino Pirrotta astutely assessed as the original numbering of these outer bifolia when they had formed one large ten bifolia gathering, referred to here as the protogathering. The inner five bifolia of this protogathering became Gathering 1 and the remaining bifolia were formed into Gathering 5.<sup>29</sup> Figure 3.1 shows the structure of the protogathering. Numbers in brackets reflect original foliation (those with asterisks can be still detected); other numbers reflect the modern foliation.

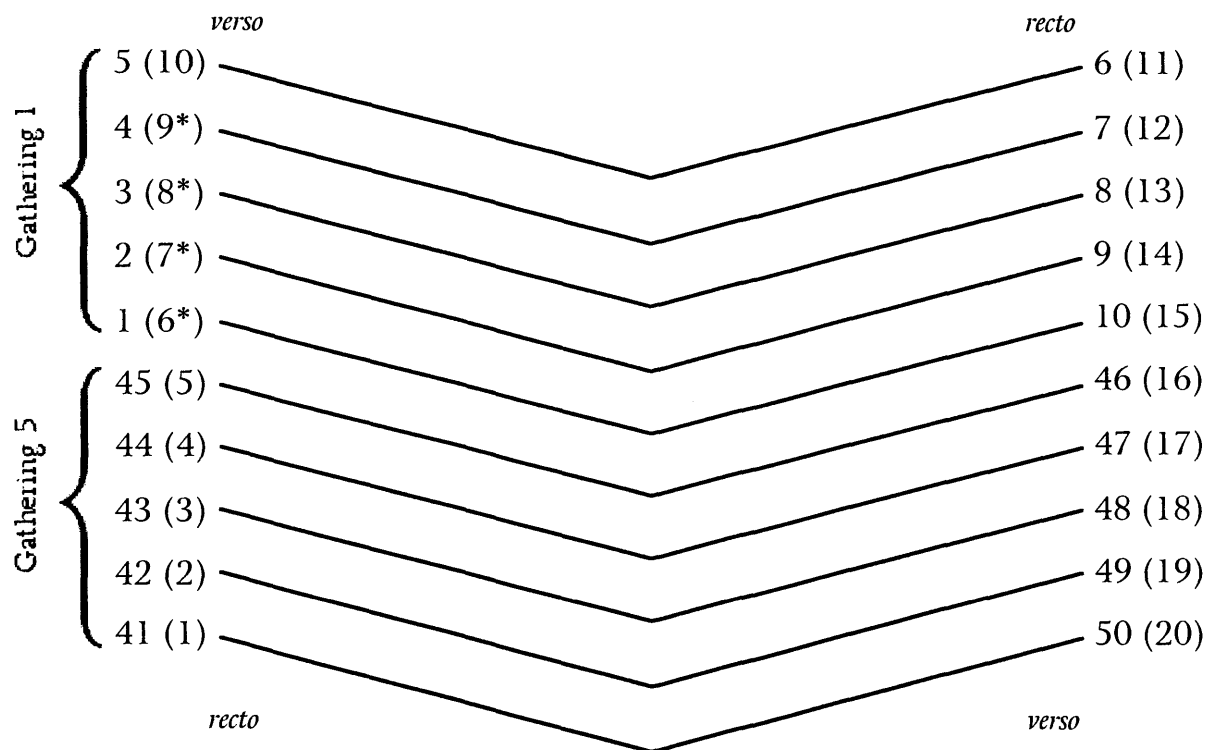
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<sup>27</sup> There is some minor warping of the boards. The binding leather is turned under the boards 13mm, the parchment paste down flush to its edge, rather than overlapping. Glued to the back paste down is what appears to be a much older rectangular paper cut-out (93 x 23 mm) which contains the 18<sup>th</sup> century shelf number of this manuscript, IV.D.5, crossed out. The hand is similar to that found in the 18<sup>th</sup> century catalogue of the Estense Library. To the right of the aforementioned label is the old 18<sup>th</sup> century catalogue number of the manuscript, L. 568, and underneath it the modern shelf number  $\alpha$ .M.5.24. At the bottom of this paste down is a small label containing notice of the manuscript's restoration in 1966, and the observation that the manuscript previously had "...la tipica rilegatura in bazzana rossa eseguita nella seconda metà del sec. XVIII..." (the typical binding executed in red leather in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century). At the time of his study, before restoration, Pirrotta notes that the binding is "tipicamente estense e settecentesca", in 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 104. This or a previous red binding would be the cause of red staining on the exterior of the flyleaves.

<sup>28</sup> Stone also discusses the fact that foliation in the inner gatherings begins at 11, suggesting that a previous gathering was lost, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 110; Cf. Stone, "Writing rhythm in late medieval Italy", pp. 20-21.

Figure 3.1: Protogathering (MOe5.24 Gatherings 1 and 5)



That the two outer gatherings were uniformly prepared with a writing area of 150-155 x 215-220 mm occupied by ten pentagrams ruled with a 12 mm rastrum, further supports this sequence of compilation. Dry point guidelines used to delimit the left and right margins are occasionally visible. In five instances, a 13 mm rastrum-ruled pentagram was added below the tenth stave, while two other cases saw the addition of an 11<sup>th</sup> staff ruled without a rastrum.<sup>30</sup> The pentagrams ruled on f. zr demonstrate a variation in gauge of between 14 and 16 mm, which strongly suggests this leaf was prepared separate from the two outer gatherings. Despite Stone's claims that all evidence of prick marks was removed by trimming, remnant marks at the right hand edge can be consistently found in the first gathering at 132, 153 and 172 mm from the top of the folio, further suggesting a uniformity in the preparation of this gathering. Based upon these observations, I conclude that the outer gatherings were prepared as a unit. Additional staves were then added to them as copying required without recourse to the original rastrum, and the addition of the flyleaves occurred simultaneously with the copying of the work onto 1r. The absence of the original rastrum may suggest that the protogathering was removed from its original context, that is workshop or scriptorium.

<sup>30</sup> This occurs on ff. 7v, 8r, 10v and 43v, 44r using a 13 mm rastrum. The pentagram added on f. av consists of a 14 mm gauge, although it may have been ruled a line at a time if one considers the irregular length of each line. The staff added at the bottom of f. 50v was also executed without the use of a rastrum.

Considering that f. 1 originally was f. 6 in the protogathering, it can be concluded that outside *recto-verso* faces of the folio could not have been filled with music before the protogathering was split into two quinterns. It can be concluded that ff. 1r and 10v were blank at the splitting of the protogathering if one considers Matheus de Perusio's *Dame que i'aym sour toutes* which at present starts on f. 10v and continues onto the bottom of the new gathering beginning at 11r. As there is no copying of music across the pages that would have originally faced ff. 1r and 10v (ff. 6r & 15v of protogathering), it is possible that the works now found on what are presently ff. 45v and 46r (protogathering ff. 5v and 16r) were copied before the splitting of the protogathering. These observations, as well as the palimpsest on f.16v, which involved the removal of the motet *Gratiosus fervidus/Magnanimus opere* (also found in Gathering 5, f. 50v and therefore most likely copied before the protogathering was brought together with Gatherings 2-4) and its replacement by Matheus de Perusio's *Pres du soloil* by the scribe of the outer gatherings, unambiguously demonstrate that this subsequent scribe was responsible for partitioning the protogathering, copying additional music into the newly formed outer gatherings and assembling the manuscript into its present form.

The inner gatherings, despite a uniformity in script (discussed below), demonstrate at least two different stages of preparation. As this aspect has already been treated by Pirrotta, Günther and Stone, it suffices to summarise their views, to add additional details and to present my own observations where they might differ. Layer II consists of the second and fourth gatherings. These are generally prepared with nine pentagrams ruled with a 14 mm rastrum (with the occasional half-staff below the ninth on ff. 11r, 13r, 20r, 31v and a full staff on f. 40r). The third gathering, which constitutes Layer I, was prepared as ten 12 mm pentagrams (added 11<sup>th</sup> staves on ff.23v, 24r ). It is notable that across Gatherings 2, 3 and 4, there is little variation in writing space – 212-215 by 150-155 mm.<sup>31</sup> Clearly visible vertical ink guides delimit the left and right hand margins in all inner gatherings.

My examination of the manuscript confirms the results of Anne Stone's study of the prick marks used for ruling wherein she concludes that Gatherings 3 and 4 were "pricked together as units", that is all leaves of each gathering were pricked together but independent

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<sup>31</sup> Writing area was measured vertically from the top of the first staff to the bottom of the last staff (additional staves are considered independently) and horizontally from the left vertical guide to the right vertical guide.



of the next gathering.<sup>32</sup> A further difference in these two gatherings is the relationship between prick marks and staves. In the third gathering, the tops of staves are placed 3-4 mm below the level of prick marks. In the fourth gathering, the tops of staves are level with the prick marks. Different preparations within the second gathering itself also suggest various stages of compilation in these inner gatherings.<sup>33</sup>

Stone suggests that the second gathering contains traces of what was originally conceived as a compilation of the works of Anthonellus de Caserta.<sup>34</sup> In the manuscript's present form, works by Anthonellus are found on ff. 12v, 13r, 13v, and 19v. Stone proposes that the "Idem" on f. 19v and the erased ascription on f. 18v also refer to Anthonellus. My examination of the erased ascription under ultraviolet light conditions did not yield an "A", as reported by Stone, but "...us" or "...fa", that is, only the end of the ascription was visible.

From my examination of the preparation of the second gathering, I conclude that bifolia 11/20, 12/19 and 15/16 were prepared as a unit. Closely corresponding double prick marks on ff. 12, 15 and 16, 19 (different position for each corresponding pair) may suggest that these leaves were prepared earlier and used as templates for additional bifolia. The locations of prick marks in these bifolia correspond to those found in the fourth gathering. No prick marks and a slight increase in the writing area by 5 mm distinguish bifolium 13/18. Similarly, the wider cast of prick marks on bifolium 14/17 resulting in the loss of all but two prick marks suggests this bifolium was not prepared with others in this gathering.

Yet the copying process suggests that the two irregularly prepared bifolia were inserted early in the copying process. Zacharia's *Caciando per gustar* was copied across the facing leaves 16v-17r. Similarly the motet *Apta caro / Flos virginum / ALMA REDEMPTORIS MATER* links the inserted bifolia 13/18 and 14/17 through its copying over ff. 17v-18r. From this, one can most likely assume that the bifolia were blank upon insertion and that 18r (part of original gathering) was also blank. *Hors sui je bien* and Senleches' *Fuions de ci* can only have been copied after the inserts were in place. Based on this analysis, one can conclude that a greater priority was accorded to works by Anthonellus only after the inserts

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<sup>32</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", pp. 15-16. Stone comments (*ibid.*, p. 16, fn. 11) that in the third gathering, f. 21 "appears to have a slightly different pattern of holes, suggesting it was ruled in order to match the existing bifolios". I would suggest that the different appearance of prick marks on f. 21 resulted from a skewing of the page caused by a slight misplacement of the bifolium fold.

<sup>33</sup> Stone correctly reports that ff. 11, 12 and 15 have corresponding prick marks, while 16, 18 and 19 have partial prick marks independent of each other and of 11, 12 and 15, *loc. cit.*

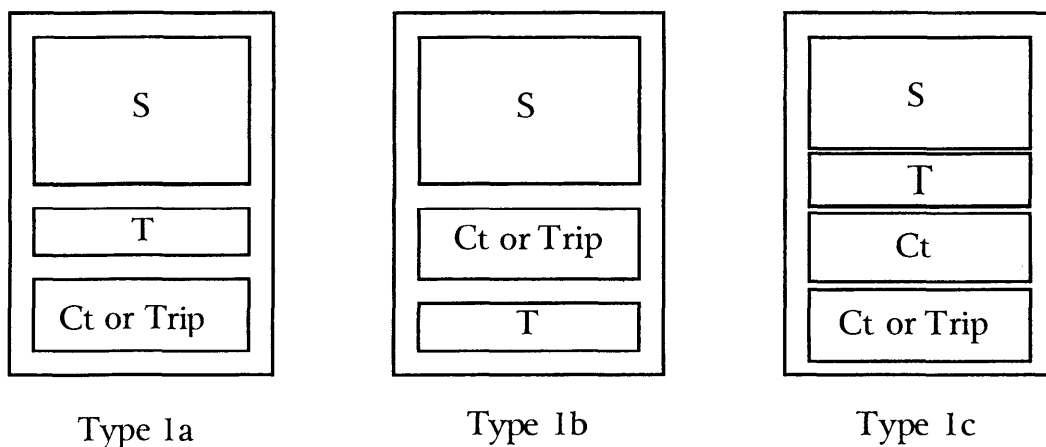
<sup>34</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", pp. 15-20.

had been added. It is possible that bifolium 12/19 was originally at the centre of the gathering if one allows bifolium 15/16 to have been originally the outer bifolium of an early form of the gathering. The disconnected *idem* on f. 19 may have referred to f. 12v.

The preparation of the inner gatherings presents several entwined relationships which can be summarised as such: 2 and 3 share the same style of illuminated initials; 2 and 4 were essentially prepared in the same manner (pricking and staves). In terms of preparation, I would conclude that the second and fourth gatherings are closely tied together and likely the result of a single plan with some inserted leaves in the second gathering. On the other hand, it is clear that Stone's aforementioned view that the third gathering was started as a separate project based on its preparation and repertorial considerations remains valid, although it is patently clear that Layer I (the third gathering) was incorporated into the Layer II project at an early stage during the copying process.

Throughout MOe5.24, several different but closely related page layouts are employed according to the genre, nature and length of the piece being copied. All but one page (f. 38r) begins with a work, a section of a work or the beginning of a lower voice of the composition on the facing page. The most common layout is the single page layout Type 1a shown in Figure 3.2 with the occasional variation of Type 1b. This layout, as would be expected based on general observations in other sources, is employed predominantly for secular compositions, especially the French *formes fixes*.

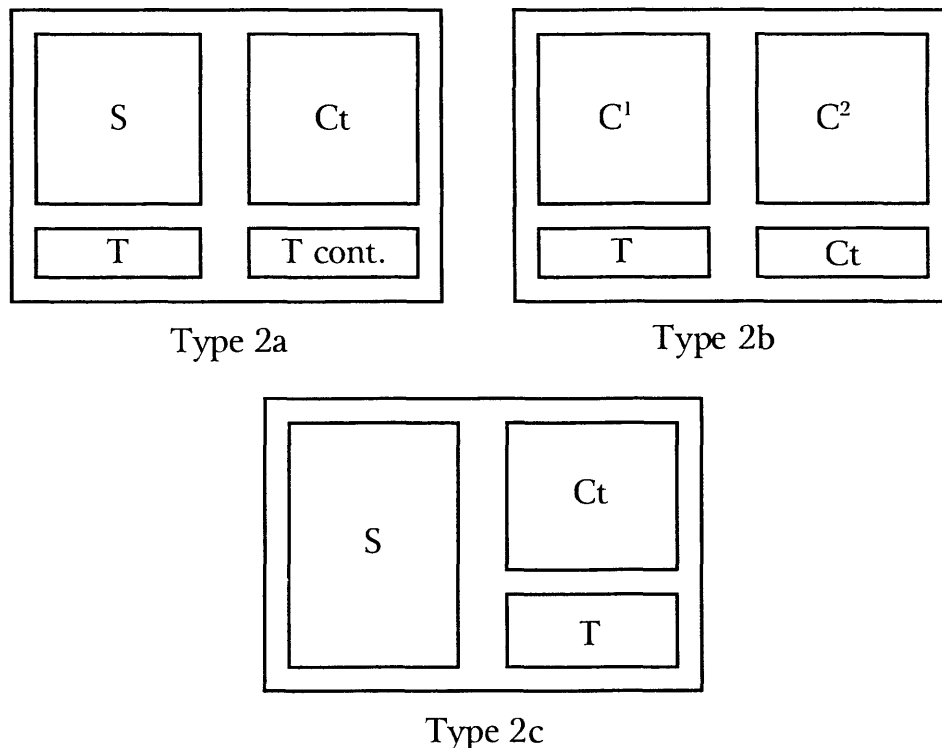
Figure 3.2: Page layout Type 1 in MOe5.24



Layout Type 1c is a variation on Type 1a employed for four-voice secular works (ff. 26r, 33r). The habit of the lowest voice extending beyond the limits of the page's staves results in either the addition of half staves at the bottom of the page or the continuation of the voice on the bottom line of the facing page should it be available.

The second most common layout types (but less frequent than the previous types) are mostly associated with settings of the ordinary of the mass and motets, and typified by a facing *verso* and *recto* folio pair (See Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Page layout Type 2 in MOe5.24



The two occurrences of layout Type 2a (ff. 2v-3r, 23v-24) are three voice settings of sections of the mass ordinary (a *Gloria* and *Credo* respectively). A slight variation on layout Type 2a occurs when the tenor does not extend onto the bottom of the recto page (ff. 22v-23r & 47v-49r). This space is usually occupied by a new composition. Layout Type 2b can be found on ff. 3v-4r, 4v-5r and 48v-48r and are entries of a *Gloria*, a sacred motet and a further *Gloria* respectively. There are four occurrences of layout Type 2c (ff. 1v-2r [*Gloria*], 5v-6r [*Credo*], 7v-8r [*Credo*] & 49v-50r [*Gloria*]) and again this layout is associated solely with the genre of ordinary settings (*Gloria* and *Credo*). The motet *Apta caro / Flos virginum* on ff. 17v-18r has a layout very similar to Type 2c with the exception of the Ct voice which is instead a texted *triplum* copied above the Ct and then the T. These layout types naturally arise from the relatively greater length of sacred texts and motets, and the mostly syllabic setting of the texts of these works. Whereas notation in the secular works can be compressed in melismatic sections, the almost syllabic declamation required for *Credo* and *Gloria* settings require a more generous spacing of notes on the page to facilitate the accurate underlay of the music.

These aforementioned layouts represent the greater part of initial layout designs, but the following occurrences should be noted:

Type 3a: The two voice composition set on one page (39r);

Type 3b: Two voice composition of two pages (16v-17r);

Type 4a: Two voices with a third voice at the base of the facing page (4v-5r, 21v-22r, 6v-7r, 42v-44r);

Type 4b: Insertions at the bottom of two facing pages. The general character of these additions is the cantus on the verso, Ct on recto and the T over both pages (14v-15r, 19v-20r, 27v-28r) in the case of three voiced works or S on the verso with T beginning on verso and proceeding to or starting on the recto in the case of two voice compositions (13v-14r, 28v-29r, 39v-39r);

Type 4c: Insertion of whole works at the bottom of single pages.

Types 3a and 3b need little comment except that they are naturally related to Types 1 and 2 respectively. Types 4a-c are invariably accidental layouts which demonstrate a consistent method of ordering similar to Type 1a. Layout Type 4a suggests, although not categorically, that the layout arose out of the previous entry of another work which only occupied a portion of the facing page and not vice versa.

The examination of layouts with particular attention to the apparent order of entry reveals that, within each assembled gathering and with respect to an open *verso* and *recto* pair, the scribe proceeded from left to right (i.e. *verso* to *recto*) in the copying of works. If the first piece, which was begun on the *verso* page, extended by a small amount beyond the limits of the page, the end of the piece was placed on the lowest staff of the facing *recto* page. If there remained a substantial amount of the piece, which was first commenced on the *verso*, to be copied, then the scribe proceeded to copy to the top of the facing *recto*. The *recto* was then filled, beginning at the top of the page if available or after the end of the longer work which already occupied the top of the *recto* page. If there remained space below the initial entries at the top of the facing *verso* and *recto* pair then another work could be inserted, proceeding from the *verso* to the *recto*. In the case of Layout Types 2a and 2b space was left firstly at the bottom of the *verso* page and then the facing *recto* in which the T or Ct voice could then be entered. The scribe of the three inner gatherings takes great pains to squeeze works at the end of these gatherings onto the last page, suggesting that gatherings were completed as single units without the immediate physical presence of the next gathering, or

that care was taken not to link gatherings should a reordering be required. The absence of catchwords is also notable.

Two Text Hands (A & B) and two Music Hands (I & II) can be observed in MOe5.24. Pirrotta sees the script of Text Hand A in Layer III as being influenced by humanist elements and temporally divergent from the gothic script of Layers I and II.<sup>35</sup> The *ductus* of Hand A is distinguished not only by its right sloping humanistic script, but also by the clubbing of 'd' back towards the right as opposed to the leftwards turn of the 'd' ascender in the typically gothic style. Text Hand B, responsible for the most entries in both Layers I and II, is gothic and somewhat rounded,<sup>36</sup> although there are cursive influences evident in the style of 'a', the clubbing of the 'h' and occasionally 'l', suggesting that it can be termed a *gotthica textualis rotunda bastarda*, a script used in both France and Italy.<sup>37</sup> There are some similarities in the formation of 'g' in both hands. With regard to the orthography of voice labels, Text Hand A prefers the Latinate/Italianate forms 'tenor' and 'contratenor' (the one notable exception occurs on f. 45v with the label 'Teneur' in Grenon's *Je ne requier*), while Text Hand B discerningly employs the French forms 'teneur' and 'contreteneur' for French-texted works (exceptions are found on f. 31v and 40v) and 'tenor' and 'contratenor' for Latin or Italian texted works.

Music Hand I, responsible for copying music into Layer III, contains several distinguishing features. Ascending note stems, often shorter than those of Music Hand II, slope very slightly to the left. C- and F-clefs are wider than those employed by Music Hand II, despite similar modes of formation. The lower element of the C-clef is slightly longer than the upper and slopes downwards. The first element of F-clefs is always a double-tailed form (similar to a *longa* with a *plica* in the early fourteenth century). *Diesis* signs are small but with more space in their centre than those belonging to Music Hand II. *B-rotundum* signs are small and drawn with a pointed nib edge. *B-quadrata*, a special feature of this hand in MOe5.24, have modern appearance (♯) but are frequently ornamented by a dot along each internal edge.<sup>38</sup> The presence of the same distinctive form of this manuscript accidental in the *T* and *Ct* of *Ore Pandulfum* (f. 33r), the body of which was copied by Music Hand II, again betrays the role of the scribe of the outer gatherings in assembling the

<sup>35</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 109.

<sup>36</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> Jacques Stiennon, *Paléographie du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1973, pp. 120-121.

<sup>38</sup> This ornamented sign has associations with the Veneto, *vid.* Pedro Memelsdorff, 'Motti a motti: reflections on a motet intabulation of the early Quattrocento', *Recercare*, vol. 10, 1998, pp. 39-68.

manuscript. Music Hand I employs a slightly wider nibbed writing implement than Music Hand II. The ink colour in Music Hand II tends to a lighter brown colour, although there is variation towards almost black. It is darker on 2v-3v, 4v-5r, 6r, 7r, 8v-9r, 44v-50v. This may indicate differing porosity of the writing surface, or a pattern in the entry of works. The ink employed for Music Hand II contrasts sharply with the uniformly black ink (that is more grey when it is thinner) in the inner gatherings. The difference between inks used by both Music Hands can be immediately noted in the case of the additional staff on f. 11r where the new scribe completes the *Ct* of the work on 10v.

Music Hand II, who is active in Layers I and II, is clearly not a variation of the former music hand. C- and F-clefs are narrower, and there is some variation in the appearance of the first element of the F-clef (the element with the appearance of a *longa cum plica*), as also employed by Music Hand I, and a simple *longa* form. Ascending note stems are vertical, or occasionally sloped slightly to the right when adjoined to ligatures. The *b-rotundum* is similar to the form employed by Music Hand I, although the loop is marginally greater in extent and there is a bowing under of the ascender. The *diesis* sign is drawn very lightly, often only able to be detected by first hand consultation of the manuscript. Frequently, in drawing the horizontal elements of the *diesis*, the writing implement was not lifted sufficiently, resulting in a ligature and indicating that these particular elements were drawn in a very narrow v-like movement from left to right and then back. This clearly explains the skewing of the horizontal elements in *diesis* signs where the ligature is not observed. The *b-quadratum* is never used by this scribe. The form of Indo-Arabic numerals employed in the foliation of Layers I and II is identical to those employed by Music Hand II, suggesting the same owner for both elements. Table 3.1 gives a comparison of various features found in both music hands.

Table 3.1: Characteristics of various elements of notational devices in the Music Hands of MOe5.24.

	Clefs	Breves	Sbrs and Min	Smin	Mensuration signs	Numerals	Accidentals	Custodes
Music Hand I								
Music Hand II								

The close relation between music and text in each portion of MOe5.24, permits the reduction of music and text hands to two scribes: Scribe  $\alpha$  (=Music Hand I & Text Hand A) and Scribe  $\beta$  (=Music Hand II and Text Hand B). The procedure of text and music entry in the work of Scribe  $\alpha$  in Layer III consists of all music being copied first on all staves, followed by the copying of the text. This *modus operandi* is suggested by the frequent, but not universal avoidance of stems from notes on the staff below, the careful placement of final syllables and compression (with abbreviations) of the text in works containing rapid text declamation (eg. in a *Credo*). Scribe  $\alpha$  has a well-developed method whereby the music is spaced according to text delivery. In syllabic passages, notes are usually more widely spaced while parchment is conserved in melismatic or sparsely texted flourishes. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence for this method of entry is derived from the incomplete work on f. 47r where the music has been written out to the end of the section, the initial is present, but the text has not yet been inserted. An additional aspect of Scribe  $\alpha$ 's copying procedure is the re-positioning of individual notes due to limitation of text underlay. However, it is difficult to determine whether this re-positioning occurs after text has been already set or in anticipation of the text during the music copying process.

An examination of the work of Scribe  $\beta$  in Layers I and II reveals the same copying processes as Scribe  $\alpha$ , in that musical notation is underlaid by text. This assessment is most strongly supported through the examination of instances where red ink note forms intersect the text belonging to the staff above. In these instances, the black ink of the text clearly overlays the red ink of the note stems, or in one instance a *diesis* sign, suggesting *ficta* was

copied/applied during the music copying process.<sup>39</sup> Post-texting is also supported by observing precise placement of syllables after melismas (without any indications of partial texting), use of abbreviations in compressed texting (insufficient spacing of music) and the avoidance of features (lower stems, low pitch registers) from the staff being set with text.<sup>40</sup> Generally, Scribe  $\beta$  also anticipates his text underlay, with wider spacing in syllabic sections, but to a lesser degree than Scribe  $\alpha$ .

The former observations suggest that Layers I and II were prepared and initially commenced as two separate projects by Scribe  $\beta$ , but were soon incorporated into a single unit by him. Layers I and II then appear to have come into the possession of Scribe  $\alpha$ , possibly after the loss of a first gathering numbered 1-10. Using a large protogathering to form the present outer gatherings, Scribe  $\alpha$  assembled the codex in its present order and finished copying works onto remaining blank leaves (if the protogathering was not entirely blank before its division). It was during the filling of the outermost faces (1r, 50v) that the flyleaves were added, the front leaf to accommodate the tenor of the work begun on 1r, and last to contain yet another rondeau by Matheus de Perusio. Scribe  $\alpha$  also added the palimpsest on f. 16r, preferring to preserve his copy of *Gratiosus fervidus*, and supplied a small number of additional accidentals to the inner gatherings.

