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THE TRANSMISSION OF TRECENTO SECULAR POLYPHONY: MANUSCRIPT
PRODUCTION AND SCRIBAL PRACTICES IN ITALY AT THE END OF THE
MIDDLE AGES

New York University

Ph.D. 1985

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**THE TRANSMISSION OF TRECENTO SECULAR POLYPHONY:
MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION AND SCRIBAL PRACTICES
IN ITALY AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES**

John Louis Nádas

A DISSERTATION
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCE
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

October, 1985

Approved: 

Edward H. Roesner

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of six musical codices and one newly-discovered fragmentary MS, recognized as major repositories of the song literature disseminated in Italy during the first two decades of the 15th century. The first chapter surveys writings on Trecento sources, focusing on important MS discoveries and analyses that have formed our view of the transmission of the repertory. The first chapter also identifies organizational principles characteristic of Italian anthologies as a continuation of the written lyric traditions of the troubadours and trouvères.

Succeeding chapters examine thoroughly the codicological and paleographical features of the following sources: (1) Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, MS Panciatichiano 26; (2) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771 ("Reina" codex); (3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds italien 568; (4) Florence, Biblioteca nazionale MS F.5.5; (5) Lucca, Archivio di stato MS 184, and Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta" MS 3065 (Mancini codex); (6) Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Mediceo Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi codex); (7) Florence, Biblioteca

Laurenziana, MS San Lorenzo 2211. The presentation of physical attributes of these collections reveals common and unique aspects of MS structure and repertorial arrangement. Moreover, it is possible to distinguish among the various contributors to the anthologies and to identify distinctive copying traits that bear on the readings of the compositions.

These analyses help to formulate a source-critical foundation upon which to study patterns of reception and transmission of Trecento song. Examination of scribal practices allows us to isolate stylistic and notational features that can be tied to chronological developments and that are most vulnerable to editorial emendation, among them the modernization of notational language, treatment of ligated notes, and aspects of texting and vocal scoring. The recognition of a number of scribal concordances leads to provisional conclusions regarding the dating and provenance of these sources, suggesting Florence and Padua as the most likely centers for the production of song anthologies ca. 1400-20.

A closing section sheds new light on the career and works of one of the last composers included in the Squarcialupi codex, Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo, further clarifying the date of that source.

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I have received the help and encouragement of many people during the preparation of this dissertation. First, I wish to thank my advisor, Edward Roesner, whose formative influence on my understanding of the sources of medieval music has been profound, and whose criticism, editorial suggestions, and unflagging enthusiasm for my work are largely responsible for the completion of this study. I should like to offer my appreciation to the other members of my committee, Professors Jan LaRue and David Burrows, for their valuable help; I am especially indebted throughout this study to Professors Jan LaRue and Stanley Boorman for their valuable expertise on codicological matters. My warm thanks go to scholars who have shared their unpublished materials with me--Margaret Bent, Stanley Boorman, Frank D'Accone, and Reinhard Strohm. To all I owe a great debt of gratitude and respect.

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MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

This RISM-based listing includes both RISM sigla and letter sigla (in boldface) employed in this study, as well as older manuscript sigla possibly still in use. See also the listing of letter sigla on p. xxi. References are to the following:

RISM = Répertoire internationale des sources musicales. Series B IV:1, Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th-Early 14th Century, ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich, 1966); Series B IV:2, Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (ca. 1320-1400), ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich, 1969); Series B IV:3 and IV:4, Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, 2 vols. (Munich, 1972).

CCMS = Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, I (American Institute of Musicology): Vol. 1, A-J (1979); Vol. 2, K-O (1982), Vol. 3, P-U (1984).

AUSTRIA

- A-HEI. Heiligenkreuz, Bibliothek des Zisterzienserstifts. MS without shelfmark (RISM, B IV:3, 77-79; CCMS, I:1, 267-68)
- A-Iu Wo. Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek. MS without shelfmark [Wolkenstein B] (RISM, B IV:3, 80-89; CCMS, I:1, 286-87)
- A-If FB 1950. Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum. MS FB 1950 [Wolkenstein C]
- A-Ms 749. Melk, Stiftsbibliothek. MS 749 (olim 542) (CCMS, I:2, 140)
- A-Wn 2777. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 2777 [Wolkenstein A] (RISM, B IV:3, 98-105)

A-Zw. Zwettl, Bibliothek des Cisterzienserstift.
MS without shelfmark

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Cs-Pu XI E 9. Prague, Universitni knihovna. MS XI E 9
[Prag; Pra, Pr] (RISM, B IV:3, 255-62; CCMS,
I:3, 63-4)

FRANCE

- F-APT 16bis. Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque
du chapitre. MS 16bis [Apt; AptSA 16bis] (RISM,
B IV:2, 104-15; CCMS, I:1, 8)
- F-AS 657. Arras, Bibliothèque municipale. MS 657
[Trouv. A; trouvère chansonnier A]
- F-CH 564. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé. MS 564
[Ch; ChantMC 564] (RISM, B IV:2, 128-60;
CCMS, I:1, 147-48)
- F-Pa 5198. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MS 5198.
- F-Pn fr. 146. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. MS fonds
français 146 [Fauv; F-Pn 146] (RISM,
B IV:2, 163-72)
- F-Pn fr. 844. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 844
[Trouv. M/t; MS du Roi, trouvère chansonnier M]
(RISM, B IV:1, 374-79)
- F-Pn fr. 845. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 845
[Trouv. N; trouvère chansonnier N]
- F-Pn fr. 846. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 846
[Trouv. O; Chansonnier Cangé, trouvère
chansonnier O] (RISM, B IV:1, 379-80)
- F-Pn fr. 847. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 847
[Trouv. P; trouvère chansonnier P]
- F-Pn fr. 854. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 854
[Troub. I; troubadour chansonnier I]

- F-Pn fr. 856. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 856
[**Troub. C**; troubadour chansonnier C]
- F-Pn fr. 1109. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 1109
[**Trouv. Q**; trouvère chansonnier Q]
- F-Pn fr. 1584. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 1584
[**Machaut A**] (RISM, B IV:2, 174-78)
- F-Pn fr. 1585. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 1585
[**Machaut B**] (RISM, B IV:2, 178-79)
- F-Pn fr. 1586. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 1586
[**Machaut C**] (RISM, B IV:2, 179-82)
- F-Pn fr. 1591. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 1591
[**Trouv. R**; trouvère chansonnier R]
- F-Pn fr. 1592. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 1592
[**Troub. B**; troubadour chansonnier B]
- F-Pn fr. 1794. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 1794
[**Troub. E**; troubadour chansonnier E]
- F-Pn fr. 9221. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 9221
[**Machaut E**] (RISM, B IV:2, 182-92)
- F-Pn fr. 12472. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 12472
[**Troub. f**; troubadour chansonnier f]
- F-Pn fr. 12473. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 12473
[**Troub. K**; troubadour chansonnier K]
- F-Pn fr. 12615. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 12615
[**Trouv. T**; trouvère chansonnier T]
- F-Pn fr. 14274. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 12474
(olim, Vat. lat. 3794) [**Troub. M**; troubadour
chansonnier M]
- F-Pn fr. 15211. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 15211
[**Troub. T**; troubadour chansonnier T]
- F-Pn fr. 20050. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 20050
[**Trouv. X**; trouvère chansonnier X]
- F-Pn fr. 22543. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 22543
[**Troub. R**; Chansonnier d'Urfé, troubadour
chansonnier R]

- F-Pn fr. 22545-22546. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 22545-22546
[Machaut F-G] (RISM, B IV:2, 192-97)
- F-Pn fr. 24406. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 24406
[Trouv. V; trouvère chansonnier V]
- F-Pn fr. 25566. Paris, B. N. MS f. fr. 25566
[Trouv. W/W'; MS La Valliere] (RISM,
B IV:1, 395-401)
- F-Pn it. 568. Paris, B. N. MS fonds italien 568
[Pit; P, PI, It, PN, ParisBNI 568] (RISM,
B IV:3, 436-85; CCMS, I:3, 25-26)
- F-Pn n.a.f. 4379. Paris, B. N. MS nouvelles acquisitions
françaises 4379 [PC; PC I, II, III;
ParisBNN 4379] (CCMS, I:3, 29-31)
- F-Pn n.a.f. 4917. Paris, B. N. MS n. a. fr. 4917
[Pz; P49, PN'] (CCMS, I:3, 32)
- F-Pn n.a.f. 6771. Paris, B. N. MS n. a. fr. 6771
[R; "Reina Codex," PR, PN, Rei] (RISM,
B IV:3, 485-549; CCMS, I:3, 33-34)
- F-Pn n.a.f. 23190. Paris, B. N. MS n. a. fr. 23190 [Trem.;
MS of the Duchess of Trémoille] (RISM,
B IV:2, 205-06)
- F-Sm 222. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale. MS 222.C.22
[Str 222; SV] (RISM, B IV:3, 550-92; CCMS,
I:3, 163-64)

WEST GERMANY

- G-MUbs 14274. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung. MS Latinus
monaciensis 14274 [Em; "St. Emmeram Codex"]
olim Mus. 3232a) (CCMS, I:2, 239-40)
- D-Nst 9/9a. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek. MS Fragm. lat. 9
and 9a (olim Centurio V, 61 and III, 25 respectively)
(RISM, B IV:2, 82-85; CCMS, I:2, 258-59)

GREAT BRITAIN

- GB-Lbl Add. 29987. London, British Library, Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 29987 [Lo; L, LO, LB, B] (RISM, B IV:4, 631-53)
- GB-Lbl Add. 57950. London, B. L., Reference Division, Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 57950 [OH; "Old Hall MS," LonBL 57950] (RISM, B IV:4, 675-725; CCMS, I:2, 82-83)
- GB-Ob 16. Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS Canonici Pat. lat. 16
- GB-Ob 269. Oxford, B. L. MS Douce 269 [Troub. S; troubadour chansonnier S]
- GB-Ob 213. Oxford, B. L. MS Canonici miscellaneous 213 [O 213; Ox, O, OxfBC 213] (CCMS, I:2, 275-76)
- GB-Ob 229. Oxford, B. L. MS Canonici Pat. lat. 229 [Pad A 229; OB, Ox, PadO] (RISM, B IV:4, 668-71; CCMS, I:2, 277)

ITALY

- I-AOs 19. Aosta, Biblioteca del seminario maggiore. MS A¹D19 [Ao] (CCMS, I:1, 6-7)
- I-ATa. Atri, Archivio capitolare, Sala Innocenzo IV. MS Cartella A, frammento n. 5
- I-Bc 1, 23. Bologna, Civico museo bibliografico musicale. MS Q1, fragment n. 23 (CCMS, I:1, 68)
- I-Bc 15. Bologna, C. M. B. M. MS Q15 [BL; BolC Q15] (CCMS, I:1, 69-70)
- I-Bu 596. Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria. MS 596, busta HH2¹ (RISM, B IV:4, 738-39)

- I-Bu 2216. Bologna, B. U. MS 2216 [BU; BolU 2216]
(CCMS, I:1, 88)
- I-CF 63. Cividale, Museo archeologico nazionale.
MS LXIII (RISM, B IV:4, 749; CCMS,
I:1, 154-55)
- I-CF 79. Cividale, M. A. N. MS 79 (RISM, B IV:4,
750-51; CCMS, I:1, 155)
- I-CF 98. Cividale del Friuli, M. A. N. MS XCVIII (RISM,
B IV:4, 751-52; CCMS, I:1, 155-56)
- I-CO. Cortona. Fragment without shelfmark
- I-Fzc 117. Faenza, Biblioteca comunale. MS 117 [Fa; Faenza,
FaenBC 117, Codex "Bonadies," FC] (RISM, B IV:4,
898-920; CCMS, I:1, 215-16)
- I-Fc 1175. Florence, Biblioteca del conservatorio. MS D 1175
[Fc; FD] (RISM, B IV:4, 754-55)
- I-Fl 87. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana. MS Mediceo
Palatino 87 [Sq; "Squarcialupi Codex," FL, Pal. 87, S]
(RISM, B IV:4, 755-832)
- I-Fl 999. Florence, B. L. MS Ashb. 999 (RISM, B IV:4,
p. 833; CCMS, I:2, 242-43)
- I-Fl 2211. Florence, B. L. MS Archivio capitolare
di San Lorenzo 2211 [SL 2211]
- I-Fn 26. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale. MS
Panciaticchiano 26 [FP; FP 26, FN, Fl, F, Pan,
Panc 26] (RISM, B IV:4, 835-96; CCMS,
I:1, 231-32)
- I-Fn F.5.5. Florence, B. N. C. MS Incunab. F.5.5 [Fn F.5.5]
- I-Fr 2909. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana. MS 2909
[Troub. Q; troubadour chansonnier Q]
- I-FOLas. Foligno, Archivio di stato (olim Biblioteca
comunale). MS without shelfmark (RISM, B IV:4,
896-97; CCMS, I:2, 246)
- I-GR 16. Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia Greca.
MS E.β.XVI [GR 16; GA, Gro, Grot] (RISM,
B IV:4, 921-23)

- I-GR 197. Grottaferrata, B. B. G. MS Collocazione
provvisoria 197 [GR 197; Gr, G] (RISM,
B IV:4, 923-26; CCMS, I:2, 255-56)
- I-GR. Grottaferrata, B. B. G. MS without a shelfmark
- I-GUA 3. Guardiagrele, Archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore.
Codex 1, MS n. 3 (CCMS, I:1, 258)
- I-IV 115. Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare. MS 115 [Iv; I-IV,
"Ivrea Codex"] (RISM, B IV:2, 282-304)
- I-Las 184. Lucca, Archivio di stato. MS 184 [Man;
Mn, LM, Luc, "Lucca Codex," "Mancini Codex"] (RISM,
B IV:4, 929-47; CCMS, I:2, 125-26)
- I-MFA. Montefiore dell'Aso. Photographic copy of a lost MS
formerly in the possession of Prof. Francesco Egidi
- I-MA 71. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana. MS R71 superiore
[**Troub. G**; troubadour chansonnier G]
- I-Moe 5.24. Modena, Biblioteca Estense e universitaria.
MS α .M.5.24 [Mod A; Mod, ModE M.5.24, ME, M]
(RISM, B IV:4, 950-81; CCMS, I:2, 168-69)
- I-Moe 4.4. Modena, B. E. U. MS α .R.4.4
[**Troub. D**; troubadour chansonnier D]
- I-OS. Ostiglia, Opera Pia Greggiati. MS without shelfmark
[Os; RsO, "Ostiglia fragment" (part of I-Rvat 215)]
(RISM, B IV:4, 981-84)
- I-Pas 553. Padua, Archivio di stato. MS Corporazioni
soppresse, S. Giustina, busta 553
- I-Pu 656. Padua, Biblioteca universitaria. MS 656
(RISM, B IV:4, 988)
- I-Pu 658. Padua, B. U. MS 658 [Pad C 658;
PadU 658, PU] (RISM, B IV:4, 988-89)
- I-Pu 675. Padua, B. U. MS 675 [Pad D 675;
PadU 675] (RISM, B IV:4, 989-990; CCMS,
I:3, 6-7)
- I-Pu 684. Padua, B. U. MS 684 [Pad A 684; PadU 684]
(RISM, B IV:4, 990-92; CCMS, I:3, 7)
- I-Pu 1106. Padua, B. U. MS 1106 [Pad D 1106; PadU 1106]

- (RISM, B IV:4, 992-94; CCMS, I:3, 7-8)
- I-Pu 1115. Padua, B. U. MS 1115 [Pad B 1115; PadU 1115]
(RISM, B IV:4, 995-96; CCMS, I:3, 8-9)
- I-Pu 1225. Padua, B. U. MS 1225 [Pad D 1225; PadU 1225]
(RISM, B IV:4, 996-97; CCMS, I:3, 9)
- I-Pu 1283. Padua, B. U. MS 1283 [Pad D 1283; PadU 1283]
(RISM, B IV:4, 997-98; CCMS, I:3, 10)
- I-Pu 1475. Padua, B. U. MS 1475 [Pad A 1475; PadU 1475]
(RISM, B IV:4, 998-1002; CCMS, I:3, 10-11)
- I-PAas 75. Parma, Archivio di stato. Frammenti musicali:
Armadio B, busta n. 75 [PA 75] (RISM,
B IV:4, 1005-07; CCMS, I:3, 37-38)
- I-PEco 3065. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta."
MS 3065 [ManP; Mn P, PerBC] (RISM,
B IV:4, 1008-12; CCMS, I:3, 45-46)
- I-PSac 5. Pistoia, Archivio capitolare del Duomo.
MS B 3 n. 5 [Pist] (RISM, B IV:4, 1013-16;
CCMS, I:3, 50-51)
- I-Rsp B80. Rome, Archivio di San Pietro in Vaticano. MS B80
- I-Rvat 215. Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
MS Rossi 215 [Rs 215; Rossi 215, "Rossi Codex,"
Rs, R, VR] (RISM, B IV:4, 1020-27)
- I-Rvat 1411. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V. MS Urb. lat. 1411
[RU₂]
- I-Rvat 1419. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V. MS Urb. lat. 1419
[RU₁] (RISM, B IV:4, 1030-1032)
- I-Rvat Reg. 1490. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V.
MS Reg. lat. 1490 [Trouv. a; trouvère chansonnier a]
(RISM, B IV:1, 798-99)
- I-Rvat Reg. 3206. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V.
MS Reg. lat. 3206 [Troub. L; troubadour chansonnier L]
- I-Rvat Reg. 3207. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V.
MS Reg. lat. 3207 [Troub. H; troubadour chansonnier H]
- I-Rvat Reg. 3208. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V.
MS Reg. lat. 3208 [Troub. O; troubadour chansonnier O]

- I-Rvat Reg. 5232. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V.
MS Reg. lat. 5232 [**Troub. A**; troubadour chansonnier A]
- I-Rvat 1790. Rome, Vatican City, B. A. V. MS Ottob. lat. 1790
[RO 1790; RD, VO] (RISM, B IV:4, 1033)
- I-Sas 207. Siena, Archivio di stato. MSS frammenti di
musiche, n. 207 (olim 326-327) [**SieA**, **SieB**;
S₁, S₂] (CCMS, I:3, 153)
- I-Str 14. Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al
Monte. MS 14 [**Str 14**; Dom] (olim Domodossola,
Convento di Monte Calvario (RISM, B IV:4, 1039-41;
CCMS, I:3, 166-67)
- I-TRc 87. Trent, Museo provinciale d'arte, Castello del Buon
Consiglio. MS 87 [**TR87**] (CCMS, I:3, 222-23)
- I-TRc 92. Trent, M. P. A. MS 92 [**TR92**] (CCMS, I:3, 229-31)
- I-TRc 1563. Trent, M. P. A. MS 1563 (CCMS, I:3, 231-32)
- I-Tn 9. Turin, Biblioteca nazionale. MS J.II.9 [**TuB**]
(RISM, B IV:4, 1041-1105)
- I-Vm XI. Venice, Biblioteca nazionale marciana. MS fr. App.
cod. XI [**Troub. V**; troubadour chansonnier V]
- I-Vm 145. Venice, B. N. M. MS It. IX.145

NETHERLANDS

- NL-Uu 37 I. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliothek.
MS 6 E 37 [Utr] (RISM, B IV:2, 317-25)

POLAND

- PL-Wn 52. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa. MS III.8054
[**Kras**; K] (olim Krasinski 52)
- PL-Wn 378. Warsaw, National Library. MS lat. F.I.378
[**StP**] (photographic copy of a lost manuscript)

SPAIN

- E-S25. Sevilla, Catedral metropolitana, Biblioteca capitular y Colombina. MS 5-2-25 [Sev] (RISM, B IV:3, 426-28; CMMS, I:3, 140-141)
- E-S43. Sevilla, Catedral metropolitana, B. C. C. MS 5-1-43 [PC Is (part of F-Pn n.a.f. 4379] (CCMS, I:3, 139-40)

UNITED STATES

- US-CAh 122. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library. MS 122.
- US-Clw. Chicago, Library of Edward Lowinsky. MS fragment without shelfmark [Lw; NYL] (RISM, B IV:4, 1167-68; CCMS, I:1, 149-50)
- US-NYpm 819. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. MS M 819 [Troub. N; troubadour chansonnier N]
- US-NYw. New York, Wildenstein Galleries. MS without shelfmark [Machaut Vg] (RISM, B IV:2, 342-68)
- US-SBam. Santa Barbara, Academia Monteverdiana. MS fragment without shelfmark (part of I-GR 197)

LETTER SIGLA

Ao	I-AOs 19
Apt	F-APT 16bis
BL	I-Bc 15
BU	I-Bu 2216
Ch	F-CH 564
Em	G-MUbs 14274
Fa	I-Fzc 117
Fauv	F-Pn fr. 146
Fc	I-Fc 1175
Fn F.5.5	I-Fn F.5.5
FP	I-Fn 26
GR 16	I-GR 16
GR 197	I-GR 197
Iv	I-IV 115
Kras	PL-Wn 52
Lo	GB-Lbl Add. 29987
Lw	US-Clw
Machaut A	F-Pn fr. 1584
Machaut B	F-Pn fr. 1585
Machaut C	F-Pn fr. 1586
Machaut E	F-Pn fr. 9221
Machaut F-G	F-Pn fr. 22545-22546

Machaut Vg	US-NYw
Man	I-Las 184
ManP	I-PEco 3065
Mod A	I-Moe 5.24
O 213	GB-Ob 213
OH	GB-Lbl Add. 57950
Os	I-OS
PA 75	I-PAas 75
Pad A 229	GB-Ob 229
Pad A 684	I-Pu 684
Pad A 1475	I-Pu 1475
Pad B 1115	I-Pu 1115
Pad C 658	I-Pu 658
Pad D 675	I-Pu 675
Pad D 1106	I-Pu 1106
Pad D 1225	I-Pu 1225
Pad D 1283	I-Pu 1283
PC	F-Pn n.a.f. 4379
PC Is	E-S43
Pist	I-PSac 5
Pit	F-Pn it. 568
Prag	Cs-Pu XI E 9
Pz	F-Pn n.a.f. 4917
R	F-Pn n.a.f. 6771
RO 1790	I-Rvat 1790

Rs 215	I-Rvat 215
RU ₁	I-Rvat 1419
RU ₂	I-Rvat 1411
Sie A, Sie B	I-Sas 207
SL 2211	I-F1 2211
Sq	I-F1 87
StP	PL-Wn 378
STr 14	I-STr 14
Str 222	F-Sm 222
TR	I-TRc 87 ₁ & 92 ₂
TR87	I-TRc 87
Trem	F-Pn n.a.f. 23190
Troub. A	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 5232
Troub. B	F-Pn fr. 1592
Troub. C	F-Pn fr. 856
Troub. D	I-MOe α .R.4.4
Troub. E	F-Pn fr. 1794
Troub. f	F-Pn fr. 12472
Troub. G	I-MA 71
Troub. H	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 3207
Troub. I	F-Pn fr. 854
Troub. K	F-Pn fr. 12473
Troub. L	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 3206
Troub. M	F-Pn fr. 12474
Troub. N	US-NYpm M819

Troub. O	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 3208
Troub. Q	I-Fr 2909
Troub. R	F-Pn fr. 22543
Troub. S	GB-Ob 269
Troub. T	F-Pn fr. 15211
Troub. V	I-Vm App. cod. XI
Trouv. A	F-AR 657
Trouv. a	I-Rvat Reg. lat. 1490
Trouv. K	F-Pa 5198
Trouv. M/t	F-Pn fr. 844
Trouv. N	F-Pn fr. 845
Trouv. O	F-Pn fr. 846
Trouv. P	F-Pn fr. 847
Trouv. Q	F-Pn fr. 1109
Trouv. R	F-Pn fr. 1591
Trouv. T	F-Pn fr. 12615
Trouv. V	F-Pn fr. 24406
Trouv. W/W'	F-Pn fr. 25566
Trouv. X	F-Pn fr. 20050
TuB	I-Tn 9

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION TO THE TRECENTO SOURCES AND
AN APPRAISAL OF SCHOLARLY STUDIES

However general the heroic view of man's dignity, however much it purported to depend upon a notion of human potentiality, none came closer to realization of the ideal than the men with the resources for learning, culture, patronage, and the trained capacity for enjoyment of the world's goods. This is so obvious that it seems trivial, yet in surveying the age, historians constantly suppose, like the humanists themselves, that the heroic vision spoke for all men. Not at all. It spoke for an elite, and to ignore this is both to get the Renaissance wrong and to show that we do not see the forces and social interests that lie behind our own values. -- Lauro Martines, Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy (New York, 1979), 217.

Inquiry into the significance of MS
compilation for the polyphonic repertories of the late
Middle Ages and the roles scribes played in shaping the
works that have come down to us is an area of scholarship
which only recently has been seriously and fruitfully
pursued. This dissertation is a study of six major sources
of the Italian Ars nova, a systematic presentation of their
physical attributes and the conclusions that may be drawn

from them regarding the repertories they transmit.¹

My aim is to formulate a source-critical foundation upon which to study stylistic features of the repertory by examining the sources directly and identifying (1) physical aspects of MS structure, (2) organization of the repertory, (3) the scribes and their distinctive copying traits. The bearing that these codicological and paleographical features may have on the readings of works in 14th- and early 15th-century sources--the notion that the characteristics of texts are likely in numerous instances to be a reflection of scribal biases and initiative--will be discussed in Chapters 1 through 5, together with the exposition of the physical layout of each of the major collections under observation. It should be stated at the outset that in the face of text-critical considerations of this magnitude, any simple or easy solutions to this network of problems are beyond our present grasp; the purpose of this dissertation, far from suggesting that a single answer exists that would unravel the intricacies of transmission and variant readings, is essentially to reflect on the nature of MS production for a particular repertory, and to suggest some provisional conclusions that might be reached for a set of given sources.

¹ The MSS are the following: FP, R, Pit, Fn F.5.5, Man/ManP, Sq, and SL 2211. See the list of MS sources and their sigla in the preface to the present study.

This study will trace the transmission of Italian song forms in sources copied from ca. 1400 to 1420. As will be shown, patterns of reception and transmission changed in the more recent MSS owing to two elements: first, clearer distinctions were drawn between older--and perhaps no longer vital--repertory and that of newer, more up-to-date songs; and, second, a selection of the overall repertory became part of a circulating international collection, directly related to the stimulus of the Church councils convened in attempts to end the Schism (at Pisa in 1409, and Constance from 1414 to 1418). The copying of the latter, more widely disseminated repertory can be shown to contrast in important ways with the elitist, closed transmission patterns within Florentine musical circles, to be discussed primarily in Chapter 5.

Serious study of Trecento sources, beyond their mere mention and superficial description in early encyclopedias and by 18th-century writers such as Charles Burney and John Hawkins,² was a major part of the pioneering contribution of the founding fathers of the study of late medieval music--Johannes Wolf and Friedrich Ludwig.³

² For a survey of Trecento historiography, see Kurt von Fischer, "Die Musik des italienischen Trecento als Gegenstand historischer Überlieferung und musikwissenschaftlicher Forschung," Ars Musica Scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zur fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag, ed. Detlef Altenburg (Köln, 1980), 137-42.

³ Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation

In his Geschichte der Mensural-Notation, Wolf described and listed the contents of numerous sources as a necessary background to his discussion of late 14th- and early 15th-century notations: Sq, FP, Pit, Pad A 684 and 1475, Pad B 1115, R, Lo, Ch, and Mod A.⁴ Ludwig's detailed work was reflected in his review of Wolf, as well as in the commentary to his edition of Machaut's works; in the latter he provided analyses not only of the sources containing exclusively Machaut's compositions (MSS Machaut A, B, C, E, F-G, and Vg), but also of the so-called repertory MSS: Iv, Trem, I-Bu 596, BU, Ch, R, Pad A 1475, Pit,

von 1250-1460, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1904); Friedrich Ludwig, "Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460: Besprechung des gleichnamigen Buches von Joh. Wolf," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, VI (1904-5), 597-641. Von Fischer ("Die Musik des italienischen Trecento," 141) rightly points out that these publications marked a new phase of study.

⁴ Wolf, Geschichte, I, 228-73, 328-39. These descriptions were substantially corrected in Ludwig's review, and are to be used only in conjunction with the latter; Ludwig (pp. 611-19) offered detailed observations on the contents and notational languages of Sq, Ch, FP, Pit, Pad A, R, Mod A, Str 222, and BU. When Wolf had occasion to catch up on his reporting of 14th-century sources, in his essay on the then recently discovered MS Rs 215 ("Die Rossi-Handschrift 215 der Vaticana und das Trecento-Madrigal," Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1938, XLV [1939], 53-69), he did not go much beyond the descriptions and cataloguing he had offered in his 1904 study. The first report on Rs 215 appeared in Giovanni Borghezio, "Un codice vaticano trecentesco di rime musicali," Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique - Congrès jubilaire 2-5 août 1925 (Bruges, 1925), 231-32.

FP, Mod A, Prag, and Str 222.⁵ Ludwig's source studies were carried on in the work of one of his students, Heinrich Bessler, principally in two comprehensive surveys of 1925 and 1927,⁶ the first attempts at an overview of late medieval polyphonic sources. These surveys provide descriptions and arrange the MSS in groups according to size, format, order of contents, and the cultural/musical context within which they were compiled by focusing on the manner of preparation, thus contrasting deluxe presentation MSS to more practical sources perhaps intended to be used for performances.⁷

⁵ Ludwig's review of Wolf's Geschichte, 611-13; Ludwig, ed., Guillaume de Machaut musikalische Werke, 4 vols., Publikationen älterer Musik (Leipzig, 1926-29, 1954), II, 17-39. The distinction between complete-works sources (Machaut MSS) and repertory MSS was maintained by Leo Schrade, ed., The Works of Guillaume de Machaut, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, II-III (Monaco, 1956), II, 10-11.

⁶ Heinrich Bessler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters, I: Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, VII (1925), 167-252; idem, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters, II: Die Mottete von Franco von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, VII (1927), 10-258. The following sources relevant to the present dissertation were described in "Studien I," 185-236: Iv, Apt, I-Bu 596, Ch, TuB, Prag, RU₁, Pad A [1475, 684], Mod A, Pad B 1115, PA 75, PC, I-Vm IX.145. To his discussion in "Studien II" of the development of sources from the Notre-Dame MSS to the collections of the 15th century, Bessler added a supplement, inventorying the newly found Rs 215 (see n. 4, above) as well as Pad C 658, Pad A 229, and Trem (Bessler, 233-41).

⁷ For a thorough account of late-medieval French MS production and a survey of the studies by Wolf, Ludwig, and Bessler, see Lawrence Earp, "Scribal Practice,

More recently, an important hypothesis on the principles of order in 15th-century music MSS was advanced by Charles Hamm, a theory that accepts most of our extant MSS as anthologies copied from numbers of smaller, self-contained collections (often consisting of no more than two bifolios) arranged by scribes to form the larger sources.⁸ Leo Schrade, in discussing single-author compilations, refined the classification of MSS by establishing the primacy of central sources (those assumed to have been prepared under the supervision of the composer) as compared to peripheral ones (compiled at a geographical and chronological distance from the composer), instituting this principle in his editions of the works of individual composers--Guillaume de Machaut and Francesco Landini.⁹

Description and analysis of Trecento MS

sources and repertories developed considerably after World War II, beginning with Nino Pirrotta's still useful study of

Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1983), especially Chapter 1: "The Machaut MSS and Fourteenth-Century MS Traditions for Music and Text," 1-48.

⁸ Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," Acta Musicologica, XXXIV (1962), 166-84.

⁹ See Leo Schrade, ed., The Works of Guillaume de Machaut; idem, ed., The Works of Francesco Landini, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IV (Monaco, 1958-59).

Mod A.¹⁰ Although some of his conclusions have been revised, particularly his attempt directly to associate the repertory of the source to a single musical institution of the time, the article marked a major step toward a fuller understanding of primary sources, including a structural analysis of the MS, identification and attribution of its contents, and an account of concordant readings.

Pirrota had come to a direct examination of Mod A by way of his major concern, a study of styles in Trecento song and the cultural context for the repertory. This approach in itself marked a new phase in the study of Trecento styles; much of Pirrota's early published work was, in fact, undertaken in collaboration with the literary

¹⁰ Nino Pirrota, "Il codice Estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del 1400," Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo, IV/5 (1944-45), 101-58. The source was more recently examined in Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, M.5.24 (olim lat. 568 = Mod)," Musica Disciplina, XXIV (1970), 17-67, with a full account of concordant readings; it stands as a model study of the attributions in a late medieval source, revealing the benefits of her archival research into papal chapels ca. 1400. Günther echoed Pirrota's claim that the source reflects music created at the Bolognese chapel of Pope John XXIII; see also Pirrota, "Dulcedo e subtilitas nella pratica polifonica franco-italiana al principio del quattrocento," Revue Belge de Musicologie, II (1948), 125-32 (reprinted in Pirrota, Musica tra Medioevo e Rinascimento [Turin, 1984], 130-41), where in an additional footnote he reaffirms his belief that the contents of Mod A reflect the makeup of the papal chapels of Alexander V and John XXIII. As we shall see in Chapter 5, archival research on members of papal chapels casts doubt on this hypothesis.

historian Ettore LiGotti.¹¹ The very questions Pirrotta sought to answer--the relationship of text and music, compositional techniques, Italian response to French practices, cultural contexts as revealed both internally and externally--demanded the careful examination and description of major sources still unsatisfactorily studied. These included not only Mod A but also Man/ManP, the latter fully appraised in a thorough, three-part study by Pirrotta and LiGotti, and published (not coincidentally) by the house journal of the American Institute of Musicology under the patronage of Armen Carapetyan. Carapetyan, it should be remembered, also supported what was to become the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae series.¹² To the latter,

¹¹ Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale del trecento italiano (Florence, 1935); Nino Pirrotta, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino extra moenia," Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal III (Madrid, 1952), 577-606; Ettore LiGotti, La Poesia musicale italiana del secolo XIV (Palermo, 1944); idem, "Poesie musicali italiane del sec. XIV," Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo, IV/4 (1944), 99-167; idem, "L'Ars Nova e il madrigale," Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo, IV/4, pt. 2 (1944); idem, Restauri trecenteschi (Palermo, 1947); Pirrotta, "Lirica monodica trecentesca," La Rassegna Musicale, IX (1936), 317-25; idem, "Per l'origine e la storia della 'caccia' e del 'madrigale' trecentesco," Rivista musicale italiana, XLVIII (1946), 305-23, and XLIX (1947), 121-42.

¹² Man/ManP was discovered in 1935 and reported by Augusto Mancini in "Frammenti di un nuovo codice dell'Ars Nova," Rendiconti dell'accademia nazionale dei Lincei, VIII/2 (1947), 85-94. See Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, "Il Codice di Lucca," Musica Disciplina, III (1949), 119-38 [description and inventory], IV (1950), 111-52 [literary texts], V (1951), 115-42 [repertory and composers].

Pirrota soon contributed an edition of 14th-century Italian secular songs.¹³ Along with Pirrota's publications of the late 1940s we witness a veritable explosion of studies of both major and fragmentary Trecento sources by Federico Ghisi,¹⁴ Francesco Egidi,¹⁵ Dragan Plamenac,¹⁶ Charles van den

¹³ Pirrota's edition appeared as The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, VIII (Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1954-64): I, 1954; II, 1960; III, 1962; IV, 1963; V, 1964.

¹⁴ Federico Ghisi, "Italian Ars Nova Music: The Perugia and Pistoia Fragments of the Lucca Musical Codex and Other Unpublished Early Fifteenth-Century Sources," Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music, I (1946), 173-91 (includes ManP, Pist, and SieA). Ghisi had already offered two earlier essays on the Perugia and--what he alone claimed to be--the Pistoia fragment of Man/ManP: "Un frammento musicale dell'Ars nova italiana nell'archivio capitolare della cattedrale di Pistoia," Rivista musicale italiana, XLII (1938), 162-68. See also his "Bruchstücke einer neuen Musikhandschrift der italienischen Ars Nova," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, VII (1942), 17-39 (which also appeared, without musical examples, as "Frammenti di un nuovo codice musicale dell'Ars nova italiana," La Rinascita, V (1942), 72-103); idem, "A Second Sieneese Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova," Musica Disciplina, II (1948), 173-77.

¹⁵ Francesco Egidi, "Un frammento di codice musicale del secolo XIV," Nozze Bonmartini-Tracagni (Rome, 1945), 3-11.

¹⁶ Dragan Plamenac, "Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth Century in Codex Faenza 117," Journal of the American Musicological Society, IV (1951), 179-201; idem, "New Light on the Codex Faenza 117," Report of the International Musicological Society (Amsterdam, 1953), 310-26.

Borren,¹⁷ Heinrich Bessler,¹⁸ and Guillaume de Van.¹⁹

Two important musicological events of the mid 1950s summed up what was then known of Trecento sources and repertories. The first was a conference held at Wégimont in 1955, devoted to the ars novae of France and Italy; it brought together the best minds then working on these repertories and stimulated important discussions on source-critical problems.²⁰ The second event of significance was the publication of Kurt von Fischer's Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento in 1956,²¹ a comprehensive inventory of the entire repertory of

¹⁷ Charles van den Borren, "The Codex Canonici 213 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, LXXIII (1946), 45-58. Van den Borren had then also recently published a study of another early 15th-century source in "Le codex de Johannes Bonadies, musicien du XVe siècle," Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, X (1940), 251-61.

¹⁸ Heinrich Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216," Musica Disciplina, VI (1952), 39-65.

¹⁹ Guillaume de Van, "Inventory of the Manuscript Bologna Liceo Musicale, Q15 (olim 37)," Musica Disciplina, II (1948), 231-57; idem, "A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Music," Musica Disciplina, II (1948), 5-74.

²⁰ Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 1955: L'Ars nova, recueil d'études sur la musique du XIVe siècle (Paris, 1959).

²¹ Kurt von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento, Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/5 (Bern, 1956). A MS copy of the study had been made available to Wégimont conference participants the previous year.

Italian secular song, arranged by form (madrigal, caccia/canonic madrigal, and ballata) and alphabetical order by first lines. Although now clearly overdue for revision, the inventory has stood for nearly thirty years as the guiding bibliographical tool for Trecento studies, citing as it does the names of literary authors, editions of works (including facsimiles), concordances, and supplying comments on the state of the readings. To von Fischer's pioneering work-list of sources and repertory we must add the following studies of known and newly-discovered sources: facsimile editions of Lo,²² FP,²³ and Rs 215/Os;²⁴ studies of I-FOLAs;²⁵

²² Gilbert Reaney, ed., The Manuscript London, B.M., Additional. 29987, A Facsimile Edition, Musicological Studies and Documents, XIII (n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1965).

²³ F. Alberto Gallo, ed., Il codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della biblioteca nazionale di Firenze, Studi e testi per la storia della musica, III (Florence, 1981).

²⁴ Giuseppe Vecchi, ed., Il canzoniere musicale del codice vaticano Rossi 215 con uno studio sulla melica italiana del trecento, I, Monumenta lyrica medii aevi italica, III (Bologna, 1965). Vecchi includes the newly-found Os folios belonging to Rs 215, but does not credit Oscar Mischiati with their discovery in 1965; see Mischiati, "Uno sconosciuto frammento appartenente al codice Vaticano Rossi 215," Rivista italiana di musicologia, I (1966), 68-76. See also W. Thomas Marrocco, "The Newly Discovered Ostiglia Pages of the Vatican Rossi Codex: The Earliest Italian Ostinato," Acta Musicologica, XXXIX (1967), 84-91.

²⁵ Nino Pirrotta, "Church Polyphony Apropos of a New Fragment at Foligno," Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), 113-26. The existence of a concordance for the first Gloria movement in I-FOLAs in GR 197 has been discussed by Oliver Strunk, "Church Polyphony Apropos a New Fragment at Grottaferrata,"

the attributions discovered by Ursula Günther to a group of once "anonymous" works in Pit for which composer attributions were removed;²⁶ Florentine sources Fn F.5.527 and SL 2211;²⁸ as well as I-Bu 596, I-TRc 1563, I-Bc 1,23, I-CF 63, I-CF 79, I-CF 98, GB-Ob 16, GR 16, GR 197, a Grottaferrata fragment without shelfmark (I-GR), I-GUA 3,

L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, III (1970), 305-13, and Margaret Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," Studi musicali, IX (1980), 184, n. 20; Bent briefly notes the English origins of the Gloria (first reported by Ernest Sanders). Most recently, the source has been analyzed by Janet Palumbo, "A Reassessment of the Foligno Fragment," Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, October 29, 1984 (unpublished). See Reinhard Strohm, "Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts," (unpublished paper, International Congress sponsored by the Centro studi dell'ars nova musicale italiana del trecento: "L'Europa e la musica del trecento" [Certaldo, July 1984]) for a discussion of the admixures of national styles in I-FOLas, as well as in GR 197, A-HEI, and the Flemish source NL-Uu 37 I.

²⁶ Ursula Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXIII (1966), 73-92. Some of these attributions have since been confirmed by their presence in the recently found SL 2211.

²⁷ Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts," Early Music History, III (1983), 67-81.

²⁸ Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," Studi musicali, XIII (1984), 3-31. Additional evidence on the structure and contents of SL 2211 was presented by the present writer in "Editorial Practices in Early Quattrocento Florentine Anthologies of Secular Polyphony," (unpublished paper) International Congress sponsored by the Centro studi dell'ars nova musicale italiana del trecento: "L'Europa e la musica del trecento" (Certaldo, July 1984).

US-CAh 122, I-ATa, I-MFA, I-Pas 553, I-Pu 656, and outer folios of STr 14 and Pad C 658. In Part II of his study ("Repertoire-Untersuchungen"), von Fischer touched on many important questions, among them: notational concerns, chronology, text-music relationships, and the extent of variants in the repertory. His valuable synthesis offered, for the first time, a compendium of recent researches and disputed points--primarily, French influences on Trecento notations, chronology of the sources, and the number and designation of voices in the compositions. The latter three were formally taken up in discussion at the Wégimont conference and published as part of the proceedings.²⁹ Pirrotta's views on one of the most pressing issues, a chronology of the sources, together with his discussions of the nature of Trecento anthologies, may now be summarized.

Pirrotta was correct, as my own study will attempt to show, in claiming that the determination of a satisfactory chronology, one based on objective data, could not be accomplished without fresh examination of the sources and the collective efforts of specialized research on their dating, the genres they contain, the careers of individual

²⁹ Respectively, as Les Colloques de Wégimont II, "L'Influence française sur la notation des manuscrits du trecento," 27-34, "Chronologie des manuscrits du trecento," 131-36, and "A propos de la répartition du texte et le nombre de voix dans les oeuvres italiennes du trecento," 232-38.

composers, and (within reasonable limits) the dating of individual compositions.³⁰ At the foundation of Pirrotta's exposition of problems and paradoxes inherent in questions of chronology (presented both at Wégimont and in his later survey of the period) are the following:³¹ (1) he proposed that the discovery of new sources and fragments suggested a new perspective on the importance of two North-Italian musical centers--namely, Padua and Bologna (the latter during the period of papal residence from 1410 to 1414)--a view that balances the earlier assumed predominance of Florence;³² (2) to the northern collections which survive in relatively complete states--MSS R, Mod A, and Rs 215/Os--Pirrotta added MSS Pad A, B, C, and D. Beyond these sources of Northern provenance we may now cite a number of recent discoveries and reinterpretations: the first part of

³⁰ Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 132-33.

³¹ Nino Pirrotta, "Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600," Studien zur Tradition in der Musik (Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag) ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lütolf (Munich, 1973), 49-63; see particularly Parts 1 and 2. Pirrotta here took up questions first raised at Wégimont concerning the distribution of sources.

³² Additional Florentine collections, however, have recently been reported: Fc, Fn F.5.5, SL 2211; see Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation.

Man/ManP, STR 14,³³ PA 75, I-Bu 596, I-TRc 1563,³⁴ I-Bc 1,23,³⁵
 I-CF 63, I-CF 79, I-CF 98,³⁶ GB-Ob 16,³⁷ GR 16,³⁸ GR 197,³⁹ I-

³³ Now believed to have been copied by the scribe responsible for the compilation known as Pad D; see Giulio Cattin "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del quattrocento: il copista Rolando da Casale - nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato," Annales musicologiques, VII (1978), 27-9.

³⁴ Discussed by Margaret Bent in "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," 175-79.

³⁵ Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments," 171-75.

³⁶ See Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Nuovo materiale polifonico del Medioevo e del Rinascimento a Cividale," Memorie storiche forogiuliesi, XLVI (1965), 213-15.

³⁷ Reported for the first time by Margaret Bent, "Ciconia and the Italian Motet," (unpublished paper) International Congress sponsored by the Centro studi dell'ars nova musicale italiana del trecento: "L'Europa e la musica del trecento" (Certaldo, July 1984).

³⁸ See Giuseppe Corsi, "Frammenti di un codice musicale dell'ars nova rimasti sconosciuti," Belfagor, XX (1965), 210-15; Kurt von Fischer, "Ein neues Trecentofragment," Festschrift für Walter Wiora, eds. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Basel, 1967), 264-68.

³⁹ See Oliver Strunk, "Church Polyphony a propos of a New Fragment at Grottaferrata," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, III (1970), 305-13; Ursula Günther, "Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata," L'ars nova del trecento, III (1970), 315-97.

GR,⁴⁰ I-GUA 3,⁴¹ US-CAh 122,⁴² and I-ATa.⁴³ Other Paduan MSS include I-MFA, I-Pas 553, I-Pu 656; additionally, outer folios of STr 14 and Pad C 658 have been detached from wooden boards to reveal more polyphony.

The major difference between the Paduan and Florentine MS traditions, Pirrotta suggested, is that the former were less prone to include music composed by the Tuscans, whereas Florentine anthologies attempted to collect all of the Trecento repertory--Northern and Tuscan.⁴⁴ Clearly representing a position between these extremes is MS

⁴⁰ First reported by Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400," Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), 196.

⁴¹ See Giulio Cattin, Oscar Mischiati, and Agostino Ziino, "Composizioni polifoniche del primo quattrocento nei libri di Guardiagrele," Rivista italiana di musicologia, VII (1972), 153-81; Ziino, "Ancora sulle composizioni polifoniche di Guardiagrele," Rivista italiana di musicologia, VIII (1973), 9-13.

⁴² See Margaret Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments," 179-84.

⁴³ See Agostino Ziino, "Nuove fonti di polifonia italiana dell'ars nova," Studi musicali, II (1973), 235-40. For a survey of discoveries of Paduan sources, see Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy," 196-97.

⁴⁴ Pirrotta, "Novelty and Renewal," 49-50. Those few Landini and Giovanni da Cascia ballatas and madrigals we do find in such Northern collections as MS R may have been considered part of an exotic and foreign repertory in much the same way compilers of that collection viewed the sicilianas it includes; see the discussion in Chapter 3. Pirrotta ("Novelty and Renewal," 49) considers the Tuscan repertory in Northern sources to be the result of Florentine composers' travels to northern Italy.

Man/ManP, the compilation of which began in Paduan circles, and which subsequently continued in Tuscany (perhaps Lucca), where new, Florentine-related repertory was added to it.⁴⁵ Although it is true, as Pirrotta argued, that Florentine sources tend not to include sacred repertory and works outside the mainstream of composed polyphony (art music), the distinction is blurred by a number of "popular" compositions in Tuscan collections Man/ManP, SL 2211 and Lo.⁴⁶ Pirrotta viewed Northern sources as collections copied relatively quickly for actual use; the Florentine MSS, on the other hand, are retrospective anthologies, perhaps less suited for performance.⁴⁷ This assumption is in need of

⁴⁵ Man/ManP is analyzed in Chapter 4; see Suzanne Clercx, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des mss. italiens, Mod. 568 et Lucca (Mn)," Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 115-22, and Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy," 196, 221-22.

⁴⁶ See such works as Antonio Zacarias' erotic Ciaramella, me dolce ciaramella (MS Man, modern pagination n. 26) or the ballata extolling the pleasures of pasta, De mia farina fo le mie lasagne (Man, p. 33). Our view of the repertory has largely been formed by Sq, a source (argued in Chapter 5) whose scribes carefully sifted through available works, choosing refined, Italian-texted compositions among the repertory at hand. Sq, together with FP, Pit, Fn F.5.5, and SL 2211, represents a significantly different strata of Florentine society from that seen in Lo. Sacred repertory is present in Florentine sources, although it is the exception rather than the rule; when included, it was placed at the end of a collection (Lo, Pit, and SL 2211; in the latter, the sacred repertory was most probably imported into Florence from the Council of Constance [see Chapter 5]).

⁴⁷ Pirrotta, "Novelty and Renewal," 50. Certainly, the Florentines were much more catholic in their tastes, collecting and performing all sorts of music, including

qualification, however, for distinctions were drawn in the most recent Florentine sources between the heritage of the past and the newer, more vital repertory (see the discussions of Sq and SL 2211 in Chapter 5).

I would also suggest that we more carefully qualify the contexts for possible performances. On the one hand, the Florentine repertory had an extremely narrow and refined audience, perhaps extending little further than a small circle around the composers themselves; I shall suggest in Chapters 1 and 4 that within this group, MSS FP, Man/ManP, and Lo may have been used in performance. On the other hand, Northern MSS cannot easily be contained within one category; portions of the Paduan sources, for example, were apparently prepared for various patrons, and include secular as well as sacred repertories.⁴⁸ A more important question is whether the Florentine composers were personally involved in the copying of their own repertory, thus helping to insure a uniform transmission of their collected works. This intense, highly narrow dissemination of the repertory should be weighed against the contemporaneous--and later--

Northern and Tuscan songs. See particularly the mixture of compositions cited by Simone Prudenzani in his SollazzoG, modern edition by Santore Debenedetti, Simone Prudenzani, il Sollazzo: contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel trecento (Turin, 1922), 169-77 (sonnets in which performances and repertories are listed).

⁴⁸ See Giulio Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica," 28-41.

peripheral distribution of selected works, the latter being much more vulnerable to the kinds of emendations inherent in other types of circulating musical repertories.

Pirrota's implication that only the Florentine sources were organized by composers and genres can no longer be supported.⁴⁹ As will be shown in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation, MSS R and Man/ManP, both originating in Padua, were originally planned with distinct composer and genre sections. Moreover, the high degree of overall order and cohesiveness in the tradition of Provençal chansonniers strongly influenced anthologizing processes in both northern and central Italian musical centers; in fact, there is reason to believe that one of the two large surviving troubadour collections with music (Troub. G and R) was a North-Italian compilation of ca. 1300.⁵⁰ In these and other

⁴⁹ Pirrota, "Novelty and Renewal," 50.

⁵⁰ See David Fallows, "Sources, MS, III, 3: Secular Monophony, Provençal," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), XVII, 638. Gustav Gröber, in his exhaustive study of the relationships among the sources ("Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours," Romanische Studien, II [1877], 337-668), was the first to reveal the orderly structure of the contents of troubadour sources. The extensive study by Gianfranco Folena ("Tradizione e cultura trobadorica nelle corti e nelle città venete," Storia della cultura veneta, I [Vicenza, 1976], 453-68) serves to catalogue the large number of troubadour anthologies compiled in Venetian and Paduan scriptoria at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries, including most sources in Gröber's three families of troubadour chansonniers. Among the most important are: Troub. A, B, D, E, f, G, H-O, Q, R, S, T and V. More recent study of the troubadour sources appears in Hendrik van der Werf, The Extant Troubadour Melodies (Rochester, 1984). An

Provençal chansonniers containing vidas and razos, the songs and poetry of the troubadours were presented as the products of specific individuals and, even, specific sets of circumstances. Thus, groups of songs arranged by author became meaningful, and it was but one more simple step for the compilers of Provençal anthologies to present each group of works in chronological order as well.⁵¹

Sylvia Huot has pointed out that in Italian canzonieri copied at the beginning of the 14th century, generic categories--canzone, ballatas, and sonnets--serve to make up the major sections of the MSS; within these, poems are usually grouped by author. Concern for the evolution of Italian vernacular

examination of one particular source (Troub. R) was undertaken by Elizabeth Aubry, "A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 22543," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Maryland, 1982), Chapter 3: "Evidence Bearing on Date and Provenance," 77-119 (esp. 115-16). See also Jean-Baptiste Beck, Die Melodien der Troubadours, nach dem gesamten handschriftlichen Material (Strasbourg, 1908), 12; Ugo Sesini, Le melodie trobadoriche della Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Turin, 1942), 12-14.

⁵¹ That these chronologies and biographies may rest on little factual basis, and largely represent the input of scribes and the tradition as a whole, does not diminish their role as a means of presenting an ordered repertory. See Maria Luisa Meneghetti, "Una vida pericolosa: La 'mediazione' biografica e l'interpretazione della poesia di Jaufre Rudel," Studi di filologia romanza e italiana offerti a Gianfranco Folena dagli allievi padovani (Modena, 1980), 145-63; Meneghetti throws considerable doubt on the factual reality of Rudel's vida, as well as those of Guillaume IX, Marcabru, and Raimbaut d'Aurenga.

poetry through successive generations of poets, Huot argues, can be seen as early as Dante's treatise De vulgari eloquentia.⁵² For example, MS Banco Rari 217 of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale in Florence, compiled ca. 1300 in Tuscany, goes so far as to present a hierarchy in the genres it transmits, using large, historiated capitals for the canzone, smaller ornamented capitals for the ballatas, and still smaller, unadorned capitals for sonnets.⁵³ Two other canzonieri whose contents are clearly arranged first by poetic types, and then by author within each type, are singled out by Huot: Vatican Library, MSS 3793 (compiled in the late 13th century) and Chigiano L.VIII.305 (a mid 14th-century collection); in the latter, each of the poetic genres is arranged in chronological order by author.⁵⁴

Pirrota has suggested that although the Italian repertory of the 14th century, unlike that of the French, is largely attributed by scribes to known composers (the number of anonyma being fairly well restricted), the

⁵² Sylvia Huot, "Lyric Poetics and the Art of Compilatio in the Fourteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1982), 38-39. See the edition of Dante's works by P. Rajna, Le opere di Dante Aleghieri, Società dantesca italiana (Milan, 1965), IV, Appendix. Dante's treatise represents a starting point in the late 13th century for an interest in the preservation of the Italian literary tradition.

⁵³ See Huot, "Lyric Poetics," 37, who cites Vincent Moleta, The Early Poetry of Guittone d'Arezzo (London, 1976), 34.

⁵⁴ Huot, "Lyric Poetics," 38-9.

sources themselves are almost all late compilations, put together much after the conception of the works they record. Again, we should emphasize the fact that the immediate predecessors and models for 14th- and early 15th-century Italian anthologies (whether purely literary or literary/musical) were the troubadour monophonic song collections.⁵⁵ The latter not only name the composers but also arrange works in ways seen in the Italian collections of a century later: by author, by genres, and even alphabetically by texts.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Italy, of course, was not the only country to be influenced by troubadour culture; for example, German Liederhandschriften of the late Middle Ages were organized much like the Provençal chansonniers (see Walter Blank, Die kleine Heidelberger Liederhandschrift: Cod. Pal. Germ. 357 der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg [Weisbaden, 1972], and Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, "Bildtypen in der Manessischen Liederhandschrift," Werk-Typ-Situation: Studien zu poetologischen Bedingungen in der älteren deutschen Literatur, ed. Ingeborg Glier, et al. [Stuttgart, 1969], 184-216). For studies of the thematic, generic, and chronological arrangement of Oswald von Wolkenstein songs in the major sources transmitting his works (MSS A-Wn 2777, A-Iu Wo, and A-If FB 1950), see Erika Timm, Die Überlieferung der Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein (Lubeck, 1972), 11-12, 21-121; Norbert Mayr, "Oswalds von Wolkenstein Liederhandschrift A in neuer Sicht," Gesammelte Vorträge der 600-Jahrfeier Oswalds von Wolkenstein seis am Schlern 1977, eds. Hans-Dieter Mück and Ulrich Müller (Göppingen, 1978), 351-71. Timm's study must be read in conjunction with a review of her work by Von Burghart Wachinger, in which the latter questions some of Timm's underlying assumptions concerning the conception of the repertory and the relationship between two of the principal sources (in Oswald von Wolkenstein, Wege der Forschung, LII, ed. Ulrich Müller [Darmstadt, 1980], 404-13); see in particular pp. 407-11 for a different analysis of the ordering of Wolkenstein's songs.

⁵⁶ The roots of authorially ordered anthologies in

MS Troub. R, a collection most probably compiled in southern France ca. 1300, to judge from its structure and calligraphic hands, was copied in discrete sections largely coincident with the gathering structure, each devoted to an individual composer or genre, commencing with the earliest and ending with the most recent generation of composers. The scribes of Troub. R attributed works to composers both in the index as well as in the body of the collection.⁵⁷ Troub.

the troubadour tradition is not developed to the extent that it deserves by Ludwig Finscher in "Die 'Entstehung des Komponisten': zum Problem Komponisten-Individualität und Individualstil in der Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," International Review of Music and Aesthetics, VI (1975), 29-45; Finscher, like Pirrotta, effectively sees the beginnings of authorial individuality and the phenomenon of composer attributions in the Italian Trecento, and he too does not differentiate between the written traditions of monophony and polyphony. The distinction between monophonic and polyphonic repertoires is a significant one, for the tradition of copying motets in French sources (to be discussed below) included neither their attribution nor similarly ordered arrangements; see Lawrence Earp, "Scribal Practice," 228-47, with a discussion in particular of the monophonic and polyphonic works in MS Trov. a.

⁵⁷ The texts in Troub. R are arranged authorially, but not all works by a given author are found grouped together. See Beck, Die Melodien der Troubadours, 8-14, Aubry, "A Study of the Origins," 231-35, and Hendrik van der Werf, The Extant Troubadour Melodies, 6, 17-18. Gröber was able to show that the section of compositions devoted to Guiraut Riquier in Troub. R is itself arranged in chronological order, with each work accompanied by its supposed date of composition (from 1254 to 1292); Huot ("Lyric Poetics," 45) points out that, according to Gröber (pp. 345-54), this precise dating could only derive from autographs, and that the validity of such a theory would support the possible existence of other author-compiled texts (also noted by van der Werf, The Extant Troubadour Melodies, 24-28). Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, in "Il canzoniere di un trovatore: il 'libro' di Guiraut Riquier,"

G is even more rigorous in the ordering of its contents, arranged alphabetically by composer.⁵⁸ Indeed, we may not be far wrong in asserting that the late 14th- and early 15th-century Italian song collections, together with Oswald von Wolkenstein's song books, represent the continuation of a long tradition of song compilation.

That similar organizational principles hold true as well for the *trouvere* sources can be shown in MSS emanating from such important late 13th-century musical centers as Champagne and Arras. The songs of Thibaut de Champagne, for instance, appear in almost identical order in virtually every source transmitting them, and the compilations *Trouv. a* and *Trouv. W/W'* contain complete-works sections of the

Medioevo Romano, V (1978), 216-59, published (pp. 221-38) a critical edition of the rubrics accompanying Riquier's songs in *Trouv. R* and the literary MS *Trouv. C*; she shows that the works were first arranged generically, ranging from the most refined to the popular (vers, retroencha, pastorella, alba, etc.), then chronologically within genres (pp. 247-49). Meneghetti offers two other single-author chronological listings of works in *Trouv. C*: troubadours Johan Esteve and Raimon Gaucelm. For another possible single-author collection (of works by Peire Vidal), see Silvio Avalle, La letteratura medievale in lingua d'oc nella sua tradizione manoscritta (Turin, 1961), 85-89. See also Martin de Riquer, Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos, I (Barcelona, 1975), 16-17, and Aubry, "A Study of the Origins," 240. Along the same line, Antonio Viscardi ("Origini letteraria dell' Europa moderna," Bollettino di letterature moderne, I [1947], 13-22) proposed an original autograph compilation for the works of the troubadour Gaucelm Faidit.

⁵⁸ Sesini, Le melodie trobadoriche, 11-14, and van der Werf, The Extant Troubadour Melodies, 6, 14.

trouvère Adam de la Halle.⁵⁹ It is reasonable to assume that Machaut's collected-works MSS were modeled on the source tradition of the grand chanson courtois, one in which compositions were generally arranged in generic groups: chansons, rondeaux, jeux-partis, motets, dramatic and narrative works.⁶⁰ Remarkable among the French collections is Trouv. O, whose contents are arranged entirely

⁵⁹ W' is a fragment which may have formed part of either a MS wholly devoted to Adam or a general trouvère chansonnier; it is now bound with the larger Trouv. W, which also transmits a group of Adam's chansons. Other smaller collections of Adam's works are to be found in Trouv. A, P, R, Q, T, and V (all arranged by authors and genres); discussed by Earp, "Scribal Practice," 23-25, 234-38. Thibaut's chansons were evidently at the core of the purely literary source, Berne, Stadtbibliothek 231 and the portion of MS Trouv. M known as "t" (Fallows, "Sources," 639; see also Ian Parker, "Notes on the Chansonnier Saint-Germain-des-Pres," Music & Letters, LX [1979], 264). An edition of Thibaut's works appears in Hendrik van der Werf, Trouvères-Melodien, II, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, XII (Kassel, 1979), 3-311. Adam's chansons are available in van der Werf's Trouvères-Melodien II, 483-680, and Nigel Wilkins, The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, XLIV (n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1967). For the most recent discussion of the MS tradition of Adam de la Halle's songs, see the brilliant essay by John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart, ed. Ian Bent (London, 1984), 29-64.

⁶⁰ See Earp, "Scribal Practice," 25, 240-47. Another single-author collection of the period occurs in the alphabetically arranged unica of Jehannot de Lescurel, entered into MS Fauv; Edward Roesner (private communication) believes that the Lescurel section reflects an exemplar which constituted a single gathering of a larger source, for the compositions in Fauv include only those beginning with letters A through G. See also Nigel Wilkins, The Works of Jehan de Lescurel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, XXX (n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1966).

alphabetically.⁶¹ Other trouvère collections with composer/genre ordering include MSS Trouv. M, N, and T; indeed, Trouv. M (as well as Trouv. a mentioned above) is very much a precursor of Sq, with its placement of illuminated portraits at the start of each new composer section.⁶²

It should be emphasized that structural analyses of trouvère sources reveal that the scribes attributed only monophonic repertory (the focus of the collections) to known authors; they did not do so with the added polyphonic motets. Later 14th-century collections of polyphony continued this practice; if, for example, the Machaut MSS had not survived, we would have few solidly attributable works to that composer.⁶³ The consistent attributions in

⁶¹ Fallows, "Sources," 641. We might note, too, that unattributed songs were often placed at the ends of trouvère collections; remarkably enough, the anonyma in Trouv. K were arranged in alphabetical order (see Parker, "Notes on the Chansonnier," 263-64). A notable exception to orderly arrangement is found in Trouv. X, a MS with "no logical sequence to the songs, nor the suggestion that it was a homogeneous collection, despite the original inclusion of a table of contents" (Parker, "Notes on the Chansonnier," 263). For the earliest instance of alphabetical ordering among the Italian Trecento sources, see n. 104, below, for Strohm's re-reading of a MS fragment from Cortona. The incorporation of alphabetical ordering and its bearing on the makeup of Trecento sources Fn F.5.5 and Sq will be taken up in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁶² Earp, "Scribal Practice," 240-47.

⁶³ Discussed by Margaret Hasselman, "The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley, 1970), 6-96; see also Earp, "Scribal Practice," 21-3.

Florentine Ars Nova MSS and troubadour/trouvère sources can only be interpreted as a manifestation of the narrow, exclusive nature of the musical circles within which those repertoires were performed; perhaps the collectionist fervor we have been so quick to attribute to 15th-century humanistic concerns should be reviewed. Both the French and Italian song repertoires owe their survival in written form largely to the careful selection and conscious transmission of the music by scribes working within musical circles largely circumscribed by the composers of the repertoires.⁶⁴

Pirrota has maintained that although the repertory of the Italian Ars nova was conceived over a period of a century (from ca. 1320 to 1420), the written documents, with perhaps only one exception (Rs 215/Os), were copied within the years 1390-1440.⁶⁵ Attempts to refine that chronology have fallen victims to a major stumbling block, for, as Pirrota warned in a cautionary note, dating the MSS on the basis of their contents or, especially, their notations, was inadvisable, as the latter represented one aspect of

⁶⁴ A view also held by Reinhard Strohm, "Towards a Reappraisal of Musical Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy," Colloquium on 15th-Century Music, Princeton Univ., April 1985 (unpublished paper). We may note, in this regard, that the scribes of Italian Trecento sources tended not to attribute "foreign" repertory.

⁶⁵ Pirrota, "Cronologia e denominazione," 95; idem, "Novelty and Renewal," 49.

transmission that could change from source to source, and perhaps even within the same collection.⁶⁶ Indeed, the complexity of examining the Trecento repertory lies intrinsically in the fact that the very period that witnessed the greatest concern for preserving the Italian musical heritage of the 14th century also permitted the greatest amount of change in the states of that heritage through the influence of continually evolving styles. The dates Pirrotta offered--from ca. 1370 for Rs 215/0s to ca. 1440 for Sq, with most sources datable to a period extending from the last years of the 14th century through the first two decades of the 15th--will be taken up in Chapter 5, where the much narrower range, 1400-1420, for all the later sources will be proposed.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Pirrotta, "Cronologia e denominazione," 97.

⁶⁷ Pirrotta, "Cronologia e denominazione," 95-96, and the discussion on 134-35. Pirrotta's late dating of Sq rests on several factors, all of which will be examined in Chapter 5: (1) a study of the miniatures and handwriting; (2) large format; (3) unusually elaborate decoration; (4) the presence of many unica, pointing to a deliberate act of collectivism, and thus to a period of compilation posterior to that of the other sources; (5) the presence of many works by Bartolino da Padova, a composer whose complete song repertory was otherwise slowly disseminated; (6) the addition of a third voice to many Bartolino works, pointing to later 15th-century musical tastes; (7) a date when Antonio Squarcialupi himself would have compiled the anthology. Bianca Becherini and Kurt von Fischer were opposed to such a late dating of Sq (Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 133-35); some years later, Becherini suggested that the basic corpus of Sq (as she viewed it, up to and including the works of Landini) was completed shortly after Landini's death in 1397, and additional composer sections were added up to the third decade of the 15th century,

Responses to Pirrotta's chronology were offered at the Wegimont conference by Suzanne Clercx, Kurt von Fischer, and Leo Schrade, raising other important problems regarding the dating of Trecento sources in general as well as particular MSS.⁶⁸ Clercx, for instance, was very much interested in the ties between MS repertories and the institutions in which they must have originated. Thus she placed the early layers of Mod A in Avignon (and not Bologna, as Pirrotta had suggested).⁶⁹ Her arguments for the

basing her theory on the (erroneous) identification of Magister Çacherias ("Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87," L'ars nova italiana del trecento, I [1962], 169-70). Kurt von Fischer has proposed the years 1415-19 ("Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex [I-F1 87]," Quadrivium, IX [1968], 18-19), a dating which will be supported in Chapter 5. A recent, compelling study of the miniatures in Sq dates the source to the years 1410-15; see Luciano Bellosi, "Due note in margine a Lorenzo Monaco miniatore: il 'maestro del codice Squarcialupi' e il poco probabile Matteo Torelli," Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria di Mario Rotili (Naples, 1984), 307-10. Most recently, Pirrotta, in an added footnote to a reprint of his article "Tradizione orale e tradizione scritta nella musica," (appeared originally in L'ars nova italiana del trecento, III [1970], 431-41) in Music and Culture in Italy From the Middle Ages to the Baroque (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 381, n. 3, reconfirmed his belief that Sq must be a late source, although "probably not as late as 1440."

⁶⁸ "Chronologie des manuscrits du trecento," Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 131-36; see also Clercx, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie," 110-30. Von Fischer summarized the dating of Trecento sources in his "Trecentomusik-Trecentoprobleme," Acta Musicologica, XXX (1958), 185-89.

⁶⁹ See Clercx, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie," 111-14. This hypothesis would place the composers Matteo da Perugia and Antonio Zacarias in Avignon, a view that must be regarded with some skepticism in the absence of supporting archival evidence (see Chapter 5).

provenance and dating of Man/ManP were more solidly grounded: the collection, she argued, had not been prepared for the Guinigi of Lucca, for the slim repertorial evidence put forward by others was not in itself compelling.⁷⁰ Leo Schrade, in his response to Pirrotta's chronology, was the first to inquire into the relationship of the sources to each other, and to distinguish between "original" sources and mere copies, a proposal dismissed by von Fischer for what the latter saw as the absence of so-called originals.⁷¹ Finally, Clercx's suggestion that we concentrate on dating the repertories, not the sources, was discussed by Pirrotta, who expressed the view that the manner in which the contents of FP were arranged betrays the chronology of Landini's

⁷⁰ Clercx, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie," 115. She believed, instead, that Pirrotta's sections A and B of Man/ManP could have originated in northern Italy, quite likely in Padua. What she did not know, however, is that Antonio Zacarias may indeed have had contacts with Paduan musical circles, so her hesitation in that regard can be dismissed. Her conclusions (pp. 116-19), which place the origins of Man/ManP in Padua sometime between 1393 and 1406 and account for its eventual transfer to Lucca, will be taken up in Chapter 4. For the most recent discussion of Ciconia's presence in Man/ManP, see Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, XXIV (Monaco, 1985), Introduction.

⁷¹ Leo Schrade and Kurt von Fischer, in "Chronologie des manuscrits du trecento," Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 131. Although Schrade and Clercx believed that FP and Sq were not directly related, Pirrotta argued that Pit and Sq were at least closely connected on the basis of identical readings and the large number of shared pieces. In a chicken-and-egg situation, Schrade proposed that the dating of repertories depended to a large extent on the dating of the sources.

compositions. Thus, in this case, the repertory dates the MS; because of the great number of three-part ballatas, he placed the compilation of the MS at the end of Landini's life--more towards 1400 rather than von Fischer's date of 1390.⁷²

The MS collections at the center of the present study are the largest and most comprehensive surviving anthologies compiled in Italy, beginning with FP from ca. 1400, possibly the earliest surviving source of polyphonic song in Italy outside of the Rs 215/Os collection, to the most recent anthologies of ca. 1410-20, Sq and SL 2211. Most of the MSS are Florentine, although one Northern compilation, MS R, has been included: FP, R, Pit, Fn F.5.5, Man/ManP, Sq, and SL 2211.⁷³ Other important collections with Italian polyphonic songs--Lo, Mod A, Rs 215/Os, Fc, the Paduan fragments (Pad A - D), STR 14, GR 16,

⁷² Clercx and Pirrotta, in "Chronologie des manuscrits du trecento," 132-33; von Fischer, Studien, 90.

⁷³ Most of the sources considered in the present study have been previously examined: FP, by Schrade, in The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 13-23; MS R, by von Fischer and Wilkins (see note 163, below); Pit, by Reaney and Günther (see notes 85 and 26, above); Man/ManP, by Clercx and Pirrotta (see notes 45 and 12, above); Sq, by Becherini ("Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, I [1962], 140-80) and von Fischer ("Squarcialupi Codex," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 16 vols. ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel & Basel, 1949-79), XII, cols. 1097-1100; idem, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex," 5-19); SL 2211, by Frank D'Accone ("Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana").

RU₁, RU₂, and RO 1790--have not been directly considered here in order to delimit the scope of the dissertation and to avoid needless duplication of problems and solutions encountered in the anthologizing processes of Italian MSS of the period. A study of the selected sources includes the following:

1. Uncovering the physical structure of the MSS through an examination of their papers or parchment, signatures, foliations, preparations of writing material for copying (pricking and ruling), and inks.
2. Distinguishing among the various contributors to a collection and detecting organizational plans by which the contents of these anthologies were articulated into authorial/generic units--that is, the manner in which scribes put plans into effect. With one exception, SL 2211, the MSS to be studied are collaborative efforts by many scribes.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ It is not possible to demonstrate that the sources were copied, even in part, by any one of the composers represented, although this possibility should by no means be ruled out (see the discussions of Paolo da Firenze in Chapters 4 and 5). Margaret Bent has argued for composer autographs in the OH repertory; see Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript: A Paleographical Study," (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge Univ., 1969), and Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript: An Inventory," Musica Disciplina, XXI (1967), 130-47. In the literary sphere, it has recently been shown that Cristine de Pisan may not only have been employed as a scribe, but was responsible for copying some of her own works into surviving MSS; see Gilbert Ouy and

3. A study of details in the ordering of pieces: discerning layers in through-copied sections of collections; identifying composite sources (those compiled over a relatively long period of time).
4. Analysis of groupings by chronology, authors, and/or genres and the relationship of such arrangements to the gathering structures of the MSS. As will be shown in the most recent sources--Sq and SL 2211--a strict coincidence of repertorial arrangement and physical structure can lead to near identity in the layout of works from source to source.
5. A study of scribal practices, as revealed above all through an examination of copying in gathering units, by far the most common manner in the collections transmitting Trecento songs. This basic organizational principle allows for the sharing of work in an efficient division of labor, and contrasts with the makeup of composite MSS (or sections of MSS), where adjacent works were copied at distant periods in time. Put another way, the shared-work source will contain pieces copied more

Christine Reno, "Identification des autographs de Christine de Pizan," Scriptorium, XXXIV (1980), 221-38, and Charity Cannon Willard, "An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pizan?," Studi francesi, IX (1965), 452-57.

or less at the same time, but by different scribes; the composite source also contains works copied by various scribes, but at different times. What can be tested in the first case is the possibility that scribes effected editorial changes in their copying while working with others in the same place, at approximately the same time, and most probably from the same exemplars. Thus, in such cases, we have removed the elements of time and local practices which might in themselves have affected the readings, regardless of scribal initiative. It is important, in this context, to judge the presence or absence of coeval or later additions to the main corpus of works in a given source; here, physical characteristics can provide clues with changes in both the materials (parchment or paper) and their preparation.

6. Study of anthologies that are consistent in their classification and separation of contents (with unfilled blank spaces between groups of works). This is a valuable indication that the source (e.g., Sq and parts of others) is a different kind of collection, one in which the sections remain separable from one another right up to the time of

binding.⁷⁵ The process provides us with important clues about the availability of works and the manner in which they were entered into the MS. Of interest is the idea that the more separable a MS, the less planning lies behind its organization, or, at the very least, that no detailed plan was established before the copying process was begun. As will be shown with unusually ambitious collections such as Sq and SL 2211, many exemplars, probably of the most diverse nature, were drawn upon to produce them, and it was thus prudent to keep the sections separate, allowing for the final ordering of the material only after the full extent of the collection was practically realized. In such a source as FP, on the other hand, the index was added after the final ordering had been achieved, serving to conceal the complexities of compilation and also lending a mask of authority to the final organization of the source, even though this may reflect quite a different order from that originally planned. Conversely, if sections of a large MS show signs of through-copying, then the scribes must have planned to a great extent before the compilation could

⁷⁵ Such MS structure is argued in The Auchinleck Manuscript: National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS 19.2.1, facsimile edition with an introduction by Derek Pearsall and Ingrid Cunningham (London, 1977).

begin.

7. Finally, the external evidence of new biographical discoveries will be brought to bear on the history of MS compilation (particularly fruitful for Man/ManP, Sq and SL 2211).

The scribal and editorial initiatives studied in this dissertation do not include variants that are the result of mechanical copying errors, although it is true that some of these may serve as indicators of the musical abilities of scribes (valuable information in itself, and a necessary background against which to measure scribal effectiveness in other matters of transmission): omission of individual notes, erroneous repetition of notes or small sections of a vocal part, pitch displacement (typically by one staff line; i.e., a third), cleffing errors, misreadings of rests, and incorrect placement of notes with respect to text syllables. It must be stated at the outset that our present knowledge of the repertory may not always allow us to clearly distinguish errors from intentional or meaningless variants, i.e., a scribe's misunderstanding of his exemplar from deliberate changes in his own copying.

In the Trecento repertory, the opportunity for emendation by scribes can be seen, above all, in the number of voices copied (including the addition of newly-composed parts, typically the Contratenor), notational aspects (especially those that reflect modernizing tendencies), and

texting habits. The following aspects of music and text will be considered:

1. The isolation of notational features that may be associated with particular scribes and classified chronologically (from older Italian manners to the ars subtilior) and/or regionally (Paduan, Florentine, French-influenced): variability in the adoption of the Marchettan system and the introduction of such features as alteration, syncopation, and the dot of addition. Substantial evidence reveals that much of the Trecento repertory was originally notated in a form more completely Marchettan than the translated, Northern-influenced forms in which so much of it now survives. The MSS also indicate that some scribes went to unusual lengths to clarify ambiguous aspects of the notation in their exemplars (e.g., superfluous use of dots in indicating divisiones or for preventing unwary alteration). The major problem is that at the time the MSS were copied, many notational features were in a state of flux; scribes, Italian or otherwise, no doubt had to exercise a good deal of text-critical judgment in their work, for they were expected to handle a wide range of notational problems. In this respect, scribes felt free to make any alterations which would in their eyes improve or

clarify readings in the compositions. In Chapters 4 and 5, the process of establishing texts which at one time incorporated syncopations and other ligated notes will provide a focus for this set of problems.

2. Texting procedures: testing the hypothesis (mostly Schrade's) that Italian songs evolved from an all-vocal texture to one in which the Tenor, Contratenor, or both were textless.
3. A study of transmission patterns, ascertaining whether the distance between the conception of a repertory and its surviving redaction is a determinant of the manner in which it is copied. I shall argue that in the later collections (Sq and, particularly, SL 2211), in contrast to earlier anthologies, the oldest works do not reflect wholly new stints of collecting; they were recopied in essentially fixed forms from other collections and were therefore not as open to editing and rearrangement as was the more recent and still "living" repertory being performed.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ This has already been shown to be true in the earlier trouvère lyric tradition. Hans-Herbert Räkel, in his Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvèrepoesie, Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/27 (Bern, 1977), 281, concluded that the flexibility characteristic of orally transmitted song was replaced by demonstrable stabilization on two levels in the trouvère MS tradition: uniformity in readings and fixity of form (see Hans Tischler's review of this study in

The most important step in source-critical studies is the development of an investigative sequence which proceeds from an examination of the materials of the sources (paper or parchment), to a study of the preparation of that material for copying, identification of distinct scribal hands in both text and music, and, finally, decisions concerning scribal practices, questions regarding the repertory, and the interrelationship of the sources to each other.

What has helped our discipline immensely in the opening steps of the proposed sequence has been the sophistication of source studies in fields outside of music. With regard to the examination of the materials from which our sources are made, the leading studies of parchment and early paper have been those of Léon Gilissen, Allan Stevenson, G. Thomas Tanselle, Gerhard Piccard, Theodor Gerardy, and Jean Irigoin.⁷⁷ My indebtedness to their work

the Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXII [1979], 335-37). To these elements I would add fixity in order of presentation; see van der Werf, The Extant Troubadour Melodies, 5. No doubt, the longer the tradition of written transmission within particular late medieval repertories of text and music, the greater the tendency to preserve (i.e., "fix") as many elements of that repertory as possible. This may even account for the phenomenon of authorial attribution in fully developed phases of written traditions during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

⁷⁷ Léon Gilissen, Prolégomènes à la codicologie: recherches sur la construction des cahiers et la mise en page des manuscrits médiévaux (Paris, 1977); Allan

Stevenson, Watermarks Are Twins," Studies in Bibliography, IV (1951-52), 57-91; idem}, "Chain Indentations in Paper as Evidence," Studies in Bibliography, VI (1954), 181-95; idem, "Paper as Bibliographical Evidence," The Library, XVII (1962), 197-212; idem, The Problem of the Missale Speciale (London, 1967); idem, "Beta-radiography and Paper Research," International Congress of Paper Historians, VII (Oxford, 1967), 159-68; G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Bibliographical Description of Paper," Studies in Bibliography, XXIV (1971), 27-67; Jean Irigoien, "La datation par les filigranes du papier," Codicologica, V (1980), 9-36; Theodor Gerardy, "Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen," Schaumburger Studien im Auftrage der Historischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Schaumburg, IV (Buckeburg, 1964); idem, "Der Identitätsbeweis bei der Wasserzeichendatierung," Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, IX (1968), cols. 733-78; idem, "Die Beschreibung des in Manuskripten und Drucken vorkommenden Papiers," Codicologica, V (1980), 37-51; Verhard Piccard, "Die Wasserzeichenforschung als historische Hilfswissenschaft," Archivalische Zeitschrift, XXXII (1956); Stephen Spector, "Paper Evidence and the Genesis of the Macro Plays," Medievalia, V (1979), 217-32; idem, "Symmetry in Watermark Sequences," Studies in Bibliography, XXXI (1978), 162-78. For reports on the use of watermarks in musicology, see Jan LaRue, "Watermarks," The New Grove Dictionary, XX, 228-31; idem, "Classification of Watermarks for Musicological Purposes," Fontes Artis Musicae, XIII (1966), 59-72; idem, "Watermarks and Musicology," Acta Musicologica, XXXIII (1961), 120-34; Frederick Hudson, "The Study of Watermarks as a Research Factor in Undated Manuscripts: Beta-Radiography With Carbon-14 Sources," Report of the Eleventh Congress of the International Musicological Society (Copenhagen, 1974), 447-53. See also Leslie Jones, "Pricking Manuscripts: The Instruments and Their Significance," Speculum, XXI (1946), 389-403, and Jean Vezin, "La realisation materielle des manuscrits latins pendant le haut Moyen Age," Codicologica, II (1978), 15-51 (especially 32-42, for methods of ruling and binding MSS); Terence Pattie, "The Ruling as a Clue to the Make-up of a Medieval Manuscript," The British Library Journal, I (1975), 15-21. A significant survey of the specific problems encountered in the production of Medieval and Renaissance music sources was recently presented by Stanley Boorman, "Sources, MS I, 6: Introduction," The New Grove Dictionary, XVII, 604-09. It is to be hoped that Boorman's model study of MS structure will soon appear in print: "Towards the Biography of a Manuscript: Bologna Q15," unpublished paper read at a meeting of the Greater New York Chapter of the American Musicological Society, April 1980. Boorman's

will become apparent in the following chapters. On the important question of distinguishing scribal hands and observing the combined efforts of scribes in the creation of a chansonnier, we may point to the exemplary work which has been undertaken in the study of medieval literary sources: e.g., the examination of copies of the Canterbury Tales by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes,⁷⁸ and the recent study of the art of compilatio in late medieval poetic sources by Sylvia Huot, in which the scholarly approach by scribes to the process of anthologizing vernacular lyric is shown to be indicative of their conscious participation in poetic traditions.⁷⁹ The figure of the scribal editor as mediator

examination of similar problems in early music prints has appeared in "The 'First' Edition of the Odhecaton A," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXX (1977), 183-207, and "Petrucci's Type-Setters and the Process of Stemmatics," Quellenstudien zur Musik der Renaissance I, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Munich, 1981), 245-80.

⁷⁸ A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, "The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century," Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to Neil Ker, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. Wilson (London, 1978), 163-210. See also the discussion of Chaucer sources and texts by Norman Blake (Review, III [1981], 219-32) in his assesment of The Canterbury Tales: A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, With Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript, ed. Paul Ruggiers (Norman, 1979), and Troilus and Criseyde, Geoffrey Chaucer: Facsimile of Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 61, ed. M. B. Parkes and Elizabeth Salter (Cambridge, 1978).

⁷⁹ Huot, "Lyric Poetics," especially Chapter 1, 23-64. The following recent studies have also focused on scribal initiative as a factor in MS makeup and variant readings of medieval poetic anthologies: Robert Lewis, "The

between poetic texts and an audience has been brilliantly argued by Robert Ivy, István Frank, and Elspeth Kennedy.⁸⁰

Scribe as Editor: Variation in the MSS of the Middle English Pricke of Conscience," Manuscripta, XX (1976), 10-26; Andrew Rigg, ed. Editing Medieval Texts, English, French, and Latin Written in England: Papers Given at the Twelfth Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 5-6 November, 1976, introduction by Rigg (New York, 1977); Josette Wisman, "Manuscripts et éditions des oeuvres de Christine de Pisan," Manuscripta, XXI (1977), 144-53; Gerald Bruns, "The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture," Comparative Literature, XXXII (1980), 113-29. For a discussion of scribal intervention in the compilation of the Canterbury Tales in the decades after Chaucer's death, see Charles Owen, "The Alternative Reading of The Canterbury Tales: Chaucer's Text and the Early Manuscripts," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XCVII (1982), 237-50; Owen shows how the effort to gather authentic texts extends to the time of actual redaction, for the hand of a competent editor is apparent, imposing upon Chaucer's material a form more in keeping with medieval conventions and contemporary expectations than with the author's wishes. See also Larry Benson, "The Order of the Canterbury Tales," Studies in the Age of Chaucer, III (1981), 77-120; M. B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book," Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 115-41; Franz Bauml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," Speculum, LV (1980), 237-65; Madeleine Tyssens, "Le style oral et les ateliers des copistes," Mélanges de linguistique romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à M. Maurice Delbouille, II (Gembloux, 1964), 659-75 (on scribal initiative in the production of a rhymed version of the Chanson de Roland). See also the important study cited by Stanley Boorman ("Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon [Cambridge, 1981], 341): Ernest Colwell, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text," The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. Philip Hyatt (Nashville, 1965), 370-89.

