

The Atri Fragment Revisited II: From the Manuscript's Context to the Tradition of the Ballata *Be'llo sa Dio*

The interest of musicologists in an early fifteenth-century parchment leaf with polyphonic music found in 1973 in Atri (Teramo), Archivio Capitolare, Museo della Basilica Cattedrale, C4-II, Frammento 17¹ (henceforth *Atri*),² has recently increased as research on *SL* has allowed attribution of the two-voice ballata *Be'llo sa Idio* to Antonio Zacara da Teramo (before 1365–1416).³ In fact, this incipit is nearly identical to that of the ballata transmitted on the verso of the *Atri* fragment, even though very little has been deciphered so far on this damaged side.

Following the opportunity to bring the fragment to Hamburg in 2017 for multispectral imaging and ink analysis, resulting in the publication of the recovered verso page in 2018,⁴ the goal of this contribution is to further contextualise the fragment and its now-legible contents. This is especially important in light of the possible concordance: if the ballata setting really coincides with that in *SL*, then *Atri* – already transmitting on the legible recto side two voice parts of Zacara's four-part *Gloria 'Micinella'* – would be indeed a significant

We are most grateful to Don Filippo Lanci, director of the Museum and Chapter Archive of Atri, for allowing us to bring the fragment to the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures in Hamburg; to Maria Grazia Alberini, director of the Biblioteca Oliveriana of Pesaro, for her valuable assistance; to John Nádas for his helpful suggestions; to Michele Pasotti and his ensemble 'La Fonte Musica' for having experienced and discussed with us the first results of the fragment's reading on the occasion of their forthcoming recording of Zacara's complete works; and to Alexander Schöppl for typesetting Examples 1–3.

¹ See Agostino Ziino, 'Nuove fonti di polifonia italiana dell'Ars nova', *Studi Musicali*, 2 (1973), 235–48; David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford, 1999), 504–5; Idem, 'Catalogue Appendix' (2010), <http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/david.fallows/appendix.pdf>, 15 (accessed 1 Feb 2019).

² A list of manuscript sigla is provided at the end of this essay.

³ See Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211, Introductory Study and Multispectral Images*, Ars Nova, n.s., 4 (Lucca, 2016), vol. II, no. 151; see also Andreas Janke and John Nádas, 'New Insights into the Florentine Transmission of the Songs of Antonio Zacara da Teramo', *Studi Musicali*, n.s., 2 (2015), 197–214, reprinted in *Arte Psallentes: John Nádas, Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento* (Lucca, 2017), 201–15.

⁴ Sebastian Bosch, Claudia Colini, Oliver Hahn, Andreas Janke, and Ivan Shevchuk, 'The Atri Fragment Revisited I: Multispectral Imaging and Ink Identification', *Manuscript Cultures*, 11 (2018), 141–56.

witness to a tradition of the composer's work in his native land, to which he returned in the last years of his life and had the opportunity to train pupils still active some decades later. The latter can be deduced, for example, from a letter – sent after 23 May 1463 by the newly appointed Bishop of Teramo Giovanni Antonio Campano to Cardinal Iacopo Ammannati Piccolomini, describing the diocese that had been assigned to him: 'Zacharam musicum suum dicunt: ostendunt domos, predia, nepotes, *etiam dicipulos* ...'.⁵

Since the fragment survived in the local cathedral library of Atri, it was probably here that the parchment was reused twice: first, folded in half to protect a fascicle, and, second, as a paste-down in a different volume.⁶ Unfortunately, nothing is known about how this source might have arrived at this institution, and how it ended up on the pile of *libri inutili* stored in the chapter. Gerhard Powitz has highlighted that, for bookbinding purposes, medieval libraries usually utilised either their own outdated manuscripts or donated materials.⁷ Both options permit speculation on a possible origin for the fragment in Atri or the surrounding area, given, above all, that the local ruling family, the Acquaviva – with family connections to both Charles III of Durazzo, King of Naples, and Pope Boniface IX – had been, since 1393, the lords of Teramo⁸ and may therefore have been in contact with Zacara and/or his students on several occasions.

For the moment we can only say that the parchment leaf in question (300 × 240 mm) is the remnant of a music manuscript, most likely a small personal collection of polyphonic music. It seems that no foliation numbers were entered. As a first step in preparation the folio was pre-ruled with eight five-line staves on each side in iron-gall ink – most likely without the use of a rastrum.⁹ A different ink was used by the single scribe to copy the music: first, the *Gloria 'Micinella'*, of which only Cantus II¹⁰ and Contratenor survive (the Cantus I and

⁵ 'People of Teramo say that Zacara was one of their fellow citizens: they flaunt his homes, possessions, descendants, and even disciples ...'. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 325, fols. 44r–47v, esp. fol. 46v (emphasis and punctuation added). On the biographical implications of this document see Francesco Zimei, 'Variazioni sul tema della Fortuna', in Francesco Zimei, ed., *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, Documenti di storia musicale abruzzese, 2 (Lucca, 2004), 229–45, esp. 245.

⁶ See Bosch, Colini, Hahn, Janke, and Shevchuk, 'The Atri Fragment Revisited I', 141–2.

⁷ Gerhard Powitz, 'Libri inutili in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken. Bemerkungen über Alenatio, Palimpsestierung und Makulierung', *Scriptorium*, 50 (1996), 288–304.