### 3.2. *Illumination and rubricae*

As such, space was not provided for initials in Layers I and II except in two cases. There is space for the historiated initial on f. 11r, while the first 10 mm of the first staff on f. 31r appears to have been erased in preparation for the same treatment, despite the presence of a simpler styled P. Gatherings 2 and 3 feature modest, but richly finished, illuminated major initials at the head of the page employing variously pale pink, scarlet red, lime green, azure blue, and black inks often bordering rectangular applications of gold leaf as

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<sup>39</sup> The following examples can be noted: f. 11v, 'pedem' is written over a red stem; f. 12v, text overlays 3<sup>rd</sup> last red *minima* on 2<sup>nd</sup> staff; f. 14v, the text overlays the stems of several *minime* in this work, see especially end of staff 2; f. 26v, stems of red *semiminime* at the beginning of *outrépasse* (over the syllable 'que') are overlaid by the text set to the staff above; f. 31r, overwriting of stems of last group of red *semiminime* at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> staff by text set to the staff above; 32r, stems of second group of red notes on the 2<sup>nd</sup> staff are overwritten by the text belonging to the staff above; f. 33r, the first 'u' of 'Pandulfum' overwrites a *diesis* sign.

<sup>40</sup> The two letters of the first syllable of 'cuius' on the first staff of f. 15r is split by a *binaria c.o.p.*; the fifth staff of f. 23v sees the descending flags of the special note form  $\downarrow$  avoided in the last syllable of 'celis'; the brevis on the pitch *e* below the first staff on f. 26v is avoided; f. 31r, superscription of 'remis' to avoid black *semiminime* flags in third staff; 33v, superscription of last three letters of 'mant' to avoid *semiminime* flags in staff three; f. 37r, superscripting of second syllable of 'major' in staff 1 due to compression; f. 37v, artificial division of 'su-scipere' to avoid stems from notes in staff below.



backgrounds to initials. There is one historiated figure<sup>41</sup> and several accompanying drolleries, some illustrating the text (eg. the nightingale and cuckoo on f. 25v, *En ce gracieux temps*), and frequent, decorative acanthus leaves and rosettes below major initials. Marginal rayed bezants (small gold disks) are also frequent. Early scholars saw the style of the illuminations in this manuscript to be indicative of the Bolognese school typified by the master illuminator Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna (†1402).<sup>42</sup> Pirrotta used this view to support his argument that this manuscript was connected to the Bolognese papacy.<sup>43</sup> However, as argued by Anne Stone, several recent studies have shown that this style was broadly current throughout the Emilia-Romagna and Veneto regions.<sup>44</sup>

Pieces added at the bottom of pages in the Gathering 2 sometimes lack illuminated initials, possibly suggesting their entry after initial illumination (eg. ff. 13v & 14v). On the other hand, the lack of the 'C' initial for the Ct label on f. 15r and similarly 'P' at the beginning of the T voice on f. 19r appear to be an oversight. The palimpsest on f. 16r is without initials, again suggesting a late entry into the collection.<sup>45</sup> These facts and the incomplete work on f. 47r suggest that the manuscript lacks its finishing touches, although all other works are generally complete including corrections such as the marginal insertion on f. 12r.

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<sup>41</sup> Jubal or Pythagoras is depicted with the initial accompanying Egidius' *Franchois sunt nobles*, f. 11r. He is kneeling at an anvil bare chested with a yellow tunic, a hammer in the left hand striking the anvil and another hammer in his right hand lifted to his ear. A palmer monk is found on the tendrils decorating the initial of Egardus' *Gloria*, f. 21v and a white cherub or Eros (Amor) with gilded wings standing on a stork's head is found on f. 30r. The head of a Saracen and the constellation of the chariot adorning Bartolinus de Padua's *Inperial sedendo* (31r) appear to be emblems of the Francesco Novello da Carrara, *vid. Petrobelli, op.cit.*, p. 97. Cf. Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Pio Lodi, *op.cit.*, p. 522; cf. Bertoni, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>43</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 151-52; cf. Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', pp.18-19.

<sup>44</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", pp. 23-25. My own examination based on Pächt and Alexander's hand list of illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian library has concluded with observations of features such as acanthus leaves, drolleries and the historiated figure which demonstrate appreciable similarities with sources dated from the early to mid-fifteenth century from centres such as Bologna, Verona, Venice and Mantua. *Vid. Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1970, vol. 2 (Italian School), numbers 131, 133, 379, 437, 595(?), 628, 648-52, 751(?). There is a close similarity between the stork drollery on f. 11r of MOe5.24 and one found in a possibly Veronese manuscript in the Bodleian Library, ms Laud lat. 112, *vid. ibid.*, vol. 2, #628. There are remarkable similarities between acanthus leaves throughout MOe5.24 and decoration of the majuscule 'D' on ff. 38v and 40v, and those found in the Venetian manuscript (c. 1400), Bodleian Library ms Canonici. Class. Lat. 259, *vid. ibid.*, vol. 2, #437. Regarding execution of gothic initials in illuminations of Gatherings 2 and 3 of MOe5.24, the only similar style identified to this date occurs in Padua, Biblioteca di Stato, ms 67, copied in the Veneto in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, there is little similarity in decoration styles used in both manuscripts; *vid. Giulia Bologna, Illuminated Manuscripts: The Book before Gutenberg*, London, 1988, p. 130.

<sup>45</sup> Traces of the former initial, in the same style as those initials in the second and third gatherings, can be readily detected in the manuscript.

Nino Pirrotta has previously drawn attention to the similarity between the script and initials in the fragment Parma, Archivio di Stato, busta 75 (=I-PAas 75) and Layer III (Gatherings 1 and 5) of MOe5.24.<sup>46</sup> I-PAas 75 contains works by Grenon, Fontaine, Ciconia, Bertrandus Feragut and Anthonellus de Caserta with three Cts by Matheus de Perusio. Again, a scribal link to Matheus de Perusio is encouraged by the evidence in PAas 75. The initials that appear in PAas 75 are drawn in the same ink colour as the script, unlike MOe5.24 wherein red ink is employed. This fact, and the observation that the unfinished piece entered on f. 47r of MOe5.24 already has an initial, leads to but one conclusion: the initials in PAas 75 and MOe5.24-III are from the hand of Scribe  $\alpha$ .

The order in which MOe5.24 was finished can be established from scribal traits and decoration. With Layers I and II already conjoined, filled with music and foliated, all three inner gatherings (and possibly a now-lost first gathering) were furnished with simple red and blue minor initials in the case of voice labels. Gatherings 2 and 3 were then modestly illuminated by an individual schooled in the style of Niccolò di Giacomo. The lack of this style of illumination in Gathering 4 suggests that it was either furnished with simple majuscule initials beforehand, or that a change of circumstance removed access to the materials and/or illuminator responsible for the major initials in Gatherings 2 and 3. At any rate, the completion of the illuminations in Gatherings 2 and 3 before the manuscript was placed in the hands of Scribe  $\alpha$  is testified to by the removal of an initial G, which formerly headed the palimpsested *Gratiosus fervidus* on f. 16r, illuminated in the style of Gatherings 2 and 3. Scribe  $\alpha$  did not supply a new initial to newly entered *Pres du soloil*, possibly expecting that an illumination in the style of Niccolò di Giacomo would be furnished later. Based on the removal of *Gratiosus fervidus* from Gathering 2, it is likely that Layer III contained some music before being joined to the inner gatherings and subsequently completed.

### 3.3. Contents and repertorial considerations

Figure 3.4 (over page) gives a schematic representation of MOe5.24, indicating the position of works in the various gatherings of the manuscript. The numbering of items differs somewhat from those inventories found in Pirrotta and Günther in that each item, including alternative contratenors, is designated uniquely.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Vid. Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 141, and Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", pp. 36-37.

<sup>47</sup> This removes the inconsistent numbering of the alternative Ct to *Se vous n'estes par mon guerredon nee as 7a* (with no relation to 7) – all other alternative Cts are given unique numbers by Pirrotta and Günther.

Figure 3.4: Schematic representation of the contents of MOe5.24.<sup>48</sup>

	<i>Inventory Number. Title/Composer (voices)[Form]</i>	<i>folio number / Scribe</i>
<i>Gathering I</i>	1. <i>Ave sancta mundi; Ave sancta mundi; T: Agnus Dei / M. de Perusio (T) [isoMot]</i>	<sup>a</sup> 1
	<i>Ave sancta mundi; Ave sancta mundi; T: Agnus Dei / Matheus de Perusio (S1, S2)</i>	1
	2. <i>Gloria / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S) [OM]</i>	2
	<i>Gloria / Matheus de Perusio (Ct, T)</i>	2
	3. <i>Gloria, spiritus et alme / Anonymous (S, T (Ct)) [OM]</i>	3
	<i>Gloria, spiritus et alme / Anonymous (Trip, T' (Ct))</i>	3
	4. <i>Gloria Agnus dei / Anonymous (S, T, SolT) [isoOM]</i>	4
	5. <i>El no me giova né val donna fuzire / (Bartolinus de Padua) [Alternative Ct, itB]</i>	4
	<i>Gloria Agnus dei / Anonymous (Trip)</i> <i>El no me giova né val donna fuzire (Ct')</i>	4
	6. <i>Laurea martirii; Con laudanda est; T: Proba me domine / Anonymous (S, SolT, T) [isoMot]</i>	5
	<i>Laurea martirii; Con laudanda est; T: Proba me domine / Anonymous (Trip, Ct)</i>	5
	7. <i>Credo / Anonymous (S) [OM]</i>	6
	8. <i>Se vous n'estes pour mon guerredon nee / (Guillaume de Machaut) [Alternative Ct]</i>	6
	<i>Credo / Anonymous (Ct, T)</i>	6
9. <i>Puis que la mort tres cruelment a pris / Anonymous (T) [B]</i>	7	
<i>Puis que la mort tres cruelment a pris / Anonymous (S, Ct, T')</i>	7	
10. <i>Credo / Anonymous (S, T) [OM]</i>	8	
<i>Credo / Anonymous (Ct, T)</i>	8	
<i>Credo / Anonymous (S, T)</i>	8	
11. <i>Plus onques dame n'ameray / Anonymous (residuum) [V]</i>	9	
<i>Credo / Anonymous (Ct)</i>	9	
<i>Plus onques dame n'ameray / Anonymous (S, T, Ct)</i>	9	
12. <i>Gloria fuga / M. de Perusio (C<sup>1</sup>, C<sup>2</sup>, T) [OM]</i>	10	
13. <i>Par vous m'estuet languir et soupirer - Soyés par moy, mon amy gracieux / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T) [R]</i>	10	
<i>Gloria fuga / Matheus de Perusio (T')</i>	10	
14. <i>Dame que j'aym sour toutes de ma enfance / Matheus de Perusio (S, T, Ct) [R]</i>	10	

<sup>48</sup> See the Key to Abbreviations at the beginning of this study. The sign ' beside a voice label indicates it is a continuation of that part started on a facing leaf. Composers names in brackets occur either in the case where the work transmitted anonymously is ascribed to a composer in a concordant reading, or where *idem* written by the scribe refers to the previous ascription.

Figure 3.4 continued.

## Gathering 2

15. <i>Franchois sunt nobles, preus, vaylans /</i> M. Egidius ordinis heremitarum sancti Agustini (S, T, Ct) [B] <i>Dame que j'aym sour toutes de ma enfance /</i> Matheus de Perusio (Ct')	11	β ▼ α ▼ β
16. <i>Sumite, karissimi /</i> Magister Zacharias (S, T, Ct) [B]		
17. <i>Une dame requis l'autrier d'amer /</i> Frater Johannes Janua (S, T, Ct) [B] <i>Sumite, karissimi /</i> Magister Zacharias (Ct')	12	
18. <i>Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse /</i> Antonello de Caserta (S, T, Ct) [B] 19. <i>Hors sui je bien de trestoute ma joye /</i> Anonymous (T) [R]		
20. <i>Beaute parfaite, bonte souverayne /</i> Idem (=Antonello de Caserta) (S, T, Ct) [B] <i>Hors sui je bien de trestoute ma joye /</i> Anonymous (S, T')	13	
21. <i>Notes pour moi ceste ballade /</i> Idem (=Antonellus de Caserta) (S, T, Ct) [B] 22. <i>Sol mi trafige 'l cor l'aquila bella /</i> Magister Zacharias (S) [itB]		
23. <i>Langue puens envenimee /</i> Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B] <i>Sol mi trafige 'l cor l'aquila bella /</i> Magister Zacharias (S', T)	14	
24. <i>Se pronto non sara l'omo al ben fare /</i> Franciscus de Florentia (=Landini) (S, T) [itB] 25. <i>Fuions de ci, fuions, povre compaignie /</i> (Jacob Senleches) (S, T) [B]		
26. <i>Inclite flos orti gebennensis &lt;sic&gt; /</i> (Matheus de Sancto Johanne) (S, T, Ct) [B] <i>Fuions de ci /</i> (Jacob Senleches) (T', Ct)	15	
27. <i>Sans vous ne puis, tres douce creature /</i> (Matheus de Sancto Johanne) (S, Ct, T) [B] 28. <i>Pres du soloil deduissant s'esbanoye /</i> Matheus de Perusio (residuum) [B]  <i>Pres du soloil deduissant s'esbanoye /</i> Matheus de Perusio (S, T, Ct) [palimpsest]	16	α ▼ β
29. <i>Caciando per gustar de quel tesoro - Ay cinçi, ay toppi, ay bretti /</i> Magister Z<acharias> (S) [Cac]  <i>Caciando per gustar de quel tesoro - Ay cinçi, ay toppi, ay bretti</i> (T, S')	17	
30. <i>Apta caro; Flos virginum; T: Alma redemptoris mater /</i> Anonymous (Trip) [isoMot]  <i>Apta caro; Flos virginum; T: Alma redemptoris mater /</i> Anonymous (C, T, Ct)	18	
31. <i>En un vergier clos par mesure /</i> Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]		
32. <i>Puer natus in Bethleem /</i> Idem (=Anonymous) (S, T, Ct) [H]	19	
33. <i>Dame d'onour, c'on ne puet esprixier /</i> Anthonellus <de Caserta> (S, T, Ct) [R] 34. <i>A qui Fortune est toudis ennemie /</i> Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [V]		
35. <i>En atendant souffrir m'estuet grief payne /</i> Magister Filipoctus <de Caserta> (S, T, Ct) [B] <i>A qui Fortune est toudis ennemie /</i> Anonymous (S', Ct')	20	
36. <i>Je ne puis avoir plaisir /</i> Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [V] 37. <i>Quod jactatur /</i> J. Ciconia (S?) [Can]		

Figure 3.4 continued.

## Gathering 3

38. <i>I bei senbianti con busiardi efetti / Frater Camelitus [=Bartolinus de Padua] (C<sup>1</sup>, C<sup>2</sup>, T) [Mad]</i>	21	β ↓
39. <i>Gloria / Egardus (S, T) [OM]</i>	21	
<i>Gloria / Egardus (T', Ct)</i>		
40. <i>Benche lontan me trovi in altra parte / Magister Zacharias (S, T) [itB]</i>	22	
41. <i>Gloria / &lt;Matheus&gt; de Perusio (S, T) [OM]</i>	22	
<i>Gloria / &lt;Matheus&gt; de Perusio (Ct)</i>		
42. <i>Plus lies des lies, plus joieux et plus gay / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T) [R]</i>	23	
43. <i>Credo / Zacharias (S, T) [OM]</i>	23	
<i>Credo / Zacharias (Ct, T')</i>	24	
<i>Credo / Zacharias (S, T)</i>	24	
<i>Credo / Zacharias (Ct)</i>		
44. <i>De toutes flours n'avoit et de tous fruis / (Guillaume de Machaut) (S, T, Ct) [B]</i>	25	
45. <i>En ce gracieux temps joli / Selesses (=Jacob de Senleches) (S, T, Trip) [V]</i>	25	
46. <i>Sans mal penser et sans folour / Anonymous (S, T) [V]</i>		
47. <i>De petit po, denient volente / (Guillaume de Machaut) (S, T, Ct, Trip) [B]</i>	26	
48. <i>De ma douleur ne puis trouver confort / Magister Filipoctus de Caserta (S, T, Ct) [B]</i>	26	
49. <i>Sus une fontayne / J. Ciconia (Ct') [V]</i>		
<i>Sus une fontaynet / J. Ciconia (S, T, Ct)</i>	27	
50. <i>Ma douce amour et ma sperance / J. de Janua (S, T, Ct) [V]</i>	27	
51. <i>Soit tart, tempre, mayn ou soir / Anonymous (S, T) [V]</i>		
52. <i>Ma douce amour, je me doi bien complayndre / (Johannes Symonis Hasprois) (S, T, Ct) [B]</i>	28	
<i>Soit tart, tempre, mayn ou soir / Anonymous (T', Ct)</i>		
53. <i>Tres nouble dame souverayne / Anthonello [V]</i>	28	
54. <i>Dame sans per, en qui est ma speranche / A&lt;ndrea&gt; da Firenze? (S) [B]</i>		
55. <i>Amor me fait desirer loyaument / Anonymous (S, T, Ct)</i>	29	
<i>Dame sans per, en qui est ma speranche / Andrea da Firenze? (T)</i>		
56. <i>Gais et jolis, lies, chantans et joieux / (Guillaume de Machaut) (S, T, Ct) [B]</i>	29	
57. <i>Inperial sedendo fra piu stelle / Dactalus (=Bartolinus) de Padua (T') [Mad]</i>	30	
<i>Inperial sedendo fra piu stelle / Dactalus (=Bartolinus) de Padua (S, T)</i>		
58. <i>Amour doi je servir, regraciiier / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [B]</i>	30	
59. <i>Tre doulz regard amoreus en moi tret / Anonymous (S, T) [R]</i>		

Figure 3.4 continued.

## Gathering 4

60. <i>Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson delivre</i> / Phylipoctus de Caserta (S, T, Ct) [B]	31	B
61. <i>Se doulz espour ne me donne confort</i> / Frater Corradus de Pistoria (S, T, Ct) [B]		
62. <i>Le greygnour bien que nature</i> / M. de Perusio (Ct') [B]		
<i>Le greygnour bien que nature</i> / M. de Perusio (S, T, Ct)	32	
63. <i>Amour m'a le cuer mis en tel martire</i> / Anthonello (S, T, Ct) [B]		
64. <i>Ore Pandulfum modulari dulci</i> / Blasius (in text)[B]		+α
<i>Amour m'a le cuer mis en tel martire</i> / Anthonello (Ct')	33	
65. <i>Le grant desir que j'ay du retourner</i> / M. de Perusio (S, T, Ct)[B]		
66. <i>Je la remiray sans mesure</i> / Anonymous (S, T, Ct) [V]		
67. <i>Se vous n'estes pour mon guerredon nee</i> / (Guillaume de Machaut) (S, T) [R]	34	
68. <i>En remirant vo douce pourtraiture</i> / Magister Filipoctus (S, T, Ct) [B]		
69. <i>Cortois et sages et a tous doit plasir</i> / Magister Egidius (S, T, Ct) [B]	35	
70. <i>Furnos reliquisti quare; Equum est et salutare</i> / Egardus (Mot) [CacMot]		
<i>Furnos reliquisti quare; Equum est et salutare</i> / Egardus (Trip, T)	36	
71. <i>La grant beaute de vous, ma souverayne</i> / Anonymous (S, T) [R]		
72. <i>Veri almi pastoris</i> / Frater Corradus de Pistoria ordinis heremitarum (S, T, Ct) [B]		
73. <i>Que pena maior agitanda menti</i> / Frater Bartholomeus de Bononia ordinis sancti benedicti et c<amaldolensi>(Ct')[V]	37	
<i>Que pena maior agitanda menti</i> / Frater Bartholomeus de Bononia (S, T, Ct)		
74. <i>Arte psalentes anexa dulcori patrum</i> / Idem frater (=Bartholomeus de Bononia) (S, T, Ct) [B?]		
<i>Arte psalentes anexa dulcori patrum</i> / Bartholomeus de Bononia (Ct')	38	
75. <i>Dame souvrayne de beaute, d'onour</i> / <Matheus> de Perusio (S, T, Ct) [V]		
76. <i>Dame zentil, en qui est ma sperance</i> / Anthonellus (S, T, Ct) [R]		
77. <i>Helas! merci, merci, pour Dieu merci</i> / <Matheus> de Perusio (S, T) [R]		
78. <i>Perché canzato è 'l mondo da l'antico</i> / Frater Bartolinus <de Padua> (S, T) [itB]		
<i>Helas! merci, merci, pour Dieu merci</i> / Matheus de Perusio (T')	39	
79. <i>En attendant esperance conforte</i> / Jacopinus Selesses (S, T, Ct) [B]		
80. <i>Tel me voit et me regarde</i> / Idem (=Jacopinus Selesses) (S, T, Ct) [V]		
81. <i>En atendant d'avoir la douce vie</i> / (Johannes Galiot) (S, T) [isoR]		
<i>En attendant esperance conforte</i> / Jacopinus Selesses (Ct')	40	
82. <i>Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cuer maynt</i> / Anthonello (S, T, Ct) [B]		
83. <i>Andray soulet au mielz que je pouray</i> / <Matheus> de Perusio (S) [Can]		

Figure 3.4 continued.

## Gathering 5

84. <i>Pour Dieu vous pri, haulte dame d'honneur</i> / M. de Perusio (S, T, Ct) [R]	41	α
85. <i>Heylas, que feray je maintenant</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [V]		
86. <i>Belle sans per d'haulte douchour paree</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [V]	42	
87. <i>Se je me plaing de fortune, j'ay droit</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [B]		
88. <i>A qui fortune ne se vuelst amer</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [R] <i>Se je me plaing de fortune, j'ay droit</i> / Matheus de Perusio (Ct')	43	
89. <i>Se pour loyaulment servir on puist merir</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [R]		
90. <i>Puisque je sui pour loyaulté tenir</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (T) [V]		
<i>Puisque je sui pour loyaulté tenir</i> / Matheus de Perusio (S, Ct)	44	
91. <i>Pour bel acueil suy je, las, deceü</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [R]		
92. <i>Tu me solevi donna</i> / (Matheus de Perusio?) (Alternative Ct, itB)		
93. <i>Helas, Avril, par ton doulz revenir</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [R]	45	
94. <i>Je ne requier de ma dame et m'amie</i> / (Nicholas) Grenon, Ct Mathey de Perusio (S, T, Ct) [B]		
95. <i>Trover ne puis aucunement confort</i> / M. de Perusio (S, T, Ct) [R]	46	
96. <i>Gia da rete d'amor</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T, Ct) [itB]		
97. <i>D...</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, unfinished) [?]	47	
98. <i>Sera quel zorno may</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T) [itB]		
<i>Sera quel zorno may</i> / Matheus de Perusio (Ct)		
99. <i>Ne me chaut vostre mauparler</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S, T) [V]	48	
100. <i>Gloria</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (C <sup>1</sup> , T) [OM]		
101. <i>Jusques a tant que vous veray</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S) [R]		
<i>Gloria</i> / Matheus de Perusio (C <sup>2</sup> , Ct)		
<i>Jusques a tant que vous veray</i> / Matheus de Perusio (Ct, T)	49	
102. <i>Gloria</i> / Idem (=Matheus de Perusio) (S) [OM]		
<i>Gloria</i> / Matheus de Perusio (Ct, T)	50	
103. <i>Gratiosus fervidus; Magnanimus opere; T: Alleluia preveniamus faciem</i> / Anonymous (S, Ct, T) [Mot]		
104. <i>Dame d'honneur plesant et gracieuse</i> / M. de Perusio (S, T, Ct) [R]		z

Fly leaf

The nature of the contents in MOe5.24 has been previously discussed by Pirrotta and Günther in their respective articles. As Günther suggests, the contents of MOe5.24 represent a shift from the repertoire found in its peer manuscript CH 564 (consisting wholly of *formes fixes* and motets) through the presence of settings of *Ordinaria missae* and other liturgical pieces, of Italian forms (*madrigale*, *caccia* and *ballata*) and of less orthodox forms encountered in items 37, 83 and 70. Three alternative Cts are also inserted in the outer

gatherings. MOe5.24 retains an emphasis on French or French-inspired *formes fixes* indicated by the presence of 38 ballades (including alternative Cts), 19 virelais and 17 rondeaux.<sup>49</sup> The already proposed division between the inner and outer gatherings is further emphasised by the presence of 33 of 38 ballades found in the manuscript in the inner gatherings.<sup>50</sup>

The presence of three settings of the *ordinarium misse* at the beginning of the third gathering has already been discussed by Stone.<sup>51</sup> While they appear to represent an early organisational principle in this manuscript, the departure from it seems to have been swift with a new emphasis on the *ars subtilior* repertoire. Yet, there are also certain factors which see the inclusion of works by the long dead Machaut and the late (and strictly Italian in their notation) works of Bartolinus de Padua. While at least two of Machaut's works appear to have been entered as afterthoughts or as space-fillers at the bottom of pages, the remaining two works occupy principal positions on their respective leaves. All works of Bartolinus, on the other hand, are accorded principal positions on the page and within their gathering's structure. All three of his compositions appear on *recto* faces.

The distribution of composers' works throughout the inner gatherings varies and suggests that little attempt was made to group works according to their composer, such as found in collections of *trecento* (=Italian) repertoire of this period. Rather it represents a copying process reflective of various stages of availability of exemplars. Works by Anthonellus de Caserta, Philipoctus de Caserta and Senleches appear in each inner gathering. It is notable that seven out of eight works ascribed to Anthonellus appear in Gatherings 2 (four works) and 4 (three works). This situation further distinguishes these gatherings from the Gathering 3. Of the works by Senleches, the two examples of his *ars subtilior* style occur on facing leaves in the Gathering 4. Seven works by Matheus de Perusio were copied into the inner gatherings by Scribe  $\beta$ . Five occur in the Gathering 4, with a further two works in the Gathering 3. His absence in the second is only avoided by the palimpsest of *Gratiosus fervidus* on f. 16r, over which Scribe  $\alpha$  copied *Pres du soloil*. Works by Bartolinus de Padua (2 and 1 respectively), Egardus (one in each gathering) and Machaut (3 and 1 respectively) likewise only occur in the third and fourth gatherings. Works by Johannes de Janua (2), Zacharias (5) and Ciconia (2) only occur in the second and third gatherings. Two works, one each in Gatherings 2 and 4, are by Egidius. The two works

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<sup>49</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense  $\alpha$ .M.5.24', pp. 19-21.

<sup>50</sup> However, one of these 33 ballades occurs as a palimpsest on f. 16r added by Scribe  $\alpha$ .