⁸⁰ See Robert Ivy, The Manuscript Relations of Manessier's Continuation of the Old French Perceval (Philadelphia, 1951); István Frank, "'Babariol-Babarian' dans Guillaume IX," Romania, LXXIII (1952), 227-34 (scribal

Although the incorporation of this more thorough examination of the structure and scribes of MS sources from sister disciplines has begun to take hold in musicological studies in the past two decades, a great many source descriptions and inventories are in need of revision because of their lack of such investigative refinements, particularly the entries on the Trecento sources in RISM,⁸¹ CCMS,⁸² The New Grove,⁸³ and Giuseppe Corsi's Poesie musicali del trecento.⁸⁴ Several of the inventories which appeared in

suppression of strophes and changes of rhymes); Elspeth Kennedy, "The Scribe as Editor," Mélanges de langue et de littérature du moyen âge et de la renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier, I (Geneva, 1970), 523-31. Kennedy offers the following types of deliberate scribal alteration in the Prose Lancelot: (1) production of a shortened version; (2) modernization of the language; (3) scribal emendation of meaningless text (filling in gaps or correcting inconsistencies), some with no more authority than the common sense of the scribe; (4) suppressions and additions made to conform with special interests of the scribe or patron.

⁸¹ Répertoire internationale des sources musicales, B IV:1, Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th-Early 14th Century, ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich, 1966); B IV:2, Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (ca. 1320-1400), ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich, 1969); B IV:3 and B IV:4, Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, 2 vols. (Munich, 1972).

⁸² Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, I (American Institute of Musicology): Vol. 1, A-J (1979); Vol. 2, K-O (1982), Vol. 3, P-U (1984).

⁸³ Kurt von Fischer, "Sources, MS, VIII, 2: Italian Polyphony ca. 1325-1430, Principal Individual Sources," The New Grove Dictionary, XVII, 665-68.

⁸⁴ Giuseppe Corsi, Poesie musicali del trecento,

early volumes of Musica Disciplina--those of Ch, Lo, Pit, and R--likewise must be reviewed by modern critical standards.⁸⁵ Other investigations, notably Eugene Fellin's study of Trecento notations, have also largely played down the significance of scribal editorial practices.⁸⁶ As will be shown in Chapter 1, working without a detailed assessment of scribal contributions invites the danger of producing questionable conclusions about the music, its variant readings, and the process of its transmission.

Studies uncovering important clues to a wide range of notational and stylistic problems offered by the repertoires they discuss through a fresh analysis of the manner in which the MSS were produced can be traced back to

Collezione di opere inedite o rare, CXXXI (Bologna, 1970), li-lxxix.

⁸⁵ See Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047 (Ch)," Musica Disciplina, VIII (1954), 59-87; idem, "The Manuscript London, B.M., Additional 29987 (Lo)," Musica Disciplina, XII (1958), 67-91; idem, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italien 568 (Pit)," Musica Disciplina, XIV (1960), 33-63; Kurt von Fischer, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. frç. 6771 (Codex Reina = PR)," Musica Disciplina, X (1957), 37-78; Nigel Wilkins, "The Codex Reina: A Revised Description," Musica Disciplina, XVII (1963), 57-73; von Fischer, "A Reply to N. E. Wilkins' Article on the Codex Reina," Musica Disciplina, XVII (1963), 75-77.

⁸⁶ Eugene Fellin, "A Study of Superius Variants in the Sources of Italian Trecento Music: Madrigals and Cacce," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1970); idem, "The Notation-Types of Trecento Music," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, IV (1978), 211-23; idem, "Le relazioni tra i manoscritti musicali del trecento," Rivista italiana di musicologia, VIII (1973), 165-80.

Margaret Bent's 1969 examination of OH.⁸⁷ There, she identified the original plan and structure of the volume, distinguished the scribes, clarified their roles in implementing that plan (or in departing from it), and discovered significant correlations between scribes and composer attributions. From these findings she was able to draw striking conclusions regarding the chronology and the development of styles in English music ca. 1400.

The most important recent studies of editorial practices in medieval and Renaissance musical MSS are by Stanley Boorman and Margaret Bent. Both convincingly argue for scribal participation in the process of transmission in terms of the rearrangement of musical parameters--e.g., text-music relationships, ligaturing, embellishment in cadential gestures, and notation of accidentals; as such, these fundamental studies prove that deliberate scribal alterations confound the establishment of stemmatic interrelationships among surviving sources, at least insofar as the goal of such stemmata is the uncovering of an Ur-

⁸⁷ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript"; see also her recent study of coeval English sources in "The Progeny of Old Hall: More Leaves From a Royal English Choirbook," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam, von seinem Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, Institute of Mediaeval Music, Musicological Studies, IXL, 2 vols. (Henryville, 1984), I, 1-54. Bent's reconsideration of the dating of early 15th-century English sources can be seen as a parallel endeavor to the effort to refine dates for contemporary Italian sources.

text, of whatever kind, preferred by the composer.⁸⁸

This source-analytical approach has been shown to be as fruitful for the study of 14th- and 15th-century continental polyphony as it is for contemporary English repertories, most recently in: (1) studies of Machaut's works by Elizabeth Keitel, Margaret Bent, and Lawrence Earp;⁸⁹ (2) a study by Hans Schoop of MS O 213;⁹⁰ and (3) Stanley Boorman and Margaret Bent's independent

⁸⁸ Stanley Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions of Filiation Technique," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 319-46; idem, "The Uses of Filiation in Early Music," Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship, I (1984), 167-84; Margaret Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 295-317. For the opposite view, see van der Werf, The Extant Troubadour Melodies, 8-9; the author, however, agrees that the notation of troubadour songs and the language of the texts may derive from scribal initiative (pp. 27 and 10, respectively). For a study of scribal practices in the transmission of troubadour texts, see Manfred and Margret Raupach, Franzosierte Trobadorlyrik: zur Überlieferung provenzalischer Lieder in französischer Handschriften (Tübingen, 1979).

⁸⁹ Elizabeth Keitel, "A Chronology of the Compositions of Guillaume de Machaut Based on a Study of Fascicle-Manuscript Structure in the Larger Manuscripts," (Ph.D. diss., Cornell Univ., 1976); Margaret Bent, "Another Bite at Machaut, or Too Many Sources Spoil the Stemma," (unpublished paper) Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Minneapolis, November 1978; Lawrence Earp "Scribal Practice." Several of Keitel's major conclusions on the structure of the Machaut MSS have been rejected by Earp and Bent.

⁹⁰ Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213, Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/24 (Bern, 1971).

investigations of BL.⁹¹ Exemplary analyses of two major 15th-century collections--TR and Em--displaying how observations on MS structure and scribal contributions work advantageously in repertorial studies, have been published by Peter Wright and Ian Rumbold.⁹² In addition to their success in deciphering complexities of MS structure and copying processes, identifying layers of compilation, uncovering repertorial contrasts between copying layers, and drawing conclusions on provenance and the chronology of styles, Rumbold and Wright were also able to point out scribal concordances shared by the sources they were studying with others in the same or nearby libraries. They each discovered that one of their scribes was also responsible for work in other MSS: TR and A-Zw on the one hand, Em and three related sources on the other.⁹³ In this regard, the scribal identities revealed in the

⁹¹ Stanley Boorman, "Towards the Biography of a Manuscript," and Margaret Bent's forthcoming monograph on BL.

⁹² See Peter Wright, "The Compilation of Trent 87₁ and 92₂," Early Music History, II (1981), 237-71, and Ian Rumbold, "The Compilation and Ownership of the 'St Emmeram' Codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274)," Early Music History, II (1981), 161-235. See also Tom Ward, "A Central European Repertory in Music, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274," Early Music History, I (1981), 325-43.

⁹³ Wright, "The Compilation of Trent," 265-71; Rumbold, "The Compilation and Ownership," 182, 190-97, was able to identify one of the scribes of Em, Hermann Potzlinger, as an early owner of this and many other related sources; see also Ward, "A Central European Repertory," 342.

present study--between MSS Lo and Fc; Lo and SL 2211; GR 16 and R; Lw, Man/ManP and Pit; Fn F.5.5 and Pit; Sq and I-BU 596--would also suggest a common provenance for each scribal concordance.⁹⁴

What are the implications of these source studies, particularly for the editing of late medieval music? The earliest publications planned as the start of complete editions of the Trecento repertory appeared contemporaneously with the first modern studies of the sources: Pirrotta's The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy and Schrade's Landini edition.⁹⁵ Pirrotta's pioneering volumes still lack critical notes, although in the main

⁹⁴ See Christopher Reynolds, "The Origins of San Pietro B80 and the Development of a Roman Sacred Repertory," Early Music History, I (1981), 257-304 (esp. 271-81), where the author was able to associate I-Rsp B80 to a specific institution, St. Peter's basilica, through archival research and the identity of the principal scribe, Nicholas Ausquier. Common provenance in scribally related sources has been argued for late 15th- and early 16th-century collections by Joshua Rifkin, in "Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries" (Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXVI [1973], 305-26). Three papers offering scribal concordances and chronologies based on script changes for a large group of Renaissance sources were presented at a single session of a meeting of the American Musicological Society in Ann Arbor (November 1982): Jeffrey Dean, "The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501-1527"; Mitchell Brauner, "Music from the Cappella Sistina at the Capella Giulia"; and Flynn Warmington, "A Master Calligrapher in Alamire's Workshop: The Chronology of his Work."

⁹⁵ Pirrotta, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy (1954-64), and Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini (1958).

their editorial policy is clear: on a song-by-song basis, the editor decided upon the best text (i.e., best reading) when a composition existed in multiple versions, and he generally adhered as closely as possible to the MS version he had chosen (this is particularly notable in his interpretation of such notational details as contiguous noteheads [one-pitch ligatures] as dotted ties when transcribing works from Rs 215/Os, Pit, and Man/ManP). Schrade's edition, as will be noted at length in subsequent chapters, first developed a hierarchy of authority among the sources transmitting Landini's works, then set out to follow the single "best source" (FP, in this case) throughout the entire edition.⁹⁶ It is at once an edition with serious methodological shortcomings and the first major source-critical approach to the 14th-century Italian repertory, not to be matched or outdone until the Bent/Hallmark edition of Johannes Ciconia's works.⁹⁷ The edition of the rest of the

⁹⁶ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 5-6. Ludwig, in Guillaume de Machaut musikalische Werke, had set the example in selecting a single source, Machaut Vg, for his edition of Machaut's works; but there the choice was made because he felt that Vg had the fewest errors; moreover, Ludwig was more apt to introduce readings from sources other than his "base" source if he felt that particular Vg elements were erroneous. Schrade first followed Ludwig's "best source" approach in his own edition of Machaut's oeuvre, basing it on Machaut A: The Works of Guillaume de Machaut.

⁹⁷ Bent and Hallmark, The Works of Johannes Ciconia; the edition provides detailed notes on MS structure and assesses scribal contributions and notational concerns in sources transmitting Ciconia's works. See also Bent's review

Italian secular repertory by W. Thomas Marrocco in the series Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vols. VI-XI, is not source-critical; Marrocco often provides two versions of compositions which exist in very different readings in more than one source.⁹⁸

Source analyses have also played important roles in the study of individual composers' styles and careers.

of Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., Italian Sacred Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, XII, in the Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXII (1979), 561-77.

⁹⁸ See W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., Italian Secular Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, VI-XI (Monaco, 1967-78); the critical notes consist merely of long lists of undigested variants found among multiple versions of the same composition. A poor edition, one which not only lacks an adequate critical apparatus but is full of errors, is Johannes Wolf's posthumous publication of the Sq repertory: Der Squarcialupi-Codex, Pal. 87 der Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana zu Florenz, eds. Johannes Wolf and Hans Albrecht (Leipzig, 1955). See Kurt von Fischer's review in Die Musikforschung, IX (1956), 77-89, and Schrade's comments in the critical notes to the Landini edition. Schrade's annotated copy of Wolf's edition is now part of the Schrade library acquired by the Music Library at the University of California at Santa Barbara. What the Marrocco and Wolf editions lack is a firm source-critical foundation upon which to build the editorial attempt. Other editions which do not attempt an analysis of scribal contributions include: Suzanne Clercx, Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps, 2 vols., (Brussels, 1960); Leonard Ellinwood, ed., The Works of Francesco Landini (Cambridge, Mass., 1939); Nigel Wilkins, ed., A Fourteenth-Century Repertory from the Codex Reina, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, XXXVI (American Institute of Musicology, 1966); Willi Apel, ed., French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); Apel and Samuel Rosenberg, eds., French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, 3 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, LIII (n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1970).

Pirrotta, Günther, and von Fischer, for example, have published essays on Paolo da Firenze, integrating codicological evidence with stylistic features in an effort to carefully delineate the composer's oeuvre in its totality.⁹⁹ Nowhere has the importance of MS investigation in the study of a composer's biography and works been so evident than in that of Johannes Ciconia by Suzanne Clercx, David Fallows, Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Nino Pirrotta, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'ars nova," *Musica Disciplina*, X (1956), 61-66; idem, Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova (Palm Springs, 1961), essentially an expansion of his 1956 article. Kurt von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex"; Ursula Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen;" idem, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B.N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), 99-119. On Paolo and his Florentine contemporaries, Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli, see Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte," pp. 12-21, Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment," and Nádas, "Editorial Practices in Early Quattrocento Florentine Anthologies" (discussed in Chapter 4).

¹⁰⁰ Suzanne Clercx, Johannes Ciconia; idem, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits"; Bent and Hallmark, eds., The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Introduction; D. Fallows, "Ciconia padre e figlio," *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, IX (1976), 171-77; Hallmark, "Johannes Ciconia in Padua," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., in progress). Many of the questions raised by these authors concerning the chronology of Ciconia's works hinge also on important textual clues about the circumstances of their composition. In this regard, see the work on Bartolino da Padova by Nicole Goldine, in "Fra Bartolino da Padova, musicien de cour," *Acta Musicologica*, XXXIV (1962), 142-55, research since superceded by Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), 94-112.

Study of the surviving archives of the ecclesiastical and secular institutions associated with the Trecento secular repertory is one of the most vital areas of research in this period today, particularly the study of the effects of historical and political events on the makeup of chapel membership and the dissemination of music at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.¹⁰¹ My own investigation of the biography of Antonio Zacarias de Teramo, first stimulated by a wish to identify the composer "Magister Çacherias" in Sq, led me to areas of inquiry which, in conjunction with Reinhard Strohm's study of Magister Egardus in Mod A, bear significantly on the

¹⁰¹ See Reinhard Strohm, "European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century," Early Music History, I (1981), 305-23; idem, "Magister Egardus." The lists of singers and composers in papal and cathedral chapters has recently constituted the beginnings of a systematic study of the transmission of particular repertoires ca. 1400; see Andrew Tomasello, Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309-1403 (Ann Arbor, 1983), and Ursula Gunther, "Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXI (1964), 172-99 [Pope Benedict XIII's chapel]. Recent studies of institutions and their members include: Giulio Cattin, "Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth-Century Italy," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 21-36; idem, "Formazione e attività delle cappelle polifoniche nelle cattedrali: la musica nelle città," Storia della cultura veneta, III (Vicenza, 1981), 267-96; Pierluigi Petrobelli, "La musica nelle cattedrali e nelle città, ed i suoi rapporti con la cultura letteraria," Storia della cultura veneta, II (Vicenza, 1981), 440-68. The most extensive discussion of the activities of 15th-century "professional" musicians is by Christopher Reynolds in "Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXVII (1984), 49-97.

transmission of music in early 15th-century Italy.¹⁰²

First among these is the question of the extent of the Flemish presence in Italy, particularly in Roman, Bolognese and other conciliar papal chapels ca. 1390-1420 (Antonio Zacharias served with several musician colleagues from the Netherlands).¹⁰³ The possibility that Flanders was both the

¹⁰² As we shall have occasion to show in Chapter 5, the combined evidence from archival research and examination of musical sources can greatly add to our knowledge of the composer Antonio Zacarias de Teramo; he can now be accurately associated with particular musical institutions during the early years of the 15th century.

¹⁰³ The list of Flemish musicians which can be drawn up on the basis of introitus et exitus records can be enlarged on the strength of documents originating outside the papal chapel lists; Pirrotta has already suggested that "we may be handicapped in our attempts to establish the biographies of musicians by a mental habit of seeing them too exclusively as musicians" ("Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIX [1966], 131); many composers and singers, in fact, led salaried careers as notaries or papal scriptores. See the contributions by Alejandro Planchart and Reinhard Strohm on benefices in Chapter 5. See also the career of Bartolomeo da Bologna, in 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, X (1975), 46-71, and "Altri documenti per Bartolomeo da Bologna," Rivista italiana di musicologia, XI (1976), 178-80. Extensive research has been undertaken in Florentine ecclesiastical institutions by Frank D'Accone: "A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery During the Fifteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1960); idem, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence During the Fifteenth Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIV (1961), 307-58; idem, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinità, 1360-1363," Quadrivium, XII (1971), 131-52; idem, "Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore in the Early Quattrocento," Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga (Milan, 1973), 99-126.

"melting pot" of English, Flemish, and French musical repertories and the point of origin for the importation of those repertories into Italy has been discussed recently by Strohm (his most surprising contribution in this regard has been the rejection of Ghisi's identification of the contents of a Cortona fragment which contains not a 4-part "inno lauda," as Ghisi suggested, but two items--a motet found also in MS Iv [Almifonis melos] and the rondeau Amis tout dous by Pierre de Molins [also in Iv]);¹⁰⁴ Finally, we may point to MSS containing repertories which circulated at the Council of Constance ca. 1415-17, and part of whose contents undoubtedly stem directly from sources at that Council, including Str 222, Prag, D-Nst 9/9a, A-Ms 749, and, generally speaking, the models for the polyphonic contrafacts by Wolkenstein).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Strohm, "Magister Egardus". See Ghisi, "Inno lauda all'Assunta ritrovato nell'archivio comunale di Cortona," Quadrivium, XV (1974), 105-10. This Cortona fragment (I-CO), Strohm argues, is probably the earliest Italian Trecento source which contains Northern repertory, copied sometime in the third quarter of the 14th century. Strohm may be going too far, however, in suggesting that some of the large Trecento anthologies may have been copied in Flanders ("European Politics and the Distribution," p. 318). MS I-FOLas contains an English Gloria (first noted by Ernest Sanders; see Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments," 124, n. 20) and two French Glorias. This combination occurs as well in GR 197 (containing the same English Gloria together with other French and Italian Mass movements). See Strohm, "Magister Egardus," n. 33, for a newly discovered Flemish MS fragment from Ghent which also contains a mixture of English and French repertories.

¹⁰⁵ See Erika Timm, Die Überlieferung der Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein (Lübeck, 1972), 129-31, although she

As will be shown in this study, far from detracting from their value as collections, the complexities of structure and scribal contributions demonstrate that the Trecento anthologies, in a sense, resulted from just such complex activity--they are the surviving testimony to processes of late medieval book production. The sources are outstanding monuments to highly refined Central- and North-Italian musical cultures which were represented by--and, in turn, supported--a variety of institutions, musicians, and scribes.

does not directly identify the Council as the probable source for Wolkenstein's contrafacts; noted by Strohm in "Magister Egardus," n. 64, and in Ward, "A Central European Repertory," 332. Strohm adds another MS to the group of sources associated with Constance: the curious chansonnier A-HEI, a product of Netherlandish, German, and Italian collaboration. I would also add portions of other sources as possible conciliar offspring: (1) sections of MS Em, containing works by Antonio Zacarias and a motet in honor of St. Martin (perhaps paying tribute to newly-elected Pope Martin V in 1417), as well as the motet Deo gratias papales - Deo gratias fideles, which Frank Harrison has associated with the Council of Constance (see his Motets of French Provenance, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, V [Monaco, 1968], xv, and Tom Ward, "A Central European Source," 332); (2) several gatherings of SL 2211, including a collection of Italian-texted works by Ugolino da Orvieto, northern motets, and French chansons; (3) a portion of Fa (see the rubric "Constantia" on fol. 41v).

CHAPTER II

MANUSCRIPT PANCIATICHIANO 26 AND THE TRANSMISSION OF ITALIAN
SECULAR POLYPHONY AT THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY¹⁰⁶

MS Panciaticiano 26 of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale in Florence (FP) contains a wealth of evidence that permits us to reconstruct the history of its preparation in some detail, and allows us to draw conclusions regarding the habits of its scribes and the nature of the exemplars from which they worked. Those conclusions suggest the need for a revision of earlier views on the 14th-century repertoires, styles, and notational languages it contains, as well as previous assessments of the relationship of the Trecento sources to each other.

FP constitutes one of two large surviving paper MSS containing secular vocal polyphony of 14th-century Italy.¹⁰⁷ The source was first brought to light in

¹⁰⁶ This chapter is an expanded version of the present author's "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXIV (1981), 393-427.

¹⁰⁷ The other is MS R. See Kurt von Fischer, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 6771 (Codex Reina = PR)," Musica Disciplina, XI (1957), 38-78; Nigel Wilkins, "The Codex Reina: A Revised Description," Musica Disciplina, XVII (1963), 57-73; see Chapter 3 of the present study. FP consists of 115 paper folios measuring

1887 by Adolfo Bartoli in his catalogue of the Panciatichi collection of MSS acquired by the then Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II, for his Palatine Library in Florence.¹⁰⁸

approximately 296 X 220 mm. In addition, four modern flyleaves were added to the codex, one in front and three at the back (the first two at the back appear to be much older than the last folio, undoubtedly put in place during the most recent restoration).

¹⁰⁸ Adolfo Bartoli, Indici e catalogi, VII: I manoscritti panciatichiani della biblioteca nazionale di Firenze (Rome, 1887), I/1, 44-54. This catalogue offers a fascinating history of the Panciatichi MS collection (pp. xi-xx), beginning with the systematic collection of MSS and rare prints by canon Lorenzo Panciatichi (1635-1676), who in 1661 had become the custodian of the Medici Library, and who undertook trips within Italy and abroad in order to enrich his own library as well as that of his principe, Leopoldo de' Medici. His correspondence with Antonio Magliabecchi, another important 17th-century bibliophile, testifies to his enthusiasm in this respect (see Francesco Ugo, Scritti inediti di Lorenzo Panciatichi accademico della Crusca [1635-1676] [Modica, 1910], 90-99, and Magliabecchi's description of the Panciatichi collection in "Notizie di varie biblioteche fiorentine" [Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magl. Cl.X.63, fol. 12r]). We no longer have Lorenzo Panciatichi's handwritten catalogue of his collection, but it has been reported (see RISM, B IV:3, 835, and CCMS, I:3, 231) that many of the MSS, including FP, came into Panciatichi possession from the collection of another illustrious Florentine, Vincenzo Borghini (1515-80). The latter, a Benedictine monk at the Badia Fiorentina from the 1530s on, was known for, among other accomplishments, having assisted Giorgio Vasari in the first edition of The Lives of the Painters (1550); he ultimately counted as one of the most important philologists and historians in late 16th-century Florence (see the entry on Borghini by Gianfranco Folena in the Dizionario biografico degli italiani, XII [Milan, 1970], 680-89). Borghini's interests in Florence's past led him to prepare a history of the city, an account of Florentine clergy, money, and the origins of the Tuscan language, and even engaged him in a debate with the influential scholar Girolamo Mei in the 1560s (see Gary Tomlinson, "Rinuccini, Peri, Monteverdi, and the Humanist Heritage of Opera," [Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1979], 320). His linguistic interests

Since then, it has been drawn upon repeatedly by scholars studying the 14th-century Italian repertory, most notably by Leo Schrade in the critical notes to his Landini edition;¹⁰⁹ its contents have been inventoried by Johannes Wolf and Bianca Becherini, and most recently also by F. Alberto Gallo in his introduction to a facsimile edition of the MS.¹¹⁰ A comprehensive treatment of the source,

undoubtedly fueled his collection of Due-Trecento poetic texts. I have not been able to find MS FP specifically mentioned in any inventory of the Borghini collection, including that in his will drawn up in 1574 (see Giovanni Gaye, Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI [Florence, 1839], I, 381ff.; see also the 1727 inventory of the estate of one of Borghini's heirs, Giovan' Gualberto Guicciardini [Florence, Archivio di stato, Fondo Panciatichi, Patrimonio Guicciardini, cass. V, no. 33]). Most recently, F. Alberto Gallo, (ed., Il codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze: Riproduzione in facsimile, Studi e testi per la storia della musica, III [Florence, 1981], 7) reported that FP is not listed in Borghini's inventory of 27 August 1580 (Florence, Archivio di stato, MS Mediceo 738, fols. 164r-167v). Lorenzo Panciatichi's MSS were inherited by his nephew Niccolò (1679-1739) and, in turn, by the latter's son, Bandino, in the 18th century, the period when most of the volumes acquired their present Panciatichi ex-libris and binding of leather-covered wooden boards. The private collection of MSS was eventually sold to the Biblioteca Palatina by Bandino's great-grandson, Ferdinando Panciatichi, in April of 1859.

¹⁰⁹ Leo Schrade, ed., The Works of Francesco Landini, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IV (Monaco, 1958-59); Thomas W. Marrocco, ed., Italian Secular Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, VI-XI (Monaco, 1967-78). For a critical edition of the texts, see Giuseppe Corsi, Poesie musicali del trecento, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, CXXXI (Bologna, 1970); idem, Rimatori del trecento (Turin, 1969).

¹¹⁰ Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1904), I, 244-50; Bianca Becherini, Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della

however--even an entirely accurate description--has not yet appeared.

Let us begin the discussion, then, with an analysis

Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze (Kassel, 1959), 112-18; F. Alberto Gallo, ed., Il codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze: Riproduzione in facsimile, Studi e testi per la storia della musica, III (Florence, 1981). See also Wolf, "Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, III (1901-2), 602 and 639-40; Friedrich Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, IV (1902-3), 52-53; idem, "Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460: Besprechung des gleichnamigen Buches von Joh. Wolf," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, VI (1904-5), 614 [corrections to Wolf's inventory of FP]; Wolf, Handbuch der Notationskunde, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1913, 1919), I, 297-304, 305-10, 347-51; Guillaume de Machaut musikalische Werke, ed. Friedrich Ludwig, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-54), II, 28-30; Nino Pirrotta, "Florenz, Codex Palatino Panciatichiano 26 [FP]," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 16 vols. (Kassel, Basel, 1949-79), IV, cols. 401-05; Kurt von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento, Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/5 (Bern, 1956), 88-90; idem, "Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Cod. Panciatichiano 26 (I-Fn 26)," RISM B IV:4 (Kassel, 1972), 835-96. A description of FP and its contents is also given by Corsi, Poesie musicali, lv-lviii, where he incorrectly lists the following as blank folios: 14v-19v, 20v, 109v, and 110r-v. The facsimile edition, it should be noted, is exceptionally clear and easy to read, but a word of caution on its use is in order. Although the photographs are offered as lifesize reproductions (see the introduction to the edition, p. 7), in fact, a comparison with the MS itself has revealed anomalies: e.g., in the following randomly chosen folios the height (in millimeters) of the space reserved for writing varied in relation to the original: fol. 1r (245.5 vs. 242), fol. 11r (246.5 vs. 244), fol. 40r (244.5 vs. 244), fol. 42r (244.5 vs. 243.5). Moreover, marks, text, stems, and accidentals entered in red ink are not clearly distinguishable in the black-and-white reproduction (see the discussion below on editorial emendations in the collection).

of the physical makeup of FP. Table 2.1 summarizes the results of a fresh examination of the MS. The most recent and detailed description of the source--that proposed in RISM¹¹¹--incorrectly asserts that FP consists of a series of irregularly structured gatherings, a view that stands in sharp contrast to the opinion that Friedrich Ludwig, Nino Pirrotta, and Leo Schrade shared,¹¹² that apart from the index folios the MS comprises eleven gatherings of equal size, each a quinio.

¹¹¹ Von Fischer, RISM, 835; see also von Fischer's description of the MS in "Sources, MS, VIII, 2: Italian Polyphony ca. 1325-1430]), Principal Individual Sources" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), XVII, 667. Asterisks in Table 2.1 denote twin marks, and numbers in brackets represent the halves of bifolios without watermarks.

¹¹² Ludwig, Guillaume de Machaut, II, 28; Pirrotta, "Codex Palatino Panciatichiano," col. 401; Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 5.

Table 2.1: Gathering Structure of FP

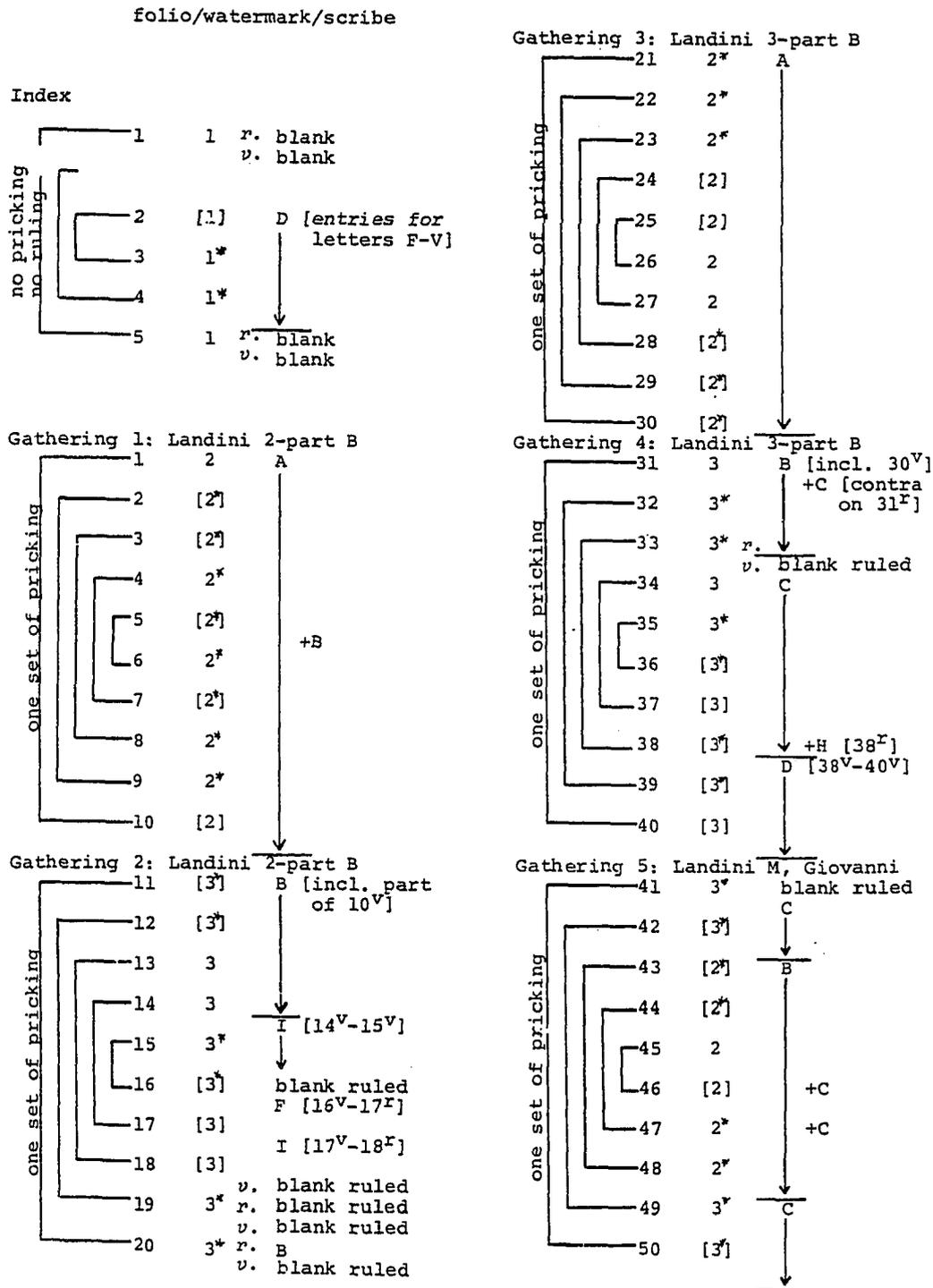


Table 2.1 (cont'd)

<p>Gathering 6: Giovanni and Piero</p> <p>one set of pricking; fols. 55/56 not pricked</p> <p>51 [2[*]] B</p> <p>52 [2[*]] +D</p> <p>53 [2[*]] +D</p> <p>54 [2[*]] +D</p> <p>55 2</p> <p>56 [2] +D</p> <p>57 2[*]</p> <p>58 2[*]</p> <p>59 2[*]</p> <p>60 2[*] +E [Fr. comp.]</p>	<p>Gathering 9: Donato and Gherardello</p> <p>no pricking</p> <p>81 [2[*]] C</p> <p>82 [2[*]] +D</p> <p>83 2</p> <p>84 [2[*]] +D</p> <p>85 2</p> <p>86 [2] +E [fr. ballade]</p> <p>87 2[*]</p> <p>88 [2] +D</p> <p>89 2[*]</p> <p>90 2[*]</p>
<p>Gathering 7: Jacopo</p> <p>two sets of pricking</p> <p>61 [2[*]] B</p> <p>62 [2] +E [Fr. rondeau]</p> <p>63 [2[*]] +D</p> <p>64 [2[*]] +D</p> <p>65 2</p> <p>66 [2] +C</p> <p>67 2[*]</p> <p>68 2[*]</p> <p>69 2 +E [Fr. virelai]</p> <p>70 2[*]</p>	<p>Gathering 10: Jacopo, Piero, Giovanni</p> <p>one set of pricking; fol. 100 pricked with 91-95</p> <p>91 2 D</p> <p>92 2[*]</p> <p>93 [2] +E [Fr. rondeau]</p> <p>94 2[*]</p> <p>95 [2] +E [Machaut]</p> <p>96 2</p> <p>97 [2[*]] +E [Machaut]+G'</p> <p>98 2 +E [Machaut]</p> <p>99 [2[*]] +E [Fr. ballade]</p> <p>100 [2] v. +E [Machaut]+G'</p> <p>r. +E [Machaut]</p> <p>v. +E [Fr. ballade]</p>
<p>Gathering 8: Jacopo and Lorenzo</p> <p>two sets of pricking</p> <p>71 [2[*]] C</p> <p>72 [2[*]] +E [Fr. rondeau]</p> <p>73 [2] +E [Machaut]</p> <p>74 2 +E [Fr. rondeau]</p> <p>75 [2[*]] +E [Fr. rondeau]</p> <p>76 2[*]</p> <p>77 [2] +E [Fr. rondeau]</p> <p>78 2 +E [Fr. rondeau]</p> <p>79 2[*]</p> <p>80 2[*] +E [Fr. rondeau]</p>	<p>Gathering 11: French collection</p> <p>one set of pricking; no pricking for 101-102, 109-110</p> <p>101 2 r. blank ruled</p> <p>v. G [101^v-102^v: Fr. ballade + rondeau]</p> <p>102 2 +G' [contra]</p> <p>r. blank ruled</p> <p>v. F [Fr. ballade]</p> <p>103 3 [Fr. virelai]</p> <p>104 [3[*]] [?]</p> <p>105 3 [Fr. ballade]</p> <p>106 [3] [Fr. ballade]</p> <p>107 3[*] [Bartolino's La douce cere]</p> <p>108 [3] v. blank ruled</p> <p>r. blank ruled</p> <p>v. blank ruled</p> <p>109 [2] v. blank ruled</p> <p>r. blank ruled</p> <p>v. blank ruled</p> <p>110 [2] v. blank ruled</p>

The analysis in RISM appears to be based more on the nature of the contents of the source than on the physical evidence, and, for example, admits all of the French works at the end of the MS into a single irregular gathering of 11 folios (beginning on fol. 100). Now, although the tight, compressed spine of the modern binding would appear to make definitive collation a hopeless task, the gathering structure can in fact be determined quite precisely through an analysis of prickmarks, ruling of bifolios, and watermarks.¹¹³ These clues argue for the index as part of a separate gathering, originally consisting of at least three bifolios; and the collation for the rest of the source consists of 11 gatherings of five bifolios each. The irregularities that do exist are internal: the inner bifolio of gathering 6 (fols. 55-56) was not prepared at the same time as the rest of the leaves in that gathering, as the absence of pricking and the different demarcation of the writing space attest. A similar situation obtains in gathering 11, where the two outer bifolios appear to have been added to an already existing ternio.¹¹⁴ It may be that

¹¹³ The MS underwent restoration, including strengthening of the binding, the addition of modern fly-leaves, and treatment of the paper, in 1957-58.

¹¹⁴ Fols. 101-102 and 109-110 were ruled without the aid of marginal prickings. Their status as conjugates is revealed by the fact that both bifolios consist of paper Type 2, while the inner bifolios of the gathering are of paper with watermark Type 3. See the identification of the three watermark types below.

in the case of 6 and 11 the gatherings were not originally regular in structure, and that the irregularities are the result of replacement folios; but as we shall see in our examination of gathering 5, the evidence instead suggests the close collaborative work of two scribes who shared the copying of those ten folios.

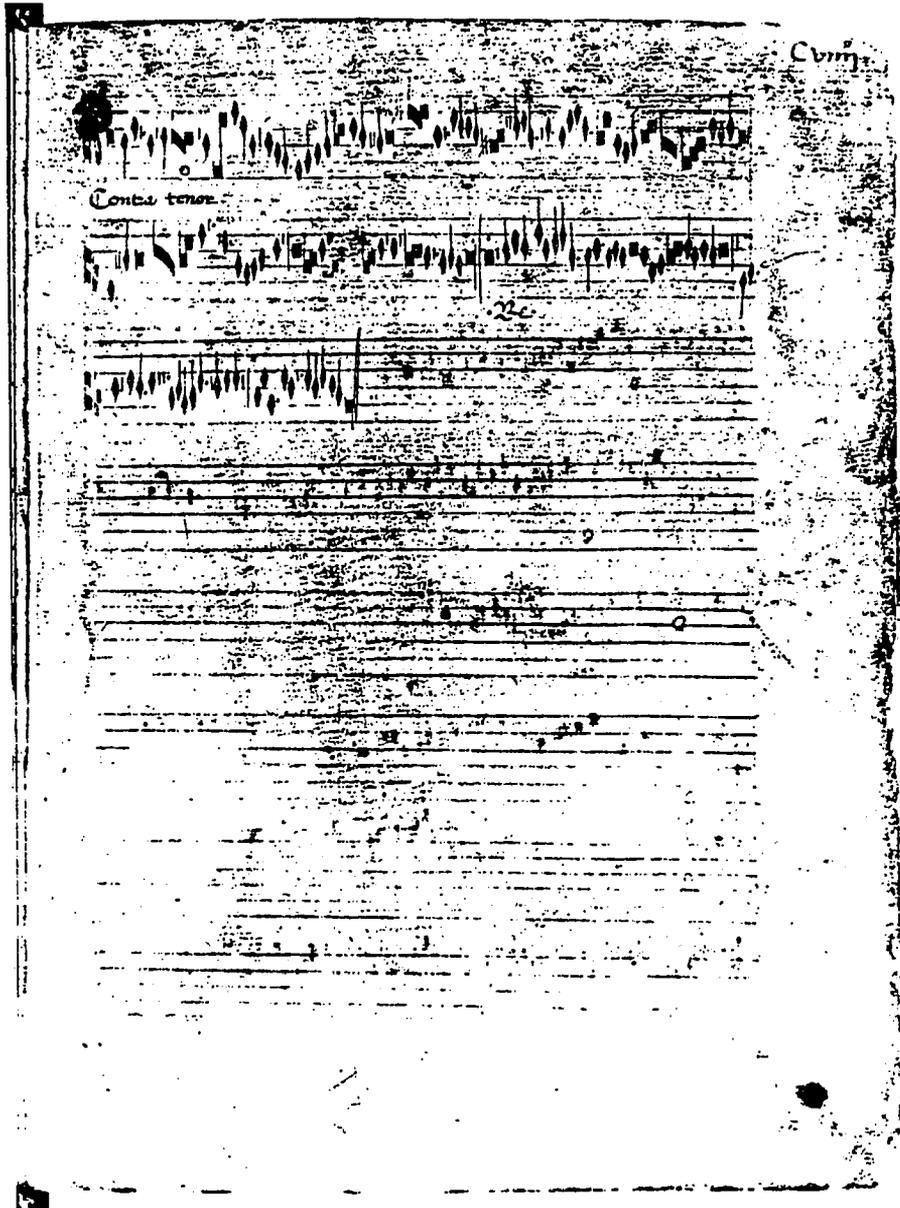
Details of the preparatory steps taken to ready the paper for copying--the pricking and ruling--are consistent, for the most part, throughout a gathering. Table 2.1 shows that the procedure for preparing the leaves seems to have followed normal practice. Entire gatherings were pricked at a time; that is, the unfolded quinion was pricked in its right and left outer margins, probably following some sort of straight vertical guide, resulting in small holes made verso to recto and recto to verso on the left and right margins respectively of the pile of open bifolios. The two halves of each single bifolio were then ruled together, the prickmarks in the margins guiding the placement of the staves and delimiting the writing space: for example, fols. 101v with 110r, and 102v with 109r. This may be seen with particular clarity on the latter bifolio, for both 102v and 109r contain a five-line staff at the bottom of the leaf, contrasting with the six-line staves that are the norm in Italian MSS of the period (Figure 2.1a, b).¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Five-line staves also appear on fols. 38r and 85v.

Fig. 2.1a: FP, fol. 102v

The image shows a page of medieval musical notation, folio 102v. The page is heavily stained and has a high-contrast, black-and-white appearance. It features a large, ornate initial 'C' on the left side, which is decorated with intricate patterns. The music is written on several staves, with lyrics in Latin below the notes. The lyrics are: "C'pris courget Samons en souffrant. C'pris agez de batens", "et de q'ny. C'pris courget de tous les amonreux. C'pris agez", "amons mg. C'pris de courget. C'pris de courget", and "C'pris de courget". The notation consists of square notes on a four-line staff, with some notes connected by lines. The page is framed by a simple border.

Fig. 2.1b: FP, fol. 109r



Since for this MS the pricking was accomplished without the aid of implements to regularize spacing and alignment, it was virtually impossible for the scribes to execute the six prickholes needed per staff without deviating from a straight line; the patterns formed in the margins will be observable throughout all leaves prepared together. As can be seen, for example, in Figure 2.2 (the outer recto margins of fols. 6r through 10r), the second half of the first music gathering was prepared at one time; note the wavering pattern produced for the second staff, and the widely-spaced holes for the sixth staff.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ The pricking of entire half-gatherings at a time resulted in wider holes at the beginning of the incision and, sometimes, rather faint holes toward the end. Consequently, new marks were freshly made on inner folios in order to clarify the position of the staff lines about to be drawn (see the same phenomenon in MS OH, as reported by Margaret Bent in "The Old Hall Manuscript: A Paleographical Study," [Ph.D. diss., Cambridge Univ., 1969], 38-39).

Fig. 2.2: FP, fols. 6r-10r



On the other hand, patterns are not consistent from gathering to gathering, as a comparison of randomly chosen folios from different gatherings will readily demonstrate. Gatherings 7 and 8 each contain two sets of prickings (the second set ostensibly correcting misalignment in the first); the leaves of gathering 9, as well as the anomalous bifolios in gatherings 6 and 11 mentioned earlier, were ruled without the aid of prickmarks in the margins. One further irregularity regarding pricking should be noted: fol. 100, the final folio in gathering 10, was not pricked with fols. 96 through 99 (Fig. 2.3 shows fols. 96r through 100r), and the mismatch is particularly evident in the holes for the first and second staves. In fact, fol. 100 was pricked with fols. 91 to 95 (Fig. 2.4 shows fols. 91v and 100v together)--quite irregularly prepared, to be sure (one would have to imagine bifolio 91/100 folded so that fol. 91r faced 100v at the time of pricking), but there can be no doubt that fol. 100 belongs to the tenth gathering.

Fig. 2.3: FP, fols. 96r-100r

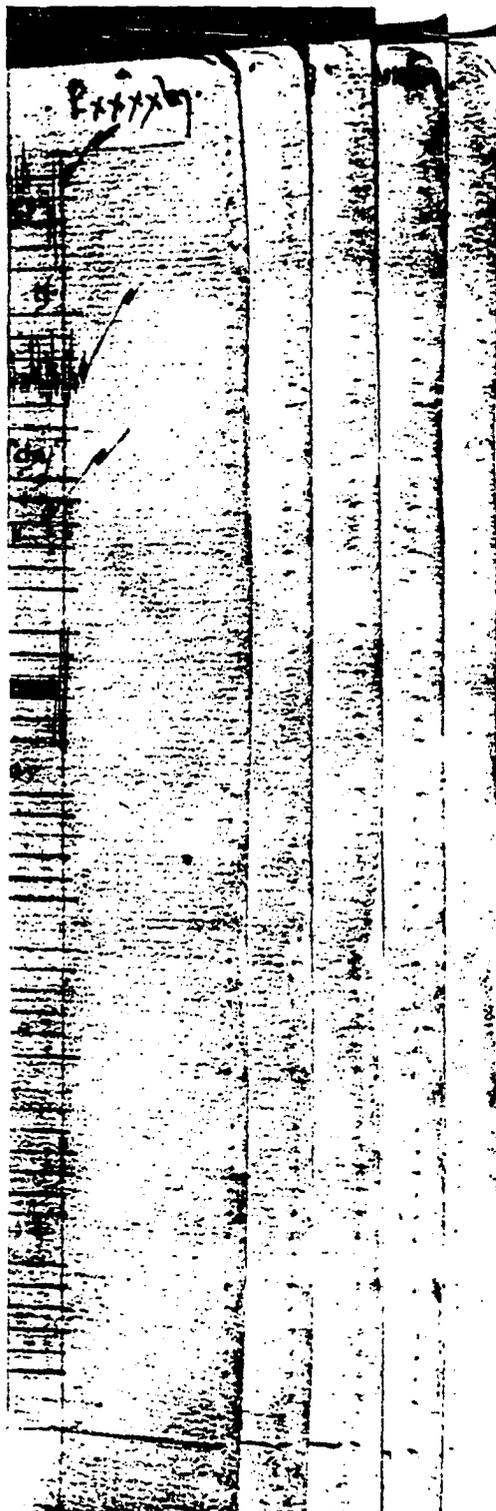


Fig. 2.4: FP, fols. 91v and 100v

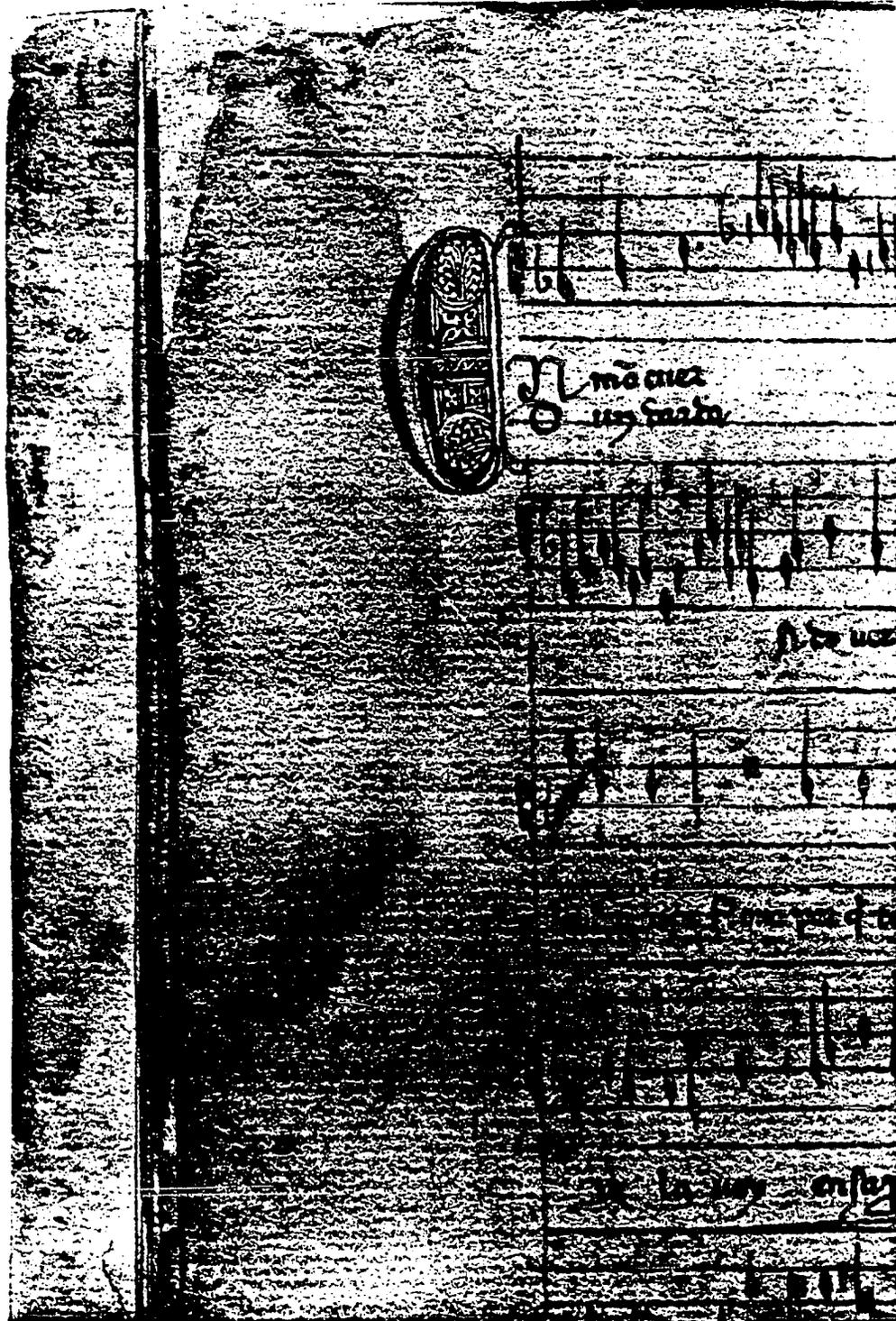


Table 2.1 also indicates the patterns of paper use in the MS. While previous descriptions have reported the presence of the "same" watermark throughout the MS, including index fols. 1-5 (arabic),¹¹⁷ in fact three distinct papers were employed in FP (see Fig. 2.5-2.7), with changes of watermark in many instances coinciding with changes of scribes. The alternation of watermark Types 2 and 3 in gatherings 1 through 4 is broken in the mixed fifth gathering; 6 through 10 contain only paper with watermark Type 2, and the final gathering has a mixture again of papers with watermark Types 2 and 3.¹¹⁸ Watermark descriptions now follow.

Type 1 -- Mount, with a cross 32 mm. above the highest point (cf. Briquet 11683 [Genoa, 1398-1408]¹¹⁹ = Mosin and Traljić 6400)¹²⁰ (30 X 44 cm.). 25 X 11[15/15]13 mm. In

¹¹⁷ Von Fischer, *RISM*, 835; Pirrotta, "Codex Palatino Panciatichiano," col. 401. The facsimile edition (p. 8) offers incomplete tracings of only two of the marks; the reader is invited to compare these with several hundred similar marks in the Briquet catalogue (Charles Briquet, *Les filigranes*, ed. Allan Stevenson [Amsterdam, 1968]).

¹¹⁸ It has not been possible to distinguish mold sides of leaves in most of FP due to the modern treatment of the paper (many folios have been covered with silk). Beta-radiographs could not be obtained for the marks in FP; however, each mark was photographed together with a ruler and printed in its original size on photo-sensitive celluloid (creating, in effect, black-and-white lifesize slides), which permitted the comparison of FP marks with each other as well as with published tracings. All marks were filmed recto to verso.

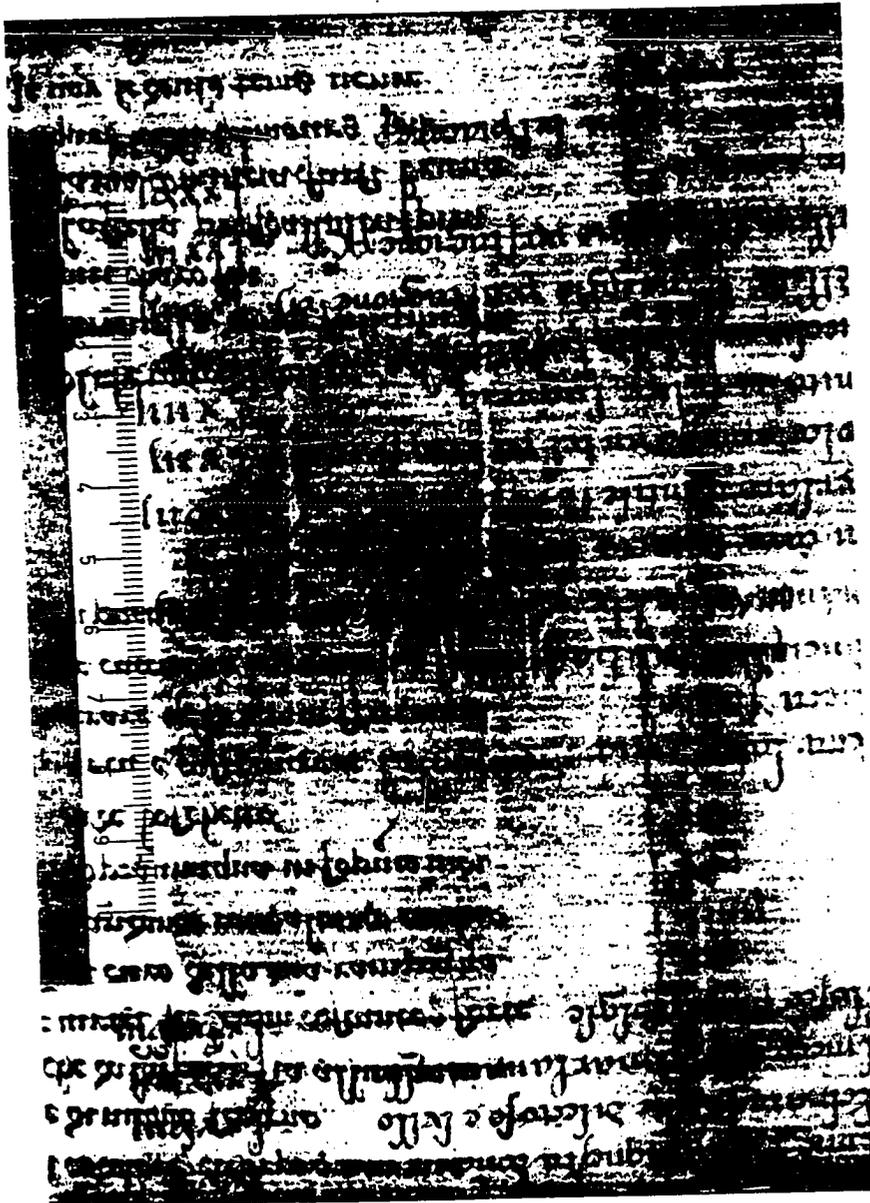
¹¹⁹ See n. 118.

¹²⁰ Vladimir Mošin and Deid Traljić, *Filigranes des*

the twin mark the cross lies 33.5 mm. above the highest point of the mount; 25 X 12.5[14/15]13.5 mm. 20 laid lines = 27 mm.

XIIIe et XIVe SS (Zagreb, 1957).

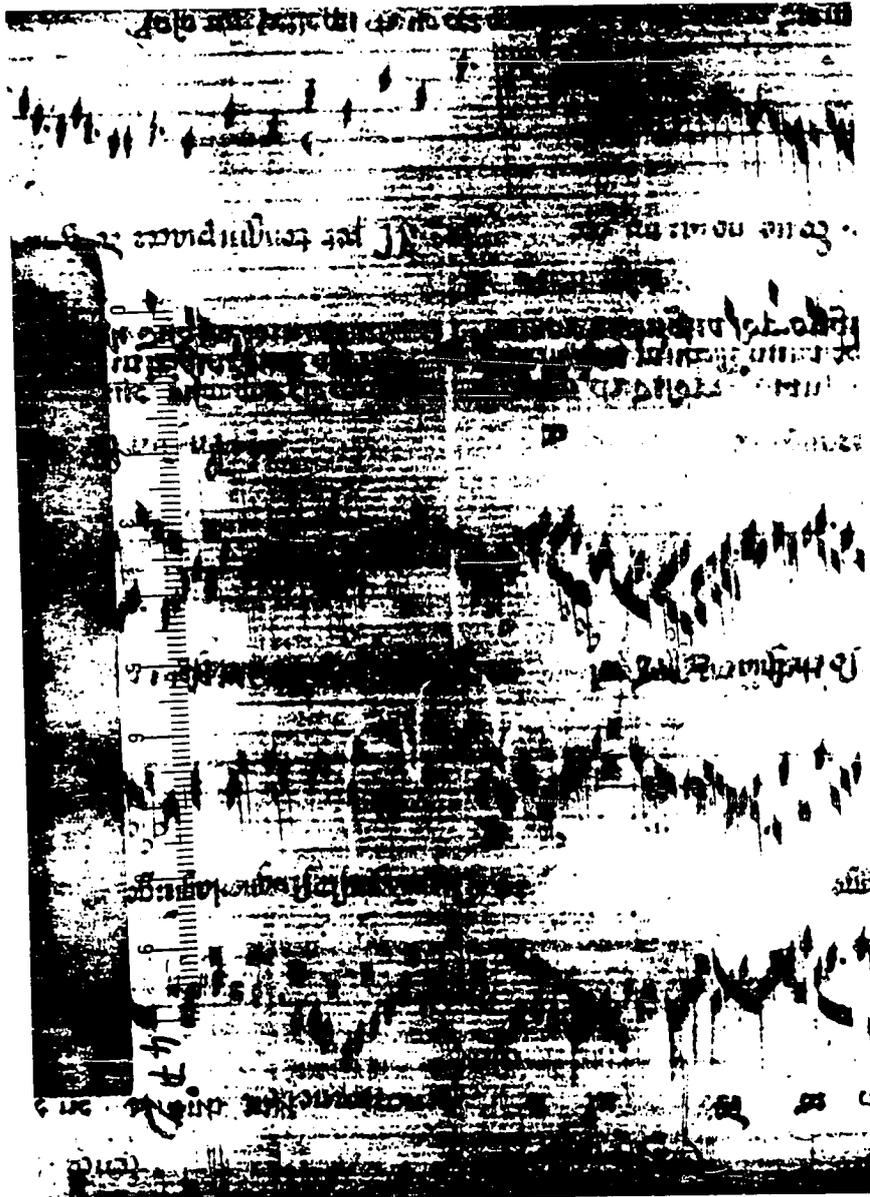
Fig. 2.5: FP, Watermark Type 1 (index, fol. 3)



Type 2 -- Mount, with a barely distinguishable cross, which appears to lie 34 mm. above the highest point (cf. Briquet 11678 [Fano, 1373?] = Mošin and Traljić 6328 [30 X 43 cm.]; Briquet 11684 [Fano, 1400] = Mošin and Traljić 6365 [30 X 44 cm.]; Mošin and Traljić 6343 [Florence, 1385-86] [30 X 44 cm.] and 6359 [Pisa, 1392; but with an ill-matching cross]; see also Zonghi 1276 [1400].¹²¹ 27.5 X 13.5[14.5/15.5]10 mm. Twin mark (not always easy to identify) = 27 X 13[15/15]9.5 mm. 20 laid lines = 27 - 28 mm.

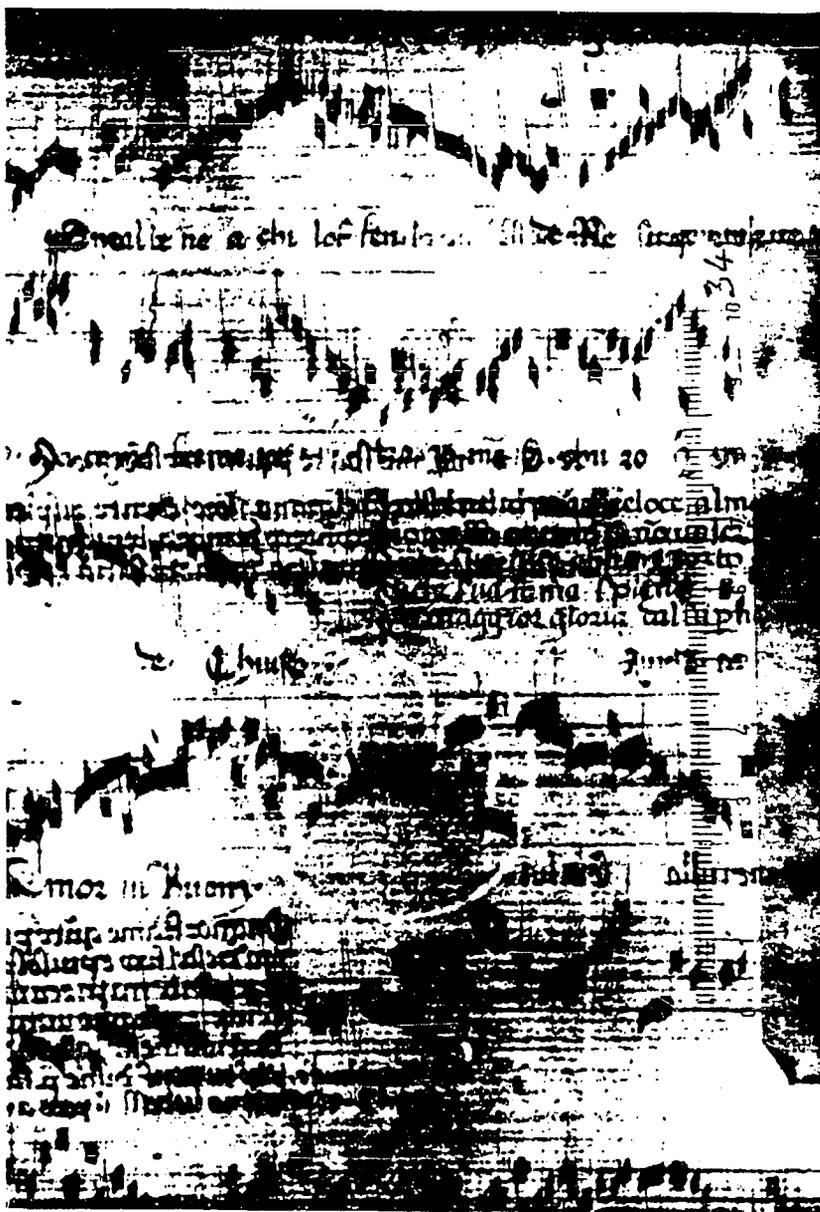
¹²¹ Aurelio and Augusto Zonghi, Zonghi's Watermarks (Hilversum, 1953).

Fig. 2.6: FP, Watermark Type 2 (fol. 47r)



Type 3 -- Mount in circle, with a cross 46.5 mm. above the top of the circle (cf. Briquet 11853 [Fano, 1378-90] = Mošin and Traljić 6359 [Pisa, 1392]; Briquet 11854 [Lucca, 1388-98]; Briquet 11890 [Siena, 1399; but with a large sheet size of 41.5 X 59 cm.]; Zonghi 1291 [1393]). 41 X 7.5[19/21]7 mm. Diameter of circle = 41 mm. Twin = cross lies 49.5 mm. above circle; 41 X 6.5[19/21]6.5 mm. 20 laid lines = 30-31 mm.

Fig. 2.7: FP, Watermark Type 3 (fol. 34r)



Distinguishing the scribes in FP is not without its difficulties, the similarity among the hands having prompted earlier ascriptions to "one main scribe."¹²² But despite a few ambiguous sections in the MS (specifically,

¹²² Bartoli, Indici, 44 (repeated in Becherini, Catalogo, 112, although she gives fol. 94v rather than 94r as one copied by Bartoli's second scribe, and 38v rather than 38r as an example of the fourth scribe's work). Bartoli's analysis of the copying is as follows: Scribe 1 was responsible for the main corpus of the collection; Scribe 2, fols. 86v, 87r, 94r, 97r, 99v, 100r, 100v; Scribe 3, fols. 101v, 102r, 102v; Scribe 4 (whom he erroneously described as a 16th-century hand, fols. 14v, 15r, 15v, 17v, 18r, 38r. See in particular Ludwig, Guillaume de Machaut, II, 28, for the most thorough accounting to date of scribal hands in FP: one main hand was responsible for most of the collection, perhaps including much of the French repertory added at bottoms of folios throughout; Scribe 2, fols. 101r-110v, 16r, 17r, 18v, 19r, 19v; Scribe 3, fol. 38r; Scribe 4, fols. 14v, 15r, 15v, 17v, 18r. See also Pirrotta, "Codex Palatino Panciatichiano," col. 404, and Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 5. As Ludwig pointed out, it is also possible to identify later additions to the collection by noting insertions (based on hand and ink color) in the index folios: Invidia nimica (fols. 17v-18r), Le firmament (fols. 15r-15v), Longtemps (fol. 38r), and Bonte bialté (fol. 14v). To this I can add that two other compositions, although members of a layer of works added to the collection before the compilation of the index, were not entered into the index presumably because they lacked texts: Solage's Pluseurs gens voy (fols. 106v-107r) and the anonymous rondeau ascribed to a certain "Marcus" on fol. 16v (as noted by Gallo in the introduction to the facsimile edition [p. 8], he should perhaps to be identified with the singer listed as Marcus at S. Reparata in 1410; see Frank D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore in the Early Quattrocento," Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga [Milan-Naples, 1973], 106, 120-21). Evidently, the last-named composition, as well as the ballata, O lieta stella, on fol. 17r, had already been copied into gathering 2 (both undoubtedly considered by their copyist as "Italian" compositions, and, as such, included by Scribe F at the beginning of the MS), when other insertions (not noted in the index) were made around them in the body of the collection (fols. 15r to 18r).

fols. 48v-50v and 60r-70v), there can be little doubt that four scribes--here called A, B, C, and D--worked on the main corpus of gatherings 1 through 10. Table 2.2 shows their most apparent differences.

Table 2.2: FP: Variations in Scribal Characteristics

	SCRIBES			
	A	B	C	D
clefs				
custodes	small, single	long, single	long, double	short, double
brevis	small, not uniform	large	large	large
semibrevis	small	large pointed	large pointed	large pointed
minima		pointed	squared	squared and curved-in
ligatures	uneven	pointed	very pointed	very pointed
dragma.	--	--		
text	/ = end of line ./ = end of section	/	./	/ g = 99 ././ dots for vowel elision

There exists almost absolute coincidence between text hands and music hands, the changes from one scribe to another occurring simultaneously in text and music.¹²³ In considering pieces added to the main corpus, we must distinguish between later entries made by the main scribes and those of other scribes. We may note three layers of additions (indicated with a "+" in Table 2.1): (1) Italian madrigals and ballatas copied by Scribes B, C, and D on fols. 5v-6r, 10v-11r, 46r, 46v-47r, 49v-50r, 53v-54r, 56r, 63r, 66v-67r, 82r, 88r; (2) compositions entered by Scribes E, F, and G on fols. 16v, 17r, 60r, 61v-62r, 69r, 73v-74r, 75v-76r, 77v-78r, 79v-80r, 86v-87r, 94r, 97r, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101v-102r, 102v, 103v, and 109r (still another hand, G', so-called because of its similarity to G, completed the copying of Contratenor parts on fols. 99v and 102v); and, finally, (3) 15th-century works copied by two later scribes,

¹²³ It is not always easy to determine where to draw the line between variations within the work of the same hand and those revealing another scribe altogether. For example, beginning with fol. 43v, Scribe B occasionally imitates Scribe C's double-headed custodes and sometimes even elaborates on them (fols. 47r and 52r). What is probably an exception to coincidence of music and text hands occurs on fols. 49r-50v, where Scribe D copied the text, and C, the music. It should be noted, as well, that changes in hands often accompany changes in the preparation of the paper for copying; for example, staves in gathering 2 were drawn right from the start (fol. 11r) with a different instrument and in a much darker ink than those of the first gathering. Comparable changes may be found in gatherings 3 (wider marks indicating the use of a new pricking instrument) and 9 (the resumption of pricking after a hiatus of two gatherings [see Table 2.1]).

H and I, on fols. 14v-15v, 17v-18r, and 38r.¹²⁴

All of this evidence fits together neatly in gathering 11, for the paper corroborates what we already know from the pricking and ruling: two distinct layers of activity are evident.¹²⁵ The opposite situation from gathering 11 obtains in gathering 5, where paper with watermark Type 3 constitutes the outer--not the inner--bifolios of the quinio. Pricking suggests that the entire gathering was prepared at one time, and, unlike gathering 11, the evidence points to more than mere coincidence of scribes and paper: Scribes B and C appear to have shared the copying of works on openings 42v-43r and 48v-49r. I shall return to a discussion of the collaboration between Scribes B and C shortly.

An outline of the way in which the various portions of the anthology as we have it today may have been planned

¹²⁴ Although this agrees largely with the account given in RISM, there are differences, particularly with regard to von Fischer's second set of additions to the main corpus. According to RISM, additions fall into five groups: (1) fols. 2v-3r, 5v-6r, 6v-7r, 10v-11r, etc.; (2) fols. 60r, 61v-62r, 69r, 73v-74r, 75v-76r, 77v-78r, 79v-80r, 86v-87r, 94v, 97r, 100r, 100v; (3) fols. 101v-109r and, slightly later, 16v and 17v; (4) fols. 38r-39v; (5) fols. 14v, 15r-15v, 17v-18r.

¹²⁵ The anonymous ballade, Cigne vermeill, on fols. 101v-102r and the anonymous rondeau, Je prins conget d'amours, on fol. 102v were copied by a different scribe from that of the major portion of the gathering (fols. 103v-109r): La montanon (anon., 103v-104r), Je ne puis avoys plaisir (anon., 104v-105r), Toute clerité (anon., 105v-106r), Medea (anon., 107v-108r), and La douce cere (Bartolino da Padova, 108v-109r). Cf. n. 114, above.

and brought to their present relative positions can now be suggested. Responsibility for the copying of Landini's ballatas and madrigals in the first five gatherings, an apparent attempt at collecting the composer's known works in one source, falls squarely on the pens of Scribes A, B, and C. One or more gatherings were devoted to each genre: the present first and second gatherings were reserved for the two-part ballatas; gatherings 3 and 4 for the three-part ballatas; and the fifth for the madrigals and caccias.¹²⁶ With regard to the first of these genres, there is a break between fol. 14r and the end of the gathering, fol. 20r: five compositions, including works by Cesaris and Dufay, were added by hands F and I to the blank, but already ruled, fols. 14v to 19v. We may suppose that B, at the moment of

¹²⁶ The presence of additional sets of sewing holes suggests the possibility that the first five gatherings may at one time have existed independently of the rest of the MS, and, moreover, that the order of copying of the Landini gatherings was not necessarily that represented by their present sequence in the MS. A different set of sewing holes can be seen in gatherings 4 (fols. 35v-36r) and 5 (45v-46r) from those in gatherings 6 (55v-56r), 7 (65v-66r), and 9 (85v-86r); still another set--and this one is especially clear--exists in gathering 11 (105v-106r). Inspection of sewing holes was not possible in other gatherings owing to the tightness of the modern binding. This evidence could also argue for a lapse in time between B's work in the Landini gatherings on the one hand and his activity in gatherings 6 and 7 on the other, accompanied by a change in his attitude toward the notation of pieces of later and earlier generations of Trecento composers--from that of a transformer of Italian notation into a French equivalent in gatherings 1-5 to that of a faithful copyist in 7 (see the discussion on notational variants, below).

copying, did not have enough two-part ballatas to fill the second gathering. Instead of following the more customary practice of leaving the end of the gathering blank, he left a gap after 14r and entered his last ballata, O merçe donna, on fol. 20r, thus neatly defining both the limits and contents of his copying stint, while leaving room for the addition of other two-part ballatas by Landini, which, we may speculate, he thought would be forthcoming.¹²⁷

In this context, gathering 4 stands in relation to gathering 3 as 2 does to 1, except that space left in the fourth gathering was filled by a new scribe, C, with a continuation of the three-part ballata collection, and by yet another hand, D, who completed the gathering with four additional pieces of the same genre. Scribe C also worked on the next gathering, 5, that containing Landini's madrigals. Significantly, he shared the copying of some compositions with Scribe B: the Contratenor of El gran disio, on fol. 31r in gathering 4, was copied by Scribe C (see Fig. 2.8; note the double-headed custodes and squared semibreves in C's copying); C also entered the Cantus of Chom' a seguir on fol. 49r, in gathering 5.

¹²⁷ This has already been noted in Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 13.

Fig. 2.8: FP, fol. 31r

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on a single staff system. The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 16th or 17th century. It consists of several staves of music, with lyrics written below the notes. The lyrics are in Latin and include phrases such as "qua di se ell ables peran", "ma bno ta ma zal coz bitta", "capuma ne legio cha mo", "a/ Christo", "Tenor/ El grandisio", "Contra tenor/ El grandisio", and "Indice". There are also some markings like "f." at the top and "777" on the right side. The page is framed by a simple border.

The fact that C contributed to B's work in one instance, and B to C's in two others, suggests the closeness of their working relationship.¹²⁸ Although the Contratenor added on fol. 31r in gathering 4 by C could be viewed as a later addition (in fact, this ballata survives a 2, without the Contratenor, in Pit, fol. 85r), the two scribes appear actually to have worked together in gathering 5. To be sure, the precise coincidence of scribes and paper (see Table 2.1)--C copied on paper with watermark Type 3, B, on paper with watermark Type 2--might be explained as C's removal of B's bifolios around 43-48 and replacement of them with his own bifolios, 41/50 and 42/49. He would, in such an event, have recopied the contents of fols. 42v and 49r to insure musical continuity. Elizabeth Keitel has shown this kind of replacement to have taken place in MS Machaut B.¹²⁹ But, as

¹²⁸ Scribe B planned with evident care what was to be his share of the copying work from the end of gathering 3 to the middle of gathering 8 (in the end, he copied only to fol. 70v). Dark-ink diagonal lines placed near the small guide initial letters are found on the following folios, and in all but two cases these indicate the anticipated placement of the Cantus parts of madrigals and caccias: fols. 28r, 29v, 30v, 32r, 33r, 48v, 51r, 53v, 54r, 55r, 56r, 58v, 59v, 60r (not the start of a new piece), 62v, 63r, 64r, 65r, 66v, 67v, 71r, 71v, 73v, 74v, 75r (the beginning of the second Cantus of Jacopo's Nel mio parlar). At one stage in the preparation of the MS, then, he may have been solely responsible for the works of the earliest generation of Trecento composers: Giovanni, Piero, and Jacopo.

¹²⁹ Elizabeth Keitel, "A Chronology of the Compositions of Guillaume de Machaut Based on a Study of Fascicle-Manuscript Structure in the Larger Manuscripts," (Ph.D. diss., Cornell Univ., 1976), 111-12. The importance of replacement folios has also been noted by Stanley Boorman

mentioned earlier, the pricking and ruling in the fifth gathering argue strongly against this: fols. 41 to 45 were prepared at one time as part of the same gathering, as were fols. 46 to 50. It would appear that B and C really set out to work together--perhaps to complete the copying as quickly as possible. If so, that might explain C's participation in gatherings 4 and 5, working there while B, at the same time, finished his work in gatherings 2, 6, and 7.

Scribes B and C, in all likelihood close collaborators, were also the principal copyists of gatherings 6 through 9. With these gatherings the nature of the MS changes from a Landini Gesamtausgabe, organized by genre as well as by style within genres, to an anthology which looks even further back in time. Gatherings 6 through 10 include a liberal mixture of genres and styles, principally madrigals and caccias, by several composers of the generations preceding and contemporary with Landini: gathering 6 for Giovanni and Piero; the seventh and half of the eighth, for Jacopo and Lorenzo; and the rest, up to fol. 90r, divided evenly among the Florentines Lorenzo, Donato,

in "Towards the Biography of a Manuscript: Bologna Q15," an unpublished paper read at a Meeting of the Greater New York Chapter of the American Musicological Society, April 1980.

and Gherardello.¹³⁰

The contributions by Scribe D are remarkable for several reasons. He is, first of all, solely responsible for the copying of gathering 10, presumably added as a supplement to the collection in gatherings 5 to 9, but his repertory is rather more specialized in character than the main collection in that it focuses almost exclusively on the caccia and canonic madrigal. The eleven works in gathering 10, representing approximately one-third of the entire surviving repertory of the caccia and canonic madrigal,¹³¹ may be Scribe D's collection in a very literal sense, for the terzina of the Contratenor part in Jacopo's madrigal Si chome al canto

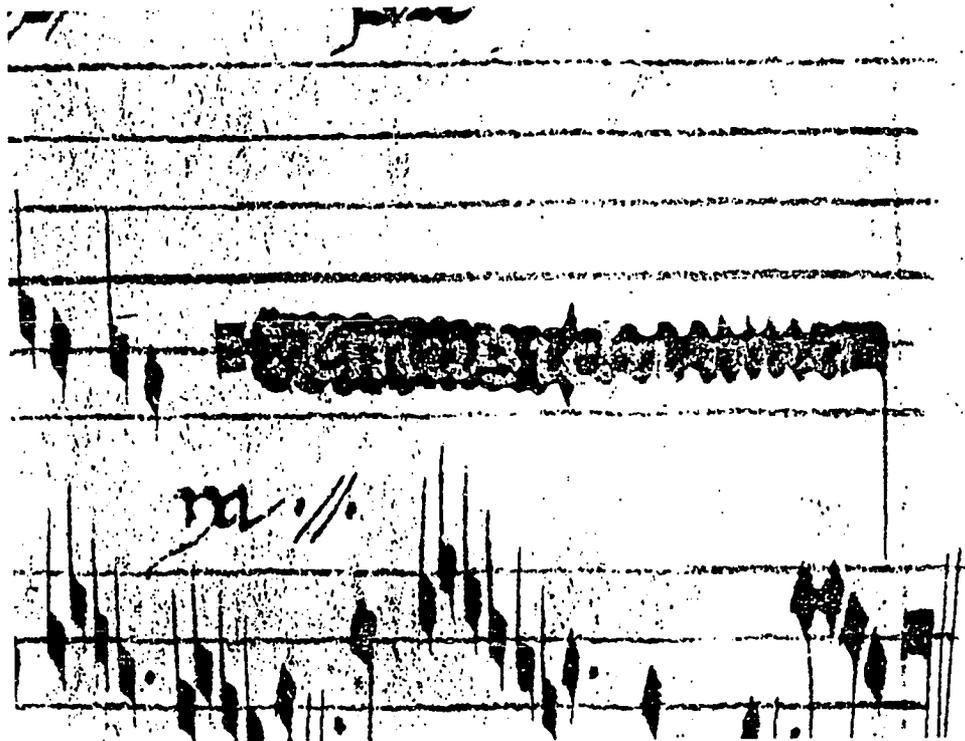
¹³⁰ An awareness of genre as a compilational criterion is shown in the index, where the two settings by Jacopo da Bologna of Oselletto selvaggio are designated as "Ma" (madrigale) and "Ca" (caccia), respectively; see also the anonymous Seghugi a corta ("Ca") and Piero's Si com' al canto della bella yguana ("a 2"). Lorenzo Masini's A poste messe is identified as a "caccia" in the body of the collection (fol. 76v).

¹³¹ Gathering 10 consists of the following (excluding additions by Scribe E): fol. 91r: Chavalcando chon un giovine (Piero); fols. 91v-92r: Aquila altera--Creatura gentil--Uccel di dio (Jacopo); fol. 92v: Chon brachi assai (Piero); fols. 93r-93v: Giunge'l bel tempo (Jacopo); fols. 93v-94r: Chon brachi assai (Giovanni); fols. 94v-95r: Sy chome al canto (Jacopo); fols. 95v-96r: In verde prato (Jacopo); fols. 96v-97r: Per larghi prati (Giovanni); fols. 97v-98r: Nel bosco sença foglie (Giovanni); fols. 98v-99r: Con dolce brama (Piero); fol. 99r: Seghugi a corta (anon.). See von Fischer, Studien, 35-38, for an inventory of the caccia and canonic madrigal repertory as a whole; of the twelve unique caccias and canonic madrigals, seven survive in gathering 10 of FP. For a comparable group of caccias set apart from the rest of a collection, see gathering 16 of SL 2211 (Chapter 5).

on fol. 95r ends with an unusual feature (see Fig. 2.9). Many final longs (or maxime) throughout the MS are extended in concertina-like fashion and decorated with red ink; but in this case the red ink spells out "musicha mia" (musicha written with the characteristic Tuscan ch).¹³² That the canonic madrigals and caccias in gathering 10 belonged to a rather narrowly circulated repertory is supported by the concordance picture: most of the pieces are unica.

¹³² That "musicha mia" was written within the final note of the Contratenor tercet has been noted by von Fischer (RISM, 890). See also idem, "Das Madrigal 'Si com'al canto della bella Iguana' von Magister Piero und Jacopo da Bologna," Beiträge zu einer Problemgeschichte des Komponierens: Festschrift für Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht zum 65. Geburtstag, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXIII (Weisbaden, 1984), 47; and Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1981), 181. Von Fischer and Long concluded, however, that the Contratenor part itself was perhaps composed by the scribe who added "musicha mia." The madrigal survives as a three-voice composition with identical Contratenor parts in FP and R (fols. 33v-34r); without Contratenor in Lo (fol. 8v) and Sq (fols. 19v-20r).

Fig. 2.9: FP, fol. 95r (detail): Contratenor part in
Jacopo da Bologna's Si chome al canto



Scribe D also inserted nine compositions in the
already completed gatherings 4 to 9,¹³³ one of which is

¹³³ Fol. 38v: Ne'n ciascun mie pensiero (Landini, three-part ballata); fol. 39r: Già non biasim' amor (Landini, three-part ballata); fol. 39v: Divennon gli ochi (Landini, three-part ballata); fol. 40r: Nessun ponga speranza (Landini, three-part ballata); fols. 53v-54r: I' fu tuo servo (Landini, two-part ballata); fol. 56r: Nella partita pianson (Landini, two-part ballata); fol. 63r: Amar si gli alti (Landini, three-part ballata); fol. 82r: Chontemplar le gran cose (Landini, three-part ballata); fol. 88r: Ongni dilecto (Piero, canonic madrigal).

Piero's canonic madrigal Ongni dilecto (fol. 88r), found elsewhere only in the earliest of the extant Trecento polyphonic collections, Rs 215/Os (fol. 8v). Of the other eight pieces entered by D--additional two- and three-part Landini ballatas--seven survive in a concordant source, Pit, copied there as a group in the penultimate gathering on fols. 113v to 118r (see the discussion of these folios in Chapter 4). The correspondence of the readings in the two MSS, frequently extending beyond rhythmic and melodic identity to notational details, including exact positioning of pre-placed accidentals, would argue for the close relationship of the two redactions of these works in a stemmatic sense. Significantly, although they are scattered throughout five gatherings in FP--in contrast to their proximity to one another in Pit--one element binds them together as a group: they were all copied in FP by the same hand, Scribe D.

I believe that D also compiled the index found at the beginning of the MS.¹³⁴ It would seem to have been

¹³⁴ The gathering of which the index is a part may originally have consisted of six folios, the missing folio presumably containing entries for letters A-E on its recto and verso. The existence of a first leaf of the index (now lacking) is confirmed by the offsetting of ink on present fol. 1r (arabic) as well as the fact that the incipits of the fifty pieces whose opening lines begin with these letters could be accommodated comfortably on two sides of one folio. That both fols. 1 and 5 (arabic numerals) are leaves with watermarks rules out any possibility that they might be conjugates, and suggests the presence of some form of

incomplete since the early days of the 15th century, for one of the Dufay-period chansons, Bonte bialté, could not be entered under letter B and was listed at the end of the index. Had the first leaf, containing letters A to E, been extant at the time of copying, the entry would surely have gone there.

A question that has not yet been resolved centers on the addition of Landini's two-part ballatas by Scribes C and D in gatherings 5 through 9. Why were they not entered on the blank--but ruled--leaves of the second gathering where, if the original plan had been respected, they properly belonged? One hypothesis is simply that gatherings 1 to 4 were not at hand during the compilation of 5 through 10. In fact, we might even speculate further that gatherings 1 and 2 (two-part ballatas) were not available--or, indeed, not yet compiled--during the copying of 3 and 4 (three-part ballatas). Scribe B added a Landini two-part ballata not in gathering 2, where ample space was still available, but on fol. 32r in gathering 4. If some gatherings were unavailable during the copying of others, as I suggest, then all 11 gatherings came together as one physical unit only prior to the insertions made by Scribe F, and before the compilation of the index by D. As already noted, Scribe F's

artificial join in the spine of the gathering; the join, however, cannot be seen.

addition on fol. 17r, O lieta stella, is included in the index.

One final point should be made concerning the scribes in FP: the heavy use that the collection underwent was probably at the hands of performing musicians.¹³⁵ The evidence for this is in the myriad of editorial additions and changes to both text and music throughout the source, almost all entered in red ink.¹³⁶ Most numerous among them are the red slashes used to mark the start and close of poetic lines, punctuation, and red-ink corrections in the text. More important are the emendations in the music, including changes in note values, and the addition of rests, notes, and accidentals.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ That the MS was used by performers has been previously suggested (see, for example, Eugene Fellin, "A Study of Superious Variants in the Sources of Italian Trecento Music: Madrigals and Cacce," [Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1970], 13), but apparently on the purely aesthetic grounds that it lacks the lavish decoration of other "presentation" sources such as Sq and Pit.