⁸ An overview of the political situation in that territory from the late fourteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth can be found in Raffaele Colapietra, 'Teramo negli anni di Zacara', in Francesco Zimei, ed., *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, Documenti di storia musicale abruzzese, 2 (Lucca, 2004), 27–32.

⁹ See especially the beginning of the final staff on the verso.

¹⁰ Measures 1–13 belong to Cantus I of *Q15*. On the concordances see Margaret Bent, 'New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento', *Studi Musicali*, 9 (1980), 171–89;

Tenor were probably entered on the facing verso page); then, at a second stage, the same scribe added *Be'llo sa Dio*, using a different pen nib.¹¹

The ballata reveals that the compiler's interest was not limited to liturgical polyphony. From the single leaf, however, it is impossible to ascertain if the main corpus of *Atri*'s original state was principally polyphony for the Mass, a possibility raised by the presence of Zacara's *Gloria 'Micinella'*. In concordant sources the *Gloria* is usually part of a collection of liturgical pieces: the similar single folio – with Cantus II and Contratenor – included in *Q1*, a miscellany collecting folios from various manuscripts, bears on its reverse an incomplete *Gloria* by Hubertus de Salinis (fl. 1390–1420). In the fragment purchased in 2007 by the British Library and made available with the shelfmark *Add. 82959*, the material – here Cantus I and Tenor – is preceded by an incomplete Sanctus in square notation. What survives of *Grot* is primarily a collection of *Glorias* and *Credos*. Most of *BU*'s repertory – transmitting a three-voice variant of the piece – suggests it was also intended as a collection of liturgical music, but – as in *Atri* – with the addition of a few secular works. *Dulcis in fundo*, in *Q15*, the richest collection of early fifteenth-century sacred music preserved in Italy, the *Gloria 'Micinella'* is included in a large section of complete *Ordinarium missae* settings and paired with Zacara's *Credo 'Cursor'*.¹² We cannot rule out that this *Credo* was also included in the original, complete, *Atri* manuscript, not, however, placed directly after the *Gloria 'Micinella'* in order to pair the two Mass settings, the same position in which we now find *Be'llo sa Dio*. Manuscript *Q15* is also noteworthy for being the only manuscript providing a readable compos-

Kurt von Fischer and Franco Alberto Gallo, eds., *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 13 (Monaco, 1987), 264; Francesco Zimei, 'Catalogo delle opere di Zacara', in Francesco Zimei, ed., *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, Documenti di storia musicale abruzzese, 2 (Lucca, 2004), 391–419, esp. 400–1; Margaret Bent, ed., *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, Ars nova, n.s., 2 (Lucca, 2008), vol. 1, 167.

¹¹ See Bosch, Colini, Hahn, Janke, and Shevchuk, 'The Atri Fragment Revisited I', 154.

¹² Margaret Bent, 'A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style; Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative', *Musica Disciplina*, 41 (1987), 183–201, asserts that all Mass arrangements in *Q15* are the result of scribal initiative. However, it is noteworthy that some of Zacara's *Gloria*–*Credo* pairs seem to reflect an original connection. See, in particular, John Nádas and Giuliano Di Bacco, 'Verso uno stile internazionale della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417). Il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège', in Adalbert Roth, ed., *Collectanea I. Drei Studien von Giuliano Di Bacco, John Nádas, Noel O'Regan, und Adalbert Roth*, Capellae Apostolicae Sistinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta, 3 (Vatican City, 1994), 7–74, esp. 28–9, and Francesco Zimei, 'Zacara and his oeuvre in the schismatic context', in Stefan Morent, Silke Leopold, and Joachim Steinheuer, eds., *Europäische Musikkultur im Kontext des Konstanzer Konzils*, Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, 47 (Ostfildern, 2017), 193–204, esp. 203–4.

er attribution for this Gloria: ‘Z. Micinella’. Remnants of red ink reveal, on the top margin of *Atri*’s recto, the existence of an extensive heading as well, unfortunately not legible. It probably consisted of three elements, as can be seen in other contemporary attributions – such elements could include, for example, ‘M’ for ‘Magister’, then the composer’s name, and possibly a toponym or descriptor such as ‘Micinella’.¹³

Be’llo sa Dio is transmitted in eight different sources. Five of them provide at least parts of the original poem, which are displayed here in a synoptical transcription that allows us to compensate for missing portions of the text (see Table I). *Atri* (A), thanks to multispectral imaging made largely legible, contains the poem in its entirety, the ripresa and two stanzas, each distributed between the voices – both texted – and two residua placed after each voice part¹⁴ leaving three staves empty at the bottom of the page; *SL* (B) is unfortunately limited to the text incipit; *Cord* (C), the heart-shaped French songbook of Jean de Montchenu (1442–1506), possibly compiled in Geneva in the mid-1470s,¹⁵ contains – partly in the Cantus, partly in two residua, although incorrectly arranged – the first stanza and the first piede of the second; *Pes 1381* (D), a miscellany without music originating from Rimini, written by different hands active during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,¹⁶ preserves the complete poem with the only difference being the inversion of the piedi in the second stanza (compared to *Atri*), but without any particular syntactical distortions; lastly, *Broch* (E) refers to a printed collection, *Canzoni, Sonetti, Strambotti et Frottole, Libro Quarto* (Rome, Andrea Antico e Nicolò de Iudicibus, 1517), containing a four-voice frottola by Nicolò Brochus, *Se mia trista e dura sorte* (fols. 22v–24r), in which the text and music of the ballata’s ripresa – with some changes in versification – are quoted as a refrain. The remaining concordances are a four-voice untexted setting in *Q18* (fols. 15v–16r),¹⁷ and a three-voice adaptation to the

¹³ See Bosch, Colini, Hahn, Janke, and Shevchuk, ‘The Atri Fragment Revisited I’, 146–7. Given the present state of the fragment we cannot know if this is the complete attribution or the continuation of a longer one that began on the missing verso of that opening.