<sup>51</sup> Stone, " Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy ", p. 17.



ascribed elsewhere to Matheus de Sancto Johanne and a work by Francesco Landini occur in the second gathering. The one work by Hasprois (unasccribed) is found in the third gathering. The works of Corradus de Pistoria (2), Blasius (*Ore Pandulfum*) and Bartholomeus de Bononia (2) occur in close association in the fourth gathering.

In the introduction to this chapter, several previous observations concerning the dating of works that appear in MOe5.24 were mentioned. The tenable, but by no means incontestable dating of Bartolinus de Padua's *Inperial sedendo* to 1401 has already been considered an approximate *terminus post quem* for the copying of Layers I and II. More concrete in its associations is the text of the ballade *Ore Pandulfum*. Its text also contains several other important details. Ursula Günther took Pirrotta's suggestion that this work referred to Pandolfo III di Malatesta di Fano (Rimini branch of Malatesta),<sup>52</sup> and convincingly argued that this work was written to celebrate the pilgrimage by the aforementioned lord to the Holy Lands and to Jerusalem (=Solima) in 1399.<sup>53</sup> It seems beyond dispute that the text and its musical setting were created almost simultaneously (*vid.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 24). The single strophe, which appears in MOe5.24, is as follows:

*Ore Pandulfum modulari dulci.  
cantibus sevos totiens amores  
Dompne, cur, Blasi, recinis sonoris  
qui tibi duros acuant dolores?  
Freta permensus Solima sub urbe  
vidit Excelsi tumulum tonantis  
militis signum referens decorum.*<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 140.

<sup>53</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', pp. 35-41

<sup>54</sup> Translation:

"Sing of Pandolfo with a sweet voice!  
Why, with resounding songs, do you,  
Don Biagio, repeat desires often fierce  
which arouse harsh suffering?  
Having traversed the seas, at the city of Jerusalem  
he saw the tomb of the most high thunderer,  
bringing back the knight's adorned standard."

I have adopted Gregor Maurach's emendation in the line 5 of the nonsensical *fretra*, as appears in the manuscript, to *freta*, *vid.* Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 35, fn. 64. The poetic flourish *Excelsi tumulum tonantis* clearly refers to the Holy Sepulchre. The composer of this work would appear to be the Blasius named in the body of the text. Pirrotta suggests that this individual may be Blasius d'Este, *maestro dei fanciulli* and *cantor* in the Cathedral of Padua in 1421, or *frate Biasgio* who is mentioned alongside Zacharias in the first tercet of sonnet 47 in the *Liber Saporecti* of Simone Prudenzianni, which was written before 1417, *vid.* Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, 'Il codice Lucca', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 5, p. 121, fn. 17.

The grammatical tense makes it clear that the reference to Pandolfo's pilgrimage occurs after he has already visited the Holy City, although the present participle *referens* in l. 8 suggests the ballade was written upon his return from abroad. Günther suggests that the composition was written for Pandolfo's entrance into Rimini, although Allan Atlas has more recently suggested that the composer of this work might have been the cathedral organist in Pandolfo's seignorial town of Fano.<sup>55</sup> Günther is also of the view that the presence of an *Alius contratenor* suggests that the version transmitted in MOe5.24 may have originated some time after 1399. Could this addition have been made during Pandolfo's period in Lombardy after 1400-1421<sup>56</sup> or while he was at the Council of Pisa in 1409? In the absence of explicit indicators of geographical origin of the additional voice, this question must remain open to speculation.

Pandolfo III Malatesta was a prominent figure in the politico-military history of northern Italy during the period 1389-1421. He was proficient in several tongues, kept a fine library and appreciated art. His role as a patron of music is also evident.<sup>57</sup> Yet, with all these attributes, he did not, as already apparent in relation to his pilgrimage in 1399, neglect matters spiritual and religious. In the years preceding the lead-up to the Council of Pisa, Pandolfo's obedience clearly lay with the pope in Rome.<sup>58</sup> Following the Council of Pisa and the election of Pietro Filargo, Pandolfo's new allegiance to Alexander V saw him attempting unsuccessfully to reconcile his brother and lord of Rimini, Carlo, to the Pisan obedience. Continued support for the Pisan papacy is evidenced by Pandolfo's presence at the conclave of John XXIII's election.<sup>59</sup> The presence of *Ore Pandulfum* in MOe5.24 might be indicative of its subject's favoured position during the short period of Alexander V's papacy.

Bartholomeus de Bononia's *Arte psalentes* (Vol. II, App. A, No. 25) contains an explicit reference to singing in the presence of a pope (*summo pontifice coram*). Adriano

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<sup>55</sup> Allan W. Atlas, 'Pandolfo III Malatesta, mecenate musicale: musica e musicisti presso una signoria de primo Quattrocento', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. 23, 1988, pp. 51-52.

<sup>56</sup> Pandolfo and his forces entered the services of Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1400, and continued to serve the Visconti state after Giangaleazzo's death until 1404, whereupon with Pandolfo's seizure of Brescia, Giovanni Maria Visconti declared him an enemy of the state. Pandolfo's intrigues in Lombardy continued until his surrender of Brescia in 1421, *vid.* Philip J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: A Political History*, London and New York, 1974, *passim*.

<sup>57</sup> On Pandolfo's artistic ability and patronage of the musical arts *vid.* Atlas, 'Pandolfo III Malatesta mecenate musicale', & *idem*, 'On the identity of some musicians at the Brescian Court of Pandolfo III Malatesta', *Current Musicology*, vol. 36, 1983, pp. 11-20.

<sup>58</sup> Boniface IX, for example, named Pandolfo papal vicar for Todi in 1397.

<sup>59</sup> *vid.* Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 45.

Cavicchi suggests *Arte psalentes* may have been intended for one in a series of papal events at Ferrara during this period, including either Alexander V's bestowing the Order of the Golden Rose on Nicolò III d'Este on 2 March 1410, the meeting of Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund and John XXIII at Lodi 18 February 1414, or the arrival of newly elected Martin V at Ferrara 8 February 1419. Although it seems likely that *Arte psalentes* was written for a papal event at or near Ferrara,<sup>60</sup> the absence of direct evidence to suggest any particular individual or event leaves open the question of this work's dating.

*Arte psalentes anexa dulciori  
patrum patre summo pontifice coram,  
Placido notas scolarunculi vultu  
magistrale decus suscipere velit.  
Et si canticulus  
non cantus existat,  
formam illi cantus  
prebere delectet.*<sup>61</sup>

The text itself explains the curious situation whereby there appears to be no attempt to follow accepted poetic conventions of a French ballade which usually includes a chiasmic rhyme across the first two couplets. There is a clever play in the last four lines between the rhyme *canticulus* - *cantus* and so-called half-rhyme *existat* - *delectet*. Musically, the work follows the ballade form, including alternative *overt* and *clos* endings for the first section and strict division of the *ourepasse* and *refrain*. An understanding of this work's text resides in its musical setting – since the poetry (*canticulus*) itself is not a ballade, the poet/composer asks that the pope be pleased that the text itself is set to music in the ballade form.

Corradus de Pistoria's *Veri almi pastoris* (Vol. II, App. A, No. 26) is another example from MOe5.24 of a musical ballade form set to a Latin text, although, unlike the former example of *Arte psalentes*, the lyrics follow a ballade-like scheme. Yet, the structure is

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<sup>60</sup> On Bartholomeus' role in state celebrations under the rule of Ferrara's Marquis Niccolò III d'Este (ruled 1393-1441) *vid.* Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 17-25; E. Peverada, 'Vita musicale alla cathedrale di Ferrara nel Quattrocento: note e documenti', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, vol. 25, 1980, pp. 3-30.

<sup>61</sup> Translation:

"Singing, with art applied to the sweeter things  
In the presence of the supreme pontiff and father of fathers,  
with the serene look of a choirboy,  
Masterful dignity wishes to sustain notes.  
And if the canticle appears not a song,  
Might the form of the song delight him."

extended into a 3-3-2-3 rhyme scheme, which is unusual in the context of the lyric poetry repertoire.

*Veri almi pastoris  
musicale collegium  
hunc cantum suscipite.  
Vinculoque amoris  
excitate ingenium  
Ipsaque corrigite.  
Et dulcis melodia  
in ore canentium  
Sonet cum armonia,  
aures mulcendo  
omni audientium.*<sup>62</sup>

There is little doubt that the phrase *veri almi pastoris* refers to the True Earthly Shepherd of the Church, that is the pope. The use of the *verus* would appear to allude to the Schism and advocate the patron of the *musicale collegium* as the true pope. In relation to the use of *pastor* to denote the pope, one only need refer to Ciconia's *O Petre, Christi discipule* in which Saint Peter is referred to as *primus pastor*. Ostensibly written for the investiture of the Venetian humanist Pietro Miani (patronymic: Emilianus) as Bishop of Vicenza,<sup>63</sup> the text of *O Petre, Christi discipule* also urges Saint Peter to look over *pastorem nostrum*.<sup>64</sup> It was Alexander V to whom Pietro Miani owed his obedience and the privilege of being appointed bishop of Vicenza as one of the first acts of the aforementioned pope.

In terms of their music and notation, both *Arte psalentes* and *Veri almi pastoris* are closely related and draw upon (and expand) the idioms of the *ars subtilior* inherited by these

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<sup>62</sup> Translation:

"O musical college  
of the merciful, true shepherd,  
sustain this song  
and from (earthly) love's bond  
exercise the character  
and make straight its way.  
And may sweet melody  
sound from the mouths  
of those singing with harmony,  
delighting all ears  
of those listening."

<sup>63</sup> For a summary of Miani's biography, *vid.* Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton, 1986, pp. 402-3.

<sup>64</sup> A discussion of this motet accompanied by the text with an English translation by Leofranc Holford-Strevens is found in Margaret Bent, 'Music and the early Veneto Humanists', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 101, 1998, pp. 115-116.

Italian composers from French masters.<sup>65</sup> Both ballades suggest an intended papal audience possessing an appreciation of French cultural sensibilities. To which pope might these attributes of fall? Roman Pope Innocent VII (1404-06) [Cosimo Gentile de' Migliorati] was undoubtedly a patron of learning, as attested to by his reorganisation of the University of Rome and the founding there of a chair in Greek. His official roles during his career, however, were confined to Italy and England. His successor Gregory XII (1406-1415) [Venetian patrician Angelo Correr] pursued a career confined to centres in Italy and Greece. The Avignon Pope Benedict XIII (1394-1415) [Pedro de Luna], from a noble household of Aragón, lectured in canon law at Montpellier until his appointment as cardinal in 1375. His appreciation of the music of the French *ars subtilior* is without doubt, especially considering his patronage of Jacob de Senleches in the 1380s. However, the possibility that Bartholomeus de Bononia, like other Italian composers in MOe5.24, could have composed this work for Benedict XIII seems remote, especially given that this Bartholomeus is located during the years 1405-1427 at Ferrara and Benedict XIII only arrived in Genoa in 1405. Perhaps the most plausible candidate is Alexander V.<sup>66</sup> Pietro Filargo, a native of then Venetian Crete, studied and taught throughout Europe. His studies in theology were conducted at Padua, Norwich and Oxford. He taught in Franciscan houses in Russia, Bohemia and Poland, before lecturing at Paris on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard during 1378-80 to obtain a doctorate in 1381. His reputation as a humanist drew the attention of Giangaleazzo Visconti, who ensured Filargo's securing a series of bishoprics at Piacenza (1386), Vicenza (1388) and Novara (1389), and the archbishopric of Milan (1402). Filargo was also active in procuring the title of Duke for Giangaleazzo in 1395. On 12 June 1405, Innocent VII named Filargo cardinal legate to Lombardy. After that date, Filargo became entangled in the affairs of the Schism that resulted in his election in 1409 at Pisa. Two aspects of Filargo's life are central to this present study. Firstly, Filargo had many opportunities to experience French culture during his years in Paris. Secondly, he was a reputed humanist, a patron of (new) letters and learning.<sup>67</sup>

It is the nexus of relationships between humanists in the early fifteenth century that offers tantalising clues to the transmission of culture in northern Italy. Margaret Bent has

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<sup>65</sup> Vid. Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 29.

<sup>66</sup> The following statements draw upon Nerio Malvezzi, 'Alessandro V. Papa a Bologna', *Atti e memorie della reale deputazione de storia patria per la provincie di Romagna*, Series 3, vol. ix, 1891, pp. 362-379 & vol. x, 1892, pp. 39-55, and 'Alexander V', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, ed. J.N.D. Kelly, Oxford, 1991.

<sup>67</sup> Vid. Malvezzi, *op. cit.*, vol. ix, p. 371.

proposed common intellectual interests may have linked Pietro Filargo and Pietro Miani.<sup>68</sup> Both men were ostensibly Venetians, although the former originated from the Venetian colony of Crete. Miani's contact with the Florentine humanists is attested to by a letter to him in which Leonardo Bruni dedicates his translation of Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paulus* to the recipient. It is also notable that Bruni dedicated his *Life of Sertorius* to the Pavian humanist Antonio Loschi. Filargo was undoubtedly a member of the same humanist circle in Pavia (which included Loschi, Uberto Decembrio and Gasparino Barzizza) before his departure to Pisa. A plausible friendship also existed with the Paduan canonist Francesco Zabarella, especially in his role as Venetian legate at the council of Pisa, and Filargo. These connections likely extended to musicians active at Pavia and Padua, such as Matheus de Perusio and Johannes Ciconia. Zabarella's presence at Pisa may be enough to warrant Ciconia being there also, while another northerner Humbertus de Salinis, whose sole *ars subtilior* essay *En la saison* survives in CH 564, is documented as a member of Alexander V's chapel immediately after his election.<sup>69</sup>

The unique transmission of Zacharias' *Sumite karissimi* in MOe5.24 (Vol. II, App. A, No. 27) contains broad textual references to members of religious orders and church dignitaries. Musically and textually it resembles a ballade, but is again distinct through the use of Latin text.

*Sumite karissimi,  
Capud de REmulo, patres;  
Caniteque musici,  
Idem de CONsule, fratres,  
et de JuMENTo ventrem,  
de gurgiDA pedem,  
de nupTIis ventrem,  
capud de Oveque  
pedem de leoNE, milles  
cum in omnibus Zacharias salutes.<sup>70</sup>*

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<sup>68</sup> Margaret Bent, 'Music and the early Veneto Humanists', p. 114; cf. Anne Hallmark, 'Protector, imo verus pater: Francesco Zabarella's patronage of Johannes Ciconia', in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, eds J. A. Owens and A. M. Cummings, Michigan, 1997, p. 165.

<sup>69</sup> 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. R. Sherr, Oxford, 1998, p. 71, fn. 77. On his motets transmitted in Fl 2211 and Bc 15, *vid.* John Nádas, 'Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some further observations', in *L'ars Nova del Trecento VI*, eds G. Cattin and P. D. Vecchia, Certando, 1992, pp. 148; Margaret Bent, 'Early papal motets', in *Papal music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. R. Sherr, Oxford, 1998, pp. 28-29.

<sup>70</sup> Translation:

"Take, O dearest fathers,  
the head of "Remulus";  
And Sing, O musical brothers

The text itself contains a puzzle for which Nino Pirrotta provided a solution. The references to “head”, “belly” and “foot” equate to the first, middle and last syllable of the specified word. The combination of the specified syllables results in the word *reconmendatione*.<sup>71</sup> Those who are asked to solve the puzzle are referred to as “most beloved fathers” and “musical brothers”. The inference accepted by most scholars is that these terms refer to the church fathers (cardinals, bishops and abbots) and a musical chapel.

Von Fischer and Gallo have suggested that this work may have been an audition piece written by Zacharias for employment in the papal chapel of John XXIII.<sup>72</sup> However, it is possible that Zacharias gained his employment during the papacy of Alexander V, especially in light of that composer’s *Dime fortuna* and its references to Alexander’s papacy.<sup>73</sup> Could *Sumite karissimi* not be another case of a Latin ballade set for the listening pleasure of Alexander V, just as *Arte psalentes* and *Veri almi pastoris*? It remains equally plausible that this work was written before Filargo’s election if Zacharias is placed at Pavia for a brief period after his departure from the *cúria* of Gregory XII.<sup>73a</sup>

Another common thread running through these four previous works is the poetic practice of exhorting singers or the audience to celebrate in song. Looking outside MOe5.24, one does not have to go too far to find similar models. Striking textual similarities occur in Johannes Ciconia’s motet *Doctorum principem/Melodia suavissima/VIR MITIS*,<sup>74</sup> written in honour of his patron Francesco Zabarella. The text of C<sup>2</sup> begins with the following four lines:

*Melodia suavissima cantemus  
tangant voces mellifue sidera  
concorditer carmen lira sonemus*

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the same of "consul",  
and belly of "jumento" (mule),  
foot of "gurgida" (stream),  
belly of "nuptiis" (nuptials),  
head of "ove" (sheep),  
foot of "leone" (lion):  
since in all these Zacharias [sends] a thousand good wishes."

*Milles* is read as a false declension of the adjective *mille*, which in the accusative plural usually takes the form *milia*.

<sup>71</sup> The word *reconmendatio* appears to be a late medieval creation, a noun denoting recommendation, commendation, or greetings.

<sup>72</sup> Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, (eds), *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XIII, Monaco, 1987, p. 283.

<sup>73</sup> *vid. infra*. pp. 137-140.

<sup>73a</sup> Zacharias’ presence at Pavia is suggested by Nádas and Ziino, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>74</sup> See a transnotation of this work in Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, (eds), *The Works of Ciconia*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XXIV, Monaco, 1985, No. 17, commentary: p. 207.

*resonet per choros pulsa cithara.*<sup>75</sup>

The remaining lines of the motet praise the good name of Zabarella and the light he brings to Padua. Undoubtedly, the work was written in the first decade of the fifteenth century, espousing rhetorical conventions of the period. The presence of similar, if not identical language in the works of MOe5.24 and *Doctor principem* alludes to a cultural context and artistic expression that is shared at various levels by the musical language of these works. This context, in light of proposed associations of *Veri almi pastoris* and *Arte psalentes*, is arguably early humanist.

The recurrence of this rarely transmitted sub-genre of the Latin-texted ballade is very useful in explaining the inclusion of *Inclite flos orti gebenensis*, transmitted anonymously in MOe5.24 but ascribed in CH 564 to Matheus de Sancto Johanne. I discuss this work, which is closely tied to the early years of the Schism and the Avignon party, at length in Chapter 5. In a similar vein, the Latin text virelai *Que pena maior*, also by Bartholomeus de Bononia is unique within the surviving repertoire (Vol. II, App. A, No. 28). However, like his *Arte psalentes*, it again avoids in part conventional rhyming schemes between strophes.

*Que pena maior agitanda menti?  
age, fungor benigna  
fronte prauis indigna  
Invida proles  
odiosa genti.*

*Improba mordet fatiscenti sono  
me cithare dum musa resonantem.*

*Iam lingua falax inretita bono  
hec cecha plorat mundo floridantem.*

*Diue virtutis portus affectantem  
plebs ociosa monstrat.  
Set Apollo demonstrat  
aureos crines  
nubere intenti.*

*Que pena maior, etc.*<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Translation:

“Let us sing in the sweetest of melodies  
let our honey soft voices touch the stars  
let us sound a song harmonously on the lyre  
let the strummed cithara resound through our choral.”

<sup>76</sup> A possible translation of this often asyndotonic text follows:

“What greater torment than the mind astir?”



The subject of this virelai distances itself from the former Latin-texted ballades, taking up the familiar vein of the “musician’s complaint” with heavy emphasis on the poetic and musical “I”. Precedents, although of various literary registers, are found for example in Francesco Landini’s madrigal *Musica son* and Jacob de Senleches’ *Je me merveil* (vid. Vol. II, App. A, No. 29). In *Que pena maior*, the poet-musician, in concert with the Muses, sings and plays to an indifferent audience: only those that understand that music is the way to virtue shall see the glorious wisdom of Apollo. The text is permeated with ideas which suggest the presence of a proto-humanistic literature, relying heavily not only on Greek mythology but also Aristotelean-Thomistic attitudes to the value of music in spiritual matters, a concept which witnessed steady growth during the fourteenth century in relation to Dominican proselytising. Eleanor Beck has discussed this aspect in relation to the music and art of the *trecento* in her *Singing in the Garden*,<sup>77</sup> and it is most appropriate to see Bartholomeus’ virelai as reflective of fourteenth century Italian culture mingled with a poetic interest in ancient literary *topoi* whose growth is witnessed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The suggestion that the aforementioned four Latin chansons *Arte psalentes*, *Veri almi pastoris*, *Sumite karissimi* and *Que pena maior* are indicative of both proto-humanist elements and associations with Pietro Filargo is not at odds with all accounts of this manuscript’s origin. However, the presence of two works, *Arte psalentes* and *Veri almi pastoris*, which arguably date from the papacy of Alexander V, is central to any consideration of the dating of Layers I and II of MOe5.24. Although it is abundantly clear that Layers I and II contain works composed several years before 1409, not only in France, Spain, Rimini, Ferrara, Padua but most likely Pavia, the compilation of these works was completed after the election of Alexander V. The presence of *Inclite flos* and *Ore Pandulfum*, again Latin-texted chansons, suggests the wider currency of this mode of artistic and celebratory expression. The context

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Come! I act, expression  
 benign; unseemly depravity  
 envious offspring, hated by humanity,  
 the wretch with a weakening sound  
 gnaws at me resounding the cithara with the Muse.  
 Now this deceitful tongue, goodness ensnared,  
 blindly bewails bountifulness in the world.  
 Him, who strives for the doors of divine virtue,  
 the mocking people point at;  
 But Apollo reveals  
 golden locks to those set on joining [him].”

of these works reside in a situation where the audience is Latinate, educated, often ecclesiastical, and touched to varying degrees by early humanistic thought. Such a context may have been conducive to the transmission and compilation of the collection of works in Layers I and II of MOe5.25, whereby the chanson repertoire, as opposed to the sacred and motet repertoire,<sup>78</sup> was sought in those Italian centres of humanistic learning and musical excellence at especially Pavia, Padua and Florence.

### 3.4. *Composers in MOe5.24*

The Modena manuscript is rich in ascribed works, a situation which, in light of continuing archival research, links this source's repertoire with individuals active for all or the greater part of their lives in Italian centres, including Rome, Padua, Ferrara, Florence, Milan and Pavia. The following paragraphs summarise the biographies of composers whose works are found in MOe5.24 from the premise that this manuscript's repertoire and its transmission might be connected to them. While an understanding of the life of Matheus de Perusio perhaps remains central to any consideration of this manuscript, the significant confluence of the biographies of other composers represented in the manuscript also presents opportunities in relation to the nature of the collection. In particular, the confluence of the lives of Zacharias and Johannes Ciconia may have been a catalyst which affected the compilation of this codex in the early years of the fifteenth century.

A disproportionate ratio of works are ascribed to Matheus de Perusio, especially in the outer gatherings where, apart from ten works without ascription and a ballade by Nicholas Grenon (with Ct by Matheus), 24 works are ascribed to Matheus.<sup>79</sup> It is possible on stylistic grounds, but by no means certain, that the ten anonymous works in the outer gatherings are also by Matheus. A further eight works are found in the third and fourth gatherings, one of which is a copy over a palimpsest made by Scribe  $\alpha$ . Works (including alternative Cts) by Matheus are found only in two other fragmentary sources. Although one of these

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<sup>77</sup> Eleonora M. Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento*, Biblioteca Musicologica-Universität Innsbruck, Vienna & Lucca, 1999, pp. 51-66.

<sup>78</sup> One cannot fail to recall the argument of Margaret Bent, whose recent examination of the socio-cultural context of the manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale Q 15 (=Bc 15) places its repertoire collected between 1420 and 1435 in the realm of the early Veneto humanists, including Zabarella and his circle at Padua; *vid.* Margaret Bent, 'Music and the early Veneto Humanists', pp. 101-130. The presence of several works of Ciconia in Bc 15 which are demonstrably connected to the Veneto humanists is but one thread of the musical experience of the early humanists in the Veneto and surrounding regions: a musical experience which must have also included the chanson.

<sup>79</sup> Of these 24 works, six bear a direct ascription, while ascription is implied in a further 17 works by *idem*. It also appears likely that the alternative Ct on 44v-45r is also by Matheus.

concordances has only recently come to light,<sup>80</sup> one is still able to maintain the view of earlier scholarship that the outer gatherings betray a strong connection to Matheus. As already mentioned in the introductory remarks to this chapter, it has been universally proposed that Matheus or his *amanuensis* was the scribe of these gatherings.

From what can be derived from Italian summaries of now lost archival documents,<sup>81</sup> evidence exists to suggest that Matheus de Perusio was *magister capelle* and singer in the chapel of the then-new, but as yet incomplete, Duomo of Milan in the years 1402-1406.<sup>82</sup> In 1406, Cardinal Pietro Filargo appears to have requested that Matheus be transferred into his service at nearby Pavia, but that the administrators of the Duomo continue to provide his monthly salary. The Duomo continued to provide Matheus' salary until July 1407, when all trace of his employment there disappears. Only in entries for June 1414 does his name appear once again through the reference to a payment to *Matheus de perusio musichus et discantator*. The last reference to Matheus' employment in the account books of the Duomo occurs in October 1416 in relation to his salary for the previous August.

Several scholars assume that his transferral to the Cardinal of Milan's service in 1406 indicates Matheus was a *familiaris* of Filargo, remaining in his household at Pavia. It is clear that in 1408 Filargo left Pavia in preparation for what would become the Council of Pisa, where he was elected Alexander V. He arrived at Pisa in August 1408. Scholars have suggested that Matheus may have travelled southward with his patron, perhaps remaining in Filargo's service after his election to the papacy.<sup>83</sup> Yet archival evidence is lacking that would confirm either of these hypotheses. Neither of the two Matheuses in the chapel of Alexander V's successor, John XXIII, can be regarded as the Perugian singer on the basis of the framework of his career at Milan and his presumed origin. The singer named as Bruant appears to be Matheus Thorote alias Bruyant, priest and *tenorista* from Cambrai, while the singer actually named as Matheo in the *Introitus et Exitus* books from 1413 appears to be

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<sup>80</sup> On the recently discovered fragment containing a concordance of Matheus' *Pour Bel Acueil* (MOe5.24, # 91), *vid.* Christian Berger, "Pour Doulz Regard...": Ein neu entdecktes Handschriftenblatt mit französischen Chansons aus de Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 51, 1994, pp. 51-77. The other source of *contratenores* by Matheus is PAAs 75.

<sup>81</sup> *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall'origine fino al presente pubblicati a cura sua Amministrazione* (=AFDM), Milan, 1877-1885, 6 vols. The original first volume of *Ordinazioni Capitolari de Fabbricieri de Duomo* containing records for the years 1390-1444 was destroyed by fire in 1906.