¹³⁶ Red ink of varying shades and intensities was employed as well for (1) foliation numbers in the upper right-hand corners, (2) composer attributions (generally in the middle of the upper margins), (3) initial capitals, and (4) designations of sections in compositions (e.g., "R," "andare" [= Ritornello]; "verto," "chiuso").

¹³⁷ In highlighting initial letters of poetic lines, the fact that shades of red and direction of slashes vary from part to part within a single composition suggests that these marks were entered by individuals following only one part at a time--i.e., performers (e.g., see gathering 1 passim). Moreover, the changing directions of the red slashes in the residual text, for example, of Landini's Po' ch'amor (fol. 9v) point to the work of someone actually reading through the piece and coming to the poetic lines one

On the basis of this paleographical and codicological evidence we can now examine the readings in FP and attempt to identify patterns in scribal practices. Let us look, for example, at the compositions of Giovanni da Cascia as transmitted in FP. In a recent study of Trecento notation, Eugene Fellin pointed out that although nine of Giovanni's compositions in this source are copied in Italian notation, as one would expect with the older generation of native composers, two madrigals appear there in a French-

at a time rather than a scribe entering all of these marks in a single editorial act. Corrections in the text include the following: (1) crossing-out the final *es* in the designation "Contratenore" (e.g., on fols. 22v, 23r, and 24r; on fol. 21r the "Contra" was entered in red); the addition of text incipits to otherwise textless parts (fol. 24r); the addition of punctuation (the period in line 7 of fol. 59v, the final period added to the text of the Tenor part on fol. 5r [and not, as one might expect, to the Cantus part as well]); (2) clarification of individual letters, such as the completion of the loop in the ascender of an *h* on the bottom line of fol. 4r; and (3) the use of signs to guide performers in locating the continuation of parts copied from verso to recto on an opening (e.g., fols. 88v-89r). See also Lorenzo's *A poste messe*, (fols. 76v-77r), which was not only designated as a "caccia" (in red ink, at the top of the leaf), but repeated words and sounds in its text are marked in red for emphasis. Among emendations in the music, see the erasure and added semibreve rest on fol. 13r (Tenor, second ligature), as well as added flats (in dark brown ink) drawn with looped stems on fols. 7v, 8v, 12r, 25v, and 30v. No doubt, uncertainty as to the beginnings of the overt and (longer) clos endings in Landini's ballata, Divennon gli ochi, (fol. 39v, second section of the Tenor) prompted the addition of dark-ink crosses. Of course, red ink was used throughout the source as an embellishment, decorating initial capital letters, individual notes, and, quite often, the elongated finalis with which so many pieces end.

influenced type of notation.¹³⁸ We may note that the two madrigals in question, Nascoso'l viso and Appress' un fiume, were copied by Scribe C on fols. 49v-50r and 50v, respectively; the nine madrigals in Italian notation were all copied by Scribe B.¹³⁹ Were this coincidence of scribe and notational language an isolated case, it would indicate very little; C could have drawn upon different exemplars from the ones used by B in adding works by Giovanni to an incomplete gathering (no. 5) otherwise devoted to Landini. There is some evidence, however, to suggest that the divergent notations may have little or nothing to do with Giovanni or a previous exemplar, but result from the predilections or training of the copyists in FP itself.

Distinct patterns of notational usage occur throughout much of Scribe B and C's work in gatherings 5 through 9. Representative of Scribe B is his use of Italian--in fact, purely Marchettan--notational traits when copying works of the older Italian generation, as if wanting to match his notational language with the composers whose

¹³⁸ Eugene Fellin, "The Notation-Types of Trecento Music," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, IV (1978), 214-15.

¹³⁹ Actually thirteen, including unica: La bella stella (fols. 47v-48r), Agnel son bianco (48v-49r), O tu chara scienza (51v-52r), Sedendo all'ombra (52v-53r), De, come dolcemente (52v-53r), Pyu non mi curo (53v-54r), Quando la stella (54v), Nel meco a sey pavghon (55r), Togliendo l'un all'altra (55v-56r), Donna già fu leggiadra (56v-57r), O perlaro gentil (57v-58r), Per ridd' andando (58v-59r), and In su la rippa (59v-60r).

works he was copying: semibreves of variable value, tempus indications (division letters), the employment of the semibrevis maior (semibrevis caudata), and the use of puncti divisionis to mark off regular breve units.¹⁴⁰ Comparison of his work with readings in concordant sources reveals two further elements in B's copying: a generous use of accidentals, aimed chiefly at aiding the performer, and a fair amount of cadential ornamentation. Neither of these elements is found in comparable abundance in the readings of other sources.

More careful attention needs to be given not only to distinguishing between French and Italian notational practices, but also to the classification of differing Italian notation types. As Gallo has so clearly shown in his

¹⁴⁰ That he may not have been an Italian musician by training is suggested in the notation of his Landini ballatas in gatherings 1 to 4, where a predominant French influence is manifest (see Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, passim). Obvious lapses from Italian into French practices in Scribe B's copying of older Italian works occur on numerous folios: e.g., the Cantus of Giovanni's Togliendo l'un all'altra (fol. 55v), precisely at "con dolci" at the end of the first tercet of the Cantus, where a breve has replaced a semibrevis caudata within a tempus in senaria perfecta also containing a semibreve; the Cantus parts of Giovanni's Agnel son bianco (fol. 48v) and Per ridd' andando (fol. 58v), where we find instances of imperfectione ad partem remotam; Jacopo da Bologna's Per sparverare (fol. 70r) contains dots of addition following semibreves. Scribe D, on the other hand, strikes one as the most "Italian," both in notation (see Piero's Con dolce brama and the anonymous Seghugi a corta [fols. 98v-99r], which follow Marchettan practices to the point of avoiding minims) and, indeed, in repertory (canonic madrigals and caccias).

evaluation of "Italian notation" in 14th-century treatises,¹⁴¹ we are confronted with continuous modifications of Italian elements that were variously combined with, set against, and confused with French elements. A comparison of concordant versions of a number of compositions bears out one facet of this. For example, Giovanni's madrigals, La bella stella, Sedendo all'ombra, and Nel meço a sey paghon, figure in the literature as having been copied in Italian notation in FP and concordant sources (see Example 2.1).

¹⁴¹ F. Alberto Gallo, La teoria della notazione in Italia dalla fine del XIII all' inizio del XV secolo (Bologna, 1966).

Ex. 2.1: Notational Variants Among Italian Sources
Transmitting Nearly Identical Readings

La bella stella Giovanni

Panc 26 (47^V)
cantus

Paris 568 (19^V)
cantus

Rossi 215 (23^V)
cantus

Sedendo all' ombra Giovanni

Panc 26 (52^V)
cantus

Squarcialupi (2^V)
cantus

Lo 29987 (9^F)
cantus

Nel mezzo a sei pavon Giovanni

Panc 26 (55^F)
cantus

Reina (32^V)
cantus

The versions in the example above exhibit differing uses of (1) puncti (for instance, Scribe B, responsible for the readings of these madrigals in FP, is the only one consistently to place puncti after each breve unit or its equivalent), (2) the marking off of metrical units with semibreves or minims, and (3) the use of the semibrevis maior. Given the phenomenon of scribal intervention, it is evident that we should aim toward a more detailed evaluation of the notation in individual compositions, including a study of specialized features by the various scribes of our Trecento anthologies.

One of the most important specialized notational features used in FP is the one-pitch ligature,¹⁴² recognizable as two notes drawn so that they touch, but do not overlap

¹⁴² See Long, "Musical Tastes," 15-20, for a discussion of this ligature type in the Rs 215/Os repertory and its connection with the use of dots to mark elision in poetic texts. The notation of one-pitch ligatures was certainly known in England, where "conjuncturae on a single pitch" were used as early as the 13th century for a variety of purposes, and, to judge from fragments recently discovered in Lincoln, Library of the Dean and Chapter, MS 52 (see Roger Bowers and Andrew Wathey, "New Sources of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," Early Music History, III [1983], 123-73; see the facsimile of Alleluia on fols. 1v-2r), well into the 14th century. The authors in the study mentioned above transcribe the ligated semibreve/minim pair as a modern dotted figure, but they do not cite theoretical support for this "notational peculiarity," nor do they seem aware of its existence outside of England. For other common features in Italian and English 14th-century notations, see Margaret Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, IV (1978), 65-82.

(e.g., the form  in Fig. 2.7). They are used to set elided vowels in the text, construct syncopations both within and extending beyond the tempus, or simply to notate still larger values within the tempus than would be possible with those normally available. In FP, the one-note ligatures occur primarily in the work of Scribe D, on fols. 88r, 95r, and 97v. Scribe C's use of the doubled semibrevis maior form  on fols. 88v and 89r may be purely ornamental in nature, for both ligatures occur as penultimate notes and are decorated with red ink along with the finals. A single instance may be found in B's work, on fol. 53v. In fact, a comparison of concordances reveals that B and C's readings do not preserve such ligatures when they are found in states outside of FP (notably, in Rs 215/Os, Man/ManP, Pit, and GR 16). That Scribe D was particularly sensitive to this notational feature is shown by two corrections he made: the semibrevis maior/semibrevis form on fol. 88r, staff 5, has a fine line drawn between the note heads (ink colors are the same); on fol. 94v, staff 8, scraping has separated the note heads above the word "tu" in the Tenor voice (the corresponding position in the Contratenor [fol. 95r, staff 4] retains the ligature). As we have seen with this one feature, the Italian notational language was clearly in a continuous state of evolution; it varied at the hands of different users, and even within the work of a single scribe, if the character of the music

seemed to necessitate it.

Scribe C normally does not employ Italian tempus (letter) indications, or, when he does, uses them within the context of notational elements which, on the whole, are associated with French practices. One of Giovanni da Cascia's madrigals noted above, Appress'un fiume chiaro, raises the question of the validity of Fellin's notational classifications. He included this madrigal among those exhibiting French traits (F¹, as he calls it) in its FP notation, basing his decision on the presence of a mixture of elements: longa-based duodenaria, dots of addition and perfection, and employment of Italian mensuration letters. It can be argued, however, that all of these notational elements, under various guises and doses, had been part of the Italian repertory as early as the compilation of the Rs 215/Os collection of ca. 1350 and, indeed, of Marchetto's Pomerium in arte musicae mensuratae of ca. 1318-19.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ See Long, "Musical Tastes," Chapters 3 and 4, where he is particularly resourceful in his treatment of the subdivision of the breve in early 14th-century treatises, providing us with fresh readings from Muris, Marchetto, Jacobus de Liège, and Prosdocimo. See his association of Muris' concept of mutatio qualitatis and longa-notation with quaternaria-notation in the Italian repertory of Rs 215/Os. The most important point to be made regarding late 14th- and early 15th-century Italian collections, Long argues, is that "the use of a notation based on a regrouping of small (minimum) tempora did not represent the abandonment of Italian notational principles in favor of the French system . . . it was more an effort to smooth the theoretical wrinkles which were appearing with increasing frequency in a compositional milieu devoted to rhythmic variety" (p. 86). On the dating of the Pomerium, see Jan Herlinger, The

Certainly, the sole criterion of longa- vs. brevis- notation has only recently been dislodged as a meaningful division between French and Italian 14th-century notational styles.¹⁴⁴ Discussions of modus (or, as Pirrotta would describe it, of units "in a larger rhythmic movement") can be found in the Pomerium, as well as in early 14th-century Italian transmissions of French theoretical teachings (Franco and Muris).¹⁴⁵ For example, Marchetto, in discussing the dot of division, quite unambiguously offers several contexts for its use: (1) the pontellus need not always function as a notational articulation between tempora (breve values), (2) dots may serve to indicate modus when placed between breves which, in turn, are preceded and followed by longs, and, finally, (3) a dot may serve double duty in indicating both tempus and modus.¹⁴⁶ The section on modus from a later,

Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua (Chicago, 1985), 3-4.

¹⁴⁴ Fellin recognizes, but does not fully articulate, the complexity of the relationship between "Italian" and "French" notational principles. ("The Notation-Types," 211-13).

¹⁴⁵ See Nino Pirrotta, ed. The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, 5 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae VIII (Rome, 1954-64), foreword to Vol. I, ii-iii; Kurt von Fischer, "Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Trecento-Notation," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XVI (1959), 87-99; idem, Studien zur italienischen Musik, 111-13; Stephen Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ., 1974), 217-23.

¹⁴⁶ Giuseppe Vecchi, ed. Pomerium, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, VI (n.p., American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 65-67, Liber primus, tractatus tertius ("De

anonymous treatise, the Musice compilatio, speaks of modus even more directly when it defines its states of perfection and imperfection in terms of longs and rests equivalent to the value of three or two breves, respectively.¹⁴⁷ It is within this context that the concept of alteratio is also discussed.¹⁴⁸

Scribe C's markedly transitional and perhaps specifically Florentine notational style exhibits late 14th-century practice in employing puncti for the

pontello"), Capitulum tertium: "Quid ipse pontellus faciat in musica mensurata." Marchetto's final musical example (Vecchi, p. 67) is extraordinary in that one of the versions employs a double dot to articulate both short- and long-term groupings ("Tunc enim pontellus duo facit: primo, proportionem perfectionis ternariae dicit esse completam, et sic per consequens sequitur quod brevis ultima alteratur; secundo, semibreves a semibrevibus separat, tempora distinguendo. Sed quia absque deliberatione et provisionis mora hoc scire esset difficile intuenti, ideo dicimus quod fiant duo pontelli iuxta se positi, per quos ad praedicta duo cognoscenda instruemur facilius quam per unum, ut hic: [musical example]"). I have found only one example in the sources of such double dotting: Landini's Che pena è quest' al cor, Contratenor (Pit, fol. 101r).

¹⁴⁷ F. Alberto Gallo, ed. Mensurabilis Musicae Tractatuli, Antique musicae italicae scriptores, I, (Bologna, 1966), 74: [Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS M28 Sup., fols. 114r-117r; Chapter IX] "Nota quod modus perfectus est quando longa vel pausa valet tria tempora et cantus dividitur vel componitur per numerum trinarium . . ."; "Modus imperfectus cognoscitur quando invenitur in aliquo cantu longa vel pausa que non sit nisi duo tempora, tunc est de modo imperfecto et debet dividi in duas partes . . ."

¹⁴⁸ Gallo, ed. Mensurabilis Musicae Tractatuli, Musice compilatio, Chapter III, 67-68; Frater Guido's Ars musicae mensurate, Chapter IV, 27-31. See the chapter on the pontellus in the Pomerium, ed. Vecchi, 66, lines 6-8.

mensurations novenaria, senaria imperfecta, senaria perfecta, and quaternaria only where clarification was deemed necessary. His occasional puncti in octonaria and duodenaria were introduced when he did not make use of new ways of notating, for in these mensurations the placement of the puncti was the only means of determining the value of the semibreve.¹⁴⁹ Characteristic of Scribe C's notational dialect, in fact, is the change in manner of notating octonaria and duodenaria with the long as the basic metrical unit and the breve reduced to one-half or one-third of its former value. The resultant notation was frequently accompanied by the newly interpreted quaternaria indications, each octonaria and duodenaria unit consisting of two or three such values (see Giovanni's Nascoso'l viso and Appress' un fiume in gathering 5). Moreover, Scribe C's use of divisiones indications often disagrees with concordant readings, the incongruity ranging from complete variance throughout an entire section (an exceptional example may be found in the ritornello of Nascoso'l viso, fols. 49v-50r) to temporary variance of only one metrical unit (for example, the anticipation of changes from one tempus to another in Donato's Un cane, fol. 81r, and Lorenzo's Nel chiaro fiume, fols. 77v-78r). Common as well

¹⁴⁹ In octonaria, for example, .◆◆ .◆◆ would equal two breves, whereas .◆◆◆◆ is equivalent to only one; see Jacopo's Oselletto selvaggio and Sotto l'imperio, copied by Scribe C on fols. 72v-73r and 71v-72r, respectively.

in C's work is the alteration of the breve and use of the punctus additionis for breves, longs, and semibreves (when used in conjunction with the latter, Scribe C most seriously takes over French practice).¹⁵⁰

I suspect that C was copying not from exemplars in French notation, but from Italian ones. The Cantus of Giovanni's Nascoso'l viso on fol. 49v (Fig. 2.10) reveals Scribe C's imposition of a French-influenced notational equivalent on the reading of an Italian-notated exemplar. He perhaps elected to retain one aspect of earlier Italian notation styles by adding tempus indications most likely absent in the exemplar, thus lending it a pseudo-Italian appearance. He changed the incorrect i (for senaria imperfecta) to a p (senaria perfecta) in line 5 (see the second p).

¹⁵⁰ See, for example, C's copying of Sovra la riva (fols. 75v-76r), Non al suo amante (fol. 71r, which includes a semibreve with a punctus additionis). It should be noted that Scribe C is at his most "Italian" (especially in his use of the semibrevis maior) when he shares the copying of pieces with B: Tu che l'oper altrui (fol. 42v) and Agnel son bianco (fol. 49r).

Fig. 2.10: FP, fol. 49v

Similar concerns with tempus indications are to be found in C's copying of Giovanni's Appress'un fiume chiaro on fol. 50v. As we shall see, such examples of deliberate notational changes are not limited to FP, for other Italian sources contain candidates as well: e.g., the addition in MS R of superfluous puncti within an otherwise French notation, and, in the same MS, the Cantus of Jacopo's Prima virtute (fol. 6r), where the scribe clearly departed from

quaternaria indication by adding a dot of division.¹⁵¹

Scribe A, working in the first and third Landini gatherings, appears, like C, to have felt the need to transform Italian notation into some form of French equivalent, although A was much more thorough and accomplished in such matters. We can also infer from occasional lapses in his work that A did not copy from French-notated exemplars. One example can be seen on fol. 28r (Fig. 2.11), where he tried to erase (by scraping off) the letter n (tempus indication for novenaria)--unnecessary in the context of the French-notated reading--at the beginning of the seventh staff.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Fellin, "Notation-Types," 218 and 223. A particularly revealing example of scribal intervention occurs in one of the instrumental arrangements of MS R, fols. 85r-85v (discussed at length in Chapter 3, below).

¹⁵² Other erased mensuration letters include an "n" on fol. 28r (staff 6, above "contenti") and an "i" on fol. 33r (staff 2, above "senta").

Fig. 2.11: FP, fol. 28r (detail)



In a significant number of cases, then, scribal intent played an important role in generating variant notational readings. It would be difficult to agree with Leo Schrade, who in the commentary to his Landini volume expressed the view that the number of different notational versions of Trecento compositions undoubtedly points to as many antecedents from which our extant sources were copied.¹⁵³ He felt, for instance, that the FP version of Landini's ballata De, non fuggir (fol. 32r), like that of Sq (fol. 144v) in French notation with reduction to breve-measures, represented but one of three separate prior collections, for the work also survives in a pure Italian version in Pad A 1475 (fol. 1r [orig. 50r]), and in a French-influenced modal

¹⁵³ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 28-30.

transcription in R (fols. 50v-51r).¹⁵⁴ His argument does not fully take into account the probability of scribal initiative in the extant sources themselves. Thus, pursuing his reasoning further, we would presumably end up with three different archetypes and/or autographs of the same work. One might expect the point of change (i.e., the change of notational language) to have taken place in the lost exemplars rather than in our extant sources, especially given the retrospective character of the latter, but it might be suggested that in view of scribal practices, FP and other surviving sources (at least in some cases), rather than their exemplars, are the point of change.

Marked agreement or disagreement in notations among 14th-century Italian compositions cannot be taken as prima facie evidence in an assessment of the relationship of the sources to each other without thoroughly evaluating scribal practices of each source under consideration. For example, it has been noted that Sq and FP disagree notationally in eighteen out of the fifty-two madrigals and caccias they share.¹⁵⁵ Of the six concordant pieces by Giovanni where FP and Sq disagree,¹⁵⁶ the four in FP copied by Scribe B in an Italian type of notation appear in Sq following French notational practices; the

¹⁵⁴ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, 30.

¹⁵⁵ Fellin, "Notation-Types," 218-19.

¹⁵⁶ See the list in Fellin, "Notation-Types," 214-15.

reverse holds for Scribe C's two madrigals. Analogous patterns of copying are observable in the works of several other composers represented in Sq, as well as in MSS Lo, Pit, and R. Further investigation may indeed show that these sources (or portions thereof) are more closely associated than had hitherto been suspected (discussed in the context of repertories in Pit, Fn F.5.5, Sq, and SL 2211; see Chapters 4 and 5).

Other considerations of scribal practices might include the layout of voices in three-part compositions: Scribe A's usual Cantus/Contra/Tenor against B and C's Cantus/Tenor/Contra; or even B's consistent copying of residual text adjacent to the Cantus part, while Scribe D almost always places it at the end of the Tenor part. Certainly more important intentional variants include (1) care in text alignment in the work of Scribes A and D, evident particularly in their use of coordinating lines drawn from particular syllables to notes when clarification of that relationship was deemed necessary (much in the manner of examples in MS O 213),¹⁵⁷ and (2) Scribe D's use,

¹⁵⁷ See Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213, Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/24 (Bern, 1971), 61-63. Such coordinating lines are found in FP on the following folios: 1r, 4r, 6r, 6v, 7v, 9v, 11v, 12v, 38v, 39v, 40r, 40v, 45r, 53r, 58r, 63r, 64r, 65r, 68r, 71r, 76v, 81r, 82r, 93r, and 98r. See Earp, "Scribal Practice," 195, for a discussion of this phenomenon in the Machaut sources and its occurrence in other

in the text, of dots placed under one of two adjacent vowels when their elision was intended in performance (the use of dots in the text is characteristic of the index incipits as well).¹⁵⁸

It may not be unreasonable to suggest that texting by scribes in FP shows the extent to which taste and/or habit can affect the transmission of styles (see Table 2.3). Of Landini's 91 two-part ballatas (his entire surviving corpus), nine were taken by Schrade to be works conceived as copied in FP; that is, with only the Cantus texted. In his evaluation of sources from a period in which it is reasonable to assume that composers' original scores no longer survive, Schrade attached proportionately greater importance to FP, feeling that, as it contained so many of Landini's works, it most closely approximated the lost autographs; thus, he placed this MS at the top of a hierarchy of presumed authority.

cases where true text "underlay" is observed.

¹⁵⁸ In this regard, dots reflecting vowel elision in the text of Landini's ballata, Che cosa è quest' amor (copied by Scribe C on fol. 37r) appear to be later additions and could well have been placed there by Scribe D for purposes of clarification.

Table 2.3: Landini Two-Part Ballatas With Untexted Tenors

	FP	Lo	Pit	Sq	R	Others
1) "Con gli occhi"	Scribe C, 2 ¹ (49v-50r)		2 ²	2 ²		
2) "Gia ebbi"	Scribe C, 2 ¹ (46r)					
3) "I' fu tuo servo"	Scribe D, 2 ¹ (53v-54r)		2 ¹	2 ¹		
4) "Il suo bel viso"	Scribe C, 2 ¹ (46v-47r)			2 ²		
5) "I' non ardisco"	Scribe C, 2 ¹ (41v-42r)					
6) "Nella più cara"		2 ¹				
7) "Ognor mi trovo"				2 ¹		
8) "Perchè virtù"	Scribe C, 2 ¹ (42v-43r)					
9) "Vaga fanciulla"	Scribe B, 2 ¹ (10v-11r)			2 ¹		
"Donna s'i' t'o"	Scribe A, 2 ² (1r)	2 ¹	2 ²	2 ²	2 ²	Man, 2 ² PaDA, 2 ²
"Fortuna ria"	Scribe A, 2 ² (10r)		2 ²	2 ²		Pist, 2 ¹
"La dolce vista"		2 ⁰	2 ²	2 ¹	3 ²	

Are the nine ballatas in Table 2.3, then, as Schrade proposed, the products of a French influence late in Landini's development?¹⁵⁹ Or could the manner in which the

¹⁵⁹ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 19.

individual scribes copied Landini's works have an impact on the way we view the ballatas today? Clues may be found in the work of the scribes themselves. A and B tended always to text both voices in two-part compositions. The lack of text by B in the Tenor part of the ballata Vaga fanciulla on fol. 10v is due, I believe, to a lack of space: the part is written almost entirely in ligatures and made to fit on fewer than two lines. Reasons of space must also account for lack of text in the Tenor part in B's copying of Giovanni's De, come dolçemente (fols. 52v-53r). Texting of both voices continues in the ballatas that B added to staves left blank at the bottom of leaves copied by A, and, remarkably even in Landini's two-part ballata Chom' a seguir on fols. 48v-49r (Fig. 2.12 a, b), entered by both Scribes B and C--for B copied the Tenor part. On the other hand, when C and D had occasion to copy Landini two-part ballatas, with one exception,¹⁶⁰ they texted only the Cantus. I dare say, had Chom' a seguir been copied entirely by Scribe C, it would have been accepted with an untexted Tenor in Schrade's Landini edition.

¹⁶⁰ Nella partita, added by Scribe D on fol. 56r. To support this view of Scribe B's texting habits, it should be pointed out that, contrary to von Fischer's report in Studien, 56, the anonymous ballata, Io son un pellegrin, on fols. 47v-48r carries text in both Cantus and Tenor parts.

Figure 2.12a: FP, fol. 48v

A. D. Giovanni.

gnelstn bñcto uc te lanto te

be. angustsonbraco uc te lanto be be te te te te. E pe in guand

de cha pas si pe ta. E laco uc ngnor padri boam

nono be. ne che di me si za. E pugna

ste sin gnoz men mal uce.

No ma segue co ste amor fu pre ste. O ma da lle na sto des mi fio ne

Beate pachi fu suo no stupia te. Tacendo nel pas las te no pe za

A similar situation obtains among the three-part ballatas. Schrade had correctly observed the general plan of gatherings 1 through 4 in FP, where compositions are arranged by genre and by style within genres. Working from this plan, he suggested that the three-part ballatas with texted Tenors--found predominantly on fols. 35-40--were chronologically later compositions than the ones with text only in the Cantus, because of their late physical position in the collection. But the clear coincidence of scribes and styles suggests a different interpretation. A and B began the copying of three-part ballatas, filling gathering 3 entirely and the first three folios of the fourth with Cantus-texted pieces, or ones in which all voices are texted.¹⁶¹ It is only with the additions by the new scribes to this part of the MS, works copied by C and D on fols. 35-40, that the texted Cantus/Tenor and untexted Contratenor style makes its most consistent appearance, and it is not, one should add, supported by a corresponding change in musical style (i.e., the nature of the Contratenor part and its relationship to the other voices): C entered four such ballatas; and D, three.¹⁶² It seems clear, then,

¹⁶¹ There are two exceptions: Gram piant' agli ochi (fol. 26r) and Amor in te spera (fol. 29v). Schrade chose to edit the three-part ballata Questa fanciulla with a texted Tenor, although that form of the composition exists only in concordant readings outside of FP (fol. 22v): Pit, fol. 70v and Sq, fol. 138r.

¹⁶² On a broader level, Kurt von Fischer, in "Ein

that in the textng of ballatas, Scribes A, B, C, and D are markedly different. I would, therefore, question adherence to one MS as the prime source for textng in a critical edition, without first carefully considering the various approaches in all concordant readings.

Versuch zur Chronologie von Landinis Werken," Musica Disciplina, XX (1966), 35, justly questioned a chronology based solely on physical location in the MS simply because of the general disagreement among concordant versions with regard to the textng of voices. Of the seven, three-part ballatas on fols. 35-40 with texted Cantus and Tenor, three of them, copied by Scribe C, appear elsewhere with all voices texted: Cosa nulla più fe (35v), Che pen è quest' al cor (36v-37r), and Che cosa è quest' amor (36v-37r). The first two of these ballatas are included in the newly discovered fragment, Fn F.5.5, and appear there in fully texted form (discussed in Chapter 4). See Dorothea Baumann, Die dreistimmige italienische Lied-Satztechnik im Trecento, Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, LXIV (Baden-Baden, 1979), 92-6, for a summary of stylistic traits of the three-voice ballatas.

CHAPTER III

THE REINA CODEX REVISITED

Since its sale by Signor Reina in Milan on 15 December 1834, the MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 6771 ("Reina" Codex [MS R]) has assumed an important position at the heart of our understanding of late 14th- and early 15th-century Italian and French secular polyphony. It has been the focus of investigation in numerous studies and editions, in which scholars have delved into questions concerning the physical aspects of the source, its scribes, repertory, and the character of its musical text.¹⁶³ In addition, all of the music has been made available in modern transcription.¹⁶⁴ Although much can be

¹⁶³ See in particular Kurt von Fischer, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 6771 (Codex Reina = PR)," Musica Disciplina, XI (1957), 38-78; Nigel Wilkins, "The Codex Reina: A Revised Description," Musica Disciplina, XVII (1963), 57-73; von Fischer, "Reply to N. E. Wilkins' Article on the Codex Reina," Musica Disciplina, XVII (1963), 75-7; Nigel Wilkins, "A Critical Edition of the French and Italian Texts and Music Contained in the Codex Reina," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Nottingham, 1964); Ursula Günther, "Bermerkungen zum älteren französischen Repertoire des Codex Reina," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXIV (1967), 237-52.

¹⁶⁴ Principally in Wilkins, "A Critical Edition," II; idem, ed., A 14th-Century Repertory from the Codex Reina, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, XXXVI (American Institute of Musicology, 1966); idem, ed., A 15th-Century Repertory from

agreed upon, these studies and editions have left us with conclusions which vary considerably from one another; most importantly, they offer solutions to problems of structure and repertory that remain controversial and that raise new questions not only about the makeup of the MS but also the nature of the readings it transmits.

The present chapter presents the results of a fresh examination of the physical features of this MS, involving above all the identification of watermarks, an analysis of the characteristics of ruling, a study of the binding, and, finally, the distinguishing of the scribes.¹⁶⁵ The results, differing significantly from solutions published thus far, bring us closer to an appreciation of the working habits of the scribes and the nature of their collaboration, and hence closer to a critical reading of the musical texts they copied. Against this backdrop of observations, I shall make some points concerning scribal contributions to the particular readings preserved in the

the Codex Reina, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, XXXVII (American Institute of Musicology, 1966); Nino Pirrotta, ed., The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, 5 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, VIII (American Institute of Musicology, 1954-64); Willi Apel, ed., French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1950); *idem*, ed., French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, 3 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, LIII (American Institute of Musicology, 1970).

¹⁶⁵ Research for this phase of the study was supported by a grant from the Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund for Music.

collection.

Pioneering work on R was undertaken by Johannes Wolf in his Geschichte der Mensural-Notation,¹⁶⁶ in which Wolf focused primarily on a description of its contents and notation. Friedrich Ludwig, both in his review of Wolf's survey and in the introduction to his Machaut edition, corrected errors in Wolf's description of contents and added his own analysis of the makeup and scribes of R:¹⁶⁷ 1) the first seven gatherings (fols. 1-84) consist of an Italian and French 14th-century repertory rich in unica; 2) a second section was compiled later in the Quattrocento, and consists of French works of the early 15th century. Ludwig's description was subsequently refined by Leo Schrade, who distinguished among three sections, each characterized by repertory and scribes: "the Italian Trecento portion, the simultaneously collected French repertory of the 14th century, and the 15th-century supplement."¹⁶⁸

Today, much of the controversy surrounding MS R is

¹⁶⁶ Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1904), I, 260-64. See Wilkins, "A Critical Edition," 1-5, for a discussion of early studies and descriptions of the source.

¹⁶⁷ Friedrich Ludwig, review of Wolf's Geschichte, in Sammelbande der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, VI (1904-5), 616; *idem*, Guillaume de Machaut musikalische Werke, ed. 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-54), II, 24-25.

¹⁶⁸ Leo Schrade, ed., The Works of Guillaume de Machaut, 2 vols., Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, II-III (Monaco, 1956), II, 48.

embodied in the two full-length studies of the source, by Kurt von Fischer and Nigel Wilkins.¹⁶⁹ To aid the discussion to follow, I shall here outline their respective arguments.

Von Fischer's most important contribution remains his 1957 description, in which the importance of the MS and the general place of origin were asserted. In all fairness to von Fischer, it must be stated at the outset that in matters codicological his study reflects the state of the art in the 1950s; it represented the field of music history, which unfortunately lagged--and in some ways continues to lag--behind sister disciplines in the study of its source materials. In the preface to his inventory,¹⁷⁰ von Fischer noted the following features:

1. Part I of the codex (gatherings 1-5, consisting primarily of 14th-century works in Italian notation and with Italian texts) was copied ca. 1400 by Hands A (fols. 1r-39v, 43r-44r, 47v-52v), B (fols. 39v-41r, 45v-46r), and C (fols. 44v-45r). In some cases von Fischer found it difficult to distinguish among the different scribes (e.g., fols. 9v-10r).
2. Part II (gatherings 6 and 7, consisting almost entirely of 14th-century works in French notation with French texts) was the responsibility of two new

¹⁶⁹ See n. 163, above.

¹⁷⁰ Von Fischer, "The Manuscript," 38-44.

scribes, writing ca. 1400: D (fols. 53r-62v, and additions on 12v-13r, 46v-47r, 65v-66r, 72v-73r, and 77v, as well as texts on fols. 65r and 70r; D also compiled the index on fols. 126v-127r) and E (fols. 63r-84v and possibly the instrumental arrangements on inserted fols. 85r and 85v). Von Fischer notes that Scribe E was very likely an Italian, judging from characteristic corruptions in his French texts.¹⁷¹

3. Part III constitutes a supplement, added ca. 1430-40 by Hand F (fols. 89v-119r). This section of the MS, according to von Fischer, consists of two gatherings (8 and 9) and various inserted folios.¹⁷²
4. An original verso-side foliation in roman numerals (i.e., one which serves to number openings in the collection) extends from the beginning of the source to fol. 29v; on fols. 30v-84v this foliation continues in arabic numerals. A more recent recto-side sequence of arabic numerals appears on fols. 1r-127r (discounting the numbering on the flyleaves

¹⁷¹ See also Ursula Günther, "Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XVII (1960), 6-7.

¹⁷² Von Fischer, "The Manuscript," 74-7: gathering 8 (fols. 89-108), inserted folios 109 and 110, gathering 9 (fols. 111-18), and isolated folio 119. Fols. 125-27 remained structurally undefined for von Fischer.

and the new index on fols. 128r-131r). Fols. 120-24 are now lost.

5. Despite the double repertory and the variety of scribes on fols. 1-88, the paper used for Parts I and II forms a single unit (that is, any notion of chronologically distinct layers of compilation would not be supported by paper types). According to von Fischer, this is evident in the following distribution of watermarks:¹⁷³

Basilisk: fols. 1-34, 42, 48, 49, 51, 55, 59, 66-71, 80-83.

Mount: fols. 35-40, 53, 57.

Bell: fols. 46, 50, 85, 86.

Bow-and Arrow: fols. 72, 73, 78.

The final section stands apart from the others by virtue of the hardness of its paper and the Crown watermark it carries.

6. Fols. 1-88 feature eight music staves per folio; fols. 89-119, seven staves. Red ink was used to rule the staves of gatherings 2 and 3, and variations in the writing space coincide with the three sections: gatherings 1-5 = 19.6 X 17.5 cm.; gatherings 6-7 = 21.3 X 18 cm.; and the final section of the MS (gatherings 8 and 9) =

¹⁷³ Von Fischer, "The Manuscript," 39.

20.2 X 15 cm.¹⁷⁴

7. Von Fischer concluded from these data that subsequent to the initial compilation of gatherings 1 through 7, Scribe D completed gathering 5, made additions to gatherings 1-5 and 6-7, and brought his work to a close by binding the gatherings together, adding the paper of gatherings 8 and 9, and compiling an index at the end of the collection that essentially lists the French repertory copied by himself and Scribe E.

This analysis of the scribes and history of compilation was strongly contested by Nigel Wilkins in his 1964 dissertation on MS R.¹⁷⁵ Although the substance of Wilkins' arguments was published one year prior to the completion of the dissertation,¹⁷⁶ certain elaborations were developed in the unpublished dissertation and will be included in the condensed description below:

1. The scribes: von Fischer's Hands A and E are identical. This scribe, now labeled Scribe I, alone undertook the compilation and redaction of this collection of North-Italian and French secular song

¹⁷⁴ Ludwig had reported the measurement of the writing space of fols. 1-84 as 20 X 17.3 cm. (review of Wolf's Geschichte, 616).

¹⁷⁵ Wilkins, "A Critical Edition," 6-17.

¹⁷⁶ Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 57-66.

(details of Wilkins' comparison of scribes will be taken up shortly in my own description of the copyists). Von Fischer's Hands C and D are also alleged to be identical, Wilkins citing--although with caution--ink colors as evidence. This scribe, now labeled Scribe III, was more at ease with French-texted compositions than was Scribe I. Wilkins does, however, present examples of corruptions in the French texts copied by Scribe III, citing "the [scribe's] difficulty in reading the small and very abbreviated handwriting."¹⁷⁷ Von Fischer's Hand B remains for Wilkins a legitimately independent scribe, and is labeled Scribe II. Scribe IV (von Fischer's Hand F), the compiler of the 15th-century supplement at the back of the collection, was also responsible for the index (attributed by von Fischer to Scribe D). Wilkins argues that the index had clearly been created by someone unfamiliar with the compositions he was citing, thereby eliminating Scribe III as a possibility. The index hand, in fact, "corresponds exactly, as one would expect, considering the position of the folios, to that of Scribe IV."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 60.

¹⁷⁸ Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 60.

Finally, Wilkins admits that various other hands, not easily distinguished, "seem to have dabbled here and there, at least in the writing of texts (e.g., fols. 35v-37r)." This also includes the corrections and additions to the texts on fols. 65r and 70r (not, as von Fischer has suggested, entered by Scribe III).

2. This very different assessment of scribes prompted Wilkins to reconsider the relative chronology of compilation, considerably revising von Fischer's earlier description.¹⁷⁹ According to Wilkins, Scribe I assembled a codex of seven gatherings consisting of blank paper produced in Italy at the end of the 14th century. He then went about filling selected gatherings and parts of gatherings, copying Italian works into the first three gatherings, most of the fourth, and the first four folios of the fifth. He reserved space in gathering 4 (fols. 40r-42r and 44v-47r) for additional Italian works, presumably to be entered at a later date. In addition, he filled the sixth and seventh gatherings with French works; this could have taken place at a later date, for the format of the writing space changes in Part II of the codex. In support of the thesis that one scribe

¹⁷⁹ Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 61-6.

alone assembled the folios for both Parts I and II of the collection, Wilkins notes that various points in the binding have been strengthened by strips cut from "an older parchment manuscript" (fols. 62v-63r [on 63r], 67v-68r, 72v-73r and 78v-79r) as well as from still other sources (for fols. 6v-7r, 18v-19r, 48v-49r, 55v-56r and 62v-63r [on 62v]). With the assembled gatherings before him, a new hand, Scribe II, added works to gathering 4, and other unspecified hands "dabbled here and there," until, finally, Scribe III (a Frenchman) "filled in" gathering 5 with French works, gatherings 1-4 with French and Italian works (fols. 12v-13r, 44v-45r, and 46v-47r), and gatherings 6 and 7 with other French compositions (fols. 65v-66r, 72v-73, 77v). Scribe II very likely also added the music to fols. 85r and 85v (presumably blank but already inserted into the MS as it was then constituted). Part III of the codex, gatherings 8 and 9 (fols. 89v-118v) and the beginning of a tenth gathering (fols. 119-127), were then added to the earlier seven gatherings by Scribe IV (a Frenchman). He drew his own red initials and most probably went back and contributed those on fols. 1v-2r and 77v, in gatherings 1 and 7, respectively. He completed his work by creating an index on fols. 126v-127r of

works copied by Scribes I and III, and probably also listed Italian works and his own repertory on either the missing fols. 120-24 or on others (128 and beyond) that are also now lost.

3. In concluding, Wilkins takes up the question of watermarks, not so much to re-examine them as to support his already-formed ideas about the history of compilation. Adopting von Fischer's watermark description, Wilkins suggests that Scribe I had assembled and copied Parts I and II of the codex by 1398, using Basilisk paper for gatherings 1-3, and a "mixture" of Mount, Bell, Bow-and-Arrow, and the same Basilisk paper for gatherings 4-7 of "his" codex, adding that it would have been unlikely for von Fischer's Hands A and E to have "independently produced a similar mixture of paper, even though the Mount is absent from fascicles 6 and 7."¹⁸⁰ Working at a later date, Scribe IV used different paper for Part III of the collection.

Our fresh investigation of MS R and the conclusions deriving from it will bear directly on the conflicting and/or inconclusive aspects of the analyses offered above--namely, those regarding the papers and gathering structure, the copyists' traits, the sequence of compilation, and the

¹⁸⁰ Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 66.

nature of the readings produced by the scribes. The order in which the evidence is to be set forth in the present chapter corresponds to the investigative sequence followed in the study of FP, namely one in which decisions concerning scribal practices, variant readings, and stemmatic interrelationships rest as firmly as possible on the distinguishing of the scribes from one another. The latter depends, in turn, upon the close and detailed observation of all evidence bearing on the copying process: pricking, ruling, format, layout, foliation(s), binding, and variances in ink colors. And, finally, all questions regarding what, how, and when the contents of a source were copied must depend on an appreciation and understanding of the materials upon which it was copied--in this case, its paper. In view of the complexity of the analytical problem posed by the codicological nature of MS R, evident in the radically different assessments of it by Kurt von Fischer and Nigel Wikins, we shall present our observations in considerable detail in the following pages.

Although, as the late Allan Stevenson pointed out, the study of paper for the precise dating of individual documents has been "cursed with ambiguities of provenance, dispersion and use," the inferences drawn from an informed and organized study of watermark and other papyrological

evidence can be a fruitful bibliographical tool.¹⁸¹ The results of an examination of papers in R are outlined in Table 3.1, below. In collecting this information, we have been at pains (1) to view and describe marks from the mold side of the paper,¹⁸² (2) to adopt a method of measurement following the current bibliographical model,¹⁸³ (3) distinguish marks made on twin molds (marked in Table 3.1 with asterisks) from those made on other pairs of molds,¹⁸⁴ and, finally, (4) to provide beta-radiographs of the marks (not including twins, except in the case of mark no. 5) as well as references to published tracings. In citing tracings closely resembling the marks in MS R, I have taken into account the fact that the paper sheets (all used in

¹⁸¹ Allan Stevenson, The Problem of the Missale Speciale (London, 1967), 26-7. Although the analysis of papers in the Missale seems undisputable, the dating of the text has been seriously questioned by Curt Buhler in "Watermarks and the Dates of Fifteenth-Century Books," Studies in Bibliography, IX (1957), 217-24, and "Last Words on Watermarks," Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America, LXVII (1973), 1-16.

¹⁸² See Stevenson, "Chain-Indentations," Studies in Bibliography, VI (1954), 181-95. The mold sides have been noted in Table 3.1 with a small italic m. Thus the mold side of bifolio 1/12 comprises folios 1 \bar{r} and 12v.

¹⁸³ A thorough and consistent method of watermark measurement was first achieved by Stevenson. This has been discussed most recently in G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Bibliographical Description of Paper," Studies in Bibliography, XXIV (1971), 46-8.

¹⁸⁴ Stevenson, "Watermarks are Twins," 57-91. See also Stevenson, The Missale Speciale, 34-5, who cites the important distinguishing feature of sewing-dot patterns.

folio format) measure at least 27.1 X 42.6 cm.¹⁸⁵ Jean Irigoin's suggestion that the distance covered by 20 laid lines be included with the description of each mark has been followed in the notes on the papers given below.¹⁸⁶

Paper Type 1: Basilisk. The most striking find with regard to watermarks was the discovery of two Basilisk papers in the MS, Types 1a and 1b, the latter in gatherings 6 and 7 and the former in gatherings 1 through 5. The Basilisk mark cited by von Fischer as present in both Parts I and II of the source is the one reproduced as Plate C of the introduction to Briquet's catalogue,¹⁸⁷ and found, in turn, on paper written upon in Bologna, 1390. Briquet's Basilisk does not, however, closely resemble either of the Reina marks. In the following description measurements were made from the top of the uppermost ear to the bottom of the rear foot, and across at the widest point--either from the front of the chest to the last wing, or from the chest to

¹⁸⁵ See Stevenson, The Missale Speciale, 52, where he notes the two basic sizes of paper sheets, elaborating on Briquet's distinction. By the 15th century the following two basic sizes predominated: small paper (forma minor), measuring ca. 30 cm. in height; and large paper (forma maior), ca. 40 cm. in height. Unless the paper in R underwent excessive trimming, it would seem to be of the small paper size.

¹⁸⁶ Jean Irigoin, "La datation par les filigranes," Codicologica, V (1980), 26-9.

¹⁸⁷ Von Fischer, "The Manuscript," 39; Charles Briquet, Les Filigranes, ed. Allan Stevenson (Amsterdam, 1968), between pages 8 and 9 of the original French introduction.

the rump. Type 1a appears on fols. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 22, 24, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 42, 48, 49, 51, 55, and 59; Type 1b, on fols. 66, 68, 70, 71, 76, 80, 82, and 83.

Type 1a -- Basilisk (Figure 3.1; cf. Briquet 2660 [Ferrara, 1392], Mošin and Traljić 1064 [Venice, Reggio Emilia, Bologna, Lucca, Palermo, 1390-93]). 57.5 X 15[14/22.5]4.5 mm. 20 laid lines = approx. 28 mm.

Type 1b -- Basilisk (Figure 3.2; cf. Briquet 2632 [Ferrara, 1390]). 63 X 8[19/18]11 mm. 20 laid lines = approx. 24.5-25 mm.

Fig. 3.1: MS R, Watermark Type 1a (fol. 1r)

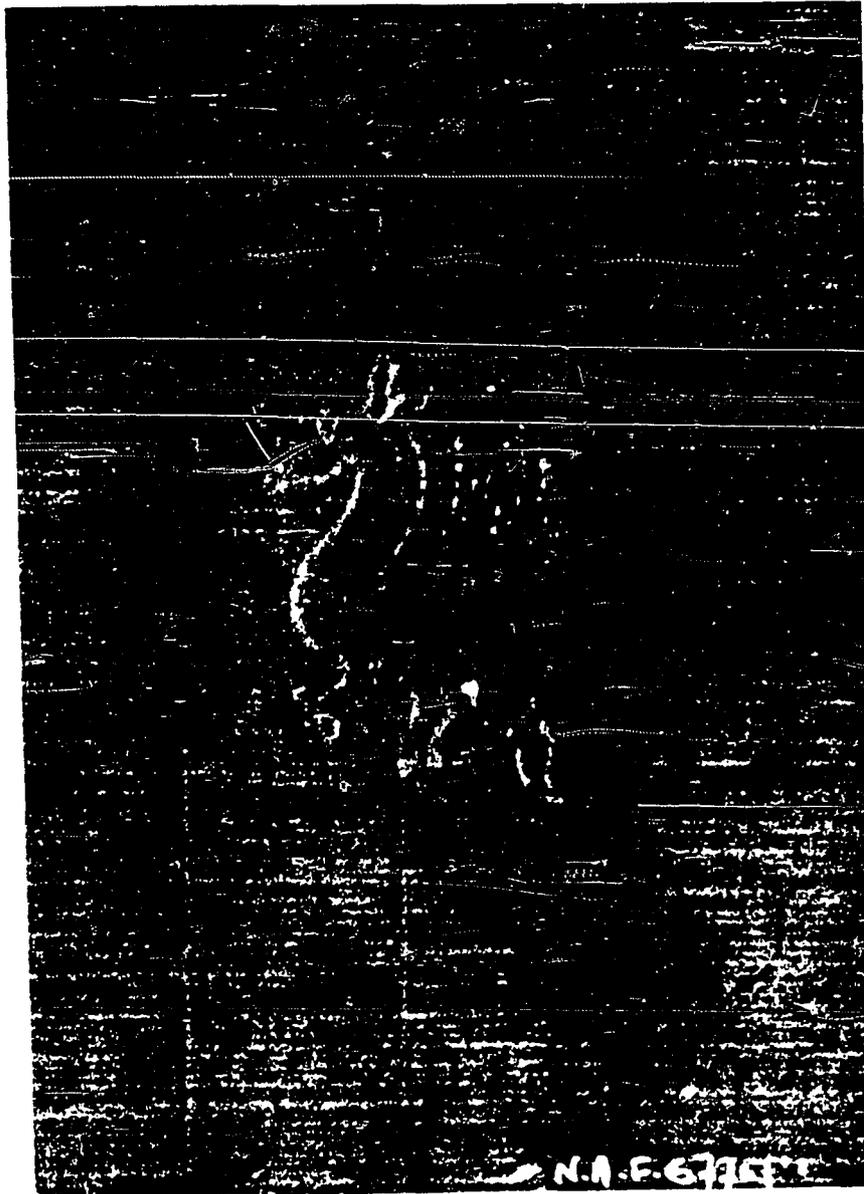
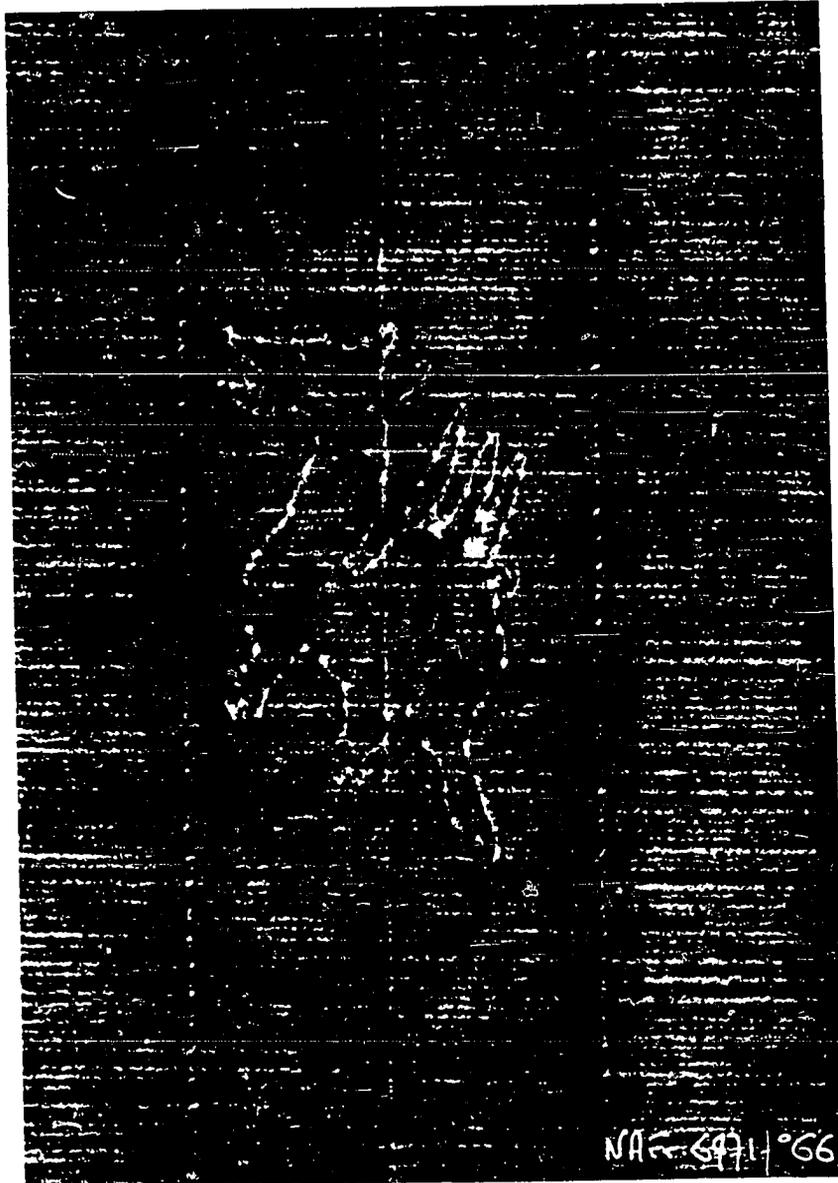


Fig. 3.2: MS R, Watermark Type 1b (fol. 66r)



Paper Type 2: Mounts in Circles. Von Fischer

cited Briquet 11890 as a match, and he reported a date of 1390 when, in fact, Briquet gives 1399. Here again, I have distinguished two types, 2a and 2b. Not having been able to detect a twin for Type 2a, I suspect that Type 2b is a twin mark of 2a. Be this as it may, it is important to note that they are used separately in the MS (2a in gathering 4, and 2b in gathering 5). Type 2a appears on fols. 36, 38, 39, and 40; Type 2b, on fols. 53, and 57.

Type 2a -- Mount in Circle, with a cross 28 mm. above the top of the circle (Figure 3.3; cf. Briquet 11854 [Lucca, 1388], Mošin and Traljić 6432 [30 X 43 cm. Dubrovnik, 1394 and Fabriano, 1398]). 26 X 15[13/15]11.5 mm. diameter of circle = 40.5-41 mm. 20 laid lines = 26-27.5 mm.

Type 2b -- Mount in Circle, with a cross 50 mm. above the top of the circle (Figure 3.4; cf. Briquet 11890 [Siena, 1399; here the sheet size appears to be very large (41.5 X 59 cm.)] = Mošin and Traljić 6437 [Siena, 1399; Fabriano, 1393-95] = Zonghi 1291 [Fabriano, 1393; here the cross does not match]). 27.5 X 14[14/14]14 mm. diameter of circle = 41 mm. 20 laid lines = 26 mm.

Fig. 3.3: MS R, Watermark Type 2a (fol. 39v)

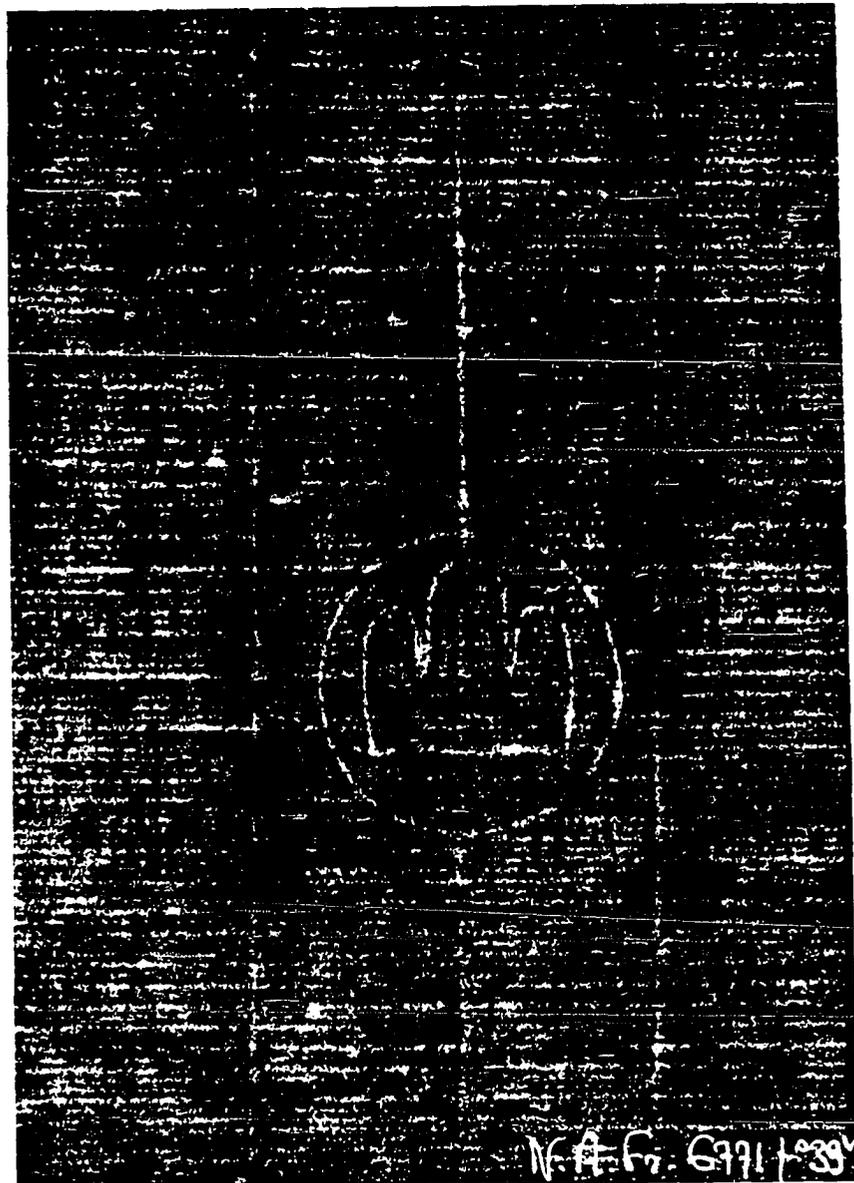
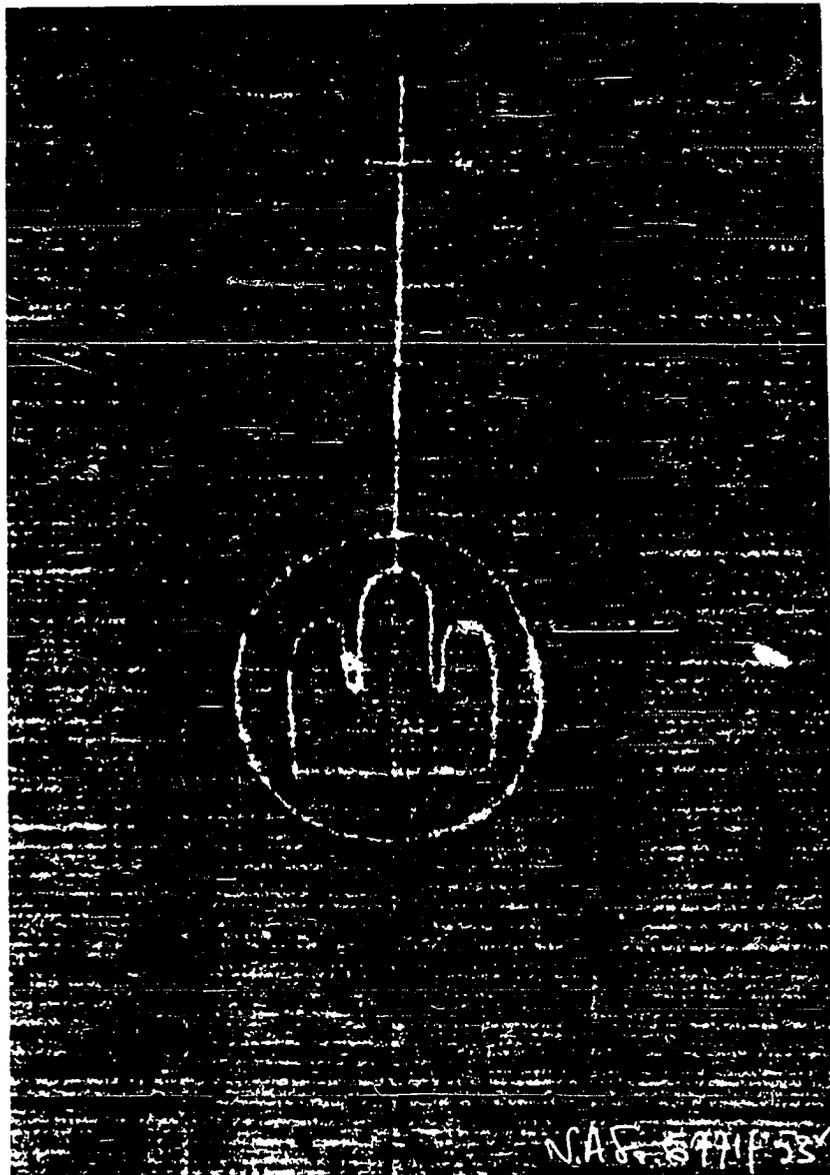


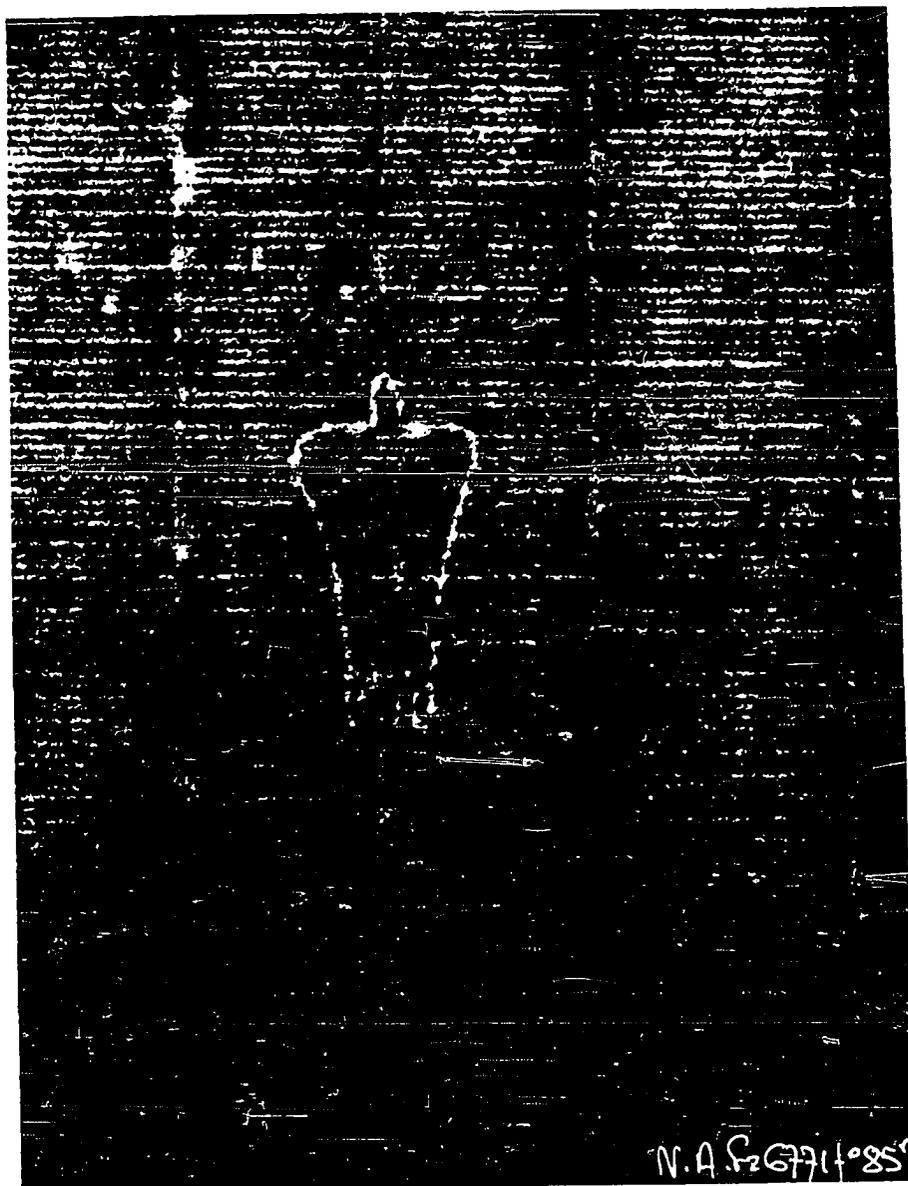
Fig. 3.4: MS R, Watermark Type 2b (fol. 53v)



Paper Type 3: Bell. It is not clear whether von Fischer was citing Briquet 3953 when he offered the date of 1379 for the Bell watermark. In fact, none of the published tracings match the MS R Bell mark. Type 3 appears on fols. 46, 50, 85, and 86.

Type 3 -- Bell (Figure 3.5; the state of the mark in the MS shows a broken chain line through the middle of the bell). 48 X 16[24.5]16 mm. 20 laid lines = 27.5-28 mm.

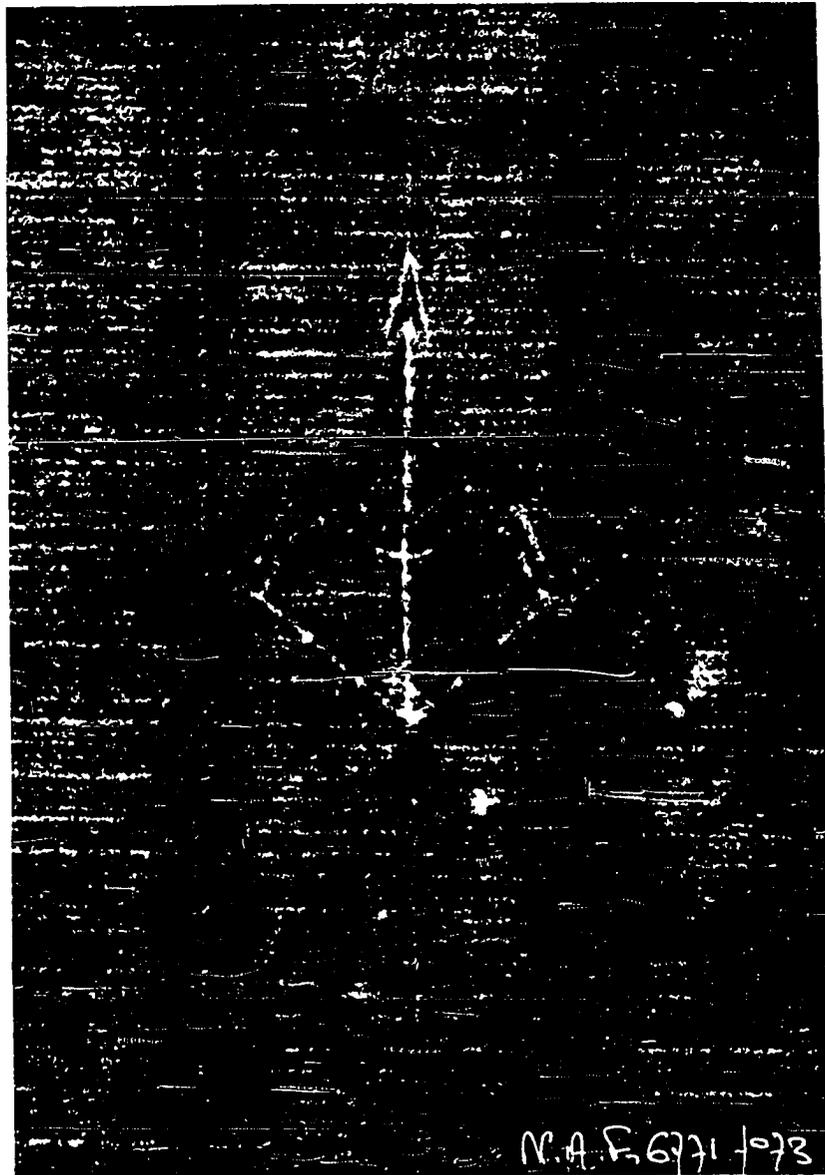
Fig. 3.5: MS R, Watermark Type 3 (fol. 85r)



Paper Type 4: Bow-and-Arrow. Von Fischer cited Briquet 788 (Fano, 1380) as a matching mark. Type 4 appears on fols. 72, 73, and 78.

Type 4 -- Bow-and-Arrow (Figure 3.6; cf. Briquet 791 [Lucca, 1393]; Briquet 799 [Paris 1406, var. ident. Turin 1410-11] should perhaps be eliminated, for the untrimmed sheet size is quite large (39.5 X 58 cm.); Mošin and Traljić 431 [Syracusa, 1390]). 64 X 0[28/26.5]0 mm. 20 laid lines = 28.5 mm.

Fig. 3.6: MS R, Watermark Type 4 (fol. 73r)



Paper Type 5: Crown. Von Fischer cited Briquet 4614 (Venice, 1387) as a matching design. Tracing 4614 does not closely resemble the mark in R, but it is perhaps the best comparison available in published sources.¹⁸⁸ I give the dimensions of the twin mark (Type 5*), and include a photograph as Fig. 3.8 for reasons that will become clear in the discussion of the makeup of gatherings 8 and 9. Type 5 appears on fols. 92, 94, 100, 108, 114, 115, 125, and 126; Type 5*, on fols. 90, 96, 98, 102, 104, 106, 113, 118, and 127.

Type 5 -- Crown (Figure 3.7; cf. Briquet 4614 [Venice, 1387; var. ident. Udine, 1396] = Mošin and Traljić 3243 [Venice, 1387; Udine, 1396; vs. Provence, Bourges, 1404-07]). 48 X 3[27/26.5]3 mm. 20 laid lines = 27.5-28 mm.

Type 5* (twin) -- Crown (Figure 3.8) 46 X 3[26/26.5]4 mm. 20 laid lines = 27.5-28 mm.

¹⁸⁸ For a similar but smaller mark, see Gerhard Piccard, Die Kronen-Wasserzeichen (Stuttgart, 1961), Abteilung I, Watermark 146 (Venice, 1397-1403).

Fig. 3.7: MS R, Watermark Type 5 (fol. 126v)

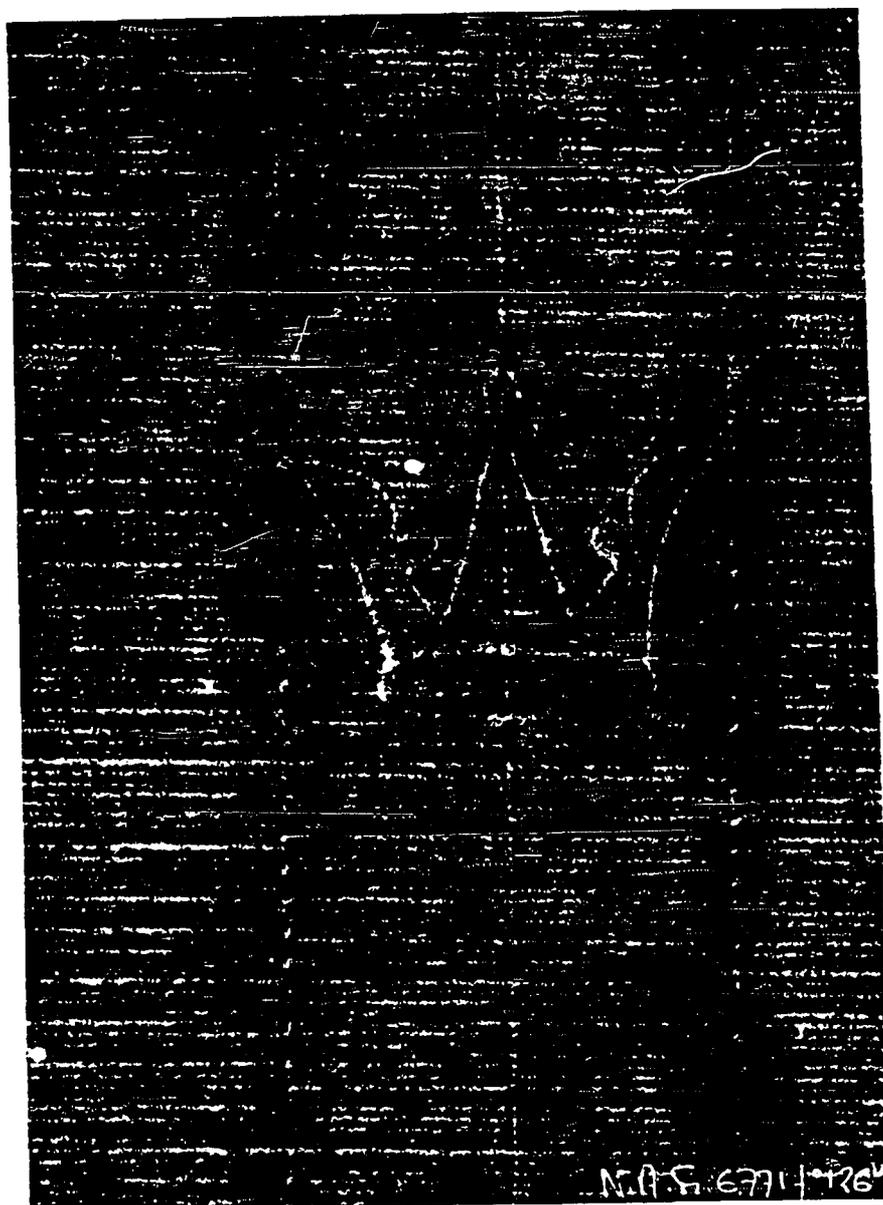


Fig. 3.8: MS R, Watermark Type 5* (fol. 127v)

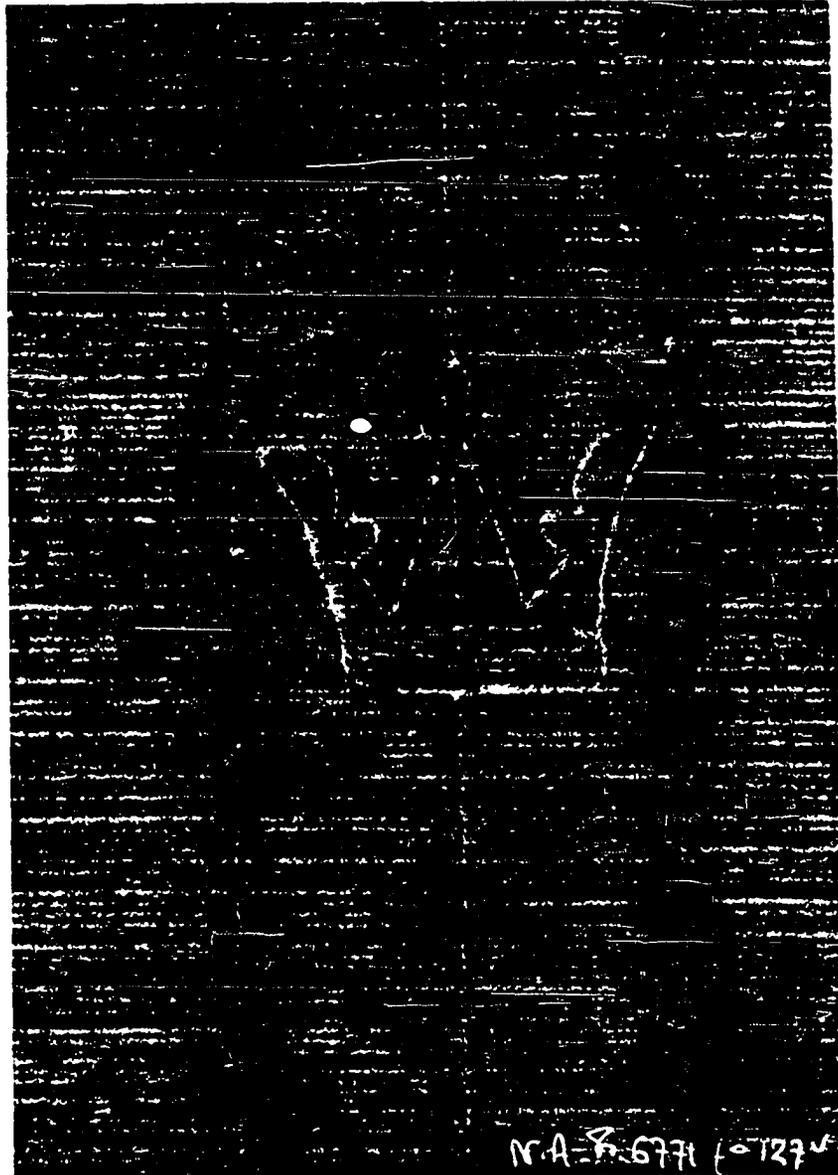


Table 3.1: Gathering Structure of MS R

		folio / watermark / scribe		
Gathering 1				
	1	la	+S	
	2	la*	S	
	3	[la]	+S	
	4	la*		
	5	la*		
	6	la		
	7	[la]		
	8	[la*]		
	9	[la*]		
	10	la	+U [9 ^v -10]	
	11	[la*]		
	12	[la]	↓ +W [12 ^v -13]	

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

Gathering 2

	13	[1a]	T	
	14	1a*	S	[T = Contra of
	15	[1a]	T	<u>La douce cere]</u>
	16	1a		+S [<u>Sempre se trova]</u>
	17	1a	S	
	18	1a		+T [Contra]
	19	[1a]		+T [1st stave = beginning of
	20	[1a]		Bartolino's <u>Qual novità]</u>
	21	[1a]		
	22	1a		
	23	[1a*]		
	24	1a		

Gathering 3

	25	[1a*]	T	
	26	[1a*]	S	+T [Tenor of <u>Chi ama]</u>
	27	[1a*]	T	+S [26 ^v -27]
	28	1a*		+S [27 ^v -28]
	29	[1a]	S	+S [28 ^v -29]
	30	1a		
	31	[1a*]		+S [30 ^v -31]
	32	1a*		
	33	1a*		
	34	1a*		+S [33 ^v -34]

Y?

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

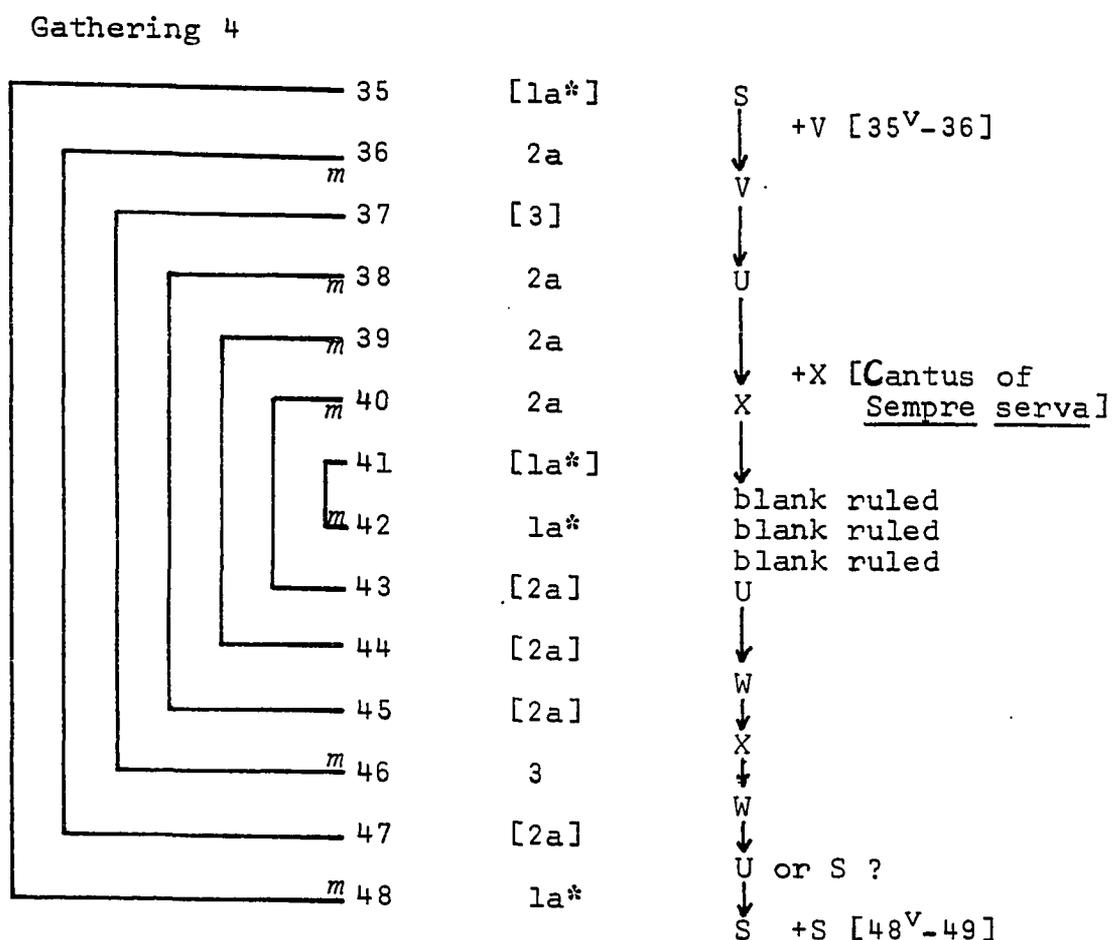


Table 3.1 (cont'd)

Gathering 5

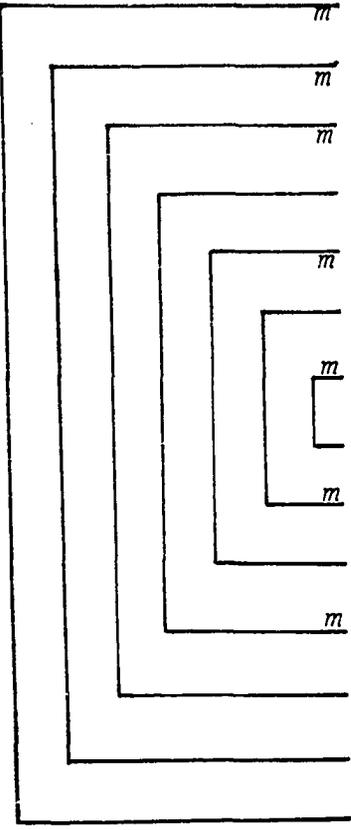
	49	1a*	S ↓ U ↓ S ↓ U ↓ ? W ↓ ↓ U ↓ W ↓	[added Contra ?]
	50	3		+S [50 ^V -51] ?
	51	1a*		
	52	[1a]		
	53	2b		
	54	[2b]		
	55	1a*		
	56	[1a*]		
	57	2b		
	58	[2b]		
	59	1a		
	60	[1a*]		+W [60 ^V -61]
	61	[3]		[text ?]
	62	[1a*]		+U [1st line of text]

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

Gathering 7

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 73 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 74 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 75 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 76 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 77 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 78 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 79 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 80 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 81 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 82 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 83 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 84 </div>	<p>4</p> <p>[1b]</p> <p>[1b]</p> <p>1b</p> <p>[1b]</p> <p>4</p> <p>[4]</p> <p>1b</p> <p>[1b]</p> <p>1b</p> <p>1b</p> <p>[4]</p>	<p>T?</p> <p>Y?</p> <p>↓</p> <p>+Y [74^V-75] ?</p> <p>+Y [75^V-76]</p> <p>↓</p> <p>Y</p> <p>↓</p> <p>+W [77^V]</p> <p>↓</p> <p>?</p> <p>?</p> <p>?</p> <p>T?</p> <p>T?</p> <p>T</p> <p>↓</p> <p>+Y [<u>Triplum of</u> <u>Mersi oit mort</u>]</p>
--	---	--

Inserted Folios

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 85 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <i>m</i> 86 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 87 </div> <hr style="border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> 88 </div>	<p>3</p> <p>3</p> <p>[3]</p> <p>[3]</p>	<p>v</p> <p>↓</p> <p>blank</p> <p>blank</p> <p>blank</p> <p>blank</p> <p>blank ruled</p> <p>blank ruled</p>
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Table 3.1 (cont'd)

Gathering 8

	89	[5]	blank
<i>m</i>	90	5*	Z
	91	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	92	5	
	93	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	94	5	
	95	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	96	5*	
	97	[5]	
<i>m</i>	98	5*	
	99	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	100	5	
	101	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	102	5*	
	103	[5]	
<i>m</i>	104	5*	
	105	[5]	
<i>m</i>	106	5*	
	107	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	108	5	

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

Gathering 9			
<i>m</i>	109	[5*]	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> Z </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> blank </div>
<i>m</i>	110	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	111	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	112	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	113	5*	
<i>m</i>	114	5	
<i>m</i>	115	5	
<i>m</i>	116	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	117	[5*]	
<i>m</i>	118	5*	
<i>m</i>	119	[5*]	
(120)			
(121)			
(122)			
(123)			
(124)			
(125)			
(126)			
(127)			
(128)			

Gathering 10			
<i>m</i>	125	5	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> blank </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> blank </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> blank </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> Z? [INDEX] </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> ↓ </div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> blank </div>
<i>m</i>	126	5	
<i>m</i>	127	5*	

These papers were used in gatherings and prepared for copying as follows.

Gathering 1

Staff: 18.5 mm., light brown ink.¹⁸⁹

Margins: double lines, red ink.

Writing space: ca. 194-194.5 X 174-174.5 mm. (varies, depending on distance between staves).

Pricking: matching where visible: fols. 1-6.¹⁹⁰

Foliation: recto -- arabic numerals within a semicircle, grey-brown ink (fol. 6 lacks the semicircle); verso -- roman numerals visible starting with fol. 8v (a bit of the descender j can be seen on fol. 3v).

Binding strips: parchment-on-paper strips at the center of bifolios 1/12 and 6/7, added after copying.¹⁹¹

Text and music: dark brown ink.

¹⁸⁹ The two halves of each single bifolio were ruled together, the prickmarks in the margins guiding the placement of the staves. This procedure seems to have been followed for the entire MS, and may be assumed by the reader unless specifically indicated to the contrary.

¹⁹⁰ Eight prickmarks, not always easily visible, appear to have guided the ruling of the staves, and are arranged so that each mark corresponds with the top line of a staff.

¹⁹¹ These strips are found both on the outside of the outer bifolio and on the inside of the inner bifolio of a gathering.

Gathering 2

Staff: 18-18.5 mm., red ink.¹⁹²

Margins: double lines, red ink.

Writing space: ca. that of gathering 1.