¹⁴ The second stanza exceeds the writing space.

¹⁵ Edited by Edward L. Kottick, *The Unica in the Chansonnier Cordiforme* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973), Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 42 ([s.l.], 1967), 1; Geneviève Thibault, ed., *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu*: Bibliothèque nationale, Rothschild 2973 (I.5.13), commentary by David Fallows (Paris, 1991), 4–5; see also the edited text and comments in David Fallows, *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu (ca. 1475). Kommentar zum Faksimile der Handschrift Rothschild 2973 (I.5.13) in der Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, German trans. by Susan M. Weinert (Münster, 2010), 66–7.

¹⁶ Giuseppe Mazzatinti and Adriano Sorbelli, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d’Italia*, XLIII, Olschki, Firenze 1929, 161–2. A more recent *descriptus* of this version is preserved in the same library with the shelfmark 1517, fols. 33r–v.

¹⁷ This source is an early sixteenth-century instrumental collection copied, among others, by

lauda text *Cum desiderio vo cercando* transmitted in *Grey* (fols. 68r–69v) and *Panc* 27 (fol. 79r).¹⁸

Despite some text losses and the different dates and provenances of these sources, the extant readings allow us to establish a meaningful continuity in terms of literary tradition. The poem has the structure of a ballata mezzana ($y_{11} z_7 z_{11} / a_{11} b_{11} a_{11} b_{11} z_7 z_{11}$), a type used by Zacara in two other works, *Ad ogne vento volta come foglia* and *Amor né tossa non se po' celare*. Both of these are transmitted in *Lu* and dated to the years of his professional uncertainty after leaving Pope Gregory XII's curia, hence the references – with varying degrees of specificity – to the continuous interference of Fortune in his life.¹⁹ Even in our ballata this recurrent element of his poetry is expressly mentioned ('non posso contra la Fortuna ria': A, 5), along with a desire for revenge already encountered in *Deus deorum Pluto* ('Serà in eternum el nostro laudatio / de la vendetta e de tanta iustitia'), related to the climate of suspicion that animated the polemics between the factions during the Council of Pisa.²⁰

Giovanni Spataro. An edition was made by Susan Forscher Weiss, 'The Manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Codex Q 18 (olim 143): A Bolognese Instrumental Collection of the Early Cinquecento,' PhD thesis, University of Maryland, 1985. See also Blake Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The 'Cantasi Come' Tradition (1375–1550)*, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 9 (Florence, 2009), database.

¹⁸ These sources, also dating to the early sixteenth century, have been edited by, respectively, Giulio Cattin, *Italian Laude & Latin Unica in Ms. Capetown, Grey 3.b.12*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 76 ([s.l.] 1977), 24, and Francesco Luisi, *Laudario Giustiniano. Musiche a modo proprio, ricostruzioni e 'cantasi come' nella tradizione musicale dei secoli XV–XVI–XVII per le fonti delle laude attribuite a Leonardo Giustinian* (Venice, 1983), II, 32; Elisabeth Diederichs, *Die Anfänge der mehrstimmigen Lauda vom Ende des 14. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte (Tutzing, 1986), 302; Gioia Filocamo, *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi 27. Text and Context*, trans. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Monumenta Musica Europea, II/1 (Turnhout, 2010), 596–8.

¹⁹ On the recurrence of this theme in Zacara's works see Zimei, 'Variazioni sul tema della Fortuna'. In this regard, the reference to Fortuna seems to be the precise reason for the inclusion of *Be' llo sa Dio in Cord*, whose illuminated frontispiece depicts an allegory of this enigmatic figure. On the other hand, she is the protagonist of almost all the texts transmitted in this songbook. Also, in *Se mia trista e dura sorte* the ballata's quotation is perfectly consistent with the frottola's theme. See Fallows, *Chansonier de Jean de Montchemu*.

²⁰ See Francesco Zimei, 'Sulle tracce di Zacara a Firenze', in Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, and Francesco Zimei, eds., *Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo (1959–2009)*, Atti del VI Convegno internazionale di studi (Certaldo, 12–14 June 2009), (Lucca, 2013), 255–64, esp. 259–61.

