



■ Credo di Binchois in *Tr* 92, c. 27v

## CICONIA'S DEDICATEE, BOLOGNA Q15, BRASSART, AND THE COUNCIL OF BASEL

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For Alejandro Planchart on his 70th birthday

CICONIA, GIOVANNI GASPARO, MATTEO, AND OTHER VICENZA MUSICIANS

In Padua, in December 1411, Johannes Ciconia dedicated his *De proportionibus* thus:

*Venerabili viro et egregio domino presbytero Johanni Gasparo canonico Vicentino bene merito necnon cantori preclaro, Johannes Ciconia de civitate Leodinensis canonicus Paduanus scientiam pro salute. Considerantes frater carissime quot et quante diversitates insurgunt hodierna die per universum orbem per musicos quam plurimos in cantus ipsorum componendo ac etiam non solum in subtiliter scrutando proportionibus verum quoque in cifras signa vocabula antiquorum intelligendo demum siquidem in eorum cantionibus que sepius quam minus bene ponendo. Ideo ut talis error valeat evitari hanc doctrinam brevis voluminis sed virtute non modica ad laudem Yhesu Christi et gloriose virginis eius matris atque ad perpetuam augmentationem nobilis perspicatissimeque musicæ artis nobis et omnibus cantoribus presentibus in posterumque venientibus amicabiliter minus quam male scivimus condere proposuimus quam si diligenti studio*

*adepti fueritis memorie commendabitur insuperque labor frustra nec erit sed fructus exinde gratissimus assumetur et omnino paululum nec assequimini.*<sup>1</sup>

To the venerable man and illustrious *dominus* and priest Giovanni Gasparo, most worthy canon of Vicenza and also distinguished singer, Johannes Ciconia from the city of Liège, canon of Padua, gives you this product of science in greeting. Considering, dearest brother, how many and how great differences arise today throughout the whole world among so many musicians in composing their songs - and not only in investigating in detail the proportions but also in understanding the ciphers, signs and names of the ancients which they then place in their songs quite often less well [i.e. improperly]. Therefore, so that such error may be avoided, we have resolved in a friendly way, as little badly as we knew how, to set down this book of instruction, brief in compass but not small in merit, to the praise of Jesus Christ and the glorious Virgin his mother and to the perpetual increase of the noble and most honourable art of music for us and all singers now and those coming after us, the which if you have obtained by diligent study, you will commit to memory, and moreover your labour will not be in vain, but a most pleasing fruit will be taken thence, and all in all you will attain no little result.

This dedication presumes a close relationship between the two men, personal and musical ("dearest brother"), and it turns out to be one of many strands linking the chapters and musicians of Padua and Vicenza in a small community of singers who, like Bishop Emiliani, frequented both cities over the 20 years following 1411, the date of the dedication. Clercx mistook this as indicating the date of Ciconia's death, which actually occurred six months later, between 10 and 12 June 1412.<sup>2</sup> The word *con-*

<sup>1</sup> OLIVER B. ELLSWORTH, *Johannes Ciconia*, Nova musica and *De Proportionibus*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1993, pp. 412-13, translation lightly adapted, with the benefit of discussing some of the textual problems and manuscript variants with Oliver Ellsworth, Giuliano Di Bacco and Leofranc Holford-Strevens. *De proportionibus* is in Venice, Biblioteca nazionale di S. Marco, ms. lat. Cl.VIII/85 (3579), dated 1463-4, f. 72r ff and Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria 606 (IV.9) II (dated after 1411 on grounds of the dated colophon). See also the Introduction, pp. 24-25. Ellsworth thinks that an extra chapter in Faenza Biblioteca Comunale MS 117 is probably not by Ciconia and may be a later gloss or commentary.

<sup>2</sup> See ELLSWORTH, *Johannes Ciconia*, p. 10; DAVID FALLOWS, *Ciconia padre e figlio*, "Rivista italiana di musicologia", XI (1976), 171-7; ANNE HALLMARK, *Gratiosus, Ciconia, and Other Musicians at Padua Cathedral: some Footnotes to Present Knowledge*, in: *L'Arts Nova italiana del Trecento*, VI: *Atti del Congresso internazionale «L'Europa e la musica del Trecento»*, Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 19-20-21 Luglio 1984, Certaldo, Polis, pp. 1992, 69-84; JOHN NÁDAS - 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: *Collectanea I*, Ed. by Adalbert Roth, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994 (Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea acta monumenta, 3), p. 33, n. 63.