Pricking: although some pricking on bifolio 18/19 seems to match surrounding bifolios (little of the pricking is visible), the area ruled for music is somewhat shorter in height than in the rest of the gathering; the height of the bifolio itself is approx. 2 mm. shorter (this is visible even on microfilm). Bifolio 18/19 could be an addition or replacement.

Foliation: as in gathering 1; number on fol. 17r lacks the semicircle.

Binding strips: difficult to determine if strips are of parchment or paper. It appears that paper was used for bifolio 13/24, and parchment for inner bifolio 18/19; both were put in place after copying.

Text and music: layers can be distinguished by colors of ink; light brown ink on fols. 13r-13v, top of fol. 14r, Contratenor on 17v, first line on 18r; dark brown ink on 14r, the addition on 15r, 18r, 19v-24v; light brown ink on fols. 16v-19.

Gathering 3

Staff: 18-18.5 mm., red ink. Use of a broader-nibbed pen than in gatherings 1 and 2. An additional line was drawn beneath the eighth staff, and it runs the width of the paper; it serves as a guide line for text, which in gatherings 1 and 2 had been placed on the lowest line of the eighth staff.¹⁹³

Margins: double lines, red ink.

¹⁹² A narrowing of staff height can occur when the rastrum is turned or rotated to the right or left of an imaginary perpendicular axis to the staves.

¹⁹³ This red guide line can often be followed visually into the fold of a bifolio, and seen to continue onto the conjugate leaf.

Writing space: as a result of the added text line under the eighth staff, height increases by ca. 7 mm.: 202-203.5 X 173 mm.

Pricking: matching for the entire gathering (where visible). An extra prickmark is occasionally visible in the outer margin; it was used to align the text guide line under the eighth staff.

Foliation: roman numerals stop on fol. 29v; arabic numbers are used from fol. 30v to the end of the MS (a different hand from that on the recto sides). Arabic numbers on recto sides lack semicircles on fols. 25, 26, 28, and 29. The tail of a custos covers the number on fol. 30r, suggesting that the foliation of the entire gathering was completed before copying resumed on fol. 30r or 31r.

Binding strips: bifolio 25/34 is reinforced with a paper strip; bifolio 29/30, with parchment. Both strips were put in place after copying.

Text and music: dark brown ink on fols. 26r, 28r-34r; light brown ink on fols. 25r, 25v, 26v, 27r, 27v, and 34v. The composer attribution on fol. 25r ("Dompni pauli") appears in the ink of the rest of the folio; those on fols. 25v and 26v are in red ink. Long note-stems on the first staff of fols. 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 32v, and 33r.

Gathering 4

Staff: 19 mm., light brown ink (nearly transparent). Use of a thin-nibbed instrument.

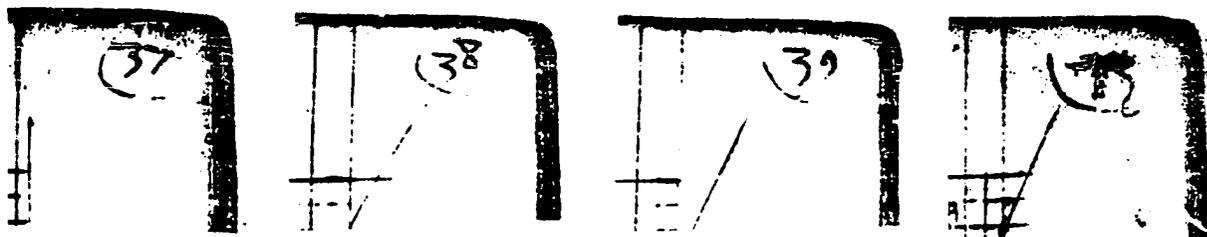
Margins: double lines, brown ink; single-line right margins on bifolio 37/46.

Writing space: ca. 193.5-195.5 X 173.5-174 mm. for bifolio 35/48; 197 X 174 mm. for bifolios 36/47, 38/45, 39/44, and 40/43; 197-197.5 X 179-182 mm. for bifolio 37/46; 195.5-196.5 X 174.5-175 mm. for bifolio 41/42.

Pricking: often all eight prickmarks in the outer margins are visible. The following bifolios match: 36/47, 38/45, 39/44, 40/43, and 41/42. Bifolios 35/48 and 37/46 show evidence of independent origin, for they match neither each other nor the rest of the gathering.

Foliation: continuation from gathering 3. A new hand in foliation numbers is clear by fol. 43r (note the distinctive form of 3 in Figure 3.9). Beginning with fol. 39v, one finds a clear offsetting of recto-side numbers onto the verso sides, caused by use of a different ink? Blank-ruled fol. 42r carries a folio number. A custos appears to cover the folio number on 35r.

Fig. 3.9: MS R, fols. 37r, 38r, 39r, 43r



Binding strips: bifolio 35/48 strengthened with a paper strip put in place before copying (as is made clear by the staff lines drawn onto the strip). Parchment strips--a short one added to a longer one to cover the entire height of paper--were used for bifolio 41/42. Pricking on strips indicates that these are the remains of trimmed MSS.

Text and music: a very dark, brown-black ink (almost black) from fols. 38r to the top of 39v and from 47v to 48v (the ink on 47v is darker than that on 48r); relatively dark brown ink is to be found on fols. 35r-36r, the bottom of 35v-37v, 43r-44r, and 44v-45; a light, transparent brown ink is found from fols. 39v (bottom) to 41r, and again on fols. 45v-46r; a light brown ink (somewhat darker than that of fols. 39v-41r) appears on fols. 46v-47r.

Gathering 5

Staff: 19 mm., brown ink. Bifolio 50/61 is ruled in a light brown ink.

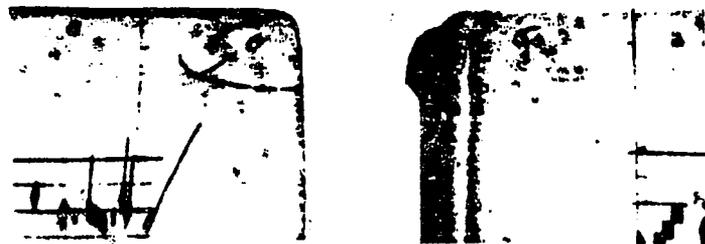
Margins: double lines, brown ink. Bifolio 50/61 has single-line margins in light brown ink.

Writing space: ca. 195 X 174-175 mm.; bifolio 50/61 = 195-197 X 178.5-181 mm.

Pricking: practically nothing is visible.

Foliation: continuation of foliation in gathering 4 (the different forms of the number 5 on the recto and verso sides of fol. 50 attest to the independence of the two sequences; see Figure 3.10). Starting with fol. 51r one finds a new hand and a rust-colored, light brown ink; no further use of semicircles. Verso-side foliation appears in a darker ink, starting on fol. 50v. Numbers on fols. 53-55 (recto sides) have been retraced by a modern hand. Ink color, hand, and the location on the page of verso-side foliation changes at 57v.

Fig. 3.10: MS R, fols. 50r, 50v



Binding strips: parchment strip strengthening bifolio 49/62 was put in place before copying. Parchment strips (a long and short one to cover the entire height of the paper) put in place before copying on bifolio 55/56.

Text and music: fols. 49r-51v, brown ink; a very dark, brown-black ink on fols. 52r-52v (close to that of fol. 47v); a change to a lighter, grey-brown ink on fol. 53r (resembling that of fols. 44v-45r).

Gathering 6

Staff: 19 mm., very light brown ink (resembling that of gathering 4). Contrary to the customary practice in the rest of the MS, fols. 66v and 67r (non-conjugates) were ruled together.

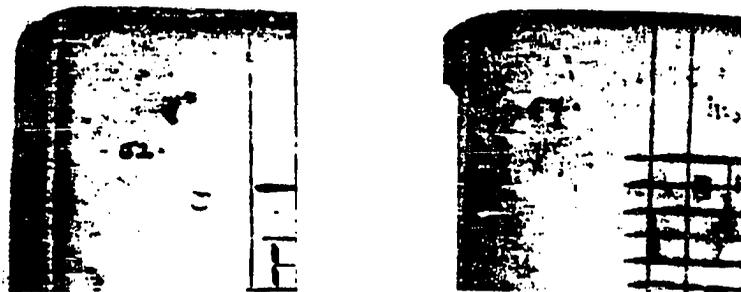
Margins: double lines, same color ink as the staves.

Writing space: 211-213.5 X 177-182 mm. (space between staves here averages 9-9.5 mm. vs. 6-7 mm. of gatherings 1-5).

Pricking: bifolio 63/72 contains no visible pricking; other bifolios match each other.

Foliation: beginning on fol. 62v (with the exception of fol. 63v) the verso-side numbers are accompanied by a dot or dash on either side (see Figure 3.11). The recto-side numbers continue in the light, rust-colored brown sequence of gathering 5.

Fig. 3.11: MS R, fols. 62v, 64v



Binding strips: parchment strips (one long, one short) are present on bifolio 63/72, of which the lower short strip is now missing on fol. 63r; these strips were evidently taken from a MS with two columns of text and red capitals. The same source provided the strips used for bifolio 67/68. Both sets of strips were put in place after copying.

Text and music: light brown ink was employed for the entire gathering. Changes and additions to the text on fols. 65r and 70r are also in a light brown ink. Additions on fols. 65v-66r and 72v-73r are in black ink. Red notes were originally brown.

Gathering 7

Staff: 19mm., light brown ink.

Margins: double lines, light brown ink.

Writing space: 211-213 X 178-182 mm. Bifolio 73/84 departs from this in that fols. 73v and 84r appear to have a staff ruled at the very bottom of the leaf.

Pricking: bifolios 74/83, 75/82, 76/81, and 77/80 contain matching prickholes (nine in the outer margin, starting at the top of the first staff; this pattern contrasts with the eight holes in gatherings 1-5, each corresponding with the bottom line of a staff); bifolios 73/84 and 78/79 have no visible pricking.

Foliation: continuation of gathering 6. Starting on fol. 75r, the recto-side numbers have been retraced in pencil by a modern hand (excepting numbers 77, 82, and the 4 of 84). A different hand appears to have added the number fol. 77r. Continuation of verso-side foliation.

Binding strips: those on bifolios 73/84 (now missing on 84v) and 78/79 were taken from the same source that served for gathering 6. All were put in place after copying.

Text and music: very light brown ink on fol. 73r; brown ink starting with fol. 73v; addition on fol. 77v entered in black ink; a slightly darker ink is to be found starting on fol. 81v. Red notes were originally brown.

INSERTED FOLIOS 85-88

Staff: 18.5 mm. on bifolio 85/88; 86/87 is blank, with only the vertical margins drawn in; brown ink.

Margins: single lines, brown ink.

Writing space: 210-211.5 X 180-184 mm.

Pricking: the two bifolios match.

Foliation: 85r-119r (recto-side) in the same hand as fols. 51r-84r. No verso-side foliation from fol. 85 to the end of the MS.

Gathering 8

Staff: ca. 18.75-19 mm., light brown ink. Seven staves per folio. Text guide lines are drawn in pencil (sometimes lacking under the lowest staff). Evident in the space reserved for the initial capital letter, fol. 89v was clearly meant to be the first page of this part of the collection.

Margins: single lines, pencil.

Writing space: ca. 202 X 150 mm.

Pricking: the entire gathering is uniform in this respect; double pricking may be seen on fols. 102-108.

Foliation: continuation of recto-side numbering from gathering 7 and inserted fols. 85-88. No verso-side numbering.

Binding strips: modern white paper strips have been added between fols. 89v-90r, 90v-91r, 92v-93r, 105v-106r, and 107v-108r. It is possible to establish conjunct folios through watermark analysis and the measurement of chain lines on unmarked folios (see observations for gathering 9). An old paper strip, together with a modern one, strengthens the outer bifolio of the gathering, 89/108; it was put in place after copying. An old parchment strip appears at the center of the gathering, reinforcing bifolio 98/99; it may well have been added after the copying of the music, but was already in place by the time the capital letter S was drawn on fol. 99r.

Gatherings 9 and 10

Staff: ca. 18.75-19 mm., light brown ink. Seven staves per folio. No patterns could be detected in the slight variances of staff height that would help clarify the gathering structure. Text guide lines are drawn in pencil (sometimes lacking under the lowest staff).

Margins: single lines, in pencil.

Writing space: ca. 202 X 150 mm.

Pricking: uniform for fols. 109-119; fols. 125-127 match (that is, they were originally pricked for music, as was gathering 9; they were subsequently re-pricked for use as an index for the drawing of double and triple vertical guide lines). Fol. 119v was not ruled for music.

Foliation: a continuation of the recto-side numbering of gathering 8. The number 120 can be seen in offset on fol. 119v. Likewise, a number 128 was offset onto the upper left corner of fol. 127v. (It does not match the form of the modern number 128 on the bifolio flyleaf 128/129.) Foliation on the rectos of 125, 126, and 127 differs in ink color (a nearly transparent grey-brown) from that on fols. 109-119.

Binding strips: modern white paper strips (attached with thin, white thread) join the following folios: 109v-110r, 110v-111r, 113r and 116v, 114r and 115v. On the mold sides of fols. 112 and 117 there is an older, dark-brown paper strip which was glued into place after copying (it is included in Table 3.1). Fols. 117 and 118 had been glued directly together, without the use of a strip. Older (original?) thick thread is visible between folios 118v and 119r, and the glue that must at one time have held some type of reinforcing strip between fols. 118v and 119r still remains.

Text and music: no red capitals on fols. 115v-119r; solid red capitals on fols. 89v-96r, 99v-107r; void red capitals on fols. 96v-99r, 107v-115r.

Taken together, this wealth of evidence yields the structure of gatherings 1 through 9 and what remains of the

10th with considerable clarity (see Table 3.1). Most important in determining conjunct folios--and in dispelling the confusion created by the modern (and older) reinforcing strips detailed above which join folios not originally conjunct--are the identification of the folios carrying the twin mark (Type 5*), measurement of chain lines in the clearly visible conjunct folios of gathering 8, and the detection of the mold side of all unmarked folios. In short, fols. 125-27 cannot be made to "fit" with presumed conjugates among fols. 109-19.

Additional supporting evidence aiding in the present analysis of the structure includes musical continuity on the versos and rectos of all openings from fol. 109 to 119 (excepting fols. 112v-113r), the fact that fol. 119v had not been ruled for music, and the change in hand and ink color for folio numbers 125-27. Evidently, gathering 8 at the outset had been accompanied by a structurally similar gathering, both of which were composed of ten bifolios. Although foliation probably ran past 119, only fols. 109-119 were perhaps ruled and used for the copying of chansons (the absence of capitals on fols. 115v-119r indicating that these folios were the last to be filled, at a slightly later date than the others). After the creation of the index on then unnumbered folios, someone removed the presumably blank fols. 125-28. Evidence of the longstanding precariousness of the resulting unjoined leaves lies in the existence of an

old paper strip between fols. 112 and 117, and in the glue between fols. 118 and 119. When the index leaves were foliated at an even later date, the numbering took up from the last numbered folio, 124. Since then--but before the MS entered the Bibliotheque nationale--other blank folios have been lost: the original fols. 120-24, and at least three others after the present fol. 127. Two questions remain unresolved: why was fol. 119v not ruled along with 118r, and why did blank fol. 125 survive (or why was the index placed on the folios it occupies)?

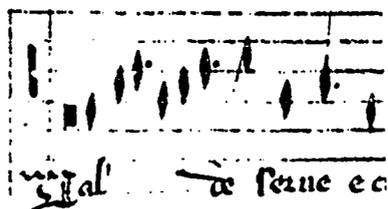
Because the sorting out of music and text scripts rests partly on subjective criteria, it is important that considerable exercises in observation be carried out first. I do not pretend to have solved once and for all the many problems posed by the scribal contributions in R--quite the contrary, new questions are raised by my work, and not a few old ones are left unanswered--but I have made an effort to draw a picture which at least in many respects accords with the "harder," more objective evidence already presented (i.e., the watermarks and additional codicological notes given above).¹⁹⁴

In his reply to Wilkins's revised description of R, von Fischer made the point that his colleague's proposed

¹⁹⁴ To avoid further confusion, I have used the final letters of the alphabet to label the scribes in the present analysis.

identity of Hands A and E was not as clear as Wilkins would have us believe--an identity suggested by, among other factors, similarities in the form of final notes and in the shape of decoration of capital letters as seen in Parts I and II of the MS.¹⁹⁵ I would echo this reservation and note that a MS-wide examination of final notes and finis punctorum divisions provides us with no clear-cut coincidences of scribes and manner of decoration. In this respect, scribes quite possibly can imitate each other and their exemplars. This caution carries over into Wilkins' insistence that the ornate "wavy" decoration of capital letters evident in the work of von Fischer's Hands A and E would be unique to only one scribe (his Scribe I); one finds, in fact, just such an embellishment in a capital T on fol. 40r (a leaf, by Wilkins' own admission, demonstrably not the work of his Scribe I--see Figure 3.12).

Fig. 3.12: MS R, fol. 40r

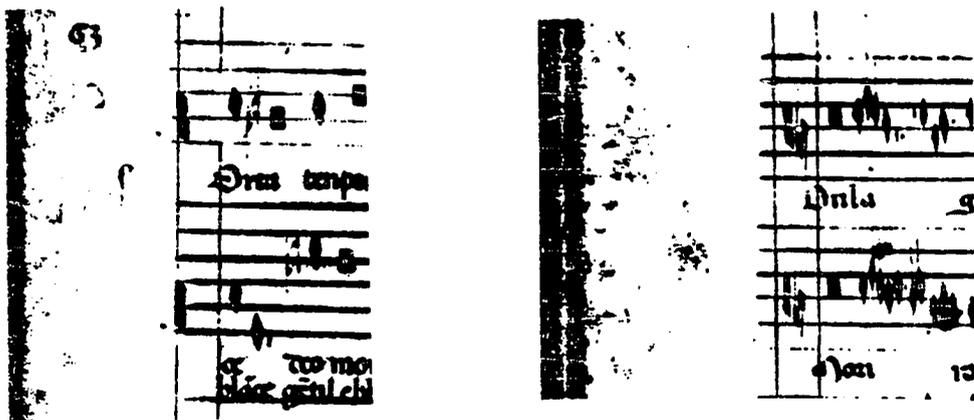


¹⁹⁵ Von Fischer, "Reply," 75.

The comparison by Wilkins of von Fischer's Hands A and E in "random" fols. 27v-28r and 63v-64r likewise remains unconvincing. Despite a general resemblance of script, I note the following discrepancies between the two hands:

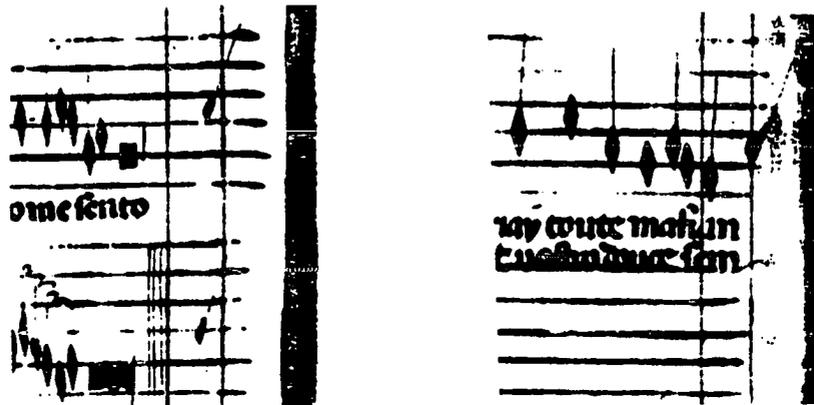
(1) F-clefs differ; those on fols. 63v-64r are attached to the extreme left vertical margin, while those on 27v-28 are not (Figure 3.13).

Fig. 3.13: MS R, fols. 63v, 27v



(2) The size of the script is significantly larger in gathering 6 (especially evident in the drawing of custodes; see Figure 3.14).

Fig. 3.14: MS R, fols. 27v, 63v



(3) Final double bars occur in pairs in the earlier gatherings; an odd number of such finis punctorum designs are common in the work in gatherings 6 and 7 (see Figure 3.15).

Fig. 3.15: MS R, fols. 27v, 63v



(4) Capital Os are not identical (to use Wilkins's term), nor are miniscule g (two forms of which

appear on the very same folio, 27v; see Figure 3.16), d, capital S (see Figure 3.17), and E.

Fig. 3.16: MS R, fol. 27v



Fig. 3.17: MS R, fols. 27v, 63v



Wilkins contends that a further link between the two parts of the collection copied by von Fischer's Hands A and E is created by a single scribe's access to red ink, used in the ruling of staves in gatherings 2 and 3 of the Italian section, and for coloration in gatherings 6 and 7. This, too, cannot pass as incontrovertible proof, for (1) the ruling of gatherings is part of the preparatory procedure in

the compilation of a MS, and could easily have been accomplished by men other than those responsible for the copying of music and text, and (2) the pieces employing red ink are confined to the centers of both gatherings 6 and 7, and almost certainly in gathering 7 may thus constitute a distinct layer inserted into the collection.¹⁹⁶

The arguments in the present evaluation have nothing directly to do with a scribe's nationality or native language; in fact, I agree with Wilkins that the textual corruptions in R point to the participation of an Italian scribe in von Fischer's Part II of the collection (the French Part).¹⁹⁷ What is at issue here is the concept of identity which Wilkins espouses so strongly. Could it not be that a different, yet still Italian, scribe was responsible for Part II of the collection? I suspect that the temptation for Wilkins to posit a theory of identity

¹⁹⁶ Note in particular the presence of red capitals on fols. 77v and 80r, and the fact that Au tornai de mors (on fol. 77r) lacks a folio number in the index. The rondeau, En tes doulz flans, on fol. 77v is missing altogether from the index. At the bottom of fol. 67v, a different hand has added the words (catchword?) Amor, merçe per dio. Wilkins, in "A Critical Edition," 392, goes against a suggestion made by von Fischer when he (Wilkins) proposes that the composition in question might be the Merci pour Dieu in MS Man/ManP. In neither his 1963 article nor his dissertation does Wilkins give a full account of the occurrence of red ink in gatherings 6 and 7. It should be noted, moreover, that the unique position of paper Type 4 as both inner- and outermost bifolios in gatherings 6 and 7 may by itself signal a distinct layer of compilation.

¹⁹⁷ Already noted by von Fischer, "The Manuscript," 46, and Gunther (see n. 163 above).

arose partly because the final folios of gathering 7 do contain the work of a scribe found in the earlier gatherings (see below, Scribe T). The following notes on the hands in R, which I shall call Scribes S through Y, do not pretend to be exhaustive, and treat only of those features which have aided in isolating the work of a particular scribe. Somewhat more attention has been allotted here to music scripts than had been given by Wilkins.¹⁹⁸

Scribe S

Music: a large, clear hand; generally long, straight custodes; large parallelogram-shaped sharp signs with four dots in the corners (see Figure 3.18);¹⁹⁹ tails of semiminim and triplet flags curve downward

¹⁹⁸ From a paleographical point of view, this is based on the belief that a scribe will reveal his own distinctive traits in the execution of the more "mechanical" aspects of his craft (clefs, sharps and flats, semiminim flags, etc.), rather than in the execution of wilful features such as the decoration of final notes and divisional bar lines (demanding conscious attention and therefore prey to imitation or adaptation from one scribe to another).

¹⁹⁹ This form of the sharp sign was also used by the scribes who copied one of the Paduan sources (Pad A 684, 1475, and 229), once part of the library of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua. See Dragan Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music," Journal of the American Musicological Society, VIII (1955), 165-81. For another example of this type of sharp sign, see Willi Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600, 5th ed. (Cambridge, 1953), facs. 74 (MS R, fol. 17r). The drawing of dots within the sign may be associated with the Marchettan subdivision of the semitone.

(see Figure 3.19); in f-clefs, only the single rhomboid has a tail (see Figure 3.20); use of paired divisional and final bars; final, broad-peaked, accordion-shaped notes. He experiments with heightened stems, space permitting (gathering 3).

Fig. 3.18: MS R, fol. 3r

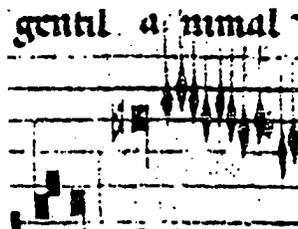


Fig. 3.19: MS R, fol. 3r

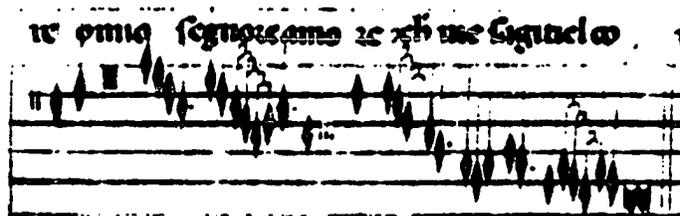


Fig. 3.20: MS R, fol. 2v



Text: a large, clear hand;²⁰⁰ experiments with forms of capital letters, and one case of extended descenders (fol. 9); use of a bold, mordent-like abbreviation for the letter r; varied use of final punctuation dots, often three in number, in a pyramid shape, and occasionally using four or more in ellipsis-like fashion; long s.

Scribe T

Music: in **f**-clefs, both the single and double rhomboid shapes are drawn with stems (see Figure

²⁰⁰ Contrasting with some of the other, smaller hands. See, for example, the addition by Scribe S of the word "Triplum" to Scribe W's copying on fol. 58v.

3.21); tails of semiminim flags do not always curve downward and are often drawn as straight lines pointing up at a 45-degree angle away from the note stem (see Figure 3.22);²⁰¹ less boldly drawn sharp signs and some experimentation with the shape of the parallelogram sides (fols. 13v, 82r); divisional and final bars are drawn in pairs (sometimes "tied" together in panpipe fashion) as well as three single strokes.

²⁰¹ The same form may also be found in Pad C 658 and Rs 215/Os. See Kurt von Fischer, "Padua und Paduanes Handschriften," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 16 vols. (Kassel, 1949-79), X, cols. 571-72. For an example of T's hand, see F. Alberto Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all' inizio del II quattrocento; due 'siciliane' del trecento," Annales Musicologiques, VII (1978), 43-50 (the facs. facing p. 45 is of MS R, fol. 26r); see also Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 67 (fols. 27v-28r), and Apel, French Secular Music, Pl. VII (fol. 84v).

Fig. 3.21: MS R, fol. 14v

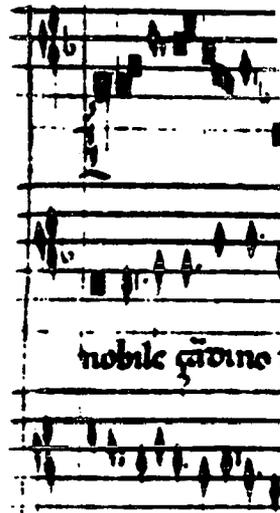


Fig. 3.22: MS R, fol. 25r

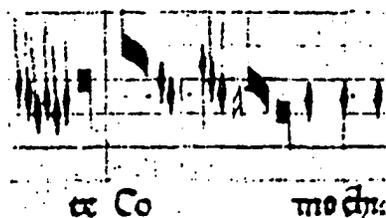


Text: two forms of miniscule *g*, one with a closed, looped tail, and the other with a longer, open tail extending to the left.

Scribe U

Music: a similar but smaller and more spidery hand than that associated with Scribe S (it is possible that S and U are the same scribe, copying at separate times and with different pens and inks); many of the sharp signs lack dots, or at least the full complement of four (See Figure 3.23).

Fig. 3.23: MS R, fol. 43r



Text: long, sloping ascender on miniscule d (sometimes looping around to the right); exaggerated descender on the long final s (descenders sometimes added to miniscule f and i); the scribe may be associated with the large, characteristic "Tenor" and "Contratenor" designations sometimes used for the lower voices in three-part compositions (see the added "Tenor" on fol. 20v); long, extended cedillas.

Scribe V

Music: use of the imperfect breve form for custodes;²⁰² triplet flags with long tails extending to the right (some parallel to the staff); sharp signs contain four dots, but they are placed in the middle of the four sides of the parallelogram; inconsistently shaped c-clefs; when present, jagged, accordion-like final notes (see Figure 3.24 for these features).

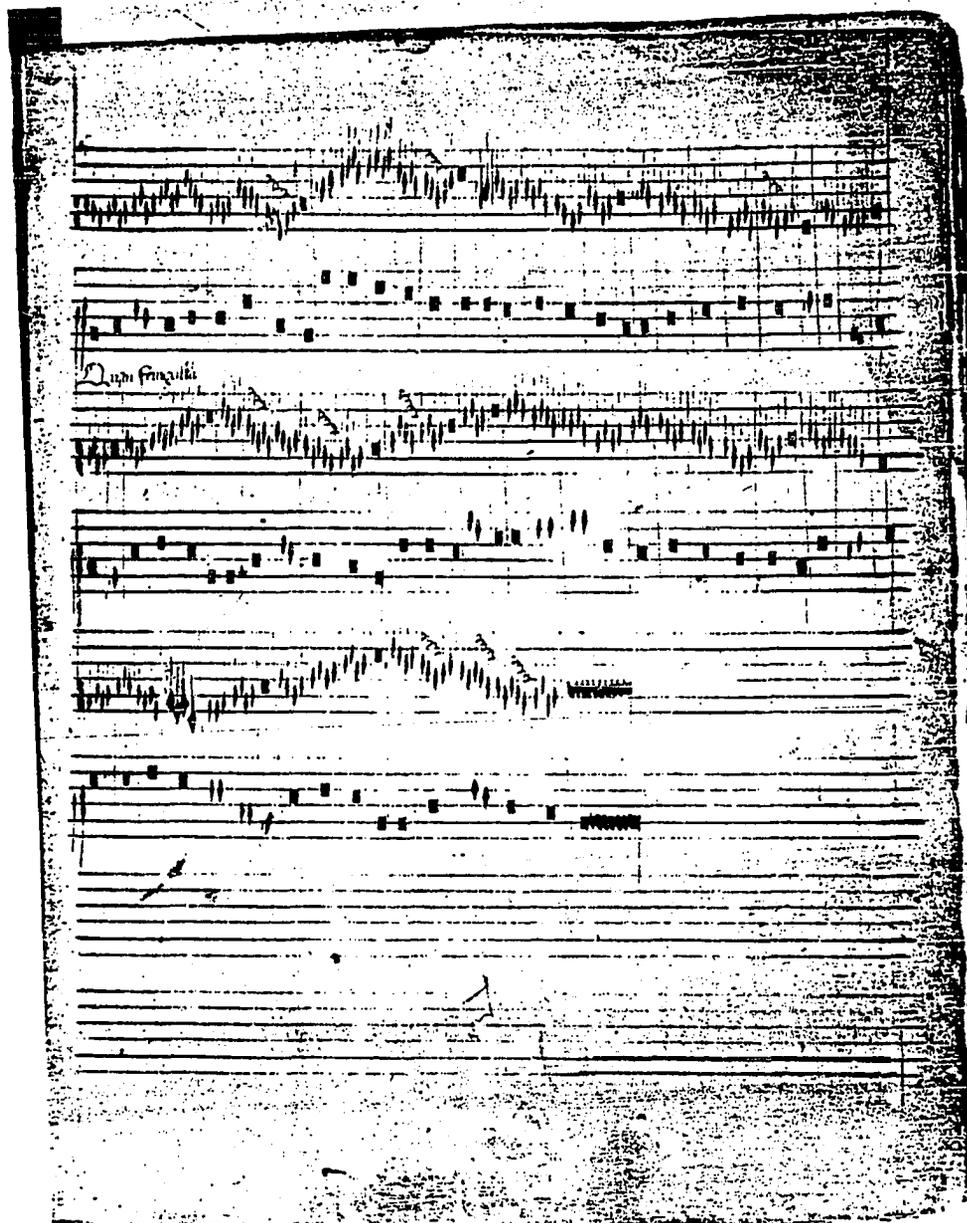
Text: some use of miniscule g with looped tail extending to the left; elaborated cedillas (three-stroke form).

²⁰² For similar use, see the fragmentary MS GR 16 (inventoried and discussed by Kurt von Fischer, "Eines neues Trecentofragment," Festschrift für Walter Wiora [Basel, 1967], 264-68) and MS Ch (Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047," Musica Disciplina, VIII (1954), 59-113. See Carl Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music (New York, 1959), Pl. LX (MS R, fol. 85r).

Fig. 3.24a: MS R, fol. 36v

Dna b ramosa no si mo na a rama castridid gualle
 y quato con re i chila fana la pu na d'vna co glor bi
 amoz centi re ch por pme so rari re gema so p'p'gano si.
 Dna b ramosa no si mo na a rama castridid gualle y qua
 to con re y chila fana la pu na d'vna co glor bi a mo rari re e
 po p'p'gano re gema so p'p'gano si.
 Canto re logo no g'vna si vna co glon
 fur in cruce me furo si amoz bi
 d'vna par m'vna d'vna g'vna d'vna
 d'vna co glon re gema so p'p'gano
 amoz d'vna si fana la pu na

Fig. 3.24b: MS R, fol. 85r

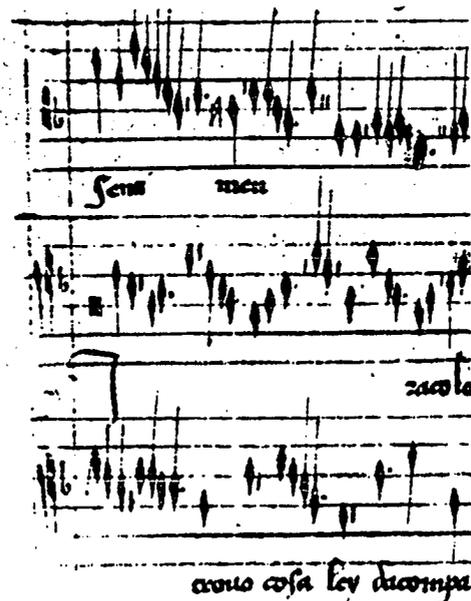


Scribe W

Music: thin, spidery hand with pointed semibreves; sharp signs often lack dots; few accordion-shaped final notes; f-clefs often lack a stem on the single rhomboid, and sometimes lack stems altogether; note stems incline to the right; semiminim flags are drawn to the right with short tails curved downward; tendency to prepare more c-clefs than are needed, some of which are then transformed into f-clefs by the addition of stems (fols. 45r and 59r; see Figure 3.25). Use of an extremely sharp pen nib which slightly tears the paper in the process of writing, often creating lateral "bleeding" around the vertical strokes of final bars.

Text: cursive features; thick, long s and f; looped ascenders for b, l, and d.

Fig. 3.25: MS R, fol. 45r



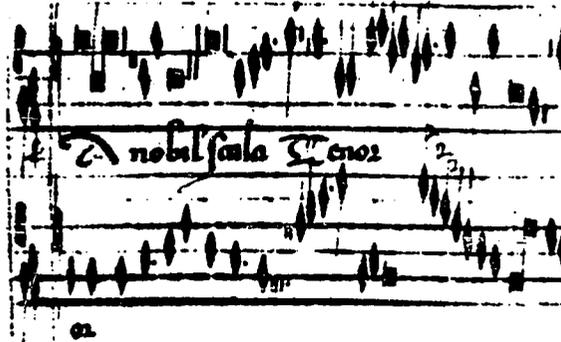
Scribe X

Music: resembles Scribe V in the drawing of final notes, sharp signs and triplet flags; thick-bodied custodes; b-flat in signature has the shape of a c-clef with added upper and lower stems (fols. 40v and 45v; see Figure 3.26).

Text: a strikingly individual hand, with looped l and b, long sloping ascender in miniscule d (often elongated and curving back to the right in a thin stroke); exaggerated tail on the long s and a long curved limb in miniscule h; use of single and double diagonal strokes to mark sections and endings of

texts.203

Fig. 3.26: MS R, fol. 40v



Scribe Y

Music: a bold, clear hand; c- and f-clefs are consistently attached to the left outer margin of fols. 63r-72v and 73v-80v (see Figure 3.13); f-clefs are generally drawn with two tails; fols. 74r, 74v, 75r, and 75v reveal "transformed" c-clefs of the type mentioned in the description of Scribe W above; here, however, the effect is deliberate, for the clef is also found in the middle of line 2, fol. 75r; sharp signs sometimes lack dots (with some

²⁰³ That this hand clearly differs from others in the MS was noted in Giuseppe Corsi, Poesie musicali del trecento (Bologna, 1970), lxxi. See Wilkins, A Fourteenth-Century Repertory, xxi (fac. of MS R, fols. 56v-57r).

experimentation on fol. 66v); final bars seem to vary greatly, with an odd number of strokes favored; custodes vary considerably, including the use of curved tails. The script of fols. 73v-76v is similar to that of Scribe T, but smaller (we may note, however, the use of single-stroke semiminim flags on fols. 73v and 81v [also present on fol. 43r]).

Text: use of miniscule g with a long tail extending to the left; large, elaborate cedillas; no long s; tops and bottoms of capital S are often "flattened." The hand responsible for the corrections and additions to the text on fols. 65r and 70r is unlike any other in the MS. It does, surprisingly enough, bear a close resemblance to the hand of a scribe who copied Iandini's ballata Poy che da te convien as a later addition in the fragmentary MS GR 16, fol. 3r.²⁰⁴

As an aid to the reader in following my conclusions on the compilation of R and the nature of the readings it contains, I have summarized in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 the preceding data on scribes, watermarks, and the characteristics of gatherings and inserted folios, and have

²⁰⁴ For another example of Y's work, see Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 68 (fac. of MS R, fols. 63v-64r).

included in parallel columns the results obtained by von Fischer and Wilkins.

Table 3.2: Analyses of Scribes and Watermarks in MS R

<u>von Fischer</u>	<u>Wilkins</u>	<u>present analysis</u>
SCRIBES:		
A (1 ^r -39 ^v , 43 ^r -44 ^r , 47 ^v -52 ^v)	I (1 ^r -39 ^v , 43 ^r -44 ^r , 47 ^v -52 ^v , 63 ^r -84 ^v)	S (1 ^v -12 ^v , 14 ^r , 16 ^v -24 ^v , 26 ^r , 28 ^r -34 ^r , 35 ^r -36 ^r , 48 ^v , 49 ^r -v, 51 ^r -v; additions on 1 ^r , 3 ^r , 15 ^r , 26 ^v -27 ^r , 28 ^v -29 ^r , 30 ^v -31 ^r , 33 ^v -34 ^r , 48 ^v -49 ^r , 50 ^v -51 ^r [?])
E (63 ^r -84 ^v) [possibly 85 ^r -v]		T (13 ^r -v, 14 ^v -16 ^r , 25 ^r -v, 26 ^v -27 ^v , 73 ^r [?], 81 ^r -v[?], 82 ^r -84 ^v ; additions on 14 ^r , 17 ^v , 18 ^r , 26 ^r)
		Y (63 ^r -72 ^v , 73 ^v -76 ^v [?], 77 ^r -79 ^r ; additions on 34 ^v [?], 74 ^v -75 ^r [?], 75 ^v -76 ^r , 84 ^r)
		V (36 ^v -37 ^v , 85 ^r -v; additions on 35 ^v -36 ^r)
B (39 ^v -41 ^r , 45 ^v -46 ^r)	II (39 ^v -41 ^r , 45 ^v -46 ^r) [possibly 85 ^r -v]	X (40 ^r -41 ^r , 45 ^v -46 ^r ; addition on 39 ^v)
		U (38 ^r -39 ^v , 43 ^r -44 ^r , 47 ^v -48 ^r [?], 50 ^r -50 ^v , 52 ^r -v[?], 61 ^v ; additions on 9 ^v -10 ^r , 62 ^r)
C (44 ^v -45 ^r)		
D (53 ^r -62 ^v ; additions on 12 ^v -13 ^r , 46 ^v -47 ^r , 65 ^v -66 ^r , 72 ^v -73 ^r , 77 ^v ; texts on 65 ^r and 70 ^r ; Index)	III (44 ^v -45 ^r , 53 ^r -62 ^v ; additions on 12 ^v -13 ^r , 46 ^v -47 ^r , 65 ^v -66 ^r , 72 ^v -73 ^r , 77 ^v)	W (44 ^v -45 ^r , 46 ^v -47 ^r , 53 ^r -61 ^r , 62 ^r -v; additions on 12 ^v -13 ^r , 60 ^v -61 ^r , 65 ^v -66 ^r , 72 ^v -73 ^r , 77 ^v)

Table 3.2 (cont'd)

WATERMARKS:

Basilisk (1-34, 42, 48, 49, 51, 55, 59, 64-71, 76, 80, 82, 83) [approximate to Briquet, Plate C of Intro.]	identical to von Fischer	Basilisk 1a (1-34, 42, 48, 49, 51, 55, 59) [approximate to Briquet 2660]
		Basilisk 1b (64-71, 76, 80, 82, 83) [approximate to Briquet 2632]
Mounts-in-circle (36, 38-40, 53, 57) [approximate to Briquet 11890]	"	Mounts-in-circle 2a (36, 38-40) [approximate to Briquet 11854]
		Mounts-in-circle 2b (53, 57) [approximate to Briquet 11890]
Bell (46, 50, 85, 86) [approximate to Briquet 3953(?)]	"	identical to von Fischer [not in the standard works]
Arc (72, 73, 78) [approximate to Briquet 788]	"	identical to von Fischer [approximate to Briquet 791]
Crown (89-127) [approximate to Briquet 4614]	"	identical to von Fischer [question relationship to Briquet 4614]

Table 3.3: Characteristics of Gatherings and Inserted Folios in MS R

Gatherings	1	2	3	4	5
RASTRUM /Ink	18.5 mm.; light brown	18.5 mm.; red	18.5 mm.; red guide line under 8th stave	19 mm.; light brown	19 mm.; brown 50/61 = light brown
VERTICAL MARGINS /Ink	double lines; red	double lines; red	double lines; red	double lines; brown 37/46 = single lines	double lines; brown 50/61 = single lines; light brown
WRITING SPACE (average reading in mm.)	194 X 174	194 X 174	203 X 173	41/42=196X175 35/48=195X174 36/47, 38/45, 39/44, 40/43 = 197 X 174 37/46=197X181	195 X 175 50/61=196X180
PRICKING	8 holes matching if visible	little visible	8 holes matching if visible	8 holes matching if visible 35/48 and 37/46 pricked independently	little visible
FOLIATION	recto: arabic verso: roman	continued from 1st gathering	from 30 ^V = arabic nos. rectos finished before copying music/text	continued from 3rd gathering new hand clear on 43 ^r different ink on 39 ^{Vff}	continued from 4th gathering new hand and different ink from 51 ^r new hand and different ink on 57 ^V -
BINDING STRIPS	1/12, 6/7 after copying	13/24, 18/19 after copying	25/34, 29/30 after copying	35/48, 41/42 before copying	49/62, 55/56 before copying
INKS Text/Music	dark brown addition on 9 ^V -10 = black	light brown = 13 ^{r-v} , top 14 ^r ; contra 17 ^v ; 1st line 18 ^r ; 16 ^v -19 ^r ; dark brown= most of 14 ^r ; addition 15 ^r ; most of 18 ^r ; 19 ^v -24 ^v	light brown = 25 ^{r-v} , 26 ^v ; 27 ^{r-v} , 34 ^v ; dark brown = 28 ^r , 28 ^r -34 ^r composer attribution on 25 ^r = l. brown; others in red	black = 38 ^r -top 39 ^v ; 47 ^v -48 ^v ; dark brown = 35 ^r -37 ^v ; 43 ^r -45 ^r ; light brown= 46 ^v -47 ^v ; very light = 39 ^v -41, 45 ^v -46	black = 52 ^{r-v} ; brown = 49 ^r -51 ^v ; grey-brown= 53 ^r -62 ^v

Table 3.3 (cont'd)

added folios				
6	7	85-88	8	9/10
19 mm.; light brown 66 ^v and 67 ^r ruled together	19 mm.; light brown	18.5 mm.; brown	18.75 - 19 mm. light brown text guide lines in pencil 7 staves	18.75 - 19 mm. light brown text guide lines in pencil 7 staves
double lines; brown	double lines; light brown	single lines; brown	single lines; pencil	single lines; pencil
211/213 X 177/182	211/213 X 178/182	210 X 180/184	202 X 150	202 X 150
63/72 has no pricking other bifolia match if visible	73/84 and 78/79 have no pricking the rest match with 9 holes	8 holes; matching	matching for entire gathering	matching for 109 - 119 125-127 pricked for music and Index
recto sides continue 5th gathering new hand begins on 62 ^v	continued from 6th gathering different hand for 77 ^r only	continued from 7th gathering no verso foliation from 85 ff	continued from 7th gathering and inserted fols.	continued from 8th gathering different (grey-brown) ink on fols. 125, 126, 127
63/72, 67/68 after copying	73/84, 78/79 after copying	none	modern paper strips added to 89 ^v -90, 90 ^v -91, 92 ^v - 93, 105 ^v -106, 107 ^v -108 older strips on 89/108 and 98/99	modern paper strips added to 109 ^v -110, 110 ^v -111, 113 and 116 ^v , 114 and 115 ^v older strips on 112-117, 117-118 and 118-119
light brown for entire gathering additions on 65 ^v -66 and 72 ^v -73=black red notes originally brown	extremely light brown = fol. 73 ^r ; brown = 73 ^v ff; black = addition on 77 ^v red notes originally brown	brown	brown	brown no red capitals on 115 ^v -119

The repertorial significance of MS R stems, first of all, from its important collection of late 14th- and early 15th-century French, and even Flemish, unica: virelais, ballades, and rondeaux (Part II of the MS). The Italian section (Part I) comprises works by well known native composers (notably, Jacopo da Bologna, Giovanni da Cascia, Bartolino da Padova, and Francesco Landini), but it contrasts with contemporary Florentine collections in going beyond typical anthologizing tastes with its remarkable transmission of many anonymous North-Italian madrigals and ballatas, some displaying close ties to the unwritten tradition.²⁰⁵ Taken as a whole, the repertory of MS R suggests a Northern or at least non-Tuscan musical center, in which works by Florentine composers (principally Landini) were also available. In fact, a reconstruction of the history of its preparation points specifically to Paduan

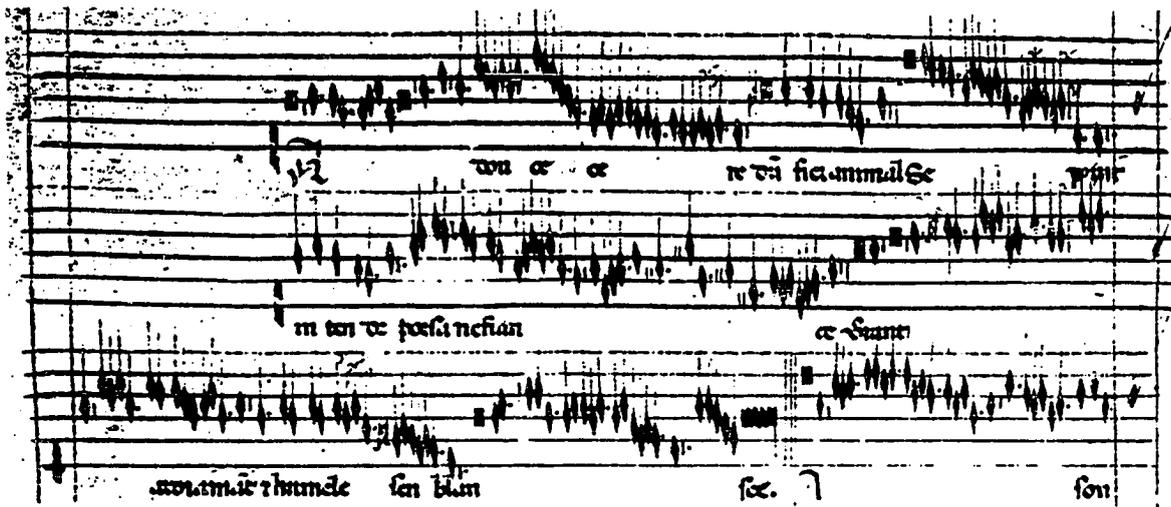
²⁰⁵ See von Fischer's introductory remarks to the inventory ("The Manuscript," 37ff; Pirrotta, "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in Words and Music: The Scholar's View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), 271-91 (published also in Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque, Studies in the History of Music, I [Cambridge, Mass., 1984], 51-71); Gallo, "Ricerche," 43, 48-50; Giulio Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del quattrocento: il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato," Annales musicologiques, VII (1978), 17-41 (esp. 17-21). The most recent study of specifically Paduan repertories is by Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400," Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), 193-225 (esp. 193-98 and 216-21).

circles as the most likely source for the codex itself.

The codicological and scribal evidence has shown that gatherings 1, 2, and 3 form a unit, but some question remains as to which of the first two was originally intended to open a collection that, in its infancy, appeared to be limited to North-Italian repertory: compositions by Bartolino da Padova and Jacopo da Bologna. On fol. 13v, the layout of La douce cere reserves considerable space for a large capital L (perhaps even an illuminated letter; see Figure 3.27),²⁰⁶ evidence perhaps that honor of first place had originally been intended for gathering 2, and northern Italy's foremost composer at the turn of the 15th century, Bartolino da Padova, whose works dominate the gathering.

²⁰⁶ The section devoted to Bartolino in MS Sq, in fact, begins with La douce cere and an illuminated letter L. Such deliberate prominence would lend even more weight to the thesis that R originated in Padua; see Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 64, and Hallmark, "Some Evidence," 220-21. For a terminus ante quem of 1401 for Part I of the MS, see Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), 94-8.

Fig. 3.27: MS R, fol. 13v



In the end, however, the Jacopo gathering was placed first, adding red capitals to the three voice parts of Sotto l'imperio on opening 1v-2r.²⁰⁷

Scribes S and T appear to have been close collaborators, a relationship attested to by several factors: (1) they worked on identical paper; (2) the considerable internal complexities regarding the alternation of the two hands in gathering 2 (see Figure 3.28);²⁰⁸ and 3)

²⁰⁷ Sotto l'imperio had also been chosen to head the Jacopo section in both Sq and Pit. In the latter, it is the first composition of the entire collection. In this light, Jacopo's madrigal Lo lume vostro (MS R, fol. 1r) can be regarded as a somewhat later addition, most probably belonging to the layer of compilation which included further Jacopo and Giovanni works (see the discussion to follow).

²⁰⁸ The incomplete states of compositions on fols. 13r

the addition by T of a textless Contratenor part to S's work in Bartolino's ballata El no me giova (fol. 17v; see Figure 3.29).²⁰⁹

(Imperial sedendo) and the top of 18r (Qual novità, occupying only the first staff, and without text) were not considered by either von Fischer or Wilkins in their discussions of the structure of the source. In fact, Wilkins went so far as to suggest that Bartolino's Amor che nel pensier (the work covering most of fol. 18r) began with a "monodic instrumental prelude" twelve bars in length, and contained unusual rhythmic and harmonic schemes; see Wilkins, "A Critical Edition," 319.

²⁰⁹ This Contratenor part is thought to have been composed by Matteo da Perugia, and appears without Cantus and Tenor in Mod A, fol. 3v; see Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568 = Mod)," Musica Disciplina, XXIV (1970), 17-67.

Fig. 3.28: MS R, fol. 18r

18

In excelsis deo

Et in unum deum

patrem factorem

omnium visibilium et invisibilium

Et ex patre filium

verum et consubstantialem

genitum

Et ex spiritu sancto et ex patre filium

verum et consubstantialem

procedentem

qui procedit a patre et filio

qui procedit a patre et filio et spiritu sancto

qui procedit a patre et filio et spiritu sancto et procedit ad deum

qui procedit a patre et filio et spiritu sancto et procedit ad deum et procedit ad deum et procedit ad deum

Fig. 3.29: MS R, fol. 17v

nome gona ncial to na fia re Che
 quito fugo alor me puzmon re Cre tea mazona
 puzmon no Do na ipso alquatalmo tunc to
 nome gona ncial to na fia re Cre quito
 go alor me puzmon re Cre re a gazona puzmon loimo Do
 na ipso alquatalmo tunc to
 Quia Tenor El nome gona
 Secunda pars

Gathering 3 opens with a ballata attributed by Scribe T to a composer who, judging from the MS dissemination of his works, was little known in northern Italy, Paolo da Firenze (Paolo Tenorista).²¹⁰ Doubt cast by Pirrotta on Paolo's authorship of the ballata Perch' i' non seppi (fol. 25r) are reinforced, for this is Scribe T's single contribution drawn from the known Florentine repertory (the responsibility for which falls primarily on Scribes S, U, and V).²¹¹ Gathering 3 continues with what may be the work of local Paduan composers, compositions by Jacobeli Bianchy, Joh. Baçus Correçarius, and an Henrici,²¹² as well as a small collection of anonymous ballatas and madrigals. At least some of the ballatas have been recognized as belonging to a tradition of North-Italian taste for sicilianas "recast into ballata form" (to be discussed shortly, in the context of scribal changes).²¹³

²¹⁰ See Nino Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista (Palm Springs, 1961), 19. The attribution in R reads as follows: "Dompni Pauli."

²¹¹ Conversely, the possibility of an attribution to Landini for the anonymous Io son un pellegrin (fols. 27v-28r) is enhanced, for it belongs to the short series of Scribe S's additional Landini works--Sie maledetta l'or (fol. 28r), Amor, donna, chi t'ama (fols. 26v-27r), and Donna, s'i' t'o fallito (fol. 34r).

²¹² The latter known also as "Arrigo" in Pit, fols. 96v-97r.

²¹³ See Nino Pirrotta, "New Glimpses," 274-87 (E, vantende signor mie, Strençi li labri, Dona fallante miRa). In addition, the sicilianas are discussed by Gallo,

Another layer of copying is represented by Scribe S's addition of Landini, Giovanni, and Jacopo works to these first three gatherings. Some of these works, those on pages prior to fol. 29v, were copied into available space at the foot of openings (as well as on the blank but ruled fols. 1r and 12v); others, on fols. 30-34, occupy the major portion of the folio. All of these additions may have been entered at the same time.

The nature of the anthology underwent a change in gatherings 4 and 5, where one finds the use of new papers together with paper Type 1a, and the work of different scribes. A sequence of compilation in which a unit made up of gatherings 1, 2, and 3 was followed by a second unit comprising gatherings 4 and 5 is suggested by the following evidence:

1. Gatherings of one paper type are followed by

"Ricerche" 43-4 [Fenir mia vita]; Pirrotta, "Polyphonic Music for a Text Attributed to Frederick II," Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque, 39-50 (published originally as "Musica polifonica per un testo attribuito a Federico II," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, II [Certaldo, 1968], 97-112) [Dolçe io mio drudo]; Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," Music and Culture, 72-9 (published originally as "Tradizione orale e tradizione scritta della musica," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, III (1970), 431-41); Agostino Ziino, "Aspetti della tradizione orale nella musica medioevale," L'Etnomusicologia in Italia (Primo convegno sugli studi etnomusicologici in Italia, ed. Diego Carpitella [Palermo, 1975]), 169-87 (esp. 170); Ziino, "Una fonte trecentesca della ballata 'Deh, no me fare languire'," Studi medievali, XXIII (1982), 303-9 [De no me fare languire].

gatherings of "mixed" papers, which include the first paper.

2. The collaboration of only two scribes in the early gatherings precedes the more complex situation of later sections involving four new scribes working in conjunction with one from the first group.
3. The foliation (now looking ahead to include gatherings 6 and 7) is executed in "layers" which extend across gathering boundaries; in other words, changes in type, hands, and ink colors of the foliation numbers do not coincide with beginnings and ends of gatherings.
4. The format of La douce cere and the red capitals of Sotto l'imperio suggest that they were initially intended to be located at the beginning of the collection.
5. Although binding strips were put in place before the copying of music in gatherings 4 and 5, it is doubtful, in light of the principles of repertorial arrangement customary in other Trecento sources, that the pieces on the opening rectos of these gatherings would have been intended to head the collection (e.g., the anonymous and modest madrigal, Spesse siate).

Gatherings 4 and 5 represent, then, a second layer of compilation in the collection; the folios share, in addition to a common manner of preparation, similar paper types and scribes. They may originally have been compiled by Scribes S and U, with the other scribes contributing either on folios left blank-ruled by them, or on inserted or replacement folios. The contributions of Scribe S, the principal copyist of gatherings 1-3, continue to be offered on paper Type 1a, but the different manner of paper preparation points to a new layer of work by him. Scribe V (see Table 3.1) seems in particular to have been responsible for the insertion of paper Type 3 in these gatherings (at least bifolio 37/46 and perhaps also 50/61). The folios now numbered 85-88, consisting of paper Type 3 and, like fols. 35v-37v, carrying the work of Scribe V, may at one time have simply been appended to the end of the first five gatherings; the displacement of these folios to their present location perhaps took place after the compilation of gatherings 6 and 7. Finally, an association between Scribes U and W may have existed, for on fol. 62r Scribe U copied the first line of text of the anonymous ballade A gre d'amours, dame (the remainder of text as well as the music are the work of Scribe W; see Figure 3.30).

Fig. 3.30: MS R, fol. 62r

The image shows a manuscript page with two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of two staves. The upper staff of each system contains a vocal line with square neumes, and the lower staff contains a lute line with square neumes. The text is written in a Gothic script between the staves. In the first system, there is a large initial 'A' at the beginning of the text. In the second system, there are some markings like 'se' and 'noz' at the bottom of the page.

Gatherings 4 and 5 continue the collection of anonymous ballatas, sicilianas, and madrigals begun in gathering 3. In fact, the completion of gathering 3 (fols. 30v-34r) may have taken place after gatherings 4 and 5 were begun, space having been reserved for Giovanni and Jacopo works in the earlier gathering. As it is, an even more heterogeneous mix is to be found, including more anonymous works, two Landini ballatas, and further Bartolino compositions.²¹⁴ The only gathering which appears originally

²¹⁴ It should be noted that Scribe X's contributions may all be compositions by Bartolino da Padova. The unattributed Fa se'l bon servo (fol. 40v) and, particularly, La nobil scala (fols. 40v-41r) have been ascribed with some likelihood to Bartolino by a number of investigators,

to have been intended for Landini's works is gathering 5, but his ballatas were added in earlier gatherings, primarily by Scribes S and V.²¹⁵ However, less than half of the fifth gathering represents Landini; a new hand, Scribe W, who also contributed on fols. 44v-45r and 46v-47r (with both French and Italian works), began on fol. 53r what has been termed Part II of the MS.²¹⁶ This section of the MS, which extends to fol. 84v and contains primarily a 14th-century French repertory, does not form the single entity with gatherings 1-5 as reported by Wilkins. Instead, it stands apart from the first section for the following reasons: (1) it displays a different manner of preparation; (2) it comprises new paper Types 1b and 4, and altogether lacks the paper types of gatherings 1 through 5; and (3) gatherings 6 and 7 contain the work of a new scribe, Scribe Y, who may largely be responsible for the compilation of these folios. Only the presence of Scribe T at the very end of gathering 7 ties the 14th-century Italian and French sections of the source together.

including Wilkins, "The Codex Reina," 64. Most remarkable, perhaps, are the anonymous sicilianas added by Scribes U and V (discussed, below, in the context of scribal initiative).

²¹⁵ Already noted by Pirrotta, "New Glimpses," 274.

²¹⁶ Part II also subdivides into "layers," with fols. 53r-62v forming one section, and gatherings 6 and 7, another. This is signaled by, among other things, changes in the foliation at fols. 51r and 62v and variation in dimensions of the writing space.

Gatherings 6 and 7, although clearly forming a single, distinct unit in the history of the compilation, also display elements of internal complication, and thus may represent more than one layer of copying. Most noticeable in this respect is the presence of red capitals on fols. 77v and 80r, the catchword at the bottom of fol. 67v, and other added material in the extreme inner or outer bifolios of the gatherings.²¹⁷

Finally, gatherings 8 and 9 (and the leaves representing the beginning of a tenth) were added much later to the collection. As shown earlier, these appear to have been uniformly prepared, despite the now lost folios of gathering 9 and the confusion created by the subsequent addition of binding strips.

We may now examine the repertorial groupings and scribal contributions to the readings of the compositions in R. Let us first observe the nature of Scribe V's work: three ballatas by Francesco Landini--In somm' alteça (fols. 35v-36r), Donna, che d'amor senta (fol. 36v), Non do la colp' a te (fol. 37r)--an unattributed ballata, Ochi piançete (fol. 37v), and two instrumental arrangements on fols. 85r and 85v.²¹⁸ Although Leo Schrade elected not to follow the

²¹⁷ See n. 196, above.

²¹⁸ Briefly mentioned in John Nádas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," Journal of the American Musicological Society,

readings in R for two of the three Landini ballatas in his edition of the composer's works,²¹⁹ he nevertheless contended that the presence of Italian notational elements in these copies (against the French practices in states found in concordant sources) signals, by itself, their relative proximity to Landini's original conception. However, the isolation of this scribe's work in MS R, including his entry of the repertorially anomalous instrumental arrangements on

XXXIV (1981), 418, n. 29. Subsequent to the present writer's independent discovery of the identity and nature of the arrangement on fol. 85v of R, the following studies became available: Robert Huestis, "Scribal Errors in the Faenza Codex: A Clue to Performance Practice?" Studies in Music [University of Western Australia], X (1976), 52-61, and idem, "Contrafacta, Parodies, and Instrumental Arrangements from the Ars Nova," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California at Los Angeles, 1973), I, 134 and 138-39. In both studies Huestis correctly identified the vocal model of the arrangement on fol. 85v of R; I do not agree, however, with his assertion that both the model and arrangement were copied by the same scribe. See Example 3.1 for a modern edition of this arrangement. We should note the recent discovery of two new score arrangements (possibly meant to be performed on a keyboard) from early 15th-century Italy, which with the examples in MSS R and Fa point to a sizeable repertory of instrumental works: Agostino Ziino, "Un antico 'Kyrie' a due voci per strumento a tastiera," Nuova rivista musicale italiana, XIV (1981), 628-33 [Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 187]; Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica," 31-33 [MS I-Pas 553]. See also the conclusions drawn by Adriano Cavicchi on the function of the organ in North-Italian ecclesiastical institutions and the possible connections between the Fa repertory and Ferrara, in "Sacro e profano: documenti e note su Bartolomeo da Bologna e gli organisti della cattedrale di Ferrara nel primo Quattrocento," Rivista italiana di musicologia, X (1975), 46-71; idem, "Altri documenti per Bartolomeo da Bologna," Rivista italiana di musicologia, XI (1976), 178-80.

²¹⁹ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 80, 89, and 102-03.

fols. 85r and 85v, might instead suggest that the notation of the ballatas may have more to do with Scribe V's training and/or personal preferences than with any intrinsic authority the readings with Italian notational traits might carry. Donna che d'amor senta, for example, is not transmitted in Schrade's "main" source, MS FP, and Schrade was thus tempted to give "preference to the version in R on account of the Italian notation, which is the most likely form of the original."²²⁰ By so doing, however, he introduced into his edition what may be a particular trait of Scribe V, rather than of Landini, for the repetition of notes in bar 12 of Schrade's transcription of the Tenor part (notated in fewer but longer notes in two other sources)²²¹ appears to be characteristic of his work (see Figure 3.31). The avoidance of certain longer note values is also to be found in one of the other Landini ballatas copied by Scribe V, a reading which Schrade decided not to follow, citing a number of errors in this transmission. He would, presumably, have incorporated the repeated notes in his edition had it not been for the presence of these other, erroneous readings.

²²⁰ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 80.

²²¹ MS Pit, fols. 104v-105r; Sq, fol. 150v.

Fig. 3.31: MS R, fol. 36v; Pit, fol. 105r



In Landini's Non do la colp' a te, Scribe V avoided the syncopation over-the-tempus in bars 32-33 of the Contratenor part (yet he incorporated a second one in bars 34-35; see Figure 3.32). This is a particularly instructive example, for, as has been noted elsewhere,²²² it was precisely at such a point of rhythmic complexity that Scribe V abandoned his instrumental arrangement of a French virelai on fol. 85v (see the Tenor at the beginning of the second section in Example 3.1). It is clear from calligraphic-notational traits (especially the use of the Italian imperfect long [breve form with ascending and descending stems] as custodes) that the scribe who copied and inserted these extra folios also copied the three Landini ballatas and the anonymous ballata-siciliana on fols. 35v-37r in a rather older and more conservative Italian notation.²²³

²²² See n. 151, above.

²²³ See von Fischer, "Codex Reina," for an inventory

Although it has long been known that the first of the instrumental arrangements is of Landini's ballata Questa fanciulla, the other, on fol. 85v, remained a mystery and was simply reported as a fragment. In fact, it is a complete arrangement of a three-part French virelai, Je voy le bons tens venir, the vocal model of which is found in the very same source on fol. 67r.²²⁴ On fol. 85v there are two attempts at the instrumental arrangement. The first was abandoned because of errors in the embellished Cantus (among other things, a full bar was left out), but the second try is to all practical purposes complete except for the unfinished Tenor part. As the Tenors of both arrangements (fols. 85r and 85v) closely follow that of their vocal models, it is a simple matter to complete the part. Significantly, the scribe/arranger left off in the Tenor part at precisely the point where an "over-the-bar" tie occurs in the vocal model. Not able to solve this notational problem, he abandoned the arrangement.²²⁵

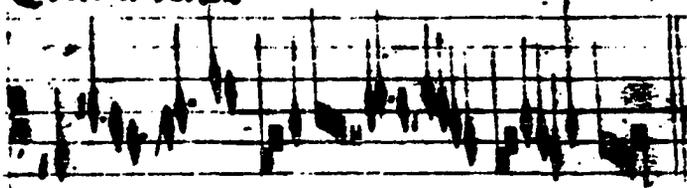
of the MS; both von Fischer and Wilkins ("A Revised Description") fail to identify the work of this scribe.

²²⁴ I would like to thank Mr. Joseph Morin of New York University for help in searching for the model.

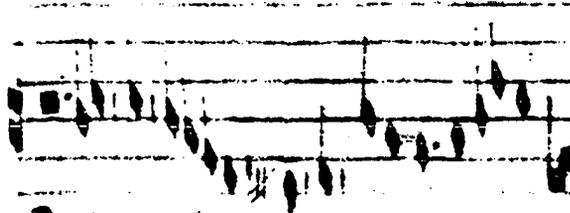
²²⁵ For a contemporary method of notating syncopations in a score format--through the omission of bar lines--see, for example, the Fa arrangement of Antonio Zacarias de Teramo's Un fior gentil (fol. 82r), a modern edition of which is to be found in Dragan Plamenac, Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 106-07, bars 27-8 and 38-9.

Fig. 3.32: MS R, fol. 37r; FP, fol. 24r

Contra tenor



Contra Altus :-



Andate -

oz

Ex. 3.1: Je voy le bon tens venir (MS R, fol. 85v)

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 6/8 time signature. It begins with a melodic line of eighth notes, followed by a series of quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 6/8 time signature, providing a harmonic accompaniment of quarter notes. Three sharp symbols (#) are placed above the upper staff in the third measure, indicating a specific performance instruction.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 6/8 time signature, continuing the melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 6/8 time signature, continuing the harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 6/8 time signature, featuring a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 6/8 time signature, continuing the harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 6/8 time signature, showing a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef with a 6/8 time signature, continuing the harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

Ex. 3.1 (cont'd)

Musical notation for the first system of Ex. 3.1 (cont'd). It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes, featuring three sharp signs (#) above the staff. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter notes and eighth notes. The system concludes with a repeat sign.

Musical notation for the second system of Ex. 3.1 (cont'd). It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter notes and eighth notes. The system concludes with a repeat sign. The text "d in MS" is written above the final measure of the upper staff.

Musical notation for the third system of Ex. 3.1 (cont'd). It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter notes and eighth notes. The system concludes with a repeat sign. A first ending bracket labeled "1." spans the final two measures of the upper staff.

Musical notation for the fourth system of Ex. 3.1 (cont'd). It consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes, featuring two sharp signs (#) above the staff. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line with quarter notes and eighth notes. The system concludes with a repeat sign. A second ending bracket labeled "2." spans the first two measures of the upper staff.

Two sides of one argument may be directed against Schrade's underlying "one main source" approach. First, notational language is clearly an area in which scribes could exercise personal initiative,²²⁶ and therefore mensural practice and the interpretation of rhythmic complexities cannot be placed at the top of a hierarchy of criteria that establish authoritative readings. Second, notational language (in MS R, Italian vs. French practices) is but one of the variables in the copying process, and thus it cannot ipso facto determine the authority of other parameters involved: texting, ligaturing, and vocal scoring.

The notion that copyists could serve as both scribes and arrangers of the repertories they recorded is convincingly reflected in another body of works in MS R, the sicilianas, identified by Pirrotta and Ziino on the following folios copied by Scribes S and U: De, no me fare languire (fol. 3r, Scribe S); Fenir mia vita (26r, S); Dolçe lo mio drudo (29v, S); E, vantende, segnor mio (38v, U); Strençi li labri (35r, U); Dona fallante mira (39v, U). To these Pirrotta has recently appended other works which clearly belong to the same genre, and, I might add, were

²²⁶ Margaret Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships Between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage and Sources, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), 309-10.

copied by the same scribes: Troveraço merce (28v-29r, S); Con lagreme sospiro (27v, S); and Amore a lo to aspetto (38r, U).²²⁷

We need not detail here the literary and musical elements which so firmly bind these siciliana-ballatas to the "unwritten tradition" (see the work of Pirrotta, Gallo, and Ziino, cited in notes 205, 213 above). What must be emphasized, however, is that the many "popular" features-- among them, (1) unison declamation and points of arrival and departure marked by a unison, (2) repetition of melodic and textual material (a general economy of means), (3) the use of short phrases articulated by rests, (4) overly-embellished gestures--created a context within which performers and scribes could manipulate both form and content to a large degree. The sicilianas of northern Italy, as Pirrotta has so brilliantly shown, were not original compositions, but recast imported songs; a knowledge of refashioning techniques, in fact, has allowed Pirrotta and Gallo to de-edit and reconstruct aspects of the original Sicilian models.

²²⁷ See Pirrotta's post scriptum to "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," reprinted in Italian translation in Musica tra medioevo e rinascimento (Turin, 1984), 175-76. See also Pirrotta's most recent essay on the siciliana, in "La siciliana trecentesca," Schede medievali, III (1982), 297-308, in which he finds siciliana elements in other MS R ballatas: El capo biondo (fol. 25v, by Henricus ["Arrigo" in Pit, 96v-97r]), Ochi piançete, and Amor a lo to aspetto (fol. 38r).

What is fascinating from our scribal vantage point (as well as its implications for later repertories) is the clear continuation of freedom and reinterpretation in the transmission of sicilianas into the 15th century, well after the original songs had been first "clothed" in the garments of the more refined art of the polyphonic ballata. Newly-discovered fragments have provided Gallo and Ziino with nearly coeval versions of two sicilianas which, in comparison to their concordant readings in R, have been changed in the following ways: (1) literary corruptions are introduced in the addition and subtraction of syllables in order to force a formally symmetrical style; (2) individual words not entirely understood by the northerners were replaced, often with subsequent destruction of rhyme schemes; (3) melodic variants were introduced which can easily be explained as the displacement of melodic/rhythmic motives (betraying the economy of materials already mentioned).

The presence of sicilianas in North-Italian musical and literary circles at the beginning of the 15th century is documented in Il Paradiso degli Alberti by Giovanni da Prato and in the sonnets of Simone Prudenzani,²²⁸ who specifically

²²⁸ Pirrotta ("New Glimpses," 287-91) singles out two such ballatas by Antonello da Caserta in MS Man/ManP: Con dogliosi martire and Or tolta pur mi sei. To these, Gallo has added an unicum in I-Pas 553: E par che la vita (first reported in Cattin, "Ricerche," 36), found as well in a literary collection (Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, MS Magl.

cites Strençi li labri and Finir mia vita in sonnets 34 and 48, respectively, of his Sollazzo. In sonnet 47 he mentions sicilianas in the context of other genres: "Quella sera cantaro ei madrigale, / Canzon del Cieco, a modo peruscino, / Rondel franceschi de fra Bartolino, / Strambotti de Cicilia a la reale . . ." As Pirrotta has shown, sicilianas reflect a desire to incorporate foreign and little-known works into the mainstream of North-Italian composed polyphony. In the context of our MS study, we can point to the individual scribes in MS R responsible for the inclusion of this particular repertory, which includes not only sicilianas, but Florentine compositions as well (Landini and, possibly, Paolo).

VII, 1040, fol. 55r) labeled as a "cieciliana." Pirrotta, in the post scriptum to his study of sicilianas (see n. 213, above), notes that the melody of Ciconia's ballata Poy che morir mi convien strongly resembles that of Gallo's new siciliana and may have been a conscious attempt on the part of Ciconia to imitate the genre then fashionable in Paduan musical circles. Gallo also points to a widespread literary tradition of sicilianas in northern Italy; see also Gianfranco Folena, "Siciliani," in Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana (Turin, 1974), 385-96. Prudenanzi's sonnets are published in Santore Debenedetti, Il "Sollazzo" (Turin, 1922), 174, 177. See Giovanni da Prato's Il Paradiso degli Alberti (libro secondo, line 52), ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome, 1975), 75: ". . . e cosi cavalcando, fu comandato a Andreuolo Dandolo, giovane non meno di costumi che di generazione nobile e famoso, piacevole e gentile, della famisissima citta veniziana, che quale delle leggiadre contesse a llui piacesse in compagnia a una canzonetta delle sue leggiadrissime ciciliane, che da Francesco Vannozi aparate avea, eleggesse a cantare . . ." See Pirrotta, "Polyphonic Music," 39-40, for these and other citations, including the 14th-century Decamerone (IV, 5) by Boccaccio.

Coincidence of scribe and texting habits in the transmission of compositions may be found in Scribe T's apparent preference for the distinctive Italian texture of texted Cantus and Tenor parts with a textless Contratenor in Bartolino's three-voice compositions in gathering 2. In three of these--the madrigals La douce çere and Alba colunba, and the ballata Senpre, dona, t'amay--this scoring departs from that of concordant readings.²²⁹ In two examples, Imperialle sedendo (fols. 22v-23r) and Non correr troppo (fol. 22r), Scribe S transmitted Bartolino works as fully-texted, two-part compositions when they appear as three-part works elsewhere. Scribe S can be associated with fully-texted texture, and may have added words to parts that were originally textless in his exemplars: note the heavily ligated yet texted Tenors in Landini's Per seguir la speranza (fol. 48, most likely copied by Scribe S) and Chi preghio vole (fol. 51); see Fig. 3.33. The ballata El no me giova (fol. 17v; see Figure 3.29 above) was originally entered as a two-voice composition by Scribe S; to it Scribe T added a textless Contratenor part composed by Matteo da Perugia, and, as mentioned earlier, found alone in Mod A (see n. 209, above).

²²⁹ See von Fischer, "The Manuscript," 57. It is significant that the Contratenor part of "Alba colunba" varies markedly from that in Sq; perhaps this is a further indication that it may have been added to an original two-part composition.

Fig. 3.33: MS R, fols. 48r, 51r

Et seguit la spera ca demana de Dona uo cecchiadi o Diella to tenet el mio delli

o Re uogliate agion d'antari: na Elmie gruetto mieto discari re.

In pegno nelle m'itru p'ogamo re. m'ito na no ca m'ito d'uelo re.

L'ama g'el seguit de g'el co la f'ama no p'uo d'icosa vi le :.

Further examples of scribal practices include the following: (1) the handling of syncopations (both within and across the tempus) in Jacopo and Bartolino's works, where Scribe X's transmission of such rhythmic refinements in I bei senbianti (fols. 45v-46r) contrasts with T's presumed reluctance to do so in Senpre, dona, t'amay (fol. 15v); (2) Scribe S's incorporation of such syncopations in his Jacopo gathering (Nel bel giardino on fol. 5r, O cieco mondo on

fol. 5v, and Prima virtute on fol. 6r),²³⁰ as well as in other repertory (e.g., the unattributed ballatas Lasso per ben servire [fol.28v], Donna nascosa [fol.32r], and Se questa dea [fol. 33r]); (3) the deliberate changes introduced in the texts, particularly evident in the infusion of Venetian-Emilian dialectal traits into Tuscan texts;²³¹ (4) the less corrupt state of the compositions at the end of the seventh gathering, as compared to much of the rest of the French-texted repertory in gatherings 6 and 7.²³²

The work of the scribe (perhaps the "outsider" indicated above) who corrected and added text to Machaut's Gais et jolis (fol. 65r) and the anonymous ballade A discort son desir (fol. 70r) is certainly editorial in nature. While the underlay may still be faulty on fol. 65r, much of it is not attributable to the new scribe, who was making an attempt to adjust the incorrect text placement before him. And on fol. 70r he was forced to work with a ballade in which the notes had already been "fixed" on the page without regard for proper spacing had text accompanied them. That

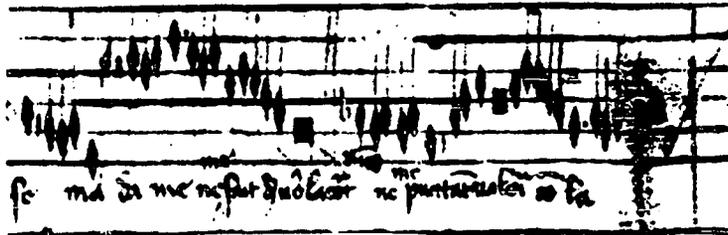
²³⁰ For a discussion of the problems associated with notated syncopations, see Long, "Musical Tastes," 100-02.

²³¹ See Corsi, Poesie musicali, introduction, lxxxix-civ, and Pierluigi Petrobelli, "'Un leggiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche," Rivista italiana di musicologia, X (1975), 32-45.

²³² Wilkins claimed that the texts of this entire section of the MS (gatherings 6 and 7) are corrupt ("A Critical Edition," 9; idem, A 14th-Century Repertory, critical notes, passim).

the new scribe was concerned about proper alignment is shown in his use of coordinating lines between syllables and notes in line 2 (see Figure 3.34).

Fig. 3.34: MS R, fol. 70r



Thus the contributors to this collection cannot all necessarily be considered mere copyists, or, to use a more euphemistic equivalent, professional copyists. While they have not fundamentally remodelled the text, they were, in many respects, editors of the repertory they worked with, producing copies of songs which conformed to their musical tastes or habits. We should not uniformly dismiss the readings of a particular source or scribe as merely "variant," but rather, as Margaret Bent has suggested, be "grateful for the clarification by a musically skilled scribe of features such as text underlay."²³³ Even if gatherings 6 and 7 of MS R are not the ideal source

²³³ Bent, "Some Criteria," 297-313.

for the French repertory of the late 14th century, we might still appreciate the fact that this section of the MS, or the earlier Italian section, may have transmitted certain features of a composition properly and others incorrectly. The modern editor's quest need not be for MSS that are on the whole more correct than others, but rather for individual readings--and even certain elements or dimensions of readings, such as texting and vocal scoring--that are more correct. Scribal skill can best be put to use (and identified in critical reports) only after a thorough analysis of copying practices in the repertory under consideration.

Chapter IV

MSS PARIS IT. 568, FLORENCE B.N. F.5.5, AND THE MANCINI CODEX:
 FLORENTINE ANTHOLOGIES IN THE FIRST DECADE
 OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds italien 568 (Pit) transmits one of the most important extant repositories of Italian Trecento song at the beginning of the 15th century. It contains 199 compositions, most of which are Italian-texted songs, but includes as well a small collection of Italian sacred settings and a group of popular 14th-century French chansons. The collection is especially well known as the most important source for the compositions of Paolo da Firenze (Paolo Tenorista).

Pit undoubtedly reached its present location in the Bibliothèque nationale by way of the French branch of the Capponi bank, and subsequently through King Charles X of France (1756-1836).²³⁴ The brown leather binding tooled in gold dates from Charles' possession of the source, with the royal monogram boldly visible on the front cover; the MS still bears the red stamp of the Bibliothèque royale and two call numbers of the King's library on the opening folio of

²³⁴ Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italien 568 (Pit)," *Musica Disciplina*, XIV (1960), 33-63; see p. 33 for a history of the MS. The role the Capponi family of Florence may have played in the early history of the MS is discussed in n. 255, below.

its index (fol. Ar): "no. 165 du supplement" and "Suppl. frç. no. 535" (see Figure 4.1, below). Its place--or places--of origin will be considered later in this chapter.

Pit was first inventoried and described by Johannes Wolf²³⁵ and by Friedrich Ludwig.²³⁶ Kurt Von Fischer's treatment of the Trecento secular repertory in his Studien of 1956 provided the first basis for a thorough study of Pit: (1) a work-list, containing all of its Italian-texted madrigals, caccias, and ballatas, names of composers, and concordances; (2) a brief analysis of the contents and date of the source.²³⁷ Von Fischer noted that Pit is traditional

²³⁵ Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1904), I, 250-58.

²³⁶ Friedrich Ludwig "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, IV (1902-3), 55-6, where he discussed details of the physical structure of Pit (especially the interpolation of later gatherings; see the discussion, below, on structure) and also noted in a brief statement (without detailed supporting evidence) that some of the unattributed works were undoubtedly by Francesco Landini but had had their attributions scraped from the parchment; idem, "Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460: Besprechung des gleichnamigen Buches von Joh. Wolf," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, VI (1904-5), 615, where he again mentioned the composite nature of the source; idem, ed., Guillaume de Machaut musikalische Werke, 4 vols., Publikationen älterer Musik, vol. IV ed. Heinrich Besseler (Leipzig, 1926-54), II, 27-8. In stressing some of the important physical features of the MS, both Wolf (p. 250) and Ludwig (Guillaume de Machaut, II, 27) observed that the index found at the front of Pit was contemporaneous with the collection, and that its manner of compilation reflected the order of copying in the main body of the source.

²³⁷ Kurt von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento, Publikationen der

in its division of the Italian song repertory into two large groups, madrigals/caccias and ballatas, but that it stands somewhat apart from other sources because of the high percentage of anonymous works and the lack of chronological order in the sequence of its composer sections. Von Fischer's study of Pit's origins prompted him to focus on the works of Paolo da Firenze. Following Nino Pirrotta's theory, to be considered presently, that Paolo was associated with the city of Lucca, and observing that Paolo's works were included both in the main corpus of Pit and in gatherings added later, von Fischer placed the entire MS in Lucca--not in Florence, as on balance the composers represented in the collection might lead us to expect. Von Fischer suggested a date of ca. 1405 for the main corpus, and placed the added gatherings only slightly later at end of the first or the beginning of the second decade of the century. Thus he placed Pit after FP and Lo, but before Sq in his chronology of Trecento sources.²³⁸

Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/5 (Bern, 1956), 18-73 (worklist), 92-93 (discussion of Pit).

²³⁸ Répertoire internationale des sources musicales, B IV:3, Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf (Munich, 1972), 436-37, in which von Fischer repeats his earlier claim (Studien, 93) that the MS might have been compiled in Lucca or Pisa, and reports Reaney's theory that it is Florentine (see below). Von Fischer (p. 437) reviews dating theories by various scholars, mentions the original index, and gives a list of incipits, providing music only for those works not appearing in FP or R.

Pirrota contributed much to our knowledge of the collection in Pit in his studies on the Mancini Codex (Man/ManP) of 1949-51,²³⁹ his essay on the Lowinsky fragment (Lw),²⁴⁰ and his 1961 monograph on Paolo.²⁴¹ Pirrota's dating of Pit ca. 1425-30 (including the added gatherings) rests primarily on his placement of Paolo in Lucca during the first decades of the 15th century. The evidence for this is a Roman document drawn up in the household of a Florentine, Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli, and witnessed by a "Dominus Paulus de Florentia abbas Pozzoli."²⁴²

Pirrota was the first to offer more than passing reference to the compilation of Pit,²⁴³ noting its basic division of the repertory into madrigals/caccias and

²³⁹ Nino Pirrota and Ettore LiGotti, "Il Codice di Lucca," Musica Disciplina, III (1949), 119-38 [Part I]; IV (1950), 111-52 [Part II]; V (1951), 115-42 [Part III]. Pirrota (Part I, 125) proposed a date for Pit considerably later than von Fischer's: 1425-30.

²⁴⁰ Nino Pirrota, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'ars nova," Musica Disciplina, X (1956), 61-6.

²⁴¹ Nino Pirrota, Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova (Palm Springs, 1961).

²⁴² Nino Pirrota, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino 'extra moenia'," Estudios dedicados a Menedez Pidal, III (1952), 577-80. The full implications of this document were taken up by Pirrota in his monograph on Paolo, 23-6. The identification of Paolo Tenorista as the abbot of Pozzuoli was judged to be coincidental by Bianca Becherini; see her "Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, I (1962), 164.