Table 1 Text readings of *Be' llo sa Dio*

A. <i>Atri</i> , v	C. <i>Cord</i> , fols. 1v–2r
<i>Be' llo sa Dio che so vergene et pura et en ben fare spero, 3 che falsa infamia non remove el vero.</i>	<i>Ben lo sa Dio se sum vergine e pura, che en ben fare spero: che falsa infamia non remove el vero.</i>
<i>Se gelosia me pone falsa casione I non posso contra la Fortuna ria. ... vendecta la scusa mia; duru me sia 10 ... trar di gran suspectoro.</i>	<i>Se ialosia me pone falsa casone non posso contra la Fortuna rea. Altra vindicta non quero che rasone, che la vertù serà l'eschusa mya; benqué 'l pensare dolore me sya el no se passa cussi de leggero a tollere grandio suspecto del mal pensare.</i>
<i>Ma solo prego Deu, iusto sengiore, de me pura donzella; ... chiarecça de tanto errore torto mal de me favella: ... la natura per Dio m'à facta bella leva el suspecto fero, 17 sì ch'io no perda l'onor del mio impero.</i>	<i>Ma solo prego Dio, iusto seignore, que abia pietà de me pura donzela;</i>

B. *SL*, fol. 135r (original foliation)*Be' llo sa Idio*

D. *Pes 1381*, fols. 88r–v

Ben lo sa Idio s'io son vergine e pura
 che nel ben far io spero:
 3 chi falso fa el mio honor remove el vero.

Se geloxia ma pon falsa caxonne I
 non posso contra la Fortuna ria.
 Altra vendetta non chiede che raxonne
 che la virtù farrà la scuxa mia,
 benché el pensar in ciò dolor mi sia
 che non si pò di ligero
 10 a trar un gram sospetto d'um reo pensiero.

Manda chiarezza, ho Dio, di tanto herrore II
 a chi a torto mal di me favella,
 ma sol io pregho Dio, giusto signore,
 ch'aggia piettà di me pura fanciulla:
 se la natura e Dio m'à fatta bella
 leva el sospetto fiero,
 17 sì ch'io non perda l'onor del mio impero.

E. *Broch*, fol. 23v

*Ben lo sa Dio: son vergine e pura
 nel ben fare, però che false infamie
 rimuoverà la veritade.*

A 10, 17: after each stanza the incipit of the ripresa is repeated: *Be 'llo sa Dio che so vergene et pura* (I), *Be 'llo sa* (II);

C 1: *verGINE e*: 'verGINEa';

D 7: *scuxa* overwritten to 'prova';

D 2, 10: *s'io son vergine et pura* and *d'um reo pensiero* are entered as separate lines in the manuscripts, as if the poem were a ballata maggiore.

In light of this context we assume that Zacara not only composed the music as transmitted in *Atri* and *SL*, but that – as in all his currently known secular works – he is presumably the poet as well. Apart from some incongruities, probably due to oral transmission ('chi falso fa el mio honor remove el vero': D, 3) as well as to a *scriptio plena* ('el no se passa cussi de legero': C, 9), the poem's meaning is substantially intact: it advocates for the moral integrity and purity of an unjustly accused maiden. She claims, in the first person, that the infamy falsely attributed to her will not change the truth ('che falsa infamia non remove el vero': A, 3), that behind these slanders is jealousy ('Se gelosia me pone falsa casione': A, 4), and that her only vengeance will be proof of her virtue ('Altra vindicta non quero che rasone, / che la vertù serà l'eschusa mya': C, 5–6). In the meantime, she prays to God to have mercy on her ('Ma solo prego Dio, iusto seignore, / que abia pietà de me pura donzela': C, 11–12), and shed light on such gross calumny ('... chiarezza de tanto errore': A, 13): because He made her so beautiful ('se la natura e Dio m' à fatta bella': D, 15), He must remove all hint of suspicion from her, so that she will not lose the honour of her own empire ('leva el sospetto fero, / sì ch'io no perda l'onor del mio impero': A, 16–17).

The concept of an empire, placed at the very end of the poem as if to reveal its true nature and purpose, serves to evoke a sense of universality clearly not attributable to any human figure: in light of the narration's context and references, it seems highly likely that the maiden in question is a metaphor for the Catholic Church – or, at least, for that of the Pisan Obedience, which the composer had joined – in an attempt, typical in the years of the Great Schism (1414–1418), to rebut accusation of treason and heresy.

Immediately at the ballata's opening – and even more apparent here than in other works in which Zacara applied an autobiographical filter²¹ – a subtext seems to be hidden behind the propaganda, based on the *equivocus* technique:²² 'Be' llo sa Dio' can be also read as 'Bellos' a Dio',²³ that is, 'beautiful in the eyes of God', a sentence with significant parallels to that of line 15, 'e (= a?) Dio m' à fatta bella', and, moreover, part of the same musical line (that of the ripresa/volta). Alternatively, it could be read as 'Bellos'adio', that is, 'farewell, my fair lady', implying as its recipient a beloved woman, or possibly a place from which Zacara was about to depart: this latter could be Florence, where he was well-connected – first of all to Bishop Giacomo Paladini, his countryman –

²¹ Zimei, 'Zacara and his oeuvre', 200.

²² Pedro Memelsdorff, '"Equivocus". Per una nuova lettura del rapporto testo-musica nel Trecento italiano', in Francesco Zimei, ed., *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento VII: 'Dolci e nuove note'* (Lucca, 2009), 143–87.

²³ 'Bellosa' is synonymous with 'bella'.

though from May of 1408 he remained without a position, perhaps staying in the city until the summer of 1410.²⁴ Moreover, the possible Florentine origin of *Be'llo sa Dio*²⁵ could explain its presence in *SL*: therefore, the ballata could even have been among the works intended for the Zacara section in *Sq*. No less interesting is its presence in *Pes 1381*, compiled in Rimini, where the rival curia of Gregory XII resided between 1411 and 1415: since such a text evidently targeted that environment, its inclusion in that manuscript suggests the ballata may have eventually reached its intended destination.