<sup>82</sup> For Matheus' biography, *vid.* Claudio Sartori, *op.cit.*, pp. 12-27; Fabio Fano and Gaetano Cesari, *La capella musicale del duomo di Milano: Le origine e il primo maestro di capella: Matteo da Perugia*, Milan, 1956; Ursula Günther, revised Anne Stone, 'Matteo da Perugia', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, London, 2001, vol. 16, pp. 136-138.

Matheus Hanelle, again a cleric of Cambrai who was to go on and serve for periods of time in the chapels of Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV.<sup>84</sup> There is also the unusual discrepancy that none of Matheus' works seem to have been composed to celebrate his patron or the papacy, although some commentators have sought to link some of his works to Pisa.<sup>85</sup>

The documentary hiatus between 1407 and 1414 leaves this portion of Matheus' career open to speculation. If Matheus followed his patron to Pisa, Pistoria and Bologna, nothing can escape the fact that Filargo was dead by 1410. If Matheus did seek employment in the chapel of John XXIII, it could have only been a brief tenure, as the records from the curia of 1413 contain no mention of him. Certainly, on the face of it, the several settings of the Mass by Matheus according to the Roman rite suggest that Matheus had the opportunity to compose for sacred institutes outside those centres dominated by the Ambrosian rite of Milan and Pavia.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, there is the matter of Matheus' death. Several scholars have held that this occurred in 1418.<sup>87</sup> The existence of two differing accounts, both purportedly drawn by scholars from the original documents, forces scholarship, in view of the loss of the original documents, to refrain from the conclusion that 1418 is the year of Matheus' death. One account states that Matheus was dead at the election of his successor,<sup>88</sup> the other simply

<sup>83</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', pp. 149-150. Cf. Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 25.

<sup>84</sup> *vid.* John Nádas, 'Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', *Studi Musicali*, vol. 15, 1986, pp. 178-181.

<sup>85</sup> Even Brad Maiani's scholarship which recognised the reworking (or perhaps, better put, re-composition) of a *Gloria* (MOe5.24, ff. 49v-50r), which was texted in accordance to the Ambrosian rite of Milan, into a *Gloria* (MOe5.24, ff. 48v-49r) in the Roman practice (or vice versa) cannot prove Matheus' presence at Pisa – it only proves that Matheus composed a work for performance outside the immediate environs of Milan for the Roman practice, *vid.* Brad Maiani, 'Notes on Matteo da Perugia: Adapting the Ambrosian liturgy in polyphony for the Pisan Council', *Studi Musicali*, 1994, pp. 3-28. As suggested by Stone ("Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 41), Maiani's *terminus ante quem* of 1409 for the Ambrosian *Gloria* setting seems based on his conviction that the Roman setting was made subsequently, whereas it could equally apply that a Roman setting made during the seven years Matheus was not at Milan might have been adapted to the Ambrosian rite after his return.

<sup>86</sup> *Vid.* Kurt von Fischer, 'Bemerkungen zur Überlieferung und zum Stil der geistlichen Werke des Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', *Musica Disciplina*, vol. 41, 1987, pp. 181-182.

<sup>87</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', pp. 25, 46; Gilbert Reaney, 'Matteo da Perugia', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1<sup>st</sup> edn, ed. F. Blume, Kassel und Basel, Bärenreiter, 1960, vol. 8, col. 1794; Kurt von Fischer, 'Trecentomusik – Trecentoprobleme', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 30, 1958, p. 187.

<sup>88</sup> Ambrogio Nava, whose research predates the destruction of the original documents from Milan recorded: *Il 13 gennaio 1418 moriva Matteo da Perusio, detto anche Perusino, celebre cantore e viene eletto prete Ambrosino da Pessano con soli 2 fiorini a mese. Questi si lamenta e viene aumentato a 3 fiorini mensili.* ("On 13 January 1418 Matheus de Perusio, also called Perusino, celebrated singer died, and Ambrosino da Pessano was elected (in his place) with the salary of 2 florins a month. After complaining about this <rate of pay> it was increased to

that Matheus' successor feels that he is not being paid enough in comparison to his predecessor.<sup>89</sup> Here, one needs only to repeat Stone's caution<sup>90</sup> against using this date, not withstanding new archival facts that might come to light, as a *terminus ante quem* in relation to the Matheus' works and the copying of MOe5.24, should there be any inclination to attach the manuscript directly to this composer.

Matheus continues to be represented in the inner gatherings (2-4) of MOe5.24, although, as already mentioned, to a much lesser degree than in the outer gatherings. The works by Matheus copied by Scribe  $\beta$  into MOe5.24 emphasise his works, mostly chansons, composed in the *ars subtilior* style. The composer with the greatest number of works (8 chansons) ascribed to him in the inner gatherings is Anthonellus de Caserta. Anthonellus, despite the fact that he might be regarded as *the* Italian master of the *ars subtilior*, remains largely an enigmatic figure in relation to his biography, despite the one small archival find that records a payment to a *Frater Antonello de Caserta* by the Archbishop of Milan at his curia in Pavia.<sup>91</sup> All eight of his French-texted works are found in MOe5.24, with two concordances appearing in Pn 6771, a source with strong Paduan connections. His *alter ego* Antonello Marot da Caserta is responsible for 7 works with Italian texts found mostly in I-Las 184 (again a source with ostensibly Paduan origins according to John Nádas and Agostino Ziino<sup>92</sup>). These works are no less indicative of a master composer's output, despite the fact that they often cultivate a very different musical style. If it can be assumed that both composers were the same individual, those works with Italian texts provide some

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3 florins per month"), in Ambrogio Nava, *Memorie e documenti storici intorno alle origini, vicende e riti del Duomo di Milan*, Milan, 1857, p. 190, cited by Satori, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>89</sup> *Giovedì 13 gennaio 1418. Lettasi l'istanza di prete Ambrogio da Pessano, maestro di canto, il quale si lagna del suo salario di soli fior. 2 mentre Maestro Matteo da Perugia, prima di lui, riceveva fior. 6, dichiarando che se no si accresce il salario, egli andrà altrove, i deputati, considerando non essere conveniente che ai divini uffici manchi il canto, mentre vi occorre quasi la totalità dei cittadini, deliberono portare il suo stipendo a fior. 3 ossia no £. 4. s. 16 imperiali al mese* ("Thursday, 13 January 1418. One reads the instance involving priest Ambrogio da Pessano, master of song, complaining of his salary of 2 florins, while Matheus de Perusio, his predecessor, received 6 florins, saying that if the salary is not increased, he will go elsewhere; the deputies, considering it to be unfitting that the divine office be without song, while almost all citizens would notice, decide to put his stipend at 3 florins or 4 lire 16 soldi imperial a month."), in AFDM, vol II, p. 26, cited in Satori, *op. cit.*, p. 23, fn. 34. Satori's cautioning on these conflicting testimonies is found on the same page. He also points out that Ambrosino da Pessano had already been *maestro di canti* since 1411 (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>90</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 51.

<sup>91</sup> Pavia, Archivio di Stato, Università, Fondo Griffi, Cart. 15, cited by Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 63, fn. 82. Stone notes that the reference to a *procura* is found only in the a *rubrica* of Alberto Griffi who was a notary at the archbishop's curia at Pavia; cf. Anne Stone and Ursula Günther, 'Antonello da Caserta', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, London, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 761-2.

<sup>92</sup> Nádas and Ziino, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

tangible historic links to the period which are totally lacking (or undiscernible) in his French-styled output.

Nádas and Ziino have proposed that Antonello Marot da Caserta's madrigal *Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce* can be read as a work honouring the investiture of Giangaleazzo Visconti as Duke of Milan in 1395.<sup>93</sup> Further connections with the Visconti are proposed in *Più char che'l sol* which contains the *senhal* "Lucia", perhaps a reference to Bernabò Visconti's daughter of that name and sister to Giangaleazzo's second wife Catarina (married 1380). However, beyond these few enticing fragments of information, little evidence exists to construct a biography of this composer. While it is possible that Anthonellus was at Pavia in 1402, that is the same year Filargo was appointed Archbishop of Milan, and that he wrote a song or two containing references to members of the Visconti court, it remains uncertain whether Anthonellus remained at Pavia after that date. The source situation discussed below, especially Las 184 and Pn 6771 indicate the circulation of Anthonellus' works in the Veneto, especially at Padua.

Further Paduan associations in MOe5.24 occur in the case of Bartolinus de Padua. Again, little is known of this composer. Three of his works, all Italian madrigals in late *trecento* notation, appear in MOe5.24. However, in two cases the ascriptions to these works are at first glance puzzling: *Frater Carmelitus* (38) and *Dactalus de Padua fecit* (57). Only one work (78) is ascribed to Frater Bartolinus. In the case of the two former works, both are ascribed to *Magister Frater Bartolinus de Padua* in Fl 87. In at least the case of *Dactalus de Padua*, the inscription is considered erroneous.<sup>94</sup> However, in his important article concerning Bartolinus and the dating of his works, Pierluigi Petrobelli sees the first inscription (38) in conjunction with the composer's portrait in Carmelite habit in Fl 87 as strong indication that Bartolinus was a member of the Carmelite order.<sup>95</sup>

There is the question whether *Dactalus* is a lexical error or it actually refers to Bartolinus. *Dactylus* (Anc. Greek *Δακτυλος*) refers to "finger", although it may also denote a small muscle or blade of grass. *Dactylus* is also a term referring to a poetic foot (according to Ancient Greek models) of long-short-short which remains in use in the middle ages. Medieval Latin usage also includes the basic Greek definition, although *dactylus* and its

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<sup>93</sup> Nádas and Ziino, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>94</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 124; cf. Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 61.

<sup>95</sup> Petrobelli, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-87.

variants including *dactalus* can refer to the date fruit.<sup>96</sup> If *Dactalus* is a nickname, there appears to be no direct connection to the very little we know about the composer himself. Nor can any natural connections with the musical nature of *Inperial sedendo*, the work in MOe5.24 over which this ascription appears, be entertained. Pirrotta concluded that the illuminations accompanying *Inperial sedendo* in MOe5.24 suggest a separation from the original tradition. Yet, I am reluctant to agree with Pirrotta's views since the chariot named in the text is cleverly represented by the constellation of the chariot, while the Saracen emblem appears remarkably consistent with numismatic representations from the period.<sup>97</sup> This fact alone suggests that the intentional use of *Dactalus* as a nickname by the scribe of MOe5.24 should be given further consideration.

Petrobelli also concludes that Bartolinus set Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio's ballata *La sacrosanta carità d'amore* to music sometime between c. 1368 and 1389 (the year of Dondi's death, at Genoa). Perhaps another important fact highlighted by Petrobelli is that Dondi moved from Padua to Pavia to take up his employment as physician to Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1383. Dondi returned to Padua briefly some time during the years between his appointment at Pavia and his death. There is also Bartolinus' musical setting of the ballata *Chi tempo à* by Matteo Griffoni (1351-1426), the minor poet who became Bologna's ambassador to Padua in 1391. The expansive *Le aurate chiome* may refer to Francesco Novello da Carrara's sister Caterina and her wedding in 1372.

Pirrotta realised at an early stage that Bartolinus' *Inperial sedendo* contained precise references to the arms of the Carraresi, Lords of Padua. Nicole Goldine interpreted the text of *Inperial sedendo* as a reference to Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara (1325-1393) and dated it between 1364 and 1367.<sup>98</sup> However, Petrobelli's detailed reading of this madrigal's text argues that it refers to the investiture of Francesco Novello da Carrara (1359-1406) as captain-general of the imperial army in the later half of 1401.<sup>99</sup> The same author argues that *La douce cere* (not in MOe5.24) was written between the years 1390 and 1405 in honour of a descendant of the second lord of Carrara Marsilio Papafava,<sup>100</sup> and *Alba columba* (again not in MOe5.24) contains the emblem of the white dove and motto (*à bon droit*) of Giangaleazzo Visconti and is dated to the end of 1388 after the surrender of the

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<sup>96</sup> R. E. Latham, (ed.), *Revised Medieval Latin Word-list*, London, 1965.

<sup>97</sup> Petrobelli, *op.cit.*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>98</sup> Nicole Goldine, 'Fra Bartolino da Padova, musicien de cour', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 34, 1962, pp. 150-151.

<sup>99</sup> Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100.

Francesco il Vecchio to the Visconti. Petrobelli suggests that Bartolinus may be identical to *Frater bartolomeus de santa cruce de padua* listed in a document from 1380, who is identical to Carmelite Frater Bartolomeus de Sato named in a document from 1376.<sup>101</sup>

As such, Petrobelli concludes that Bartolinus was active at Padua from 1380 or earlier and up to the first years of the fifteenth century,<sup>102</sup> thus situating him among the last generation of *trecento* composers.<sup>103</sup> Bartolinus' *madrigali*, therefore, represent a more recent repertoire composed within a decade of MOe5.24's compilation. While most of Bartolinus' compositions employ a late form of northern *trecento* notation, they often tend musically towards a French aesthetic. In *La douce cere*, for example, we hear a stratification of voices: a florid cantus, which is filled with rhythmic nuances reminiscent of several *ars subtilior* works, over slower moving lower voices. The infiltration of a French style is possibly paralleled by the presence of French text (even if as mottos) in his *La douce cere* and *Alba columba*, although this situation is already evident in Landini's *Adiu, adiu dous dame iolye*, and possibly contemporary with Paolo Tenorista's and Niccolò da Perugia's macaronic *Souffrir m'estuet*.<sup>104</sup>

An additional connection to Padua occurs in the case of Johannes Ciconia. Two of his works are transmitted in MOe5.24 including his so-called *ars subtilior* essay, *Sus une fontayne*. The biography of Johannes Ciconia is inseparable from phases of scholarship in the present era, so that a survey of its changing attitudes and newly accumulated facts is most appropriate. Ciconia's first biographer, Suzanne Clercx proposed that Ciconia was a priest from Liège born about 1335 first mentioned in a papal document from Avignon in 1350. Clercx was of the view that Ciconia was a member of the retinue of Cardinal Gil Alvarez Albornoz in the years 1358-1367 and that he died at the relatively grand age of 76 in 1411 in Padua.<sup>105</sup> In 1976 (after an earlier suggestion by Heinrich Bessler<sup>106</sup>),

<sup>100</sup> Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-104.

<sup>101</sup> Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>102</sup> Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>103</sup> For views on Bartolinus' possible residence at Florence and anti-Visconti sentiments in works such as *La Fiera testa*, *vid.* Kurt von Fischer, revised Gianluca D'Agostino, 'Bartolino da Padova', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, London, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 820-822.

<sup>104</sup> Q.v. F. Alberto Gallo, 'Bilinguismo poetico e bilinguismo musicale nel madrigale trecentesco', in *L'Ar Nova Italiana de Trecento IV*, 1975, pp. 237-243; Piero Gargiulo, 'Landini e il «cantar a la Francescha»: alcune note sul virelai *Adiu adiu dous dame iolye*', in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, eds A. Delfino and M. T. Rosa Barezzi, Studi e Testi Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale 2, Firenze, 1999, pp. 323-337.

<sup>105</sup> Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia: un musicien liégeois et son temps (vers 1335-1411)*, 2 vols, Brussels, 1960.



David Fallows questioned whether the style of the surviving musical works ascribed to Johannes Ciconia was consistent for an individual born in 1335, and suggested that the Johannes Ciconia documented by Clercx might actually represented two distinct individuals, perhaps a father and a son, the latter identical to the composer.<sup>107</sup> Fallow's hypothesis was confirmed in the last decade by Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas who drew attention to a hitherto ignored papal dispensation from 27 April 1391 which frees one *Iohanni Cyconia clerico leodensi* from any obstacles to his future taking of prebendal office, a privilege which is usually prohibited by canon law for the illegitimate son of a priest.<sup>108</sup> The young cleric named in the document is most likely the twelve year old (*duodenus*) choir boy documented in 1385 at St-Jean's of Liège, and the Johannes Ciconia who spent his last years at Padua and declared himself in 1405 to be the son of *quondam Johannis de civitate Leodensis*.<sup>109</sup> It seems that Johannes Ciconia the younger, in a process common in the middle ages, was to go onto hold the same office (*in absentia*) as his father, the canonicate of St-Jean at Liège, of which the latter was deprived in 1408.

The dispensation of 1391 also contains one further reference to Ciconia as *clericus capelle ac domesticus continuus commensalis* of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon. It is noteworthy that d'Alençon was of noble Valois stock, but, contrary to the national tendencies of this period, he maintained Roman allegiance during the Schism. Between 1381 and 1387, d'Alençon served as the administrator to the Patriarch of Aquileia at Friuli. However, from 1385, he was at Padua, with his residence at Monselice. As Di Bacco and Nádas suggest, Ciconia probably benefited in later years from d'Alençon's earlier Paduan connections when he sought employment in that city.<sup>110</sup> After visiting Flanders and the Lowlands as papal

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<sup>106</sup> Heinrich Bessler, 'Hat Matheus de Perusio Epoche gemacht?', *Die Musikforschung*, vol. 8, 1955, pp. 19-23.

<sup>107</sup> David Fallows, 'Ciconia padre e figlio', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1976, pp. 171-7.

<sup>108</sup> Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, 'Verso uno "Stile internazionale" della musica nelle capelle papali cardinalize durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège', in *Collectanea I*, ed. A. Roth, Vatican City, 1994, pp. 13-14; for a repetition of those points in the aforementioned article *q.v.* Di Bacco and Nádas, 'The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', pp. 50-52. Clercx held that Johannes Ciconia was the son of Johannes Ciwagne of Liège, a furrier active around 1350, in Suzanne Clercx, 'Ancora su Johannes Ciconia (1335-1411)', *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana*, vol. 11, 1977, p. 40.

<sup>109</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, 'Verso uno "Stile internazionale" della musica nelle capelle papali cardinalize durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417)', p. 15. These authors also draw attention to a contemporary document which mentions 'plusiers enfans natureis de Saingnor Johan de Chywongne, canonne de Saint-Johan'.

<sup>110</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, 'The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', p. 52. For the argument that Ciconia was at Padua in 1401 (definitely by 1402), contrary to Clercx' view that Ciconia only took up his appointment in 1403, *vid.* Anne Hallmark, 'Gratiosus, Ciconia, and other musicians at Padua Cathedral: Some footnotes to present knowledge', in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento VI*, eds G. Cattin

legate, d'Alençon returned to Rome after the death of Urban VI (1389) in 1390, to remain there until his own death on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1397. A further document from 27 July 1391 clearly places Johannes Ciconia at Rome as a witness to a will made at d'Alençon's cardinalate church of S. Maria in Trastevere.<sup>111</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas suggest Ciconia was recruited before d'Alençon's return from Flanders in 1388, whereupon Ciconia was brought to Rome by the cardinal. This permits a connection between the choirboy at St-Jean of Liège (1385) and Ciconia's presence early in his career at Rome in 1391. The absence of Ciconia's name in d'Alençon's will neither proves nor disproves his continued presence in Rome, although Di Bacco and Nádas are inclined to view Ciconia's stay in Rome to be an extended one.<sup>112</sup> It should be noted that as yet there exist no references to Ciconia as a musician in his Roman period. Di Bacco and Nádas also suggest that Ciconia would have had the opportunity at Rome to meet composers in the service of the papal chapel such as Zacharias.

Ciconia appears to have taken up his new role at Padua in 1401. It is noteworthy that at the same time the canon, Johannes Ciconia the elder, is still documented at Liège.<sup>113</sup> From 1403, Ciconia the younger is *cantor et custos* of Padua's cathedral. Another document from 1403 also refers to Ciconia as *musicus*, thereby removing any uncertainty in this case, which might surround the designation and role of *cantor*.<sup>114</sup> At Padua, Ciconia benefited from close connections to the canonist and diplomat Francesco Zabarella (Archpriest of

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and P. Dalla Vecchia, Certaldo, 1992, pp. 75-76. Hallmark's dissertation (Princeton) containing a documentary history of Ciconia promises to contain many details which will further contribute to musicology's understanding of Ciconia and music in this period.

<sup>111</sup> Di Bacco & Nádas, 'Verso uno "Stile internazionale" della musica nelle capelle papali cardinalize durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417)', p. 25.

<sup>112</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, 'The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', p. 55. Di Bacco and Nádas suggest that Ciconia may have remained in Rome after d'Alençon's death in 1397. This considerably limits the earlier suggestion of Ziino and Nádas that Ciconia may have resided at the Visconti court in the 1390s on the basis of possible reference to Giangaleazzo in his works, in *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 41-45. The situation, however, is not clearly defined in the absence of archival documents (most of the Visconti archives and library were dispersed or destroyed after the demise of the Sforza dynasty at the end of the fifteenth century and subsequent social upheaval) and in view of similar references in Bartolinus de Padua's works. For a reconstruction of the Visconti-Sforza library, and a discussion of its dispersal, *vid. Élisabeth Pellegrin, La bibliothèque de Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle*, Publications de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes V, Paris, 1955. Although a great part of the Visconti library passed into the hands of Louis XII and were transported to Paris (where many still reside in the Bibliothèque Nationale), the wide dispersal of the collection throughout libraries in Europe suggests a more complex picture of dispersal, *vid. ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>113</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, 'The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', p. 53.

<sup>114</sup> Hallmark, 'Gratiosus, Ciconia, and other musicians at Padua Cathedral', pp. 76-77.

Padua 1397, Bishop of Florence 1410, cardinal 1411 under the Pisan obedience).<sup>115</sup> Indeed, Zabarella is honoured in two motets by Ciconia: *Ut te per omnes celitum / Ingens alumpnus padue* (Ob 213, ff. 129v-120r; Bc 15, f. 260v) and the aforementioned *Doctorum principem / Melodia suavissima / VIR MITIS* (Bc 15, ff. 270v-271r). It is also now apparent that Ciconia died between 10 June and 12 July 1412, a year later than supposed by Clercx.<sup>116</sup>

The works of Ciconia contain several celebratory motets also written for church and state in connection to events at Padua and Venice. *O Felix templum iubilium* celebrates the investiture of Stefano Carrara, Bishop of Padua 1402-1404.<sup>117</sup> *Padu...serenans* celebrates Andrea da Carrara, titular head from 1396 and abbot (1402-04) of Santa Giustina.<sup>118</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas have proposed that his motet *O Petre, Christi discipule* refers to the new Pisan Pope Alexander V.<sup>119</sup> Ciconia's secular works also contain references to the Carrara family. *Per quella strada lactea de cielo*, like Bartolinus' *Inperial sedendo*, describes the Carraresi arms. There is also Ciconia's musical setting of Leonardo Giustinian's *Con lagrime bagnandome el viso*: a lament on the death of Francesco II Novello da Carrara in 1406.<sup>120</sup> Nádas and Ziino also suggest that *Una panthera in compagnia de Marte* was written for the celebrated visit of Lazzaro Guinigi of Lucca to Giangaleazzo's court in Pavia to form an

<sup>115</sup> Hallmark, 'Protector, imo verus pater: Francesco Zabarella's patronage of Johannes Ciconia', pp. 153-168; *q.v. eadem*, 'Gratiosus, Ciconia, and other musicians at Padua Cathedral', p. 75.

<sup>116</sup> Hallmark, 'Protector, imo verus pater', p. 76.

<sup>117</sup> Fallows, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, p. 32. This work occurs in Ob 213, ff. 22v-23r and Bc 15, ff. 223v-224r, the former version in *trecento* notation, the latter in French notation, *vid.* Bent and Hallmark, *op.cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>118</sup> Hallmark, 'Protector, imo verus pater', p. 165.

<sup>119</sup> Di Bacco & Nádas, 'Verso uno "stile internazionale" della musica nelle capelle papali cardinalize durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417)', p. 33, fn. 63. Di Bacco and Nádas suggest that at another level (besides referring to St. Peter and Pietro Filargo) the motet might also refer to Pietro Marcello, appointed Bishop of Padua in 1409 by Alexander V. Margaret Bent, on the other hand, suggests that, just as Ciconia wrote the 'full-dress motet' *Petrum Marcellum venetum/O petre antistes* for Marcello's investiture September 1409, *O Petre, Christi discipule* may refer to one of Alexander's earliest appointments, Pietro Emiliani as Bishop of Vicenza, in 'Early papal motets', pp. 24-26.

<sup>120</sup> Clercx thought this work referred to the death of Cardinal Albornoz, the patron of the individual now regarded as Johannes Ciconia senior, in Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia*, vol. I, p. 23. Nicole Goldine stated that it referred to the death of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara in 1393, in *op. cit.* Nádas and Ziino supported its association with Il Novello's death in 1406, in *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 41-42. Hallmark has recently re-argued for this work's association with Il Vecchio's death, in 'Protector, imo verus pater', p. 164. However, David Fallows' argument that the text of *Con lagrime bagnandome* was written by the Venetian poet Leonardo Giustinian (c. 1382-1446) during his student years (c. 1403-1407) at Padua, and the same scholar's location of this work in the Paduan layers of I-Las 184, strongly swings the pendulum back in favour of the text referring to Francesco II Novello. Thus it appears that this work was composed somewhere between 1406 and the death of Ciconia in 1412; *vid.* David Fallows, 'Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento polyphonic song', in *L'Edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario: Atti del convegno internazionale (Cremona 4-8 Ottobre 1992)*, eds R. Borghi and P. Zappalà, Studi e Testi Musicali Nuova Serie 3, Lucca, 1995, pp. 247-260.

alliance with the Visconti in May and June 1399.<sup>121</sup> Günther and Strohm have already suggested Ciconia's Pavian connections in relation to *Sus une fontayne* and its links to Philipoctus de Caserta and fountain imagery<sup>122</sup> although recent research views the latter imagery instead as a general literary *topos*.<sup>123</sup> Nádas and Ziino suggest this strengthens the attribution of the anonymously transmitted canonic work *La ray au soleyl*, which contains references to the motto (*à bon droit*) and the emblem (a dove within a radiant sun) of Giangaleazzo, to Ciconia.<sup>124</sup> The proportional and canonic compositional devices, according to Nádas and Ziino, see similarities with MOe5.24, which they place at Pavia.

The emerging picture of Ciconia's Roman period and his subsequent transferral to northern Italy sheds light on possible lines of transmission for works contained MOe5.24, especially several works by Zacharias. Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo has emerged during the past two decades of medieval music research as one of the foremost and better-documented composers of this era. However, this has not always been the case for the greater part of the twentieth century. Early in the debate, Nino Pirrotta judiciously proposed that three individuals might be identified by ascriptions Zacara or Zacharias in extant sources: Nicholaus Zacharie, *cantor* of Martin V 1420-24; *Magister Zacharias cantor Domini nostri Papae*, who was loyal to Bolognese pope John XXIII; and *Magister Antonius Zachara de Teramo*, who was loyal to Roman pope Gregory XII.<sup>125</sup> In 1979, Agostino Ziino presented the findings of his archival research conducted in the Vatican Archives which placed *magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo*, papal letter writer, in the curia of Roman pontiff Boniface IX (1389-1404) as early as 1 February 1391.<sup>126</sup> It is clear from the same papal document that this Zacharias was already *in nostra capella cantor*. The continued presence of Zacharias in the Roman curia as *scriptor litterarum* of three successive popes is attested to by a series of documents, the last of which is dated 1 June 1407 during the pontificate of Gregory XII.<sup>127</sup> After this time, Ziino suggests that Zacharias may have left Rome with Gregory XII on his journey to Viterbo, defecting in 1408 to the Pisan party and perhaps

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<sup>121</sup> John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>122</sup> Günther, 'Problems of dating in the Ars nova and Ars subtilior', p. 294; Strohm, 'Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia', p. 71.