²⁴³ Pirrota, "Il Codice di Lucca," III, 141-42; idem, Paolo Tenorista, 41-2, n. 21.

ballatas, with some additions to that plan; that two gatherings, 6 and 8, were inserted into an already-completed collection composed of twelve uniformly structured gatherings; that the index at the front of the MS is contemporaneous with the earliest layers of copying and provides clues to the order of compilation; that the scribe who added the two new gatherings was also responsible for other additions in Pit, as well as for compositions in Man/ManP and Lw; and that this scribe must have been active in Lucca at one time, probably hired by the Lord of the city, Paolo Guinigi, and may have been associated otherwise with a famous scriptorium at the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence.²⁴⁴

The first full-length study of Pit, by Gilbert Reaney, appeared in 1960.²⁴⁵ Reaney provided a detailed

²⁴⁴ Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 18-20. Pirrotta believed that Lw and Pit may have been copied at the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence. I would add that the style of a full-page miniature on fol. 1r of Pit resembles that of the illuminator of Sq; the painting depicts Musica and Tubal, with the motto of the Capponi family of Florence ("ven goth vuel") on a scroll. See Giuseppe Corsi, Poesie musicali del trecento, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, CXXXI (Bologna, 1970), lxviii, for a detailed description of the miniature. See Luciano Bellosi, "Due note in margine a Lorenzo Monaco miniatore: Il 'maestro del codice Squarcialupi' e il poco probabile Matteo Torelli," Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria di Mario Rotili (Naples, 1984), 307-14, for a study of the Sq miniatures and their origin in Santa Maria degli Angeli; Bellosi dates Sq ca. 1410-15.

²⁴⁵ Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Paris"; his other inventory articles include the following: Ch in Musica

listing of concordances, emphasizing the number of unique works and the importance of the source for Paolo Tenorista. His description of the physical characteristics and the contents of Pit require expansion or qualification in several respects, however: (1) he does not show gathering units;²⁴⁶ (2) he did not employ the index in his discussion of the order of compilation, believing erroneously that the index was compiled after the main corpus was copied;²⁴⁷ (3) Reaney did not attempt to distinguish among the different layers in the process of compilation; (4) the small number of caccias in Pit, in light of other collections, is most meaningful when one realizes that a separate gathering had not been set aside for the genre (as was the case in FP, Si 2211, and, to some extent, Lo);²⁴⁸ (5) the French repertory in

Disciplina, VII (1954), 59-87; O 213 in Musica Disciplina, IX (1955), 73-104; and Lo in Musica Disciplina, XII (1958), 67-91.

²⁴⁶ Reaney, "The Manuscript Paris," 34. Such a procedure was used by Kurt von Fischer in his inventory article on MS R (Musica Disciplina, XI [1957], 38-78).

²⁴⁷ Reaney did cite Wolf's and Ludwig's views on the date and nature of the index (p. 35), but stated on p. 33 that "the addition of folios A-I containing the old index was made shortly after the original corpus was written."

²⁴⁸ Other details in the description of Pit must be revised as follows: (1) his identification of the initials used in some of the Paolo attributions ("Paulus abbas" rather than "Paulus"); (2) differentiation between full and abbreviated composer attributions; (3) only one, not two, compositions are lacking in the index (see below); (4) lack of discussion on erased composer attributions.

Pit, some of which also appears in Str 222 and Prag, could have been directly related to musical activity at the Council of Constance (1414-18).²⁴⁹

Reaney proposed a date "shortly after 1400" and, more particularly, the year 1406 as a reasonable time for its compilation.²⁵⁰ Regarding Pit's origins and relationship to contemporary sources, Reaney felt that the collection was copied in Florence, for the high number of works Pit shares with FP and Sq suggests that the MS is indeed a central Florentine source. Reaney went so far as to propose direct copying from Pit into Sq.²⁵¹

The problems surrounding Pit were taken up by Ursula Günther in a model analysis of scribal contributions and stylistic study of its repertory.²⁵² Ludwig's mention of erased composer attributions led her to a discussion of the

²⁴⁹ Reaney suggested the city of Strasbourg as the cultural center which may have produced these sources. The impact of the early 15th-century Church Councils will be noted in Chapter 5 of the present study.

²⁵⁰ Reaney, "The Manuscript Paris," 34. The date 1406 derives from the proposed celebratory message of the 1406 victory of Florence over Pisa in Paolo's madrigal Godi Firenze, found in gathering 6.

²⁵¹ Reaney, "The Manuscript Paris," 33, 35 and 42. See also von Fischer, Studien, 100.

²⁵² Ursula Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXIII (1966), 73-92; idem, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXIV (1967), 99-119.

compilation of Pit and to an assessment of its readings, all with a focus on the figure of Paolo Tenorista. Although Günther's announced facsimile edition of Pit has yet to appear,²⁵³ her interest in Paolo will soon culminate in a new critical edition of his works.²⁵⁴

An examination of erasures in Pit allowed Günther to determine their true extent: the attributions to thirty-one compositions had been scraped off the parchment (see Table 4.5, below). A study of those attributions and the reasons for their insertion and deletion, with an analysis of at least some of the hands in Pit, led to the following conclusions.

Günther agreed with Pirrotta that the inserted gatherings, the fragment Lw, and the final section of Man/ManP are scribally related and, supported by biographical evidence, asserted that these sources originated in Lucca.²⁵⁵ Her discussion of Pit's structure and

²⁵³ Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 73, n. 1: Un Codice Trecentesco: Bibliothèque nationale Paris, Ms. fonds ital. 568, to appear in *Documenta Musicologica*, II/3.

²⁵⁴ An edition of Paolo's works appears in W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., Italian Secular Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IX (Monaco, 1975). Given the source problems as well as questions of attribution and style surrounding Paolo's oeuvre, Günther's edition seems justified.

²⁵⁵ In outlining Paolo's career and noting his absence in Sq, Günther further suggested that Sq had been copied for the Leoni family, to which Paolo must have belonged. She argued against Pirrotta's theory that Paolo had been a member of the Capponi family (early, and quite possibly the

the hands at work in it was the first to focus on elements of music and text scripts.²⁵⁶ Günther provided a thorough analysis of scribal concordances in Pit, Lw and Man/ManP; my own observations agree with hers and are presented in Table 4.4, below.²⁵⁷

original, owners of Pit), although she admitted his close ties with them; see also Kurt von Fischer, "The Mass Cycle of the Trecento Manuscript F-Pn 568 (Pit)," in Essays on Music for Charles Warren Fox, ed. Jerold Graue (Rochester, 1979), 3-4. Günther established the historical events surrounding the composition of Paolo's Godi, Firenze and the role played by the Capponi family ("Zur Datierung," 100-07). On the Capponi and the French branch of the family, see Nino Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 44, n. 55; Pirrotta notes that a French Capponi may have taken Pit to Paris during the French Revolution. Recent biographical finds have weakened Paolo's supposed ties with Lucca and placed him closer to Arezzo. Kurt von Fischer identified the composer with a certain Don Paolo who died in Arezzo on 10 October 1419 ("Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex [I-F1 87]," Quadrivium, IX [1968], 12-3). At the Zweites Musikwissenschaftliches Colloquium Kloster Neustift bei Brixen/Bressanone, held on 23-8 July 1984, Ursula Günther and John Stinson drew attention to an Antiphonary which had been prepared for a Florentine church by Paolo da Firenze in 1417 (unpublished paper entitled "Musical Iconography in Florence From 1380-1430"). Paolo is identified in the source as the abbot of the monastery San Martino del Pino, near Arezzo. My own research on the composer Antonio Zacharias led me to seven surviving lists of participants at the Council of Pisa in 1409, all of which mention the abbot of San Martino by title; two lists provide his name, Paolo. One of the latter lists, published by Domenico Mansi in his Sanctorum Conciliorum et Decretorum Collectio Nova, III (Lucca, 1749), names Paolo and gives the date of his appointment to the abbacy: 8 March 1400.

²⁵⁶ Although I generally agree with her conclusions, several points on the scribes are revised in the present study: (1) on pp. 85-6 she confused Scribes B and F (as I have named them); (2) she suggested that Scribes A and B could be the same copyist (p. 88).

²⁵⁷ Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 90-2 (a

One of the most important criteria employed by Gunther to differentiate scribes in Pit is their treatment of composer attributions--ink colors, full or abbreviated names, and the style of design.²⁵⁸ Günther established the almost certain correctness of all the erased attributions on the basis of those confirmed through concordances (see Table 4.5); thus, she argued that the erased ascriptions in unica should also be accepted as accurate.²⁵⁹ That so many of the erased attributions to Landini were shown to be correct through concordances in Sq led Günther to a discussion of the large repertory shared by Pit and Sq, and to the question of their relationship. Testing Reaney's theory that Pit had served as exemplar for Sq, she analyzed variants in sixteen Landini compositions which survive in only these two sources and found significantly divergent readings that disprove a direct relationship between the MSS.²⁶⁰

revision of Pirrotta's observations; see n. 244, above).

258 See the discussion on attributions, below.

259 Some of the latter have been confirmed by new MS finds; Table 4.5 includes new concordances in SL 2211 and Fn F.5.5 (the latter discussed in the present chapter). On SL 2211, see Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," Studi Musicali, XIII (1984), 3-31.

260 Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 77-80. Her argument requires qualification, however, for some of the variants she considered significant can be shown to be scribally generated; questions on the relationship of

The present chapter provides an analysis of the structure of Pit and the contributions of its scribes in an effort to develop and, in some instances, resolve questions raised by other scholars. Common aspects of layout, repertory, and scribes prompts a comparative treatment of Man/ManP and the newly-discovered MS Fn F.5.5 along with Pit in this chapter.

Structure of the Manuscript

The results of a fresh examination of Pit are summarized in Table 4.1. The volume presently consists of two modern paper guard-leaves at the front and back of the codex, between which are bound 150 parchment folios measuring ca. 256 X 174 mm., arranged in the following manner: (1) the collection begins with an index at the front, copied on nine folios consisting of a quaternio with one tipped-in folio, later foliated in a modern hand with capital letters A-I; (2) fourteen music gatherings, all quinios, formed according to Gregory's rule with flesh-sides (F) facing flesh-sides, and hair-sides (H) facing hair-sides;²⁶¹ (3) gatherings 6 and 8 are late additions, as the

readings are treated, below, in a discussion of scribal practices and the repertorial connections between Pit and Sq.

²⁶¹ See Léon Gilissen, Prolégomènes à la codicologie: recherches sur la construction des cahiers et la mise en page des manuscrits médiévaux (Paris, 1977), 14-20, for an explanation of Caspar Gregory's basic formulation regarding

discussion to follow shows; (4) fol. 141, containing the drawing of a Guidonian hand on its recto side, is a single leaf glued to the end of gathering 14.262

the construction of gatherings in such a manner that every opening presents a uniform appearance: alternating hair and flesh sides. By the 15th century, the conventional method of arranging a gathering of parchment bifolios (regardless of size) was one in which the opening recto and closing verso comprised a flesh side; this has been documented by Malachi Beit-Arie in "Some Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts," Codicologica, II (1978), 81. See also Julien Leroy, "Les manuscrits grecs d'Italie," Codicologica, II (1978), 56-58, for a discussion of other arrangements of gatherings in medieval codices.

262 See Günther, "Zur Datierung," Pl. 4, for a facsimile of fol. 141r.

Table 4.1: Gathering Structure of Pit

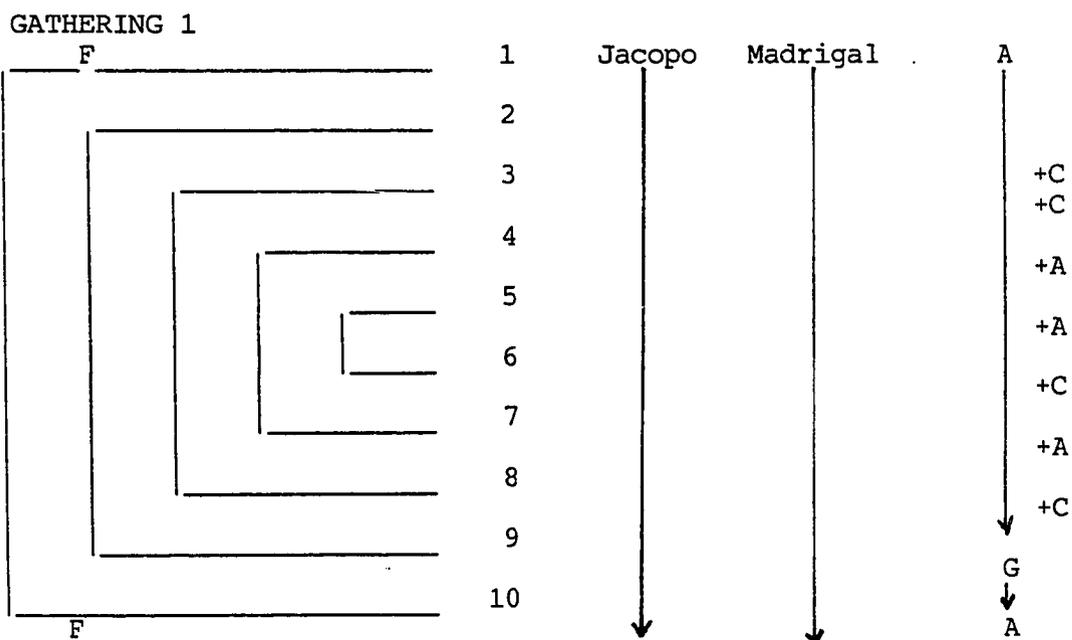
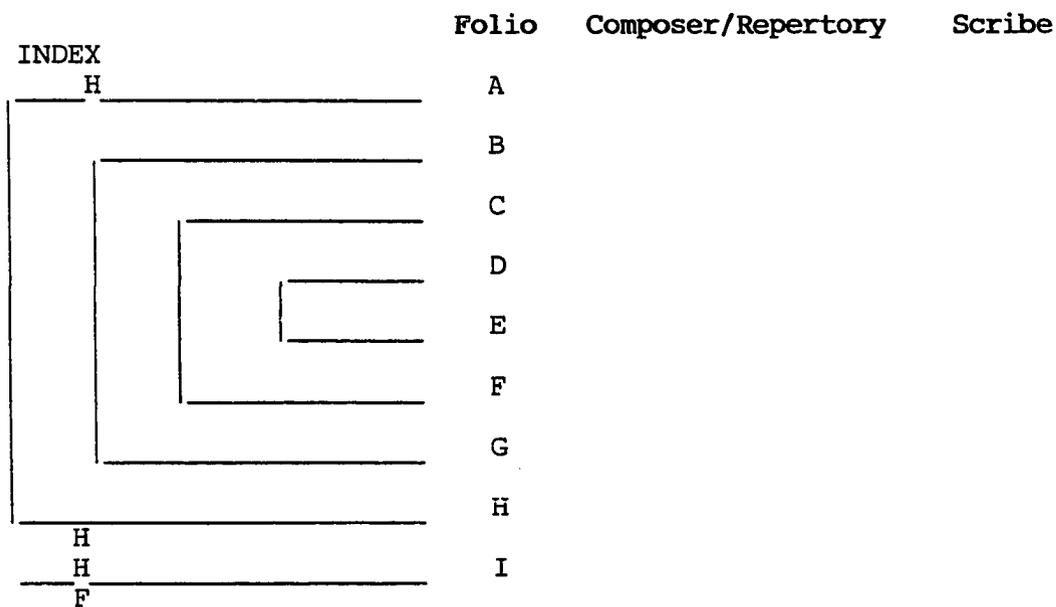


Table 4.1 (cont'd)

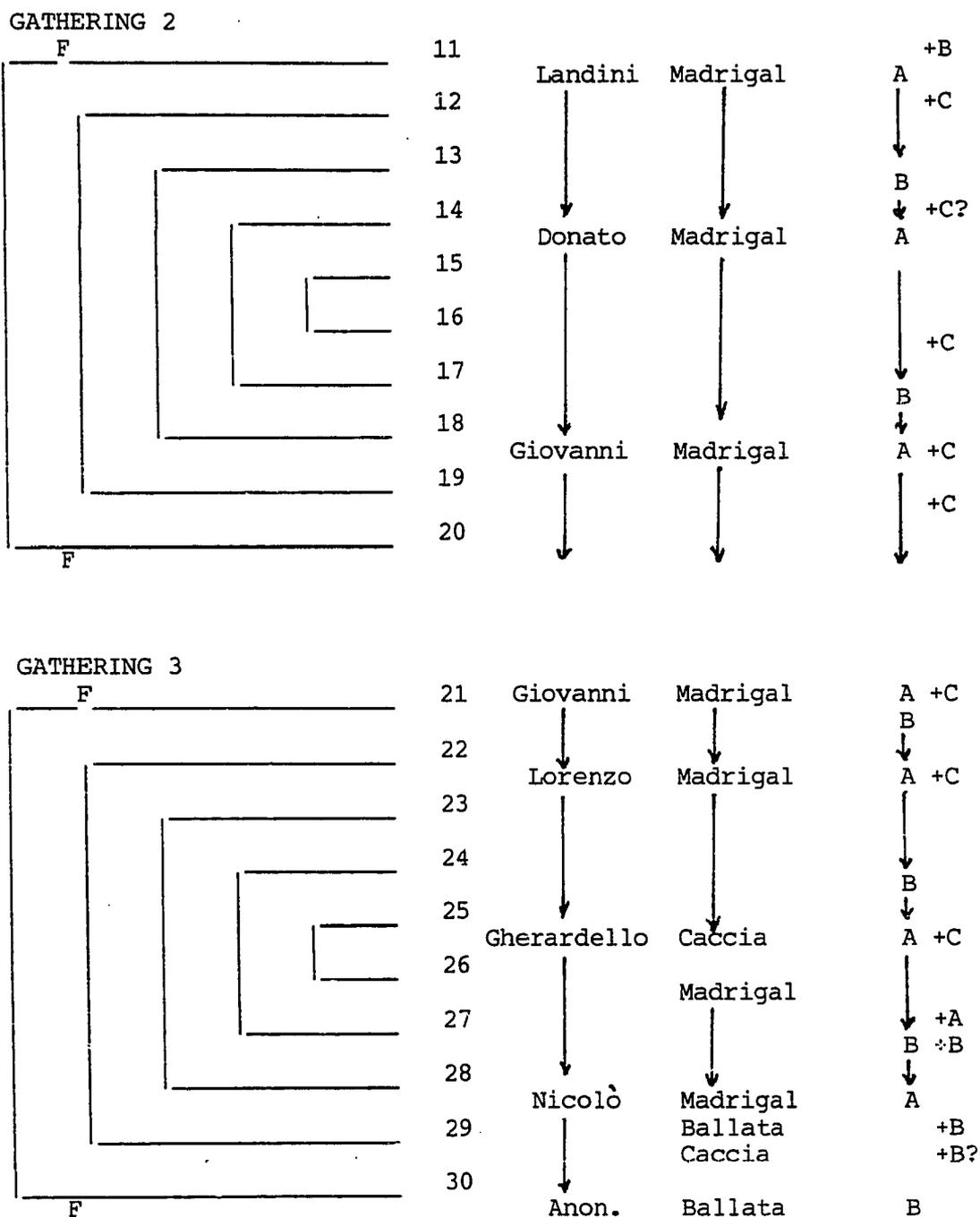
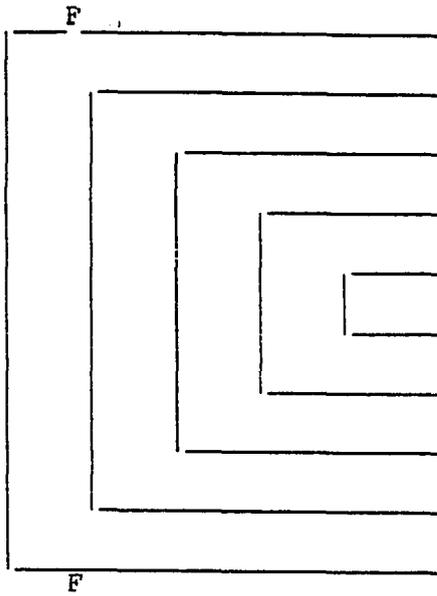


Table 4.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 4				
	31	Nicolò Vincenzo	Ballata Madrigal	B A + C
	32	↓		↓
	33		Caccia	↓
	34		Fr. ballade	B
	35	Paolo	Madrigal	↓
	36	↓		A
	37			↓
	38			B
	39	↓		↓
	40	Bartolino	Ballata Madrigal	↓
GATHERING 5				
	41	Bartolino Bartolino	Madrigal	B E
	42			↓
	43	Anon. Jacopo	Ballata Fr. ballade Caccia	↓
	44			↓
	45	Nicolò	Madrigal	↓
	46	Donato	Caccia	↓
	47	Paolo	Madrigal	↓
	48	Bartolino	Madrigal	↓
	49	Paolo	Madrigal	↓
	50	Andrea Paolo	Ballata Ballata	↓ F

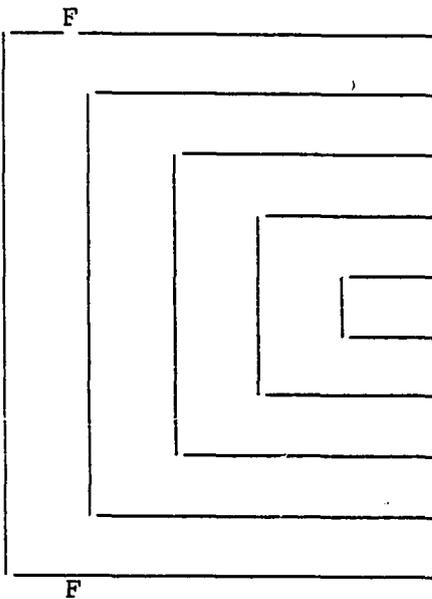
Table 4.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 6



51	Paolo	Ballata	D
	Paolo	↓	B +F
52			
53	Ciconia	Ballata	H
54	blank-ruled		
55	Paolo	Madrigal	D
56	↓		↓
57			
58			
59			
60	Gian Toscan	Ballata	D +H

GATHERING 7



61	Landini	Ballata	a 2	A
	↓	↓	a 3	↓
62				
63				
64			a 2	+A
65				
66				
67		↓		
68			a 2	
			a 3	
			a 2	+A
69				
70	↓	↓		↓

Table 4.1 (cont'd)

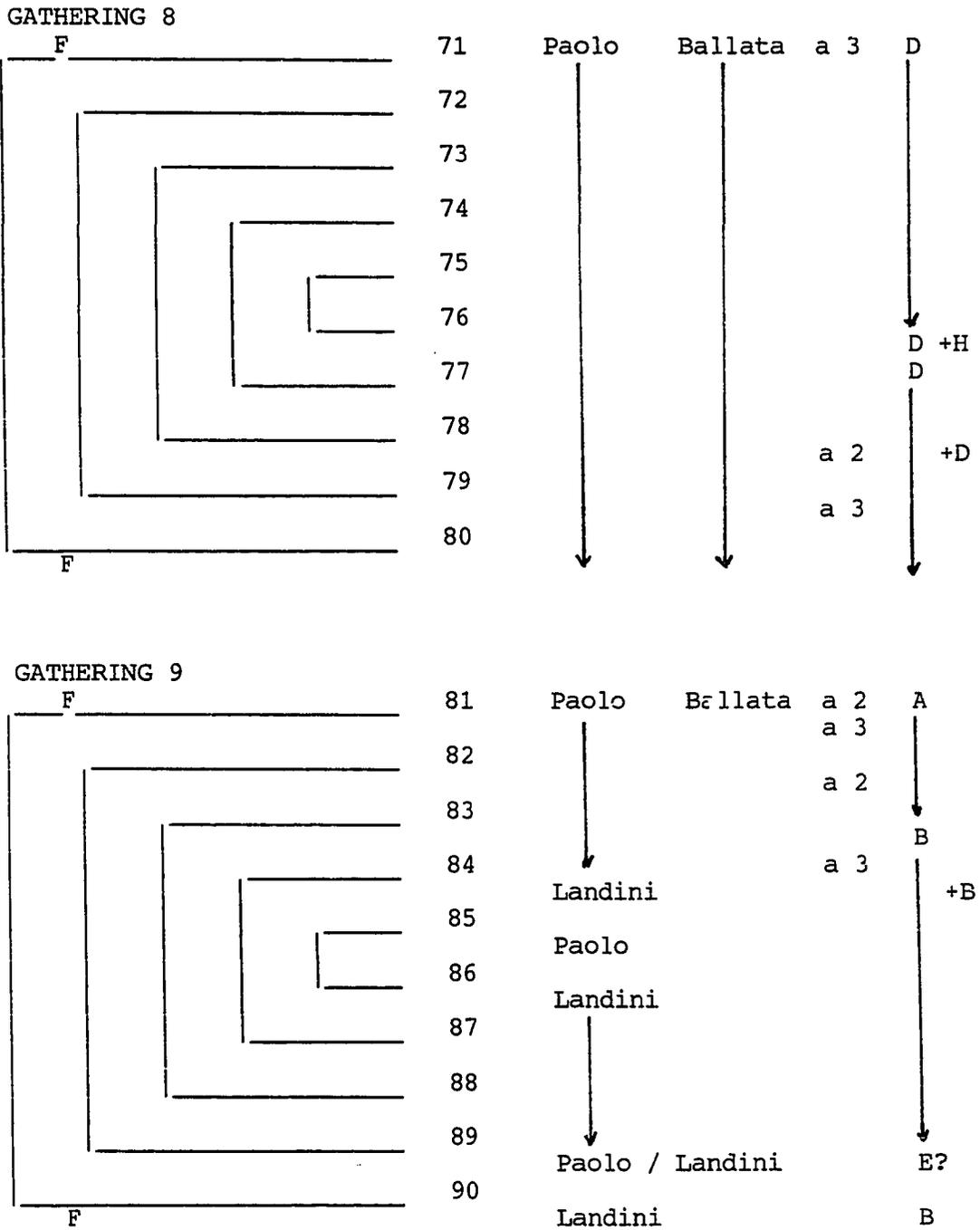


Table 4.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 10			
F		91	Landini (cont'd)
		92	↓
		93	
		94	
		95	
		96	Paolo / Arrigo
		97	Paolo
		98	
		99	Landini
F		100	↓
GATHERING 11			
F		101	Landini (cont'd)
		102	Paolo
		103	Landini
		104	
		105	
		106	Paolo
		107	Landini
		108	
		109	
F		110	Paolo

B
E +B
B
+D?
E
↓

E
↓

Table 4.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 12			
F	111	Paolo (cont'd)	E
	112	Ser Fco	B
	113	Paolo	
	114	Ser Fco	
	115	Landini	
	116		
	117	↓	
	118	Paolo	
	119	Anon.	
	120	Anon.	
F		Machaut	↓ +B
GATHERING 13			
F	121	French chanson	A?
	122		B
	123		
	124		
	125	↓	
	126	P. de Caserta	D
	127	French chanson	?
	128	Landini	B
	129	Paolo / Nicolò	
	130	Paolo	
F		↓	↓

Table 4.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 14				
F	131	Paolo (cont'd)		B
	132	Gherardello	Gloria	
	133		↓	
	134	Bartholy	Patrem	
	135		↓	
	136	Lorenzo	Sanctus	
	137		↓	
	138	Gherardello	Agnus	
	139	Paolo	Benedic.	F
	140		Madrigal	A + F
	141		Ballata	F
F				
F				
H				

The original twelve gatherings of musical text were first foliated with roman numerals in a deep red ink. The subsequent interpolation of gatherings 6 and 8, which carry foliation numbers in a red/orange ink, led to emendation of the numerical sequence in gatherings 7 and 9-14 (see Table 4.1), where mixtures of red and red/orange inks suggest the retention of parts of the original roman numerals.²⁶³

The index is physically independent of the rest of the MS (i.e., no portion of the index was copied on leaves of the first music gathering). We may note, however, that fol. 1r, containing a full-page miniature depicting Musica and Tubal, exhibits the pricking and ruling employed in the index,²⁶⁴ suggesting that the index is contemporary with the

²⁶³ The folio numbers of gathering 7 originally ran from number LI to LX; after the interpolation of gatherings 6 and 8, the numbering was changed to read LXI-LXX, retaining the deep red "L" for the first nine folios in the gathering, and the original "LX" for the last. This economical pattern of emendation was repeated in gatherings 9-14, with full erasure of the original numbering on fols. XC-CIX, and the retention of the deep red "C" and "CX" in numbers CXI-CXXIX and CXXX-CXL, respectively (fols. CXXXI and CXXXV retain only the original "C" due to over-erasure at the time of change). Fol. 141 carries a modern arabic numeral, drawn by the hand responsible for the foliation of the index leaves. The red/orange ink of the new foliation sequence was employed for the notational coloration in Paolo's works in gatherings 6 and 8.

²⁶⁴ Each of the index folios was pricked and ruled to accomodate twenty-six items, with vertical boundaries delineated for the entry of four elements: capital letter, incipit, abbreviation for carta, and the folio number (see Figures 4.1-4.18). Pricking was accomplished from verso to recto for fols. 1v-Ar; uniformity in the pattern of holes indicates that all of these folios were prepared at same

earliest layers of the MS (this will also be confirmed in the scribal analysis presented below). The elaboration of the first capital letter, S, on fol. 1v marks it as the intended start of the music collection proper; fol. 1r, perhaps originally meant to accommodate the end of the index, was later filled with the painting it now carries (perhaps still blank when the MS was acquired by the Capponi family sometime during the 15th century).

Although each of the index folios was ruled to include over two dozen compositions, most folios carry substantially fewer entries.²⁶⁵ Evidently, the preparation of folios at the beginning and end of the index (letters A-E, U/V) included the full entry of twenty-six initial capitals; thereafter, substantially fewer letters and accompanying abbreviations for "carta" were penned, the initial number probably based on rough estimates of need. In the course of filling the index gathering, new capitals and accompanying abbreviations were added as further layers of repertory were recorded in the list; this can be seen in the changes of ink colors and shapes of capitals, as well as in the spacing of

time.

²⁶⁵ As can be seen in Figures 4.1-4.18, there are as many as twenty-nine entries under the letter D, and twenty-seven under the letter S. The absence of additional ruling indicates that extra entries on these folios were made to fit in the allotted space. Only a handful of works appear under letters E, F, Q, and T, and none under letter R.

entries (see letters G, I, L, N, O, P, S in Figs. 4.1-4.18).

Figure 4.3: Pit, fol. Br

Q	Ad signore - - - - -	64.
	hipregio vuole iurta - - - - -	70
	Manilla pinte - - - - -	87.
	Reature Rodelle - - - - -	112.
	Stiochi alla nemo - - - - -	109.
	herena e qsta - - - - -	101.
	here dme - - - - -	100.
	hefra che pnti - - - - -	104.
	ouuanti a te de te - - - - -	103.
	on te pure legna cose - - - - -	114.
	iasca factu pte - - - - -	7.
	hech utre piacta - - - - -	82.
	de seplonde - - - - -	6.
	huuol uedere - - - - -	76.
	hellugto fitto - - - - -	77.
	diagime bagna amena.	107.

Figure 4.5: Pit, fol. Cr

<p>Amer lidoce me - - - - -</p> <p>gandiso - - - - -</p> <p>lepo biondo. - - - - -</p> <p>ditte damoury. - - - - -</p> <p>ra venus - - - - -</p>	<p>122.</p> <p>84.</p> <p>97.</p> <p>12.</p> <p>45.</p>
---	---

Figure 4.6: Pit, fol. Cv

H	Oratio Vindillo	---	2
f	Oratio pia	---	87
f	Oratio maligno	---	97
f	Oratio de die ieiunij	---	96
f	Oratio rogati	---	99
f			
f			

Figure 4.7: Pit, fol. Dr

S	Stillicetto incui	67
	capitolo	69
	capitolo	69
	capitolo	122
	capitolo	118
	capitolo	120
	capitolo	129
	capitolo	47

Figure 4.8: Pit, fol. Dv

	Ta linera a starnel mudiso	---	---	32
	Estarene	---	---	
	Dur uour	---	---	122
	clanguis	---	---	133
	futuosio amore	---	---	114
	fugrausiuolo	---	---	18
	Atimio ad abitare	---	---	27
	Sonimpellegimo	---	---	43
	manile sedendo	---	---	45
	claremmas	---	---	127
	nquella pinte	---	---	120

Figure 4.9: Pit, fol. Er

Vedipeconella	14.
almamepiagi	66.
exauce pondella	121.
abeilla stella	20.
afier testa	41.
adous cere	42.
allo didona vema	94.
adolce vinta	100.
amala lingua	107.
lauaga luce	72.
lena.irtu	74.
lallo greuchpartire	91.

Figure 4.10: Pit, fol. Ev

M V lino Rodello - - - - -	4.
Port p quor - - - - -	9.
Portelafé - - - - -	14.
Gainō kmdia - - - - -	10.
gestrommumoreau. L - - - - -	19.
Enger p dno L - - - - -	118.
Portionamay L - - - - -	128.
Amarauer pieta - - - - -	72.

Figure 4.11: Pit, fol. Fr

P.	Qualis amantē	-----	10
A	onore d'or d'ona	-----	8
A	ilbulgardo d'no	-----	12
A	onmar arallo	-----	6
A	onmar ma pietu	-----	27
A	Sich: arofumo	-----	29
A	Amigo g'ubel mare	-----	27
A	ella aqua chiara	-----	34
A	Onp' in felice	-----	96
A	ella parca p'iafor. noctu	-----	114
A	onciacu miop' n'ia	-----	116
A	ella p'oga ip' ranga	-----	117
A	on d' p' r'og'ia r' uirtu	-----	44
A	ella ora coll'eg'ia	-----	11
A	on e r' m' a s' a f' e	-----	7
A			
A			
A			

Figure 4.12: Pit, fol. Fv

O Cicco mondo - - - - -	6.
D Solce apresso - - - - -	9.
D Riechepuo comauo piace lu - - - - -	83.
D Franculla giulia - - - - -	87.
D me - - - - -	102.
D yme il coreo - - - - -	
D rhus - - - - -	123.
D retta lalmama - - - - -	15.
D me al core dolente - - - - -	112.
D volaro getile - - - - -	22.
D selletto seluagie mara - - - - -	44.

Figure 4.13: Pit, fol. Gr

P D'Amio d'aurina aqua - - - - -	7.
P uicelle adu - - - - -	6.
P rimazur tu - - - - -	10.
P erlegur la speranza - - - - -	62.
P erche d'incouo isegno - - - - -	64.
P allando cōpensio - - - - -	70.
P d'anno d'immaghiati - - - - -	83.
P erche vendetta - - - - -	84.
P Osto: che d'aspecto sia alligato - - - - -	89.
P ernuerde lo schetto - - - - -	40.
P suarumilta - - - - -	89.
P imier de lo schetto - - - - -	40.
P oche parer cōuicini - - - - -	93.
P atré d'artoto - - - - -	134.
P asse rose de haute - - - - -	20.
P asse rose excellente - - - - -	21.
P erlegant sine d'adriane - - - - -	126.

Figure 4.14: Pit, fol. Gv

Q Vicia sicula	-----	71.
Al. Venetio pucaro for	-----	91.
D. Solol chetragia	-----	100.
D. utroque	-----	11.
D.		

71.
 91.
 100.
 11.

Figure 4.15: Pit, fol. Hr

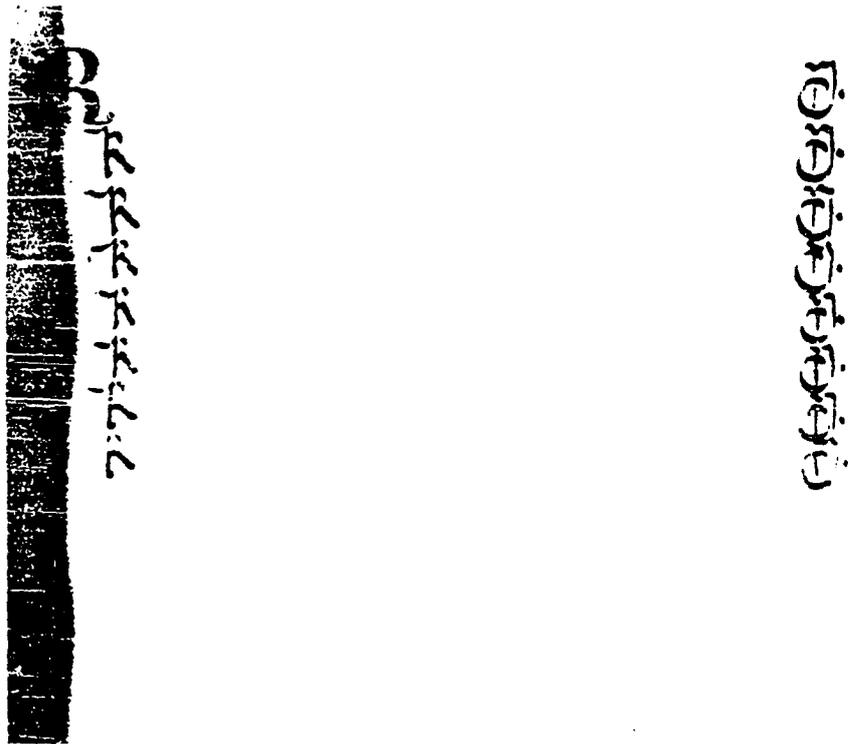


Figure 4.16: Pit, fol. Hv

S Dato limpero	2.
S peranza Rodello	7.
S andria: senza	9.
S idole non sono	13.
S eguendo eleante	17.
S Otto Gerdisfrischon	27.
S amours me hec	27.
S Enon picque	26.
S iemaldotta	28.
S i tria bato	30.
S epyto no lara	32.
S e partir micouien daltuo	38.
S iemille e mille	39.
S eluagia fern	109.
S aneti di florenco	127.
S aza seguire	106.
S i fossi certo	107.
S i no poue	28.
S i ecephimus	42.
S e homnestoit	124.
S ell enera piata	130.
S elmie ^{fulva} mitaue donnatolto	140.
S opnala laruadu	24.
S etu dimale spoggio	61.
S e p d tu amou	79.
S offri mestuet	81.
S amor ieo gentile	92.

A number of scribes copied the contents of Pit over a period of several years (the best estimate is Günther's: 1405/06-1408). The index is one of the surest guides in sorting out the sequence of copying, a sequence that does not follow the arrangement of folios and gatherings in the order they now appear. As can be seen in Figures 4.1-4.18, entries do not appear in order of ascending folio numbers. Moreover, several hands, writing instruments, and inks are evident in the index, and, as in the MS corpus, many folio numbers were changed in the index after the interpolation of gatherings 6 and 8. We also find various markings next to some of the incipits in the index--brown-ink dots and Xs, small penciled circles, and penciled dashes--of which only the penciled marks seem to be meaningful, almost consistently indicating the first entries in composer sections. The other markings may have been made by someone consulting the collection and wishing to note particular repertory; most of them identify compositions by Francesco Landini and Paolo Tenorista, and may be the work of the scribes most interested in this repertory (discussed under repertorial considerations, below). The following description of index leaves (Table 4.2) includes a listing of penciled dashes and alteration of folio numbers.

Table 4.2: Notes on the Index in Pit

Fol. Ar

The folio number for Landini's Ama donna was mistakenly left as 51 (should have been changed to 61); no. 109 was originally 89, 112 was 9...; the numbers 62 and 64 are drawn over erasures; a dash appears next to Giovanni's Agnel son bianco.

Fol. Av

Numbers 84, 129, and 138 are drawn over erasures. The 4 of number 84 is part of the original number.

Fol. Br

The following folio numbers have been entered over erasures: 64, 70, 88, 122, 99, 101, 104, 108, 114, and 92 (where the 9 was fashioned from an existing number).

Fol. Bv

Three of the twenty-nine entries have been squeezed into the space normally reserved for 26, but it is difficult to isolate these additions. At first, only eight entries were prepared, judging from the change in design of the capital Ds; the rest were added without regard to spacing or numbers. The final two entries are in a markedly darker (black) ink than the rest, matching the ink of the compositions; the scribe himself added these works to the index. The 3 of number 63 and the 1 of 81 have been retained in the process of emendation. The following numbers were drawn over erasures: 85, 86, 90, 95, 86, 102, and 105.

Fol. Cr

Erasures appear under numbers 122 and 97. Note the double dot to the left of the number 122, due to scribal habits of framing the entry of foliation numbers with dots, and thus indicative of double entry. The French work copied on fols. 6v-7r, Esperanse, appears in the index under Sperança (fol. Hv).

Fol. Cv

The number 3 was originally a 2 (perhaps an error). Numbers 87 and 97 were drawn over erasures. Note that the French-texted composition, Fortune, has been labelled a "rondello"; this generic designation was used throughout the index, with no attempt to distinguish among the French formes fixes.

Fol. Dr

Penciled dashes appear next to Gentil aspetto, Già perch'i penso, Gli ochi che'n prima, Gloria di ser Gherardello, Già la speranza, and Girand' un bel falcon. Note the change to a more rounded form in capital Gs at Godi, Firenze. All folio numbers, except for the 57, have been entered over erasures; the 9s of 69 and 139 are original.

Fol. Dv

A clear change to a simpler form of capital letter at I' son un pellegrin. Erasures under numbers other than 129 are difficult to see on this folio, but note the double dots at numbers 122 and 133.

Fol. Er

Note the change to a simpler form of capital at La mala lingua. A penciled dash was drawn next to La dous cere. Erasures are visible under numbers 66, 121, 94, 100, and 107, with double dots accompanying 66, 94, and 100; the original number under 107 was 8.... Three different inks were used for the following groups of entries: (1) a very dark ink for the first three compositions; (2) a dark brown ink for Lasso di donna, La dolce vista, La mala lingua; (3) a light brown ink for La vaga luce, and Lena virtù.

Fol. Ev

Another French chanson is listed as a "rondello," but rather than entering this widely circulated work under its incipit (Amis tous dous vis), the composer's name was chosen ("Mulino" = Pierre de Molins). Erasures are visible under numbers 95, 110 (originally 9...), 118, and 128, with double dots at all four. Note changes in the abbreviation for "carta" and in the manner of drawing the connecting line between incipit and folio number.

Fol. Fr

Changes in capital Ns visible at Nella partita piansor, Nell' ora c'a segar, and Non c'è rimasa fe. Pencil dash next to Nel meço già del mar. Erasures are visible under numbers 62, 96, 115, 116, 117, 56, and 71, with double dots at 62 and 96.

Fol. Fv

Change in capital Os for the last two entries. Erasures are visible under numbers 83, 87, 103, and 112 (originally 9...); note the double dots at 83, 123, and 109.

Fol. Gr

Many different hands and inks are visible here, suggesting that works beginning with the letter P were copied into the source throughout the history of its compilation. Perhaps a time lag is responsible for the error on the part of the scribe who inadvertently repeated the incipit for Bartolino's Per un verde boschetto, not noticing that an earlier scribe had already added it to the index. Pencil dash drawn next to Piacesse a dio. Erasures are visible under numbers 63, 65, 83, and 84, with double dots at all four.

Fol. Gv

Nib widths and ink colors suggest that the four compositions on this folio were entered at different times. Erasures are visible under numbers 71, 91, and 100, with double dots at all three.

Fol. Hr

Eight capitals were prepared for the letter R, but were never needed.

Fol. Hv

To judge from the forms of capitals and the variety of ink colors, three principal layers of entries are observable here: (1) through Sie maladetta; (2) through Si fossi certo; (3) entries made at various times in the last ten works. Se tu di male, Se per virtù, and Soffrir m'estuet were entered as a group. A pencil dash was drawn next to Jacopo's Sotto

l'imperio. Erasures are visible under numbers 68, 90, 92, 98, 99, 105 (orig. 8...), 137, 106 (orig. 8...), 107 (orig. 8...), and perhaps also 140.

Fol. Ir

A penciled dash was drawn next to Gherardello's Tosto che l'alba. Erasure is visible only under the number 131, but note the double dots at 131 and 26.

Fol. Iv

Paolo's madrigal, Un pellegrin uccel, is missing in the index. Erasures are visible under numbers 70 (retained the original 0), 82, 104, 58, and 78.

Analysis of the Scribes

The following notes on the copyists of Pit, here designated as Scribes A-H, focus principally on features helpful in distinguishing their work. As with FP and R, changes in music hands and text hands, with few exceptions, coincide in Pit, suggesting that individual scribes were responsible for copying both aspects of a composition. I have found the following elements in music and text scripts to be most useful (these are summarized in Table 4.3): (1) clefs; (2) basic shapes of longs, breves, and semibreves; (3) flags for triplets and semiminims; (4) custodes; (5) forms of majuscules and miniscules; (6) abbreviation signs; (7) composer attributions; (8) punctuation and concluding strokes; (9) manner of laying out residual text; (10) text coordinating lines.

Table 4.3: Pit: Variations in Scribal Characteristics

	<u>SCRIBES</u>							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Clefs								
Custodes								
Triplet flags								
Breves/longs	 							
Mensuration letters								
Ligatures								
Punctuation								
Abbreviations		2						
Majuscules								
Minuscules								
Divisional bar lines								

Scribe A

Music: a small, clear hand; long, double-tailed custodes; full, rounded flags, drawn to the left for triplets, to the right for semiminims; carefully drawn contiguous note heads in one-pitch ligatures, including a punctus divisionis when the tied note extends beyond the tempus; in order to avoid the text line, low-lying longs are drawn with upward stems. Scribe C may quite possibly be a later state of the same hand (see below). The ink in both text and music associated with scribe A is light brown in color.

Text: a small, concise hand; miniscule g drawn with extended, curved tail; miniscule d and v decorated with high looped ascenders (often triangular in design); bimorphism evident in upright and slanting capital A and in pointed and rounded capital E; concern with carefully aligned music overlay is evident in adjustments made to produce a good copy; extensive use of text coordinating lines; use of punti sottoscritti to clarify elisions in the text; use of multiple dots as punctuation to mark the end of a composition; careful arrangement of text residuum, often a line-by-line arrangement. Scribe A generally used red ink for his composer

attributions, employing a full form of the name for the first entry of a work by a particular composer, and abbreviated versions thereafter.²⁶⁶

Scribe B

Music: Although Günther believed that Scribe B could be a slightly later state of Scribe A, variation in their music and text scripts justifies a distinction. A larger, more spread-out hand than A's; breves and longs are often drawn with pronounced strokes on the left side, this also applies to the long shape in f-clefs; the few contiguous note heads, if interpreted as one-pitch ligatures, are carelessly drawn with a gap between notes; semiminim flags point to the right, triplets to the left.

Text: Bimorphism evident in extended and shortened

²⁶⁶ Attributions generally aid in the identification of copyists; but a consistent, one-to-one association of attribution styles and scribes does not hold. See Scribe B's imitation of D's attribution initials ("P.A."; cf. Table 4.11) for Paolo's S'amor in cor gentil (fols. 51v-52r; facsimile in Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, Pl. II), and the question of whether A or B copied the contents on fols. 83v-84r (copied by Scribe B, but the attribution appears to be in the style and ink color of Scribe A). Examples of A's hand may be seen in Willi Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), facs. 73 (fols. 2v-3r); Carl Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, (New York, 1957), Pl. LVIII-LIX (fols. 26v-27r).

tails of miniscule g, and simple or decorated ascenders in miniscule d and y; strikingly large and multistroke capital F; bimorphism in slanting and upright capital A, pointed and rounded capital E; one of the abbreviation signs resembles a small number 2; the few dots of elision are entered faintly, and often the vowel to be expunged is simply left out; great variation in style of concluding punctuation: three dots, two dots framing a dash, and a simple period; use of yellow highlighting for (1) the letter following initial capitals and (2) the first letter of each poetic line. Scribe B seems to be associated with a dark, often black ink, especially in his composer attributions (e.g., see the dark capital F for "Francesco Landini" on fols. 13v, 93v, and 95v).²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ For examples of B's hand, see Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," Figs. 1-9 (fols. 90v, 92v, 93v, 94v, 85r, 85v, 86v, 87r, 87v); Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, facs. 80 (fol. 84r); Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, Pl. LIV (fol. 42v), Pl. LVI-LVII (fols. 135v-136r); W. Thomas Marrocco, Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce, (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), Pl. VI (fols. 43v-44r).

Scribe C

Music and Text: This scribe is similar to A, enough to suggest a different state of the same hand. The only troublesome points of difference I find are the following: (1) generally a larger music and text hand, the latter perhaps due to the fact that French works often receive no more than an incipit for text; (2) a more exaggerated oblique tail trailing off to the left in custodes; (3) use of miniscules for the first letter of poetic lines within a major section. The appearance of a different scribe is largely influenced by the consistent use of dark ink (contrasting with A's light brown), of a type that leaves a smooth, almost silvery, finish with a tendency to flake away from the parchment.²⁶⁸

Scribe D

Music: Broad, strong strokes mark this hand; flags point to the left for semiminims, to the right for triplets; thin, double-tailed custodes, with a short left tail; use of red/orange ink for coloration (identical to that used for the foliation of

²⁶⁸ For an example of C's hand, see Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, Pl. LVIII-LIX (fols. 26v-27r), cited, above, for Scribe A.

gatherings 6 and 8, and for changes in foliation); mensuration letters are drawn with three or four framing dots; occasional multi-lined final bars, drawn with decreasing line height (e.g., fols. 56v, 58v). This scribe copied music first, then underlaid the text.

Text: Undecorated miniscule d and v; use of a slash above the double l; unusual capital A, without cross-stroke and with a long right-hand slope extending over the left-hand stroke; rounded capital E; use of two dots framing an undulating dash for concluding punctuation. This scribe fashioned a unique kind of composer attribution for Paolo's works, a stylized "P.A."; he is responsible for the entry of Paolo's Benedicamus in the index (with attribution; see Figure 4.2).²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ For examples of D's hand, see Günther, "Zur Datierung," Pl. 2 and 3 (fols. 56v-57r); Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 394 (fols. 79v-80r) and facs. 81 (fols. 73v-74r). Reaney did not dwell on scribal practices, but he incorrectly described the scribe of Paolo's Benedicamus as the one who entered the work in the index ("The Manuscript Paris," 36).

Scribe E

Music: A bold, large hand; large c-clefs, f-clefs often drawn with single-tailed long; slightly elongated and large longs; upright stems.

Text: A large, ornate hand; bimorphism in capital A, some drawn as oversized miniscules with pointed rather than curved bowl; miniscule g with curved, extended tails and ligated with bold horizontal connecting strokes to the next letter; use of yellow highlighting for initial letters of poetic lines as well as for divisional bar lines; occasional penciled guide lines for text.²⁷⁰

Scribe F

Music: A delicate, well-proportioned hand, characterized by thin strokes; triplet flags drawn to the left; b-flat in signature drawn as two contiguous parallelograms with upward and downward stems; willing to start a voice part in the middle of a line (see fol. 50v).

Text: Bimorphism in miniscule d, some with high,

²⁷⁰ For examples of E's hand, see Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," Figs. 12 (fol. 99r), 14-18 (fols. 99v, 100v, 101v, 103r, 104v); cf. Figs. 4.21-4.24 in the present chapter (E's work in Fn F.5.5).

looped ascenders; capital A drawn upright with curved right-hand stroke and cross-stroke; miniscule g drawn with short, straight tail; capital Q drawn with vertical cross-stroke; use of three dots for final punctuation.²⁷¹

Scribe G

Music: Curved c-clef; single-tailed custodes; changes the direction of flags on fol. 9v (through erasure) in order to conform to Scribe A's style (see Fig. 4.19).

Text: Guide letters for initial capitals placed in outermost portion of left-hand margin; use of dots between text syllables to prevent elision.

²⁷¹ For examples of F's hand, see Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, Pl. III (fol. 50v); Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, facs. 75 (fol. 138r). Von Fischer (Studien, 50, 93) believed that the hand on fols. 49v-50r was the one responsible for Paolo gatherings 6 and 8; this was contested by Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 89-90.

Figure 4.19: Scribe G (Pit, fol. 9v)

D. Jaco

D ma uer tu te cho stringe la lin
 gua Chan ca si cha to che

pe to au to re Chilla fa re e
 bio no a pte gno

I lingua non a o pte ma
 si se uol te fa con pte rel ab

2 ma uer tu te cho stringe la lin gua
 Chan ca si cha to che pte to au to

Scribe H

Music: A thin, hesitant hand; double-tailed custodes with short left tail; semiminim flags drawn to the left; breves are drawn so that they hang from lines on the staff.

Text: Generally unornamented letters; capital A drawn in the style of Scribe D's;²⁷² capital Q are drawn with a cross-stroke extending from the lower left to the upper right corners;²⁷³ closing punctuation drawn as (1) two dots framing an undulating dash, or (2) as three dots; use of multiple bar lines as finis punctorum.

²⁷² Scribe H was described by Günther as an imitator of D ("Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 91).

²⁷³ Also noted by Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 91.

Figure 4.20: Scribe H (Pit, fol. 52v)

On : # De lacrimis lugnan domine lvi fo.
 El me ligno la scia : De dimistrughoigua : Quia do
 mi ues gio es balladna : to: A medolen
 te o duradisperti : The mainofauris no in
 que sto mon : do:

The image shows a manuscript page with musical notation on staves and Latin text below. The text is written in a Gothic script. The first line of text is "On : # De lacrimis lugnan domine lvi fo.". The second line is "El me ligno la scia : De dimistrughoigua : Quia do". The third line is "mi ues gio es balladna : to: A medolen". The fourth line is "te o duradisperti : The mainofauris no in". The fifth line is "que sto mon : do:". There are several empty staves at the bottom of the page.

Scribal concordances among Pit, Man, and Lw were first proposed by Nino Pirrotta in his 1956 study of Lw, and later developed in his full-length study of Paolo Tenorista.²⁷⁴ In Pirrotta's view, the scribe who copied Paolo's works in gatherings 6 and 8 of Pit (Scribe D in the present study) also copied the last two pages of Man/ManP (see Table 4.15 at the end of the present chapter) and most of Lw (fols. Ar-Br, Cv-Dv); the copyist of Lw's fols. Bv-Cr (containing Paolo's Doglia continua) was identified by Pirrotta as the copyist of the same work in Pit (Scribe F in the present study).²⁷⁵ Ursula Günther's discussion of this scribal complex, presented in her study of scribes and attributions in Pit, included a revision of this thesis: Lw's fols. Bv-Cr are the work of Pit's Scribe H (who copied Ciconia's Con lagreme bagnandome il viso, fols. 52v-53r; see Fig. 4.11).²⁷⁶ I agree with her analysis; the scribe of Pit's Doglia continua is an entirely different hand from H, Scribe F.²⁷⁷ Table 4.4 summarizes the scribal concordances among the

²⁷⁴ Nino Pirrotta, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento," 65-6, and Paolo Tenorista, 18-9.

²⁷⁵ Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 42, n. 23 also considered Scribes B and D as one copyist; it was B--not D--who completed Scribe A's composer sections.

²⁷⁶ Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 89-92.

²⁷⁷ Günther's analysis contains a detailed description of Scribe H's work. Note that Scribes D and H collaborated twice in copying song repertory: Pit, gatherings 6 and 8; Lw (see Table 4.4). We may also note that Johannes Ciconia and

three sources, Pit, Man/ManP, and Lw.

Philippoctus de Caserta, thought to be related because Ciconia's Sus une fontayne quotes passages from three works by Philippoctus, have works in Pit copied by Scribes D and H; see Table 4.4 (Günther, "Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior," Musica Disciplina, XXVI [1972], 62-7).

Table 4.4: Scribal Concordances in Pit, Man/ManP, and Lw**Scribe D:**

Pit: Paolo's works in gatherings 6 & 8 (fols. 51r, 54v-60v, 71r-80v); a later addition on fols. 94v-95r; Philippoctus de Caserta's Par le grant sens (fols. 125v-126r).²⁷⁸

Lw: Paolo's works on fols. Ar-Br, Cv-Dv, including S'Amor in cor gentil, Dolce mie donna, Amor tu solo 'l sai, Amor de' dimmi se sperar.

Man/ManP: The final three works in the MS, pp. 70-72, including Paolo's La vaga luce, and Tra speranza.

Scribe H:

Pit: Ciconia's Con lagreme bagnandome il viso (fols. 52v-53r); copied Paolo works with Scribe D on fols. 60v and 76v.

Lw: Paolo's Con doglia continua (fols. Bv-Cr).

²⁷⁸ See D's use of red/orange coloration on fol. 126r.

The Compilation of Pit

Scribe A designed and executed the original plan of the collection--madrigal/caccia and ballata sections--as is made clear from a study of the order of entries in the index. The first layer of compilation proceeded in the following manner:

1. Gatherings 1-4 were planned as an anthology of madrigals by, in turn, Jacopo, Landini, Donato, Giovanni, Lorenzo, Gherardello, Nicolò, Vincenzo, and Paolo, thus arranged in an essentially non-chronological order, but by composer. The small number of caccias, as mentioned earlier, may be due to the lack of a full gathering set aside for the genre in the manner of FP, SL 2211, and Lo.²⁷⁹
2. Scribe A (or C?) added Italian and French repertory at the bottom of folios in gathering 1 before filling gathering 2; Scribe A (or C?) also added French chansons in available space on folios in gathering 3. We may note the early entry and pairing of Jacopo's Non al suo amante and Landini's Non creder donna in the index; see the early listing of Fortune, De mulino (Pierre de Molins' Amis, tout dous vis), Esperanse qui en mon cuer, and Mort

²⁷⁹ Corsi, Poesie musicali, lxviii, does not acknowledge sections for the composers.

pourquoy, as well as Landini's S'andrà sança merçe; Scribe A's works on fols. 26v-27r (Gherardello's Sotto verdi fraschetti and the French song S'amours me bet) constitute a paired entry in the index.

3. Gathering 5 remained blank, but ruled; it was later filled in by Scribe B with a miscellaneous collection of madrigals (see below).
4. The next gathering--originally number 6, now 7--was intended for ballatas a 3 and a 2 by Francesco Landini.
5. The following gathering--originally number 7, now 9--was set aside to include ballatas a 2 by Paolo Tenorista.

This plan was followed in its broadest outline, but the order of copying was complicated by the start of Scribe B's work. This man, in addition to copying Italian works, set aside gathering 13 as a repository for French song repertory at the beginning of his copying stint. The source had by then already been physically laid out in fourteen gatherings, therefore.

The entry of pieces into the index evidently began after many first-layer works had already been copied into the MS corpus, as the succession of works at the beginning of each index folio demonstrates. Later entries in the index were made singly or in small groups, as works were copied into the MS corpus. A detailed review of A and B's work, to

judge from the index, reveals that the copying was carried out in the following order:

1. Gatherings 1 and 2 were filled by Scribe A, up to Giovanni's madrigal Agnel son bianco on fols. 18v-19r; Scribe G's single entry, Jacopo's Prima virtute on fols. 9v-10r, is included here. Between work in gatherings 1 and 2, A (or C?) added French chansons (all labelled rondelli²⁸⁰) and Italian ballatas at the bottom of folios in gathering 1. Diagonal slashes were drawn in the upper left-hand corners of folios (verso sides), most likely to mark the placement of compositions: they are found only on fols. 2v, 3v, 4v, 5v, 7v, and 9v. Note, too, that Scribe A began the copying of a new gathering not on its opening recto, but on the verso of its first folio; thus he started work in gatherings 1, 2, and 4 on fols. 1v, 11v, and 31v, respectively.²⁸¹
2. Next in order for Scribe A was the gathering that is the present gathering 7, filled with Landini

²⁸⁰ See Simone Prudenzani, Il "Sollazzo": contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel trecento, ed. Santore Debenedetti (Turin, 1922), sonnet Saporecti 47, in which the early fifteenth-century author refers to French works with the generic title "rondelli." See the discussion on Bartolino's "rondelli" in Man/ManP, below.

²⁸¹ In gathering 3, the second opening of leaves marks the start of copying. Could the scribe have been anticipating a greater number of Giovanni madrigals?

ballatas a 3 up to fols. 66v-67r (Gentil aspetto); the jump to a later gathering at this point explains the early position of Landini's ballata, Non arà ma' pietà, in the index, placed before the works of Lorenzo, Gherardello, Nicolò, Vincenzo, and Paolo (the latter all found in gatherings 3 and 4 of the MS proper). This gathering--the start of the ballata section--commences with the careful layout of text residuum observable in A's copying at the beginning of gathering 1.

3. Scribe B then set aside gathering 13 as a collection of French songs, filling it at this stage through fol. 124r (the first work, on fol. 121r, may be Scribe A's; thus the contents of this gathering were planned from the start). Note, for example, the early placement in the index of Loyaute (fol. 121r), Je Fortune, and Jour a jour la vie (fol. 121v), the latter two works paired on index fol. Dv.
4. Scribe A completed his opening madrigal sequence in gatherings 3 and 4 and then continued with Landini's ballatas--this group, a 2--in gathering 7. The scribe's generic differentiation in the number of voices in Landini's ballatas (two- and three-part works) appears to be intentional; note that the three-voice Gran piant' agli occhi is a later entry by Scribe A in available space at the bottom of

fols. 67v-68r. Scribe A probably began the seventh gathering with several three-part works (starting with Non arà ma' pietà) and then delimited the space set aside for three-voice Landini ballatas by entering Gentil aspetto on fols. 66v-67r; fols. 62v-66r were subsequently filled in by Scribe A after copying the two-voice ballata, Sie maladetta l'or, on fols. 67v-68r. Scribe A then began a collection of Paolo's ballatas a 2 at the start of gathering 9, up through Poc' anno di mirar on fol. 83r.

It is not as easy to discern clear sequential steps in the order of compilation after the implementation of the general plan outlined above. The following copying stints evidently occurred in overlapping fashion:

1. Scribe B completed A's madrigal and ballata sections in gatherings 4, 7 and 9: Landini's three-voice ballata, L'alma mie piange, on fols. 65v-66r; Paolo and Landini ballatas in gathering 9; additional Paolo madrigals in gathering 4.
2. B collaborated with a new copyist--Scribe E--in an extended collection of Landini and Paolo ballatas in gatherings 10, 11 and 12. Many works in this portion of the collection, previously believed to be anonymous compositions, have been shown to be ballatas by these two composers. In fact, all erased

composer attributions in the MS can be associated only with Landini and Paolo works copied by Scribes B and E, beginning in the ninth gathering (see Table 4.5).²⁸² There seems to have been some confusion and hesitation on Scribe B's part in attributing certain works; e.g., he failed to name Paolo as the composer of the ballata Astio non mori mai (fol. 112r) and the madrigal Una smaniosa e insensata vecchia (fols. 48v-49r), and he (or someone else) wavered on the question of whether Bartolino or Landini composed the ballata Quanto più caro fai (fol. 90v-91r; transmitted as a Landini ballata in several other sources).

3. While Scribe E copied works into gathering 11, Scribe B planned 14 as the repository of a composite

²⁸² This table is based on Günther's, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 84-5, with new confirmations from Fn F.5.5 and SL 2211. A comment on the identity of the curious name Ser Feo is in order here. The three attributions accepted in the literature as "Ser Feo" (derived from two ballatas in Pit, and one in FP) occur at the beginnings of gatherings, articulating points marking a change of scribes in both sources (see Chapter 2 for the FP example). Could this not be an indication that these attributions were intended as other abbreviations for "Ser Francesco"? See the differing views by Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IV (Monaco, 1958), Commentary, 27, and Pirrotta, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, VIII/5, iii, who argues against Landini's authorship on stylistic grounds. Corsi, Poesie musicali, lxviii, takes "Feo" as a misread "Fco," arguing for its rendering as Francesco. See also Corsi, "Madrigali e ballate inediti del trecento," Belfagor, XIV (1959), 335.

Mass cycle. He entered available works up to folio 137v: Gherardello's Et in terra, Bartholy's Patrem,²⁸³ Lorenzo's Sanctus, and Gherardello's Agnus Dei. Scribe B then went back and continued his work in gathering 12.

4. During this vigorous copying activity, Scribe A inserted French works in gatherings 2, 3, and 4.
5. Scribe B--and, much earlier, Scribe G--added to the extended madrigal section in gatherings 1-5, in space intentionally set aside for more pieces by Scribe A (see Table 4.1 and note the late positions of these added works in the index): Jacopo's Prima virtute, fols. 9v-10r; Landini's Mostrommi amor, fols. 13v-14r; Donato's I fu già usignolo, fols. 17v-18r; Giovanni's O perlaro gentil, fols. 21v-22r; Lorenzo's Sovra la riva, fols. 24v-25r; Gherardello's Intrando ad abitar, fols. 27v-28r; Nicolò's Ciascun faccia per se, fol. 31r; Magister Franciscus' De Narcissus, fols. 33v-34r, at the end of the Vincenzo section; Paolo's madrigals Una fera gentil, fols. 37v-38r, and Un pellegrin uccel, fols.

²⁸³ Pirrotta believes that the composer should not be identified as Bartolino da Padova, but rather as one of the earliest of Trecento composers; see The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, VIII/1, i. Kurt von Fischer elaborated on Pirrotta's view, proposing that Bartolus could have been an ancestor of Antonius Bartholi, who commissioned MS I-F1 999; see von Fischer, "The Mass Cycle," 4, 10-11, and "Paolo da Firenze," 7.

38v-39r; an assortment of madrigals, ballatas and cacce in gathering 5.²⁸⁴

6. Other late entries by Scribe B include the following works: Machaut's De toute fleur and two Landini ballatas--Altro che sospirar, Già la speranza in te--in gathering 12 (fols. 118v-120v); entries in gathering 13--Landini's Muort' oramai, Paolo's In quella parte, Se le n'arà pietà, Tra speranza e fortuna, and Nicolò's Benchè partir da te.
7. A new copyist--Scribe F--added Andrea da Firenze's Donna se raçi and Paolo's Doglia continua in available space at the end of gathering 5 (works paired in the index), as well as several entries at the very end of the codex: Paolo's Benedicamus Domino,²⁸⁵ Se'l mie fallir, and, together with

²⁸⁴ Jacopo's caccia, Oselletto selvaggio on fols. 43v-44r, was added by B at nearly the same time he copied Giovanni's O perlaro gentil at the end of the latter's section on fols. 21v-22r. The ballade De narcissus was added in place of another Vincenzo madrigal. Could Paolo's Un pellegrin uccel, missing in the index due to an oversight, belong to this later layer? (note, however, that it is one of two Paolo madrigals added to the end of A's section.) Each of these later entries by B are copied over an entire opening, with room to spare (but no added works on their folios); see the exception in Nicolò's Ciascun faccia per se copied on single fol. 31r, and also note Sans yoie (added to fols. 26v-27r), a very late addition to the index. Scribe B apparently filled gathering 5 with works as they became available to him over a period of time; this is reflected in the variety of inks and pens used.

²⁸⁵ Added to the index by Scribe D (noted above under scribal traits). This was reason enough, Günther argued, to

Scribe A, Paolo's Girando un bel falcon.²⁸⁶

dismiss Scribe D as both the perpetrator of the erased attributions and the composer Paolo Tenorista ("Zur Datierung," 107-09). Scribe D also corrected F's index entry for the ballata Se'l mie fallir. Von Fischer ("The Mass Cycle," 2) proposes that the entire cycle was copied by a single scribe.

²⁸⁶ I believe Scribe A copied the Cantus part of this ballata, as well as the Paolo--not Andrea--attribution in its full form; Paolo's authorship has been confirmed by the SL 2211 concordance (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: Erased Composer Attributions in Pit

Folio	Incipit	Attribution	Concordances w/ Attributions
84v-85r	De, dolce morte	D.P.	
85v-96r	Donna, s'i t'o fallito	franciscus	Sq, FP, Man, Pad A
85v-86r	Donne e fanciulle	D,P.?	
86v	Fortuna ria	franciscus	Sq, FP
86v-87r	O fanciulla giulia	franciscus	Sq, FP, SL 2211
89v-90r	S'i ti son stato	franciscus	Sq, FP, Man, SL 2211
89v-90r	De, passa temp'amaro	D.P.	
90v-91r	Quanto più caro fai	franciscus/ Bartolino	Sq, FP, Lo
92v-93r	Po' che partir convien	franciscus	Sq, FP, Pad A, SL 2211
94v-95r	D'amor mi biasmo	franciscus	Sq, FP
94v-95r	Mort'è la fe	franciscus?	
96v-97r	Fatto m'a sdegno	D.P.	
97v-98r	Se partir mi convien	D.P.	
98v	Sie mille volte benedecta	D.P.	SL 2211
99r	Co' gli ochi assai	franciscus	Sq, FP, Fn F.5.5
100v-101r	Che pena è quest'l cor	F	Sq, FP, Fn F.5.5, SL 2211
101v-102r	Achurr'uomo	F	
102v	O me! Si oglio	D.P.	
103r	Oy me! 'l core	F	Sq
104v-105r	Selvaggia fera	F	Sq
104v-105r	Donna che d'mor	F	Sq
105v-106r	Se già seguir altra	D.P.?	
106v	S'i fossi certo	F	Sq, FP
110v-111r	De, fa per quella	D.P.	
112v	De, belle donne	Ser fco	
117v-118r	Merce per Dio	D.P.?	
128v-129r	In quella parte	Do. Pa.?	
129v-130r	Se le n'arà pietà	D.P.?	
130v-131r	Tra speranza e fortuna	Do. Pa.	Man
138r	Bendicamus	D.P.	
138v-139r	Girand'un bel falcon	Don Paolo?	SL 2211

The penultimate layer of copying comprises the two interpolated gatherings added by Scribe D--gatherings 6 (Paolo madrigals) and 8 (Paolo ballatas a 3). Scribe D also refoliated the codex, changed folio citations in the index, and added catch-words at the beginnings and ends of gatherings 5 and 7. An important clue in this regard is the unchanged folio number 51 in the index for Landini's Ama donna (now on fol. 61r). Note that works in gatherings 6 and 8 have not had their folio numbers changed in the index. During or after the addition of the two gatherings devoted to Paolo's compositions, and the necessary renumbering of folios (in the MS corpus and index), Scribe D copied two other works: Gian Toscano's Se tu di male in peggio (on fol. 60v) with the help of a new copyist, Scribe H; and Philippoctus de Caserta's Par le grant sens (on fols. 125v-126r, added to the index by Scribe H).

One question regarding D's work remains to be answered: Were inserted gatherings 6 and 8 originally meant to be placed in their present locations? As noted earlier, fols. 71, 72, 73, and 74 reveal erasures in their foliation. Thus, Scribe D may at first have placed the present gathering 8 in the position of gathering 6 (i.e., as fols. 51, 52, etc.) for reasons of generic ordering--Paolo's ballatas would in that case have preceded Landini's. But he then changed his mind and decided to group Paolo's works together (the ballatas in gathering 8 are now grouped with

those copied by Scribes A and B in gathering 9.²⁸⁷

The final layer of copying includes two works entered on folios left blank-ruled by Scribe D at the beginning of gathering 6 (51v-54r; fols. 53v-54r were never used). These additions occurred after the drawing of capitals throughout the MS; they appear without initial capitals and are the final entries in the index:

Paolo's S'amor in cor gentil (fols. 51v-52r, by Scribe B, with Contratenor added by Scribe F);

Ciconia's Con lagreme bagnandome (fols. 52v-53r, by Scribe H, who also copied the entry into the index).

²⁸⁷ The compositions were not entered into the index until after this change of plan took place, as there are no foliation changes there. Fols. 75-80 of the MS lack erasures in their foliation. Corsi, Poesie musicali, lxvii, would see the erased folio numbers as evidence that these gatherings, already filled with compositions, were physically removed from another source.

Repertorial Considerations

The implications of this copying history are clear. Pit was first conceived as an anthology of the most popular polyphonic songs of the early and late Trecento. While still in the hands of Scribe A, the collection quickly changed into an up-to-date Florentine source, with a decided emphasis on the works of Francesco Landini and Paolo Tenorista. The source also included the most widely circulated French songs then current in the city. In its status as an avant-garde collection--with a noticeable paucity of earlier repertory, both "classical" (Giovanni, Piero, Jacopo) and mid-century Florentine (Lorenzo, Donato, Gherardello, Nicolò)--Pit represents a transition to the great comprehensive anthologies seen in Sq and SL 2211.

To be sure, an interest in song repertory outside of Landini and Paolo exists in the source, but the relatively small number of such works suggests that the musical circles within which the anthology was compiled lacked the means or the initiative to collect the older works to any significant degree. Compared to other late 14th- and early 15th-century Florentine sources such as FP and Lo, the sections devoted to the earlier generations of Giovanni, Lorenzo, Gherardello, Nicolò, Donato, Vincenzo, and even Jacopo, are meager; we would have expected these composer sections to have included repertory readily available in Florence. And although Scribe A set aside discrete composer

sections, the amount of space devoted to each already indicated the extent of the repertory he envisioned. Responsibility for completing those sections fell on Scribe B, who generally added only one work per composer; in the case of Vincenzo da Rimini, he failed to find another piece (true, the composer was not a Florentine), and a French ballade by Magister Franciscus was chosen in its place (fols. 33v-34r).

A significant but not totally unexpected repertory of French songs was available to Scribes A (and C?) and B, much of it part of a collection that would soon travel as far as the Council of Constance and appear in such sources as Str 222 and Prag.²⁸⁸ It is in this context that the lack of earlier or contemporary Italian repertory is most striking, particularly works by Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna, Bartolino da Padova, and others.²⁸⁹ The argument

²⁸⁸ The popularity of some of the French works is confirmed by their wide-ranging dissemination, especially the two works by Pierre de Molins, Amis dout and De ce que sol pense. The first, as already mentioned, was known in Pit and elsewhere, by the author's name ("Mulino rondello" [Pit], "Molendinum de Paris" [Str 222], "El molin de Paris" [Prudenzani's sonnet no. 32; see note 280, above]).

²⁸⁹ The dimensions of the repertory not represented in Pit, particularly the madrigals so well represented in other sources, may be sensed from the work-list in von Fischer's Studien: for example, Giovanni's Appress' un fiume chiaro, Donna già fu leggiadra, Fra mille corvi, Nascoso 'l viso, O tu cara scienza, Più non mi curo, Sedendo all' ombra, Nel meço a sei pagon, and Quando la stella; Jacopo's Fenice fu, I' mi son un, In su' bei fiori, In verde prato, I'senti già, Lo lume vostro, Lucida pecorella, O in Italia, Quando veggio,

that these songs were less well known in Florence because they originated in North-Italian courts is countered by a similar lack of songs by the Florentines Donato, Lorenzo and Gherardello. The unavoidable conclusion is that Pit represents the tastes, interests, and contacts of a rather restricted group of early 15th-century musicians--patrons, performers, and scribes--most of whom, it would appear, were involved to a far greater extent in their contemporary cosmopolitan musical culture than in a desire to document their Italian musical heritage.

Before the contributions of Scribe D, much of the copying of Landini and Paolo works rested with Scribes B and E. In order better to assess this repertory in Pit, let us turn for a moment to the work of one of these copyists in a newly discovered source.

MS Fn F.5.5

The new source, Fn F.5.5, comprises two leaves presently serving as guard-sheets at the front and back of an incunabulum in Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, with the call number Incunab. F.5.5. This 15th-century

Si come al canto, Tanto che si t'aquistati, Tanto soavemente, Un bel perlaro, Uselletto selvaggio (madrigal), Con gran furor, Vestissi la cornachia, Vola el bel sparver, Entrava Phebo, and Straccias' i panni; Bartolino's Alba colomba, Donna legiadra, I bel sembianti, Le aurate chime, Qual legge move, Quando la terra parturisce, Quel sol che nutrica, and Se premio di virtù.

book is a copy of the monumental historical accounts by Flavius Josephus of early Jewish history--a compendium that includes the De bello judaico, De antiquitate judaica contra Apionem, and Antiquitates judaicae--translated from Greek into Latin by Ruffino d'Aquileia (Rufinus Aquileiensis) and published in Venice by Rinaldo da Nimega in 1481.²⁹⁰

Although the volume was restored during the 19th century, its binding appears to date from the late 15th; the restoration involved only the tooled leather covering the wooden boards. On the spine the inscription in red ink on an original parchment tab can still be read: "Josephus De Antiquitate/Et de bello judaico." This volume was at one time part of the library of the Badia Fiorentina in Florence, as an insertion by a late 15th-century hand on the verso of the first folio makes clear: "Iste liber est congregationis Sancte Marie seu Abbatie de florentia. Signatus 1^o." This early provenance is confirmed by a citation of the book in a 16th-century

²⁹⁰ See the Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum, V (London, 1924), 256; Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia, III (Rome, 1954), no. 5389. Portions of the discussion of fragment Fn F.5.5 appeared in Mario Fabbri and John Nádas "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts," Early Music History, III (1983), 67-81; I wish to express my debt to the late Mario Fabbri, who was first alerted to the existence of the MS by the staff of the Biblioteca nazionale, and who generously sent me photographs, with the suggestion that the source deserved immediate study.

inventory of the library of the Badia Fiorentina.²⁹¹

The two leaves which today constitute the guard-sheets of the volume are of high-quality parchment. They were at one time used as reinforcement for the front and back covers, and were glued on to their inside surfaces; both leaves carry traces of having been lifted off the wooden boards, with a consequent loss of writing on the sides which still have remains of dried glue.

The analysis of the musical contents and foliation that follows suggests that the two leaves were originally adjacent, perhaps even conjoint. The parchment was trimmed to the dimensions of the host book, with most of the cutting in the upper margins, thereby removing large portions of the composer attributions and foliation numbers. The resulting dimensions of the present leaves are 305 X 205 mm.; judging by the location of the composer attributions, there might easily have been another 20 mm. of height and perhaps another 10 mm. of width.

Each folio is ruled in red ink, producing nine six-line staves on each side. The uniformity in gauge (19 mm.) and the barbed left-hand edges of each staff point to the use of a rastrum for the ruling process. Given the standard distance of 10 mm. between staves, the space reserved for

²⁹¹ An inventory published in Robert Blum, La Biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i codici di Antonio Corbinelli (Vatican City, 1951), 131 (no. 345).

writing on these four sides measures approximately 175 X 250 mm. On all four pages each of the voice parts is supplied with an initial capital letter; these are in alternating red and blue.

Despite the trimming, the red-ink folio numbers in the upper right-hand corners can be reconstructed with the help of high magnification and ultra-violet photography. The folio now at the back of the 15th-century volume appears to carry the number "CXXXVII"; the one at the front of the volume, "CXXXVIII," although the presence of a "C" on both folios is still somewhat speculative. Thus the two leaves seem originally to have followed one another; fol. 137, however, is now located at the back of the volume, and its successor, 138, at the front. The leaves now bear the pencil numbers "I" (138) and "I" (137), which were supplied by the host library.

The contents lead to the conclusion that the leaves, if not actually conjoint, at least were originally positioned in close proximity. There are six ballatas, all--to judge from concordances--by Francesco Landini; they are arranged as shown in Table 4.6. The remains of the severely trimmed red-ink attribution at the top of fol. 137r (Fig. 4.21) can be read as "Fr," which is preceded by writing that is now illegible; possibly this was the same as the much clearer "Idem Fr" on the verso side of the folio (Fig. 4.22). Very little, but enough, of the descenders of what

appear to be capital Fs are visible at the tops of fols.
138r and 138v (Figs. 4.23 and 4.24).

Table 4.6: Contents of Fn F.5.5 and Concordances

Fn F.5.5			Concordances	
Folio	Title	Texting	Source	Texting
137r (I'r) (flesh side)	Benchè ora piova	2 ²	Sq 158v	2 ²
	Che fai? Che pensi?	Tenor only, texted	Sq 157v-158r Pit 104r	2 ² 2 ²
137v (I'v) (hair side)	Chi pregio vol	2 ²	Sq 157r	2 ²
			Pit 69v	2 ²
			FP 11v	2 ²
			R 51r	2 ²
138r (Ir) (hair side)	Cosa nulla più fe	3 ³	Sq 132r	3 ³
			Pit 87v-88r	3 ³
			FP 35v	3 ²
138v (Iv) (flesh side)	Co' gli occhi assai	2 ²	Sq 157v	2 ²
			Pit 99r	2 ²
			FP 49v-50r	3 ²
	Che pena è quest'	Contra only, incomplete, texted	Sq 130v	
			Pit 100v-101r	3 ³
			FP 36v-37r	3 ²
			Pz 19v-20r	2 ²
			Fa 88v-89r	instr.

Fig. 4.21: Fn F.5.5, fol. I'r

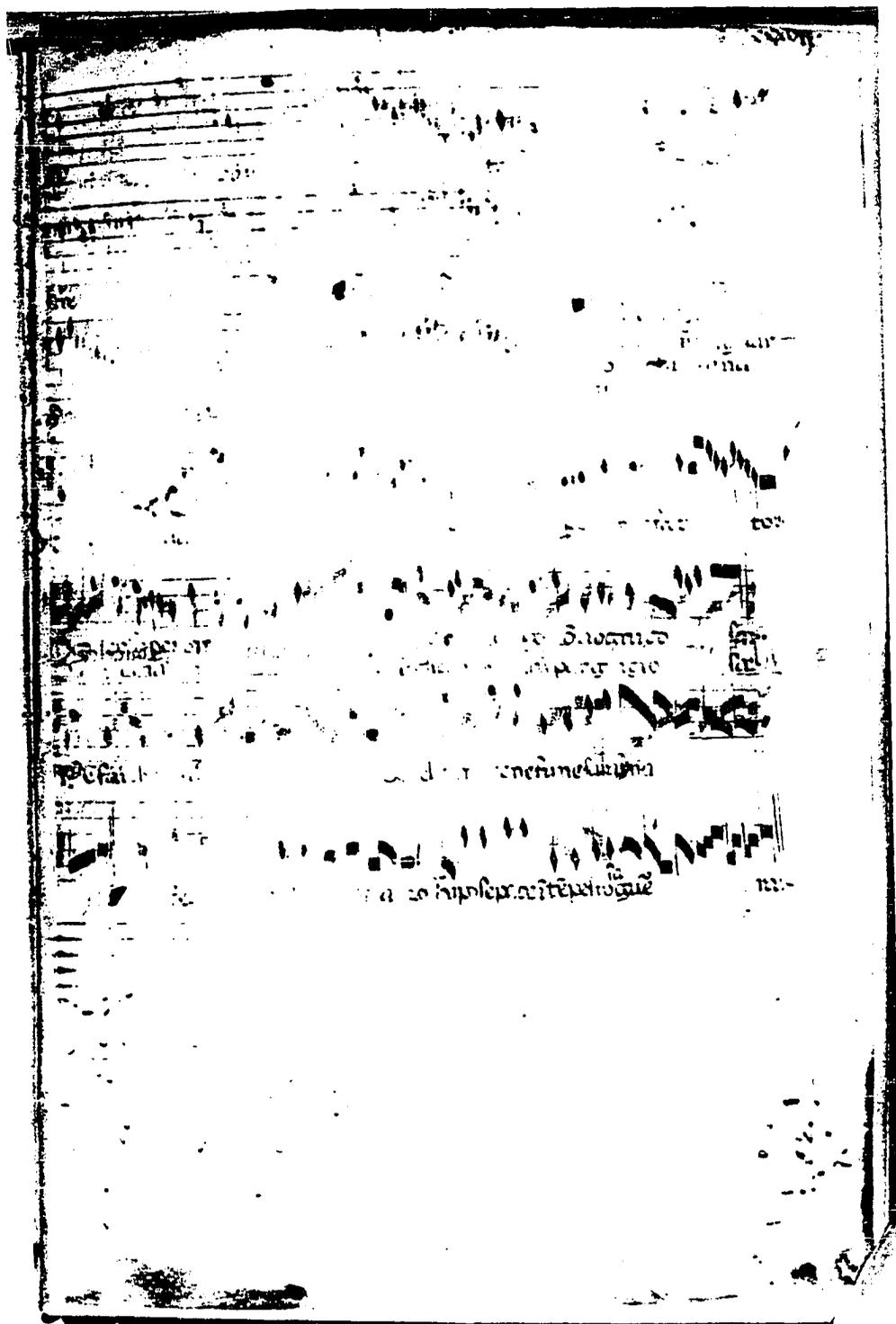


Fig. 4.22: Fn F.5.5, fol. I'v

Q p' q' d' nol i u' tu p' d' m' 20.

d' n' a' n' o' a' u' g' u' s' t' i' n' o' d' u' c' e' l' c' o' 20. A' l' m' a' g' e' n' t' i' s' e' c' u' n' d' e' q' u' e' t' i' c' o' s' a' f' e' f' e' m' i' n' a' n' o' p' e' r' o' a' c' t' o' 20.

Q u' o' i' u' t' i' n' g' e' n' t' i' s' m' o' 20. I' n' d' o' n' a' n' o' a' u' g' u' s' t' i' n' o' d' u' c' e' l' c' o' 20. A' l' m' a' g' e' n' t' i' s' e' c' u' n' d' e' q' u' e' t' i' c' o' s' a' f' e' f' e' m' i' n' a' n' o' p' e' r' o' a' c' t' o' 20.

le.

Fig. 4.23: Fn F.5.5, fol. 1r

O Annulla pui fe camò rì che de fe ro camò nò e altro
 che fe de Don nanò l'agnac de crede
 ma le. Che cialcù de quà d'anni camò p'n
 O Annulla pui fe camò rì che de fe ro camò nò e altro de fe
 de Don nanò l'agnac de crede ma le. Che cialcù de quà d'anni camò p'n
 ca. O Annulla pui fe camò rì che de fe ro
 camò nò e altro de fe de Don nanò l'agnac
 de crede ma le. Che cialcù de quà d'anni camò p'n
 Molte sona due loato stule / amò camò nò nò n'anno che t'ha de
 l'ancu p' l'ancu aua che camò n'ò / de quò n'ò / m'ò n'ò n'ò / m'ò n'ò n'ò /
 Annulla camò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò / n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò / n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò /
 Co' l'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò / n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò / n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò /
 da n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò / n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò / n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò n'ò /

The compositions on the two leaves are grouped alphabetically by initial capital letter: one B (Benchè ora piova, perhaps the final entry in the section containing pieces which begin with the letter B) and five Cs. The folios evidently are the remains of a collection intended as a compilation of the works of Landini and, no doubt, of other Trecento composers. The "collectionist" spirit--the inherent Denkmal character of the MS--is revealed by the alphabetical grouping.