*ditus* which misled Clercx into thinking that Ciconia, not the treatise, had come to an end, may suggest that this is the date of composition of the treatise and not merely of its copying. In order to designate himself thus, Ciconia might, according to Donato Gallo, already have been made an honorary canon of Padua; certainly he must have formed what was evidently a close relationship with Giovanni Gasparo. He presciently expanded the dedication to encompass not only the Vicenza canon but also "us" and his singers, present and yet to come. Ellsworth reads the dedication as implying that the revision of this treatise from the version in *Nova Musica* was undertaken at Giovanni Gasparo's request.<sup>3</sup> Whether or not that is literally the case, it seems clear that the two men were at least singing companions. Ciconia seems to address Giovanni Gasparo rather as a junior or equal colleague, not as a senior patron, or *dominus* as suggested by Ellsworth's translation as "lord". If born c. 1370, Ciconia would have been in his late thirties at the time (he died prematurely in 1412). Giovanni Gasparo lived on until 1448, as we shall see; this tends to support the suggestion that he was younger than Ciconia. From more than a decade before the compilation of *Q15*, the relationship between these two musicians confirms musical contact between the musicians of Vicenza and Padua as a background to a long transmission of Ciconia's compositions among the musical colleagues who valued and survived him. I believe that this relationship was fos-

3 ELLSWORTH, *Johannes Ciconia*, p. 3. Seay's 1962 speculation about the different purpose of the *De proportionibus* from the *Nova musica* is apparently based largely on this dedication. ALBERT SEAY, *Remarks on the Nova musica of Johannes Ciconia*, "Manuscripta", VI (1962), pp. 42-44, argues that Ciconia adapted his text to the practical purpose of addressing cathedral singers not university students by adding three chapters, 19, 20, 22 with more practical information, and a final chapter 25 extending the discussion to proportions of mensuration and their signs, the only place where he refers to "modern" authors by name.

4 GIOVANNI MANTESE, *Memorie storiche della chiesa vicentina*, vol. III part II, Vicenza, Istituto S. Gaetano, 1964, p. 115. For Emiliani see also IDEM, *Movimenti di riforma ecclesiastica pretridentina nel Quattrocento Vicentino*, Vicenza, Istituto S. Gaetano, 1990, and IDEM, *Correnti riformistiche a Vicenza nel primo Quattrocento*, in *Studi in onore di Federico M. Mistrorigo*, Vicenza, Comune di Vicenza, 1958, pp. 835-939 (reprinted in *Scritti scelti di storia vicentina*, Vicenza, Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e di storia religiosa, 1982). In particular, see the excellent study of Emiliani's will by DIETER GIRGENSOHN, *Il testamento di Pietro Miani ("Emilianus") vescovo di Vicenza (+1433)*, "Archivio Veneto", Serie V, vol. CXXXII (1989), pp. 5-60. A useful summary biography by MARGARET L. KING, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton, 1986, p. 402 places him in the context of Veneto humanists; his status as an early student of Greek and collector of Greek manuscripts earned him a place in MARIO EMILIO COSENZA, *Biographical and*

tered under the appreciative eyes and ears of Pietro Emiliani who, although bishop of Vicenza from 1409, was largely resident in Padua until the late 1420s; from c. 1427 he seems to have settled in and near Vicenza with his *familia*,<sup>4</sup> including men documented as musicians, probably in part to escape the plague which carried off, in 1428, Bishop Pietro Marcello and the Paduan music theorist and professor of quadrivial arts Prosdocius de Beldemandis. The earlier activity of Giovanni Gasparo, and the relationship which gave rise to Ciconia's dedication, remain unknown and subject only to speculation. Further examination of earlier Vicenza witness lists during Ciconia's lifetime might, with much luck, document visits by Ciconia to Vicenza or by Giovanni Gasparo to Padua, but the dedication attests that contact must have taken place.<sup>5</sup> This man has rightly been identified with the Vicenza canon Johannes Gaspar or Gasparus de Castelgumberto or de Castrogumberto (da Castelgomberto), a small *comune* about 20 km from Vicenza. Gallo and Mantese give a list of members of the Vicenza Chapter, dated 14 September 1412, which includes two men documented as singers, Giovanni Gasparo among the canons, and Antonio da Piacenza among the mansionaries, but not the canon Matteo da Brescia.<sup>6</sup> Antonio witnessed a will of 21 August 1427, where he is described as a singer of the Cathedral, and was still a mansionary on 28 February 1455. Two further men, Petrus de Credacio and Zeno de Leonico (Creazzo, Lonigo), are listed as witness-

*Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy 1300-1800*, 6 vols., Boston, G. K. Hall & Co., 1962, III, p. 2306, as Petrus Miannus. See also MARGARET BENT, *Music and the Early Veneto Humanists*, "Proceedings of the British Academy", 101 (1999), pp. 101-130.