<sup>123</sup> Anne Stone, 'A singer at the fountain: Homage and irony in Ciconia's 'Sus une fontayne'', *Music and Letters*, pp. 361-390; Plumley, 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta'.

<sup>124</sup> Ziino and Nádas, *The Lucca Codex*, p. 44.

<sup>125</sup> Nino Pirrotta, 'Zacharus musicus', *Quadrivium*, vol. 12, 1971, pp. 153-175.

<sup>126</sup> Agostino Ziino, 'Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo: alcune date e molte ipotesi', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1979, pp. 311-348.

<sup>127</sup> Ziino, 'Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', pp. 317-319.

finding employment in the papal chapel of the Pisan obedience. A link is thus envisaged whereby *Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo* (of the Roman obedience) and *Magister Zacharias cantor domini nostri pape* (as appears in Fl 87) can be construed as homonyms. Ziino also argues that stylistic aspects across the body of works ascribed to either name in part support this hypothesis.<sup>128</sup>

Shortly after the publication of Ziino's article, two new articles appeared which further confirmed Zacharias' associations with Rome. Richard Sherr reported on the contents of *mandati camerales* from the Roman curia that had remained in Paris after the return of Vatican Archives previously removed by Napoleon's invading armies.<sup>129</sup> Records for the year 1400 contain references to Zacharias as both *scriptor apostolicus* and singer in the papal chapel. In the same year Sherr's article appeared, Anna Esposito published a transcript of a contract dated January 1390 which required *Magister Antonius Berardi Andree de Teramo alias dictus vulgariter Zaccara...optimo, perito et famoso cantore* to prepare, notate and illuminate an Antiphonal for the church of the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, an institute located a short distance from the Vatican.<sup>130</sup> Not only does this document provide the fullest form of this musician's name, it attests to his fame and expertise in writing musical manuscripts, even if the manuscript named in the aforementioned document would ostensibly contain only liturgical monophony. It also indicates an extended Roman phase in his career.

Ziino's hypothesis concerning the migration of the Roman Zacharias to the Pisan party was confirmed by John Nádas whose article published in 1986 (also found in his earlier dissertation) noted the discovery of a *Magister Antonius dictus Zaccara* named in the once-thought-lost *Introitus et Exitus* books from the Florentine curia of the second and last pope of the Pisan obedience, John XXIII.<sup>131</sup> Zacharias is referred to as *magister capelle* in entries from January to April 1413. It is possible that he was a member of John XXIII's

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<sup>128</sup> Pirrotta accepts Ziino's views in a postscript to his earlier article republished in a collection of his writings, identifying the latter two names with the same individual, in Nino Pirrotta, 'Zaccara de Teramo', in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, ed. N. Pirrotta, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1984, pp. 126-144.

<sup>129</sup> Richard Sherr, 'Notes on some documents in Paris', *Studi Musicali*, vol. 12, 1983, pp. 5-16.

<sup>130</sup> Anna Esposito, "'Magistro Zaccara" e l'antiphonario dell'Ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia', in Paolo Cherubini, Anna Esposito, Paola Scarcia Piacentini, 'Il costo de libro', in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento, Atti del. 2. seminario*, eds M. Miglio, P. Ferenga and A. Modigliani, *Littera Antiqua* 3, Vatican City, 1983, pp. 334-42, 446-9; For a more recent recasting of the significance of the document in light of recent biographical research, *vid. eadem*, 'Maestro Zaccara da Teramo «scriptore et miniatore» di un antiphonario per l'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia a Roma', *Recercare*, vol. 4, 1992, pp. 167-178.

<sup>131</sup> Nádas, 'Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', pp. 178-79.

court at an earlier date, although details of chapel expenses until late 1412 are scarce. Nádas also contributes significantly to the debate concerning the homonymic designations for Zacharias by noting that physical details of the musician and composer *Zaccaria Teramnensis* described in a 15<sup>th</sup> century *necrologio aprutino* are also present in the portrait of *Magister Zacharias cantor domine nostri pape* in the Squarcialupi Codex (Fl 87).<sup>132</sup> He also argues that circumstantial evidence, consisting of a trail of compositions in sources still located at those centres through which the Roman pope's itinerant curia would have passed - such as Siena (1407), Lucca (1408), Rimini, Padua and finally Cividale del Friuli (1409) - suggests Zacharias had left the service of Gregory XII only at the last moment on the eve of the Council of Pisa.<sup>133</sup> Nádas further notes the presence of an *Antonius de Teramo* as a witness to the granting of the doctorate to one Simone Lellis de Teramo in Padua, December 8, 1410, in the presence of Cardinal Zabarella.<sup>134</sup>

The most recent scholarship on Zacharias has consolidated those findings mentioned above and sought to discuss source situations further.<sup>135</sup> However, two important discoveries further refine our understanding of this composer's career. The first consists of the composition *Dime fortuna*, the *unicum* found in the recently discovered Tn T.III.2 fragments and attributed to Zacharias by Ziino. The text of this work undoubtedly refers to Alexander V's failed return to Rome and thereby associates that composer with the Pisan obedience in its earliest days.<sup>136</sup> The second discovery of a will dated 1416 of a nephew and heir of *Magister Antonius Berardi Andree dicti alias Zaccharus dudum cantor et scriptor Romane Curie et Sedis apostolice...de civitatis Terami* shows that Zacharias owned a house, land, orchards and vineyards at Teramo and suggests that Zacharias' death occurred some time between May 1413 and September 1416.<sup>137</sup>

As such, surviving sources transmit no less than 35 compositions which either are ascribed or can be attributed to Zacharias.<sup>138</sup> In Rome, his reputation seems to have been

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<sup>132</sup> Nádas, 'Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', pp. 170-172.

<sup>133</sup> Nádas, 'Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', pp. 177-178.

<sup>134</sup> Nádas, 'Further notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', p. 178, fn. 40.

<sup>135</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, 'The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', pp. 56-58, 63-69.

<sup>136</sup> Agostino Ziino, *Il codice T. III. 2 : Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria = The codex T. III. 2*, Ars nova 4, Lucca, 1994, pp. 80, 103.

<sup>137</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, 'The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', p. 58.

<sup>138</sup> This number includes *Deduto sey*, formerly an *opus dubium* of Ciconia (*vid.* Bent and Hallmark, *op.cit.*), but recently identified as a work by Zacharias based upon the reading of a newly edited early fifteenth century treatise on music, *vid.* Maria Caraci Vela, 'Una nuova attribuzione a Zacara da un trattato musicale

well developed by 1390, suggesting his activity before this time, perhaps in the chapel of Urban VI. It seems that his reputation did not wane upon his switch to the Pisan obedience if one considers his compositions mentioned in Simone Prudenanzi's *Il Solazzo*, an early fifteenth century set of poems written at Orvieto.<sup>139</sup> Even in light of John Nádas' recent conclusion that Prudenanzi was largely dependent upon the content of musical anthologies like those compiled in Florence in the first decade of the fifteenth century for the musical repertoire cited in his poetry,<sup>140</sup> there remains in extant sources ample evidence of the reception of Zacharias' works in settentrionale and northern Italy.

Another possible Roman connection occurs in relation to the proposed identity of the composer Egardus. Reinhard Strohm hypothesises that the composer Egardus be identified with Flemish organist Johannes Ecghaerd. Strohm bases his thesis upon several elements, which might be summarised thus:<sup>141</sup>

- a. A *Gloria spiritus et alme* which appears in the Paduan fragments Pu 1475 and Pu 1225 is also found (in a fragmentary form) in the Netherlandish source Utrecht, Universiteitbibliotheek, 1846 I (*olim* 6E37I) (= NL-Uu 1846, *olim* NL-Uu 37), f. 2r. Strohm holds, based upon further repertorial, codicological and palaeographic considerations, that the latter source was written in Bruges possibly for a choir school.
- b. *Magister Johannes Ecghaerd* was appointed succentor of the collegiate church of St. Donatian in Bruges in 1370.
- c. Johannes Ecghaerd also had a chaplaincy at St Nicholas of Dixmunde near Veurne. The Latin name of Veurne is *Furni*.
- d. On this basis, the first line of Egardus' canonic motet *Furnos requisti/Equum est* transmitted in MOe5.24 may be a reference to Veurne, rather than 'hearths'.<sup>142</sup> The text of the work addresses a certain (possibly fictitious) Frater Buclarus and reproaches him for leaving Furni in search of better fortunes across the Black Sea (*Novi Pontus*).
- e. Thomas Fabri, student of Jean de Noyers dit Tapissier and also succentor of St Donatian's 1412-15, also wrote a canon with features similar to Egardus' motet and addressed again to Buclarus, whom he bids to meet him in Bruges for some recreation. No records naming a Buclarus are as yet to be found at Bruges.

Strohm also proposes that, based on the general tendency of Franco-Flemish singers filling the Roman curia during the schism, an Eckhardus, *scriptor apostolicus* (and therefore

del primo Quattrocento', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 69, 1997, pp. 182-185; Anna Cornagliotti and Maria Caraci Vela, (eds), *Un inedito trattato musicale del medioevo: Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana, cod. 11, La tradizione musicale 2*, Firenze, 1998, pp. 15-19, 77.

<sup>139</sup> *vid.* Ziino, *Il codice T. III. 2*, pp. 135-36.

<sup>140</sup> John Nádas, 'A cautious reading of Simone Prodenanzi's *Il Saporetto*', *Recercare*, vol. 10, 1998, pp. 23-37.

<sup>141</sup> Strohm, 'Magister Egardus and other Italo-Flemish contacts', pp. 41-68.

<sup>142</sup> The manuscript reading is actually *furnis*. Billy Jim Layton proposed the emended reading to *furnos* in his dissertation "Italian Music for the Ordinary of the Mass 1300-1450", Harvard University, 1960, pp. 144-46; *cf.* Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', pp. 21-22.

colleague of Zacharias) who signed a papal letter from 14 May 1394, may be identical to Johannes Ecghaerd.<sup>143</sup> Yet, it should be noted that any evidence of this *scriptor apostolicus* as a papal singer in Rome is still lacking.<sup>144</sup>

Considering that Ciconia found new employment at Padua in 1401 and Zacharias may have travelled northwards with his papal patron (it remains without doubt that he did move north in the period after 1407), I would concur with Anne Stone that a situation arises whereby one may propose certain means by which the music of Zacharias and Egardus was transmitted northwards to find its way into MOe5.24.<sup>144a</sup> In assuming Strohm's hypothesis concerning Egardus' presence in the Roman curia is correct, Stone proposes that Ciconia could have easily brought Egardus' and Zacharias' music from Rome to Padua and from there to MOe5.24. In my view, the transmission of Zacharia's music may in fact be a two-fold process, the first phase of which was initiated by Ciconia and other ultramontanes quitting Rome, while the second phase was brought about by Zacharias' actual physical presence in the north. Ciconia's Paduan years represent a focal point, during which the compositions from the south (Rome), perhaps assisted by a visit of Zacharias to Padua in 1410, were collected alongside local compositions and those possibly from the north. This hypothesis is supported largely by the repertoire of the Paduan fragments.<sup>145</sup> From here, the further dissemination of this repertoire could have taken place.

A further connection to Ciconia exists with respect to Philipoctus de Caserta in that Ciconia's virelai *Sus une fontayne* quotes the music and text from three ballades by Philipoctus.<sup>146</sup> The nature of this connection – that is whether Ciconia was a student or admirer of Philipoctus – is open to debate. One possibility is unlikely to be denied. Considering the extended and exact nature of the quotations in Ciconia's virelai, Ciconia undoubtedly possessed (or had access to) copies of Philipoctus' ballades. Whether this was at Rome, Padua or during a brief sojourn to another musical centre is difficult to ascertain, although most scholars tend to date *Sus une fontayne* to the 1390s. Of Philipoctus himself, little concrete archival evidence exists through which he might be securely located at a particular centre. However, from the dating of the texts of his musical works, it is clear that he belongs to the first generation of *ars subtilior* composers. Several of his works contain

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<sup>143</sup> Strohm, 'Magister Egardus and other Italo-Flemish contacts', p. 56.

<sup>144</sup> *vid.* Di Bacco and Nádas, 'The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', pp. 88-92.

<sup>144a</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", p. 60.

<sup>145</sup> *Vid. infra*, p. 145.



references to the Avignonese Pope Clement VII and the political intrigues surrounding the Kingdom of Naples in and around 1380. Another work appears to contain the motto of Bernabò Visconti (†1385), although recent scholarship has tended to lessen the importance of this coincidence in favour of intertextual musico-literary factors.<sup>147</sup> Finally, one might recall again the possibility, following Reinhard Strohm, that Philipoctus' works were written before Clement VII's departure from the Kingdom of Naples or Italy on his way to Avignon 1378-9.<sup>148</sup>

Archival evidence also suggests that other composers in MOe5.24 were active in Florence and Ferrara. In her discussion of MOe5.24, Ursula Günther proposes that Johannes de Janua might be identical to one of two Johannes – Johannes Burec and Johannes Desrame – newly listed in an entry for the 21 June 1405 in the *Introitus et Exitus* books as members of the papal chapel of Benedict XIII during the latter's sojourn at Genoa.<sup>149</sup> Günther also argues that Genoa, as a centre for French culture in northern Italy, might be a suitable location for the cultivation of the French idiom present in Johannes de Janua's works, although her desire to forge a direct link between the music from the papal court of Avignon and their supposed transmissions in MOe5.24 would appear to be instrumental in her reasoning. It is perhaps more appropriate, if one assumes that the designation 'de Janua' denotes a native of Genoa, that Johannes be identified not with the two Frenchmen in the chapel of Benedict XIII, but rather, as suggested by Michael Long, with an Augustinian *Frater Johannes (de) Janua* named in 1385 in a document from the Convent of S. Spirito in Florence.<sup>150</sup> Although less than categorical, the laws of probability would argue that this last Johannes is the composer in MOe5.24 based on the evidence that in 1385 a *Fra Curradus ser gualandi de pistorio* witnesses a document at S. Spirito.<sup>151</sup> This

<sup>146</sup> *Vid. infra*, pp. 155ff.

<sup>147</sup> Plumley, 'Citation and allusion in the late *ars nova*: the case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* songs', pp. 287-363.

<sup>148</sup> Strohm, 'Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia', pp. 65-74. Strohm, however, seems to have accepted his hypothesis of Philipoctus' activity at Milan as fact, as betrayed by statements such as "It seems that Philipoctus actually lived at this <i.e. the Visconti> court", in *The Rise of European Music*, p. 59.

<sup>149</sup> Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', pp. 42-43.

<sup>150</sup> Long, 'Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural élite', pp. 98-99, *q.v. idem*, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy", p. 205. Another possible candidate for the composer is the musician 'Jo. de Genesii' who worked in the chapels of various Avignon cardinals between 1371 and 1394, *vid.* Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy", pp. 55-56 (based on a personal communication with John Nádas); Ursula Günther, revised Yolanda Plumley, 'Johannes de Janua', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, London, 2001, vol. 13, p. 142.

<sup>151</sup> Frank A. D'Accone, 'Music and musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore in the early Quattrocento', in *Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga*, Milan & Naples, 1973, p. 105; *idem*, "A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Bapistry during the Fifteenth Century", Ph.D, Harvard University, 1960, p. 204.

would appear to be the individual who in 1410 is once again named as singer at Santa Reparata (=Santa Maria del Fiore) in Florence and is most likely identical to Augustinian (*ordinis heremitarum*) Frater Corradus de Pistoria who has two works ascribed to him in MOe5.24.<sup>152</sup> The second of the two unique works ascribed to Corradus in MOe5.24, *Veri almi pastoris*, has already been read as a reference to a papal chapel.

The Benedictine Bartholomeus de Bononia, prior of the convent of San Niccolò of Ferrara and composer of two works in MOe5.24, is documented as the organist in that city's cathedral from 1405 to 1427,<sup>153</sup> although it appears that after leaving the post of organist Bartholomeus remained prior at San Nicolò until at least 1435, but no later than 1441.<sup>154</sup> His activity beyond MOe5.24 is attested by the presence of several other works in Ob 213, including two settings of sections of the mass using parody technique which are juxtaposed with their secular models. Hans Schoop proposes that the emergence of parody technique in Bartholomeus' music was influenced by Zacharias whose works must represent some of the earliest composition utilising this technique.<sup>155</sup> It is possible that Bartholomeus forged links with Zacharias during the Zacharias' years in the chapel of the Pisan Popes, a situation made even more likely by the proposition that Bartholomeus' *Arte psalentes* was written for Alexander V.

The presence of other composers in MOe5.24 betrays an eclecticism which includes two works by Florentines - Landini<sup>156</sup> and Andrea da Firenze - and several works by composers from beyond the Alps. Guillaume de Machaut, already dead for approximately thirty years, is represented by three works which appear to have been widely received in Italy. The presence of works by three southern French *ars subtilior* masters Jehan (Johannes) Hasprois, who is documented at the court of the Avignon popes in the 1390s, Matheus de Sancto Johanne, active in the 1370s and '80s,<sup>157</sup> and Jacob de Senleches, who appears to

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<sup>152</sup> Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy", p. 204.

<sup>153</sup> Adriano Cavicchi, 'Sacro e profano: documenti e note su Bartolomeo da Bologna e gli organisti della cattedrale di ferrara nel primo quattrocento', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. 10, 1975, pp. 46-71.

<sup>154</sup> Adriano Cavicchi, 'Altri documenti per Bartolomeo da Bologna', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1976, pp. 178-81.

<sup>155</sup> Hans Schoop, 'Bartolomeo da Bologna', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Sadie, London, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 822-23.

<sup>156</sup> A recent summary of Francesco Landini's archival biography can be found in Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>157</sup> *vid.* Chapter 5, p. 271.

have been active in the 1380s and early '90s,<sup>158</sup> poses questions concerning the transmission of their repertoire into Italy which will be addressed below.

The biography of one further composer, Magister Egidius, remains unresolved. Two works appear in MOe5.24 ascribed to Egidius, in the first instance to *Magister Egidius ordinis heremitarum sancti agustini*, the next simply to *Magister Egidius*. The second of these compositions sets a polemical text containing the acrostic CLEMENS, and as such, clearly suggests this ballade was composed in praise of Avignonese Pope Clement VII (*vid.* Vol. 2, App. A, No. 36). It is likely that the *Magister Egidius Aug<ustinus>* who has one composition in CH 564, *Roses et lis ay veu en une flour*, is the same composer. The presence, however, of *Roses et lis ay veu* in a source with likely Lowlands origins, suggests that the composer of this work was active north of the Alps. Granted that there could be more than one Egidius who was a French Augustinian, the probability of all being composers is considerably less. Richard Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx first suggested that this composer might be identical with Egidius de Aurelianis, an Augustinian in the curia of Clement VII, and perhaps also the Egidius de Aurelia named in the (Augustinian) musicians' motet *Alma polis religio* (CH 564, #108).<sup>159</sup>

The presence of the Italian texted works by Augustinians Guillelmus and Egidius da Francia in Fl 87 suggest connections with Italy, if indeed this is the same Egidius as the composer in MOe5.24. Even if Egidius was never in Italy, it seems that Guillelmus da Francia was associated with the Santo Spirito of Florence considering the diverse ascriptions in musical sources to either *Guillelmus da Francia* or *Guillelmus de Santo Spirito*. Some archival documentary evidence from the Sancto Spirito suggests his presence in Florence during the 1360s.<sup>160</sup>

This secondary confluence of biographical details in relation to the Augustinian convent of S. Spirito in Florence, while not central to the discussion concerning the origin of MOe5.24, possibly represents an avenue through which some of the repertoire in MOe5.24 may have been transmitted or created. Michael Long has emphasised the pro-French, elitist tendencies in this convent during the 1380s and '90s which may have contributed French elements to Florentine musical life, especially the introduction of French notational and

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<sup>158</sup> *vid.* Prologue, fn. 2.

<sup>159</sup> Richard H. Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx, 'Notes biographiques sur quelques musiciens français du XIV siècle', *Les Colloques de Wegimont II 1955*, Society d'Editions "Les Belles Lettres", 1959, pp. 64-92. On individuals with the name of Egidius in the curia in schismatic Avignon, *vid.* Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309-1403*, Studies in Musicology 75, Ann Arbor, 1983, pp. 57-58, 225.

stylistic practices. Long also notes the preponderance of Augustinians, often itinerant, at Avignon in the 1360s and 1370s which may have promoted the spread of French culture to Italian centres such as Florence.<sup>161</sup> Even if these lines of transmission were disrupted by the Schism, the realisation of a French aesthetic and musical process, which might nurture further interest in its style among composers, was already in place, despite the various political climates in Florence during this period. It is possible that Corradus de Pistoria and Johannes de Janua, given that these composers were indeed the singers at S. Spirito in the 1380s, were witnesses and contributors to this culture. This allowed them to compose those works found in MOe5.24, possibly at a later stage in Florence's history, embodying many elements of an essentially French, although by then increasingly international style of polyphony. As I have already suggested, this style was the one plausibly favoured at the papal court of the Pisan obedience.

The currently known biographies of composers represented in MOe5.24 suggests relationships and influences which were catalysts in this manuscript's formation. Central among these relationships is the presence of Zacharias de Teramo and Johannes Ciconia in the north of Italy. The removal of both these composers in separate stages from Rome, and their relocation in *settecentrale* and northern centres (possibly including Pavia), present opportunities for the transmission of repertoire from Rome (Egardus) and the north (Anthonellus de Caserta, French repertoire) to Padua and curia of the Pisan obedience. Further connections to Padua are suggested by the presence of works by Bartolinus de Padua, whose last years appear to have overlapped Ciconia's period in Padua. An association between Bartholomeus de Bononia and Zacharias is also possible in light of their shared compositional techniques and works which can be linked to the papacy of Alexander V. The close association of the Pisan obedience with Florence and its subsequent transfer there goes far in explaining the presence of composers active in Florence. These biographical relationships offer some clues to the transmission of this repertoire, which must be further investigated through the appropriate methods of stemmatic filiation.

### *3.5. Relationships with other sources*

Of the 104 musical compositions in MOe5.25, 43 have known concordances. Of these concordances I will exclude from present consideration: four musical compositions (44,

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<sup>160</sup> Long, 'Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural élite', pp. 96-97.

<sup>161</sup> Long, 'Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural élite', p. 95.

47, 56, 67) and the text of 20 (its musical setting by Anthonellus de Caserta is considered) all by Machaut; two further works with a single concordance of text only (50, 99); three unique alternative *contratenores* (5, 6, 92) to works known elsewhere (8 is an alternative Ct to 67); and one work (54) whose only concordance is known from a lost manuscript, Pn 23190. The one motet (30) is not treated in this study. Furthermore, discussion concerning works in CH 564 which occurs in Chapter 2 will not be repeated, although additional remarks will be made that clarify the relationship between MOe5.24 and the former manuscript. Of the remaining concordances, the present section focuses on those works which are represented by numerous transmission and contain indications of a work's phases of transmission.

In this section I once again apply methods of stemmatic filiation to determine the relationship of MOe5.24 to certain extant sources. As most of the works in the outer gatherings are *unica*,<sup>162</sup> much of my attention will be focussed on the relationship of works in the inner gatherings to extant concordances. Several outcomes result from this examination. The first is that, so far as the inner Gatherings 2-4 are concerned, there is no evidence of direct relationships between MOe5.24 and extant sources in either a child or parent capacity. In relation to Pn 6771, this observation has particular import with regard to the distancing of MOe5.24 from the musical scriptorium of the Santa Giustina of Padua, although connections to a Paduan tradition cannot be excluded on the basis of an examination of Johannes Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*. In relation to the Grottaferrata-Dartmouth College fragments,<sup>163</sup> I identify shared conjunctive readings which suggest both sources are witness to a single tradition, separable from other perceived traditions. The implications of these findings in the light of recent scholarship will be subsequently explored. I also inspect the concordances between MOe5.24 and the recently discovered Boverio

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<sup>162</sup> Grenon's *Je ne requier* is found in three additional sources, Monserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir 823, 7v-8r (=MO 823); I-PAas 75, 1v (text residuum only); New York, fragment in personal library of Stanley Boorman; and in the destroyed manuscript F-Sm 222, f. 80r. The transmissions in MOe5.24 and the Boorman fragment preserve a Ct by Matheus de Perusio. On the Parisian provenance and a reconstruction of MO 823, *vid.* Gordon K. Greene, 'Reconstruction and inventory of Monserrat Manuscript 823', in *L'ars Nova del Trecento VI*, eds G. Cattin and P. D. Vecchia, Certaldo, 1992, pp. 209-220. A near complete reading of Matheus de Perusio's *Pour belle Acueil* is also found in the recently discovered fragment Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Sammlung Bongarsiana, Fragm. 827 (=CH-BEsu), a source which further demonstrates the cultivation of French techniques by Italian masters, *vid.* Christian Berger, *op.cit.*, pp. 51-77. A concordance of *Gratiosus fervidus* (MOe5.24, f. 50v; also erased as in the palimpsest in the inner gatherings of MOe5.24, f. 19r) appears intact in the flyleaf fragment in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1475 (=Pu 1475), f. Cr.

<sup>163</sup> Grottaferrata, Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia di S. Nilo, segn. provv. Kript. Lat. 224 (olim 197) (=GR 197), and Hanover, Dartmouth College Library, MS 002387 (*olim* Santa Barbara, Academia Monteverdiana) (=Hdc 2387).

Codex. Considering scholarly views that the latter source may have been connected to the Pisan papacy, it is appropriate to exhaust this avenue of investigation, utilising evidence extracted from the sources themselves, in light of associations proposed between MOe5.24 and the Pisan movement. One final aspect of this discussion is to demonstrate further instances of scribal intervention by Scribe  $\beta$  in MOe5.24 with regard to matters of notational semiotics.

As a point of departure, I would like to discuss Anne Hallmark's assessment of the transmission of *Sus une fontayne* from the aspect of the work's two extant transmissions.<sup>164</sup> Additionally, I regard the citation of the various portions of three ballades of Philipoctus de Caserta (*En remirant*, *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* and *De ma douleur*) in *Sus une fontayne* to be similar to lemmata in classical textual criticism<sup>165</sup> which contribute to an understanding of the reception of Philipoctus' ballades in Ciconia's virelai. The one further transmission of *Sus une fontayne* occurs in a set of former fly leaves now found bound in the centre of the Bodleian Library manuscript Canon. Pat. Lat 229 (=Ob 229).<sup>166</sup> These leaves are clearly not insular in their origin, but contain sufficient evidence to place their copying at Padua in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

The Paduan and related fragments consist mostly of flyleaves from several dismembered, parchment musical manuscripts. Of these fragments, palaeographic similarities permit their allocation into four groups, referred to as Padua A, B, C and D.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Anne Hallmark, 'Some evidence for French influence in northern Italy, c. 1400', in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval music*, ed. S. Boorman, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 193-225.