To return briefly to the matter of foliation: If at first the likelihood of folios numbered beyond 100 seems remote in terms of Landini's oeuvre, it is less surprising if the original collection is viewed as a compilation of the works of several composers. Indeed, the evidence of extant retrospective anthologies of the Italian 14th-century repertory would lead one to expect Landini's works to fall toward the back of the collection of which this fragment formed a part. In a sequence of compositions in approximate chronological order based on the relative ages of the composers and the dates of their activity, one would expect to find, for example, first Jacopo da Bologna and Giovanni da Firenze; then Gherardello, Lorenzo, and Donato (all "da Firenze"), as well as Nicolò da Perugia; and finally representatives of late 14th- and early 15th-century activity such as Bartolino da Padova, Andrea da Firenze, Paolo Tenorista, and Francesco Landini.

Such a chronological sequence applies also to Sq, in which the section devoted to Landini begins on fol. 121v, and (as shown in Chapter 3) in R, which commences with works by Jacopo da Bologna and Bartolino da Padova, the latter's placement at the beginning suggesting a Paduan origin for the MS. Landini's works were reserved for the end of the Italian section of R, and some of his ballatas were added in empty space in the already completed earlier gatherings.

Pit, as we have seen, is no less clear in its demarcation of composer sections, but is not as systematically ordered chronologically as is Sq. It commences with madrigals by Jacopo, and continues with those by Landini, Donato, Giovanni, Lorenzo, Nicolò, Paolo, and Bartolino. The bulk of Landini's works, the ballatas, was, however, reserved for the gatherings now numbered 7 and 9 (fols. 61-70 and 81-90), and he is also represented in an expanded section in gatherings 10-12. The contents of Lo are not nearly as systematically organized, but the evidence of its physical appearance and paleography suggests that it was intended as a more practical source--not as a presentation MS--which might explain its looser organization. FP is unique in that Landini receives honor of first place in it (see Chapter 2), which shows that the source must have originated in a circle close to the composer. Seen in this broader context, Fn F.5.5, with its

folio numbers 137 and 138, is surely part of the same kind of comprehensive historical anthology as the other large Trecento sources.

It is the alphabetical arrangement of its contents that marks Fn F.5.5 as a collection closely related to Sq. Sq figures as a concordant source for all six ballatas, four of which appear as a group on fols. 157r, 157v, 158r, and 158v (ballatas a 2), and the other two on folios 130v and 132r (ballatas a 3). Because the succession of ballatas in the Landini folios in Sq is not altogether alphabetical, the fact that four of the Fn F.5.5 ballatas appear together in Sq may be of significance. This seems to be one out of many such alphabetical groups of compositions found throughout the Landini section of Sq.²⁹²

Examination of the concordances reveals that five of the six ballatas in Fn F.5.5 survive in both Sq and Pit. Moreover, Fn F.5.5 shares with Sq and Pit details of readings and a common manner of vocal scoring. With regard to texting, Fn F.5.5 and FP disagree in certain cases.²⁹³ For

²⁹² Throughout the five gatherings of Sq which contain Landini's compositions (gatherings 12-16, fols. 121v-171r; see Chapter 5 [Tables 5.1-5.5] for an analysis of the structure of Sq) there appear clusters of ballatas, each characterized not only by scoring (two or three voices) but also by a common initial capital letter (Landini's madrigals, constituting the beginning of the composer's section in Sq, are not arranged by initial letters).

²⁹³ This reconfirms the hypothesis presented in Chapter 2 about particular scribes in FP and their habits of texting only the Cantus in two-part pieces, or Cantus and

example, Co' gli ochi appears in Fn F.5.5, Pit, and Sq as 2², in FP as 2¹; Cosa nulla and Che pena è quest' appear in Fn F.5.5, Pit and Sq as 3³ but in FP as 3².

The hand of the scribe who copied these two leaves can be identified as that of Scribe E in Pit. Particularly decisive in this scribal identification is the drawing of custodes and clefs, as well as the forms of capital letters M and E, and miniscule f.²⁹⁴ In addition to the identity of features of the text and music scripts, two other traits in Fn F.5.5 may be noted: the use of yellow to highlight the initial letters of the lines of poetry, following the red or blue capitals at the beginning of individual voice-parts, and the divisional bar-lines at the end of sections; and the drawing of penciled guide-lines for the underlaid texts. These features match the characteristics of Pit's Scribe E.

Before continuing with the repertory of Fn F.5.5 I should emphasize that the scribal concordance cited here is but one in a growing set of such scribal identities among 14th- and early 15th-century Italian collections. For example, Giulio Cattin has drawn attention to the links between Pad D, the fragment now at Stresa (Str 14) and the works copied in these sources by Rolando da Casale of Santa

Tenor in three-part ballatas.

²⁹⁴ Compare Figures 4.21-4.24 to the description of Scribe E, above, and to the facsimiles cited in note 270.

Giustina in Padua.²⁹⁵ Moreover, a scribe in GR 16 has been identified as the probable copyist of certain texts in R, and other hands in R have been shown to be similar--if not identical--to scribes in the Paduan complex.²⁹⁶ Scribal concordances exist between the copies of works by Jacopo da Bologna on fols. 2v-3v of Lo and the entire contents of the fragmentary source Fc,²⁹⁷ as well as between the gathering of sacred music at the end of Lo and the entire contents of SL 2211.²⁹⁸

To return to the ballatas and concordances of Fn F.5.5, it can be demonstrated that the readings in the fragment are in every case strikingly close to those of Pit and, particularly, Sq, often disagreeing with those of other concordant sources.²⁹⁹ This identity of readings includes notational choices (e.g. the Italian duodenaria mensuration in the Sq and Fn F.5.5 readings of Benchè ora piova) and often extends as well to such details as line-endings, clefs, amount of text, spelling and other variant readings

²⁹⁵ Noted in Chapter 1, n. 94.

²⁹⁶ See Chapter 3, n. 201.

²⁹⁷ Also observed by Michael Long in "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1981), 171.

²⁹⁸ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the latter scribe's work.

²⁹⁹ For an account of concordant readings of the six ballatas (excluding, of course, those of Fn F.5.5), see Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary.

in the text, ligaturing, and accidentals.³⁰⁰

What conclusions can be drawn about Fn F.5.5 from the evidence presented thus far? Previous assertions of a direct relationship between Pit and Sq can now be re-examined; an indirect connection seems more likely, without immediate interdependence of the extant sources.³⁰¹ One might even go further and suggest that the fragment Fn F.5.5 belonged to a pool of sources which may have directly served as exemplars--or as parallel copies to such exemplars--for the compilation of at least some parts of Sq.

If the contents of Fn F.5.5 are already well known from other compilations, the importance of the MS is nevertheless undiminished. No doubt the collection to which the fragment once belonged would constitute a major Trecento musical monument, and it is to be hoped that other portions have likewise survived under the guise of binding material.

³⁰⁰ Particular notational features are shared by Sq and Fn F.5.5 in three ballatas. Chi pregio vol: (1) use of a slash in the text line, corresponding with a rest in the music, in line 2 of the text, "in donna no/ch'a vizio induce 'l core"; (2) the reading "l'anima anobilisce" in the text residuum, against "l'animo anobilisce" of other sources; (3) the spelling "ccosa" (with two cs); (4) bar 6 (Cantus),  against ; (5) bars 23-4 (Tenor), repetition of the syllable "fe" and ligaturing. Cosa nulla più fe: ligatures in the Cantus part (bars 12-13) and in the Tenor part (bars 24-9). Co' gli ochi assai ne miro: (1) bar 48 (Cantus),  against ; bar 7 (Tenor),  against ; (2) in bar 2 (Tenor), # below the note; bar 6 (Tenor), .

³⁰¹ A direct connection between Pit and Sq was discounted by Günther in "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 77, 79-81, 92.

Repertorial Groupings in Pit

The order of works in the early sections of Pit may indicate that the arrangement of compositions in the available exemplars had already begun to assume a prescribed or standard order. Let us consider, for example, the succession of works for Jacopo, Donato, Giovanni, Lorenzo, Gherardello, Nicolò, and Vincenzo as found in the later, more inclusive anthology, Sq. In the following outline, compositions placed at the bottom of folios (possibly rare or problematic entries for the Sq scribes; see Chapter 5) have been so designated, and I have indicated the corresponding order of works in Pit with superscript numbers:

1. Jacopo:³⁰² Sotto l'imperio,¹ Aquila altera,² Quando veggio (bottom), Un bel sparver,³ Nel bel giardino⁷ (bottom), Non al suo amante,⁴ Posando sovr' un acqua⁶ (bottom), O cieco mondo,⁵ Di novo e giunto⁹ (bottom), Oselletto selvaggio (madrigal), Prima virtute¹⁰ (bottom), Oselletto selvaggio (caccia), In verde prato, O dolc' appress' un bel perlaro,⁸ (+ 14

³⁰² Jacopo's works in FP, although generally grouped, are arranged in a completely different order. The sequence in R, however, is remarkably similar to the arrangements of Pit and Sq, and may thus represent a grouping of his works which circulated in Tuscany shortly after the turn of the century.

other works).

2. Donato:³⁰³ Un bel girfalco,² Seguendo'l canto,³ Senti tu d'amor (bottom), Lucida pecorella,¹ I fu già usignolo⁴ (bottom), (+ 10 other works).
3. Giovanni:³⁰⁴ Agnel son bianco,¹ La bella stella,² Più non mi curo (bottom), Sedendo all' ombra, Togliendo lun' al'altra,³ Nascoso 'l viso, Nel meço a sei paon (bottom), Donna già fu gentil, O perlaro gentil⁴ (bottom), (+ 3 other works).
4. Lorenzo:³⁰⁵ Ita se n'era star (two settings), Non so quali mi voglia (bottom), Vidi nell' ombra,² Non per chi spera (bottom), Non vedi tu amore (bottom), Nel chiaro fiume,¹ Sovra la riva³ (bottom), (+ 9 other works).

303 The works of Donato included in Pit are found in close proximity in FP, but do not head the composer's section there; SL 2211's extensive section of his works displays a different ordering.

304 With the exception of R, the almost unchanging order of Giovanni's madrigals in the sources transmitting them testifies to their "classical" status; see esp. FP (where the section was copied by two scribes).

305 The different order of Lorenzo's works in Sq may be a function of the notational interest shown in the first piece, Ita se n'era star, which appears in two nearly identical but variously notated versions; see Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 88.

5. Gherardello:³⁰⁶ Tosto che l'alba,¹ Si forte volava,
Sotto verdi fraschetti,² La bella e la veççosa, Con
levrieri e mastini, A lo spirar del arie, Una
colomba, I vo' amando (bottom), I vo' bene (bottom),
Per non far lieto, Che cacciando un giorno, L'aquila
bella, Per prender caccia, Intrand' ad abitar,³
Donna altrui.
6. Nicolò:³⁰⁷ Nel meço già del mar,¹ Chiamo non me
risposto, Il megli' è pur tacere (bottom), Egli è
mal (bottom), Dappoi che'l sol, Tolto mi piace
(bottom), Qual perseguita, Povero pellegrin, O
giustitia regina, Non si conosce (bottom), Passando
con pensier,² Tal sotto l'acqua, Non so che di me
(bottom), Non dispregiar virtù, Rott' è la vela, Dio
mi guardi di peggio³ (ballata, on bottom), Quando
gli raggi, Mentre che'l vago viso, Chi ben sofrir
non può (bottom), Ben di fortuna, Ciascun faccia per
se⁴ (ballata), (+ 15 other works).

³⁰⁶ The three works in Pit are included, but rearranged, in a group of five compositions in FP. See Chapter 5 for a scribal practice in Sq of placing the most important works at the top of successive openings; thus the Sq scribe who copied Gherardello's works may have intentionally given prominence to Tosto che l'alba and Sotto verdi fraschetti.

³⁰⁷ This section includes two ballatas, placed after the madrigal and caccia. It is noteworthy that the major source for Nicolò's works, Lo, includes only one of these compositions--the ballata Ciascun faccia.

7. Vincenzo:³⁰⁸ Ita se n'era star,¹ In forma quasi, Nel
acqua chiara,² Ay schonsolato, Gridavan li pastor,
Già era'l sol.

We may observe that the order of works in Pit has already been fixed to some degree according to what would appear to be a conventional ordering for the oldest generation of composers, especially for Jacopo's section. Note that songs added at the bottom of folios in Sq also tend to appear as later entries in Pit. A less prescribed order emerges in the works of the mid-century Florentines, Donato, Lorenzo, and Gherardello, as well as in the small sections set aside for Vincenzo and Nicolò; but in almost all cases, the lead composition (perhaps the best known work) has already been established.

The group of compositions by Bartolino da Padova (fols. 39v-42r) is the only composer section to be initiated by Scribe B rather than A. It may be overstating the case to see this as a self-sufficient section, for, to judge from the index, the first piece copied was the madrigal La douce cere on the initial opening of gathering 5; a series of Bartolino works in that gathering, however, was never realized. Per un verde boschetto and La fiera testa

³⁰⁸ The two works also appear in Lo, but not as a pair. The Vincenzo section in Sq may also follow the order of works seen in Pit; see Chapter 5 on the copying of that Sq section.

constitute late entries; since the very last Paolo madrigal (fols. 38v-39r) was not entered in the index, fols. 38v-41r may have been left blank, but ruled, by Scribe A when he finished with Paolo madrigals on fols. 37v-38r and skipped over an entire gathering to go on to the Landini ballatas in gathering 7--i.e., from Paolo madrigals at the end of the madrigal section to the start of the ballata section (the order of entries in the index reflects this decision).

The arrangement of ballatas in the Landini and Paolo sections is closely tied to the working relationship between Scribes B and E, collaborators in Pit to a degree surpassed only by another scribal pair, D and H. The latter pair actually shared the copying of two compositions in Pit and worked together in a related collection (see Table 4.5, above). One may note, above all, that the works of Landini and Paolo were not separated into discrete sections in the copying stints of Scribes B and E. Moreover, as has already been made clear, the scraping of composer attributions involved only the Landini and Paolo works associated with B and E.

Of the compositions in Pit copied by Scribes B and E, thirteen ballatas and madrigals (belonging to the group of once "anonymous" works for which composer attributions were removed) have been identified by Ursula Günther as

works of Paolo da Firenze.³⁰⁹ Given the rather restricted pattern of transmission of Paolo's works (his entire oeuvre was copied by six scribes into four extant sources), this could signal the activity of a group of musicians, perhaps also performers as well as scribes, who for some unknown reason enjoyed privileged access to his works.³¹⁰ Moreover, the fact that Scribe E copied works by both Landini and Paolo could point to a possible connection between the two composers.

A Landini-Paolo "connection"--the idea that they may have known each other or have been active within the same artistic circles in Florence, and that the bulk of these composers' works were available to only a select group of scribes--is made still more probable through the existence of identical senhals in a number of their ballatas. These hidden names may open up an avenue of research in Florentine archives that as yet awaits serious exploration, for it may be possible to identify the women to whom the musical-poetic

³⁰⁹ Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 83-90; Girando un bel falcon is attributed to Paolo in SL 2211. On the attribution to Paolo of Se già seguir, see also von Fischer, Studien, 68-9.

³¹⁰ See the catalogue of Paolo's works in Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 53-6, and additions by Günther in "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 83-4. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the ballatas and madrigals of Paolo contained in SL 2211. The idea of a scribal monopoly was first advanced by Pirrotta in "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento," 66.

works refer.³¹¹ The senhals shared by Landini and Paolo--Lena (Elena or Maddalena), Sandra (Alessandra),³¹² Cosa (Niccolosa),³¹³ and Orsa (Orsola or Orsolina)³¹⁴--are shown in Table 4.7.

311 See Kurt von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), XIV, 615. For a general discussion of senhals in ballatas by Landini and Paolo, see Corsi, Poesie musicali, 192-93, 231-32, 287-88, 370.

312 See Corsi, Poesie musicali, 231-2, for references to "Sandra" in purely literary sources of the period, including specific references to the Strozzi family and to "Alessandra degli Alberti" in Franco Sacchetti's Battaglia delle belle donne. Corsi also mentions a small (late 14th-century, Florentine?) canzoniere dedicated to an "Alessandra" (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Ashb. 446).

313 See Antonio Lanza's critical edition of Il Paradiso degli Alberti by Giovanni Gherardi da Prato (Rome, 1975), 180, where line 83 of Libro II reads as follows: "Era nella lieta brigata una venerabile e giovane donna di grande intellectto e di costumi molto gentile, il cui nome Cosa si era." For further references to Cosa and to Florentine artistic circles, see Corsi, Poesie musicali, 74, 76; see also Corsi, Rimatori del trecento (Turin, 1969), 1058 (the author makes a point of connecting "Cosa" with Landini and the Paradiso degli Alberti) and 1077 (reference to the senhal in Andrea da Firenze's ballata Cosa crudel m'ancide). For references to Cosa in Boccaccio's Decameron and Rime, as well as to a connection with Giovanni Soderini, see Corsi, "Madrigali inediti del trecento," Belfagor, XIV (1959), 338.

314 See Corsi, Poesie musicali, 288, for the possible reading of the senhal in Gherardello's Cacciando un giorno and its appearance in Franco Sacchetti's Su per lo verde colle.

Table 4.7: Senhals shared by Landini and Paolo

<u>Senhal</u>	Landini	Paolo
Lena	Amor, c'al tuo sugetto	Lena virtù e speranza De, dolce morte Se le n'arà pietà Se partir mi convien
Sandra	Alle' s'andrà lo spirt' Ma' non s'andrà S'andra(y) sança merce	Doglia continua
Cosa	Cosa nulla più fe De, pon' quest' amor Or su, gentili spiriti Che cos' è quest' amor	Uom ch'osa di veder
Orsa	L'onesta tuo biltà	Tra verdi frondi

If Landini and Paolo can be placed within the same Florentine musical milieu by association with a closely related group of scribes who had access to their works, and by the senhals the composers themselves shared,³¹⁵ an argument supporting a close relationship between the composers can also be made on the basis of patterns of

³¹⁵ It should also be noted that Paolo Tenorista and Andrea da Firenze may be related by virtue of shared senhals: Andrea's Cosa crudele (Cosa), E più begli occhi (Sandra). In addition, see Andrea's Amor già lungo and Paolo's La vaga luce for the senhal "Nencia", as well as Andrea's two ballatas Checch' altra donna, Donna se per te moro and the anonymous Checch'a te piaccia (Pit, fols. 91v-92r, possibly by Paolo; see Table 4.11) for "Checca." The two composers, moreover, set two texts with the same incipit: Astio non mori mai! Nel foco (Andrea), Astio non mori may! Ne può morir (Paolo). See Pirrotta, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, VIII/5, viii-ix. Note the pairing of Andrea and Paolo works in the index by Scribe F (fol. Bv: Donna se raçi, Doglia continua).

transmission. The phenomenon of alphabetically ordered repertory we have seen in Fn F.5.5 and Sq appears in Pit as well, mostly in the work of Scribes B and E, and serves further to relate Paolo and Landini to each other (and, to a lesser degree, to Andrea):

1. Scribe A: Landini's Già perch'i' penso, Gli occhi che'n prima, fols. 68v-69r (also paired in the index)³¹⁶
2. Scribe F: Andrea's Donna se raçi and Paolo's Doglia continua, fols. 49v-50v (also paired in the index)
3. Scribe B: Landini's Nella partita, N'en ciascun, Nessun ponga speranza, fols. 114v-117r
4. Scribe B: Landini's Posto che dall' aspetto, Per servar umiltà, fols. 88v-89r
5. Scribe B: Landini's Donna s'i' t'o fallito and Paolo's Donne e fanciulle, fols. 85v-86r
6. Scribe B: Je fortune, Jour a jour la vie, fol. 121v
7. Scribe B: De ce que sol pense, De petit peu
8. Scribe E: Landini's Selvaggia fera, S'i fossi certo and Paolo's Se già seguir, fols. 104v-106v

Two further points must be made with regard to alphabetical ordering. First, Paolo's thirteen madrigals were copied, with two exceptions, in alphabetical order by three different scribes; in Table 4.11 note that Scribe D copied madrigals whose first lines begin with letters A to

³¹⁶ The two works on fols. 26v-27r may have been placed on the same opening by coincidence: Gherardello's Sotto verdi fraschetti and the French chanson, S'Amours me bet (also paired in index).

N, Scribe A, from letters N to T, and Scribe B, works beginning with the letter U. Second, the fact that in some cases the works of both Paolo and Landini were included in the same group could be a reason for the confusion on the parts of Scribes B and E in attributing their works; this may well have led to the erasure of some of the attributions (cf. Table 4.5, below).³¹⁷

With the large number of concordances in the works of Landini among Florentine sources, we might ask the following question: Are the compositions copied by B and E, some of which are alphabetically or otherwise ordered in Pit, similarly grouped in Sq? Groups that in Pit contained the works of more than one composer were, naturally, split up in Sq, an anthology whose contents are entirely arranged by author. Other groups of compositions continued to be transmitted together (e.g., Nella partita, N'en ciascun, Sq, fols. 139r-139v; Selvaggia fera, S'i fossi certo, Sq, fols. 137r-138r; see Table 4.9). Still others were dispersed in Sq because they had been subsumed into alphabetically ordered groups: e.g., FP's Scribe D-group of Landini ballatas (see Table 4.8) were evidently circulating as a group when Pit's Scribe B included them together in a single gathering (although one of them, Nessun ponga speranza, became part of

³¹⁷ This factor could diminish somewhat the strength of some attributions, but, thus far, erased names have been confirmed rather than repudiated by new MS finds.

another group of ballatas that begin with the letter N). Interestingly enough, many of Landini's unica are in the alphabetical groups of Sq.

**Table 4.8: Landini Ballatas Copied by FP's Scribe D
and Pit's Scribe B**

I' fu tuo servo: Pit, 113v-114r; FP, 53v-54r

Contemplar le gran cose: Pit, 113v-114r; FP, 82r

Amar si gli alti: Pit, 114v-15r; FP, 63r

Nella partita: Pit, 114v-115r; FP, 56r

N'en ciascun: Pit, 115v-116r; FP, 38v

Nessun ponga speranza: Pit, 116v-117r; FP 40r

Già non biasim': Pit, 117v-118r; FP, 39r

These repertorial groupings suggest that the various scribes of Pit worked from a number of smaller exemplars. Some of the Landini ballatas they copied, for example, appear in close proximity in Sq (but are not necessarily related alphabetically; see Table 4.9). Groupings in FP and Sq can be most easily demonstrated in Table 4.10.

**Table 4.9: Groupings in Sq of Ballatas Copied
by Scribes E, B, and A in Pit**

SCRIBE E:

137r, Selvagia fera; 138r, S'i fossi certo

140v, La mala lingua; 141r, Ma non s'andrà; 141r,
Or e tal; 141v, Oyme, el core; 142v, S'i ti so'
stato

152r, Amor in uom; 152v, Conviensi a fede

157r, Co' gli ochi; 157v, Che fai? Che pensi?; 158v,
Benchè ora piova

SCRIBE B:

129v, Muort' oramai; 131r, L'alma mie piange; 132r,
Cosa nulla più fe; 132v, Lasso di donna

138v, Quel sol che raggia; 139r, Nella partita
pianson; 139v, N'en ciascun; 140v, Amor c'al tuo
sugetto

147r, El gran disio; 147v, Fortuna ria

153r, Contemplar le gran cose; 154r, Posto che dall'
aspetto; 156r, Amar si gli alti

168r, Non per fallir; 168v, Per servar umiltà; 169v,
Già non biasim'

SCRIBE A:

133r, Gentil aspetto; 133v, Gram piant' agli ochi;
134r, Non avrà ma' pietà

163v, Caro signor palesa; 164r, Perchè di nuovo;
164v, Adiu, adiu, dous dame; 164v, Ama donna

169r, Già perchè i' penso; 170r, Va pure amore;
170v, Sie maledetta

Table 4.10: Summary of Repertorial Groups in Pit, FP, and Sq

Pit	FP and Sq
Scribe A	FP's Scribes A and B; mixed in Sq
Scribe B	FP's Scribes C and D (with exceptions for two-voice ballatas); mixed in Sq
Scribe E	FP's Scribes A, B, and C; groups of two- and three-voice ballatas in Sq's gatherings 13-15, some clearly related to E's work in Fn F.5.5. Pit's Scribe E associated with a high concentration of Landini ballaņas not included in FP.

Other aspects of MS transmission in the first two decades of the 15th century will be discussed in analyses of Sq and SL 2211 in Chapter 5.

Patterns in Copying

The copying of the earlier repertory (Jacopo, Giovanni, etc.) manifests differences in the use of Italian and French notational elements by the individual scribes, as well as the particular skills exhibited by them: mensuration letters, dots of division, semibreves of various shapes and values, triplets in place of semiminims, dots of elision in the text, one-pitch ligatures, French mensuration signs, dots of addition, and elements of ars subtilior notation (dragmas, proportions).

The compositions copied by Scribe A are characterized by precision both in the use of Italian notational elements and in the disposition of text. This copyist made careful use of dots of division, in one case even including a count of tempora.³¹⁸ Scribe A tended to avoid the older Marchettan undifferentiated semibreve, whose value can only be determined contextually. Thus he often resorts to oblique-stemmed semibreves and minims ( ) as well as minims and semibrevis caudatae in place of semibreves in an effort to clarify rhythms and modernize older notational forms.³¹⁹ Precision in notational style extends as well to the use of divisiones letters, as can be seen, for example, in the changes of mensuration in Gherardello's madrigal Sotto verdi fraschetti (fols. 26v-27r).³²⁰ Care in text-music alignment appears throughout A's work, evident in the adjustments made after he has overlaid music above text.³²¹

³¹⁸ See Giovanni's Agnel son bianco, Cantus: the scribe added a number "72" at the end of the stanza.

³¹⁹ Scribe A's readings of the following examples may be compared with concordances in FP and R: Giovanni's La bella stella, Agnel son bianco, Togliendo l'un all'altra, and Jacopo's Un bel sparver.

³²⁰ See the critical notes in W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., Italian Secular Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, VII (Monaco, 1971), 182.

³²¹ Note the use of dots of elision in texts throughout his work. Adjustments include the erasure and re-entry of single words and phrases, as well as liberal use of text co-ordinating lines (see, e.g., fols. 5v, 6r, 8r, 10v, 18v, 19v). Text repetition may also be characteristic of Scribe A (but it is not a feature unique to his work); e.g.,

Such attention to notational details allows us to assess Scribe A's skill in questions of rhythmic flexibility and syncopation, especially in his application of Marchettan one-pitch ligatures. Despite repeated statements in the literature claiming that the early Trecento repertory lacked the rhythmic refinement of syncopation, it has become increasingly clear that such was not the case.³²² As editors and historians we must take advantage of scribal expertise in this area, for, as will be demonstrated, the notation required to render syncopations was frequently used at the

Giovanni's Agnel son bianco (Tenor, against FP and R), La bella stella (against FP and Rs 215); Vincenzo's Nell' acqua chiara (against all concordances). Text repetition in the Trecento repertory has recently been studied by Agostino Ziino, "Ripetizioni di sillabe e parole nella musica profana italiana del trecento e del primo quattrocento: proposte di classificazione e prime riflessioni," Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, X (Kassel, 1984), 93-119. I note that the Paolo works copied by Scribe A serve as the most numerous examples of text repetition for Ziino (p. 103; see Girando un bel falcon, Tra verdi frondi, Non più infelice); Scribe D's text repetitions are generally tied to either senhals, as in Che l'aggi' fatto, or the expression of a celebratory function, such as in Godi Firenze (D's copy of Fra duri scogli is an exception). Scribe A may also be responsible for more than a fair share of text repetition in the transmission of Landini's works: e.g., Non arà ma' pietà (Tenor).

³²² See Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 376, 381; Richard Hoppin, Medieval Music, (New York, 1978), and Stephen Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ., 1974), 222. Syncopation and the use of one-pitch ligatures are discussed in detail by Michael Long, "Musical Tastes," 15-20; see also Chapters 2 and 3 of the present study.

discretion of the scribes.³²³ Scribe A's employment of one-pitch ligatures, almost always standing alone against concordant readings in this regard, pervades his copying of the older Italian repertory, as revealed in the following examples:

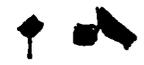
1. Jacopo's Nel bel giardino: Cantus, bars 3-4,³²⁴ contain the following syncopation in Pit: ♪ ♪♪ ♪ ; FP transmits this passage as ♪♪♪ ♪ , and Sq, as ♪ ♪♪ ♪ (i.e., with the dot of division eliminated). The syncopation was incorporated by Pirrotta into his edition,³²⁵ but missed by Marrocco. See also bars 55-6 of the Cantus, where the R-version, as in bars 3-4, provides a note of larger value ♪ in place of the above, doing away with the dot of division and the awkwardness of ligated note-heads. The one-pitch ligatures in the Tenor, bars 70-1, were likewise missed in the Marrocco

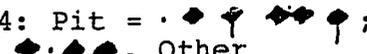
³²³ As such, it cannot by itself constitute a significant variant between multiple readings of the same piece.

³²⁴ All bar numbers refer to W. Thomas Marrocco, Italian Secular Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century: VI (Giovanni da Firenze, Jacopo da Bologna), VII (Donato, Gherardello, Lorenzo), VIII (Nicolò), IX (Bartolino, Paolo).

³²⁵ Nino Pirrotta, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, VIII/4, 14. Pirrotta has been most perceptive in his interpretation of this rhythmic element (rendered as dotted ties in his edition); he has taken care to consult multiple readings of any given work and, where reasonable, to adhere to the syncopated reading. Evidence suggests that the element of syncopation tended to be lost, not accrued, in the process of transmission.

edition, but revived by Pirrotta.

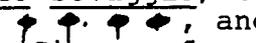
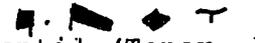
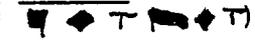
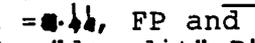
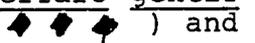
2. Jacopo's O cieco mondo: several one-pitch ligatures in the Tenor, bars 68-9, were not transmitted in FP or R (Pirrotta transcribes these correctly as ties; Marrocco does not). See also the end of the Tenor ritornello, bars 77-8, where Scribe A has used semibreves with oblique tails (Pit = , FP = , R = ). Scribe A chooses to mark the tempora by including dots of division in passages that are more easily notated with larger note values; e.g., the Cantus, bars 59-62 (Pit = , R and FP = ; Sq retains the dots but separates the note-heads).³²⁶
3. Giovanni's Agnel son bianco: Cantus, bar 79, Scribe A chose to clarify the rhythm (Pit = , FP = ). See also Giovanni's La bella stella (Cantus, bars 34-6) and Togliendo l'un all'altra (Cantus, bar 1).³²⁷

³²⁶ See also the Tenor, bar 44: Pit = ; R and FP = ; Sq = . Other examples in Jacopo's works may be found in Un bel sparver (Cantus, bars 31-2 [not included by Pirrotta and Marrocco]; Tenor, bar 4), Non al suo amante (Cantus, bar 13; Tenor, bar 9; Tenor, bars 20-1), and Aquila altera (Cantus, bar 11; although not drawn clearly in Pit, the meaning is clarified by the grouping of notes in FP). In contrast to Scribe A's practice, Jacopo's Prima virtute was copied by Scribe G without Italian notational elements, including one-pitch ligatures.

³²⁷ One-pitch ligatures were also used by Scribe A in

Scribe B tended to use a greater mixture of Italian and French notational elements than A, often modernizing passages originally containing semibreves caudatae, leaving out mensuration letters and puncti divisiones, and using French forms of alteration. In one case--Gherardello's Intrando ad abitar (fols. 27v-28r)--he even used a mixture of Italian letters and French mensuration signs. It seems clear that he knew what one-pitch ligatures were when he encountered them in his exemplars, but he almost always chose to render such ligatures as single, larger note values.³²⁸

his readings of Florentine composers. See Donato's Seguendo'l canto (end of Tenor ritornello at bar 79; Marrocco uncharacteristically incorporates both ligatures, Pirrotta misses the first one), Un bel girfalco (Cantus, bars 18-22, and Tenor, bar 30 [drawn poorly in this case]), Lorenzo's Vidi nel ombra (Cantus and Tenor, bars 58-61 and passim), Nel chiaro fiume (Cantus and Tenor, bar 25), Vincenzo's Ita se n'era star (Cantus, bars 15-16). In Gherardello's Tosto che l'alba (bars 5-6), Pirrotta astutely tied the notes at the first melisma of the Cantus part, even though Scribe A did not join the two note-heads clearly. Scribe A occasionally went back and made adjustments; see fol. 20v, 2nd staff, where the space between two closely placed note-heads has been filled in so that they touch.

³²⁸ Thus in Jacopo's Oselletto sevaggio, the Tenor, bar 76, was rendered in Pit as , and in FP as . See also Nicolò's Ciascun faccia (Cantus, bar 1, Pit =  and Sq = ) Giovanni's O Perlaro gentil (Tenor, bars 21-4, Pit = , FP = ) , Gherardello's Intrando ad abitar (Cantus, bar 22, Pit = , FP and Sq = ). It may be possible to "de-edit" B's readings of passages which we suspect may once have been notated with ligatures; e.g., Giovanni's O perlaro gentil (Tenor at the senhal "Anna," (bar 72) Pit = ) and

The Ballatas of Francesco Landini

The work of Scribes B and E supports a theory on the relationship of Trecento sources that has already been presented in Chapters 2 and 3, namely that we should refrain from comparisons of entire manuscript collections to each other, but rather isolate and discuss smaller portions demonstrably related either through scribal concordances and repertorial groupings, or striking readings. It can be shown, for example, that the Landini ballatas copied by Scribes B and E in Pit are closely tied to readings in Fn F.5.5 and Sq; the ballatas copied by Scribe A, however, are not.

In order to identify readings more or less closely related, let us first evaluate variants likely to have been scribally produced in the process of copying. For example, the use of triplets in the place of semiminims, or conversely, may be an example of such scribal initiative.³²⁹

Lorenzo's Sovra la riva (Cantus, bar 5; Pit, Sq and Fp separate the breve and semibreve, ■ ◆ ; here Pirrotta correctly presented these notes tied together). Note, however, that in one composition by Nicolò (Non dispregiar), and in three works by Bartolino da Padova, Scribe B transmitted these ligatures.

³²⁹ Quel sol che raggia, Mostrommi amor, both copied by Scribe B, but one transmits triplets and the other does not, against Sq; see Scribe B's copy of Lorenzo's Sovra la riva, where triplets in FP and Sq are rendered as semiminims here; see also Scribe A's copy of Giovanni's Agnel son bianco, bar 78, where the surviving versions differ in their placement of triplets (Pit has semiminims);

Other, more important elements vulnerable to change at the hands of copyists would include rhythmic considerations such as one-pitch ligatures and the replacement or addition of rests with notes,³³⁰ the use of punti sottoscritti for text elision, and details of cadential gestures and vocal scoring.³³¹ Extensive variation in the notation of ligatures is most likely due to individual scribal practices; therefore, ligaturing cannot be a reliable indicator of the relationship between concordant readings of a given composition.³³²

Variants signaling stemmatically different versions of ballatas appearing in both Pit and Sq include widely divergent passages--in melody, rhythm, and text--in Scribe A's

see Scribe E's Or è tal l'alma for semiminims against Sq's triplets). Günther, in "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 76-80, considered the absence or presence of triplets (as opposed to semiminims) as a stemmatically significant variant.

³³⁰ See A's readings of (Gran piant' agli occhi, Già perch' i' penso, Va pure, amore, Caro signor palesa, Sie maledetta) (note that Scribe E does use one-pitch ligatures, or equivalent larger note values (see his Ma non s'andrà, and Che fai? Che pensi?). We may observe Scribe B's hesitation in ligating note-heads on the same pitch, in Donna s' i' t'ho fallito, De belle donne.

³³¹ See Scribe A's preference for all-vocal or 3² settings; the scoring of Donna, 'l tuo partimento (3¹) may be due to space problems at the bottom of fols. 62v-63r.

³³² See, however, Jacopo's Prima virtute, where ligaturing, used in conjunction with other elements, suggests Scribe G's close relationship to the reading in Sq and R.

Perchè di nuovo, Ama donna, Angelica biltà, and Va pure Amore, as well as the non-coincident points in changes of mensuration in Non creder donna.³³³

Almost all of Scribes B and E's readings of Landini ballatas copied into Pit agree to an unusually high degree with those in Sq (and Fn F.5.5, discussed above). These readings are often found only in Pit and Sq, and even in cases in which the compositions can be shown to be late entries in either MS.³³⁴ In this context, the FP Landini ballatas mentioned above (see Table 4.8) may stand as a testing ground for the changes scribes might bring to songs in the process of transmission, for Scribe E's readings in Pit do not agree with those of FP's Scribe D. Let us note the following compositions:

1. Scribe B's Ne' ciascun mie pensiero: the Tenor parts (bar 9) in Pit and Sq carry a pausa minima, against FP's punctus additionis; the former undoubtedly derive from a source which misinterpreted a dot for a rest. Variants in the text at bar 27 would seem to reveal a reworking on the part of the Pit scribe: Pit's Cantus = "quando begli ochi guard' e miri"; Tenor = "quando begli

³³³ See Schradę, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 116, 46, 67, 47, and 35, respectively.

³³⁴ See El gran disio on fols. 84v-85 (no foliation change in index), added late in Pit; Cosa nulla più fe, and Lasso! di donna were late entries in Sq.

ochi volgi e miri"; Sq's Cantus and Tenor = "quando begli ochi guard' e miro"; FP's Cantus and Tenor = "quando i begli ochi volgi e miri."³³⁵

2. Scribe E's Donna, che d'amor: Pit and Sq agree, often against R.³³⁶ This was one of the Landini ballatas copied into MS R by its Scribe V; Schrade assumed the R reading to be the most authoritative because of its Italian notational elements (see Chapter 3 of the present study).³³⁷
3. Scribe B's D'amor mi biasmo: Pit and Sq share a unique reading in the Tenor, bars 31-5 ("fedeltade" instead of "felicitade").³³⁸
4. Scribe B's Già non biasim' amore: Pit and Sq share a textual variant in line 5: Cantus = "ciascun loco"; Tenor = "ogni loco."³³⁹
5. Other examples copied by Scribe B include: Posto che dall' aspetto, (bars 13-17);³⁴⁰ Non per fallir, (bars

³³⁵ See Corsi, Poesie musicali, 196-97.

³³⁶ See Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 81.

³³⁷ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 80; see also Chapter 3, above, n. 218.

³³⁸ Corsi, Poesie musicali, 149.

³³⁹ See Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 134, for details on other variant readings shared by these two sources against FP.

³⁴⁰ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini,

24, 26, 28, 31, and 38);³⁴¹ Nella partita.³⁴²

6. Scribe E's Conviens' a fede: Pit and Sq share a critical textual variant in verses 8-11.³⁴³

The Works of Paolo da Firenze

Pirrota was the first to propose a chronology of Paolo's works, using as his starting point variations in the

Commentary, 127.

³⁴¹ Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, 39.

³⁴² Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, 64.

³⁴³ Corsi, Poesie musciali, 229. See Dorothea Baumann, "Some Extraordinary Forms in the Italian Secular Trecento Repertoire," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, IV (1978), 46-9, where she demonstrated that only Pit and Sq are absolutely clear on their readings of the special form of this ballata (she also suggested that the songs of Paolo and Landini may be directly related stylistically in their incorporation of unique formal features such as that displayed in this ballata). Examples of other works copied by Scribes B and E, for which Pit and Sq share important variants, are the following: I' fu tuo servo, Fortuna ria, Ma non s'andrà, Amor in uom gentil, Vita non è più misera, Donna i' prego, Con gli ochi assai ne miro. It should be said that there are a few Landini ballatas copied by B in Pit which disagree strongly with their Sq readings: Muort' oramai in its text underlay (but it is a late entry in Sq [end of madrigal gathering 12] and Pit; see above on the compilation of Pit). This ballata was singled out by Günther in her effort to disprove any direct relationship between Sq and Pit, but the variants involved may all be scribally initiated; note, in particular, the larger note values that may or may not be split into repeated notes. Moreover, all of these variants belong to the Tenor, and may thus be a function of text underlay. Thus the Pit and Sq readings of this work may be more directly related than Günther suggests. Another work whose readings diverge in Pit and Sq is the ballata S'i' fossi certo, copied by Scribe E: Pit = "Chel volto tuo mi toglie ogni dolore"; Sq = "Che lumi tuoi mi tolgon' ogni dolore."

composer's name found in MSS Pit, Lw and Man/ManP. Pirrotta suggested that the appellation "Don" in an attribution would have been employed for works composed by Paolo before his nomination to the position of "Abbas" (see Table 4.11).³⁴⁴ Pirrotta further argued, on stylistic grounds, that he could see little contradiction in this evidence; works designated as early or late by their attributions appeared to be so in their compositional styles as well. Pirrotta undermined his point, however, when he suggested a characteristic mixture of traditional and innovative elements for Paolo's works in general. His list of early two-voice madrigals includes the following (see Table 4.11):³⁴⁵ Non più infelice, Se non ti piacque, Tra verdi frondi, Una fera gentil, and Un pellegrin uccel. The group of early ballatas, Pirrotta argued, consists of the following: Amor de dimmi, Benchè partito, Donna perchè, Or sie che puo, Perchè vendetta, Poc' c'hanno di mirar, and Uom ch'osa di veder.³⁴⁶

Pirrotta's group of late madrigals were, not

³⁴⁴ Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 26-30. According to Pirrotta, the early works date from before 1387; the late works, after ca. 1400. This principle was also maintained by Hoppin, Medieval Music, 468.

³⁴⁵ Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 44, n. 61. These works were copied by either Scribes A or B, practically a guarantee of the manner in which they were to be attributed. Thus, if Scribe B had attributed the madrigal Una smaniosa e insensata vecchia, he would probably have employed the initials "D.P."

³⁴⁶ Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 44, n. 58 and 59.

coincidentally, all copied by Scribe D: Corse per l'onde, Era Venus, Fra duri scogli, Nell' ora ch' segar, and Godi Firenze.³⁴⁷ The late ballatas are found in gatherings 8 and 13 of Pit: Amor da po', Amor mi stringe, Amor tu solo, Che l'aggi fatto, Chi vuol veder, Sofrir m'estuet, La vaga luce, Lena virtù, Ma' ria ver pietà, Non c'è rimasa, Se per virtù, Vago et benigno, Doglia continua, Lasso grev', and S'amor in cor.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 44, n. 70.

³⁴⁸ Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista, 30, 44, n. 74. The principal trait of the late ballatas, in Pirrotta's view, is a three-part texture; but see Table 4.11, where the erased attributions of Scribes B and E would upset such a distinction.

Table 4.11: The Works of Paolo Tenorista

Scribe	Incipit	Pit	Man	Lw	SL 2211
MADRIGALS					
D	Corse per l'onde	P.A.			P. abbas
D	Era Venus	P.A.			P. abbas
D	Fra duri scogli	P.A.			
D	Godi Firenze	P.A.			
A+F	Girand' un bel	[Don Paolo]			P. abbas
D	Nell' ora	P.A.			
A	Non più infelice	Don Paolo Tenorista da Firenze			
A	Se non ti piaque	Don Paolo	[Lo=Don pagholo]		
A	Træ verdi frondi	Don Paolo			
B	Una fera gentil	D.P.			
B	Un pellegrin uccel	Do. Pa.			
B	Una smaniosa	*			P. abbas
D	Ventilla con tumulto	P.A.			P. abbas
BALLATAS					
D	Amor, da po	P.A.			
A	Amor de dimmi	Do. Paolo		*	A Paulus
D	Amor mi stringe	*			A Paulus
B	Astio non mori	*			A Paulus
D	Amor tu solo sai	P.A.		*	

Table 4.11 (cont'd)

B	Benchè partito	Do. Paolo	
D+H	Che l'agg' i fatto	P.A.	
D	Chi vuol veder	P.A.	
B	De dolce morte	D.P.	
E	De passa temp'	D P	
B	De fa per quella	D.P.	
F	Doglia continua	P.A.	*
D	Dolce mia donna		*
A	Donna perchè	Do. Paolo	
B	Donne et fanciulle	D.P.?	
B	Fatto m'a sdegno	D.P.	
B	In quella parte	Do Pa	
D	Lasso grav' e'l	P.A.	
D	La vaga luce	P.A.	*
D	Lena virtù	P.A.	
D	Ma ria ver pietà	P.A.	
B	Merçe per Dio	D.P.?	
D	Non c'è rimasa fe	P.A.	
E	O me! si oglio	D.P.	
A	Or sie che può	Do Paolo	P. abbas
B	Perchè vendetta	Do Paolo	
	Perch' i' non seppi	Dompni Pauli [Reina]	
A	Poc' c'anno	Do Paolo	
B+F	S'amor in cor	P.A.	*

Table 4.11 (cont'd)

B	Se le n'arà pietà	D.P.?	
E	Se già seguir	D.P.?	
B	Se partir	D.P.	
D	Se per virtù	P.A.	
D	Sofrir m'estuet	P.A.	
B	Tra speranza	D.P.	*
A	Uom ch'osa di veder	Do Paolo	A Paulus
B	Sie mille volte	D.P.	A Paulus
D	Vago e benigno	P.A.	
F	Benedicamus	D.P. (index = P.A.)	

 * unattributed works

Evidence arguing against such a distinction lies with the scribes themselves. A clearcut chronological specification of early and late Paolo works based on attributions was discounted by Ursula Gunther on the grounds that one would have to presuppose a much greater separation in time between the earlier and later layers of Pit than is supported by the available evidence.³⁴⁹ Moreover, such a chronology leads to a most improbable account: Paolo's stylistic development, as seen in his madrigals, would have followed an inverse alphabetical order--letters A-N = late

³⁴⁹ Günther, "Zur Datierung," 111.

works; N-U/V = early works. As has already been demonstrated, composer attributions were scribally initiated; it should be possible, therefore, to discover "conflicting attributions," as it were, in the few works surviving in multiple versions. Due in large measure to the existence of SL 2211, any meaningful contrast between these attributions is refuted. We may note in Table 4.11, for example, that the madrigal Girando un bel falcon was ascribed to "Don Paolo" in Pit, and to "P. abbas" in SL 2211; the same situation obtains for the ballatas Amor de dimmi, Or sie che può, Poc' c'hanno di mirar, Uom ch'osa di veder, and Sie mille volte benedetta, five of the works listed as "early" by Pirrotta. And finally, a conflict exists within Pit itself, for Paolo's Benedicamus was attributed to "D.P." (and consequently erased) on fol. 138r; the entry of this work in the index carries the attribution "P.A." (fol. Av).

We may never be able to date Paolo's madrigals and ballatas by using a chronology of the sources, for the latter were compiled by a closely related group of scribes within too narrow a span of time to be of any help. And, as we have seen, a system based on scribal practices can unwittingly fall prey to stylistic inconsistencies. The best approach to the problem may rest in stylistic analysis, in a fuller understanding of the rich blends of traditional and innovative elements that mark many of

Paolo's compositions.³⁵⁰ Not surprisingly, Hoppin's discussion of stylistic features in Paolo brings this point home, for his indication of ouvert and clos endings in what he terms an "advanced madrigal style" helps cut across extra-musical distinctions based on attributions.³⁵¹

The role played by the Pit scribes in the transmission of Paolo's works is a significant one. Scribe A had access to some of the better known, more widely circulated works. He is most traditional in his readings, employing, for example, one-pitch ligatures in Pit that do not appear in concordant readings.³⁵² Scribes B and D emerge as the copyists most closely associated with the composer's music. They are responsible for a concentration of Paolo

³⁵⁰ Pirrotta was the first to point to this blend of elements (Paolo Tenorista, 28-9), though he did not emphasize the point; he also demonstrated the coexistence of archaic and contemporary style traits in the texts Paolo chose to set. See also Hoppin, Medieval Music, 466-69.

³⁵¹ Hoppin's list of such madrigals (p. 468) includes the following: Un pellegrin uccel, Tra verdi frondi, Se non ti piacque, Corse per l'onde, Fra duri scogli (second ending only in the Cantus), and Nell' ora ch'a segar (double endings for tercets and ritornello); such endings occur in two earlier works, Lorenzo's Come in sul fronte and Jacopo's Aquila altera (cf. Table 4.11). Hoppin's claim of another unique element in Paolo's style--the priority of three-voice over two-voice ballatas--applies as well to the works of a contemporary, Antonio Zacharias.

³⁵² See Table 4.11 for a list of compositions copied by Scribe A; see the absence of one-pitch ligatures in concordant readings of Amor de dimmi, Se non ti piacque, and Uom ch'osa di veder.

unica in Pit; they had access to his most advanced pieces in ars subtilior style; and Scribe D copied reductions of some of Paolo's ballatas (from three voices to two) as well as the highly embellished version of La vaga luce.³⁵³

The Structure of the Mancini Codex

The Mancini (or Lucca) Codex, consisting of MSS 184 of the Archivio di Stato in Lucca and 3065 of the Biblioteca comunale Augusta in Perugia, is a collection of North-Italian and Tuscan secular songs compiled at the beginning of the 15th century. The two surviving fragments (three bifolios discovered in Perugia and eighteen in Lucca in 1935 and 1938 by Augusto Mancini and Giovanni Cecchini, respectively) once formed part of a codex dismantled in Lucca between the years 1485 and 1589 and used as covers for notarial documents. The Perugia folios (ManP) complete some of the compositions in the Lucca portion (Man) (see Table 4.12).³⁵⁴ Pirrotta dated the source as ca. 1420, with later

³⁵³ Pirrotta and Gunther have convincingly argued the direction of change--from three-part to two-part works--based primarily on the evidence of skillful writing of Contratenor parts. Scribes D and B copied three-voice ballatas in Pit which were subsequently recopied by D in Lw and Man/ManP without their Contratenors (see Table 4.11). Some evidence in Pit also suggests the addition of some Contratenor parts (cf. fols. 51v-52r in Table 4.1).

³⁵⁴ See Augusto Mancini, "Frammenti di un nuovo codice dell'Ars Nova," Accademia nazionale dei Lincei: rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, VIII/2 (1947), 85-94; Alfredo Bonaccorsi, "Un nuovo codice dell'Ars Nova: il codice Lucchese," Atti dell'Accademia

additions entered up to ca. 1430; thus, in his view, Man/ManP was perhaps the youngest Trecento source outside of Sq.³⁵⁵ But, as he pointed out, the value of the contents of Man/ManP lies not in its relatively late dating; the MS collects a significant group of works by composers associated with North-Italian institutions, and includes a great number of unica of both northern and Tuscan composers:

nazionale dei Lincei: memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, VIII/1 (1948), 539-615. Federico Ghisi was the first to describe the style and notation of the repertory in the Perugia folios, in "Bruchstücke einer neuen Musikhandschrift der italienischen Ars Nova," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, VII (1942), 17-39; an Italian translation of this article appeared almost contemporaneously as "Frammenti di un nuovo codice musicale dell'Ars Nova italiana," La Rinascita, V (1942), 72-103. Ghisi was also the first to realize the relative positions of the two fragments within the larger collection of which they once formed a part, although he erroneously tried to include with them yet another fragment, found in Pistoia (Pist): "Italian Ars Nova Music: The Perugia and Pistoia Fragments of the Lucca Musical Codex and Other Unpublished Early Fifteenth-Century Sources," Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music, I (1946), 173-91; "Un frammento musicale dell'ars nova italiana nell'archivio capitolare della cattedrale di Pistoia," Rivista musicale italiana, XLII (1938), 162-68. Judging from the dates and signatures of notaries on the folios themselves, the Perugia folios covered documents which were formerly in the Archivio di Stato in Lucca (Ghisi, "Ars Nova Music," 174). Ghisi's assertion that Pist is also a part of the original Lucca/Perugia MS has been refuted by Pirrotta (see the following note).

³⁵⁵ Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, "Il codice di Lucca," Musica Disciplina, III (1949), 119-38 [Part I: description and inventory]; idem, "Il codice di Lucca," Musica Disciplina, IV (1950), 111-52 [Part II: literary texts]; idem, "Il codice di Lucca," Musica Disciplina, V (1951), 115-42 [Part III: further description, repertory, composers]. For a discussion of dating, see the following: Part I, 124-25; Part II, 116).

of the seventy-six songs (complete or fragmentary), fifty-one are unique.³⁵⁶

The pioneering study published by Pirrotta and LiGotti in 1949-51 is here revised not in the order of the works, but in its reconstruction of the source and how this bears on its contents and the history of its origins.³⁵⁷ The surviving unbound bifolios--twenty-one out of an original total of at least fifty-one (see the conjectural arrangement of surviving [solid lines] and missing bifolios [broken lines] in Table 4.12)--form part of a source that originally contained at least 102 folios arranged in eleven gatherings, most likely including an unfoliated index at the front.³⁵⁸ The only

³⁵⁶ The only other source with such a high concentration of unica is the much older Rs 215/Os collection. The importance of Man/ManP as a source for North-Italian song repertories was first signaled by Suzanne Clercx, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens, Mod. 568 et Lucca (Mn)," Les Colloques de Wégimont, II (1955), 110-30. Clercx was also the first scholar to argue for Paduan origins of Man/ManP, citing close ties between its repertory and historical events surrounding Ciconia's career. This theory has recently gained more favor in a study by Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400," Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), 193-225. Stephen Kelly, "The Works of Niccolo da Perugia," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ., 1974), 18, considered Man/ManP entirely a Tuscan source.

³⁵⁷ I would like to take this opportunity to thank members of seminars held at the University of California at Santa Barbara and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, particularly Ms. Katherine Powers and Mr. Daniel Katz for their confirmation of details in my presentation.

³⁵⁸ Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," Part III, 115, proposed at least eighty-five folios for the first ten gatherings,

gathering to have remained intact is gathering 8.

As the unbound folios were used to cover unrelated material of smaller size, the parchment was trimmed to the dimensions of the latter: each double leaf now consists of one folio measuring ca. 220 mm. X 155 mm., and its conjugate, ca. 220 mm. X 145 mm. Trimming, as well as exposure and excessive wear, have severely damaged, or altogether removed, many composer attributions, folio numbers, and portions of musical text.³⁵⁹ Judging by the location of the attributions and folio numbers, there might have been another 15/20 mm. of height and perhaps as much as 30 mm. of width on some of the folios. Table 4.12 presents a necessarily hypothetical reconstruction of the MS. Evidence used in the reconstruction includes the following: original foliation in red roman numerals,³⁶⁰ arrangement of flesh- and

and more than twelve folios for the eleventh.

³⁵⁹ Several systems of foliation and pagination have been used to designate the fragments. Pirrotta employed a complicated numeration for both the Lucca and Perugia portions, in which each page was provided with a number for the bifolio to which it belongs (1-21), a letter distinguishing the two conjugates of a bifolio (a-b), and a prime mark to distinguish verso from recto sides (this system has been entered in pencil in the upper recto margins of the Lucca folios). The Archivio di Stato in Lucca, following Pirrotta's sequence, also paginated its portion of the MS with numbers 1 to 72; this numeration, entered in ink in the lower left margin of each folio, is the one to which I shall refer. The Biblioteca comunale in Perugia added a modern foliation sequence (1-6) to its leaves; I shall cite them hereafter as P1-P6.

³⁶⁰ Including small, black-inked, cursive guide

hair-sides of parchment, gathering signatures, musical continuity, and disposition of composer attributions.

Let us begin our analysis of the makeup of the MS with the portions about which one can be relatively certain: gatherings 8, 7, and 6, in that order. Fortunately, the outer bifolios of these three gatherings have survived, and since signatures were included in the lower left corners of their opening rectos, the positions of these gatherings in the MS is secure (see Table 4.12, pp. 25, 21, and 17).³⁶¹ Musical continuity and surviving foliation (LXI^{III}, LXV^{*}, LXVII^{*}) dictate the arrangement of pp. 25-40 as the quaternio (gathering 8) shown in Table 4.12.

Gathering 7 can also be shown to have been a quaternio. Extant foliation (LV^{*}, LVIII, LVIII^{III}), as well as musical continuity on the inner opening of pp. P5-P6 (securing its position as the central bifolio), lead to the conclusion that this gathering now lacks two bifolios which were once positioned between the two surviving ones. Not only are the two bifolios needed to fill in the foliation

numbers (roman numerals) placed under the larger red numerals and still visible in the upper right-hand corners of many folios; where both the red foliation and smaller guide numbers survive on the same page, they agree. Guide numbers are marked with an asterisk in Table 4.12 to distinguish them from the red foliation; duplications have not been noted.

³⁶¹ The gathering signatures have not been observed in previous studies.

sequence, but they would also have contained the missing portions of compositions on pp. 22, P5r, and P6v, now incomplete.³⁶² All that remains of gathering 6 is its outer bifolio, carrying on its opening recto the signature "vi" and the foliation guide number "XXXXVIII". The three inner bifolios of the quaternio postulated in Table 4.12 complete the foliation sequence.

None of the extant leaves can be made to fit the requirements of a fifth gathering; I have postulated a missing quaternio in Table 4.12 in order to bridge the gap in foliation numbers between gatherings 6 and 4. Gathering 4 comprises surviving pp. 9-16. Because folio numbers XXX and XXX* on p. 9, and XXXVII* on p. 15 are so clear, and musical continuity dictates the relative positions of pp. 10 and 11, gathering 4 was evidently a quinio. The missing bifolios have been arranged as shown in Table 4.12 in order to complete the composer attribution and music on p. 9.³⁶³ As in gathering 4, musical continuity (between pp. 2 and 3) and visible foliation (a clear "XX" on p. 1) dictate the

³⁶² See the inventory in Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," Part I. The incomplete works are the following: Zacar's Rosetta che non cambi (p. 22; Cantus only); Zacar's Un fior gentil (P5r; Tenor and second half of Contratenor [not Cantus and Tenor, as reported by Pirrotta]); Zacar's Amor ne tossa (P6v; Cantus and incomplete Contratenor).

³⁶³ The attribution on p. 9 reads as follows: "de Padua." This toponymic portion of a surname would have been completed with the Christian name, "Bartolinus," or, as found on earlier folios of this MS, "Fratris Bartholini ... de Padua."

position of the surviving leaves (pp. 1-8) of a quinio; the missing outer and two inner bifolios are shown in Table 4.12. The folio number on p. 3 (XX[I]) was undoubtedly robbed of its continuation when the the leaf was trimmed.

Structurally, gathering 9 presents a situation similar to that in gathering 6, but here the inner--not the outer--bifolio has survived. The placement of pp. 41-44 at the center of a gathering is imposed by the musical continuity across pp. 42-43 and the number on the bifolio (LXXV*). The three missing bifolios of the quaternio postulated in Table 4.12 would be needed in order to insure continuation of the foliation sequence established in earlier gatherings. The position of the three surviving bifolios of gathering 10 is secured by (1) the existing foliation (LXXX* and LXXXII*) and (2) the musical continuity obtaining on pp. P2v-P3r and P4v-47. The tenth gathering must also have been a quaternio; a missing outer bifolio suggested in Table 4.12 is needed in order to continue the foliation sequence.

The remaining six bifolios (pp. 49-72) constitute a final gathering. Due to a total lack of foliation and gathering signatures, it cannot be determined how much after the tenth this gathering is located, but its placement at the end of the MS is strongly suggested by its unusual size, its incomplete character (absence of initial capitals), and

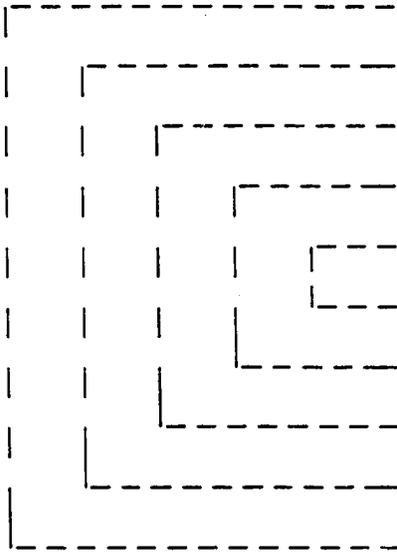
the miscellaneous nature of its contents.³⁶⁴ Three scribes copied this portion of the collection, one of whom was responsible for the earlier gatherings as well. Musical continuity determines the order of the bifolios; one (inner) bifolio, if not more, must be postulated in order to complete compositions on p. 60.

The signatures and determinate foliation of gatherings 3-8 make certain the loss of a number of leaves at the beginning of the MS. Two solutions are possible: (1) the loss of two gatherings, arranged as quinios, with an index located on the initial two folios of the first (as shown in Table 4.12); (2) two gatherings, arranged as quaternios, and an index occupying an independent--but foliated--bifolio at the very beginning of the collection. The first of these two possibilities is the more likely, for, as shall be demonstrated, a different layer of MS preparation and copying, contrasting with that of gatherings 3 and 4, is evident in gathering 6 (and probably includes gathering 5); thus, uniformity in structure (quinios) would obtain in the first four gatherings. The notion that a MS might be constructed of gatherings of different size has its precedent in the makeup of MS R (see Table 3.1: two senios, a quinio, two seven-bifolio gatherings, etc., ending with a pair of ten-bifolio gatherings.

³⁶⁴ See the inventory in Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," I, for the contents of gathering 11.

Table 4.12: Gathering Structure of Man/ManP

GATHERING 1



GATHERING 2

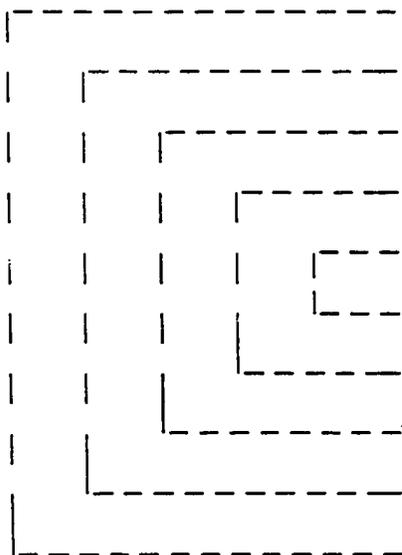
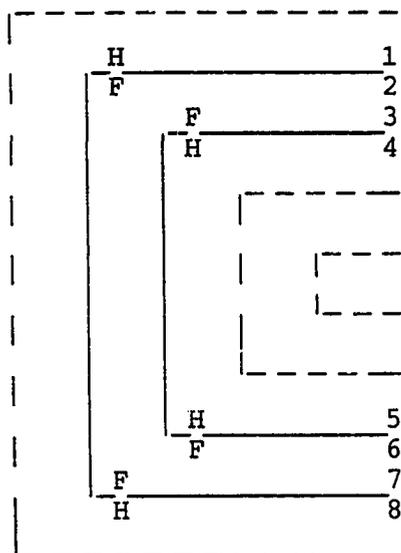


Table 4.12 (cont'd)

Scribe / Layer / Composer

GATHERING 3



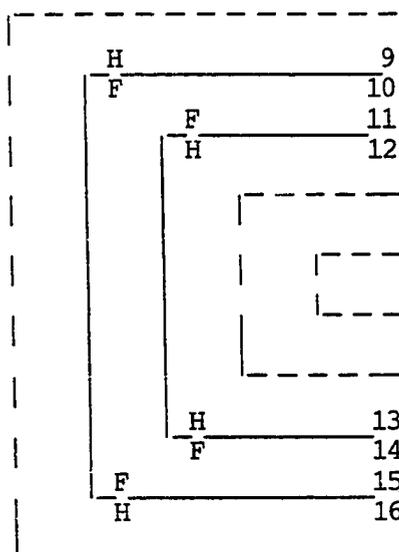
1	XX	A	I
2		D	
3	XX...		
4		A	

Bartolino da Padova
+ Binchois

Bartolino da Padova



GATHERING 4



9	XXX		
10			
11	XXX...		
12			
13			
14			
15	XXXVII*		
16			

Bartolino da Padova



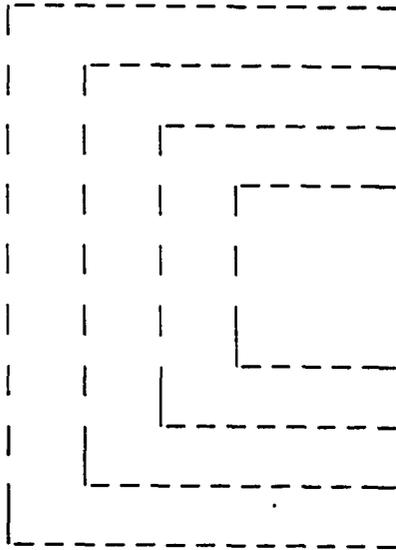
Anonymous

Antonio de Cividale

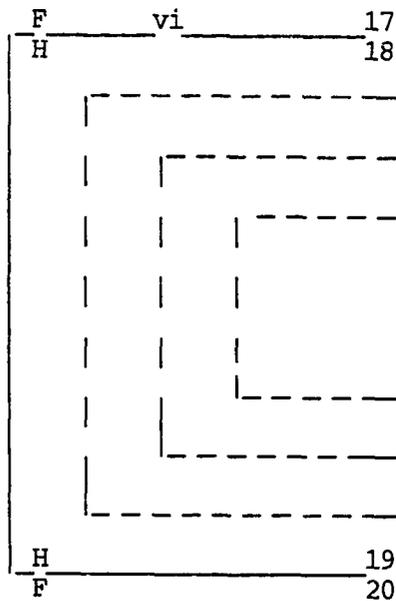


Table 4.12 (cont'd)

GATHERING 5



GATHERING 6



F vi 17
H 18

XXXXVII* A II

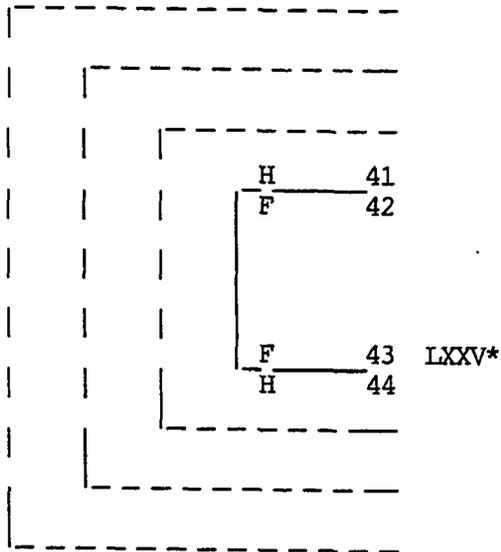
Francesco Landini
↓

H 19
F 20

Johannes Ciconia
↓

Table 4.12 (cont'd)

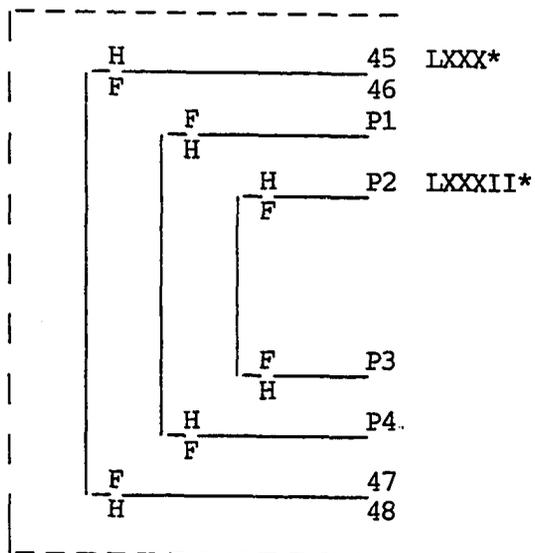
GATHERING 9



A II [Antonio] de Cividale
Anonymous



GATHERING 10

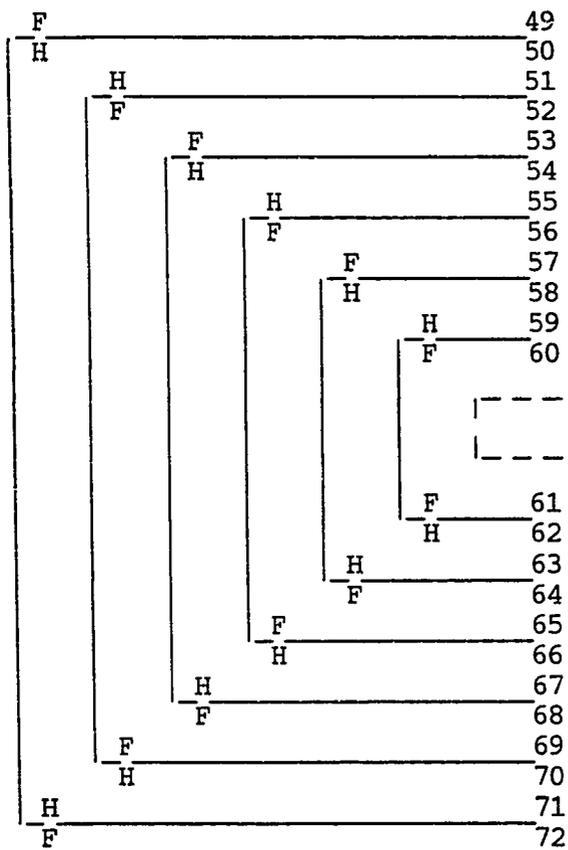


A II Johannes Ciconia

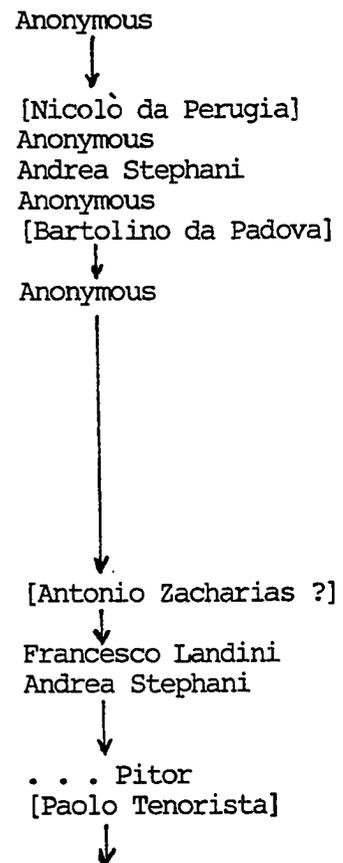


Table 4.12 (cont'd)

GATHERING 11



A III



B

C

Copying Layers

Four scribes copied the contents of Man/ManP; I have called them A (pp. 1, 4-65), B (pp. 66-69), C (pp. 70-72), and D (pp. 2-3). Differences in their music scripts include the drawing of clefs, custodes, breve and semibreve shapes, final note shapes, divisional bar lines, accidentals, and flags (see Table 4.13). Pirrotta, who otherwise correctly distinguished among the scribes of Man/ManP, identified the copyist of the Binchois chanson on pp. 2-3 (actually, a much later addition) with Scribe B at the end of gathering 11; he thus referred to an alternation in the work of Scribes B and C.³⁶⁵ This also profoundly influenced his dating of the final layers of the MS, suggesting a period after 1420.

³⁶⁵ pirrotta, "Il Codice di Lucca," III, 118.

Table 4.13: Scribal Characteristics in Man/ManP

	<u>SCRIBES</u>			
	A	B	C	D
Clefs				
Custodes				
Breves				
Final longs				
Sharps				
Semiminim flags				
Divisional bar lines				

Although most of the collection was copied by Scribe A, codicological evidence suggests that it was not accomplished at one time. Distinct layers of compilation in his work are reflected in differences of manuscript preparation: drawing of boundary lines, staff size, indentation for capital letters, and highlighting technique (see Table 4.14).³⁶⁶

Table 4.14: Characteristics of Copying Layers in Man/ManP

LAYER I (pp. 1-16)

writing space: 180/187.5 X 135/140 mm.

staves per page: 7

³⁶⁶ The three basic layers in compilation were noted by Pirrotta, "Il Codice di Lucca," I, 121-22. Further distinguishing details were supplied in III, 116, but are here revised: Section A contains seven--not eight--staves per page; Section B, eight--not ten--staves per page. Additional sub-layers of compilation may be discerned: (1) differences in the drawing of initial capitals (e.g., the U on P5r compared to the one on P3r in gatherings 7 and 10, respectively); changes in ink color in gathering 11 (creating two copying stints for Scribe A--pp. 49-54, 55-64). The final song added to the collection was Binchois' Dueil angoisseux, on pp. 2-3, originally containing Bartolino's ballata Donna lizadra; the latter was erased to make room for the new work. We may note that the capital letter which had served for the earlier work still remains; this suggests that the new scribe chose this particular page for his insertion precisely for its initial D.

staff size: 15 mm.

highlighting of text: red slashes

indentation for capitals: none

LAYER II (pp. 17-48)

writing space: 192/200 X 120/124.5 mm.

staves per page: 8

staff size: 13.5 mm.

highlighting of text: yellow wash

indentation for capitals: 12-17 mm.

LAYER III (pp. 49-72)

writing space: 179.5/181.5 X 126 mm.

staves per page: 8

staff size: 12.5/13 mm.

highlighting of text: none

indentation for capitals: 15-21 mm.

Repertorial Considerations

As can be seen in Table 4.12, Scribe A planned separate composer sections from the start of the collection (at least commencing with gatherings 4 and 5), often with boundaries determined by the beginnings and ends of gatherings. The scribe's habit of leaving blank the opening rectos and closing versos of gatherings until the collection was bound allowed for later additions to the MS.³⁶⁷ The two composers whose works are split into two sections are Antonio da Cividale and Johannes Ciconia. In the case of the former, this may be explained as a function of two different copying layers; for Ciconia, the separation appears to be generically inspired--ballatas in gathering 6 and madrigals in gathering 10. Thus the works of Bartolino da Padova cover the greater part of two gatherings; Antonio

³⁶⁷ Thus the ballata Donna posso io sperare, attributed to "Ser Nicholay prepositi" on p. 21 (the opening of gathering 7), is a late addition to the collection; see von Fischer, "Niccolò da Perugia," The New Grove, XIII, 203-04, on the authenticity of the attribution. This working method was mentioned by Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," III, 117, n. 5, but not fully incorporated into his analysis of the repertory. There are two advantages in leaving the outer folios of gatherings blank-ruled: (1) it allows for maximum flexibility in rearranging the collection or adding to the repertory at a later date (as was done in Pit, gatherings 6 and 8); (2) it prevents unnecessary exposure of musical text to excessive wear, spills, etc. before a collection is bound. Lack of a gathering signature on p. 49 may indicate that this was not the opening recto of the gathering to which it belongs, but the codicological and repertorial characteristics of gathering 11 suggest that Scribe A may have intended, but never added, such a marking.

Zacharias de Teramo, one and a half gatherings; Anthonello Marot da Caserta, half of one gathering; Antonio da Cividale, as much as a full gathering; and Johannes Ciconia, perhaps two gatherings.³⁶⁸

The first two gatherings may well have contained works by Jacopo da Bologna and others by Bartolino da Padova; note the choice of these two composers for the start of MS R.³⁶⁹ A discovery of some importance concerns the French-texted works on pp. 13-14 at the end of gathering 4; these are probably a portion of the "rondelli francesi" by Bartolino mentioned by Simone Prudenzani but thought by modern scholars not to have survived: "Quella sera cantaro ei madriale, / Canzon del Cieco, a modo peruscino, / Rondel franceschi de fra Bartolino, / etc."³⁷⁰ Since p. 15 of Man/ManP contains the full attribution for Antonio da

³⁶⁸ See also Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," III, 116-17.

³⁶⁹ Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," III, 116, n. 3, mentions Jacopo and Giovanni as possibilities. See Simone Prudenzani, Il "Sollazzo", sonnet no. 25, which begins with a list of songs with works by Bartolino and Jacopo, following an order deriving, no doubt, from written collections of the period.

³⁷⁰ Simone Prudenzani, Il "Sollazzo", sonnet no. 47. That these works may have been the ones known to Prudenzani in the early years of the 15th century is strengthened by his acquaintance with much of the rest of the Man/ManP repertory. See Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," III, 121, and Anne Hallmark, "Some evidence for French Influence," 219 (she refers to a "rondel franceschi"); Corsi, Poesie musicali, 264; Nicole Goldine, "Fra Bartolino da Padova, musicien de cour," Acta Musicologica, XXXIV (1962), 143.

Cividale, it was probably the first page of the section devoted to his works (see Table 4.12); this adds more weight to the validity of Bartolino's authorship of the rondelli on pp. 13-14.

The section devoted to the works of Antonio da Cividale, then, begins at the end of gathering 4, and his works go on to fill perhaps as much as half of gathering 5, where a Landini section may have begun. It seems that Scribe A placed some of Antonio da Cividale's French-texted works together with Bartolino's, forming a small section of related compositions.

The incomplete attribution on p. 17, in gathering 6, would suggest that at least a portion of gathering 5 had been devoted to Landini's works. Although a possibility exists that Landini's Va pur amore on p. 17, and the work on the closing verso of lost gathering 5, were late additions to the codex, the split attribution between two gatherings (one of only two examples in Man/ManP) argues for an analysis of gatherings 5 and 6 as a single unit, completed in one copying layer.³⁷¹

³⁷¹ Northern origins for Man/ManP seem probable (see below). We may assume, therefore, that the two Landini ballatas, although well known in Tuscan sources (especially Donna, s'i' t'ho fallito on p. 18), would have formed part of a small Landini repertory in the Veneto (the latter is included in Pad A 229). What is particularly noteworthy here is the attribution on p. 18 ("Francisci ceci"), which might at first sight appear to be a complete attribution. I would argue that the "de florentia" of p. 17 suggests that the full attribution to Landini in this North-Italian source would

Somewhere between pp. 18 and 19 in gathering 6, a section was begun for the compositions of Johannes Ciconia, whose name is found on the final two pages of the gathering. The attribution is not complete on p. 19; thus one is tempted to conclude that the facing verso (no longer surviving) also contained his work.³⁷² La fiamma del tuo amor, on p. 20, contains a complete attribution; thus, it may mark not only the end of a gathering, but also the end of this group of Ciconia ballatas. The second Ciconia section, in gathering 10, begins as a madrigal section, with additional ballatas copied at the bottom of pages; this pattern, however, breaks down by the end of the gathering. The composer's works extended beyond p. 48, if one is to judge by the incomplete attribution on that page.

Zacar's works appear in a lengthy section in gatherings 7 and 8. Clearly, his section extended throughout the lost folios of gathering 7, for pp. 22, P5r,

have included the following elements: a Christian name, descriptive title (in this case, blind; just as Antonio de Teramo was to be known for his short stature [see Chapter 5]), and, finally, a toponymic surname = "Francisci ceci de florentia."

³⁷² On this basis, the Tenor and Contratenor of the unattributed ballata, Ave vergene, at the bottom of p. 19, might have been assigned to Ciconia; this has been rejected on stylistic grounds by Pirrotta, "Il Codice di Lucca," III, 117, n. 4, as well as by Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, XXIV (Monaco, 1985), Introduction.

P6v, and 23 carry incomplete attributions; the most common form of the full name is "Magister Antonius Çachara de Teramo." Gathering 8 continues the Zacar section begun in gathering 7; a different version of the composer's name at the top of the opening recto (p. 25: "Magister Zacharias") indicates that the ballata Sol me trafige'l cor was added later.³⁷³

The Anthonello da Caserta section of ballatas in the second half of gathering 8 extends at least to the opening of the next gathering in order to complete the attribution on p. 40. This could indicate that the section devoted to this composer was extensive. The second glimpse we get of Antonio de Cividale, this time in gathering 9, hints at a section of French-texted works; the need to complete the attribution on p. 41 would extend this section at least to the facing folio.

The final gathering (Layer III) marks a decisive break with the collection of North-Italian songs gathered in earlier portions of the anthology. On pp. 49-72 we encounter attributed and anonymous settings of texts with strong Florentine ties, mixed in with a loosely organized

³⁷³ The work appears in Sq ascribed to "Magister Çacherias Chantor Domini Nostri Pape," in Mod as the work of "Magister Zacharias"; these are versions of the name of one composer only, Antonio Zacharias de Teramo. Zacar's northern ties and the transmission of his works in North-Italian sources will be discussed in Chapter 5.

collection of other works.³⁷⁴ Scribe A's failure to attribute Bartolino's Imperial sedendo is perhaps an indication that he was copying from smaller collections of unattributed compositions. The addition of songs at the end of the collection that can be tied specifically to the city of Florence includes works by Landini, Andrea Stefani, and Paolo, the last-named copied by the scribe who added the gatherings of Paolo's works to Pit.³⁷⁵

The foregoing evidence strongly supports the hypothesis, already advanced by Suzanne Clercx and Anne Hallmark, that Man/ManP originated in Paduan circles and was later taken by its principal scribe to Tuscany, where the collection continued to grow.³⁷⁶ The composers represented in Layers I and II all enjoyed careers in northern Italy, including the most elusive of them, Antonio Zacharias. Even

³⁷⁴ Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," III, 140-1, II, 137-47. Corsi, Poesie musicali, lxiii, describes the last two hands as "carattere calligrafico semiumanistico . . . e lingua fiorentina."

³⁷⁵ Suzanne Clercx had proposed Paduan origins for the source, and leaned toward Pirrotta's view of Lucchese ties with her suggestion that Man/ManP had eventually been taken to Lucca, where the compositions at the end of the collection were added. But there are no repertorial or biographical reasons to assign the final layer of Man/ManP to Lucca over Florence. The composer attribution on p. 70 ("...pitor") may well refer to the "Bonaiuto Corsini pitor" in Lo, a member of Florentine musical circles (Pirrotta, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, VIII/5, iii).

³⁷⁶ See Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Introduction, where references to specific persons and events, particularly the Carrara family of Padua, disprove Ciconia's supposed ties to Lucca.

the Landini ballatas transmitted in Layer I of the collection were probably part of a small, exported collection of his works, perhaps also known in other Veneto sources now lost. Previous desires to place the northern composers in Tuscany in order better to explain their presence in this source can now be dismissed.³⁷⁷ The Luchese ties that Pirrotta sought to establish rested primarily on two points: the work of Pit's Scribe D at the end of Man/ManP, accomplished under the patronage of Paolo Guinigi; and the supposed ties to Lucca in Ciconia's madrigal Una panthera. Both can now be questioned.³⁷⁸ Florence rather than Lucca would have been the most likely milieu for the copying of Layer III.

The dating of Man/ManP is closely tied to attempts

³⁷⁷ We may note the strong concentration of concordances in northern sources. Only one Ciconia work in Man/ManP appears outside of this source--Con lagreme bagnadome el viso--one MS transmitting a rudimentary form of the work in Pad D 656; this would suggest Paduan ties for Man/ManP (for the Paduan concordance, see Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," 222). For doubt cast on Bartolino's supposed stay in Florence during the period 1388-91 (years of Carrarese exile in that city), see Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), 110.

³⁷⁸ The text of the madrigal was linked to the election of Paolo Guinigi as lord of Lucca, but the work lacks a specific reference to a dedicatee (Bent and Hallmark, The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Introduction). See the discussion, above, on the contributions of the Pit scribes. Pirrotta maintained his view on the origins of Man/ManP in his "Zacharus Musicus," Quadrivium, XII (1971), 155.

to date gatherings 6 and 8 of Pit and the redaction of Lw. It seems reasonable to assume Gunther's dating of 1406-08 for the work of Scribe D in Pit as a reference for his other copying activities, and we may therefore view the end of the first decade of the 15th century as a terminus ante quem for the compilations of Pit, Man/ManP, Lw, and (by virtue of another scribal concordance)
Fn F.5.5.379

379 See Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence," 221, for a review of Clercx's and Pirrotta's dating of Man/ManP.

CHAPTER V

THE SQUARCIALUPI CODEX AND MS SAN LORENZO 2211:

EDITIONS OF TRECENTO SONG CA. 1410-20

The compilation of secular song collections of the early 15th century can be said to culminate in the lavish arrangement and scope of the Squarcialupi Codex, containing 352 compositions (including 150 unica) by most of the known Trecento composers. The individual composer sections, each headed by a miniature, have long been thought to proceed in chronological order,³⁸⁰ and the identities of the more elusive authors have received much discussion: Egidio and Guglielmo

³⁸⁰ Johannes Wolf and Hans Albrecht, eds., Der Squarcialupi-Codex, Pal. 87 der biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana zu Florenz, (Leipzig, 1955), Introduction; Kurt von Fischer, "Zu Johannes Wolfs Übertragung des Squarcialupi-Codex," Die Musikforschung, IX (1956), 78; idem, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex," Quadrivium, IX (1968), 18; idem, "Squarcialupi Codex," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 16 vols., ed. Friedrich Blume (1949-79), XII, 1097-1100; Richard Hoppin, Medieval Music (New York, 1978), 448.

de Francia,³⁸¹ Johannes Organista,³⁸² Paolo Tenorista,³⁸³ and Magister Zacarias.³⁸⁴ The collection can claim particular importance in its unprecedented coverage of the works of the mid-century composers, Gherardello, Lorenzo, Donato, Vincenzo, and Nicolò, as well as Landini's younger contemporaries, Bartolino, Andrea, and Zacarias. Even more impressive, perhaps, is the high number of otherwise unknown works by Landini, despite vigorous attempts to preserve his compositions in other Florentine anthologies. Clearly, Sq represents the most ambitious effort on the part of early 15th-century Florentine compilers in assembling the native song repertory of the Trecento, combining, as we shall see, careful planning, large-scale editorial considerations, and beauty of execution in the presentation of its contents.