The earliest known versions of Zacara's ballata *Be'llo sa Dio* survive in only two severely damaged music manuscripts but, with the help of multispectral imaging applied recently to both *SL* and *Atri*, it is now possible to decipher most of the musical setting: Example 1 compares the two readings in diplomatic transcriptions of Cantus and Tenor, respectively.²⁶ Apart from a few variants in ornamentation, and some differences in the application of notational signs (the use of dots, for example), the settings match even to clefs (cantus c2, tenor c4), *verto*/chiuso endings, and notational features such as *color prolationis* passages and the use of double minim rests instead of one semibreve rest, which imply the use of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori* – the mensuration typical of most of Zacara's works.²⁷ The two manuscripts are complementary; in some places where one can be read, the other is illegible. This is especially true for large parts of the *SL* tenor due to heavy scraping and notation that shows through from the verso. For such indecipherable passages the staves have been omitted in Example 1.²⁸ A suggestion for a modern transcription is presented as an open edition²⁹ in Example 2, using *Atri* as the main source for the simple reasons that it contains text underlay and offers greater legibility, especially of the tenor. Legible variants from *SL* are provided; if a passage from *Atri* is not decipherable then the respective staves are omitted and, if possible, the *SL* reading is given.

²⁴ Zimei, 'Sulle tracce di Zacara a Firenze', 260–1.

²⁵ Despite the different spelling of the incipit, whose emphatic variant 'Idio' instead of 'Dio' – frustrating any kind of pun – served only as a reminder.

²⁶ On the concept of an open edition see Oliver Huck, 'Der Editor als Leser und der Leser als Editor. Offene und geschlossene Texte in Editionen polyphoner Musik des Mittelalters', in Helga Lühning, ed., *Musikedition, Mittler zwischen Wissenschaft und musikalischer Praxis*, Beihefte zu edition, 17 (Tübingen, 2002), 33–47.

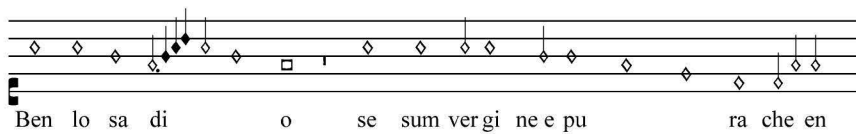
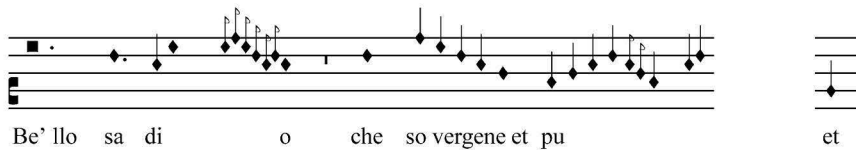
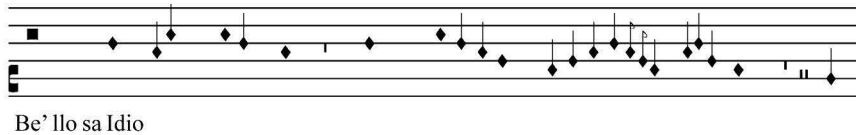
²⁷ See Marco Gozzi, 'Zacara nel Codex Mancini: considerazioni sulla notazione e nuove attribuzioni', in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, 135–67, esp. 160–1; Janke and Nádas, 'New Insights'.

²⁸ In a few cases caudae or semiminima flags have been assumed in *Atri* when *SL* shows the same reading and if the surrounding notes allow this. Measure 8 of *Atri's* tenor contains semibrevis and minima after the two rests.

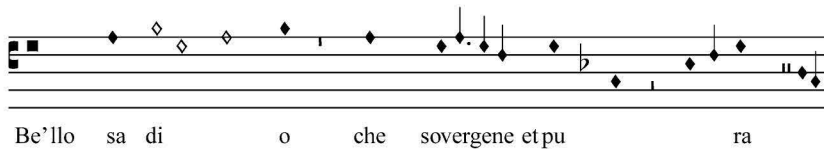
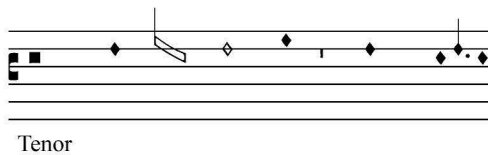
²⁹ See Huck, 'Der Editor als Leser und der Leser als Editor'.

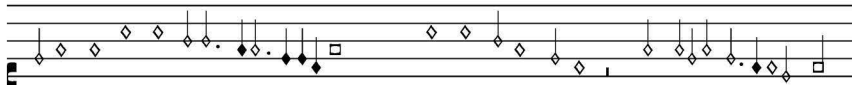
Example 1 Synopsis of *Be' llo sa Dio* in *Cord* (Cantus only), *Atri* and *SL*