<sup>165</sup> On the role of lemmata in textual criticism, *vid. West, op. cit.*, pp. 10-11

<sup>166</sup> Inspection of these leaves reveals that each separate bifolium was originally used as a loose pair of fly leaves (there is no evidence to suggest that one side was ever pasted to the boards of a binding) for the manuscript in which they are still found. This observation is supported by the correspondence of holes in the bifolium 33/38 (old foliation) and those found on the earliest leaves of the body of this manuscript. The manuscripts of the Canonici collection were acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1817. Originally consisting of 3550 manuscripts, these manuscripts were part of the collection amassed by avid collector and bibliophile Matteo Luigi Canonici (1725-1805) during his retirement in Venice from 1773. Upon Canonici's death, the collection passed to Canonici's brother Guisepe and upon his death in 1807 to Giovanni Perissinotti and Girolamo Cardina, who divided them. Most of Perissinotti's portion represents the volumes acquired by the Bodleian Library. Additional volumes of the Canonici collection were offered for public auction in London in 1821, *vid. Falconer Madan, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the Quarto Series*, 7 vols., Oxford, vol. IV, 1897, pp. 313-314. For a brief description of Ob 229, *vid. Anselm Hughes, Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1951, pp. 25-27.

<sup>167</sup> An overview of previous scholarship on the Paduan fragments before 1955 can be found in Dragan Plamenac, 'Another Paduan fragment of Trecento music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1955, pp. 165-166. Before Plamenac's article only the fragments Pu 658, 684, 1115, 1475, Ob 229 and STr 14 were known to scholarship, although the Paduan A group had been recognised, and the labels B, C and Dom (=STr 14) employed for the remaining fragments. Plamenac reports on the discovery of the fragments from Pu 1106, the first among fragments clearly in the hand of *Rolandus monachus*, which he labelled Padua D

Padua A consists of fragments from Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, Mss. 684 (=Pu 684), 1475 (=Pu 1475), and Ob 229.<sup>168</sup> A reconstruction based on remnant foliation and contents suggests that these leaves originally formed a manuscript of at least 70 leaves (7 quinterns).<sup>169</sup> The second large group is referred to as Padua D, and consists of flyleaves in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, Mss. 675,<sup>170</sup> 1106,<sup>171</sup> 1225,<sup>172</sup> 1283. The fragment Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana 14 (*olim* Domodossola)(=STr 14) is also in the same hand as Padua D, although it is clear from codicological evidence that this fragment represents a substantial<sup>173</sup> copying project separate from the Paduan fragments.<sup>174</sup> Padua B is hitherto indicative of one bifolium fragment in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1115 (=Pu 1115), as is Padua C with respect to Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 568.

The early provenance of these fragments from the library of the monastery of Santa Giustina of Padua is at first suggested by the presence of numerous shelf numbers written on the fragments (added when they became flyleaves) during the mid-fifteenth century at that library which are also found in the inventory of 1453-1484.<sup>175</sup> Frequently these are accompanied by *ex libris* inscriptions placing the manuscript at the Santa Giustina. But perhaps the most significant aspect concerning the origin and dating of these fragments

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and did not associate with the STr 14 fragment. *Q.v.* Kurt von Fischer, 'Paduaner Handschriften (part 3)' in *Die Music in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1<sup>st</sup> edn, ed. F. Blume, Kassel, 1962, vol. 10, coll. 571-2. For inventories and description of Pu 656, 658, 684, 1106, 1115, 1225, 1283 and 1475, *vid.* Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, (eds), *Handschriften mit Mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Repertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV/4, Munich-Duisberg, 1972, pp. 988-1002.

<sup>168</sup> On the Pad A complex *vid.* Heinrich Bessler, 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 8, 1926-27, pp. 233-235. Marco Gozzi sees similarities between the recently discovered fragment Trent, Biblioteca dei Padri Francescani, Incun. 60 (=TRf 60) and Ob 229, and suggests both manuscripts, despite some differences, might stem from the one *scriptorium*, in 'Un nuovo frammento trentino di poliphonia del primo quattrocento', *Studi Musicali*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1992, pp. 238-39.

<sup>169</sup> For a diagrammatic reconstruction of Padua A, *vid.* Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Fragments of Polyphonic Music from the Abbey of S. Giustina: Codices, Composers, and Context in Late Medieval Padua", B.A. (Hons) thesis, Harvard University, 1998 (online at <http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~cuthbert/thesis/chp6.html>).

<sup>170</sup> On the then-newly discovered fragments Pu 675, 1225 and 1283 *vid.* Kurt von Fischer, 'Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. un 15. Jahrhunderts', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 36, 1964, pp. 84-85. Giulio Cattin recognised the hand of Rolandus da Casale in Pu 675 and 1283 in his '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*, vol. 7, 1978, pp. 28.

<sup>171</sup> On the discovery of the fragment in Pu 1106, *vid.* Plamenac, 'Another Paduan fragment of Trecento music', pp. 165-181.

<sup>172</sup> The flyleaves/paste downs formerly occupying this manuscript have been removed and are now contained in the file Ba 2/2 at the Biblioteca Universitaria at Padua. Cattin was the first to recognise correctly the hand of Rolandus da Casale in STr 14 in Cattin, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>173</sup> Remnant foliations 133 & 141 is found on these leaves, suggesting a large collection of music.

<sup>174</sup> Unlike 10 pentagrams per page in the Pu 1106, 1225 and 1283, STr 14 consists of only 8 pentagrams per page.

occurs in the case of the Padua D complex where in several instances one witnesses *frater Rolandus monachus de padua* signing his work.

Giulio Cattin has convincingly argued that this individual is the monk Rolandus da Casale, who was most well known from the Benedictine reforms of the early fifteenth century whose origins lay at Padua.<sup>176</sup> He was one of the three Black Benedictines who prevented the succession of Santa Giustina to the Olivetani (White Benedictines) and consequentially saw the appointment of famed reformist Ludovico Barbo to the abbacy of Santa Giustina in 1409. Rolandus' role as music copyist is hinted at by documentation from 1433 in which he is delegated the task of copying ecclesiastical music. His copying of *cantus planus* in 1433, not *figuratus*, is significant in light of Barbo's reforms of Santa Giustina and Rolandus' career. The earliest evidence of Rolandus' presence at Santa Giustina dates from January 1396, and he continues to be associated with that institute until his death in 1448. However, after 1410, considerable responsibilities concerning his priorship at S. Salvaro in Monselice, saw his time divided between both locations. This and the consideration that Barbo's worldly predecessors Philippe d'Alençon and especially Andrea da Carrara (1405-1407), in many respects the root of abuses that necessitated the reforms, conducted their ecclesiastic court in the vein of a secular one, suggests that the copying of *cantus figuratus* at Santa Giustina by Rolandus occurred no later than 1409.<sup>177</sup> If nothing else, the prescription found in the new rule after Barbo's appointment – *cantus figuratus vetetur omnino* – makes this clear.<sup>178</sup> The presence of several works by Johannes

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<sup>175</sup> The original inventory is housed in the Museo Civico of Padua, *vid.* Plamenac, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167. The inventory is published in L. A. Ferrai, in G. Mazzatinti (ed.), *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Indici e cataloghi V, vol. 2, 1887, pp. 549-661.

<sup>176</sup> The following paragraph draws heavily on Cattin, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-41.

<sup>177</sup> Cattin, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>178</sup> Cattin, *loc.cit.* Latitude exists to suggest this prohibition refers to the use of mensural music in daily observance, but not necessarily the writing of mensural music. However, it seems unlikely that the copying of mensural music would have taken place when its performance was banned. Margaret Bent (in introduction to *The Works of Ciconia*, p. XI) suggests that Rolandus da Casale may have continued to copy mensural music after 1409 on the basis that Ciconia's *Gloria Suscipe trinitas*, which was copied by Rolandus into Pu 675, was composed during the three-fold, rather than two-fold, schism of the church. Bent also notes that no documentary evidence of the prohibition against mensural music can be found until the 1420s or 1430s (*ibid.*, p. XIV). The recent hypothesis by Nadas and Di Bacco ('The papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', pp. 71-77) made in light of the emerging picture of Ciconia's Roman period, however, throws some doubt on Bent's *terminus post quem* for the composition of his *Gloria Suscipe trinitas* by suggesting that no concrete references to contemporaries exist in the text itself, and the work could have been written by Ciconia during his time during the 1390s in Rome. Nadas and Di Bacco propose that either the Jubilee in Rome in 1390 (and the focus on the dogma of the Trinity established by Urban VI's bull of 1385) or the attempt to end the Schism in 1395 may have been contexts for the composition of this work. While Bent's caution concerning the dating of Barbo's prohibition against measured music remains valid, the presence of the *Gloria Suscipe trinitas* in Rolandus' hand can no longer be used to argue convincingly against Cattin's



Ciconia in Padua D may be indicative of Ciconia's arrival (1401) at Padua. If we entertain the possibility that Ciconia was in Rome in the 1390s, this also explains the presence of works by Zacharias de Teramo and Egardus in Rolandus' hand. The year 1409 is too early to propose Zacharias de Teramo might have personally visited Padua, although, as already stated above, this composer may be documented at Padua in 1410.

The presence of so tangible a dating of the scribal work of Rolandus da Casale begs the question of how are the complexes Padua A, B and C related to D. Table 3.2 lists several features that both unify and differentiate all sources. Clearly, Pu 658 (=Padua C),<sup>179</sup> STr 14 and TRf 60 represent different projects with varying degrees of connection with the scriptorium of Santa Giustina. Comparison of writing spaces and the placement of elements within them, with due consideration of trimming suffered in the process of becoming flyleaves, reinforces the view that all fragments belonging to Padua A were from a single manuscript whose original dimensions were closest to the present folio dimensions of Ob 229. Fragments in the Padua D group, on the other hand demonstrate a slightly smaller writing area and marginally smaller rastrum which dismisses any notion that Pad A and D could have formed a single manuscript. The fact that Egardus' *Gloria spiritus et alme* appears in both Pu 1225 (Padua D group) and Pu 1475 (Padua A group), while Ciconia's *Gloria* appears in both Pu 1283 (Padua D group) and Pu 1475, further supports this position. It would be exceptional to see these relatively long settings twice in the one manuscript. Additionally, all elements of Padua A are modestly decorated with red, blue or black "lombard" initials and majuscles highlighted with blue or red, while Padua D lacks these finishing touches. There is also some variation in rastrum width in Padua D to suggest that these fragments are representative of more than one project. Padua B as far as can be determined from the extant bifolium represents a manuscript of slightly larger dimensions (in the order of 5-10 mm), but with near identical page preparation. Based on codicological evidence, the Paduan fragments represent several different projects and could not have been extracted from a single codex.

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conclusion that 1409 marks the *terminus ante quem* for the copying of the Paduan fragments. Yet, the absence of any works in the Paduan fragments which can be dated significantly later than 1409 suggests that Barbo's reforms were swift, even if not fully documented for more than a decade.

<sup>179</sup> *vid.* Besseler, 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II', p. 233.

Table 3.2: A comparison of various elements in the Paduan fragments.<sup>180</sup>

Fragment	Text Scribes	Music scribes	Staves	Folio dimensions (width x height)	writing area	Additional remarks
Ob 229 (A)	I	A	10 x 13.5 mm pentagrams, 11 mm apart, text guide 6-7 mm below staff	235 x 323 mm	180 x 235 mm	15 <sup>th</sup> cent. S. Giustina shelf number: ZZ.2.no. 111; old foliation in intact bifolia 33/38, 36/37
Pu 658 (C)	V	B	8 x 17.5 mm hexagrams, 10-12 mm apart	205 x 278 mm (width trimmed)	165 x 216 mm	15 <sup>th</sup> cent. S. Giustina shelf number: YY.3.n.35, AC.3.
Pu 675 (D)	II (Ar)	C (Ar)	10 x 14 mm pentagrams	208 x 278 mm (width trimmed)	n/a	Verso of one folio fragment contains additions by a later amateurish hand.
Pu 684 (A)	I	A	10 x 13.5 mm pentagrams, 10-11 mm apart, text guide 6-7 mm below staff	212 x 310 mm (width trimmed)	180 x 230 mm	15 <sup>th</sup> cent. S. Giustina shelf number: YY.2.n.24, AC.3
Pu 1106 (D)	II	C	10 x 14 mm pentagrams	207 x 290 mm <sup>181</sup>	172 x 240 mm	15 <sup>th</sup> cent. S. Giustina shelf number: YY.3.n.43, AC.3. Signed by Rolandus monachus.
Pu 1115 (B)	III & IV	D & E	10 x 14 mm pentagrams, 11 mm apart, text guide 5 mm below staff	222 x 316 mm (intact) <sup>182</sup>	184 x 242 mm	15 <sup>th</sup> cent. S. Giustina shelf number: YY.2.n.23, AC.3
Pu 1225 (D)	II	C	10 x 13 mm pentagrams, 11 mm apart, text guide 5 mm below staff	230 x 307 mm (intact)	167 x 231 mm	15 <sup>th</sup> cent. S. Giustina shelf number: YY.3.n.85, AC.4. Signed by Rolandus monachus.
Pu 1283 (D)	II	C	10 x 14 mm pentagrams	142 x 208 mm (excessive trimming)	n/a	Single severely trimmed folio. In the hand of Rolandus monachus.
Pu 1475 (A)	I	A	10 x 13.5 mm pentagrams, 10-11 mm apart, text guide 6-7 mm below staff	242 x 276 mm (mild to excessive trimming)	178 x 231 mm	f. Av contains end of Ct of Sanctus on Pu 684, f. Ar, indicating these leaves originally faced one another. Remnant Folio numbers 47 (Cr) and 48 (Er).
STr 14 (D')	II	C	8 x pentagrams			In the hand of Rolandus monachus.
TRf 60	I'	C?	8 x 14 mm pentagrams	142 x 204 (orig. 150 x 220?)	115 x 185 mm	Possibly from same workshop as Padua A, remnant of foliation 57 or 67.

<sup>180</sup> Italicised numerals denote measurements obtained using photographs. All other measurements resulted from consultation of the actual sources.



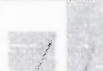














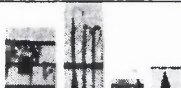


<sup>181</sup> von Fischer approximates the original folio dimension to be 230 x 305 mm, in *Handschriften mit Mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 993.

<sup>182</sup> von Fischer suggests the leaves are trimmed from an original format of 230 x 330 mm in *Handschriften mit Mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 995.

Table 3.3 catalogues chief elements of each musical hand in the Paduan Fragments. Pu 684, STr 14 and TRf 60 immediately demonstrate traits which separate them from the Padua A, C and D scribes. Close examination of the musical hands of Padua A (Music Hand A) and D (Music Hand C) reveals the following differences: Music Hand A only uses the *b-quadratum*, frequently in the so-called Veneto style with internal dots, Music Hand C uses the *diesis*; in most instances, Music Hand C executes the first element of the *custos* with the quill edge at greater angle to the horizontal than Music Hand A; the second element of the *custos* is frequently extended in the Music Hand A; both scribes use different forms of the F-clef; and the lower element of the C-clef is angled downwards by Music Hand C. This hand also betrays a distinctly formed *longa* and *brevis* which have little descending pen strokes from the bottom left corner. Music Hand C draws oblique ligatures that are tapered to the right, Music Hand A's ligatures are slightly more convex and of uniform width. In Music Hand D, ligatures are acute and lack convexity. However, both Music Hands A and C share several traits including the dotted *b-rotundum* and similar decoration of the so-called *fnis punctorum*. In many respects, Music Hand D contains elements similar to Music Hands A and C, although the formation of the *longa* and *brevis* clearly differentiates it from these latter hands. Music Hand E has similarities with Hand C in the formation of *longe*, although the form of *semiminime* is distinct in both cases.






























Table 3.3: Elements of Music Hands in the Paduan Fragments.

Manuscript	Clefs	Accidentals	Custodes	Longa	Brevis	Semibrevis	Minima	Other Note shapes	Ligatures	Staff	F.P.
Ob 229 (Music Hand A)										5-lines	
Pu 658 (Music Hand B)										6-lines	
Pu 675 (Music Hand C)	none visible due to trimming									5-lines	
Pu 684 (Music Hand A)										5-lines	
Pu 1106 (Music Hand C)										5-lines	
Pu 1115 (a) (Music Hand D)										5-lines	
Pu 1115 (b) (Music Hand E)		none							none	5-lines	
Pu 1225 (Music Hand C)										5-lines	

Pu 1283 (Music Hand C)										5-lines	
Pu 1475 (Music Hand A)										5-lines	

Five distinct text hands can be determined by observing elements shown in Table 3.4. The clubbing of the ascender on *d* is distinguishing feature of Text Hand I (Padua A). This hand also distinguishes itself from Text Hands II and III in the form of *x*. Text Hand II (Padua D) is distinguishable through the use of the 2-like *r* with an extended ascending stroke, the use of a *g* with a closed inferior loop, and a particular form of final *s*, a feature shared to some extent with Text Hand III. Text hand IV is distinct through the use of a particular form of cedilla, the extended serif at the base of the vertical stroke and, although comparison with Text Hand II is lacking in this category, the use of cursive *s*. Text Hand V shows a very open form of *g*, and the presence of a square serif on *r*. While these features serve to identify each scribe, there also exists a uniformity of script through shared traits, which is possibly indicative of a close relationship in time and space between them. It is therefore reasonable to propose that the surviving fragments connected to Santa Giustina at Padua are indicative of a relatively large-scale copying endeavour, presumably within its scriptorium. If the facts surrounding Rolandus da Casale are representative, it is likely that this copying was ceased by 1409.

Table 3.4: Principal forms in Text Hands of Paduan Fragments

Text Hand	r	g	c-cedilla	d	x	s	s final
I							
II							
III							
IV							
V							

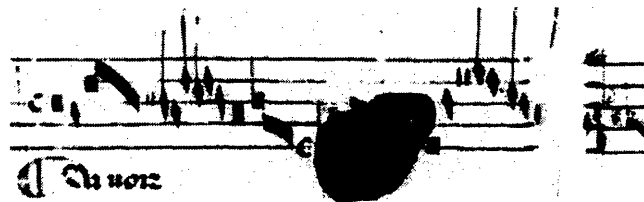
Transmissions of Johannes Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* (vid. Vol. II, App. A, No. 30) are to be found in both the Paduan fragment Ob 229 (part of the Padua A complex) and in MOe5.24 in versions chiefly differentiated from one another through the use of mensurations signs. Between both versions, there exist several variants, which

have recently attracted the attention of Anne Hallmark and Anne Stone. In her brief examination of *Sus une fontayne*, Anne Hallmark focuses on a variant T 67.1. Figure 3.5 and Figure 3.6 show the relative portion as transmitted in each manuscript. In MOe5.24, the variant reading can be found at the end of the word “dolour”. Hallmark assessed the reading in MOe5.24 as a compound error derived from a reading like that found in Ob 229 on the premise that two *minime pause in tempus imperfectum minoris* are employed rather than more regular a *semibrevis pausa*.<sup>183</sup>

Figure 3.5: *Secunda pars* of T in *Sus une fontayne*, MOe5.24.



Figure 3.6: *Secunda pars* of T in *Sus une fontayne*, Ob 229 (continues onto next staff).



While the notation is “unusual”, the reading is better treated as a plausible reading, albeit clumsily re-notated, rather than simply a compound error. The lacuna occurring at this point in Ob 229 must also encourage caution.

<sup>183</sup> Hallmark, ‘Some evidence for French influence in northern Italy, c. 1400’, pp. 207-8.

A more pointed example of a compound error is found instead in the Ct 17.4 of MOe5.24 at the very end of the *En remirant* citation. Figure 3.7 transcribes readings found in transmissions of *Sus une fontayne* and the cited ballade.

Figure 3.7: Transnotation of variant readings in transmission of *Sus une fontayne* and *En remirant*.<sup>184</sup>

The figure shows a musical score with six staves. The top staff is for Soprano (S) in *Sus un fontayne*, with lyrics 're - mi - rant Oy'. Below it are five staves for Contralto (Ct) parts. The first Ct staff is for *Sus un fontayne* Ob 229, with variants 1a and 2b. The second Ct staff is for *Sus un fontayne* MOe5.24, with variants 1c and 2c. The third Ct staff is for *En remirant* MOe5.24, with variants 1b and 2a. The fourth Ct staff is for *En remirant* Ch 564, Pn 6771, with variant 1a and a note 'Omitted in Pn6771'. The fifth staff is for Tenor (T) in *Sus un fontayne*, with the note 'En remirant: (g)'. The number 17 is at the bottom left.

In her assessment of both these readings in the Ct of *Sus une fontayne*, Anne Stone provides two important observations based on her consultation of the original in MOe5.24.<sup>185</sup> Before the first g in B. 17 there is an erased *tempus imperfectum maioris* sign, and before the second G in B. 17, an erased F is replaced by a second g. Compared to the reading in MOe5.24, the Ob 229 reading of *Sus une fontayne* agrees closely with the surviving manuscript tradition of the ballade *En remirant*. Variant 1a of *Sus une fontayne* in Ob 229 is also present in the Chantilly transmission of *En remirant*. Variant 1b (in the MOe5.24 transmission of *En remirant*) suggests a close subsequent tradition, perhaps introduced by the MOe5.24 scribe. Stone suggests the following scenario where Variant 2c causes Variant 1c. Rather than preserving the tradition of semantically equivalent variants 2a and 2b, the scribe of MOe5.24 introduced or copied from his exemplar the “incorrect” *tempus imperfectum minoris* sign at the beginning of B. 18. He or a subsequent

<sup>184</sup> Variant passages to be discussed in the following paragraph are enclosed in the score by a rectangle which also contains the variant number.

<sup>185</sup> Stone, ‘A singer at the fountain: Homage and irony in Ciconia’s ‘Sus une fontayne’’, pp. 380-81; *cf. eadem*, ‘Writing rhythm in late medieval Italy’, pp. 115-130. Stone’s observations were confirmed by my inspection of the original.



scribe repaired his text by retaining the “incorrect sign” (understood to indicate [2,2]) at the beginning of B. 18 and altering the immediately subsequent passage. The reading in MOe5.24, although able to be performed, is not necessarily correct. As seen in Figure 3.7, the Ct-reading in MOe5.24 produces some stylistically questionable counterpoint at the second quaver of B. 19 and the third quaver of B. 20. These are largely avoided in the other sources. The reading in MOe5.24 is an error, despite the clear scribal intent behind it.

The notion of priority of the Ob 229 transmission of *Sus une fontayne*, as proposed by Hallmark, is not conducive to the idea of local tradition. Although MOe5.24 introduces scribal errors through incorrect revision, it is clear that to maintain the priority of Ob 229 over MOe5.24 results in the loss of diverse and separate traditions evident in both transmissions of *Sus une fontayne*. Although no one can be certain which reading represents the original and what other complexities may be factors in the transmission of these works, the variant reading in MOe5.24 at S 78.2 (see Figure 3.8 below) suggests a tradition where the appoggiatura in Ob 229 was avoided in favour of a subsequent passing tone.

Figure 3.8: Variant S 78.2 in Jo. Ciconia’s *Sus une fontayne*.

The figure shows a musical score for four parts: Soprano (S), Contralto (Ct), and Tenor (T). The Soprano part is divided into two staves: S (MOe5.24) and S (Ob 229). The S (Ob 229) staff has an asterisk above a note, indicating a variant reading. The Ct and T parts are shown on two staves each. The number 78 is written below the T staff.

Finally, there are the two plausible readings in the T at the beginning of the citations of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* and *De ma douleur* as shown in Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10.

Figure 3.9: Variant readings in citations and transmissions of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*.

Figure 3.9 shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'T Sus une fontayne Ob 229 En attendant MOe5.24 & Pn 6771'. The bottom staff is labeled 'T Sus une fontayne MOe5.24 En attendant CH 564'. A note in the top staff has a sharp sign above it with the text '# in Oxford 229'.

Figure 3.10: Variant readings in citations and transmissions of *De ma douleur*.

Figure 3.10 shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'T Sus une fontayne Ob 229'. The bottom staff is labeled 'T Sus un fontayne MOe5.24 De ma douleur MSS'.

The variant shown in Figure 3.9 (*Sus une fontayne*, T 51.1) is a contamination of the MOe5.24 exemplar. Whether it is intentional or simply scribal initiative is open to question. The second variant (Figure 3.10, *Sus une fontayne*, T 69.1) suggests, in light of the overwhelming evidence provided by readings from the cited ballade *De ma douleur*, that the scribe of Ob 229 deliberately modified his musical text. As such, these variants increase the validity of each tradition, and suggest that the recovery of the authorial original in its purest form is impossible. This by no means diminishes the values that lie at the heart of each transmission, but increases our awareness of complex issues in respective transmissions. In considering the relationship of the extant transmissions of *De ma douleur* in MOe5.24 and CH 564, it can be concluded that variants S 32.1 and Ct 50.4 (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 31, *Variants*) indicate alternative traditions. However, any conclusions based on such a small sample must be viewed as relatively weak.

*En remirant*, on the other hand, is better situated with three surviving transmissions currently known to scholarship in the three central sources of this period: MOe5.24, CH 564 and Pn 6771 (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 15, *Variants*). Pn 6771 represents one terminal point on the hypothetical stemma of this work, containing at least one error and an omission not replicated in the other witnesses.<sup>186</sup> CH 564, when compared to MOe5.24, shares several features in common with Pn 6771, especially at the notation/semiotic level. MOe5.24 transmits a notational record for this work that uses mensuration signs in place of coloration found in CH 564 and Pn 6771. This is but one example of the process of substitute coloration further discussed in Chapter 4. An omission at Ct 12.4 further supports MOe5.24's childless status. The MOe5.24

<sup>186</sup> S 30.1 is most likely an error, although it may have a semantic basis. There is an omission at Ct 5.4.

transmission also sees the re-notation of several notational quirks in CH 564 and Pn 6771, such as the reading  $\downarrow \uparrow \uparrow$  at Ct 1.2 to the more economical  $\downarrow \downarrow$  where alteration of the second *minima* is implicit in major prolation. At S 15.4, adjacent pairs of repeated *minime* on the same pitch in a *sesquitercia* proportion have been each incorporated into a single *semibrevis*. The independence of these sources or the level of scribal participation is betrayed nowhere more than at S 32.5, where, although semantically equivalent, a different form of *semiminima* is employed in each source:  $\downarrow \downarrow$  (Pn 6771),  $\downarrow \downarrow$  (MOe5.24) and  $\uparrow \downarrow \downarrow$  (CH 564). Yet conjunctive readings exist between MOe5.24 and Pn 6771 at S 34.1 and T 49.5 which tend to distance these two sources from CH 564. The apparent conjunctive reading shared by MOe5.24 and Pn 6771 at T 17.2 (=T 50.3) occurs only on account of a pitch emendation (b changed to d) by the editor scribe at this point in CH 564. The original reading in CH 564 at this point was identical to that found in the concordant sources. Conjunctive readings between CH 564 and Pn 6771 at Ct 7.5 and Ct 16.1 may instead suggest the intervention of the scribe of MOe5.24 upon these readings in his manuscript.