5 The likelihood that Ciconia and Giovanni Gasparo met in the Veneto and specifically in Vicenza becomes particularly intriguing in the light of an isolated reference to one Antonio de Zacariis, listed as a canon of Vicenza in 1399/1400, but who has so far not emerged from other records of the period (Vicenza, Archivio Capitolare, 2921). This cannot however be the composer Antonio Zacara da Teramo.

6 F. ALBERTO GALLO - G. MANTESE, *Ricerche sulle origine della cappella musicale del duomo di Vicenza*, Venezia, Fondazione Cini, 1964, p. 14, imply that this list (Vicenza, Archivio Capitolare, prepared by the notary Matteo Pace, 14 Sept 1412) also includes Petrus de Credacio and Zeno de Leonico among the mansionaries, but the list that they give does not, though Petrus de Credacio is documented from at least 28 January 1410: see Gallo and Mantese, p. 17. See also, for the cultivation of polyphony in Vicenza in this period, GIULIO CATTIN, *Formazione e attività delle cappelle polifoniche nelle cattedrali. La musica nelle città*, in *Storia della cultura veneta dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi e Manlio Pastore Stocchi, vol. III/3, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 1981, pp. 285-8.

es to a will of 24 September 1422 where they are also named as cathedral singers. Antonio and Pietro witnessed the will of the Vicenza canon Matteo da Brescia on 5 April 1419. Matteo is known for the interesting musical provisions of this will and as the composer of a motet in *Q15*, *Jhesus postquam monstraverat*.<sup>7</sup> Gallo and Mantese report that Zeno was a mansionary from at least 14 November 1403 until at least 28 December 1427, when he witnessed another will, and that the date, but not the year, of Credacio's death and burial are recorded in the Chapter archive's memorial list of deceased mansionaries; he held a benefice from at least 28 January 1410.<sup>8</sup> These dates can now be extended from documents in the Archivio di Stato and Archivio capitolare in Vicenza. Both men are described as priests and mansionaries as early as 14 May 1392, so they must have been born in the mid 1360s. A subdiaconal prebend for Credacio is referred to in 1388. At various times thereafter both men are named as singers. Zeno made a will on 25 Oct 1428, but this does not survive. The last reference to him that I have found is 7 February 1430. Credacio's will does survive and is dated 20 April 1445. At least three or four men are required to sing this music; this community was well aware that the skill to do so was scarce, as is attested in the 1431 provision by Emiliani for benefices for young cleric-singers, and as it had been in Matteo da Brescia's intention to endow a benefice for a singer-priest, and in the case made by the Padua Chapter in 1424 for giving a Paduan benefice to the singer Johannes de Francia or—as I shall argue—de Lymburgia.<sup>9</sup> Could it be that the death of Zeno and the ageing of Petrus prompted Emiliani's action?

Ellsworth, like Ciconia, gives no further name for Giovanni Gasparo, treating Gasparo as a surname for purposes of his index. Gallo and Mantese correctly supplied "da Castelgumberto",

7 Vicenza, Archivio di Stato, Testamenti in bombacina: see GALLO - MANTESE, *Ricerche*, pp. 23-27. Matteo left a *liber de cantu* to the Vicenza chapter on condition that it not be transferred elsewhere, precisely the same condition made (more successfully) by Carpi 34 years later for his testamentary volume, but which did not succeed for his *libri de cantu*. Matteo also left a bequest for a singing bursary very much like the one set up later by Emiliani in 1433 (see GALLO - MANTESE, *Ricerche*, p. 28).