Cantus

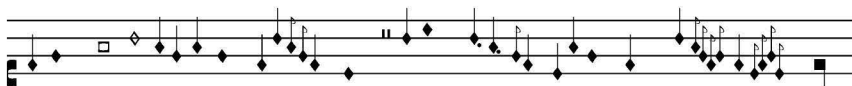
Cord*Atri**SL*

Tenor

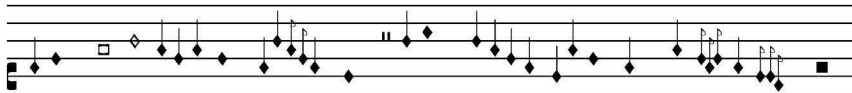
Atri*SL*



ben fa re spe ro Che falsa infamia non remove el ve ro



en ben fa re spe ro che falsa infamia non remove ro



en ben fa re spe ro che falsa infamia non remove ro



spero che falsa infamia non remove el ve ro



spero che falsa infamia non remove el ve ro

Se ia lo si a me pone fal sa ca so ne non posso contra la for tu

Segelosia

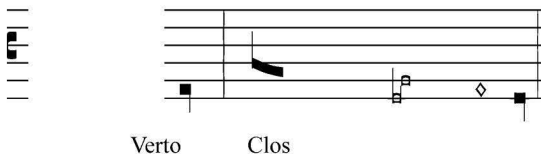
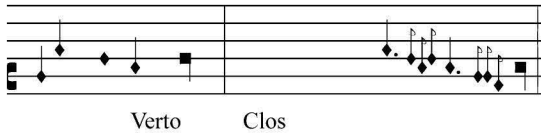
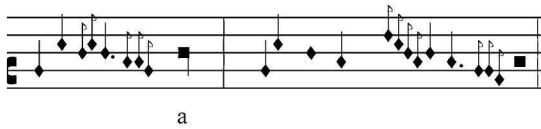
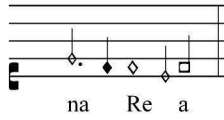
Non posso contra la for tu na ri

Secunda pars

Segelosia me po ne falsa ca sio ne non posso fortuna

ri

Secunda pars



Example 2 Edition of *Be' llo sa Dio* from *Atri* with variant readings from *SL*

SL

Be' llo sa Dio - o che so ver-ge-ne et pu -

et en ben fa - re spe - ro che

ra et en spe - ro che

13

fal - sa in fa - mi-a non re - mo - ve el ve - ro

fal - sa in fa - mi-a non re - mo - ve el ve - ro

With this new material it is now possible, for the first time, to answer one of the most intriguing questions regarding this ballata: What is the relationship between the *Atri*/*SL* version and that in *Cord*?³⁰ Example 1, therefore, includes

³⁰ This question was raised immediately after *Atri*'s discovery: Based on what could be deciphered at that time, Agostino Ziino, in 'Nuove fonti di polifonia', 239, assumed 'musica diversa' between the two manuscripts, even if the text of the ballata should correspond. David

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The lyrics are in Latin.

System 1 (Measures 17-22):

Vocal line: *Se ge-lo sia me po-ne fal-sa ca ne*

Basso continuo line: *Se ge-lo sia me po-ne fal-sa ca - sio - ne*

System 2 (Measures 23-27):

Vocal line: *Non pos-so con-tra la For-tu-na ri -*

Basso continuo line: *Non pos-so ri -*

System 3 (Measures 28-31):

Measures 28 and 29 are marked with a first ending bracket (1.).

Measures 30 and 31 are marked with a second ending bracket (2.).

The lyrics for measures 28-31 are: *a a a a*

Below the system, there is a section labeled *SL* with a musical staff showing a single note.

the Cantus from *Cord*, permitting a direct comparison. It can be seen that, apart from a simplification of rhythm – in *Cord* the prolatio has become minor – the cantus of *Atri/SL* and that of *Cord* not only share large sections of their gen-

Fallows, in his *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 504, suggested that the setting in the much later *Cord* might be ‘based on similar musical materials’, referring to the ‘almost illegible version in *Atri*’.

eral melodic outline, but almost coincide in terms of ‘articulation of musical space’;³¹ in fact, the respective cadences – detected both at the end of each cantus line and in the respective hemistichs – end on the same pitch, with the sole exception of line 2, where the long melisma on the word ‘spero’ in *Atri/SL* ends on *c* and in *Cord* on *f*.³²

	prima pars					secunda pars				
Vers	1		2	3		4	5			
<i>Cord</i>	f	d	f	d	d	aa	f	d	d	
<i>Atri/SL</i>	f	d	c	d	d	aa	f	d	d	

Despite expected differences between the early version and what was written down ca. sixty years later in *Cord*, it is difficult to argue that the cantus part is the result of a new composition. Therefore, we should speak instead of transformation processes in a composition that survived far beyond its authorial ‘formalization’. From the second half of the fifteenth to the first decades of the sixteenth century it was put into writing several times in the different readings in which it was currently circulating (see Example 3).³³ *Be’llo sa Dio* and its late musical concordances are indeed a rare case, compared to the large number of Ars Nova settings whose simple mention in the coeval ‘cantasi come’ collections attest only to their oral transmission. If the cantus is understood as possibly shaped by oral transmission it invites us to think about differing solutions for the representation of *Atri* and *SL*: *Cord*, for example, uses three semibreves to prescribe the metric articulation of the text incipit (‘Be’-llo-sa’) as it was performed, and this seems a more plausible solution compared to the initial brevis in *Atri* and *SL*, in which a more conventional scribal practice prevailed.