As already demonstrated by my previous comments in Chapter 2 concerning the transmissions of *Medee fu* in CH 564 and Fn 26, comparison of variants is only one tool in a scholar's critical methodology. Often, observations that are more pertinent can be made through elements such as the physical placement of symbols on the page.<sup>187</sup> Blind copying, for example, often produces some spectacular evidence. This is demonstrated nowhere more clearly than in the transmission of Jacob de Senleches' *En ce gracieux temps* (vid. Vol. II, App. A, No. 32). Three transmissions of this work have survived to the present day: MOe5.24, Pn 6771 and Pu 1115. (A fourth version in Sm 222 was destroyed during the Franco-Prussian war in 1870). The relationship between the transmissions in Pn 6771 and Pu 1115 offers substantial chronological data. At a textual level, the orthographies in Pn 6771 and Pu 1115 are close, and frequently distinct from MOe5.24. The reading in Pn 6771 is good in a text-critical sense. Pu 1115 offers a generally poorer, often nonsensical, reading (for example: *vi->vil, dedens->dedel*). The scribe of Pu 1115 appears to be blind copying a language

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<sup>187</sup> Vid. Bent, 'Some criteria for establishing relationships between sources of late-medieval polyphony', pp. 295-317.

beyond his comprehension. One notable difference between respective transmissions is the spelling of *douchement*: *dolcement* (Pn 6771), *douchement* (MOe5.24), *duolcement* (Pu 1115). While the scribes in Pn 6771 and MOe5.24 preserve variants of French orthography, the scribe of Pu 1115 betrays his Veneto or Tuscan origins through the transformation of the diphthong *o(u)* to *uo* and the substitution of the sibilant *ch* with the cedilla. Similar orthographic transformations are witnessed in the text of *Sus une fontayne* copied by the scribe of Ob 229, further drawing the transmission of that work away from an hypothetical archetype.

Considering that the scribe of Pu 1115 was active at Padua, it is not surprising to observe difficulties in his text underlay of *En ce gracieux temps*. His inexperience has resulted in the preservation of several features from his exemplar. The examination of notational and textual details reveals that Pu 1115 is in fact a direct descendant of Pn 6771. This is demonstrated by the following details:

1. in the *secunda pars*, the incorrect underlay of the S with *vois/le bois* is replicated in both sources (as shown in Figure 3.11 and Figure 3.12). The scribe of MOe5.24 avoids this problem by omitting the article 'le'.

Figure 3.11: Excerpt of S from *En ce gracieux temps* in Pn 6771

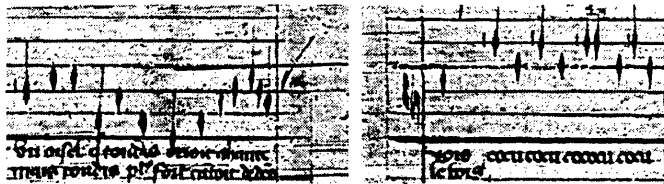
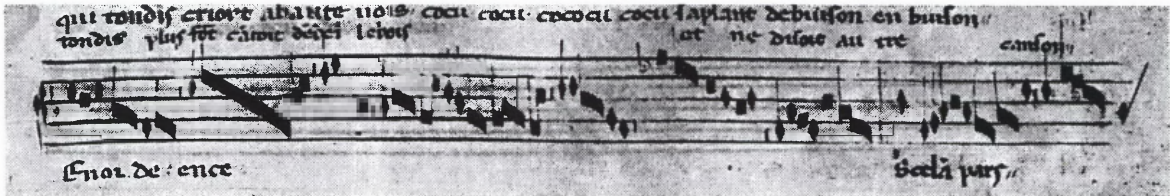


Figure 3.12: Excerpt of S from *En ce gracieux temps* in Pu 1115.



2. A *b-rotundum* sign on b, added by another hand into Pn 6771 at the beginning of the second staff of T is also found mid-staff in the Pu 1115 in almost the same relative location (as shown in Figure 3.13 and Figure 3.14). Instead, the MOe5.24 transmission uses a two flat signature at the beginning of the tenor.

Figure 3.13: Excerpt of T from *En ce gracieux temps* in Pn 6771Figure 3.14: Excerpt of T from *En ce gracieux temps* in Pu 1115.

Additional evidence of the slavish copying between Pn 6771 and Pu 1115 is also suggested by the consistent use of the same ligature groupings, a fact highlighted by consistent re-notation of these groups in MOe5.24, as shown by Figure 3.15.

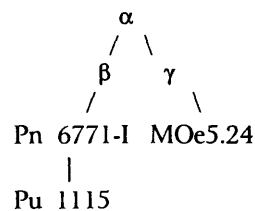
Figure 3.15: Re-notation of ligatures in MOe5.24 transmission of *En ce gracieux temps*.

Based on these observations and the increased textual corruption of Pu 1115, the Reina-transmission of *En ce gracieux temps* must have existed before Pu 1115. The scribe of Pu 1115 had access to at least an early form of Pn 6771 (=Pn 6771-I). With the likelihood that the Paduan fragments still reside within the geographical realms where they were originally copied, this direct relationship may confirm the earlier suggestion by Nigel Wilkins that Pn 6771-I was copied in Padua,<sup>188</sup> not in Venice as Kurt von Fischer proposed.<sup>189</sup> In light of this relationship with Pu 1115 and repertorial considerations (the presence of *Imperial sedendo*) it can be suggested that the French additions in Pn 6771-I were made by Scribe W (and U) between 1401 and 1409 at the latest. Although a negative argument which assumes the creation of this source at Padua, I am inclined towards an earlier dating of Pn 6771-I considering the absence of works by Ciconia. Pu 1115, on the other hand, is probably contemporaneous with MOe5.24 and witnesses the presence of Ciconia's compositions.

<sup>188</sup> Wilkins, 'The Codex Reina: A revised description (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale n.a.fr. 6771)', p. 64.

<sup>189</sup> von Fischer, 'The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. rç. 6771', p. 47.

In terms of musical variants, *En ce gracieux temps* in MOe5.24 is distinguished from Pn 6771-I/Pu 1115, which exhibit no variation in relation to one another, by a single separative error of a *minima pausa* added in the *Trip/Ct* at B. 10.1. MOe5.24 also includes two unique manuscript accidentals at S 13.1 and S 29.3. Although I am inclined in light of the general trend to attribute these accidentals to scribal initiative, it is likewise difficult to explain the erroneous *minima pausa* which occurs in this transmission, whose scribe often shows a high degree of notational competence. Although the possibility exists that the scribe of MOe5.24 may have added the erroneous *minima pausa*, I regard it as an inherited error and conclude that MOe5.24 transmits a version of this work which resulted from a ever-so-slight branching into two traditions before its was copied into any extant manuscripts. As such, the following stemma is proposed:



At this point I would like to examine the relationship between MOe5.24 and the fragments GR 197/Hdc 2387.<sup>190</sup> Of the 14 works which survive in this fragment, three are shared with MOe5.24: Philipoctus de Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* (GR 197, f. 3v and Hdc 2387, r), Egardus' *Gloria* (Hdc 2387, v and GR 197, 4r) and Zacharias' *Credo* (GR 197, f. 6v). Concerning GR 197, it is known that the leaves were removed from the binding of a manuscript owned by the Liguori family of Rome in the early 1960s whereupon they almost immediately subject to the scholarly investigation of Oliver Strunk and Ursula Günther.<sup>191</sup> Although it seems logical to expect that the Hdc 2387 leaf must have at some point of time originated from this same location, it was circulated independently and now resides in the Special Collection at Dartmouth College

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<sup>190</sup> The single leaf Hdc 2387 belongs to the same paper codex from the fragments GR 197 were also extracted. The fragments have been severely trimmed so that most of the top stave and the beginnings of all staves are lost.

<sup>191</sup> Oliver Strunk, 'Church Polyphony Apropos of a New Fragment at Grottaferrata', *L'Ars nova italian del trecento* III, 1970, pp. 305-313; Günther, 'Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata', pp. 315-397.

Library, Hanover (New Hampshire).<sup>192</sup> As a whole, the fragments show the presence of six hands, although the present enquiry only deals with works copied by two of them.<sup>193</sup>

The earliest studies on the Grottaferrata fragments proposed that these fragments originated from the Veneto, possibly at the scriptorium of Santa Giustina at Padua.<sup>194</sup> The presence of the motet *Marce, Marcum imitaris* containing references to a Venetian doge of the 1360s<sup>195</sup> also contributed to locating the source in the Veneto. The recent scholarship of Di Bacco and Nádas has challenged this previous view and suggests that the Grottaferrata fragments are central Italian sources that may have originated at Rome.<sup>196</sup> Their hypothesis is based upon several observations made in relation to the fragments and their repertoire. The first is the emerging picture of Ciconia's Roman period (a *Gloria* and *Credo* by him are transmitted in GR 197) and possible connections to Zacharias (in addition to that work already mentioned, a further *Credo* and *Gloria* by Zacharias occurs in GR 197). The second is central Italian linguistic traits (found between Rome and Naples) of Italian texts in the Egidi fragment that also contains *Marce, Marcum imitaris* and thereby witnesses the transmission of this Veneto work southwards. Finally there is Di Bacco and Nádas' reading that Ciconia's troped *Gloria Suscipite trinitas*, which appears in the Grottaferrata fragments, refers to attempts to end the schism not at the Pisan Council of 1409 but by the Roman curia during the years 1390-95.

The transmission of Philipoctus de Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* offers a unique situation within the *ars subtilior* repertoire by virtue of its transmission in four extant sources, albeit one in a somewhat fragmentary state (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 16,

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<sup>192</sup> For a facsimile and introduction to this fragment, *vid.* William Summers, 'Medieval polyphonic music in the Dartmouth College Library: An introductory study of Ms. 002387', in *Alte in Neuen, Festschrift Theodor Göllner zum 65 Geburtstag*, eds B. Edelmann and M. H. Schmid, Tutzing, 1995, pp. 113-30. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Summers for his kind assistance in my investigation of this important musical fragment.

<sup>193</sup> *Vid.* Di Bacco and Nádas, 'Papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', p. 62; *cf.* Günther, 'Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata', pp. 318-19; The first authors, whose analysis of scribal hands is followed in this study, have reconstructed the gathering structure of the surviving fragments to resemble two adjoining sexterns, *ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>194</sup> Günther, 'Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata', p. 353. Günther based her hypothesis on the close correspondence between the repertoire of the Grottaferrata fragments and the Paduan fragments.

<sup>195</sup> This work also survives in one other source, the Egidi Fragment. For its contents and references to Venice in *Marce, Marcum imitaris*, *vid.* Kurt von Fischer, 'Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts', pp. 90-92. Di Bacco and Nádas also discuss this fragment in 'Papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', pp. 65-71, where the authors suggest that this is a central Italian source.

*Variants*).<sup>197</sup> No direct relationships are evident between MOe5.24, CH 564, Pn 6771 and GR 197/Hdc 2387. In terms of unique separative readings, Pn 6771 shows the least number with the single variant at Ct 1.1. CH 564 exhibits the same class of readings in at least four instances,<sup>198</sup> MOe5.24 in five instances (although one is semiotic),<sup>199</sup> and GR 197/Hdc 2387 in three instances.<sup>200</sup> These are regarded as products of the copying process in each codex. The transmission of this work which appears in GR 197/Hdc 2387 seems to be a late entry by a hand referred to as Scribe IV.

The more telling variants are found in Ct 10.1 and Ct 42 in *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*. Their conjunctive, but at the same time separative, status permits a formulation of the relationship between extant transmissions of this work. In the case of Ct 10.1, there is a clear branching into two archetypes, one the parent (A) of MOe5.24 and GR 197/Hdc 2387 and the other the parent (B) of CH 564 and Pn 6771. The former archetype exhibits the reading  $\downarrow \uparrow$  at this point, the latter  $\uparrow \downarrow$ . This assessment is, however, complicated by the presence of variant Ct 42.2 which shows a kinship between MOe5.24 and Pn 6771, and a relationship between GR 197 as a derivative of the tradition betrayed by CH 564. Here the first tradition transmits the reading  $\uparrow \blacksquare \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ , the second tradition:  $\uparrow \blacksquare \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ . (CH 564) and its erroneous derivative  $\uparrow \blacksquare \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$  (GR 197). I hypothesise that first tradition is derived from the original reading reflected in second tradition, which, poorly transmitted in the kin of GR 197, was emended by the removal of the p.d in MOe5.24.

On the face of it, the two aforementioned conflicting traditions present the critic with the difficult situation of contamination. This is further complicated by the presence of variant T 1.1 which has been already discussed above in relation to *Sus une fontayne* (*vid.* Figure 3.9). Within the tradition of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* one might conclude that the variant in CH 564 is initiated by the scribe. However, the presence of the

<sup>196</sup> For the views present in the remainder of this paragraph, *vid.* Di Bacco and Nádas, 'Papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', pp. 63-77.

<sup>197</sup> Concerning the transmission of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* in GR 197/Hdc 2387, the S and end of T (on trimmed top staff) are found in the Dartmouth portion, the Ct occurs in the Grottaferrata portion. Further aspects of these fragments will be discussed below. A brief discussion of variants in relation to the GR 197 transmission of *En attendant* can be found in Ursula Günther, 'Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata', p. 327.

<sup>198</sup> T 1.1, Ct 38, Ct 44.3 and Ct 46.3.

<sup>199</sup> S 14, S 50.1, T 22.4, Ct 14.1. S 53.2 represents a semiotic variation with semantic equivalence discussed in Chapter 4, pp. 211.

<sup>200</sup> Ct 4.2, Ct 7.2, Ct 22.2.



conflicting testimony in *Sus une fontayne*, as I have previously concluded, scarcely permits such a simple conclusion in light of our inability to determine critically which instance represents scribal initiative or contamination. The situation is resolved by considering scribal process and the laws of probability, which are inevitably fundamental factors in critical theory. Variant T 1.1 more likely arrived out of a scribal process that frequently groups repeated pitches into a single long duration or separates a long duration into shorter, metrically oriented values. The probability of simultaneity is increased by this proposition. This process continues to represent contamination, but of the type discussed by Maas as being dependent on recollection rather than direct comparison of sources.<sup>201</sup> If, in the same sense the variation at Ct 42 can be attributed to the simultaneous omission of the p.d. (a relatively easy oversight in the copying process), then greater priority is given to the variant at Ct 10.1 (*vid.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 16). This last variant is unlikely to have arisen from the copying process, but represents a recasting (albeit minute) of the musical event which has occurred at some time before the copying of the extant sources. The reading in Parent B is perhaps more stylistically consistent in the language of the Ct, suggesting its priority, while Parent A provides a stronger arrival at the phrase juncture, although it contains a movement in obvious (as opposed to hidden) fifths between the S and Ct.

Egardus' *Gloria* survives in four transmissions: MOe5.24 (complete), PL-Wn 8054 (complete), Pu 1225 (S and part of T) and GR 197/Hdc 2387 (complete, but with many *lacune*).<sup>202</sup> Examination of variant readings between sources reveals a close relationship between MOe5.24 and GR 197/Hdc 2387. The various readings at T 9.1, for example, link the two former sources and distance them from Wn 8054 and Pu 1115. These readings are shown in Figure 3.16.

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<sup>201</sup> Maas, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>202</sup> Editions in transnotation of this work can be found in Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, (eds), *Italian Sacred Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XII*, Monaco, 1976, pp. 21-24, notes pp. 193-4; Mirosław Perz and Henrik Kawalewicz, (eds), *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Transcriptions*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia* 14, Warsaw, 1973, pp. 372-376, critical notes pp. 94-99. The measure numbers given in the present discussion of this work refer to the latter edition, although the former preserves the same number of measures in transnotation. Both these editions were published before the Dartmouth fragment came to light and, therefore, provide only a partial consideration of variants. The following discussion reflects my collation of the readings in Hdc 2387 and all other original sources in consultation with particularly Perz' critical notes.

Figure 3.16: Variant readings at T 9.1 in Egardus' *Gloria*.

MOe5.24  
GR 197/  
Hdc 2387  
Wn 8054  
Pu 1225

Lau - da - mus  
Lau - da - mus  
Lau - da - mus te  
Lau - da - mus

9

Similarly, conjunctive readings at S 34.4, Ct 47.1 (erroneous), S 59 and S 96 suggest MOe5.24 and GR 197/Hdc 2397 are the result of a single tradition separate to those betrayed by the remaining sources. Yet it is unlikely, based on variants such as that found at Ct 10.1 in the previous example and the unique error in MOe5.24 at Ct 58.1, that GR 197/Hdc 2387 is directly descended from the former source. Evidence, especially auxiliary, to suggest the reverse scenario is also lacking. Pu 1225 represents a tradition which preserves aspects in common with MOe5.24 and GR 197/Hdc 2387, but it also preserves several features of the archetype, particularly manuscript accidentals that are sometimes lacking in the latter manuscripts. Yet, it also attests to elements that were to influence Wn 8054. In the case of variant S 36.1, as shown in Figure 3.17, I propose that the reading in Wn 8054 represents a tradition that erroneously inserted a *semibrevis pausa* after the first *brevis*.

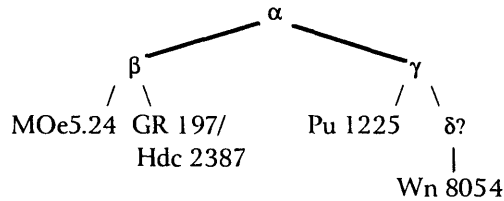
Figure 3.17: Variant S 36.1 in transmissions of Egardus' *Gloria*.

MOe5.24  
GR 197/Hdc 2387  
Wn 8054  
Pu 1225

36

The reading in Pu 1225 corrects this error by changing the *brevis* to a *semibrevis*, while it is retained in Wn 8054. In view of this assessment, the presence of several unique readings and several instances of resetting of the text underlay, Wn 8054 presents itself as a late derivative. Considering this factor and the transmission of several unique copying errors,

Wn 8054 was possibly dependent on a previous source created by an active scribe. The following stemma serves to summarise my reading of this work's transmission:



Zacharias' *Credo* survives in six sources, although half this number of transmissions (Tn T.III.2, GR 197, Pu 1225) are in a fragmentary state which transmits only part of the work in one or two voices. Bc 15 and PL-Wn 378 transmit the whole mass section, as does MOe5.24, although in the latter source the cantus has been ornamented with many small notes and subtle rhythmic divisions. This ornamentation of the S in MOe5.24, whose notational basis is discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 232f), has been attributed speculatively to Matheus de Perusio<sup>203</sup> or Zacharias himself.<sup>204</sup> Certainly, the notational devices show similarities with other works by Matheus although, as also suggested below, this notational process cannot be ascribed solely to this composer.

I accept von Fischer and Gallo's assessment that neither MOe5.24 nor Bc 15 were a model for Wn 378, and draw attention to their observation that the text underlay in MOe5.24, Wn 378 and Pu 1225 show many similarities, especially in light of the underlay of Bc 15, which frequently coincides with different divisions of the measure and ligatures. Wn 378, through the absence of all accidentals shared by MOe5.24, Pu 1225 and GR 197, betrays its childless status. It is clear that MOe5.24 is not dependent on Pu 1225 considering, for example, the error in the latter source at T 18.2<sup>205</sup> where the stem has not been drawn for what should be a *minima*. Clearly, the reverse is improbable considering the unornamented S in Pu 1225. Tn T.III.2, which von Fischer and Gallo could not have considered in 1987, shows many similarities with the tradition to which Bc 15 belongs, despite the fact that only the Ct from the *Et in Spiritum Sanctum* survives in this source. Notably the variants at Ct 250.1 and Ct 264 shared by Tn T.III.2 and Bc 15 legitimise this tradition, although Tn T.III.2's child status is suggested by the

<sup>203</sup> Layton, *op.cit.*, pp. 297-98.

<sup>204</sup> von Fischer and Gallo, *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial music*, p. 273; *q.v.* von Fischer, 'Bemerkungen zur Überlieferung und zum Stil der Geistlichen Werke des Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', p. 172.

unique reading at Ct 200. GR 197 transmits a partial S (up to B. 194) and a significant portion of an untexted T (to B. 95). Despite the textless condition of the T, it preserves features (such as the division of the measure at 26 into 2 *semibreves* rather than the first *brevis* of a *brevis-brevis* ligature as in Bc 15) which tie it to the tradition of MOe5.24 and Pu 1115. Although these evaluations cannot take into account the lost portions of pertinent fragments, the extant portions suggest that two traditions of this work evolved in the early fifteenth century, the first witnessed by MOe5.24, Pu 1225, GR 197 and slightly later Wn 378, the second by Tn T.III.2 and the late Bc 15.

In light of Di Bacco and Nádas' sound hypothesis for a Roman origin of GR 197, the presence of variants in MOe5.24 which suggest a descent from a similar if not identical exemplar requires careful reconsideration of the origin of MOe5.24. Other observations by Di Bacco and Nádas invalidate any notions of a Roman origin of MOe5.24 that might be entertained. In particular, they report that contrary to the centro-meridionale orthographic traits of the text of Zacharias' *Caciando per gustar* as transmitted in the Egidi fragment, the transmissions in MOe5.24 and Fl 87 employ northern (Tuscan/Veneto) orthographies.<sup>206</sup> Further evidence of a northern (Paduan) transmission of Egardus' *Gloria* and Zacharias' *Credo* before the end of the first decade of the fifteenth century emerges with the presence of these works in Pu 1225. Their entry, in close vicinity to one another, in Pu 1225 (Rolandus da Casale), GR 197 (Scribe I) and MOe5.24 (Scribe β) suggests that these works circulated together in the exemplars for these sources. However, the Paduan tradition appears to have separated at an earlier stage from that found in MOe5.24 and GR 197.

The presence of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* in GR 197 and MOe5.24 in related readings is complicated by the subsequent entry of this work into GR 197 by another scribe (Scribe IV). This may suggest a more complex relationship between these sources as a whole and the presence of multiple exemplars, especially with regard to the contamination that is apparent in Philipoctus' ballade. Yet, the evidence of stemmatic filiation suggests that these multiple sources travelled through time and space in roughly parallel paths to converge almost simultaneously in both sources. Taken as a whole, the relationships between the Paduan fragments, the Grottaferrata fragments and MOe5.24

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<sup>205</sup> Measure numbers in the discussion of Zacharias' *Gloria* refer to the edition of von Fischer and Gallo, *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*.

signal in part the transferral of a Roman repertoire northward to join a collection of local works. The other large collection of works – Pn 6771 – which can be situated at Padua in the early years of the fifteenth century, provides a northern parallel to MOe5.24 through its anthologising spirit.

I now turn to the relationship between works transmitted by both MOe5.24 and the Boverio fragments (Tn T.III.2). The 15 paper folia of Tn T.III.2, once used to reinforce an old binding<sup>207</sup> and now restored, represent one of the most significant discoveries of the last decade of the twentieth century for *ars subtilior* studies.<sup>208</sup> They contain the third extant transmissions of Philipoctus de Caserta's *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson* and Anthonellus de Caserta's *Du val perilleus*. Also present is a concordance to *Pictagoras, Jabol et Orpheüs* (or *Pytagoras, Jobal et Orpheüs* if the orthography of Tn T.III.2 is to be maintained) long known from its transmission in CH 564 (*vid.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 37). All three works were copied by the same scribe into Tn T.III.2 (Text and Music Scribe A).<sup>209</sup>

Collation of variants for *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson* (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 33, *Variants*) shows that none of the extant transmissions warrant a parent status through the presence of unique errors and omissions not replicated in each source. Furthermore, only MOe5.24 transmits two strophes of the ballade's text, CH 564 and Tn T.III.2 transmit one only. Tn T.III.2 also contains a potent textual variant where in the place of *pape* in CH 564 and MOe5.24, one finds *antipape*. As has become increasingly apparent in this discussion, several instances of semiotic variation of notation appear between CH 564/Tn T.III.2 and MOe5.24. This is readily apparent in the use of void black *semiminime* in CH 564 and Tn T.III.2 (♭) contrasted to the flagged-*mimina*-type *semiminima* in MOe5.24 (♭). Likewise at S 59.1, there emerges a semiotic gulf between CH 564/Tn T.III.2 and MOe5.24 where in the former *sesquialtera* breves (in [2,2]) are indicated by semantically ambivalent void red coloration, while in MOe5.25 red coloration requires a *sesquialtera* relationship with the preservation

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<sup>206</sup> Di Bacco and Nádas, 'Papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', pp. 66-67.

<sup>207</sup> Unfortunately the provenance of this old binding has not been noted in studies relating to this source.

<sup>208</sup> Apart from the absence of any consideration of the origin of the binding in which these fragments were found, a full discussion of them complete with accurate colour facsimiles of all leaves can be found in Ziino, *Il codice T. III. 2*.

<sup>209</sup> Ziino, *Il codice T. III. 2*, pp. 91-101 gives a correct analysis of text and music scribes in Tn T.III.2.

of imperfect time. Similarly, colorated passages of *semibreves* ligated in the pattern 1+2 are found in the reverse pattern 2+1, a pattern more conventional in French sources of the fourteenth century and becoming standard during the fifteenth century.

Besides those semiotic differences described above, the most significant conjunctive variants in the transmissions of *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson* occur at S 41.1 and Ct 52.1. At S 41.1, Tn T.III.2 and MOe5.24 share a reading distinct from that found in CH 564. Figure 3.18 gives both readings and their accompanying counterpoint in the Ct and T.

Figure 3.18: Parallel readings of *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson*

Stylistically, the reading in CH 564 is more appropriate when compared to the uncharacteristic rhythmic staidness in Tn T.III.2 and MOe5.24. On this basis, it is reasonable to propose that the reading in Tn T.III.2 and MOe5.24 indicates a shared tradition separate from CH 564's. The same separation is suggested by variant Ct 52.1 where MOe5.24 and Tn T.III.2 share the durations  $\downarrow + \downarrow \blacklozenge$ , while CH 564 reads  $\blacklozenge + \downarrow \downarrow$ .<sup>210</sup>

Collation of variants between transmissions of Anthonellus de Caserta's *Du val perilleus* in MOe5.24, Pn 6771 and Tn T.III.2 yields very few variants (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 34, *Variants*). Pn 6771 is distinct from the other manuscripts through the presence of several pitch errors.<sup>211</sup> Tn T.III.2 presents a slightly different and possibly

<sup>210</sup> There is also the case of the conjunctive variant between CH 564 and Tn T.III.2 a Ct 27.2. MOe5.24 differs only in the modification of the rhythmic configuration of  $\blacklozenge + \downarrow \blacklozenge$  to  $\blacklozenge + \downarrow \blacklozenge$ . However, Tn T.III.2 incorporates errors into the subsequent part of this passage as well as at Ct 66.1, each case involving the omission of *minima* stems and suggesting some carelessness on the part of the copyist or an error inherited from his exemplar.