8 GALLO - MANTESE, *Ricerche* p. 15, citing wills in the Vicenza Archivio di Stato, and pp. 16-17.

9 ACP Atti capitulari 1424.

10 For Giovanni Gasparo, see GALLO - MANTESE, *Ricerche*, pp. 14-15. How-

the appellation of a canon who recurs in Vicenza documents from at least as early as 16 February 1405 to at least as late as 4 April 1421. But Mantese, despite his profound knowledge of the Vicenza Chapter archives, failed to recognise that this is the same man who later is more often called "de Leocornis".<sup>10</sup> This canon is most often designated simply "Johannesgaspar" or "Giovanni Gasparo" as in Ciconia's dedication. Mantese evidently took *de Castelgumberto* and *de Leocornis* to refer to two different people. But Matteo's will also mentions the father Clemente and a brother Nicholas for Giovanni Gasparo; both these names occur in later documents where the canon is designated *de Leocornis*, and the will also names "Johannesgaspar" without the specification of one or the other that should have been needed were there any ambiguity. The forms Castelgumberto and Leocornis never occur within the same appellation in the documents I have seen, though they do occur in the same document, notably in the 1419 will of Matteo da Brescia. No other canon of Vicenza is called Johannesgasparo throughout the first half of the fifteenth century. If two canons named Johannesgasparo had witnessed the making of this will, it would surely have been necessary to distinguish them, whereas all three mentions of Johannesgasparo call him canon of Vicenza, the first specifying *da Castelgumberto*, the second nothing, the third *de Leocornis*. While Johannesgasparo seems to have preferred the form *de Leocornis* from the early 1420s, there is a period of overlap between the earliest use of Leocornis in 1416 and the latest use of Castelgumberto in 1421. Both forms of the name occur in conjunction with "quondam Clementis", the distinctive name of his then-deceased father.

The unqualified application "Johannes Gasparus" or, as he signed himself, "Johannes Gaspar" continues throughout this

ever, they report Matteo's will incompletely (pp. 23-25); the long excerpt that they cite does not include the passages where Giovanni Gasparo (in any of the three forms of his name) is named, or designated as executor. Musicologists have thus been prevented from making this connection in the time since their little book appeared. They do however refer to the later processes that were needed to try to activate Matteo's bequest by obtaining the required loan from Antonio Cermisoni, a distinguished doctor of arts and medicine and citizen of Padua (Vicenza, Archivio della Curia, Diversorum 25 July 1433; also Archivio Capitolare, Atti dei Notari, Camillo Magrè, 1465). Malipiero took an initiative in 1433; further attempts to obtain the outstanding balance from Cermisoni's son followed in 1462 and 1465.



period alongside the other two names, presumably referring respectively to his place of origin in the environs of Vicenza, and to his patronymic. There is therefore no reason to suppose there were two men, or that there was ever an identity problem that the notaries needed to resolve. In fact, he is a constant presence up to 1448: the will of Giovanni Gasparo de Leocornis is dated 27 April of that year and was presented at the Vicenza registry two days later.<sup>11</sup> Like his fellow canon Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi, Giovanni Gasparo is an attested musician who was in Padua and Vicenza continuously from well before to well after the compilation of *Q15*. Carpi appears to have been the most senior of Emiliani's three personal chaplains, and was with him at least from 1416. That Carpi must have had a life-long avocation for polyphonic music is demonstrated by his will of 1453, which bequeathes *omnes suos libros de cantu* (all his polyphonic books) to the Vicenza chapter, and specifies the contents of a music book to be copied, including a set of (polyphonic) Lamentations; the volume still survives in the Chapter library.<sup>12</sup> Giovanni Gasparo's musical credentials are established by the dedication of the earlier Ciconia treatise in 1411. He and Carpi would have known each other from early in Emiliani's bishopric, within a few years of Ciconia's death, until Giovanni Gasparo's presumed death in or after 1448. At any rate, it is quite clear that there is only one canon of Vicenza called Giovanni Gasparo throughout this period, and that this is the man to whom Ciconia dedicated his

<sup>11</sup> Vicenza, Archivio di Stato, Testamenti 1448, Sat. 27 April, produced at the Registry on 29 April, and written by the notary Matheus de Clivonis. Book legacies to individuals are followed by a residual book bequest to the sacristy of Vicenza cathedral. They may have included music, but this is not specified. Mantese mentions the *descriptio terre sancte* mentioned in the will of Leocornis, in connection with pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but he did not connect this man with Giovanni Gasparo da Castelgomberto. Indeed, he made a further confusion, in reporting a second, earlier will of 1446 naming Giovanni Gasparo de Leocornis as archpriest living as a layman with his wife Bianca, a daughter and 5 sons, and including a provision that *sua sclava mora* be freed. Mantese was interested in this because he thought it marked out the canon of Vicenza as a layman, and for its interesting reference to slavery. This mystery can now be solved. There is indeed a will dated 27 May 1446 (Vicenza Archivio di Stato, Testamenti in bombacina); it is not that of our canon Giovanni Gasparo, but was made by someone else in his canonical house and in his presence. The testator was *distinctus vir Ser Antonius q. Ser Alberti de leonico civis et habit. civ. vinc.*, which could

treatise. Having recognised the continuity, we can trace the career of this *preclarus cantor* much more fully, despite the silence of documents about his musical activity.