³¹ See, in this regard, the analysis carried out on Nicolò del Presposto’s works in Marco Mangani and Daniele Sabaino, ‘L’organizzazione dello spazio sonoro nell’opera di Nicolò del Preposto’, in Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti, eds., *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell’ ‘Ars nova’*, La Tradizione Musicale, 16 (Florence, 2015), 237–86.

³² Moreover, in *Atri* and *SL* the interior cadence on the hemistich of line 4 ‘slips’ to the sixth syllable in order to highlight the key word ‘Fortuna’, set off by two rests.

³³ Based on Blake Wilson, ‘“Transferring Tunes and Adjusting Lines”: Leonardo Giustinian and the Giustiniana in Quattrocento Florence’, in M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, eds., *Uno gentile ed subtile ingenio. Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, Épitome musical (Turnout, 2009), 547–67, at 566–7 (with some changes).

Example 3 Different readings of the Cantus in *Cord*, *Panc* 27, and *Broch*

Cord
Ben lo sa Di - - - o

Panc27
Cum de - si - de - - - rio

Broch
Ben lo sa Di - o son ver - gi - ne e pu - ra

se sum ver - gi - ne e pu - - - ra

vo cer - chan - do vo cer - - - chan - do

nel ben fa - re pe - rò che fal - se in - fa - -

che en ben fa - re spe - - - ro

de tro - va - re quel a - mo - ro - - - so

mic ri - mo - ve - rà

che fal - sa in - fa - mi - a non re - mo - ve'l ve - ro.

Yhe - sú Chri - - - sto di - - - lec - to - - - so

la ve - ri - ta - de, ri - mo - ve - rà la ve - ri - tade.

Cord
Se ia - lo - si - a me po - ne fal - sa ca - so - ne,

Panc27
per cui a - mo - re io vo su - - - spi - ran - do

non pos - so con - tra la For - tu - na re - - - a.

per cui a - - - mo - re io vo su - spi - ran - - - do

The widespread popularity of *Be'llo sa Dio* is attested to, most notably, by the large number of references to it within the 'cantasi come' tradition – sometimes a useful clue to date some stages of this long-lasting tradition.³⁴ The oldest reference appears to be *Omne incredulità oggie si parte*, for the Feast of Corpus Christi, handed down by a Cortonese laudario, *Triv* 535, whose relevant section was compiled after December 1466³⁵ but contains primarily poems composed before the middle of the century. The text in question is limited to the last surviving page of the codex (fol. 135v) and consists of a ripresa and two stanzas, presumably continued in the missing folios. Although the presence in this manuscript of a musical reference to the anonymous three-voice canzonetta *Hora gridar oymè posso ben io*, transmitted – among other sources – in *Cord*³⁶ suggests that it was the latter's version of *Be'llo sa Dio* that provided music for the lauda, we cannot rule out the possibility that the ballata's dissemination began in Cortona much earlier, as this town and its *Contado* had fallen under the dominion of Florence as early as 1411.³⁷

Another important contrafactum, *Chi si veste di me, carità pura*, created by the renowned Florentine poet Feo Belcari (1410–1484), survives in a number of sources. One of them, *Barb.* 3711, transmits it on fols. [5]v–[8]r, followed by the note 'La sopra iscripta lauda fece Feo Belchari et mandolla ad papa Paholo Sicondo. Requiescant in pace. Amen'.³⁸ This allows us not only to date the manuscript after 1484, the year of Belcari's death, but also to connect composition of the poem itself to the pontificate of Paul II (1464–1471). In this regard, further interesting details have been revealed by a newly discovered letter written by Belcari, on 1 July 1468, to his friend Ottone Niccolini, at the time serving as the Florentine ambassador in Rome, asking him to take the lauda to the former Pietro Barbo, whom Niccolini had attended when the future pope was in

³⁴ For an overview see Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*.

³⁵ Francesco Zimei, 'Il Laudario di Cortona nel suo contesto d'uso', in Paolo Bruschetti, ed., *Frate Elia, I laici e le associazioni laicali cortonesi*, Cortona francescana, 3 (Spoleto, 2019, in preparation).

³⁶ Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Song*, 522–3.

³⁷ An interesting coincidence in this regard is the presence, in the local Archivio Storico del Comune, of an Ars Nova fragment consistent with the cultural context in which *Be'llo sa Dio* could have first been disseminated: the anonymous Credo's cantus clearly visible on *Cort* 2, fol. 1v, concordant with *Add.* 29987, fols. 83v–85r. According to Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, 'Papal Chapels and Sources of Polyphony During the Great Schism,' in Richard Sherr, ed., *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (New York, 1998), 44–92, at 83–4, 'This Credo was added to the Tuscan collection sometime during the second decade of the Quattrocento by the same scribe responsible for copying all of Florence SL 2211', that is, one of the two earliest sources of our ballata.

³⁸ 'Feo Belcari made [the text of] the lauda written above and sent it to Pope Paul II. Rest, both, in peace. Amen'.

Florence as the Cardinal of Santa Maria Nuova.³⁹ In this case the chronological proximity to *Cord* suggests that the version of *Be 'llo sa Dio* used for such a purpose was the latter. This therefore also applies to the two additional religious poems by Belcari provided with our 'cantasi come': *Gesù, che vedi la mia mente pura*,⁴⁰ with the same words and rhymes as its model⁴¹ but sometimes even a caption, 'orazione sull'infamia' (a prayer against infamy), has a significant connection to the ballata's theme (see comparison below), and *Tanta pietà mi tira e tanto amore*, with 'cantasi come' references to *Be 'llo sa Dio* and other compositions.⁴²

Ben lo sa Dio (Cord)

Ben lo sa Dio se sum vergine e pura,
che en ben fare spero:
3 che falsa infamia non remove el vero.