<sup>211</sup> e.g. Ct 34.2, Ct 44.5-46.2, Ct 52.2, Ct 67.2.

erroneous variant reading based on the presence of the interval of a fourth between the S and T, at S 86.2 (*vid.* Vol. II, App. A, No. 34). This variant is significant as it occurs in a passage of complex notation employing the *sesquialtera* proportion at the *minima* level. The reading in Tn T.III.2 is plausibly a simplification of the more demanding rhythm of  $\lceil (\downarrow)\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow \rceil$  to  $\lceil \downarrow\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow \rceil$ .<sup>212</sup> This variant appears to have occurred before it was copied into Tn T.III.2: there are no traces of erasure in Tn T.III.2. Likewise, in MOe5.24 alone, there is a simplification of durations in the passage commencing at T 53.1 where  $\downarrow\downarrow$  groups on repeated pitches in Tn T.III.2 and Pn 6771 are rewritten as perfected *semibreves* ( $\downarrow\cdot$ ). Although the relatively low incidence of variation between sources might suggest the same tradition, there exists little strong evidence to provide an exact filiation beyond the observation that the several pitch errors in Pn 6771 are not shared in the remaining two sources.

Another masterly work of Anthonellus, his *Beaute parfaite* (Vol. II, App. A, No. 35) is also transmitted in both MOe5.24 and Pn 6771. The copying into Pn 6771 of this *ars subtilior* master's *Du val perilleus* and *Beaute parfaite* by Scribe W (who is also responsible for copying Jacob de Senleches' *En ce gracieux temps*),<sup>213</sup> hints at this scribe's interest in the recent French-texted repertoire. It also assuredly indicates the presence of Anthonellus' works at Padua. The tenuous threads which enmesh Pn 6771, Tn T.III.2 and MOe5.24 provide a scenario in which one can begin to appreciate the picture of the transmission of the works of particularly Philipoctus and Anthonellus in the Veneto and surrounding regions. Similar observations apply for the two transmissions of Egidius' *Courtois et sages* in MOe5.24 and Pn 6771, although each transmission preserves several different readings to suggest, in terms of filiation, that no common exemplar existed (*vid.* Vol. II, App. B, No. 36, *Variants*). This observation is heightened by aspects of the transmission of *Courtois et sages* in Pn 6771, again copied by Scribe W, which contains so many errors and omissions in its musical notation as to render it scarcely useful. Yet, a twist of fate has resulted in a better transmission of the text (in terms of its sense) copied by the Italian scribe of Pn 6771 than the version found in MOe5.24.

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<sup>212</sup> There is also semiotic variation between sources, which for the sake of simplicity has been excluded from this example. The scribe of MOe5.24 used full red coloration to indicate the *sesquialtera* proportion in this passage, while the scribe of Tn T.III.2 uses void red and Pn 6771 uses void black.

<sup>213</sup> *vid.* Nádas, 'The Reina Codex revisited', pp. 76-77, 100; *cf.* Chapter 6 of the present study.

The processes of stemmatic filiation can provide several insights into the transmission of this repertoire into MOe5.24. MOe5.24 shows very few connections with CH 564, despite the fact that they contain 13 works in common. Relationships between Pn 6771, which shares 15 works with MOe5.24, are a little closer, perhaps close enough to suggest a tradition of transmission in the regions of northern Italy around the Veneto. The same situation is suggested by concordances with MOe5.24 found in the Paduan fragments. Relationships with Tn T.III.2 suggest common traditions, separate from CH 564, but at the same time close to Pn 6771. By far the most tantalising relationship exists in the case of concordances with GR 197. In the next section, I will bring these observations to their logical conclusion in a discussion on the origin of MOe5.24.

### 3.6. *The provenance and origin of the manuscript*

The presence of MOe5.24 in the Estense Library can be traced without any doubt to the second half of the eighteenth century if it is taken that Gioacchino Gabardi (†1790) had completed his relatively detailed description of this very manuscript in the *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Atestiae* by 1769.<sup>214</sup> Item DV in this catalogue contains a description that also includes the names of sixteen composers in the order in which they occur in MOe5.24.<sup>215</sup> The manuscript is described there as *da messa et cancion de musica*.<sup>216</sup> Lombardi's subsequent reference to Gabardi's entry under the new Latin manuscript item number DLXVIII (L. 568) in volume 3 (begun after 1813) of the aforementioned catalogue contains the descriptive title which continues to be employed today at the Biblioteca Estense.<sup>217</sup> Before the eighteenth century, the brief descriptions of items in Estense catalogues do not detail each source's contents to any great extent,

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<sup>214</sup> F. A. Zaccaria, Gioacchino Gabardi and Antonio Lombardi, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Atestiae* (1769-1813), in the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca estense e Universitaria, ms. e.40.2.6-9. It should be noted that the first two volumes were copied by Nicola Algeri at a later date from Zaccaria's and Gabardi's autographs.

<sup>215</sup> Bartolinus de Padua is actually listed three times, as Frater Carmelitus, Dactalus and Bartolinus.

<sup>216</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 103, fn. 3 gives Gabardi's entry in full.

<sup>217</sup> *Liber continens hymnos et alia Ecclesiastica notis musicis a variis auctoribus distincta. Item que Canciones gallicas, quarum musica similiter a variis auctoribus composita est. Codex Membrane. in 4o. Saec XV. bene servatus cum initialibus partim rubricatis partim aure variisque coloribus et ornatibus non ineleganter depictis.* ("A book containing hymns and other religious settings set to musical notation by various authors. Likewise, it contain French chansons, the music of which is similar, composed by various authors. Parchment quarto manuscript, 15<sup>th</sup> century, well maintained with initials, some rubricated, others painted tastefully with gold, colours and other ornaments.")



leading early scholars to conclude that MOe5.24 entered the Estense Library in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>218</sup> Nino Pirrotta was the first to propose that the description by Gabardi may be linked to Item 98, *Libro de Canzoni in Musica circa 1400 in 4. pergam.*, in the *Catalogus Bacchinus* which may date as early as 1697.<sup>219</sup> Pirrotta then suggested that the item found listed in an inventory from 1495 of the contents of the Oratory at Ferrara of Ercole I d'Este (1431-1505), Duke of Modena, Ferrara and Reggio, and described as a book containing *Messe et canzione de musiche, in albe senza fondello* might be MOe5.24.<sup>220</sup> He drew attention the similarity of this descriptive title and that given by Gabardi. There is no indication of such a book in the 1436 catalogue of the Estense library.<sup>221</sup> Although the manuscript lacks any stamps or devices to suggest previous ownership other than the "B.E." stamp of the modern Estense library, Pirrotta's suggestion that the manuscript was part of the Estense library some seventy to eighty years after its compilation is plausible based on Ercole I's love of books and music.<sup>222</sup>

Physical aspects and scribal procedures in MOe5.24 suggest that it was created as a personal object, a collection of a repertoire in which its compiler and owner were intimately interested, especially at a musical level, and which could be easily transported should the need to travel arise. Factors leading to this view are its small size, which speaks both of its portability and the modest raw materials required for its construction. The amount of parchment and the frugal use of every available space in the inner gatherings suggest that Scribe β, in particular, was mindful of the expensive materials and sought to maximise their potential. This contrasts to the luxurious parchment manuscripts such as CH 564, Fl 87 and Tn J.II.9 (the last with visible connections to nobility made apparent by the arms on the first folio) wherein little concern for the expense of the material is apparent with single works, in most cases, occupying a large

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<sup>218</sup> *vid.* Bertoni, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>219</sup> P. Benedetto Bacchini, *Registro de' manoscritti della Biblioteca del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Sig.<sup>o</sup> Duca de Modena* in the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, ms. ε.40.4.4. The manuscript of Bacchini's catalogue held in the Biblioteca Estense is a copy made in 1756 (clearly indicated on title of this particular volume) of the original held in the Archivio di Stato at Modena, dated possibly to 1697.

<sup>220</sup> Pirrotta, 'Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400', p. 104. The inventory of 1495 is published in Giulio Bertoni, *La Biblioteca estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempo del duca Ercole I (1471-1505)*, Torino, 1903, Appendix II, part 2. For an extract from this list and the probable work sheet for the 1495 inventory, Archivio di Stato di Modena, Fondo 'Biblioteca Estense', B.1, *vid.* Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505*, p. 218.

<sup>221</sup> A. Cappelli, 'La Biblioteca estense nella prima metà del secolo XV', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. XIV, 1886, pp. 1-30.

<sup>222</sup> Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism*, Princeton, 1973, pp. 193-194.

format page. The number of blank staves remaining in MOe5.24 pales into insignificance when one considers the same in the former codices.

Both scribes in MOe5.24, especially Scribe  $\beta$ , were notationally proficient. With regards to Scribe  $\beta$ , there is little doubt in my mind that he was an experienced musician who understood the complexities of the *ars subtilior* notation and musical style, who sought to modify it when he considered it appropriate. Yet, this scribe is only human and commits errors, especially when faced with difficult problems presented to him by his exemplar, such as is the case described above in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*. His musical knowledge surpasses that encapsulated in his exemplars in that he confidently changes musical notation when he sees fit. He is most likely a native Italian speaker, capable in Latin, but frequently not very interested in recording the full text of French works, presuming that they were available in his exemplars.

It is from this perspective that I wish to explore the possible origins of this codex. The confluence of the biographical details of composers represented in MOe5.24, the movement of historically significant persons and institutes in this period and the testimony of the sources themselves (that is through their filiation) suggests that a hypothetical origin at or near the curia of the popes of the Pisan obedience should be revisited. A central aspect of this reconsideration is the arrival of Antonius Zacharias de Teramo in northern Italy, although the presence of Ciconia in the north from 1401 holds considerable importance for the transferral of a southern repertoire northwards in light of his time at Rome.

I am reluctant to propose that the MOe5.24 can be attached directly to Zacharias, apart from the presence of its faultless and carefully underlaid transmission of the unique *Sumite karissimi* which is given special precedence in the ancient inscription found on the spine side of the back fly-leaf (see above p. 99). Comparison of the only purported surviving example of Zacharias' hand<sup>223</sup> with the hands in MOe5.24 yields few similarities. In particular, the only features that bear any resemblance between the *cancelleresca* of London, Public Record Office, SC 7/41/7 and the *textualis bastarda* in the inner gatherings of MOe5.24 is the formation of majuscules A, R and S. Yet, the question remains whether an accurate comparison can be made between a highly formal script from November 1389 and a script in a musical manuscript copied around twenty

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<sup>223</sup> *vid.* Di Bacco and Nádas, 'Papal chapels and Italian sources of polyphony during the Great Schism', p.57, fn. 48.

years later. The register and temporal expanse of twenty years are factors that affect even the best of hands, perhaps more so in the case of Zacharias whose physical deformities may have caused drastic changes in his hand over time. Yet, it is feasible that Zacharias could have and must have at some time copied *cantus figuratus* and was thereby an agent in its transmission. The ability of Zacharias as a musical copyist is attested to by the commission he received to copy an antiphonal for the Hospital of the Santo Spirito in Sassia near Rome (even if this refers to *cantus planus*). However, in the absence of firm evidence and the likelihood that other capable copyists/musicians would have had access to Zacharias' works, I leave this hypothesis unresolved, although I believe that the suggestion that Zacharias was an agent for the transmission of repertoire northwards is supported not only by the source situation, but by the filiation of sources.

Ciconia's presence in Rome in the 1390s and subsequent arrival at Padua (1401) provides the means by which the works of Zacharias, for example, and possibly of Egardus found their way to Padua before 1409. It is difficult to argue against the view that, with his patent familiarity with the works of Philipoctus de Caserta, Ciconia would have retained copies of this composer's works while at Padua. Ciconia's plausible association with Giangaleazzo Visconti's court at Pavia as suggested by Nádas and Ziino's reading of his *Una panthera in compagnia de Marte* with the visit of Lazzaro Guinigi and the attributed *Le ray au soleyl*, offers a mode of transmission of a repertoire to the Veneto that might have been based in Lombardy. Certainly one could propose that the works by Matheus in the *ars subtilior* style came into the hands of MOe5.24's Scribe  $\beta$  through this mode of transmission. However, I view these works as responsive to the bold spirit also shown in the compositions of Johannes de Janua, Corradus de Pistoria, and Bartholomeus de Bononia, and are reflective of a situation where Matheus had left Pavia to travel southwards. It was the same responsiveness to a thriving musical culture espousing the aesthetic of the *ars subtilior*, which I believe, created Zacharias' *Sumite karissimi*. Matheus' *Le greygnour bien* and Zacharias' *Sumite karissimi* show a remarkably similar set of musical characteristics, which, for the most part, reside in a highly developed S line utilising several levels of coloration to achieve syncopated proportions within proportions.

These points of contact would have also permitted the transfer of Anthonellus de Caserta's composition from Lombardy, if one were to accept the view that he was active at Pavia around 1400. Certainly, there is the strong evidence that his works were at

Padua in the early years of the fifteenth century though their presence in Pn 6771, Pu 1115 and Las 184. Searching for the means of transmission for Anthonellus' works is possibly unnecessary in the face of this evidence, although the aforementioned sources do not account for the six additional French styled works in MOe5.24. Yet the state in which these works are transmitted in MOe5.24 appears less than direct, particularly in the case of his ballade *Dame d'onour en qui tout mon cuer maynt* which omits the third and fourth lines of the first strophe and all remaining strophes. This is the only instance of this type of lacuna in the inner gatherings. On the other hand, the other works of Anthonellus present relatively complete texts, suggesting the copyist of MOe5.24 was victim of his exemplar in the case of *Dame d'onour ed qui tout mon cuer maynt*. Indeed, this collection of Anthonellus' *ars subtilior* repertoire (with the total exclusion of his Italian texted works) in MOe5.24 may have been derived from multiple exemplars. There is scope to argue based on the filiation of Anthonellus' works that exemplars from Padua or close copies of them used earlier by Scribe W in Pn 6771, were available to MOe5.24's Scribe  $\beta$ . The same situation may also be evident in the case of the early layer of Tn T.III.2.

It is apparent that in the inner gatherings of MOe5.24 transmissions of the compositions of Matheus de Perusio are received readings with several *in libro* corrections or semiotic modifications. It is therefore unlikely that any direct links with this composer existed in this portion of the manuscript. Certainly, the presence of at least seven works ascribed to Matheus<sup>224</sup> in the inner gatherings of MOe5.24 places him on a par with Anthonellus with his eight ascribed works, followed closely by Zacharias' five. The prominence of Philipoctus is perhaps diminished by the presence of an equal number of works (four) by both Machaut and Jacob de Senleches in this manuscript. In the case of the last composer, particularly, any proposals of direct connections between MOe5.24 and Pavia must be treated with caution considering the omission of his *La harpe de melodie*, a work whose presence in Pavia as early as 1391 is evidenced by US-Cn 54.1.

If the Antonius de Teramo documented at Padua in 1410 is the composer Zacharias, a means by which the northward bound repertoire transmitted from Rome intersected the repertoire of the north and Padua becomes apparent. It is likely, however, that the repertoire of the inner gatherings of MOe5.24 was not copied at Padua but elsewhere. One can propose again that the papal curia of the Pisan obedience was this

centre. Here music brought from Padua on a journey that would have passed through Ferrara could be joined with music already circulating in the papal chapel. It is precisely in this curia in the period after 1409 that an environment was manifest and arguably suited to the collecting of this repertoire with the presence of the Pisan Party representing the centre of power in northern Italy. This situation was short lived, ending with John XXIII's deposal at the Council of Constance in May 1415 to make way for the election of a new pope and the end of the then tripartite schism that had plagued the West. After an initial period at Pisa immediately after his election, Alexander V transferred his curia first to Pistoia and then to Bologna, the bishopric seat of his eventual successor Baldassare Cossa. It is clear that Alexander V was intent on returning the curia to Rome, but was prevented by the capture of Rome by Ladislas of Naples, an adherent to Gregory XII, in early 1410. Alexander thus remained in Bologna for the few months before his death. As already mentioned above, the attribution of *Dime Fortuna* to Zacharias, which laments Alexander's failed return to Rome at the hands of fickle Lady Fortune, suggests that this composer may have joined the curia in Bologna in 1409 or 1410, if not beforehand at Pisa.<sup>225</sup> The disappointment of not being able to return to his beloved Rome is palpable in this work surviving solely in Tn T.III.2.

Zacharias' presence at Padua in 1410 may represent a period of leave from the papal chapel, which allowed a reunion with his old Roman colleague Ciconia. Ciconia's finely lettered patron at Padua and supporter of the Pisan Party, Francesco Zabarella, may have provided other incentives for Zacharias' visit to Padua. Alexander V's successor, John XXIII, remained at Bologna until March 1411, and after a brief sojourn in Florence, returned in November 1413. One thing is clear from documentation. The period of John XXIII's Florentine sojourn corresponds to those years when Zacharias is documented at the Pisan curia.

Based on these events and biographical coincidences a situation might be proposed which saw the genesis of the collection in MOe5.24. The manuscript initially drew upon a collection of works, which may have been present at Pisa and augmented by a tradition that was available at Padua already by 1409. This repertoire included works

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<sup>224</sup> An eighth work attributable to Matheus may be *Le grant beaute*.

<sup>225</sup> On the question of whether Alexander V was able to assemble and keep a chapel in his short term, *vid.* Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 44. Günther refutes Satori's previous views that Alexander could not have possessed a chapel by citing a passage in the *Chronique d'Enguerran de*

of Matheus de Perusio (principally via Pisa), as well as some ultramontane masters, the music of northern Italian masters such as Bartolinus, and a central Italian tradition brought northward from Rome first by Ciconia and then Zacharias and his colleagues. The inner gatherings began to be compiled, possibly in the one instance, as Stone suggests, as a collection of sacred works which now survives in the third gathering, but soon expanded to include the repertoire of music that came to hand, particularly those works exemplifying the secular *ars subtilior* style. It is notable that Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* is one of the next works to appear in the third gathering and it is preceded only by compositions by northern masters Machaut and Senleches. It is possible that the third gathering represents the first fruit of contacts with Padua. Subsequent sojourns at Florence may then have permitted the incorporation of local elements which aspired to the central aesthetic of the collection, perhaps as a result of musical influence residing in curial musical life.

Central to my hypothesis is the nature of this manuscript. Its small size and multiple levels of development (especially in the case of illuminations in the inner gatherings and revisions *in libro*) support the view that it was compiled over a period of time, and most importantly that it was a manuscript that could be easily transported from place to place, even if as loose gatherings. A member of the chapel of Alexander V and John XXIII or their cardinals would thus have had the opportunity of collecting works for his own use, drawing on sources that might have been in the hands of his colleagues before and during the Council of Pisa, from Zacharias' contacts with Padua and from sources encountered in Florence. Some works may represent actual compositions written in response to the arrival of Alexander or John at a particular centre. This is particularly attractive in the case of *Veri almi pastoris*, which could have been written by Florentine resident Corradus de Pistoria for the arrival of John XXIII at Florence in 1411. It is notable that in this same year, Francesco Zabarella left Padua for Florence to take up his appointment (which occurred in the previous year) as that city's bishop.

It is plausible that the collection of works in the inner gatherings was complete before John XXIII's departure for Constance in 1414 in preparation for the general council that was to be held there, although it is evident that he still maintained a chapel

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*Monstrelet* (ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq, Paris, 1958) which describes the participation of the chapel singers of his predecessor, singers of the cardinals and other singers of Italy in the coronation (17<sup>th</sup> May, 1410) of John XXIII.

there.<sup>226</sup> The absence of references to Constance or the end of the Schism may indirectly support this analysis. There may also be reason to believe that the collection was complete in 1413 before the departure of Zacharias from John's chapel.

The outer gatherings mark a new phase in the early life/compilation of the manuscript. As discussed above, it appears certain that the leaves were prepared as a single gathering of ten bifolia before being split into the two outer gatherings. Whether musical compositions already appeared in this protogathering remains open to speculation, although it is apparent that several compositions were entered into the outer gatherings after they were joined to the inner ones. On the other hand, the palimpsest of *Gratiosus fervidus* in the second gathering and its presence in the fifth gathering suggests that the outer gatherings may have already had this work at least copied into it. It also marks the transferral of the collection from the hands of a musician interested in the diverse expressions of the *ars subtilior* to an individual, most likely also a musician scribe, who had near exclusive access to the compositions and arrangements of Matheus de Perusio. The natural assumption is that this close relationship to Matheus required the physical presence of the outer gatherings, indeed the whole manuscript for its completion, at Pavia or Milan. Yet, the lacuna in Matheus' biography between 1407 and 1414 urges caution in this matter. This caution is reinforced by those sacred works by Matheus, which follow the Roman rather than the Ambrosian rite, suggesting his activity outside the orbit of Milan and Pavia. However, in view of the absence hitherto of concrete documentation or source evidence that places Matheus at Pisa, Pistoia, Bologna or Florence in the period during his absence from Milan, speculation can run rife.<sup>227</sup> Yet the stylistic devices explored in works recorded in the inner gatherings, particularly *Le greygnour bien* and *Le grant desir*, which show common features with the aesthetics of other works by Italian composers in those gatherings, may suggest contact with the latter.

Reinhard Strohm has argued that MOe5.24 could scarcely reflect the music in the chapel of John XXIII, and that it is most likely an early compilation completed in the pontificate of Alexander V. Yet this statement is at odds with the apparent nature of the chapel during John XXIII's term of office: Italians are a minority, northerners are predominant in a situation that was to set the scene for papal chapels throughout the

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<sup>226</sup> *vid.* Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca estense α.M.5.24', p. 46.

fifteenth century. The northerners undoubtedly demonstrated a proclivity for their native idioms, in both language and music, which would favour the French-texted music of the *ars subtilior*. Certainly, it is the case that Zacharias is the only composer whose presence is documented in the curia of John XXIII, although there is the notable presence of Humbertus de Salinis in the chapel of his predecessor. Yet, this need not diminish the chapel as a focal point for musical practice, where such a repertoire might be exercised by a group of highly skilled musicians. This repertoire through its rhythmic complexities demands a soloistic economy of parts, not large choirs.

Strohm, Nádas and Stone, in their various discussions on the origin of MOe5.24, have suggested that the inner gatherings were begun at Pavia and augmented at Pisa. Yet, aspects of the inner gatherings, while indicating connections to Matheus de Perusio and Anthonellus de Caserta, also suggest an hiatus between the compiler and these composers. There is also the question of whether a polyphonic transmission reflective of Roman sources might have found its way to Lombardy, especially Milan and Pavia. In light of the large lacuna which exists in our knowledge of the Visconti court in Lombardy due to the lack of archival evidence which might clarify the matter, the Visconti hypothesis must be treated as such until further scholarship might prove otherwise. Certainly, the connections of the Visconti court to the Valois house and its cultural status as betrayed, for example, by Deschamps' remarks made upon his visit there in 1391, permits one to speculate that the courts of Pavia and Milan may have been vehicles for the transmission of a northern repertoire southwards.<sup>228</sup> It is also likely that the aesthetic of the *ars subtilior* was cultivated there. Yet, the repertoire in MOe5.24 is much broader than that plausibly created in Lombardy and extends into the Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Umbria and Tuscany, without even considering those northern elements whose transmission as far southward as Florence has been already suggested in the previous chapter.

Several questions remain unanswerable in the context of the present study. The most pressing is the means by which this source found its way to the Estense library by

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<sup>227</sup> For the view that Roman settings of the mass indicates Matheus' connection to the court of Alexander V, *vid.* von Fischer, 'Bemerkungen zur Überlieferung und zum Stil der geistlichen Werke des Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo', p. 181.

<sup>228</sup> There is certainly the well known case of the manuscript (#84) contained in the 1426 catalogue of the Visconti Library which appears to begin with the venerable motet *Apta caro / Flos virginium / Alma redemptoris mater*, *vid.* Pellegrin, *op. cit.*, p. 91. However, it cannot be known when (before 1426) this manuscript entered into the Visconti collection.



the late fifteenth century. An early connection exists in the case of Bertrandus Feragut, Matheus' eventual successor as *Magister capelle* at Milan during the years 1425-30. A plausible connection with Ferrara exists in his *Francorum nobilitati*. This motet celebrates the provision granted to Nicolò I d'Este to quarter his arms with those of France in 1431, and as such suggests Bertrandus' presence at Ferrara in that year.<sup>229</sup> Documents from that year also mention payments to a singer named *Bertrandus* at Ferrara.<sup>230</sup> It is unlikely that Bertrandus could have taken any role in the compilation of the codex at this date, but it might provide an opportunity whereby the book was brought from Milan and remained at Ferrara, if in fact MOe5.24 was to be found in the Estense collections at this early date.

### 3.7. Conclusions

I would suggest that the inner gatherings of MOe5.24 were compiled by a musician in or close to (possibly in the chapel of a cardinal) the curia of the popes of the Pisan obedience between the years 1409 and 1413, but no later than 1414, drawing on a repertoire collected at Pisa, Pistoia, Bologna and Florence. This layer of the manuscript reflects a broad selection of polyphony from composers active at that time in northern Italy, from Florence to Pavia. The outer gatherings were compiled by an individual close to Matheus de Perusio. Whether this occurred during Matheus' absence from Milan, or upon his return there, remains open to speculation, although the incorporation of the Roman rite, which had no function at Milan, argues for its completion before Matheus' return to Milan. The means by which the inner gatherings were acquired by Scribe  $\alpha$  is also open to speculation, although it is tempting to suggest that if a personal association existed between Zacharias and the inner gatherings, this composer's death may have resulted in a transferral of ownership.

By proposing that the collection of works of the *ars subtilior* made by Scribe  $\beta$  occurred in the orbit of the Pisan obedience, I am conscious of a return to a similar model proposed by Pirrotta and Günther, and one which is contrary to the scholarship of Sartori and more recently of Strohm and Stone. The means, however, by which I arrived at my conclusion differ in many respects from previous scholarship. In particular, through the observation of the relationships between extant sources a colourful picture

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<sup>229</sup> Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>230</sup> Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, p. 35.

emerges in which the accumulation of an northern *ars subtilior* repertoire in the Veneto and nearby regions is paralleled by the northwards transmissions of works from Rome. This situation is only enhanced by recent biographical research which has observed the presence of at least two prominent composer-musicians, Ciconia and Zacharias, in Rome in the 1390s, but who were later situated in the north in the first and second decades of the fifteenth century.