The present chapter examines the makeup, scribes,

381 Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1980), 193-98; *idem*, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite," Early Music History, III (1983), 96-7.

382 Frank D'Accone, "Giovanni Mazzuoli, a Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, II (1968), 23-38.

383 See Chapter 4, n. 255.

384 Nino Pirrotta, "Zacharus Musicus," Quadrivium, XII (1971), 153-75; Agostino Ziino, "Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo: alcune date e molte ipotesi," Rivista italiana di musicologia, XIV (1979), 311-48; see the discussion at the end of the present chapter.

manner of compilation, and readings of Sq, as well as the newly-discovered and related source, SL 2211. A closing section sheds new light on one of the last composers included in Sq--Magister Zacarias--further clarifying the date of the source.

Sq was first studied and inventoried by Johannes Wolf in the early years of this century.³⁸⁵ Since that time, the source has been fully described again in RISM, and its contents made available in modern editions, including Wolf's posthumous publication of 1955.³⁸⁶ In 1951 Nino Pirrotta first proposed what now appears to be an excessively late date for the MS--not earlier than 1440--pointing to the Gothic script

³⁸⁵ Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1904), I, 228-44; additions to his inventory in Friedrich Ludwig, "Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460: Besprechung des gleichnamigen Buches von Joh. Wolf," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, VI (1904-5), 613-14; idem, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, IV (1902-3), 56-7.

³⁸⁶ Répertoire internationale des sources musicales, B IV:4, Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf (Munich, 1972), 755-832. The music has appeared in multiple editions in Wolf's publication (see n. 380), Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, VI-XI (Monaco, 1967-78), ed. W. Thomas Marrocco, and The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, VIII (Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1954-64), ed. Nino Pirrotta; see also Leo Schrade, ed., The Works of Francesco Landini, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IV (Monaco, 1958). Contents and dating are discussed in von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento, Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/5, (Bern, 1956), 93-5.

and lavish decoration as manifestations of other mid 15th-century humanistic collections.³⁸⁷ Pirrotta observed that Sq, unlike other Trecento collections, could not have been a copy intended for practical use, and credits Antonio Squarcialupi (1417-80), whose name adorns the first parchment leaf, with the compilation of the anthology.³⁸⁸ This dating, also offered by Pirrotta at the 1955 Wégimont Congress,³⁸⁹ was contested by Kurt von Fischer, who claimed that the very features singled out by Pirrotta (Gothic hand and ornate style of illumination) pointed to the much earlier period, ca. 1415-20.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, "Il codice di Lucca," Musica Disciplina, V (1951), 119-20, n. 13. A slightly earlier date (1430) was offered by Ettore LiGotti, La poesia musicale italiana del secolo XIV (Palermo, 1944), 65.

³⁸⁸ Nino Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova," Musica Disciplina, IX (1955), 71; idem, "Il codice di Lucca," 119-20, n. 13.

³⁸⁹ Nino Pirrotta, "Cronologia e denominazione dell'ars nova italiana," Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 1955: L'Ars nova, recueil d'études sur la musique du XVe siècle (Paris, 1959), 95-6.

³⁹⁰ Kurt von Fischer, "Squarcialupi Codex," 1098; idem, Studien, 94-5. In the Wégimont Congress discussion on the dating of the sources ("Chronologie des manuscrits du trecento," 134-35), Pirrotta allowed that perhaps Pit could date from the early 15th century, but insisted that the style of miniatures in Sq could have continued in use beyond the period 1415-20; Bianca Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, I (1962), 165-66, 169, also dismissed Pirrotta's late dating on paleographical evidence, but would accept a post-1420 date on the basis of the erroneous identification of the Zacarias in Sq (discussed at the end of the present chapter; Wolf, in the introduction to his Sq edition, also

The source no doubt belonged at one time to the noted Florentine organist Squarcialupi, as is attested by the inscription on the opening leaf of the codex: "Questo libro è di M^o antonio di bartolomeo schuarcialupi horghanisto in sancta maria del fiore."³⁹¹ The names of later owners appear on the verso of the first leaf: Raffaele Bonamici, Antonio's nephew, and Giuliano de' Medici, in whose possession the MS can be found at the latest in 1512-13. From there the codex passed into the Laurentian library, where today it bears the call number Palatino 87.³⁹² As will be shown below, however, the bifolio bearing the names of previous owners is independent of the rest of the MS, and

leaned heavily on this Zaccar identification in proposing a post-1420 date for Sq). Pirrotta upheld his 1440s dating of Sq in "Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600," Studien zur Tradition in der Musik: Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lütolf (Munich, 1973), 54, tying the compilation of the MS to the certame coronario of 1441 in Florence, and contending that the object of pride was not so much the music as the poetry of the Trecento. See also Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," Music and Culture in Italy From the Middle Ages to the Baroque, (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 380-81, n. 3, where he concedes that 1440 may be too late a date.

³⁹¹ But not until he already held the post of organist at the Duomo in the 1430s, to judge by the title in the inscription; see Kurt von Fischer, "Antonio Squarcialupi," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, XII, 1095-96. A facsimile of the inscription is available in von Fischer, "Squarcialupi Codex," 1098.

³⁹² See Angelo Bandini, Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurenziana seu Catalogus mancriptorum qui nuper in Laurentianam translati sunt (Florence, 1793), 248; also discussed by Wolf in the introduction to his edition of Sq.

was undoubtedly tipped in after the completion of the source.³⁹³

Von Fischer and Bianca Becherini have stimulated most of the discussion surrounding Sq's provenance.³⁹⁴ The latter discounted Squarcialupi as compiler and instead sought its originator in one of the scribes of the source.³⁹⁵ She erroneously proposed, however, that an inscription on fol. 55r revealed Paolo da Firenze as compiler and perhaps scribe of the collection, reading the small, cursive note at the top of the folio as "a fato Paulus de florentia" rather than the correct "abate Paulus de florentia."³⁹⁶ A more promising clue to the questions of provenance and chronology lies in the as-yet-unresolved identification of the family

³⁹³ Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 155.

³⁹⁴ See von Fischer, "Antonio Squarcialupi" and "Paolo da Firenze"; Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi" and "L'Ars nova italiana del trecento: strumenti ed espressione musicale," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, I (1962), 51.

³⁹⁵ See also Becherini, "Communications sur Antonio Squarcialupi et notes au Cod. Palatino 87," Bericht über den Siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958, (Kassel, 1959), 65; idem, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 155-60.

³⁹⁶ This has been refuted by Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuscripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXIII (1966), 81, who argued that in no way did the inscription represent the "commosa dichiarazione dell' autore, del musicista assiduo che modestamente testimonia la sua opera" dramatically suggested by Becherini (p. 159). An earlier study had attributed the compilation of Sq to Andrea dei Servi; see Raffaello Taucci, Fra Andrea dei Servi, organista e compositore del trecento (Rome, 1935), 24.

stemma on fols. 1r and 55v (the latter marks the opening of the section set aside for Paolo's works), discussed by Becherini, von Fischer, and Günther.³⁹⁷ The stemma may be that of the Leoni family of Florence, with the qualification that the colors of the lions and the background have apparently been reversed.

A direct connection between Paolo and Sq, however probable because of the placement of the stemma on the opening page of his works, cannot stand on that evidence alone and remains to be demonstrated; as von Fischer points out, we will probably never really know whether Paolo was a Leoni.³⁹⁸ The important role Paolo must have played in the production of musical sources, and the certain Florentine origins of Sq, were convincingly shown by von Fischer in his discovery that Fl 999 must have been created in the same scriptorium as Sq--namely, Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence.³⁹⁹ Recent conclusions drawn by art historian

³⁹⁷ Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 161-63 (see facsimiles of the stemma in Tables V and VI0; von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze" 16; Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen," 82; *idem* "Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B.N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXIV (1967), 105-06.

³⁹⁸ See von Fischer "Paolo da Firenze," p. 16, n. 47, on documents concerning the Leoni family. von Fischer's report on the death of a Paolo in 1419 near Arezzo, as pointed out in Chapter 4, squares with what we now know of his whereabouts in the early 15th century.

³⁹⁹ Von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze," 7-8.

Luciano Bellosi on the artist responsible for the Sq miniatures and decoration secure the origins of the source in this Florentine scriptorium at an even slightly earlier date than had been proposed by other scholars, ca. 1410-15. The unknown artist, whose most important surviving work remains the collection of miniatures in Sq, was associated with the scriptorium of Santa Maria degli Angeli and the bottega of Lorenzo Monaco, with whom he collaborated on at least one major work. Bellosi's dating of Sq rests on the depiction of dress in the small scenes drawn at the bottom of the illuminated folios, as well as the likely dates for other work executed by the artist and stilistically closely related to Sq.⁴⁰⁰

The Structure of Sq

The MS comprises 216 parchment folios, each measuring ca. 400 X 285 mm.⁴⁰¹ In addition, a 15th-century parchment bifolio, not attached to the music folios and slightly smaller in dimensions than the rest of the volume, stands at the front of the collection. Three 19th-century paper flyleaves were added to the front of the

⁴⁰⁰ Luciano Bellosi, "Due note in margine a Lorenzo Monaco miniatore: Il 'maestro del codice Squarcialupi' e il poco probabile Matteo Torelli," Studi di storia dell' arte in memoria di Mario Rotili (Naples, 1984), 309-10.

⁴⁰¹ Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 155, gives 450 [!] X 280 mm.

volume, and two to the back.⁴⁰²

Sq contains twenty gatherings of varying size, as shown in Table 5.1.⁴⁰³ Gathering structure was identified through the evidence of hair- and flesh-sides of the parchment, as well as the generally visible stitching at the centers of gatherings. Each of the 216 folios was prepared for music with eleven six-line staves ruled in red ink, producing a writing space measuring ca. 302 X 205/210 mm. The same rastrum was used throughout the MS, and preparation of the folios for music was undoubtedly completed in a short period of time. The exquisite care and consistency with which even this step in the compilation was undertaken lends a unity to the collection that no other Trecento source can claim (it is particularly striking in the many blank-ruled folios).⁴⁰⁴ This appearance is further enhanced by extreme regularity in other matters of copying: composer attributions, foliation, style of portraiture, and the decoration of capitals and divisional bar lines. The only exceptions to the uniform ruling of folios are found on the

⁴⁰² The binding was restored in the 19th century, when it acquired the flyleaves and the title "collezione di canzoni italiani con musica" on the spine of its leather covering.

⁴⁰³ Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 155, counts eighteen gatherings.

⁴⁰⁴ RISM provides a list of blank-ruled folios, superceding Becherini's ("Antonio Squarcialupi," 155); see Table 5.1.

opening pages of the composer sections (fols. 1r, 7v, 25v, 35v, 45v, 55v, 71v, 81v, 101v, 121v, 173v, 175v, 183v, and 195v), which set aside space in the upper left-hand corner of the writing space for the large illuminated initial letters (discussed below).

The majority of composer sections begin at the front of a gathering, and many are entirely contained within a single gathering. The first of two instances in the source in which two composer sections share a gathering occurs at the start of the volume, with the works of Giovanni and Jacopo (the other is the Egidio/Guglielmo and Zacarias sections in gathering 17). Gathering 1 contains seven bifolios, with Giovanni da Cascia occupying the first half; the Jacopo section begins on fol. 7v and continues into gathering 2. Musical continuity across gathering joins (fols. 14v-15r) is rare enough in Sq to suggest that gatherings 1 and 2 were planned as a unit. One blank-ruled folio precedes the Jacopo section; seven such folios separate Jacopo's works from the Gherardello section in gathering 3, which in turn contains seven unused folios. From here to the end of the collection, the customary location for the opening of the composer sections is the first verso of a gathering.

Sections were evidently fashioned with enough space provided to contain the repertory available for each of the composers; the scribes could not, for reasons of gathering

construction and the phenomenon of conjugacy, perfectly match the number of works to the number of available folios and avoid unused pages. Unwillingness to destroy the physical integrity of the gatherings (i.e., the removal of single folios from gatherings would leave their conjugates in a vulnerable, unattached state) resulted in many "extra," folios in the volume; thus the number of blank-ruled folios cannot be taken as evidence of the extent of works planned but missing in a section. Moreover, the recto folio immediately preceding the opening page of a new section was intentionally left blank-ruled, better to demarcate the boundaries between composers (necessary between gatherings 5 and 6, 11 and 12, as well as 18 and 19). The requisite blank-ruled recto normally carries the name of the composer whose works fill the following section.⁴⁰⁵ Finally, it should be noted that the editorial decision to include composer attributions at the top of all folios in the MS, without regard to unused leaves, was an aesthetic one, diminishing the sense of waste.

Such careful calculation of allotted space for

⁴⁰⁵ The composer indications still visible appear on the following folios: 2v ("J"), 4v ("J"), 16r ("bononia"), 25r ("tosto che llalba"), 28v ("g"), 31r ("d.F"), 32r ("d.F"), 34r ("d f"), 55r ("paulus"), 56r ("abate paulus de florentia"), 57r ("...de fl"), 62r ("...de flo"), 65v ("Mag dns paulus"), 66r ("abbas [flore]ntia"), 69r ("di flo"), 70r ("di flo"), 71r ("abate..."), 81r ("ser nicholo"), 82r ("ser nicholaus [da perugia]"), 101r ("fra bartolino"), 102r ("frate barbetolino"), 174r ("frate ghiglielmo, frate gidio de francia"), 181v [!] ("frate andrea f").

repertory at hand would explain the irregularity of the gathering structure. Several single composer sections were planned to fit within quínios (Gherardello, Vincenzo, Lorenzo, Donato); Andrea was accommodated within a senio; and some of the larger sections comprise two or more gatherings which include senios in conjunction with smaller gatherings: Nicolò, in gatherings 9 and 10 (a senio and a quaternio), Landini (a senio/quaternio pair followed by a single quaternio), Johannes Organista (a senio and quinio), and Paolo (a quinio and ternio). The flexibility of the structure is particularly apparent in the seven bifolios of the first gathering, as well as the greatly expanded structure of Bartolino's ten-bifolio gathering 11; the former is probably due to the addition of a bifolio, the latter, to the combining of two gatherings into one (see the discussion below).

Table 5.1: The Structure of Sq

GATHERING 1

	GIOVANNI DA CASCIA	Agnel son bianco	1
F		Più non mi curo / La bella stella	2
	H	Sedendo all' ombra	3
		Togliendo l'una all' altra	4
	F	Nel meço a sei / Nascoso el viso	5
		H	6
		O perlaro gentil / Donna già fu' gentil	7
		F	8
		Appress' un fiume / O tu cara sciençia	9
		H	10
		Fra mille corvi	11
		BLANK-RULED	12
		F	13
	JACOPO	Sotto l'imperio	14

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

		Sotto l'imperio	8
		Aquil altera	
	*Quando veggio		9
	Nel bel giardino	Un bel sparver	10
	Posando sovr' un acqua	Non al su' amante	11
	Di novo e' giunt'	O cieco mondo	12
	Prima virtute	(M) Oselletto selvagio	13
		(C) Uselletto selvagio	
		In verde prato	14
Tanto che siat' aquistati	O dolc' apress' un bel		
(Cantus)	perlaro (Cantus)		

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 2

	Tanto che siat' (Tenor)	O dolc' apress' (Tenor)	15
F	Lo lume vostro	I' senti' già	
			16
H	*Tanto soavemente	Fenice fu et vissi	
			17
F	O in Italia	I' mi son un	
			18
H	*Vola el bel sparver	*Con gran furor	
			19
F	Si com' al canto	*Lucida petra	
			20
	*Entrava Phebo	Vestissi la cornachia	
			21
		*Straccia si panni	
			22
		BLANK-RULED	
			23
			24

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 4

		BLANK-RULED	35
H	VINCENZO	Ita se n'era star	
		(C) In forma quasi	36
H		(C) Nell' acqua chiara	
	F	*Ay scho(n) solato	37
		*Gridavan li pastor	38
	F	*Già era'l sol	
		BLANK-RULED	39
	H		40
			41
			42
			43
			44
	ccccl		



Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 5

		BLANK-RULED	
F	LORENZO	Ita sé n'era star	45
		Ita sé n'era star	46
	H	Ita sé n'era star	46
	(B) *Non so qual (1)	Ita sé n'era star	47
	F	(B) *Non vedi tu (1)	47
		Vidi nel' ombra	48
	(B) *Non perch' i' sperì (1)	Vidi nel' ombra	48
	F	Sovra la riva	49
		Nel chiaro fiume	49
	F	(B) *Sento d'amor (1)	50
		(C) A poste messe	50
	(B) *Donne e' fu (1)	*Da, a chi avaregia	51
		Di riva in riva	51
		*Come in sul fonte	52
		*Dolgom' a voi	53
		I' credo ch' i' dormiva	54
	clxiii	Povero çappator	54

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 6

	BLANK-RULED	
H		55
PAOLO TENORISTA		56
H		57
H		58
F		59
H		60
		61
		62
		63
ccclx		64

GATHERING 7

	BLANK-RULED	
H		65
F		66
H		67
		68
		69
ccxxvi		70

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 8

		BLANK-RULED	71
H	DNATO	Un bel girfalco	
			72
	F	(B) *Senti tu d'amor Seguendo 'l canto	
			73
	H	I' fu' già usignolo Lucida pecorella	
			74
	F	Un can' e un oca *D'or pomo incomincio	
			75
	H	(C) Faccia chi de' Sovran' uccello	
			76
		S'i' monacordo I' o perduto	
			77
		*Come da lupo L'aspido sordo	
			78
		I' fu' già bianc' uccel Dal cielo scese	
			79
		BLANK-RULED	
		↓	80

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 9

		BLANK-RULED	
H	NICOLO	(B) *Il megli' e	81
	(B) *Egli è mal	(B) *Chiamo non	
		Nel meço già del mar	82
H	(B) *Molto mi piace	(C) Dappoi che 'l sole	
		*Qual perseguita	83
		Povero pellegrin	84
F	(B) *Non si conosce	*O giustitia	
		(C) Passando con pensier	85
F	(B) *Non sò (1)	(B) Tal sotto	86
		Non dispregiar	87
	(B) Dio mi guardi	*Roct' è la vela	
		*Quando li raggi	88
	(B) Chi ben sofrir	Mentre che'l vago	89
	(B) *Sempre con	(B) *Stato nessun	
		(B) Ben di fortuna	90
		(B) Ciascun faccia	
		*Come selvagia fera	91
		*Tal mi fa guerra	
		*Come la gru	92
		*It' a veder	
ccccxxviii	(B) *De come ben	Benché partir da te	

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 10

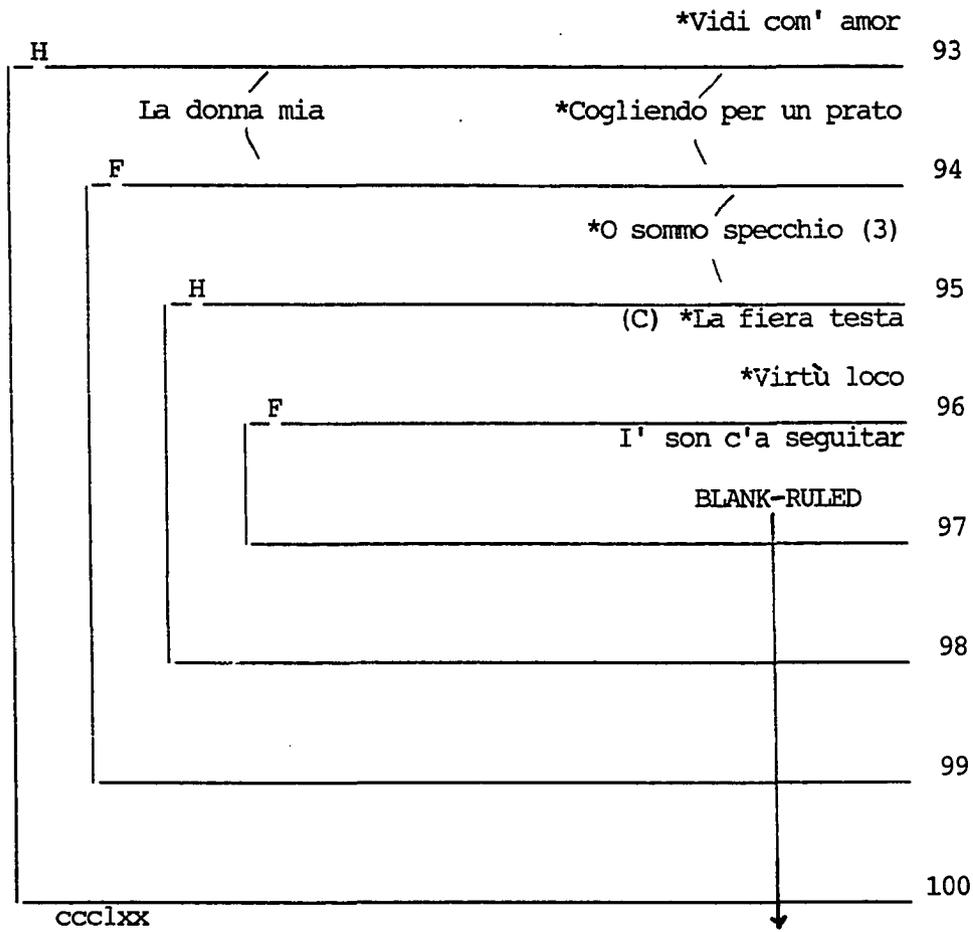


Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 11		BLANK-RULED	
H	BARTOLINO	(M) La douce çere (3)	101
F		(M) I be' serbianti (3)	102
	(B) Sempre si trova		
H		(B) La sacrosancta carità	103
	(B) Per subito comando		
F		(M) La fiera testa	104
	(B) Per figura		
H		(M) Alba colonba (3)	105
	(B) *Strinçe la mano		
F		(M) Quel sole	106
	(M) Quando la terra		
H		(M) L'aurate chiome	107
	(B) *Quando necessità		
F		(M) Donna legiadra	108
	(B) Amor che nel pensier		
H		(M) Inperial sedendo	109
F		(B) Madonna ben ch' i' miri	110

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

					(B) Qual novità	111
			H		(B) Miracolosa tuo sembiança	
					(B) Chi tempo ha	112
			F		(B) Senpre donna	
					(M) Se premio di virtù	113
			H			
					(B) Quel degno	
					(B) Chi può servir	
			F		(B) El no me giova (3)	114
					(B) Perche cançat' e 'l mondo	115
			H		(B) *Serva chi può	
					(B) Non correr troppo (3)	116
			F		(B) *L'invidia per lo ben	
					(B) Ricorditi di me	117
			H		(B) Tanto di mio cor	
					(B) *Nel sommo grado	118
			F		(B) Ama chi t'ama	
					(B) *Tuo gentil cortesia	119
			H			
					(B) Gioia di novi odori	
					(M) Qual legge move	
			F		(B) Per un verde boschetto (3)	120

cccccl

(B) Per un verde boschetto (3)

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 12

		BLANK-RULED	
F	FRANCESCO LANDINI	(M) Musica son (3)	121
H		(M) Tu che l'oper altrui	122
		(M) Fa metter bando	123
F	(B) Angelica biltà	(M) Si dolçe non sono	124
H		(M) Mostronmi amor	125
		(M) Non a Narcisso	126
F	(B) *Chi più le vuol	(C-M) *De, dinmi tu (3)	127
		(M) Per la 'nfluenca	128
	(B) La bioda tregça	(M) Lucea nel prato	129
H		(M) *Somma felicita	130
		(M) O pianta vagha	131
		(C) Così pensoso	132
		(M) Una colonba	133
	(B) *Amor con fede	(B) Muort' orama' (3)	134
		(B) Che pena è (3)	135
		(B) L'alma mie piange (3)	136
		(B) Lasso per mie fortuna (3)	137
		(B) Cosa nulla più fe' (3)	138
cccccc		(B) Lasso di donna vana (3)	139

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 13

		Gentil aspetto (3)	133
F		Gram piant' agli ochi (3)	
		Non arà ma' pietà (3)	
	H	*Nella tuo luce (2) Non do la colp' a te (3)	134
		*Echo la primavera (2) A le' s'andrà (2)	
		*Occhi dolenti (2) *Benchè crudele (2)	135
	F	*Ognor mi trovo (2) *I' piango lasso (2)	
		Non creder donna (2) *I' vegio (2)	136
		Selvagia fera (3)	
	H	*Se la vista soave (2)	137
		S'i' fossi (3) Questa fanciulla (3)	
	F	*Po' che di simil (2) Quel sol (3)	138
		*Tante belleçe (2) Nella partita (2)	
		Ne'n ciascun mie pensiero (3)	139
		*Arà tu pietà (2) *Altri n'arà la pena (2)	
		Amor c' al tuo sugetto (3) La mala lingua (2)	140
		Or e tal l'alma mia (2) Ma' non s'andrà (2)	
		Oyme el core (2) Il suo bel viso (2)	141
		*Orsun gentili spiriti (3)	
		S' i' ti son stato (2) Poychè da te (2)	142

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 14				
			*Per la mia dolçe piaga (3)	143
F			Quanto più care fay (3)	
		De pon quest' amor (2)	*Donna con vo' rimane (2)	144
	H	*Donna perchè (2)	De non fugir da me (2)	
		*Duolsi la vita (2)	Donna i' prego amor (3)	145
			D'amor mi biasmo (2)	
	F	*Debba l'anim' (3)	De volgi gli ochi (2)	146
			Donna per farmi guerra (3)	
	H	*Donna tu prendi (2)	El gran disio (3)	147
			Fortuna ria (2)	
	F	El mie dolçe sospir (3)	*Fior di dolçeça (2)	148
			Gli ochi (2) *Fatto m' a serva (2)	
	H	*De che mi (2)	*Donna languir (2)	149
		Donna 'l tuo (3)	*De sospirar (2)	
		La dolce vista (2)	*Dappoi che vedi (2)	150
		La mente (3)	Donna che d'amor (2)	
		*Dappo' c'a te (2)	*Donna la mia (2)	151
		Donna l'animo tuo (2)	*L'aspecto e qui (2)	
			Amor in uom gentil (3)	152
		Convien s' a fede (3)	*Benchè la bionda treça (2)	
			Contemprar le gran cose (3)	153
		Com' al seguir costei (2)	Donna se'l cor (2)	
			Posto che dall' aspetto (3)	154
		cccccxvii	Partesi con dolore (3)	

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 15

		*L'onesta tuo biltà (2)	155
F		L'antica fiamma (2)	
	L'alma legiadra (2)	*Abbonda di virtù (2)	156
	H	Amar si li alti (3)	
		*Altera luce (2)	
		Chi pregio vuol (2)	157
	F	Co' gli ochi (2)	
		Che fa' che pensi (2)	
		Donna s' i' t' o fallito (2)	158
	H	Benchè ora piova (2)	
		*Dappoi che va (2)	
		Per allegreça (2)	159
		*Nessun provo giama' (2)	
	H	O fanciulla Giulia (3)	
		*Già d'amore (2)	160
		Giovine vaga (2)	
		*Giovine donna (2)	
		Giunta vaga biltà (3)	161
		*Cara mie donna (3)	
		Guard' una volta (3)	162
		I' priego amor (3)	
		Nessun ponga speranza (3)	163
		Che cos' è quest' amore (3)	
		Caro signor palesa (3)	164
		Perchè di novo sdegno (3)	
		Adiu dous dame (3)	
		Ama donna chi t'ama (2)	

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 16

	Vaga fanciulla (2)	*Per la belleca (2)	165
F	I' fu' tuo serv' (2)	Po' che partir (3)	
		Per seguir la speranza (3)	166
	*Chi più le vuol (2)	*Per un amante (2)	
	Vita non è (2)	S'andra' sança merçe (2)	167
		*Se la nimica mie (2)	
	Po' c' amor (2)	Non per fallir di me (2)	168
	Per servar umilta (2)	Nella mie vita (3)	
	H	Nella più cara (2) Già perch' i' penso (2)	169
	In somm' alteçà (2)	Già non biasim' (3)	
		Se pronto non sarà (2)	170
	*Senpre giro caendo (2)	Sie maladetta l'ora (2)	
	*Viditi donna (2)	Va' pure amore (2)	171
		BLANK-RULED	
			172

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 17

			BLANK-RULED		
H	EGIDIO	Mille merçe	Piacesse a dio	173	
	GUGLIELMO				
		*Donna s'amor	Tutta soletta	*Alta serena	174
	F			174	
			BLANK-RULED		
			↓		
	F	CACHERIAS	*Non voler donna	*Ferito gia	175
		*Movit' a	Benchè lontan	Dicovi per certança	176
		F	(C) Cacciando per gustar	177	
			Sol mi trafigge'l cor		
			BLANK-RULED	178	
				179	
				180	
				181	
				182	
			↓		
	ccccclxvii				

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 18		BLANK-RULED	
H	ANDREA		183
	*La divina giustitia (2)	*Donna bench' i' mi parta (3)	
			184
H		*Presuntion de ignoranca (3)	
		Donna se raçi (2)	
			185
H	*Cosa crudel m'ancide (2)	*Dal traditor (2)	
		*Amor già lungo tempo (3)	
			186
F	*Astio non moï may (3)	*E più begli ochi (3)	
			187
F		*Sotto candido vel (3)	
		*Perchè languir mi fay (2)	
			188
F	*Che ch'altra (2)	*Amor i' mi (2)	
	*Morra (2)	*Voi non (2)	
			189
	*Non isperi (2)	*Fugite Gianni (2)	
		*De quanto fa (2)	
			190
	*Dolce speranza (2)	*Questa legiadra (2)	
		*Donna se per te (2)	
			191
		*Per la ver' honesta (2)	
		*Non già per mie fallir (2)	
			192
		*Pianto non partira (3)	
		*De che faro (3)	
			193
		*Non più dogli' ebbe Dydo (3)	
		*Perchè veder non posso (3)	
			194
cccccx	*Per fanciulleça (3)	*Filipaion di fin' or (2)	

Table 5.1 (cont'd)

GATHERING 19

	BLANK-RULED	
F		195
JOHANNES ORGANISTA		
		196
F		197
F		198
H		199
F		200
H		201
		202
		203
		204
		205
		206
ccccx [?]	↓	

GATHERING 20

	BLANK-RULED	
F		207
H		208
F		209
H		210
F		211
		212
		213
		214
		215
		216
ccccxxv [?]	↓	

As can be seen in Table 5.1, however, one serious flaw in matters of uniformity exists in the break in regularity of hair and flesh sides. Half of the gatherings begin with hair sides (see numbers 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, and 18), the other half with flesh. Moreover, a break in Gregory's rule occurs within gatherings 4 and 17, where a number of facing folios do not match; in gathering 17 it may be due to the addition of a second composer section to the gathering. The break in regularity in gathering 4 may be explained as a function of the work of two scribes (see below).

One unusual aspect of the Sq gatherings concerns the presence of a set of cursive roman folio numbers in the lower left-hand corners of many final versos (see Table 5.1). The following numbers (all in the same hand and dark ink except for that on 54v) are visible even on microfilm copies of the source: fols. 34v (ccclxx), 44v (ccccl), 54v (clxiii), 64v (ccclx), 70v (ccxxvi), 92v (ccccxxviii), 100v (ccclxx), 120v (cccccl), 132v (cccccc), 154v (ccccccxvii), 182v (cccclxvii), 194v (ccccccx), 206v (cccccx [?]), and 216v (cccxxv [?]). These numbers, and the disposition of their host folios in the gatherings, do not follow a reasonable sequential order (i.e., gathering 3 could perhaps have followed gathering 6, but 12 and 18 could not have been proximate for repertorial reasons). The numerals may suggest, however, that the material intended for another

source, but not yet copied, was employed instead for the making of Sq.⁴⁰⁶

The only other indication of MS structure exists in the few gathering signatures still visible, entered in a hand other than the one responsible for the older roman foliation discussed above:

Gathering 1: letter "a" at the bottom of folio 8r.

Gathering 2: "b1" through "b5" on the rectos of fols. 15-19.

Gathering 5: "d2" through "d5" on the rectos of fols. 46-49. A signature at the bottom of fol. 45r is illegible.

Gathering 6: signatures at the recto bottom of fols. 56-59 are illegible.

Gathering 7: "6," "7," and "8," at the bottom of fols. 65r, 66r, and 67r, respectively.

⁴⁰⁶ If instead the parchment of Sq was reused material from another source, it would represent the most thorough scraping and pumicing known to me. Those numbers still visible were meant to be trimmed at some point. Most intriguing of all is the fact that only the outer bifolios of Sq gatherings, if any, carry the roman numerals. One possible explanation for this is that the outer bifolios of the other source were chosen to have the same function in their new volume (outer bifolios would already have a gutter wide enough easily to accomodate the bifolios of gatherings).

Gathering 8: "c1" through "c4" on the rectos of fols. 71-74. A signature at the bottom of fol. 75r is illegible.

Gathering 9: illegible signatures on fols. 82r and 85r.

Gathering 10: four slashes at the bottom of fol. 96r.

Gathering 16: an arabic "23" at the bottom of fol. 171r.

Gathering 20: arabic "1," "4," and "5" at bottom of fols. 207r, 210r, and 211r.]

The procedure followed in laying out the gatherings of Sq appears to have begun with choosing the fourteen bifolios intended to contain the opening works in each composer section. Although these bifolios were prepared for copying along with the others, they received special care in formatting their specially decorated page, and were sent to the artist for the drawing of the "portrait" pages before being joined with the rest of the leaves.⁴⁰⁷ As is apparent from differences in size and care of the script within

⁴⁰⁷ See the Nicolò opening page (fol. 81v), where the portrait rendered one staff useless; most portrait pages were pricked with many holes, probably a result of being pinned down to a wooden board during the drawing.

sections, the compositions intended for these fourteen bifolios were copied apart from the others, probably before the rest of their sections were begun (see in particular the opening and close of gatherings 5 and 18).

If the standard gathering size of the parchment leaves employed for Sq was a senio, the absence of roman numeration in some gatherings may be explained as resulting from the removal of the outer bifolio to form a quinio; or their presence in a quinio would suggest the removal of the inner bifolio of a senio. This procedure is clearest in the Landini gatherings, where the senios bear roman numeration, but the quinios--and the quaternio--do not. With the number and size of gatherings set, and after the music was copied, the hand responsible for the composer catchwords foliated most of the twenty gatherings with small, cursive roman numerals placed in the middle of the right margins of the rectos.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁸ The internal changes within gatherings, and the manner of copying the Landini gatherings in particular, are not reflected in the cursive foliation guide numbers (see below). The only change necessitated after this seems to have been caused by a combination of error and the insertion or replacement of folios in gathering 1, for the cursive foliation there has been changed on every recto with an increase of two numbers, starting from at least fol. 10 (although fol. 5 has several corrections in it; i.e., the small cursive numeral was originally "iii," subsequently changed to "v"; "viii" was changed to "x"; "viii" to "xi"; "xi" has been transformed into "xiii" by the addition of two is). Bifolio 3/12 is a replacement by a different scribe, probably Scribe B; note that fol. 3 carries an arabic "3" as the only foliation guide number, and that fol. 12 is clean but for the final red and blue number. The ink guide numbers were followed slavishly, as can be seen on fol. 91r, where an original cursive "lxxxviii" was changed mistakenly to a

In addition to the final red and blue set added after the completion of work, two other systems of foliation exist in Sq: one appears to be contemporaneous with the compilation, and the other is modern (19th century?); both are in pencil, in arabic numerals in the lower center and right, respectively, of recto folios. The newer set always agrees with the final red and blue roman numerals. The older sequence (shown below), now badly faded, presents further evidence of manipulation that the leaves of Sq underwent, probably just prior to and during the entering of the black-ink cursive guide numbers in the middle of the right-hand margins:

A "24" on present fol. 33r may indicate that gathering 3 may at one time have followed directly after 1, and that Jacopo's works may have been contained on present fols. 7v-14r. At that very early stage of planning the insertion of present gathering 2 was made before the addition of gathering 4; the older penciled numbers at the bottom of folios 37, 38, and 41 agree with the final numbering.

"lxxxi" instead of a "lxxxxi" and the error was repeated in the large red and blue number. This pattern continues throughout the MS, save for the final gathering, which undoubtedly received its preliminary cursive foliation subsequent to this adjustment.

The older numbers visible in gatherings 5-12 all agree with the final 15th-century foliation (49r, 59r, 61r, 62r, 66r, 67r, 70r, 79r, 80r, 82r, 86r, 88r, 90r, 96r, 98r, 101r, 111r, 115r, 131r, 132r).

Significant changes from old (sometimes two numbers) to final foliation numbers are found in the Landini ballata section (gatherings 13-16), and there are slight changes in the Guglielmo/Egidio, Zacarias, and Andrea sections. As will be examined below, the manner in which the Landini ballatas were copied in smaller units of single bifolios, binios, and ternios, and then put together, would account for the reshuffling of leaves in his gatherings; some of the numbers remained the same. The following older penciled foliation is still visible (present foliation precedes the older number): 139 (142), 141 (144), 147 (150), 149 (149), 155 (158 and 165), 159 (162 or 163, and 149), 161 (164 or 169 [lower right]), 167 (167), 169 (172 and 169 [lower center]), 172 (172).

In gathering 17 the following older numerals are visible (older foliation is within parentheses): 180 (179), 181 (180). In gathering 18: 186 (183), 192 (189). In gatherings 19 and 20: 197 (193), 198 (201), 199 (192?), 200 (196), 202 (195), 203 (199),

204 (200), 208 (205), 209 (206), 210 (207), 212
(203).

The Illuminated Capitals

The fourteen exquisitely rendered Sq miniatures have been discussed at some length by Paolo D'Ancona and Luciano Bellosi.⁴⁰⁹ From a stylistic point of view scholars have differed on their assessments of consistency and unity in the portraits: recently, Mirella Levi D'Ancona has proposed that several were the work of different artists; Becherini felt that the miniature of Zacarias was not in the same style as the others; Bellosi, instead, sees the final miniature, that of Johannes Organista, as perhaps the odd one in the volume, but stresses that they all are substantially alike.⁴¹⁰ The manner in which the composers are represented no doubt reflects the way in which they were viewed (ideally or realistically) by the early 15th-century

⁴⁰⁹ Paolo D'Ancona, La miniatura fiorentina (Florence, 1914), I, 33-34; Luciano Bellosi, "Due note." Facsimiles have been included for all entries of the Sq composers (with the exception of Zacarias) in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980); Giovanni da Cascia, however, has inadvertently been given the portrait of Johannes Organista (see vol. VI, 400). The Zacarias miniature is reproduced in Bellosi, "Due note," Fig. 11, and at the end of the present chapter, Fig. 5.1.

⁴¹⁰ See Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Bartolomeo di Fruosino," The Art Bulletin, XXII (1961), 87-88; Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 169; Bellosi, "Due note," 313, n. 17; von Fischer would also attribute all of the miniatures to one artist ("Paolo da Firenze," 18).

Florentine elite.⁴¹¹

The decoration of these portrait pages, including the name of the composer held aloft in a banner by a putto who points to the author within the decorated capital, continues around the left margins and culminates in a scene depicted at the bottom of the folio. These scenes serve to illustrate the verbal content of the composition on that page.⁴¹² Thus, Giovanni da Cascia's madrigal, Agnel son bianco, is illustrated with the drawing of a white lamb; Gherardello's caccia, Tosto che l'alba, is accompanied by a scene from a hunt; Lorenzo and Vincenzo's settings of Ita se n'era star, with scenes of a young woman collecting flowers (described in the first tercet of the madrigal); Nicolò's Nel mezzo già del mar la navicella, with a boat out at sea; and Zacarias' Ferito già d'un amoroso dardo, a scene showing a lover's heart about to be pierced by his beloved.⁴¹³ In this context the falcon and crow framing the family stemma at the bottom of fol. 55v suggest that Paolo Tenorista's missing opening composition, generally taken to be his madrigal Godi Firenze, was more likely to have been

⁴¹¹ Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino 'extra moenia'," Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal, III (1952), 581.

⁴¹² Bellosi, "Due note," 309.

⁴¹³ Facsimile in Bellosi, "Due note," Figs. 11 and 18.

the madrigal Girand' un bel falcon.⁴¹⁴

Composers known for their abilities and careers as organists are depicted with organettos: Landini, Johannes Organista, and Andrea. Lorenzo is shown playing a psaltery, which may have implications for his role as a theorist. The others are drawn holding a book or rotulus, presumably containing their music or, perhaps, treatise. The latter may be the most reasonable explanation for Paolo's portrait, in which the composer is shown instructing a student.⁴¹⁵

Most interesting of all is the dress and physical appearance of the composers. We may note that several are not clothed in clerical vestments (Giovanni, Jacopo, Nicolò, and Landini), but are depicted instead with full heads of hair and elegant robes. Giovanni da Cascia's dress appears to have been made deliberately archaic to suit the period of his activity (early to mid-14th century). Guglielmo and

⁴¹⁴ Paolo is drawn within a capital G on fol. 55v; see Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 159 and Plates V and VI; von Fischer, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 1098 and "Paolo da Firenze" 18. The composition is attributed to Paolo in SL 2211 (see Table 5.7) and first reported by Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," Studi musicali, XIII (1984), 12. The first work by Johannes Organista, on fol. 195v of Sq, remains a mystery, for his compositions identified in SL 2211 thus far (see Table 5.7) have not yielded one beginning with the letter C which can be paired with the scene of young girls dancing to the music of two instrumentalists (bottom of fol. 195v).

⁴¹⁵ Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 161. On Paolo as theorist, see Albert Seay, "Paolo Tenorista: A Trecento Theorist," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, I (1962), 118-40.

Egidio da Francia are shown as Augustinians, and the master's beret probably identifies the figure meant to be Guglielmo.⁴¹⁶ Gherardello is shown as a young tonsured cleric in red vestments. We know he was a member of the Vallambrosian order (a branch of the Benedictines), but have no details on the color of robes of this particular group.⁴¹⁷ The other Benedictines, to judge by their black dress, are Vincenzo da Imola (an abbot, and variously known as "da Imola" or "de Ariminio"),⁴¹⁸ Donato da Cascia, and Paolo da Firenze.⁴¹⁹ Bartolino da Padova, known as "Frater Carmelitus" in Mod (fol. 121r), is shown as a member of the Carmelite order, with a pure white tunic and hood.⁴²⁰ I shall include a brief discussion of the physical attributes of the composers

⁴¹⁶ See n. 381, above; Long notes the reversal of names between the cursive indication of the composers at the top of fol. 174r and the banner names in red and blue ("frate ghiglielmo, frate gidio de francia" vs. "Egidius et Guilielmus de Francia").

⁴¹⁷ See Frank D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinità, 1360-1363," Quadrivium, XII (1971), 142-150; but D'Accone points out that the color of the Vallambrosian robe was grey. Another red robe is shown in the miniature of Nicolo da Perugia; see Stephen Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ., 1974), 1-2.

⁴¹⁸ Michael Long, "Musical Tastes," 111-14.

⁴¹⁹ There is little doubt that Paolo was a Benedictine and abbot of an important house near Arezzo as early as 1400 (see Chapter 4).

⁴²⁰ See Pierluigi Petrobelli "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), 86-7.

in the analysis of the Zacarias portrait at the end of the present chapter.

Text Scribe

The verbal text is the work of a skilled, beautiful gothic hand, capable of maintaining consistency throughout a long project such as Sq. Traits include the following: Distinctively executed miniscule g and h, as well as majuscule M, F, P, and A. Bimorphism in miniscule r and a, as well as capital M and E. A compact, unornamented hand with consistent use of ligatures, short descenders and ascenders, and an excellent ability to space the text in order to facilitate overlay of music by Scribes A-D. Some use of punti sottoscritti to mark verbal elisions; concern with music/text alignment also shown by the frequent copying of the second piede of ballatas in the body of the piece (i.e., doubly laid text). Carefully drawn abbreviation marks; noted especially for one which resembles a small custos. The text residuum has been clearly laid out; where space permits, line endings coincide with the ends of poetic lines; use of a hierarchical set of punctuation marks, with double slashes indicating the end of internal sections, and three or more slashes, the end of the piece (also uses a horizontal dash ending stroke). The text scribe also entered guide letters for the eventual drawing of capitals in alternating red and blue ink.

The Music Scribes of Sq

Uniformity of appearance has led writers to describe Sq as the work of a single hand.⁴²¹ As we shall see, much of this is due to the presence of a single text hand (in which some apparent differences are due to changes in writing instrument or sharpness of pen nib) and a single style of miniatures, ornamented capital letters, and other decorative features (discussed below). Additionally, a great effort was made to avoid the signs of error and sloppiness: e.g., text coordinating lines, music or text not contained within the boundaries of the writing space, and overwriting (as opposed to scraping). Von Fischer was the first to observe the work of at least two or three similar hands. He proposed that gatherings 1 and 2 had been copied by a single hand (I take this to mean the music hand), which seems to return in the works of Lorenzo in gathering 5. A second, larger hand was noted by von Fischer in gathering 3 (Gherardello), and seen to return in the works of Andrea in gathering 18. Von Fischer's possible third hand in the Vincenzo gathering (no. 4), I believe, is the same as that in the preceding section, his first.⁴²²

I agree with von Fischer's distinction between the

⁴²¹ Kurt von Fischer, "Squarcialupi Codex," 1098; Becherini and Tauci implied that Sq was the work of a single scribe (see n. 396, above).

⁴²² Von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze," 18-19.

first two hands, which I have labeled Scribes A and B.

A fresh examination of the collection reveals the work of two other music scribes, C and D, in gatherings 12-18. The copying of these four scribes may be summarized as follows:

Gatherings 1 and 2: Scribe A, with the exception of bifolio 3/12, copied by Scribe B.

Gatherings 3 and 4: Scribe B; bifolios 36/43 and 37/42 are replacements by the same scribe.

Gatherings 5 and 8: Scribe A.

Gatherings 9, 10, and 11: Scribe B.

Gathering 12: Scribe C.

Gathering 13: Scribes D (133r-134v), C (135r-135v), D (136r-139v), C (140r-140v), and D (141r-142v).

Gathering 14: Scribes D (143r-143v), C (144r), B (144v-148v), C (149r-149v), B (150r-152v, bottom of 153r), C (top of 153r-153v), and D (154r-154v).

Gathering 15: Scribes C (155r-158v), D (159r-160v), and C (161r-164v).

Gatherings 16 and 17: Scribe D.

Gathering 18: Scribes C (183v-184r), and B (184v-194v).

As is clear even from a cursory examination of this collection, every effort was made by the music scribes of Sq to approximate a single style of music script, including such details as the drawing of accidentals, custodes, clefs and signatures. The following scribal traits point up only those elements which help to distinguish the work of the four scribes:

Scribe A

A small, but well-proportioned hand; almost square-shaped semibreve body; long custodes; punti divisiones generally placed to lower right of notes; boldly drawn mensuration letters, most often with four framing dots; a change in style of B-flat signature, from the shape with two lozenges and opposing stems in gatherings 1 and 2, to the normal flat sign (stem and bowl) in gatherings 5 and 8.

Scribe B

Generally a larger hand than A's; longer lozenge shape for semibreves and minims; but less proportioned larger values (longs tend to be short and stocky; large breves); flats have long ascenders with an open bowl (in gathering 11, he uses Scribe A's first type of flat in signature as well as the normal flat sign [see fol. 104r]); mensuration letters are made with thin, hesitant strokes and

clearly different from A's (see the .p. and .q. on fol. 26r); generally shorter custodes tails than A's; void notes have rounded sides; insertion of word/separation strokes in the text.

Scribe C

A very large hand, even compared with B's, evident in the drawing of semibreves, breves, and oblique ligatures; generally very short custodes tails; void notes angled on both sides (\diamond).

Scribe D

An extremely thin, refined hand; well-proportioned size of breves, longs, and oblique ligatures to semibreves and minims; long stems; generally long custodes tails; some very small, finely drawn accidentals; void notes rounded on the right side (\diamond). MS I-Bu 596 may also be the work of this scribe.

Much of the beauty of Sq's contents can be attributed to its decorative elements: the capitals, double-bar ornaments, and highlighting. None of these appear to have been executed by the music scribes or text scribe. These elements are often lacking on portrait pages, folios which may have not all been available along with the rest of the MS at the time the decorative elements were entered. Changes in the style of the decoration of divisional bar

lines does not coincide with changes in music scribes: from the elaborate geometrical patterns with framing floral or grape-cluster decoration in gatherings 1, 2, 5, and the outer folios of 8, to the often simpler style of gatherings 3, 4, and 11-18.⁴²³ The mixture of styles, often with demarcations of changes at beginnings and endings of gatherings, would indicate the possibility of one person working at different times (cf. divisional bar lines in gathering 8 and those in gatherings 1 and 2). These bar-line decorations were probably drawn by the person, or persons, responsible for the capitals; note the style of the framing, fine line ornaments in both, as well as the same type of filigree often added to punctuation and ending strokes of internal capitals.

Time gaps and layers in the compilation surely account for the manner in which the yellow highlighting was accomplished. We find highlighting in gatherings 1 and 2 (with the exception of bifolio 3/12), 5 (not on 52v), and the opening folios of gatherings 13 (133r), 16 (165r), and 17 (173v). Generally, the variously dark and light yellow

⁴²³ Often including short spurs on the sides and one on top directed at a 45-degree angle to the right; note the lack of divisional bar ornaments on replacement fols. 37v, 51v-52r. The simplicity of some divisional bars in the Donato section may be compared with those at the beginning of the MS, but see a return to the older style on fols. 71v-73r. An ornamented bar line on fol. 185r contains a clef within it (suggesting that the decoration was done by a person other than the music scribe).

wash covers (1) letters following colored capitals, (2) ornamented divisional bar lines, (3) some punctuation, (4) lines connecting parts across an opening, and, in one case, (5) the important words in a caccia text (Lorenzo's A poste messe on fol. 49v). All compositions were to be provided with colored, ornamental capitals at the beginnings of their voice parts (Cantus, Tenor, and, if present, Contratenor).⁴²⁴ The text scribe also entered guide letters for what can be termed secondary capitals--those at the beginning of the ritornello and piedi sections in madrigals and ballatas, respectively. He almost consistently differentiated between the two genres by requiring capitals in the second section of madrigals only.⁴²⁵

We may conclude from the evidence presented above that Scribe A planned the first part of the collection. He was responsible for four gatherings, marking their order with signatures: gatherings 1 and 2 (Giovanni and Jacopo), 8

⁴²⁴ Most of the omissions fall on portrait pages, which may not have been available for some reason at the time the capitals were entered; some may be oversights (see fols. 35v, 38v, 121v, 135r, 150v, 176r-176v).

⁴²⁵ See gatherings 1-4, 8-10, 12-16, where some capitals are missing, but the guide letters are still present (e.g., fols. 6r, 9r, 19v, 35v); we may note, however, that in Lorenzo's gathering 5, secondary capitals were provided for four out of the five ballatas, and the Bartolino gathering is also inconsistent in this regard (some ballatas have secondary capitals, others do not).

(Donato), and 5 (Lorenzo).⁴²⁶ The original order was not kept, perhaps the doing of the other major collaborator, Scribe B, who seems to have been responsible for planning the remainder of the collection: Gherardello and Vincenzo in gatherings 3 and 4, Nicolò and Bartolino in gatherings 9-11, most of Andrea's section in gathering 18, and collaborating with Scribes C and D in the massive collecting and copying of Landini's oeuvre in gatherings 12-16.

The various stages of copying and decoration took place in the following order: (1) the size of each composer section was carefully planned, and gatherings were formed (this does not mean that their order was necessarily determined; nor does this include Landini's section, discussed at length below); (2) the parchment was ruled for copying, including the special format needed for the portrait folios; (3) the fourteen bifolios intended for composer portraits were given to the artist for their execution; (4) text, and then music, was copied into the fourteen sections, with some adjustments (the replacement folios discussed above in the early gatherings; the possibility of a more complicated procedure for the Landini section is discussed below); (5) the hand responsible for the cursive guide names for composer sections also provided

⁴²⁶ Note that Scribe A's gatherings are the ones without--or with trimmed--roman numerals at the bottom versos of the outer bifolios; the "clxiii" in gathering 5 was entered in a lighter ink than the rest.

cursive folio numbers throughout (small adjustment at the start of the source necessitated emendation throughout); (6) completion of the anthology finally included the drawing of red and blue capitals and folio numbers, the addition of composer attributions at the top of all openings (including the incomplete "Magister Jouannes" on the final verso of the MS), and the small-scale decoration of smaller capitals and divisional bar lines, some with yellow highlighting.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁷ All of these post-music-copying elements were entered in layers, probably reflecting the various steps in the completion of work by the music scribes.

The Repertory in Sq

Sq represents an editorial effort on a grand scale, not unlike more recent musicological endeavors. The compilers attempted to collect the complete works of all prominent native musicians, both past and present. Notable omissions include the following: (1) the works of Piero; (2) early repertory in general;⁴²⁸ (3) late Trecento composers practically unknown in Florence (Ciconia, Antonio da Cividale, and other Paduan-related composers); (4) compositions in ars subtilior style; and (5) French-texted works.⁴²⁹ Giovanni and Jacopo were no doubt considered "classical" authors; both had enjoyed coverage in important Florentine collections, especially FP, Lo, and Pit. The remarkable expansion of the repertory occurs with mid-century Florentine composers Gherardello, Donato, and Lorenzo, and includes Nicolò, who had had close ties with Florentine litterati.⁴³⁰ Extensive sections were set aside for Florentines active at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, including the organists Landini,

⁴²⁸ LiGotti, La Poesia musicale, 64. See the discussion to follow for the compositions by Giovanni included in FP but lacking in Sq.

⁴²⁹ The two exceptions are Bartolino's madrigal La douce gere (fols. 101v-102r) and Landini's virelai Adiu douce dame (fol. 164v).

⁴³⁰ See Nicolò's settings of texts by Franco Sacchetti and Nicolò Soldanieri; von Fischer, "Niccolò da Perugia," The New Grove, XIII, 203-04.

Andrea, and Giovanni Mazzuoli (Johannes Organista), and the enigmatic Paolo Tenorista, who may have been involved with the compilation of the MS. Smaller sections were devoted to composers with less prominent positions in Florentine musical circles: Guglielmo and Egidio de Francia, Augustinians at Santo Spirito, and Zacarias, whose presence in Sq can now be explained more easily, for he is to be identified as Antonius Zacharias de Teramo, a singer and composer in the chapel of Pope John XXIII. The almost exclusively Italian focus of Sq is most readily seen in the Zacarias songs it contains: of eighteen secure secular works (and three others that can reasonably be attributed to him) Sq's Scribe D included only six ballatas and one caccia (see the discussion of Zacar's identity at the end of the present chapter).

The thoroughness of coverage was noted by Ludwig, who remarked that the Sq scribes must have searched extensively to correct errors and to offer works as complete as possible.⁴³¹ Von Fischer has discussed the percentages of composers' works in the MS, as well as their arrangement within sections: separation of madrigals from ballatas, and two- from the three-voice ballatas.⁴³² What has not been

⁴³¹ Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik" 58; see also LiGotti, La poesia musicale, 65.

⁴³² Von Fischer, Studien, 93-4.

fully appreciated are the editorial policies operative in Sq regarding the order of compositions and the far-from-haphazard placement of unica and problematic works.

In the Giovanni da Cascia section in gathering 1 Scribe A was clearly working from an established order of compositions, especially at the start of the gathering (see Table 5.1). While in the Rs 215/Os we do not find a sequence comparable to that of later sources (La bella stella is on fols. 23v-[24r] and Nascoso el viso is on fols. 18v-19r), a set pattern begins to appear as early as FP. The latter MS contains an extensive collection of Giovanni's works, a significant number of which was lost by the time Pit and Sq were compiled.⁴³³ This loss, together with that of Piero (also included in FP), can be taken as a measure of the distance between Giovanni's activity and the anthologies of early 15th-century Florence--indeed, between the compilation of FP and the later sources Pit, Sq, and SL 2211. In SL 2211, copied ca. 1420 (see the discussion at the end of the chapter) none of the FP unica appear, despite the fact that both MSS include a special caccia section (in which most of the unique works are found at the hands of

⁴³³ The order of compositions by Giovanni da Cascia in FP (asterisks denote unica): La bella stella, Agnel son bianco, Nascoso el viso, Appress' un fiume chiaro, De sotto'l verde, O tu cara scienza, Sedendo all' ombra, *De come dolçemente, Più non mi curo, *Quando la stella, Nel meço a sei pagon, Togliendo l'un' all'altro, Donna già fu, O perlaro gentil, *Per ridd' andando, *In su la rippa, *Con brachi assai, *Per larghi prati, *Nel bosco sença foglie.

FP's Scribe D). If no progress beyond the collecting capabilities of Sq's scribes are observable in SL 2211, then the similarities between their Giovanni sections is all the more remarkable: the later source all but duplicates Sq's collection.

The best-known of Giovanni's madrigals were placed at the head of the section in Sq--Agnel son bianco, La bella stella. Conversely, the final work, the madrigal Fra mille corvi on fol. 6v, may have been unique to Sq in some sense, at least as a work of Giovanni, for it is known only in the later SL 2211 (also in last position). The fact that Fra mille corvi does not appear in FP, and the suspicion that SL 2211 relied heavily on older repertory already circulating in Florence, would place Fra mille corvi in a tenuous position within the Giovanni works.

We may also note that some of the compositions placed at the bottom of folios (cf. Table 5.1) may not have enjoyed the same status and authority as those on top, both in terms of dissemination and reliability of readings (although this is by no means a hard and fast situation). The madrigal Più non mi curo at the bottom of fol. 1v not only differs significantly from the FP version and lacks its second tercet of text, but in Sq (and SL 2211, fols. 4v-5r) the senhal "Anna" has been lost by a variation in the text.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁴ See the texts in Giuseppe Corsi, Poesie musicali

Other works which may derive from a different set of exemplars than the rest are Appress' un fiume chiaro, Nel mezzo a sei paon (placed on bottom of fols. 5v and 3v, respectively), and Sedendo all'ombra (at the top of fol. 2v).⁴³⁵ Fol. 2v was possibly one of the last filled by Scribe A, in light of the presence of replacement leaves 3/12; in such a case, the order of works at the beginning of the gathering may have been the following: Agnel son bianco, La bella stella, Togliendo l'un al l'altra, Nascoso el viso, and Donna già fu gentile, precisely that of SL 2211.

Scribe A also began with a predetermined order in Jacopo's works, at least in the first six madrigals (excluding those at the bottom of folios; cf. the order in Pit): Sotto l'imperio, Aquila altera, Un bel sparver, Non al suo amante, O cieco mondo, and Possando sovr' un acqua. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the beginning of this sequence closely approximates that in R as well;⁴³⁶ by contrast, the

del trecento, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, CXXXI (Bologna, 1970), 20; the senhal is also lost in the Sq reading of the madrigal Donna già fu (fols. 4v-5r; Corsi, 13). Despite the strong appearances of an Italian-notated version, Scribe A is working from a late copy with incorrect use of breves within the tempus and the use of void notes.

⁴³⁵ Edited in Pirrotta, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, I; Marrocco, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, VI. For diplomatic transcriptions, see Eugene Fellin, "A Study of Superius Variants in the Sources of Italian Trecento Music: Madrigals and Cacce," 4 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1970), II.

⁴³⁶ The order of Jacopo's works in MS R is the

order of works in FP is quite different, suggesting that Sq scribes made use of a different family of exemplars, probably deriving more directly from Paduan rather than Tuscan sources.⁴³⁷

The second part of the Jacopo section (gathering 2) includes unica and problematic works, both toward the end of the gathering and at the bottom of folios; some of these may have been considered opera dubia by the compilers of Sq.⁴³⁸ This seems to be particularly true of either very early or late works, and can be seen to some extent in a comparison with the position of Jacopo madrigals in MS R, where two works were included in an "extra" group in its third gathering (see Chapter 3): Si com' al canto, and Vestissi la

following: Sotto l'imperio, Aquila altera, Non al suo amante, Un bel sparver, Tanto che siat' acquistati, Nel bel giardino, O cieco mondo, Prima virtute, O in Italia, Oselletto selvagio (madrigal), O dolce appress' un bel perlaro, Io mi son un, Oselletto selvagio (caccia). The order of Jacopo works in SL 2211 (see Table 5.7) differs considerably from that in Sq, Pit, or R, suggesting that its scribe had access to a completely different set of exemplars; in fact, none of the Sq unica survive in SL 2211, and even some of the problematic works in Sq are lacking (Vestisse la cornachia, Si com' al canto), unless they were all included in missing gathering 2.

⁴³⁷ The order of FP Jacopo works in Fp is the following: Tanto che siat' acquistati, O dolce appress' un bel perlaro, Nel bel giardino, O in Italia, Io mi son, O cieco mondo, etc., including two unica at the end (In su be' fiori, Nel mio parlar).

⁴³⁸ I see inconsistency, however, with the placement of O in Italia at the bottom of fols. 17v-18r (unless it was considered a rare, early work), or with the inclusion of Fenice fu and I mi son in this section.

cornachia. The early madrigal Lo lume vostro (bottom of Sq, fols. 15v-16r), although in first position in R (fol. 1r), has been shown to be a later addition in the latter MS.⁴³⁹ Placement of the unicum, Lucida petra, at the end of the Jacopo section could also be due to the absence of its second tercet.

The Lorenzo and Donato sections include otherwise unknown monophonic ballatas (as does the Gherardello section), in addition to a high percentage of unique madrigals (cf. Table 5.1).⁴⁴⁰ As already mentioned in Chapter 4, the order of Lorenzo's works in Sq differs considerably from that in FP, Pit, and Lo, due in large part to special interest in the composer's establishment of new rhythmic thinking and notational style. This is clearly manifest in the double entry of Lorenzo's madrigal Ita se n'era star at the beginning of the section (fols. 45v-47r).⁴⁴¹ Only after

⁴³⁹ In R, the madrigals lacks its second tercet of text; Lo (fol. 21r) transmits only the second tercet of text; cf. Chapter 3.

⁴⁴⁰ Works by Lorenzo and Donato which have yet to be found, settings of texts by Franco Sacchetti, have been noted, for example, by F. Alberto Gallo, Il medioevo, II (Turin, 1977), 67-8. Those by Lorenzo include the ballatas Donna servo mi sento and Temer perche; Donato's include the madrigals Fortuna avversa and Volgendo i su' begli occhi.

⁴⁴¹ See Long, "Musical Tastes," 88-92, on the notation of the two versions in Sq. The notational interest, to judge as well from the unique note shapes employed, extends to Sovra la riva and Vidi nel ombra; see also Pirrotta, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy, III, iv.

this exordium on Lorenzo as teacher and innovator do we find the works transmitted in FP: Sovra la riva, A poste messe, Nel chiaro fiume, Vidi nell' ombra, Di riv' in riva.⁴⁴² With the exception of the monophonic ballatas, unica and problematic works tend to appear at the end of the gathering: I' credo ch'i' dormia and Dolgom' a voi (lack second tercets); Povero cappator (beset with text problems in Lo, the only other reading which survives).⁴⁴³

Donato was also well represented; his section in Sq includes works found in FP but arranged in a completely different order, one which was taken up to some extent in SL 2211.⁴⁴⁴ The scribes of Sq, moreover, were able to complete the text of Donato's opening madrigal, Un bel girfalco (incomplete in Pit), and add several unique works, including a ballata, at the bottom of folios.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² In the second half of gathering 8 in FP; Scribe A of Sq, incidentally, covers the same composers, placed eventually in the same order as had Scribes B and C in FP: Giovanni, Jacopo, Lorenzo and Donato.

⁴⁴³ The monophonic pieces may have been placed at the bottom of folios both to separate them from the madrigals and to clarify their status in an otherwise polyphonic repertory. I fail to see consistency, however, in A's placement of Sovra la riva at the bottom of a folio.

⁴⁴⁴ With the exception of the FP unicum on fol. 80v, Come 'l potest' tu far, which, however, would not have begun the section. SL 2211 also has its own unique order for its Donato section, but we may note the same final two works there and in the Sq section: I' fu già bianc' uccel and Dal cielo scese.

⁴⁴⁵ Placement at the foot of folios, however, may not necessarily be significant; see I' fu già usignolo (fols.

Although evidence exists of at least one lost madrigal setting by Gherardello (of a text by Sacchetti), many previously unrecorded compositions (including monophonic ballatas) survive in Sq.⁴⁴⁶ Difficulty in collecting his works is reflected in the incomplete texts of the monophonic works, as well as in the more widely disseminated madrigals Con levrieri and Per prender cacciagion. The change in scribes (from A to B) produced a slight difference in the manner of copying; Scribe B appears to have placed the traditionally important works, or at least those known from other Florentine sources, in a special, hierarchically superior position. Thus, he copied Tosto che l'alba, Sotto verdi fraschetti, and Con levrieri e mastini at the top of the first three openings, respectively (across the opening, or only on the verso side; cf. Table 5.1); the other entries in the section are either unica, more progressive works, or were considered problematic in some respect.⁴⁴⁷

73v-74r). To be sure, unica and problematic readings have been placed toward the end of the section: S'i' monacordo, I'ho perduto, and Dal cielo scese appear elsewhere only in SL 2211, the first of which lacks part of its text.

⁴⁴⁶ Gherardello's madrigal Di bella palla e di valor di petra (Sacchetti); see Gallo, Il Medioevo, II, 67.

⁴⁴⁷ Pit's order is Tosto che l'alba, Sotto verdi fraschetti, and both works share close readings in Sq and Pit (see Marrocco, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, VII, 103, 109; Corsi, Poesie musicali, 66, 68-9). Sq does not derive from Lo, and all of the Lo concordances

The sequence of Vincenzo's works in Pit was followed in Sq: Ita se n'era star and Nel acqua chiara are placed in prominent positions on successive openings.⁴⁴⁸ The other Vincenzo works in Sq are unica, with the exception of the madrigal In forma quasi. The latter serves as a reminder of the deplorable state of some of the exemplars the Sq scribes must have had to work from, especially for the rare works (poor copies undoubtedly played a major role in the high number of errors in the Sq unica): the madrigal appears twice in Lo (fols. 32r and 69v), in both cases unattributed and in a fragmentary state.⁴⁴⁹

For a Tuscan composer who apparently produced a large body of music, Nicolò da Perugia is not well

required separate transcription by Marrocco. Note the progressive style of Si forte, with its non-formulaic approach to the text/music relationship (placement of melismatic and syllabic passages); in this regard, see also La bella e la vezzosa and A lo spirar).

⁴⁴⁸ Irregularity in the arrangement of hair and flesh sides suggests changes in the physical makeup of gathering 4 prior to entry of the first set of foliation numbers (see Table 5.1); a work other than the unicum, Ay schonsolato, may have been planned for fol. 37v (note the lack of divisional bar ornaments in Ay schonsolato, perhaps signaling a late addition. This internal movement of folios may be indicative of Scribe B's sensitivity to the order of pieces.

⁴⁴⁹ The caccia appears in the following forms in Lo: (1) unattributed, on fol. 32r, including only the beginning of the first Cantus through bar 84, although text is given only through bar 46; (2) unattributed on fol. 69v, including only the Cantus. The latter entry is on the inner bifolio of gathering 9 in Lo; a missing bifolio at the center of this gathering may have contained the Tenor of the caccia.

represented in the surviving Florentine collections, save for Lo and, especially, Sq; FP contains only the first composition in both Pit and Sq: Nel mego già del mar.⁴⁵⁰ This rather restricted transmission of Nicolò's works makes it difficult to judge the arrangement of the compositions in Sq, rendering any distinction between top and bottom placement less meaningful.

The question of the order of Nicolò's works in Sq must take into account the fact that in the first of the gatherings Scribe B separates the works generically: he begins and ends this section with madrigals and caccias; a group of six ballatas appears on fols. 89r-90r, but another ten were placed at the bottoms of folios throughout.⁴⁵¹ Gathering 10 of Sq contains, I believe, the opera dubia, or, at least, problematic works. Particularly important in this regard is the fact that two of the madrigals here--La donna mia and I' son c'a seguitar--and one at the bottom of fols.

⁴⁵⁰ See Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," chapter I, on his origins, family name, and Florentine ties. Nicolò's works were undoubtedly difficult to collect, to judge from the high percentage of lost works (see Gallo, Il Medioevo, II, 67-8): the ballatas include Chi vide più, Di diavol vecchia, Lasso s'io fu già preso; the madrigals, Correndo giù del monte, Una angelletta. Unica in sources other than Sq include the following: State su donne, Io vegio, I' son tuo, and Non più dirò in Lo; Donna poss' io sperare in Man/ManP.

⁴⁵¹ Two of the ballatas on top, Mentre che and Ciascun faccia, appear in prominent positions in Lo on fols. 46r and 70v, heading short ballata sections.

88v-89r (Chi ben soffrir), are anonymously transmitted in Lo. In fact, the distinction is an important one, for the scribes of Lo generally placed composers' names at the top of folios before entering their work. Lo, which has been recognized as the second most important source for Nicolò, contains only a moderate number of his works with attributions, and in two cases provides us with texts lacking in Sq (Benchè partir, and Mentre che'l vago). But there are oddities about the presence of Nicolò in the collection.⁴⁵² First, Nel meco già del mar was not included. Second, although as a rule the anthology arranged its contents generically rather than by composer, Nicolò's works are nevertheless scattered to an unusual degree and entered by a number of different hands; and several of the readings are poor and unattributed.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² Lo contains 1 madrigal, 2 caccias, 8 ballatas, and two fragments; four of these are unica (see n. 450, above); see Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript London, B.M., Additional 29987 (Lo)," Musica Disciplina, XII (1958), 67-91.

⁴⁵³ Lo differs considerably from other, more formal collections of the time, noticeably in its poor appearance and variously arranged repertory. The source was completely refoliated sometime after a large initial section was removed (ninety-seven folios in length and perhaps originally containing a sizeable sacred repertory); Long has discussed the sacred work on present fol. 1r (see "Musical Tastes," 161-77). The eleven gatherings of Lo are arranged as follows: (1) gatherings 1, 2 and 3 contain madrigals and caccias by Jacopo, Giovanni, Landini, and Bartolino; (2) ballatas and a mixture of genres make up gatherings 4, 5, and 6, representing a distinct layer of compilation, to judge from the red capitals (many of Nicolò's pieces appear here, some as "fillers" [one anon.] and others heading small sections of madrigals and ballatas: two Nicolò caccias, one

Nicolo's style has been characterized as one of the most experimental of all mid to late 14th-century Italian composers, much of it involving formal aspects of his madrigals and ballatas.⁴⁵⁴ For example, four of his madrigals contain through-composed tercets (i.e., the second tercet is set to new music);⁴⁵⁵ three of them are Sq unica, placed in the second of the Nicolo gatherings, thus revealing a stylistic awareness in the placement of works.⁴⁵⁶ The three-

ballata); (3) gathering 7 continues with more madrigals and ballatas, and includes one each by Nicolò; (4) gathering 8 focuses on the instrumental dances; a short section of sacred works begins here and continues into gathering 9, which ends with a miscellany of madrigals, ballatas, and caccias (includes several Nicolò works); (5) gathering 10 continues with more secular works: ballatas, in which Nicolò heads the section; (6) gathering 11 includes Mass movements, added by the scribe of SL 2211; the red capitals in the Kyrie (not by SL 2211 scribe), and those in the sacred works of gatherings 8 and 9 and the large section in gatherings 4, 5, and 6, indicate that these sections were compiled at the same time. Thus, although some of Nicolò's works were placed in prominent positions in Lo (especially those in the sixth gathering) we may conclude that several of the compositions were unknown or considered less important to the scribes of Lo: two ballatas in gathering 4 as "fillers" (note the incomplete text in Io vegio and the anonymously transmitted Ch'il ben sofrir; the ballata in the middle of gathering 7 (Benchè partir); the miscellany sections after the dances (see I son c'a seguitar, fragmentary in Lo).

⁴⁵⁴ Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," chapters II and IV; von Fischer, "Niccolò da Perugia," 203.

⁴⁵⁵ LiGotti, La Poesia musicale, 74. LiGotti was the first to point out Nicolò's--and Andrea's--specialty for the ballata minima, with one-line ripresa, calling such simply-set, aphoristic works the "gusto borghese" of the Florentines.

⁴⁵⁶ Cogliendo per un prato, O sommo spechio, Virtù loco and O giustitia.

voice madrigal in the second section--O sommo specchio--is also progressive in its non-simultaneous declamation of the text.⁴⁵⁷ Two works in the first Nicolò gathering display formal features which should perhaps be considered intentionally innovative and not dismissed as errors in transmission, for their placement would not necessarily signal problematic readings: the ballatas Stato nessun, and Sempre con umiltà.⁴⁵⁸ Although placed at the bottom of fols. 89v-90r, they form part of the ballata section mentioned above. Stato nessun does not contain a volta for the first of its stanzas; it appears that the four piedi of text are to be sung consecutively. Sempre con umiltà lacks a volta for its single stanza; this formal variation produces the structure Abba.⁴⁵⁹ Other ballatas with formal problems, but not included in the group on fols. 89v-90r, may indeed lack text; e.g., the ballata Il megl'è at the bottom of the opening Nicolò folio, seems to be particularly problematic

457 See von Fischer, "Niccolò da Perugia," 213.

458 Singled out by Kelly for stylistic analysis in "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," 6. See Corsi, Poesie musicali, 110-11, 115-16.

459 See Pirrotta, "On Text Forms from Ciconia to Dufay," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1966), 674, where the author singles out the Abba form; see also Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," 66-69. The order of works by Scribe B would support Kelly's contention that Nicolò makes the textbook definition of ballata form appear to be too simplistic.

in its text/music form, which may have been seriously garbled at some point in the history of its transmission.⁴⁶⁰

The Bartolino section in gathering 11 must be judged a successful accomplishment, for, as far as we can tell, it includes all known works by the composer, with the exception of the ballata Serva ciascun and the possible "rondelli francesi" in Man/ManP (the latter may have been left out editorially due to Sq's partiality to Italian-texted works). From a structural viewpoint, the surprise in the Bartolino section is its containment within a single gathering of ten bifolios, yielding a much larger gathering than any of the others in the collection. There exists a strong possibility that the section now comprises what had originally been planned--and in a sense even copied--as two gatherings. As in Nicolo's works, Bartolino's large collection displays a basic division into madrigals (fols. 101v-110r) and ballatas (fols. 110v-120v), but with a number of compositions seemingly out of place: La sacrosancta carità, Imperial sedendo, Se premio di virtù, and Qual legge move (cf. Table 5.1). Most of these anomalies disappear if one considers the gathering as two distinct collections. Moreover, support for a two-group theory (particularly the splitting of the madrigals) exists in other collections of Bartolino's

⁴⁶⁰ Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," 67, chose among several solutions, opting for a stanza with two volte: Abba bba (A).

works: R, Man/ManP, and SL 2211 (see Tables 3.1, 4.15, and 5.7).⁴⁶¹

The most likely break in gathering 11 of Sq would appear to be at fols. 108v-109r. The outer gathering may have consisted of a senio (101-106/115-120) to which two inner bifolios (107-108/111-112) were added at a very early stage; into this eight-bifolio, outer gathering was inserted a binio consisting of fols. 109-112. Thus the outer collection included madrigals (101v-113r, all copied across openings) and ballatas (113v-120v, the first of which is copied across the opening 113v-114r).⁴⁶² The inner collection begins with a madrigal copied across the opening on fols. 109v-110, Inperial sedendo, and continues with five ballatas; the ballata on its opening recto (fol. 109r) may have been added when the two groups were brought together.

⁴⁶¹ In the latter, we find two groups of madrigals, with the ballatas placed between them; the boundaries do not coincide with gathering joins (the second group begins with Quando la terra and Qual legge, both of which are found in Sq on the bottom or at the end of the section). Care must be exercised with SL 2211, for its contents and order may be totally derivative; no new Bartolino compositions appear in the surviving folios). In Man/ManP we also find two Bartolino sections, to judge from the splitting of madrigals and ballatas: Le aurate chiome, in group 2 in Man/ManP is found at the boundary of the two groups in Sq (see the analysis below). MS R devotes gathering 2 to Bartolino (copied by two scribes, who begin by alternating genres--T copies madrigals, S copies ballatas), but the MS also contains another rather large collection of his works, copied by three other scribes, in gathering 5.

⁴⁶² A critical error was made with La sacrosancta carità, obviously taken as a madrigal by the text scribe, who entered guide letters for secondary capitals.

Inperial sedendo was separated from other Bartolino madrigals in Man/ManP and Mod as well, perhaps a function of what was probably its late date of composition.⁴⁶³ As for the ballatas in this group, interestingly enough most of them have concordances only in MS R (not counting the later SL 2211); such a concentration of related works would suggest that a different exemplar was used for the inner group.⁴⁶⁴

The outer collection exhibits aspects of an ordering and placement we have come to expect in Sq. The ballatas on the bottom of fols. 103r-105r may have been so placed to separate them from the madrigals; they also form part of the group known elsewhere only in R, but we may note some problematic readings in these works.⁴⁶⁵ Unique or incomplete

⁴⁶³ Added by Man/ManP's Scribe A in the last gathering, probably compiled when the source had already made its way to Florence; see Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino," 94-100. On the placement of Inperial sedendo in Mod A, see the inventory published by Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568 = Mod)," Musica Disciplina, XXIV (1970), 17-67.

⁴⁶⁴ Miracolosa tua sembiança appears in the second collection in Reina; Qual novitã had been entered by Reina's Scribe T out of order, and was abandoned after just one line of music (this work, Donna legiadra, and Amor che nel pensier were copied on the possibly added bifolio 18/19 in Reina gathering 2; see Chapter 3). We should, however, dismiss the idea that MS R may have been brought down to Florence from Padua, for this group of works reveals too many variants (see the discussion of MS provenance in Chapter 3).

⁴⁶⁵ The ballatas Sempre si trova and Per subito comando lack portions of their texts; the version of the

works are to be found at the end of the collection, beginning with the ballata Ricorditi di me on fol. 117r.⁴⁶⁶ The placement of such well disseminated works as Qual legge, Gioia di novi odori, and Per un verde boschetto at the end of the section is more difficult to explain, but the latter two appear at the end of the first Reina collection as well (its gathering 2), and may therefore derive from a separately circulating exemplar.⁴⁶⁷

Francesco Landini

Nowhere in Sq was the effort to collect all the works of a composer more intense than in the Landini section of the MS. Of the 154 works which can be securely attributed to him (ten madrigals, one caccia, ninety two-voice ballatas, forty-two three-voice ballatas, eight ballatas which survive variously as two- and three-voice pieces, and one virelai) only ten were not included.⁴⁶⁸ Even

latter in R, moreover, contains text underlay problems with regard to the lengths of the second piede and volta.

⁴⁶⁶ Ricorditi di me and Ama chi t'ama lack portions of their texts; the unica (outside of SL 2211) include Tanto di mio cor, Nel sommo grado, Tuo gentil cortesia.

⁴⁶⁷ Problems with the text in Gioia di nuovi odori may also have posed a problem (see Marrocco, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IX, 20); we may also note its profuse notation of one-pitch ligatures (see discussion, below).

⁴⁶⁸ All ballatas: seven unica in FP (Donna la mente mia, Se merge donna, Amor in te spera, Divennon gli ochi, I'

more striking is the high number of unique works included in Sq: one madrigal, one caccia, and forty-six ballatas.⁴⁶⁹

Two scribes not encountered before in the MS--C and D--together with Scribe B, collected Landini's oeuvre into five gatherings, with an alphabetic and generic division of labor planned from the start: (1) Scribe C was responsible for the madrigals (gathering 12); (2) the ballatas were divided alphabetically, for Scribe C copied works beginning with letters A and C; (3) Scribe B copied letters E, F, and L, and, together with Scribe C, ballatas beginning with the letter D; (4) Scribe D copied the latter part of the alphabet--G, I, N, O, P, Q, S, and V. Scribe C, moreover, copied two sections of ballatas a 3, one of which was appended to the end of the madrigal section in gathering 12 (cf. Table 5.1).

Gathering 12 appears not to have been filled in until the very end of work on the Landini section (save perhaps for the opening madrigal Musica son, for the ballatas placed at the bottom of folios are in the same

non ardisco, Perche virtù, Gia ebbi libertade), two in Lo (Più bella donna al mond', Dolce signorie), and one in Pit (I' vegio ch'a natura); i.e., none of the works left out of Sq circulated in more than one other surviving source (newly discovered Fn F.5.5 and SL 2211 do not alter this picture). With the exception of the first few in FP, the rest, including some in FP itself, have not been placed in prominent Landini sections in their respective sources.

⁴⁶⁹ Of which one ballata was copied twice, by Scribes C and D: Chi più le vuol on fols. 126r and 166v.

color of ink used for the run of madrigals. We may also note that the final two ballatas in the gathering (fols. 132r-132v), as well as the conjugate Landini portrait folio, lack colored capitals altogether; gathering 12 may have been the last to receive compositions in the entire codex. The gathering could originally have been planned around the three, three-part madrigals found on alternating openings: Musica son (121v-122r), Si dolce non sono (123v-124r), and the caccia-madrigal De dinmi tu (125v-126r). Less well known, or problematic, readings of two-part madrigals are contained on the other openings, through fol. 129r (cf. Table 5.1).⁴⁷⁰

Not only was the work of collecting and copying the ballatas divided among Scribes C, D, and B, I believe that the present collection of gatherings 13-16 consisted of smaller, modular groups (binios and ternios) containing alphabetically distinct units which were later brought together to form the present gathering sequence. Many of these alphabetic groups were primarily split in order to form groups of ballatas organized by vocal scoring (a 2 and a 3). The impetus for this theory stems not only from the

⁴⁷⁰ These works are generally to be found in only one other source outside of Sq: those on 122v, 123r, and 128r with FP; 126v, 127r, and 129r, with Lo. Note also that the ballata Lasso di donna on fol. 132v is stylistically a late work; see Kurt von Fischer, "Francesco Landini," The New Grove Dictionary, X, 430.

almost strict alphabetical division of labor, but also from codicological and paleographical evidence: (1) the fact that the ballatas were not copied across openings (except for added works at the bottom), thus providing maximum flexibility in their eventual arrangement); (2) the disposition of flesh and hair sides, also allowing for mobility; and (3) earlier foliation numbers, also suggesting this type of compilation.⁴⁷¹ Tables 5.2-5.5 demonstrate the probable manner in which these alphabetic groupings may have originally been copied by Scribes D, C, and B, respectively. Letters indicate first letters of the compositions (cf. Table 5.1), numbers denote the number of voices. That Scribes B, C, and D copied the Landini ballatas in the manner diagrammed in the tables is also supported by the order and placement of the works within each group, of which we shall consider only some of the most important here.

⁴⁷¹ The positions of gatherings 15 and 16 were probably reversed at one time; see the penciled "165" on fol. 155r (as well as an older "16," perhaps denoting a gathering number). A catchword, "lonesta," was added to the bottom of fol. 154v to insure the present sequence (note the ballata L'onesta tua biltà on the opening recto of gathering 15).

Table 5.2: Scribe D's Landini Ballatas in Sq

	S	137
	S	
	S	170
S	S	
V	S	167
	S	
S	Q	138
P	Q	

T	N	139
	N	
	N	134
N	N	
O	M	141
O	I	
O	I	136
N	I	

P	N	168
P	N	
P	N	159
	O	
	O	142
S	P	
	G	133
	G	
G	G	160
G	G	
N	G	169
I	G	

V	P	165
I	P	
	P	166
C	P	
V	V	171
BLANK-RULED		
		172

P	154
P	
P	
Q	143

Table 5.3: Scribe C's Landini Ballatas in Sq

D	D	149
D	D	
D	D	144
	C	153
		148

E	A	135
O	B	
A	A	140
A	L	

	L (2)	155
L / (2)	L (2)	
\	A (2)	156
	A (3)	
A / (2)	C (2)	157
\	C (2)	
	D (2)	158
C / (2)	B (2)	
\	C (3)	161
	G (3)	
	I (3)	162
	N (3)	
	C (3)	163
	C (3)	
	P (3)	164
A (3)	A (3)	

Table 5.4: Scribe B's Landini Ballatas in Sq

	D	150
	D	
D	D	145
	D	
	D	146
	D	
D	D	151
	D	
		152
		147

Table 5.5: Scribe B and C's Landini Ballatas in Sq (Letter D)
 (additional compositions added by Scribe B after the folios were brought together are shown in boldface)

D	D	144
D	D	
D	D	145
D	D	146
D	D	146
D	E	147
E	F	148
E	F	148
G	F	149
D	D	149
D	D	149
L	D	150
L	D	150
D	D	151
D	L	151
	A	152
	B	152
C	C	153
C	D	153

Scribe D:

1. Eight out of ten Landini ballatas beginning with the letter S (three are unica); separated in gatherings 13 and 16, in the latter split into two smaller sets, but they do not represent distinct groups. One may observe in Table 5.2 that the two unica have been placed at the bottom (Sempre giro caendo, fol. 170v) and at the end (Se la nimica mie, fol. 167v); S'i fossi certo (138r), whose attribution may have been in question (it was scraped in Pit) was also placed on bottom.⁴⁷²
2. Ballatas beginning with the letter P fall into three groups and may well reflect at least two different parent sources (ten ballatas in groups, and two single ones (in all including three unica):⁴⁷³ (1) ballatas a 3 on the outer bifolio of present gathering 14 (fols. 154 and 143);⁴⁷⁴ (2) fols. 165r-

⁴⁷² See also Scribe D's single S'i' ti son stato at the bottom of 142v; it too had its attribution scraped in Pit). Note the former's lack of the second pie and volta text, and the errors in rests and text underlay, reflecting the scribe's struggle for a proper alignment (not all unica have been so placed, however; see Se la vista soave on fol. 137v).