Se ialosia me pone falsa casone
non posso contra la Fortuna rea.
Altra vindicta non quero che rasone,
che la vertù serà l'eschusa mya;
benqué 'l pensare dolore me sya
el no se passa cussì de leggero
10 a tollere grando suspecto del mal pensare.

Gesù, che vedi la mia mente pura

Gesù, che vedi la mia mente pura,
su te confido e spero,
che purgherai la infamia mia col vero

Tu sai, Signor mio, che i' ho ragione
di lamentarmi della lingua ria:
sono innocente e mai conversazione
non ebbi, se non buona, onesta e pia.
Di quel che contr'a me già detto sia
dammi 'l tuo refrigero,
leva dal cor d'ognuno el mal pensiero.

A different situation obtains with *Cum desiderio vo cercando*, the three-voice adaptation transmitted by *Grey* and *Panc* 27. Here we are dealing with a lauda text that predates *Be 'llo sa Dio* itself and that was composed in the second half of

³⁹ 'Item, per conforto di una sancta persona, vi mandai una laude de' fructi della carità, acciò che alla sua sanctità la presentassi; et benché paia cosa di piccola extimatione, potrebbe venire tempo che gioverebbe alla sanctità sua' [Furthermore, to comfort a holy man I sent you a lauda on the fruits of charity, so that you may show it to His Holiness; and although it seems a thing of little value, it may in the future be of benefit to His Holiness]. Edited by Bruno Figliuolo, 'Tre lettere inedite di Feo Belcari a Ottone Niccolini', *Lettere Italiane*, 52 (2000), 265–71, at 270–1.

⁴⁰ Raccolta Galletti: *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari, di Lorenzo de' Medici, di Francesco d'Albizzo, di Castellano Castellani e di altri comprese nelle quattro più antiche raccolte, con alcune inedite e con nuove illustrazioni* (Florence, 1863), 31.

⁴¹ This occurs also in *O dolce Iddio, per la tua madre pura*, a contrafactum by Ser Michele Chelli, a priest active in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century.

⁴² A list can be found in Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, database.

the fourteenth century by Bianco da Siena as a ballata maggiore (z₈ y₈ y₈ z₈/a₈ b₈ a₈ b₈ b₈ c₈ c₈ z₈), and then from time to time ‘dressed’ with different settings, newly composed or contrafacted.⁴³ In this particular case the difficulty lies not so much in resolving the conflict between hendecasyllabic and octosyllabic lines (easily compensated for through the use of melismas), as in the discrepancy of an entire line between text and music, both in the ripresa and in the stanza:

Ben lo sa Dio (Cord)

Cum desiderio vo cercando (Panc 27)

Ben lo sa Dio se sum vergine e pura,
che en ben fare spero:
che falsa infamia non remove el vero.

3

Se ialosia me pone falsa casone
non posso contra la Fortuna rea.
Altra vindicta non quero che rasono,
che la virtù serà l'eschusa mya;
benqué 'l pensare dolore me sya
el no se passa cussì de legero
a tollere grando suspecto del mal pensare.

10

Cum desiderio vo cercando
de trovare quel amoroso
Iesù Cristo dilectoso
per cui amore io vo suspirando.

4

Suspirando per amore
vado cercando el mio dilecto;
posa non trova il mio core,
tanto è per amor constreto.
Cum desiderio pur aspeto
de trovar da lui mercede;
datoli ho il cor e la fede,
sempre a lui me ricommando.

12

Issues of musical and poetic structure began to have a greater impact in the second half of the fifteenth century when most of the lauda repertory, composed in the ballata forms, for practical reasons began to be reshaped as canzonettas by eliminating the two-section structure typical of the *formes fixes* and focusing on a single pars – primarily the music of the ripresa. This led to the fragmentation of the original poems into smaller – but homogeneous – groups of lines.⁴⁴ The transformation from a three-line to a four-line ripresa was often accomplished by repeating the music of the last line to set the fourth line of text. In the case of *Cum desiderio vo cercando*, it was decided instead to use the entire setting and underlay the surplus melody with a repetition of the fourth line of text (see Example 3).

⁴³ For a list see Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, database.

⁴⁴ This phenomenon is discussed in Francesco Zimei, *I 'cantici' del Perdono. Laude e soni nella devozione aquilana a san Pietro Celestino*, 'Civitas aures'. Musica e contesto urbano, 1 (Lucca, 2015), 143–51.

In closing our survey, *Be'llo sa Dio* and its written transmission is only the visible stretch of a subterranean river, providing a considerable portion of Italian music at least until the end of the fifteenth century. This is sufficient for appreciating the unexpected long wave of the Ars Nova repertory.

★

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<i>Barb. 3711</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 3711
<i>Broch</i>	Nicolò Brochus, 'Se mia trista e dura sorte', in <i>Canzoni, Sonetti, Strambotti et Frottole, Libro Quarto</i> (Roma, Andrea Antico e Nicolò de Iudicibus, 1517, reprinted 1520)
<i>BU</i>	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216
<i>Cord</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rothschild 2973 ('Chansonnier Cordiforme')
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