⁴⁷³ Scribe C copied one letter P ballata in a group of three-voice compositions.

⁴⁷⁴ We may note that it bears an older roman numeral on 154v; Per la mie dolce piaga carries the designation a 3, showing awareness of the generic group to which it belongs.

166v, now at the beginning of gathering 16 (the final piece is an unicum, Per un amante on 166v); (3) a final group placed at the bottoms of fols. 168r, 168v, and 159r.⁴⁷⁵ The isolated P ballatas, on the other hand, are problematic: Po' che da te (142v; late entry in GR 16, and not attributed in Lo [or R]) and Po' che di simil (fol. 138v; on bottom, an unicum with incomplete text and errors).⁴⁷⁶

3. Ten out of eleven N ballatas (including two unica) fall into two groups--(1) gathering 13, (2) folios now in gatherings 15 and 16--plus two singles (fols. 136v and 169r; see Table 5.2). The first group may represent a collection of three-voice ballatas, to which a two-voice work was added on the outer recto of the gathering (fol. 139r).⁴⁷⁷
4. Eight out of eleven ballatas by Landini beginning

⁴⁷⁵ Not necessarily problematic readings; only Po' c'amor has errors and incomplete text.

⁴⁷⁶ See Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 40, 72.

⁴⁷⁷ The work is a later entry in FP and survives unattributed in Pit (at the bottom of a folio). The final composition in the set, Nella tuo luce on fol. 134v, is an unicum as well as a ballata minima (i.e., a little-known late work; probably does not lack text, as Schrade suggests [The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 69]). The last work in the second group, Nessun provo giammai on fol. 159r, is an unicum (perhaps an early work, as it lacks ouvert and clos endings).

with the letter G (including two unica.⁴⁷⁸ Although now dispersed in gatherings 13, 15, and 16, they may have been copied as a group in the second half of a ternio, as demonstrated in Table 5.2, and were designed to be a set of ballatas a 2 and a 3, with some of the two-part works on bottom (two of which are unique). That at least some of these compositions had been circulating together is demonstrated by the pair Gentil aspetto and Gram' piant' agli ochi (fols. 133r-133v), found copied together by Pit's Scribe A. Thus, Scribe D's group of letter G ballatas form a single unit, and may derive from the same exemplar.⁴⁷⁹

5. Additional groups copied by Scribe D include two sets of Os in gatherings 13 and 15, making up five out of six such Landini works.⁴⁸⁰ Manner of placement may again indicate progressive works, problematic

⁴⁷⁸ Two others were copied by Scribes B and C, and one is an unicum in FP (Già ebbi, fol. 46r). The one copied by Scribe B on fol. 148v, bottom--Gli ochi--is not closely related to Pit, as are most of the ballatas copied by Scribe D.

⁴⁷⁹ The single such ballata entered by Scribe B (Gli ochi on fol. 148v) appears to be a stray (even stemmatically); see Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 43.

⁴⁸⁰ Scribe C copied the only other O ballata, in a position on the bottom of fol. 135v that places it right next to those on fols. 136r, 141r, and 141v, forming a group of two-voice O ballatas.

works, or unica: e.g., O fanciulla Giulia on fol. 159v, which appears with two texted Cantus parts and textless Tenor.⁴⁸¹

Scribe C:

1. Scribe C's series of ballatas beginning with the letter A generally appear to follow the guidelines on placement established by the other scribes, but perhaps with somewhat less rigor. He copied eleven out the thirteen A ballatas, including five unica (cf. Table 5.3: four works in gathering 13, five in gathering 15 [split into 3 + 2], and isolated works in madrigal gathering 12). We may note the placement of unica and problematic works at the bottom of folios or at the ends of groups: Arà tu pietà (fol. 144r, bottom) lacks its second piede and volta text; Amor c'al tuo sugetto (fol. 140v, bottom) was never attributed in Pit and contains a major error in the Cantus in Sq.⁴⁸² The group of

⁴⁸¹ I would not dismiss this vocal scoring as quickly as Schrade has done, for I feel that its position does not signal a problematic reading; note also that in SL 2211, the only surviving part is the second Cantus (or Contratenor, if you will), and it is texted! Certainly, the texture was not new; see FP's transmission of Jacopo's Nel mio parlar, as well as Sq's Scribe C's copy of Caro signor palesa, part of a three-part ballata section in which the triple-texted ballata Perchè di novo sdegno is adjacent.

⁴⁸² Bars 12-15 are notated too high; see Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 142.

three ballatas on fols. 156r-157r includes Amar si gli alti, one of FP's Scribe D Landini ballatas, kept together with the rest of that group in Pit (see Chapter 4) but here separated along with the others and included in distinct alphabetical groups. The two A ballatas which form part of an a 3 group copied by Scribe C at the end of gathering 15--Ama donna and Adiu dous dame--were paired in Pit as well (fols. 61r, 62r). While it is true that unica appear at the bottom of folios, some may found at the top of the page; see Altera luce on fol. 156v and the single Amor con fede on fol. 130r (the latter not only an unicum but a two-part work in another of Scribe C's a 3 sections).⁴⁸³

2. Ten out of the twelve Landini ballatas beginning with the letter C appear as follows: (1) three in the first section of gathering 15 (alphabetically and generically arranged from fols. 155r-158r); (2) two works, and a single one, in the second part of gathering 15, devoted to 3-part ballatas; (3) a single ballata added among the madrigals, and two with the three-part ballatas in gathering 12; (4) one

⁴⁸³ Certainly, the scribes were not aware of the absolute unicum status of a ballata; but they surely knew which works were better known and which might be less secure within the Landini corpus: Altri n'arà la pena (fol. 140r) and Abbonda di virtù (fol. 156r).

ballata in gathering 14, part of a group of letter C works together with two others copied by Scribe B (Scribes B and C must have worked together, especially on the collection of letter D ballatas in gathering 14). Two of the groups circulated as a single alphabetic set in Fn F.5.5, and may have been so acquired by Scribe C and separated into two groups, a 2 and a 3 (see Chapter 4): Che pena è quest' al cor and Cosa nulla as part of the three-voice group at the end of gathering 12 (although not exactly proximate: fols. 130v and 132r), and Chi pregio vol, Con gli occhi, and Che fa', che pensi as part of the two-voice ballatas at the beginning of gathering 15.484

Scribes B and C:

1. The difference between Scribes B and C stands out in their sharing of work on letters L and D, of which Scribe C copied eight out of eleven L ballatas, Scribe B copied the other three; Scribe C copied eight D ballatas, Scribe B copied fifteen

484 Note that the last mentioned-work was placed at the bottom of fols. 157v-158r, which position may be no reflection of the authority of its reading. Likewise, the single ballata Cara mie donna at the top of fol. 161r is an unicum. It appears that Scribe C was not rigorous in his placement of works.

(three others exist as unica outside of Sq: FP, fols. 39v and 13v; Lo, fol. 79v). Their work includes fourteen letter D and three letter L (unica). As with the letter C ballatas, Scribe C appears sometimes to have grouped works together as he found them, regardless of their Sq placement on top or bottom.⁴⁸⁵

2. Most revealing of Scribe B's practice of placing unica or problem works at the bottom of folios is the manner in which his and Scribe C's letter D ballatas were brought together to form the extensive collection we have in gathering 14. The two scribes' work, shown in Tables 5.3 and 5.4, was combined as shown in Table 5.5 (letter D ballatas only), with the probable addition of other works by Scribe B shown in boldface. We may note the position of the unica, Donna perchè mi spregi (fol. 144v, bottom, with incomplete text), Duolsi la vita (fol. 145, bottom, unusually poor alignment of text and music), Debba l'anima altera (fols. 145v-146r,

⁴⁸⁵ Although one must qualify the group at the end of gathering 12, for the final L did not receive capitals and thus appears to have been added after the other two. This placement can be seen in the three letter L ballatas entered at the beginning of gathering 15 as part of the a 2 section: L'onesta tua biltà (an unicum at the top of fol. 155r), L'antica fiamma (155v), and L'alma legiadra (on the bottom of fols. 155v-156r for no discernible reason).

bottom, volta text lacking),⁴⁸⁶ and Donna tu prendi sdegno (fols. 146v-147r, bottom). Scribe C's De pon' quest' amor, on the bottom of fol. 144r, may have been considered a less than authoritative reading, for although not an unicum, its reading is quite different from its only concordance (in FP), and is set a fifth higher in Sq. The pattern can be seen to continue in the second half of gathering 15: not only were unique letter D works chosen for bottom placement, but the letter L ballatas copied by B also appear in secondary positions.⁴⁸⁷

Editorial Practices in the Sq Repertory

The evidence presented on the makeup of Sq and the manner in which the four scribes compiled its contents suggests that many distinct exemplars of varying clarity and completeness were at hand, and that others were sought, in the effort to anthologize the complete works of the major

⁴⁸⁶ Contrary to common practice in Sq, it appears that the music here was copied first.

⁴⁸⁷ Perhaps on the bottom because of lack of space (see the letter E and F ballatas inserted between the two letter D collections). We may also note that larger alphabetic sequences also occur, as in the E, F, and G works on fols. 147v-148v, and the A, B, C, D sequence at the end of the gathering; see also N, O, and P on fols. 159r-159v by Scribe D. La dolce vista on fol. 150r, bottom, lacks its second pie and is set with a textless Tenor (note the variety of vocal scorings in concordances; see Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, Commentary, 94).

Trecento composers. Reversing my position on a point I had once made about the separate editorial practices of the individual scribes, I now believe that the four scribes of Sq followed the editorial guidelines discussed below, regardless of the exemplars used.⁴⁸⁸

The search for compositions placed a good deal of value on the inclusion of a complete text; as such, it may not be unreasonable to assume that the text scribe added to his exemplars by resorting to other, non-musical, sources. This sensitivity to the poetic as well as musical past would account in great part for the placement of textually deficient works in less prominent positions at the bottoms or ends of sections.

The scribes must also have attempted to find authoritative readings, this perhaps in certain cases possibly meaning older readings, that were considered to be closer to the composer's. This is particularly evident in the versions containing the one-pitch ligature (but figures in which the note-heads have now been separated; see below); in view of the overwhelming evidence that this particular notational element is among the designs that was removed from the repertory rather than added to it, its presence,

⁴⁸⁸ See John Nádas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXIV (1981), 421-22. I then was convinced of the existence of many more scribes in Sq, and have since reconsidered as well the manner in which the MS was compiled.

whether distorted or kept intact, suggests that the Sq scribes were successful in retrieving earlier readings. Aside from some rhythmic details discussed below, the readings per se of their exemplars appear not to have been changed in significant ways. Thus, a great variety of notational dialects appear within the work of the same scribe, including archaic mensuration signs (the two or three enclosed vertical slashes or the vertical bar with two or three dots) to mark duple or triple tempora.⁴⁸⁹

Great care was taken with the copying itself, evident in the well-spaced text that helped insure a good alignment with the music.⁴⁹⁰ Emendations were avoided; errors were carefully corrected by scraping, not by scratching-out or overwriting of any sort. The text scribe lent a sense of uniformity to the entire collection, providing consistency as well in his plan for the drawing of capital letters for madrigals and ballatas, and his careful placement of text residua for optimum spacing and clarity. The music scribes

⁴⁸⁹ We may note the layout of Donato's ballata Senti tu d'amor (fol. 72v), with its three partes and the repeat signs for the piedi, as well as the unique notation of Lorenzo's Ita se n'era and Vidi nel ombra (the latter survives in FP with such signs); see also Lo's transmission of Lorenzo's I' credo chi' dormia, with double-flagged minims.

⁴⁹⁰ Scribe B, and occasionally others, put in word separation strokes to clarify the alignment in his own copying. The text scribe frequently included the second piede text within the music section, and occasional use of punti sottoscritti also reflects the scribe's sensitivity.

also strove for clarity, normalizing such procedures as the drawing of divisional bar lines (drawn as double bars, in preparation for their eventual decoration), the execution of clefs, left-pointing flagged minims as triplets, style and placement of custodes (required at the end of all lines, including those at the ends of major sections; the only exception appears to have been the end of a voice part), the avoidance of elongated final notes, and the use of short vertical bars (not rests, necessarily) to mark the ends of poetic and musical phrases.

The most important editorial guidelines were those directly effecting the readings of the works. Among them are the normalization of the notation in older Italian works: avoidance of superfluous dots (especially before and after longs, breves and ligatures); consistent use of differentiated semibreves, such as the semibrevis maior and the semibreve with oblique descending stem for the three-minim semibreve;⁴⁹¹ retention of the mensuration signs in the exemplars; and the grouping of individual notes in mensurally significant ways, itself an indication of the ongoing rhythm.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹ See also the three-semiminim minim, with oblique tail (e.g., Bartolino's L'aurate chiome and Qual legge move).

⁴⁹² On Scribe B's work in the Nicolò section, see Stephen Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," 230. This scribal trait is especially helpful in abrupt rhythmic

One-pitch ligatures

Perhaps the most important editorial practice, and certainly the most far-reaching in its effect on the readings of the repertory, is the one regarding one-pitch ligatures. In general, the integrity of these ligatures was destroyed by separating the once-contiguous noteheads. The most common such ligatures are found as (1) long notes at the beginnings and ends of phrases and sub-phrases, and (2) as syncopations within melismas. The noteheads are especially well separated in Sq in the case of one-pitch ligatures which extend beyond tempus boundaries and originally contained two contiguous noteheads with a dot of division above them.⁴⁹³

Long-held opening notes are a stylistic feature in the works of Bartolino da Padova, as is a syncopated style in general (see notes, below, in Table 5.6),⁴⁹⁴ and can be clearly illustrated in the ballata Gioia di nuovi odori,

changes lasting no more than a few bars which are otherwise not indicated.

⁴⁹³ Some contiguous notes do appear in Sq, but the utter lack of consistency in their use reveals that the scribes attached no meaning to them.

⁴⁹⁴ Bartolino's use of syncopation is extensive, as can be seen when one-pitch ligatures are reinstated. The syncopations are absolutely essential when found in passages where alternation of the voices combines with rhythmic imitation, as in La fiera testa, bars 17 and 54-8.

transmitted with ligated notes only in Man/ManP. The Cantus opens with , which the Sq scribe has rendered as .

The Tenor opening is similar:  .495

The vestige of an earlier Italian-notated version of Landini's madrigal Non a Narcisso can be seen in the Sq reading of the Cantus (bar 9), where instead of a dotted long, one finds , including the rest.⁴⁹⁶

It is in syncopations within textless melismas that the various phases of transmission reveal themselves, for the process of translation from an Italian- to a French-notated version can sometimes be recognized by the presence of separated ligatures; thus, one-pitch ligatures can be a useful focus for the student of this repertory. For example, most readings employing the full range of French mensural elements would incorporate syncopations in larger values that can cross tempus boundaries, as in Landini's O piana vaga, where bars 27-8 of the Cantus are notated in both Sq and FP as  (= ). This would suggest that an earlier version of this work was not available to Scribe C of Sq, if, indeed, an Italian-notated

⁴⁹⁵ Not included by Marrocco, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IX, 20; in fact, all of the Bartolino works in this edition lack this rhythmic element.

⁴⁹⁶ See Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, 150. Schrade, too, did not include most of the ligatures, unless they are transmitted in his chosen source, FP, in a translated form in French notation (but this is risky because some one-pitch ligatures can slip through the translation process, as shown below).

reading ever existed; this version, therefore, may represent a later, translated reading of this madrigal.

That earlier versions incorporating one-pitch ligatures existed can be seen in the Sq reading of a passage in the Cantus (bars 46-48) of Landini's ballata Che pena è quest' al cor:  (= ). What is revealing about this example is that a dot separating two notes on the same pitch, and obviously representing the older tempus demarcation, should have been retained in a reading otherwise notated in a French manner. This example would argue for a slip somewhere in its history of transmission, in which an Italian-notated version would have separated the notes but still retained the dot of division; in the process of translation into a French version, it would have thus been difficult for a scribe to recognize the ligature in this form.⁴⁹⁷

Another example of such a slip in the process of transmission can be found in the Landini ballata Po' c'amor (fol. 168r; Cantus and Tenor, bar 13), in which the otherwise French-notated readings of Sq and FP contain 

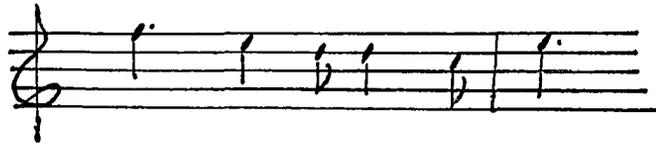
⁴⁹⁷ The separated notes with a dot appear in the Pit reading as well; FP's reading is wholly French, separating the notes and eliminating the dot; SL 2211 separates the notes, but the presence of a dot cannot be ascertained. An Italian reading, with separated notes and the presence of the dot of division, is precisely what survives in the Pz reading of the ballata (fols. 19v-20r).

and  at the start of a long melisma.⁴⁹⁸

Even some of the more "idiomatic" gestures of Trecento song should be re-examined for possible syncopation, and may have been conceived with more rhythmic subtlety and finesse than we give them credit for using. For example, the repeated-note pattern at cadential points which we have come to equate with Italian song of the period

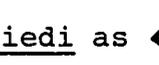


may not necessarily apply to all compositions with similar readings, particularly the more progressive works in perfect tempus and major prolation. In one such ballata, Landini's Gentil aspetto, we find the figure



throughout the Cantus part, including internal and major

⁴⁹⁸ Such ligatures could, and did, slip through because they were much harder for the unsuspecting (and unknowledgeable) scribe to spot; it was much easier to recognize (and translate) the more visibly Italian elements, such as down-stemmed or oblique-stemmed semibreves.

cadential points.⁴⁹⁹ All concordant sources agree in rendering this figure with individual, separated noteheads, but Pit's Scribe A, already known for his adoption of one-pitch ligatures, copied the figure in the second ending of the piedi as ; other sources give  (= ).⁵⁰⁰ A single example in this ballata certainly does not mandate syncopation in all appearances of the figure, but judicious use of ligated notes would add a degree of melodic freedom and serve to highlight important articulating points (e.g., one could well introduce syncopations at the end of the ripresa, or extend their use to cover the longer melismas at ends of poetic lines).

The following list of restored one-pitch ligatures, aimed particularly at the works of Landini and Bartolino in Sq, is intended to supplement editions of the compositions. The lesson to be learned from Sq is that the modern editor must, after ascertaining scribal patterns in the surviving sources, seek out readings of individual compositions which transmit this notational refinement, and even restore ligatures in works which do not survive in ligated versions.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ See Schrade, The Works of Francesco Landini, 134, bars 1, 4, 8, 21, 30, 34, 39, 41, 43, 46, and the first and second endings of the piedi in bar 55.

⁵⁰⁰ See Pit, fols. 66v-67; the ballata also survives in FP (fols. 27v-28r), R (fol. 52v), and Pist (fols. 3v-4r).

⁵⁰¹ All references, unless otherwise specified, are to

Table 5.6: One-pitch Ligatures in Sq

Landini:

1. Tu che l'oper altrui (fol. 122v): Cantus, bars 20-1.
2. Mostronmi amor (fol. 124v): Cantus, bars 1-2.
3. Non a Narcisso (fol. 125r): Cantus, bars 9, 14, 30.
4. Una colomba candida (fol. 129r): Cantus, bars 20-1.
5. Che pena è quest' al cor (fol. 130v): Cantus, bars 47-8 (cf. Pit, FP, and Pz).
6. L'alma mie piange (fol. 131r): Tenor, bars 23-5 (cf. Pit).
7. Cosa nulla più fe (fol. 132r): Cantus, bars 26-7.
8. Gentil aspetto (fol. 133r): Cantus, bars 1, 4, passim (cf. Pit; see discussion, above).
9. Non do la colp' a te (fol. 134v): Cantus, bars 8-9, 11-12, 19-20 (cf. R).
10. I' piango lasso (136r): Tenor, bar 15.
11. Ognor mi trovo (136r): Cantus, bars 13-14, 24, 39, 42, endings to the piedi (an unicum; not clear if any of these may have been intended as ligatures).

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12. Se la vista soave (fol. 137v): Tenor, bars 56-7 (an unicum).
13. Ne'n ciascun mie pensiero (fol. 139v): Tenor, bar 1.
14. Ma' non s'andrà (fol. 141r): Cantus, bar 18.
15. Donna l'animo tuo (fol. 151v): Cantus, bar 8.
16. Che fai, che pensi (fols. 157v-158r): Cantus, bar 24 (cf. Pit).
17. Benche' ora piova (fol. 158v): Tenor, bar 5.
18. Caro signor palesa (fol. 163v): Cantus, bar 8 (cf. Pit, where the ligature is split at a line ending); 2nd Cantus, bars 14, 34.
19. Per la belleça (fol. 165r): Cantus, bars 33-4 (an unicum).
20. Se la nimica mie (fol. 167v): Cantus, bars 15-16 (an unicum).
21. Po' c'amor ne' begli ochi (fol. 168r): Cantus, bars 13, 31; Tenor, bar 5 (cf. FP).
22. Nella mie vita (fol. 168v): Cantus, bars 13-14, 20-1 (not clear if intended).
23. Se pronto non sarà (fol. 170r): Cantus, bars 64-6 (not clear if intended).
24. Sie maladetta (fol. 170v): Tenor, bar 24 (cf. Pit, R).
25. Va pure amore (fol. 171r): Cantus, bar 22 (cf. Man/ManP); Tenor, bars 17-18 (Man/ManP reading also separates the noteheads).

Bartolino da Padova:

1. La douce çere (fols. 101v-102r): Tenor, bars 44, 60, and Contratenor, bar 19, 23 (cf. Man/ManP, where the Cantus is lacking); Cantus, bars 33-4, 37, 48, 56-8.
2. I bei sembianti (fols. 102v-103r): Cantus, bars 2-4, 44-9 (syncope chain). Unfortunately, the madrigal does not survive in Man/ManP.
3. La sacrosancta carità (fols. 103v-104r): Cantus, bars 1-10, 24-30 (syncope chains). Restoration of the ligatures would necessitate a change in text underlay as well.
4. La fiera testa (fols. 104v-105r): Tenor, bars 30-1 (cf. Pit).
5. Alba colomba (fols. 105v-106r): Cantus, bars 4-7, and all other melismas; Contratenor, bars 30-6.
6. Quel sole che nutrica (fols. 106v-107r): Cantus, bars 8-9, 29-30, 61-4 (syncope chain); Tenor, bars 3-4, 76-8, 107-10.
7. L' aurate chiome (fols. 107v-108r): Tenor, bars, 25-6, 43, 52-3, 63 (cf. Man/ManP). Not clear if ligatures were intended in the Cantus.
8. Donna leggiadra (fol. 108v): Cantus, bars 84-5 (cf. Man/ManP, in which the work has been scraped off; it should have been cited by Marrocco); Tenor

difficult to read in Man/ManP, but ligatures may be present.

9. Gioia di nuovi odori (fols. 119v-120r): Cantus and Tenor, bars 1-3, and beginning of piedi (cf. Man/ManP).

Giovanni da Cascia:

1. La bella stella (fols. 1v-2r): Cantus, bars 33-5 (cf. Pit and Rs 215/Os).
2. O tu cara scienza (fols. 5v-6r): Cantus, bars 66-70 (cf. Lo, where the semibreves maiores confirm the syncope chain).
3. Apress' un fiume (fols. 5v-6r): Cantus, bars 31-2 (cf. GR 16).
4. Fra mille corvi (fol. 6v): Cantus, bars 1, 21-2; Tenor, bars 27-8, 82-3(?), 98-9(?).
5. Togliendo l'un all' altra (fol. 3r): Cantus, bars 1, 10-11, 31-2, 45-6.
6. Nel meço a sei paon (fols. 3v-4r): Cantus, bars 29-30, 41-2, 49-50, 53-4, 61-2, 65-6, 69-70, 85-6; Tenor, bars 41-2, 49-50, 61-2.

Jacopo da Bologna:

1. Un bel sparver (fols. 9v-10r): Cantus, bar 31.
2. Nel bel cardino (fols. 9v-10r): Cantus, bars 3-4, 29-30.

3. Non al suo amante (fols. 10v-11r): Cantus, bar 13; Tenor, bar 9 (cf. Pit).
4. Posando sovr' un acqua (fols. 10v-11r): Tenor, bar 39; Cantus, bar 5.
5. O cieco mondo (fols. 11v-12r): Cantus, bars 59-61 (cf. Pit); see also Tenor part.
6. Si com' al canto (fols. 19v-20r) (cf. FP and GR 16).
7. Oselletto selvagio (madrigal, fols. 12v-13): Cantus and Tenor, bars 35-8.
8. Lucida petra (fols. 19v-20r): Pirrotta has restored the ligatures in this unicum.
9. Straccia si panni (fol. 21v): Cantus opening.

Lorenzo:

1. Nel chiaro fiume (fols. 48v-49r): ligatures clear in other sources (cf. FP and Pit).
2. Di riva in riva (fol. 51v): Cantus, bar 42 (cf. FP).

Gherardello:

1. Intrand' ad abitar (fol. 31r): Cantus, bar 22 (cf. FP).

MS SAN LORENZO 2211

MS San Lorenzo 2211, a parchment volume in the Archivio Capitolare of San Lorenzo in Florence, bears the title "Campione dei Beni, 1504," and details the acquisition and rental of church properties largely up to the year 1504, as well as beyond that date.⁵⁰² Our interest in SL 2211 stems from the fact that all of its present 111 parchment leaves bear traces of its original function: as Frank D'Accone has recently shown, it was at one time a sizeable collection of 14th- and early 15th-century polyphony. In the early 16th century, the MS was unbound, its leaves scraped nearly clean of staves, notes, text, composer attributions, and foliation numbers, and then most of it was reassembled, rebound, and refoliated for use in recording church properties.

The reconstruction of the original musical source shown in Table 5.7 has been made particularly difficult due to the palimpsest nature of the entire source and the fact that the scraped folios were rebound without regard to their original positions (although some of the individual

⁵⁰² I extend my gratitude to Frank D'Accone for having sent me a typescript of his article on San Lorenzo 2211 prior to its publication as "Una nuova fonte." D'Accone first reported discovery of the MS in Certaldo during the summer of 1982, and he presented a paper on the subject at a Los Angeles meeting of the American Musicological Society, May 1983.

gatherings remained fairly well intact--see gatherings 3, 4, and 5). We now have evidence that the MS consisted of at least nineteen gatherings, with the last legibly numbered folio bearing the numeral "clxxxviii" (present fol. 69). We thus lack seventy-nine leaves which, with some luck, may yet turn up in other 16th-century San Lorenzo documents.

Most helpful in determining the original structure of the source were the following elements: (1) the remains of old roman foliation in the upper right-hand corners of the rectos; (2) identification of compositions and composer attributions and the resulting musical continuity obtaining in most gatherings (perhaps the most important single element in arriving at the MS structure); (3) observation of clef changes in the left-hand margins as signals for the start of new voice parts or compositions; (4) codicological and paleographical features--especially the flesh and hair sides of the parchment leaves and the ruling of staves. Particularly useful was the identification of the same composition in widely separated voice parts in the MS. One may observe in gathering 14 of Table 5.7 that the Cantus of Paolo's Corse per l'onde is now located on fol. 51v, and the Tenor on fol. 101r; the two folios constituted a single opening of the original collection. We may also note works copied at the joins of gatherings: Giovanni da Cascia's Donna già fu between gatherings 3 and 4, and Bartolino's Quel sole che nutrica,

between gatherings 4 and 5. Some of the positions of folios in Table 5.7 remain tentative, particularly those in gatherings 10, 12, 15, and 18. Question marks in Table 5.7 denote as yet unidentified composer attributions and type of composition. The "+Fr" symbol, as in the description of the MS structures of FP and Pit, indicates the addition of French-texted works at the bottom of folios.

Although much more remains to be identified in SL 2211, all of it awaiting the making of ultraviolet photographs of the source, we can learn a good deal from it in the present state of our work with it. The MS was evidently the work of only one hand, a scribe who also copied the Gloria and Credo settings on fols. 82v-85r in Lo; changes in staff size, ink color, and even script may indicate, however, distinct layers in the compilation and, as Margaret Bent has suggested, even distinctions in approach to the various repertories--e.g., the copying of French vs. Italian motets.⁵⁰³

The contents of SL 2211 were arranged generically and authorially, an ordering encountered as the repertorial framework of all the major Trecento anthologies. Gatherings

⁵⁰³ Discussion session following the present writer's "Editorial Practices in Early Quattrocento Florentine Anthologies of Secular Polyphony," (unpublished paper) International Congress sponsored by the Centro studi dell'ars nova musicale italiana del trecento: "L'Europa e la musica del trecento" (Certaldo, July 1984).

1 and 3 contain madrigals by Jacopo da Bologna, and this large section of the source devoted to composers known for their madrigals continues into gathering 9 with works by Giovanni da Cascia and Bartolino da Padova (whose ballatas were included as a separate group on fols. 34v-39r). Secular works by Giovanni Mazzuoli (Johannes Organista) occupy most of gathering 9 and all of 10. Francesco Landini, whose madrigals may well have been included in the missing gatherings 6 or 7, appears in the fragmentary gatherings 11, 12, and 13 with but a fraction of his ballatas. Paolo Tenorista follows in gathering 14 with distinct madrigal and ballata sections. In a manner similar to the compilations of FP and Pit, a separate gathering had been set aside for French works, of which present fols. 74, 90, 99, and 77 are a part; and as was true in FP, a gathering for caccias (and other canonic works) appears in SL 2211 toward the end of the collection.

Table 5.7: The Structure of SL 2211

GATHERING 1		orig. fol.	/	new fol.	Repertory / Composer
F				42	?
H				43	+Fr Jacobus de Bononia
	Nel bel giardino				Madrigal
F		iii		44	+Fr
	Io me son un				
F		v		45	
	Sotto l'imperio				
H		vi		46	
	O dolc' appress'				
H		viii		47	
	O in Italia Un bel sparver				
F		viii		48	
	Lo lume vostro				
H		x		49	+Fr ?
	Aquila altera				

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 2 (lacking)

Jacopo da Bologna madrigals ?

GATHERING 3

F	I' senti' già (22)	...xi	11	Madrigal	Jacobus da Bologna	
	Oselletto selvaggio			+Fr		
H	O cieco mondo		12			
				+Fr		
F	Prima virtute	x...	13			
				+Fr		
H	Tanto che siat'		14			
				+Fr		
F	Uselletto selvaggio (caccia)		15			
H	Agnel son bianco		16			
F	La bella stella	x...	17		Johannes de Cascia	
				+Fr		
H	Togliendo l'una a l'altra		18			
				+Fr		
F	Nascoso el viso		19			
				+Fr		
H	Donna già fu (Cantus)		20			

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 4

		Madrigal	Johannes de Cascia
F	Donna già fu (Tenor)		
	O perlaro gentil	+Fr	
H	Appress' un fiume	+Fr	
F	O tu cara sciença		
H	Più non mi curo	+Fr	
F	Fra mille corvi		
H	I bei sembianti	+Fr	Frater Bartolino
F	La douce çere (32)	+Fr	
H	La fiera testa	+Fr	
F	Alba colomba (32)		
H	Quel sole che nutrica (Cantus)		

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

xxx...

xxxv...

xxxviii

xxxviii

xxx...

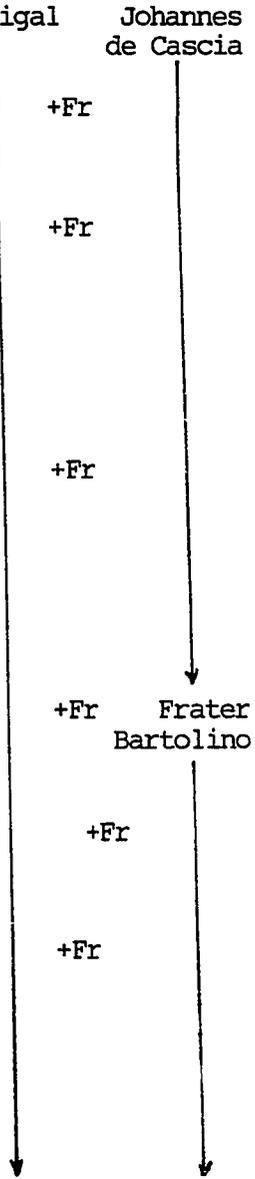


Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 5

Quel sole che nutrica (Tenor)

H	Le aurate chiome		31
H	Donna leggiadra	xxxxii	32
F	Se premio di virtù	x...	33
H	Tanto di mio cor	xxx...	34
H	Quando necessità	xxxxv	35
F	Amor che nel		
F	Qual novità	xxxxvi	36
F	Gioia di nuovi odori	xxxxvii	37
F	Sempre si trova		
H	Chi può servir	xxx...	38
F	Quel degno (32)	xxxviii	39
F	Quando la terra		
H	Qual legge move (Cantus)		40

Madrigal	Frater Bartolino
----------	---------------------

+Fr

+Fr

Ballata

+Fr

Madrigal	+Fr
----------	-----

GATHERING 6 (lacking)

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 7 (lacking)

GATHERING 8

H	Un cane (Tenor)	1...	52	Madrigal +Fr	Don Donatus
	Un bel girfalco			+Fr	
H	Sovran' uccello	1...	53		
	Sovran' uccello			+Fr	
F	Lucida pecorella	lx...	54		
	Lucida pecorella			+Fr	
H	Seguendo 'l canto	1...	55		
	Seguendo 'l canto			+Fr	
F	I' o perduto		56		
	I' o perduto			+Fr	
H	L'aspido sordo		57		
	L'aspido sordo			+Fr	
F	S'i' monacordo	lx...	58		
	S'i' monacordo			+Fr	
F	I' fu' già usignolo (Cantus)	lxxviii	59		

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 9

I' fu' già bianc' (Tenor)				
F	Dal cielo scese	lxxxiii	21	Madrigal +Fr
F	Piè del mondo (22)	lxxxiii	22	+Fr
H		lxxx...	23	Don Donatus
				Johannes Organista
F		lxxx...	28	
H		lxxxviii	29	
F		lxxxviii	30	?
				?

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 10

<p>H</p> <hr/> <p>H</p> <hr/> <p>F</p> <hr/> <p>H</p> <hr/> <p>F</p> <hr/>	<p>Sie per certo (22)</p> <p>lxx...</p> <p>l...</p> <p>No me servia signor (24)</p> <p>Chi non può quel che vuol (21)</p>	<p>27</p> <p>25</p> <p>26</p> <p>24</p> <p>85</p> <p>81</p>	<p>Johannes Organista</p> <p>↓</p> <p>?</p> <p>Johannes Organista</p>
--	---	---	---

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 11

Vita non è più misera	cii	100	Ballata	Francesco Landini
F S'andrai sança merçe				
Va pure amore				
H Se pronto non sarà		103		
Quanto più caro (Ct) [33]				
H Nessun ponga speranza ...vi		A	+Zacarias,	<u>Dicovi per certanca</u>
Po' che partir				
F Gli occhi		106		
Per servar umiltà				
F S'i ti son stato		109		
O fanciulla giulia (Ct) [33]	c...	B	+Fr	?
F				

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 12

De sospirar sovente
 H _____ c...
 Che pena è quest' (Cantus)
 L'alma mia piange (Ct) [33]
 H _____
 Era Venus

41	Ballata	Francesco
	+Fr	Landini
	+Fr	
	↓	↓
50	+Fr	
	Madrigal	Paulus
	+Fr	Abbas

GATHERING 13

F _____ cxxvii
 Ne 'n ciacun (Cantus, Tenor)

89	?	Francesco
	Ballata	Landini
		↓

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 14

Ventilla con tumulto (Tenor)			Madrigal	Paulus
F	Corse per l'onde (a 3?)	51	+Fr	Abbas
			+?	
F	Girand' un bel falcon	101		
			+Fr	
H	Una smaniosa (a 3?)	102		
			+?	
F	Astio non mori	104	↓	
			Ballata	
H	Or sie che può	105		
	Po' c'hanno			
			+?	
F	Amor de' dimmi (3 ¹ ?)	107		
	Amor mi stringe (3 ²)			
	Sie mille volte	108		
			+Fr	
H	Uom ch'osa di veder			
F		60	?	
			?	

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 15

H	CXXXX...	74	?	French-texted repertory ↓
F	CXXXX...	90		
H	C...	99		
F	CXXXX...	77		

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 16

F			82		?
	Et così chomincia...chacia			Caccia	?
		clii	94	↓	?
F	Nell' acqua chiara				[Vincenzo da Rimini]
F	Tosto / che l'alba		83		?
H		cl...	87	Caccia [Gherardello +Fr da Firenze]	
					?
	Qui fault voyr				?
F	Quanto si può si de' sempre fuggire	clviii	95		?
					?
H			88		?
					?

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 17

BLANK RULED			
F		clxi	91
	A Febo Damne (33)		
H		clxii	92
H		cl...	76
F			84
	Lasso dolente (33)		
F		...xv...	93
	Donna s'io o errato (22)		
H		clxvi	96
	Donna non fu già mai (22)		
H			86
F		...xviii	75
F		clxviii	97
	A Febo Damne (22)		
H		clxx	98

Petrus
Iohannis

↓

?

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 18

Label	Description	Number	Page	Notes
F	BLANK RULED	clxxi	71	
H		clxxii	65	Ugolinus de Urbeveteri ↓
		clx...	68	?
H				?
F			78	?
H				?
			73	Ugolinus de Urbeveteri ↓
F		clxxvii	63	
F		clxxviii	66	Adieu ja mais ne puis (22) ?
H				?
	BLANK RULED		80	
F			64	Ugolinus de Urbeveteri ↓
H			67	?

Table 5.7 (cont'd)

GATHERING 19

H	Si nichil actuleris	clxxxi	72	Motet	Hubertus de Salinis ?
F	Jesus salvator	clxx...	62		Hubertus de Salinis Anon.
	Flos ortum / [Celsa]				
	[Lux purpurata]/Diligite	cl...	61		[Jacopo da Bologna]
F	Apta caro / Flos virginum	clxx...	70		Anon.
H	Rex Karole				Anon.
	[Leonarde, pater inclite]/ Parce pater	clxxxviii	69		Anon. ?
F	Impudenter circumivi		79		[Philippe de Vitry]

The most significant additions and surprising repertory for this doubtlessly Florentine source are found in the final three gatherings. Secular works by the son of Giovanni Organista, Piero di Giovanni, appear in gathering 17. The position of these works in the source and the known dates concerning his musical career (organist at San Lorenzo from 1403-15; he died in 1430) are important in establishing a dating toward the end of the second decade of the 15th century.⁵⁰⁴ Gathering 18 contains secular works by the important theorist Ugolino da Orvieto, who, as D'Accone has shown, was hired as a singer in Florence for one year beginning in February, 1417.⁵⁰⁵ Prior to that year, Ugolino had been a canon at the cathedral of Forli, to which we know he returned in the 1420s.⁵⁰⁶ According to Albert Seay, Ugolino attended the Council of Constance as a representative of the city of Forlì, and it is my guess that he left Constance for Italy some time after the deposition of Popes John XXIII and Gregory XII during the summer of

504 D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte," 15-18.

505 D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore in the Early Quattrocento," Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga (Milan, 1973), 106.

506 Albert Seay, "Ugolino of Orvieto, Theorist and Composer," Musica Disciplina, IX (1955), 111-156; idem, "Ugolino of Orvieto," The New Grove, XIX, 320.

1415.507

The final gathering constitutes a collection of motets, both old and more recent. As can be seen in Table 5.7, it opens with the newer works: two motets by the northerner Hubertus de Salinis--Si nichil actuleris and Jesu Salvator (both later copied into BL). It should not go unnoticed that Salinis, too, might have been in Constance, for a troped Gloria setting of his in BL may have been written to celebrate the election of Pope Martin V at the Constance Council in 1417.⁵⁰⁸ It was this repertory of motets and, of course, that of his own songs in gathering 18 which Ugolino himself could have brought to Florence in 1417. The older motet repertory belongs to a corpus of works copied and recopied in many North-Italian late medieval sources: Flos ortum/Celsa cedrus, Apta caro/Flos virginum, Rex Karole Johannis genite, and one attributed by modern scholarship to Phillipe de Vitry, Impudenter circumivi.

As in FP, Pit, and Sq, then, composers who were known to have been active in northern Italy are well represented in SL 2211--Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna, and Bartolino da Padova--with an impressive collection for the latter, who, outside of Sq, was generally

⁵⁰⁷ Seay, "Ugolino of Orvieto," New Grove, 320.

⁵⁰⁸ See Gibert Reaney, ed., Early Fifteenth-Century Music, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, XI (American Institute of Musicology, 1983), VII, 34.

not afforded such honor. What is striking, as D'Accone has stated, is the lack of Florentine composers contemporary with Donato, although the strong possibility remains that works by Lorenzo and Gherardello were included in missing gatherings 6 and 7.⁵⁰⁹

Francesco Landini certainly must have received a good deal of space in the collection--at least gatherings 11, 12, and 13--the most severely mutilated section in the MS. As it is, we have a total of nine leaves (including three single leaves) out of a possible thirty folios devoted to him. If, as the surviving ballatas suggest, Landini's works in SL 2211 are known from other sources, then, it is fortunate that his was the section which received such treatment, and not that of his colleague, Paolo Tenorista (gathering 14), whose works, like those of Giovanni Organista, were never entered into Sq. Among his works in SL 2211 are some which have long been known as compositions by Paolo, and a few others were identified as his by Ursula Gunther in her study of erased attributions in Pit: the ballatas Girand' un bel falcon and Sie mille volte maledetta. To this corpus we may now add some works which were not attributed at all in the Paris source: the madrigal Una smaniosa e insensata vecchia (Pit, 48v-49r) and the ballatas Astio non mori mai (Pit, 112r) and

⁵⁰⁹ D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte," 14.

Amor mi stringe assai (Pit, 78v-79r).⁵¹⁰

The repertory of songs by Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli and Ugolino da Orvieto, lacking concordances and proper photographs, are difficult, if not impossible, to decipher accurately, but we can already see a glimmer of the style of their works in the few partly transcribable pieces. We know from other musical and literary collections that ballata texts designed for music seemed to have been undergoing a change in the early years of the 15th century. Mixed in with love lyrics and moralizing verses are those of a more popular kind, such as the following sonnet by the Florentine Antonio di Meglio (1384-1448), set by Giovanni Organista and found on present fol. 81v of SL 2211:⁵¹¹ "Chi non può quel che vuol, quel che può voglia,/ Che quel che non si può foll' è volere./ E quell' uom dicco saggio da tenere/ Che da quel che possa il voler toglia." (He who cannot do what he wishes, should wish to do only what he can, for it is folly to want what cannot be had. I say that a man is wise if he wishes for nothing.)

Equally as important as the change in poetic taste is the nature of the melodic lines and their relationship to

⁵¹⁰ The latter two were identified by D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte, 30-1.

⁵¹¹ The text has survived in several Florentine poetic anthologies; I quote the opening lines from a MS in the Fondo Principale of the Biblioteca nazionale in Florence. See Antonio Lanza, Lirici toscani del quattrocento (Rome, 1975), II, 133.

the text. What little can be reconstructed from the SL 2211 readings reveals that the amount of melodic fioritura in some of the newer songs is considerably less than that seen in earlier Trecento songs. The choice of mensurations, particularly senaria imperfecta, inclines toward a slightly popular regularity, though subject to variation through hemiola syncopation, and does not really afford room for the elaborate and often irregular melismas of the earlier madrigal.

Photographic magic is needed to transcribe properly Ugolino da Orvieto's secular works, but among the more visible features of his style are the following points: (1) the use of mixed void and black notation with coloration, with several works completely notated in void notation (signaling a syncopated style); (2) the appearance of French- and Italian-texted pieces, including some macaronic examples.

While not the complete picture by any means, we have a good idea of the contents of SL 2211. But what of the nature of the readings themselves? Does this source give us some indication of how Florentine collectors ca. 1420 viewed their musical past and present? The answer is yes, and the conclusion is perhaps obvious: the older repertory became fixed in its transmission. By the second decade of the 15th century, the once live art of Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo's earliest works had ceased to bend and flex with the

stimulation of a performing tradition; at such a distance from their genesis, these works were beginning to be copied and recopied in essentially the same way. The foil for the older repertory in SL 2211 is, of course, the body of newer works--compositions by Landini, Paolo, Bartolino, and other late 14th- and early 15th-century authors. The transmission of their works continues to be infused with the variations, arrangements, and editorial transformations practiced by performers and scribes alike.

Evidence of the "stabilization" of the oldest Trecento repertory in SL 2211 may be noted in the following examples. The order of Giovanni da Cascia's madrigals, a sequence which, as we have seen, still exhibited some fluctuations in FP and Lo, seems to be fixed. On the one hand, although no direct copying can be proved between SL 2211 and Sq, the order of Giovanni's madrigals is exactly the same in the two sources, and the former may thus have drawn on a source related to Sq. On the other hand, the order of Bartolino and Paolo works is not nearly as regulated as is that of Giovanni. Certain details of readings in the music and text of older songs appear to be recopied rather than newly introduced, including (1) notational archaisms (e.g., the enclosed vertical bars as mensuration signs in Giovanni's Più non mi curo in Sq and on

fols. 4v-5r in SL 2211);⁵¹² (2) variants in the musical text, such as the ritornello of Giovanni's madrigal Donna già fu is notated one pitch higher only in Sq and SL 2211; (3) variants in the verbal text, especially dialectal features introduced in the Florentine orbit. A related element may be found in those works whose texts existed in only fragmentary fashion in Florentine MSS surviving from before their inclusion in SL 2211; the missing tercets of early madrigals do not appear in SL 2211 (e.g., Giovanni's Fra mille corvi).

We also see in the older repertory of the collection the disappearance of traits which would no longer have had any meaning; e.g., the disregard of one-pitch ligatures and changes in the texts of the madrigals Più non mi curo and Donna già fu gentile, reveal the loss of what may have been senhals on the name "Anna."⁵¹³ To some extent, this "fixity" holds true for other northern repertory as well, particularly the works of Bartolino da Padova. Thus, the missing tercet of Le aurate chiome does not appear in SL 2211; and, as we might expect, the SL 2211 readings follow

⁵¹² In general, SL 2211 agrees with Sq and/or Pit when the latter two disagree against northern sources.

⁵¹³ See Corsi, Poesie musicali, 12-18; the text of o perlaro gentil in SL 2211 is illegible. The older sources, or those with northern ties, retain the senhals; see particularly GR 16's reading of the Tenor at the beginning of the ritornello of Appress' un fiume chiaro, where "Anna" is emphasized through the use of rests (not present in Sq nor, apparently, in SL 2211).

those of Sq and Pit, where the latter differ from northern sources.

The newer repertory displays the vital signs of editorial/performance involvement in the details of the compositions. Examples include the following: (1) Zacar's Dicovi per certança (in gathering 11) is here transposed up a fifth from its Sq reading; (2) the use of mixed void-black notation, so characteristic of late 14th- and early 15th-century syncopated works in the Florentine repertory, is never rendered exactly in the same manner in SL 2211, Pit, Sq, and FP; (3) nor does SL 2211 always agree with other Florentine sources on such matters as the order of compositions, voicing, texting, and pitch content (e.g., the Tenor of Paolo's Amor deh dimmi differs markedly from the reading in Pit); (4) we also have examples of earlier three-voice works now possibly reduced to two-voice texture (e.g., Paolo's Amor de dimmi), and the reverse (e.g., Bartolino's Quel degno di memoria, now a 3); (5) SL 2211 does furnish us with some missing texts and music for the later repertory (e.g., the second tercet for Donato's S'i' monacordo, and the Contratenor part for Paolo's Amor mi stringe).

In SL 2211 we have a magnificent new Florentine source of Italian polyphony which not only offers completely unknown early 15th-century works, but also helps to inform us of the way an era of Italian music-making was drawing to a close, telescoping with the newer art of an early

15th-century international style. The impetus for the assembling of such a collection, in the absence of a scholarly university tradition or courtly milieu, seems to have been the continued exhibition of Florentine pride in native Italian polyphonic composition, seen also in Sq, joined with the cultivation of some of the most cosmopolitan repertory of the time.

A CODA: MAGISTER ANTONIUS DICTUS ZACHARIAS DE TERAMO

In 1971, Nino Pirrotta discussed the numerous early 15th-century attributions containing various forms of the name "Zacar," believing then that they referred to three distinct authors: Antonius Zacharias de Teramo, Magister Zacharias, and Nicolaus Zacharie.⁵¹⁴ He placed Antonius in the Roman chapel of Pope Gregory XII, and viewed him as the composer of music attributed to a "Zacar" in Man/ManP and BL. His one exception in BL was a Gloria setting attributed to "N. Zacharie" (fols. 145v-147r), associated by Pirrotta with a Nicolaus Zacharie of Brindisi, a composer in the chapel of Pope Martin V during the 1420s and '30s.⁵¹⁵ Three compositions survive with attributions to "N. Zacharie" or "Nicolaus Zacharie": (1) the Gloria in BL noted above, (2) a ballata, Già per gran nobilta, in O 213 (fol. 125v), and (3) a motet, Letetur Plebs, in the same source (fols. 28v-29r).

⁵¹⁴ Nino Pirrotta, "Zacharus musicus," Quadrivium, XII (1971), 153-175. He has since returned to the subject by incorporating new findings in a postscript to the reprint of the essay in Music and Culture in Italy From the Middle Ages to the Baroque, (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 141-44. See Table 5.8, below, for a list of the Zacar attributions.

⁵¹⁵ A name and place of origin reported by Franz Xaver Haberl, Bausteine für Musikgeschichte I: Wilhelm Du Fay, (Leipzig, 1885), 65, 435, 454, 463. Haberl's reading of the name "Nicol. Gechanc" in an April 1434 document (p. 67) probably represent a misreading of "Nicol. Çecharas" (?).

The third composer in Pirrotta's group was designated as "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape," the author of seven songs in Sq.⁵¹⁶ Because of known Florentine support for the schismatic Popes Alexander V and, particularly, John XXIII, Pirrotta believed that the "nostri pape" might have been a reference to one of these popes, whom Magister Çacherias presumably served. This composer was considered by Pirrotta to be the oldest of the three men and quite possibly the father of Nicolaus.⁵¹⁷

Since Pirrotta's pioneering essay, the question of Zacar attributions has been addressed by Gilbert Reaney and, notably, Agostino Ziino.⁵¹⁸ Reaney sought to reduce Pirrotta's three composers to two by combining Nicolaus and Magister Çacherias into one person, basing this contention on documentation that the papal singer Nicolaus from Brindisi was known to have been employed at Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, and his works would therefore be likely candidates for inclusion in Sq.

In the most recent attempt to solve the question of Zacar attributions, Ziino produced impressive results through archival research in Rome. He was able to document

⁵¹⁶ Some of the songs have concordances in other sources; see Reaney, ed., Early Fifteenth-Century Music, XI, vi.

⁵¹⁷ Pirrotta, "Zacharus," 163.

⁵¹⁸ Agostino Ziino, "Magister Antonius"; Gilbert Reaney, "Zacharias," The New Grove Dictionary, XX, 609-10.

a probable career for a Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo, beginning with a papal bull, dated 1 February 1391, from the Roman Pope Boniface IX, appointing Antonius to the post of scriptor litterarum apostolicarum.⁵¹⁹ The document also mentions that Antonius had been a singer in the papal chapel. The coincidence of the two nearly identical names--Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo (in the papal bull) and Magister Antonius Zachara de Teramo (in Man/ManP)--strongly suggested that they were one and the same man.

Ziino cited papal documents signed by Antonius Zacharias for the period 1391-1407, confirming his position as scriptor through the reigns of Popes Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and into that of Gregory XII, elected in 1406. After the final document signed by Antonius in June of 1407, Ziino lost all documentary trace of the papal singer/scribe.⁵²⁰ It was possible, he suggested, to continue an outline of Antonius' career elsewhere in Italy, which, however much it relied on sheer speculation, could be supported by circumstantial evidence. He argued that although Zacar's name might have disappeared from the documents because of death or retirement, such an occurrence

⁵¹⁹ Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 311.

⁵²⁰ Ziino cited 30 documents signed by Zacar; see "Magister Antonius," 317-19.

would hardly explain the musician's national and international fame.⁵²¹

Ziino suggested that after the last-signed papal bull of 1407, Antonius left Rome with Gregory XII and his curia, a journey which took him northward to Viterbo, Siena, and Lucca.⁵²² During that trip it became clear to all involved that Gregory XII had no intention of meeting with the Avignonese Pope, Benedict XIII, who had come to Italy in an effort to resolve the problem of schism.

It is not difficult to envision the composer Antonius Zacharias first following Gregory, then joining in the general disillusionment of Gregory's followers, abandoning the Pope in July of 1408 along with many members of the curia, and convening with a great number of other people in Pisa, where a general council was to be held the following year, 1409. Ziino supposed that the defection to the Pisan side, and association with at least one of the schismatic popes, would then give the Sq attribution the meaning first proposed by Pirrotta: "cantor domini nostri pape" could have referred to a musician who had been in the chapel of Pope John XXIII, but not necessarily to the singer

⁵²¹ To judge from the widespread dissemination of the compositions; see Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 320-21.

⁵²² Gregory's trip has been documented by Herbert Immerkotter, "Ein avignonesischer Bericht zur Unionspolitik Benedikts XIII," Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum, VIII (1976), 224.

employed by Pope Martin V, whose stay in Florence took place several years later (1419-1420).⁵²³ Ziino suggested that sometime after Zacar's supposed service to John XXIII (deposed at the Council of Constance in 1415) the composer probably returned to his native city, Teramo, where he set about to earn the reputation for high standards of musical performance and fame as a teacher reported by the bishop of Teramo in 1463.⁵²⁴

Ziino further hypothesized, on stylistic grounds, an identification between "Magister Çacharias cantor domini nostri pape" of Sq and the Antonius he had found in Roman papal documents and named in other musical sources.⁵²⁵ If he is correct, then the entire corpus of works attributed to various forms of the name "Zacar"--with the exception of the three pieces ascribed to Nicolaus Zacharie--would be the work of one man, a native Italian composer whose total surviving output compares with that of the more well-known Johannes Ciconia. Such a single figure, if he existed, would be central to our understanding of Italian secular and sacred music in the early years of the 15th century, and thus it is fitting that we end our study with a look at a different kind of evidence that relates to the elusive

⁵²³ John XXIII was a pope, after all, with clear Florentine ties; see Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 331-32.

⁵²⁴ Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 346.

⁵²⁵ Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 337-45.

"Zacar."

In 1983, Richard Sherr reported on the contents of Vatican Archive volumes which had remained in the Paris Archives Nationales after their removal from Rome by Napoleon's armies in the early 19th century.⁵²⁶ Now, one of those volumes preserves a fragment of a book of the mandati camerali prepared in Rome in the eleventh year of the reign of Pope Boniface IX. The volume contains lists of chapel members for three months in early 1400 which not only provide the first specific information about the personnel of the chapel during the reign of Boniface, but as well include the first documentation on Antonius Zacharias as a musician in the papal chapel after the year 1391. As Sherr points out, the Parisian documents together with Ziino's findings reveal that Antonius combined two positions: scriptor apostolicus and singer in the papal chapel. The list for 6 February 1400 reads as follows: Abbas Angelus, magister capelle; Jacobus de Aquila; Johannes Ortega; Zacchara (a second list names him as "Zaccharias"); Michel Cicchus; Paulus de Frosolona; Antonius de Reate; Antonius de Aquila; Paulus de Aversa; Johannellus, clericus capelle.

A document discovered by Ziino and first reported in the addendum to Nino Pirrotta's 1971 article is, I believe,

⁵²⁶ Richard Sherr, "Notes on Some Papal Documents in Paris," Studi musicali, XII (1983), 7.

the key to the solution of problematic Zacar identities.⁵²⁷ It is a description of the musician Zacarias which first appeared in a now-lost 15th-century necrologio aprutino, and it reads as follows:

Zaccarias Teramnensis, vir apprime
doctus in musicis, composuit quamplures
cantilenas, quae nostra aetate per Italiam
cantatur, et Gallis et Germanis cantoribus in
maxima veneratione habentur: fuit statura
corporis parva, et in manibus et pedibus non
nisi decem digitos habuit, et tamen eleganter
scribebat. In Curia Romana principatum
obtinens magna stipendia meruit.

What has thus far not been emphasized in the literature is that Zacarias de Teramo is unambiguously described as the author of many compositions which "in our time are sung in Italy, and which are held in the highest regard by French and German singers." Aside from the indirect evidence of far-ranging dispersal of his works through MS dissemination, the opening of the necrological document is the only direct testimony to Antonius Zacharias' fame in the 15th century. This document alone forces us to view Zacar as an international figure. The unusual information concerns the physical description: he was short of stature ("fuit statura corporis parva") and he had no more than ten digits between his hands and toes, although he could write elegantly ("et in manibus et pedibus non nisi decem digitos habuit, et tamen eleganter scribebat").

⁵²⁷ Pirrotta, "Zacharus," 165-66; Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 314.

We have long known and admired the beauty of execution in the miniatures of Sq. I believe the depictions in this MS of the Florentine composers and others active at the turn of the 15th century are portraits in a real sense rather than more idealized decorations, for they appear to include elements in addition to their dress that square with what we know about the composers from other sources. The inclusion of Landini's laurel wreath, earned according to legend during a journey to northern Italy, may be the result of more fiction than reality, but a striking physical feature has been depicted by the artist: the closed, sunken eyes of a blind man, a condition we know to have existed from attributions in other musical sources.⁵²⁸ Moreover, Landini's tombstone in the church of San Lorenzo, Florence, bears out this physical attribute both in its inscription and, once again, in the portrayal of closed, sunken eyes.⁵²⁹

528 See the attribution "Franciscus cecus de florentia" in Man/ManP (see Chapter 4), and the biographical notes offered by Filippo Villani, Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus (Florence, 1847), 57.

529 See the reproduction in, among other sources, Leonard Ellinwood, The Works of Francesco Landini (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), xvi.

Figure 5.1: Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape
Sq, fol. 175v



The portrait of "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" in Sq (fol. 175v; see Figure 5.1) likewise displays the physical features of its subject: Zacarias clearly lacks several fingers on each of his two hands, his left arm appears to be held in some sort of sling, and his left foot is malformed. That such features were purposefully drawn is confirmed by an examination of the other Sq portraits. The holding of a book is a stance adopted for several of the composers--Gherardello, Vincenzo, Nicolò, and Bartolino --and in all of them fingers have been distinctly drawn, appearing long and slender; undoubtedly, the depiction of the hands of Magister Çacherias provide a strong, intentional contrast. This evidence corroborates the description in the necrological document and clarifies its meaning: despite his missing fingers, Zacarias could still function as papal scriptor); the portrait confirms Ziino's contention that the Sq Çacherias could indeed be the Antonius cited in Roman documents from before 1391 to June 1407.

Table 5.8: Attributions to Zacarias in Musical Sources

- Rosetta che non cambi mai colore: "Magister Antonius Çachara [...]" (Man/ManP, p. 22)
- Un fior gentil m'aparve: "[...] de Teramo" (Man/ManP, fol. P5r)
- Deus deorum, Pluto: "Çachara de Teramo" (Man/ManP, fols. P5v-6r)
- Amor ne tossa: "Magister Antonius Çachara [...]" (Man/ManP, fol. P6v)
- Plorans ploravi: "[...] de Teramo" (Man/ManP, pp. 23-24)
- Sol me trafige'l cor: "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" (Sq, fol. 177v); "Magister Zacharius" (Man/ManP, p. 25); "Magister Zacharias" (Mod, fols. 13v-14r)
- Ciaramella, me dolçe ciaramella: "Magister Antonius Çachara de Teramo" (Man/ManP, pp. 26-27)
- Je suy navres / Gnaff' a le guagnele: "Magister [Antonius?] de Teramo" (Man/ManP, pp. 28-29)
- Ad ogne vento volta come foglia: "Zacharias de Teramo" (Man/ManP, pp. 30-31)
- Ferito già d'un amoroso dardo: "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" (Sq, fol. 175v)
- Non voler, donna, me di morte: "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" (Sq, fol. 175v)
- Dicovi per certança: "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" (Sq, fol. 176r)
- Benchè lontan mi trov' in altra parte: "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" (Sq, fol. 176r); "M. Zacharias" (Mod, fol. 23r)
- Movit' a pietade: "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" (Sq, fol. 176r)
- Cacciando per gustar / Ay cinci, ay topi: "Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape" (Sq, fols. 176v-177r)
- Sumite karissime: "Magister Zacharias" (Mod, fols. 11v-12r)

Nuda non era: "M. Antonius Çachara" (O 213, fol. 100v)

I' ardo in un fogo: "Anthonius clericus apostolicus" (Str 222, fol. 91v)

De bon parole tal pronto se fa: "Nucella" [= "Micinella"?] (Str 222, fol. 86v)

Gloria: "Zeltenpferd" [=Z. de Ter(amo)] (Str 222, fols. 39v-40r)

Gloria: "Z. Micinella" (BL, fols. 16v-17)

Credo: "Z. Cursor" (BL, fols. 17v-19r)

Gloria: "Zacar rosetta" (BL, fols. 66v-68r)

Credo: "Zacar scabioso" (BL, fols. 68v-71r)

Gloria: "Zacar fior gentil" (BL, fols. 71v-73r)

Credo: "Zacar Deus deorum" (BL, fols. 73v-76r)

Gloria (Laus, honor): "Zacar" (BL, fols. 86v-88r); "Zacharie maius O" (Em, fols. 37v-38r; these folios are now missing); "[...] d[i]c[tus] Çacharias" (Pad D 1225, fol. 2r)

Credo: "Zacar" (BL, fols. 88v-90r); "Zaccharias" (Mod, fols. 23v-25r); "M. Antonius [...]" (Pad D 1225, fol. 2v)

Gloria: "Zacar" (BL, fols. 106v-107r; same attribution also appears in the index) (attributed to "Nicolaus de Capoa" in BU, pp. 16-17, and to "Bosquet" in Em, fols. 35v-36r)

Credo: "Zacar" (BL, fols. 106v-108r; known as Credo "du vilage"); "Zach[ara] de Teramo" (TR87, fols. 164v-165r, 156r; known as Credo "dominicale")

Gloria: "Zacar ad ogni vento" (BL, fols. 154v-156r); "O Czakariz magistri Anthonij" (Kras, fols. 196r, 198r-200r)

Gloria: "Zacar anglicana" (BL, fols. 156v-157r)

Credo: "Slowye szacharie mneysche" (StP, fols. 2v-4r); "Opus Zacharie" (Kras, fols. 193v-195r)

Credo: "M. A. dictus Z" (Civ, fol. Bv)

With the necrological document still firmly in mind, the variations in the references to Zacar in the musical sources yield a surprising result. Forty-two ascriptions surviving in some two dozen sources can be associated with the body of music under discussion here (see Table 5.8).⁵³⁰ Many of the variants can be shown to refer to the same man--Antonius Zacharias--and can be disarmed either through differences in concordant versions or through codicological considerations. For example, the "Magister Zacharias" on p. 25 of Man/ManP (at the top of the ballata Sol me trafige'l cor) falls on the opening recto of a new gathering (see Chapter 4). Thus, the composer attribution evidently had to be placed on one folio instead of the customary reading across an opening, and the scribe felt, perhaps, that he did not have room for the entire name.⁵³¹

One aspect of the name is still cause for concern, however, namely the fact that in the Roman documents cited by Ziino, Antonio himself always signed his name as "Antonio de Teramo." He never once used "Zacarias" or "Zachara."⁵³²

⁵³⁰ I have not given a complete list of concordances, only those with ascriptions; for the others, see Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music, VI.

⁵³¹ The norm in the MS was a full name copied across an opening: "Magister Antonius Zachara de Teramo." There are three works whose attributions are exceptions to this form of the name, but they were, nevertheless, all copied across openings: Deus deorum, Ad ogne vento, Je suy navres; see Table 5.8.

⁵³² See the documents cited by Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 317-19.

The papal bull of 1 February 1391, however, quite clearly names an "Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo"--a "dictus" seconded in a Cividale copy of one of his Credo movements (cf. Table 5.8): "M.A. dictus Z." An examination of all the Zacar attributions turned up a new reading in Pad D 1225, fol. 2r, where I read "dictus çacharias" and not what has been reported as "dominus çacharias."⁵³³ This reading also makes more sense in the context of attributions copied across openings in the same source, for it is but half of the fully named "M. Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo" (cf. fol. 2v of Pad D 1225, Table 5.8, above). These appearance of the phrase "dictus Zacharias" (called "Zacharias") lead to a reconsideration of Pirrotta's suggestion that the very name "Zacharias" could have been, in fact, not a family name, but rather a descriptive name--a soubriquet.⁵³⁴

We know from historians and philologists, as well as from examples in our own discipline, that medieval and Renaissance surnames often consisted of a toponymic adjective or place-name, preceded by a preposition such as "de," "di," or "da," usually denoting the city or area of

⁵³³ See Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music, VI, xvi.

⁵³⁴ See Pirrotta, "Zacharus," 165-66.

origin, or a person's usual place of residence.⁵³⁵ This type of name is indeed present in Antonius' full name: "Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo." One would suppose from this that he hailed from the city of Teramo in the Italian Marche. Another variety of medieval surname is the personal nickname, which, although not always retained throughout a person's life, is used jointly with the Christian name, alternatively with it, or jointly with other names such as a toponymic designator.⁵³⁶

A search for the meaning of "Zacharias" in the Bible reveals that Antonius' surname probably had little to do with the best known bearer of that name--the father of John the Baptist; rather, it appears that Zacarias is more closely connected to the name Zacchaeus. The graphic narrative of Luke, Chapter 19, verses 1-10, tells us of Zacchaeus, a chief publican in charge of tax collecting, who received Jesus after the latter's entry into the city of Jericho. As the story has it, there is much that is picturesque in the narrative: the care Jesus showed for the meanest and most despised person in the city, Zacchaeus'

⁵³⁵ See Benjamin Kedar, "Toponymic Surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views," Viator, IV (1973), 123-30.

⁵³⁶ See Walter Emery, "The Use of the Surname in the Study of Medieval Economic History," Medievalia et Humanistica, VII (1952), 43-50; Robert Lopez, "Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin," Medievalia et Humanistica, VIII (1954), 6-16.

hospitality toward Jesus in inviting him to stay in his house, and, finally, his repentance and giving up of worldly possessions.

The relevant feature of the story for us comes at the beginning, for Zacchaeus, wishing to see Jesus but unable to do so because he was so short of stature, climbed a sycamore tree to see over the heads of the crowd. If Antonius de Teramo's documented diminutive size was a basis for a nickname (cf. the necrological document, above), then surely here was the origin of the soubriquet "Zacharias" or "Zachara," particularly in light of the name form "Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo." There is little question in my mind regarding the credibility of "Zacharias" as a metamorphosed "Zacchaeus," for the story of the Biblical Zacchaeus was very much alive in Western Europe, the most obvious manifestations of this being the depiction of the narrative in sculpture, frescoes, tapestries, MS miniatures, and paintings. The very aspect of the story chosen for depiction was that of Zachaeus climbing the sycamore tree.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁷ For an iconographical survey of the Zacchaeus story, see Erich Dinkler, Der Einzug in Jerusalem (Munich, 1970), 36-75. The story of Zacchaeus was incorporated into the depiction of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, and this is historically incorrect, for according to Luke, it took place in Jericho, when Jesus was passing through that town on the way to Jerusalem (he arrived in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday). The iconographical history of Luke's story goes back to a 4th-century sarcophagus in Arles; toward the end of the Middle Ages and into the 16th century it became one of the

Another strong body of evidence exists which securely ties the story of Zacchaeus to the physical description of Antonio de Teramo and, hence, to his nickname, "Zaccharias," and that is the almost certain biblical etymological origin of many variations of Zacar-type words in use during the 14th to 16th centuries. No secondary source, to my knowledge, has offered the New Testament story as the origin of these words. The Dizionario dialettale napoletano, for instance, gives the meaning of "zaccaro" as "un fanciullo, birichino, monello," and even "un po" (a boy, a mischievous boy, an imp, a little bit). In the same dictionary, under "zaccheo" (an important orthographical variant), we find the meaning "nano, pigmeo" (midget, pigmy).⁵³⁸ The Nuovo Dizionario dialettale della Calabria offers "zaccanu" as "un pezzetto di terreno di poco valore" (a small piece of land of little value; a definition with two diminutives); and the Calabrese word "zaccanuotu" translates into modern Italian as "un uomo basso" (a short

most popular Biblical subjects of artists. It even acquired the image of several people climbing a tree "ad Zacchei similitudinem" (imitating Zacchaeus). Another piece of evidence supporting the idea of continued transmission of the biblical story of Zacchaeus throughout the late Middle Ages survives in the form of a text set to music--"Zacheus arboris ascendit stipitem"--one setting of which survives in the MS I-Vm 145 (fols. 90r-90v), dating from the early 15th century.

⁵³⁸ Antonio Altamura, ed., (Naples, 1968), 383.

man).⁵³⁹ Other dialectal dictionaries offer the following variations:

"zacharam" -- minutaglia (minutiae, or 'odds and ends')⁵⁴⁰

"zacola" -- carries the meaning bagatella (a bagatelle)⁵⁴¹

"zacchera" -- means strettoio (an alleyway, a narrow passageway)⁵⁴²

In the 14th and 15th centuries the word "zacchera" came to mean "una cosa da poco preggio" (an object of little value), "niente" (nothing), and "un uomo da poco" (a worthless man).⁵⁴³ In Florence, a "zacchera" specifically meant "un uomo molto piccolo," and was sometimes used in an insulting manner: "È una zacchera," combining the qualities of shortness and worthlessness.⁵⁴⁴ A particularly interesting origin for one sense of the word goes back to the Hebrew "tzaghrar," which was translated as the Latin "parvum" during the Middle Ages. The Longobardian version, "zahhar" took on the meaning of "lacrima," and this found its

⁵³⁹ Gerhard Rohlfs, ed., (Ravenna, 1977), 799.

⁵⁴⁰ Vocabolario trentino-italiano, ed. Vittore Ricci (Trent, 1904), 507.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 507.

⁵⁴² Nuovo dizionario della lingua italiana, ed. Niccolo Tommaseo (Milan, 1879), 438.

⁵⁴³ Dizionario etimologico italiano, ed. Carlo Battista and Giovanni Alessio (Florence, 1957), V, 4103.

⁵⁴⁴ Nuovo dizionario della lingua italiana, 438.

counterparts in the German "zaher" as well as the English "zear" and the modern English "tear" (i.e., a droplet of water).⁵⁴⁵

It is possible, then, that Antonio picked up the descriptive name "Zacarias" for reasons of physical height. Such a derivation would allow us to see the ascription of a Credo in the Polish source StP (fols. 2v-4r; see Table 5.8) as yet another reference to Antonius' diminutive height: could not one read the attribution "slowye zacharie mneysche" as "the work of Zacar, the short one"? As Pirrotta has already pointed out, the word "micinella" (used in the title of Zacar's Gloria "Micinella") could also refer to Antonius' height, for it has the meaning of "small" in Southern Italy.⁵⁴⁶

I return now to a consideration of Zacar's career as singer and composer, rethinking Agostino Ziino's stimulating suggestion that Zacar's most "international" years must have been spent in northern Italy. It is not difficult to imagine the composer leaving Rome with Pope Gregory XII in the summer of 1407, for, after all, he was in his service (at least as scriptor apostolicus) right up to the eve of the departure for Viterbo. During the course of the next

⁵⁴⁵ Dizionario etimologico italiano, 4103; see also the Vocabolario etimologico italiano, ed. Angelo Prati (Milan, 1951), 1057-58.

⁵⁴⁶ Pirrotta, "Zacharus," 164.

year, Gregory resided in Siena for four months and Lucca for most of 1408; and when negotiations finally broke down with Benedict, Gregory moved on to Rimini, Padova, and, finally, Cividale del Friuli, where he had called a mini-council (6 June to 5 September 1409) in an effort to save his papacy.⁵⁴⁷

I suspect that Antonius Zacarias did not abandon the Roman pope quite as suddenly as did others in his curia in Lucca in 1408, when it first became apparent that Gregory had no intention of trying to bring the schism to an end. To judge from the surviving musical sources, Antonius left a trail of his journey with the Roman curia in the form of compositions: (1) Siense fragments (SieA, SieB) containing four of Zacar's Mass movements, and (2) the compositions in the Cividale and Padova collections cited in Table 5.8. A recent study of the relationship between the Malatesta family of Rimini and the Papal State during the early years of the 15th century carefully documents, in fact, a gradual defection on the part of Gregory's adherents;⁵⁴⁸ among the prelates and cardinals leaving the discredited pope at the end of 1408 and early 1409 (and not in July of 1408, as so many others had done) were Baldassare Cossa, the

⁵⁴⁷ See Germano Gualdo, "Frammenti di storia veneta nei sommari di registri perduti di Alessandro V (1409-1410)," in Italia sacra: Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, XV (1970), 397-481.

⁵⁴⁸ Peter Jones, The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State (Cambridge, 1974), 127.

archbishop of Bologna and future Pope John XXIII, and Pietro Philargo, archbishop of Milan and soon-to-be-elected Pope Alexander V in Pisa in the summer of 1409.⁵⁴⁹

The first non-circumstantial evidence that Antonius was in northern Italy during the years of three-fold schism comes from a source thought by music historians to have disappeared: the Introitus et Exitus books from the papacy of John XXIII, now among the Strozzi papers in the Florence Biblioteca Nazionale.⁵⁵⁰ I was led to these expense books by the historian Lothar Waldmüller, who in 1975 published a list of the dispersed John XXIII documents.⁵⁵¹ The three surviving books in Florence were fortunately saved by the collector Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi in the year 1670, as his

⁵⁴⁹ Another possible thread tying Antonius to northern Italy is the appearance of a certain "Anthonio de Teramo" as a witness to the granting of a doctorate in iuris civilis to a Simone Lellis da Teramo, a fellow Teramese, at the University of Padova on 8 December 1410. This is reported in Gaspare Zonta and Giovanni Brotto's Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini (Padua, 1922), an inventory which lists degree recipients, officiating faculty, and witnesses to the granting of degrees at the University of Padua from January 1406 through the 15th century. Also present at Simone's graduation was Francesco Zabarella, the great conciliarist and patron of Johannes Ciconia. Zacar's possible presence in the Veneto, contact with Ciconia's music, and Ciconia with Zacar's, would support the stylistic similarities between the two composers.

⁵⁵⁰ Magl. XIX.80 (1410); Magl. XIX.79 (1410-12); Magl. XIX.81 (1413-1414).

⁵⁵¹ Lothar Waldmüller, "Materialen zur Geschichte Johannes XXIII (1410-1414)," Annuario Historiae Conciliorum, VII (1975), 229-37.

signature and date on all three opening flyleaves attest.⁵⁵²

The three volumes cover the Italian years of John XXIII's reign: from May 1410, shortly after his election in Bologna, through the end of September 1414, on the eve of his October 1 departure for the great Council of Constance. Records for the earlier years, unfortunately, do not document the chapel singers; a series of entries for late 1412 and early 1413 on fol. 39r of MS Magl. XIX.79 is the first in these volumes: (1) the notice for 3 December 1412 (the first entry on the page) only mentions the fact that five singers are currently in service ("cantores quinque usitatis pro ___ salarii mensis novembris habuerunt pro bullam sub die 3 dicembris florini decem --- ff .X.); (2) toward the bottom of the series of entries we find Zacar ("Item habuit zachara pro toto januarii dicta die florini quatuor ----- ff -- .iiij."); (3) under Zacar's name appears that of another singer--"Jo. tenorista"; (4) the final entry (for February 1413) again singles out Zachara.

Antonio's presence is unmistakable when we find his name heading the 18 March 1413 list of singers on fol. 109r

⁵⁵² It is no surprise that John XXIII documents should have been found in Florence, for after his deposition in Constance in 1415, John eventually made his way back into Italy, and died in Florence in November 1420. The Medici saw to it that his likeness was carved by the great Donatello for his tomb in the Baptistery. See Robert Loomis, ed., The Council of Constance (New York, 1961), 169. Incidentally, the very same signature and date appear on the 17th-century flyleaf of a well-known Trecento song collection, together with a list of the composers in that MS: Lo.

of MS Magl. XIX.81. Here we encounter the singers as follows: Magistro Antonio dicto çachara, Angelo, Jacobo, Jonatas, Stefano, Johani Bordoni, Matheo, Johanni Brunet, Johanni Bruandy, and Petro. Essentially the same list appears on 1 April 1413 (fol. 113r), beginning at the top of the page with the marginal note "pro quinque cantoribus antiquis," and after the opening formula ("Reverendus dominus Thesaurarius [etc.]) the following singers are listed: Jacobo, dompneo Angelo, Matheo, Jonatas, and Stefano. Listed separately toward the bottom of the same page are "Magistro Antonio dicto çachara and Johannes Bordon tenorista. And, finally, at the very bottom of the folio we find the new singers ("pro cantoribus novis"): Johanni Brunet, Bruant, and Petro.

Zacharias appears again by himself in a 22 April 1413 entry (fol. 123v), as well as with the rest of the singers in a 20 May listing of the same year (fol. 136v). He is first absent from the records in a June 1413 list of singers (fol. 150v: domino Jacobo, Matheo, Jonatas, Johannis tenorista, Bruant, Brunet, and Petro), not to reappear in other entries straight through the rest of 1413 and on to the final list of 26 September 1414 (fol. 227v): Magistro capelle [Johanni de Papia], Jacobo, Matheo, Bruant, Jonatas, Petro, Bordon, Johannis Pellerini, and Jacobo Bruneth (or Brunelli).

Several points can be made about these new documents.

First, Zacar, although first based in Bologna if he had indeed been a member of John's chapel from 1410, no doubt accompanied the papal curia during its documented travels to Rome and Florence in the early months of 1413; Pope John XXIII had called for a council which finally met in Rome during March and April of that year.⁵⁵³ Zacar's absence from lists after that date could indicate that in June of 1413, for one reason or another, he left papal service and perhaps went back to his native Teramo. Zacar's possible visits to Florence with the papal curia or at any rate the certain dissemination of his works by the singers in the chapel, would explain access to his songs by the scribes of Sq, SL 2211, and Man/ManP.⁵⁵⁴

The new papal chapel lists serve to make another point: in the climate of the schismatic popes, the makeup of the choir developed an "international" character in

⁵⁵³ John XXIII had left Bologna for Rome in April of 1411 and was back in Bologna by October of 1412 (just prior to the first entry on the singers and Zacar's documented presence in the chapel). By March 1413, the curia was back in Rome for the council called by the pope, only to be forced to flee for Florence when Ladislas of Naples occupied the city in June of 1413. See Cesare Guasti, "Gli avanzi dell'archivio di un Pratese vescovo di Volterra che fu al concilio di Costanza," Archivio storico italiano, XIII (1884), 201.

⁵⁵⁴ The main scribe of Man/ManP might have compiled the majority of Zacar's songs while still in the Veneto; access to a work very likely by Zacar--Spinato intorno--in the final layers of the source (pp. 64-5) may have taken place in Florence.

little over a decade. The February 1400 list published by Sherr revealed a clear majority of Italians, with two exceptions: Michael, who was probably the Fleming Michael de Wettere, a cleric from Tournai and a papal singer from as early as 1394; and Johannes Ortega, possibly a Spaniard.⁵⁵⁵ Later lists from 1412-14 clearly include many more foreign singers:

1. Jacobo is most likely the Jacobo de Romendin from Liege, found in an April 1408 list of singers in Gregory XII's chapel in Lucca.⁵⁵⁶ He may possibly be identified as the Jacobus Raymondi who served Pope Benedict XIII and Gregory XII and who therefore represents one of Zacar's possible contacts with northern Europe.⁵⁵⁷ He reappears later in Martin V's chapel in Constance in January 1418.⁵⁵⁸
2. Jonatas appears to be Johannes de Semeriaco, alias Jonatas, a Benedictine monk from the diocese of Cambrai; he, too, reappears in Constance in Martin

⁵⁵⁵ On this singer, see Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 322.

⁵⁵⁶ Ziino, "Magister Antonius," 323.

⁵⁵⁷ See Andrew Tomasello, Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309-1403 (Ann Arbor, 1983), 233.

⁵⁵⁸ See Manfred Schuler, "Zur Geschichte der Kapelle Papst Martins V," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXV (1968), 38-39.

V's chapel (23 December 1417).⁵⁵⁹

3. Johannes Bordon (the tenorista in the April 1413 list) is undoubtedly Johannes Frederich alias Bordon, who also served in Martin's newly-reconstituted chapel in December 1417.⁵⁶⁰
4. Petro, or domino Petro (first noted in March 1413), could well be the Petrus Lair from the diocese of Le Mans, listed in Martin's chapel on 3 December 1417.⁵⁶¹
5. The Matheo in John's chapel lists of 1413 and 1414 can be identified as Matheus Hanelle in Martin's 23 December 1417 list.⁵⁶² He was a cleric from the diocese of Cambrai and enjoyed a remarkably long career in Italy, for we find him serving the popes as late as the March 1431 chapel list of Eugenius IV.⁵⁶³ New evidence on this singer's career was provided by Alejandro Planchart from a Laonese capitular act dated 20 January 1410 which formally received the singer Matheus Hanelle as canon of the

⁵⁵⁹ Schuler, "Zur Geschichte," 34-8.

⁵⁶⁰ Schuler, "Zur Geschichte," 34-8.

⁵⁶¹ Haberl, Bausteine, 56: "[...] Petrum Lair, clericum Cenomanen. dioc. die 4 Aprilis 1412 in suum et ipsius capelle cantorem recepit."

⁵⁶² Schuler, "Zur Geschichte," 34-38.

⁵⁶³ In Martin's chapel until the summer of 1420; see Haberl, Bausteine, 56, 65, for entries in April and May 1418, January 1419, and March, June, and September 1420.

Laon cathedral, qualifying him as a singer and chaplain in the chapel of Pope Alexander V.⁵⁶⁴ Thus Matheus was a singer in four successive papal chapels--those of Alexander V, John XXIII, Martin V, and Eugenius IV.

6. Bruant can be identified as Matheus Thorote alias Bruyant (Briant, Brianth, Bruyandus, Briandus, Bryandus, Abruyannus, Abroyandus), a priest and tenorista from Cambrai.⁵⁶⁵

This influx of oltremontani into Italian papal chapels at the beginning of the 15th century corroborates the strong late-medieval and Renaissance tradition of papal benefices as a means of patronizing musicians (particularly Flemish musicians) which Reinhard Strohm and Christopher Reynolds have so ably sketched in their recent writings.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁴ In his "Guillaume Dufay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Burgundian Court," unpublished paper read at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, October, 1984. I should emphasize that this is the very first known document that mentions any of the singers in Alexander's chapel.

⁵⁶⁵ Schuler, "Zur Geschichte," 34-38; *idem*, "Die Musik in Konstanz Während des Konzils 1414-1418," Acta Musicologica, XXXVIII (1966), 155.

⁵⁶⁶ See Christopher Reynolds, "Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXVII (1984), 49-97; Reinhard Strohm, "Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts," (unpublished paper) International Congress sponsored by the Centro studi dell'ars nova musicale italiana del trecento, "L'Europa e la musica del trecento" (Certaldo, July 1984).

Another point which must be made is one also offered by Strohm: we must reopen the question of the origins of Mod A, for with the exception of Zacar, none of the documented singer/composers in John XXIII's chapel is represented with compositions in the central gatherings of the MS, generally thought to derive from the papal chapels in Bologna ca. 1410-15. Or, to view the question from another angle, the composers lacking in the chapel lists of John XXIII are precisely the ones represented in Mod A: Corradus da Pistoia, Egardus, Bartolomeo da Bologna, and, notably, Matteo da Perugia, the one composer who dominates the earlier as well as the later layers of the collection.⁵⁶⁷ Matteo has yet to be identified in any papal documents of the period. Clearly, work remains to be done on the origins and dissemination of musical repertoires at the end of the Middle Ages. It is hoped that the present study demonstrates that even the most familiar documents can reveal much when approached with new, or newly formulated questions in hand; and that other kinds of inquiry are still in their infancy--in particular, archival studies and the documentation of the

⁵⁶⁷ Strohm, "Magister Egardus." For the view that Mod A contains the repertory composed at the Bolognese chapels of Alexander V and John XXIII, see Pirrotta, "Il codice Estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del 1400," Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo, IV/5 (1944-45), 101-58, and Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena."

careers of composers and singers who, even in such zacharelle as the origins of their names, enlivened one of the most fascinating periods in music history. It is a period that we still understand too little, but for which the materials that can lead to a clearer picture are, in fact, largely at hand.

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