Giovanni Gasparo occurs frequently as a witness of documents promulgated by Emiliani, not only in Vicenza but also in Padua. A detailed itinerary remains to be researched. The traffic between Padua and Vicenza of Bishop Emiliani himself, of members of his household, and of canons of Padua and Vicenza, some of them musicians, seems to have been fully bi-directional during the period in which *Q15* was compiled and remade. Emiliani's musical chaplain Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi was granted a Vicenza canonry in 1430: the continuing activity of Giovanni Gasparo throughout the period of the manuscript's compilation simply tightens that web.

#### BISHOP MALIPIERO AND BELTRAME FERAGUT

After the death of Emiliani on 4 May 1433, Francesco Malipiero became bishop of Vicenza. His election was something of a *cause célèbre*. Mantese reports that, according to Barbarano, Pope Eugenius IV (the Venetian Gabriele Condulmer) had nominated Lorenzo Giustiniani, his youthful associate (together with his cousin Cardinal Antonio Correr, both nephews of the Correr Pope Gregory XII) in an idealistic venture for monastic reform on the Venetian island of S. Giorgio in Alga.<sup>13</sup> Barbarano reports that this choice for their new bishop did not please the canons of Vi-

explain why the testator asked to be buried in the chapel of St Anthony. Mantese must have confused his notes here and conflated the witness with the testator - not for the only time. See MANTESE, *Memorie storiche*, III/1, p. 42, and p. 665 n. 1, and MANTESE, *Movimenti di riforma*, p. 39.

<sup>12</sup> The will is signalled in MANTESE, *Memorie storiche*, III/2, pp. 862-863 and n. 33, and the music volume in GIULIO CATTIN, *Uno sconosciuto codice quattrocentesco dell'archivio capitolare di Vicenza e le Lamentazioni di Johannes de Quadris*, in: *L'ars Nova Italiana del Trecento III*, Certaldo, Centro di studi sull'ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970, pp. 281-304. The two were linked in MARGARET BENT, *Pietro Emiliani's Chaplain Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi and the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadris in Vicenza*, "Il Saggiatore musicale", II (1995), pp. 5-16.

<sup>13</sup> See MANTESE, *Memorie storiche*, p. 117. Mantese confuses the situation by naming Giustiniani instead of Malipiero as the subject of the bull of nomination, p. 122, n. 46.

enza, who pre-emptively revived their historic prerogative to elect the bishop of their choice, and successfully petitioned the pope for the appointment of Malipiero, then bishop of Castello (Venice).<sup>14</sup> Giovanni Gasparo was one of two *scrutatores* of Malipiero's election; he, along with Emiliani's former chaplains Bartolomeo, Antonio and Nicolaus, all three now also canons of Vicenza, were personal signatories to the document recording this decision by the canons, meeting in the sacristy in plenary session on 7 May. The *scrutatores* carried the message to Malipiero, who gave his acceptance on 9 May. Eugenius's bull confirming the appointment of Malipiero is dated 11 May. Since the matter was resolved within so few days of Emiliani's death, there was hardly time for contention, and indeed Mantese expressed some scepticism about Barbarano's account. It could be that the Vicenza canons acted with such dispatch in order to avert the Pope's known intention. It is somewhat surprising that Malipiero, with no evident Vicenza connection, should have been the preferred candidate of the Vicenza chapter, rather than one of their own number, and indeed that he should have wanted to leave Venice for Vicenza.

Malipiero's formal entry into the cathedral is not documented, but his arrival in Vicenza led to open disputes between the *familie* of the two bishops as a result of the unrealistically inflated provisions of Emiliani's will. The disputes centred around Emiliani's litigious son Faustino, and other members of his household, including Baldassare de' Guaitamachi da Pavia (variously spelled), his "famulus et camerarius", who had removed not only personal property that Emiliani had legitimately bequeathed, but also goods properly belonging to the bishop's palace. Baldassare insulted Malipiero in the street and was promptly excommunicated.<sup>15</sup> The Vicenza chapter, as we have seen, included at least two musical canons and, at various times, three musical man-

<sup>14</sup> Vicenza, Archivio Capitolare, Pergamene VIII, 3776. A copy of it is in Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vigna Zibaldone XII, pp. 181ff. See MANTESE, *Correnti*, pp. 835-9. The canons of Vicenza who were present at and signatories to the election of Malipiero in 1433 are: Antonio de Cadianis, Bartholomeus de Sancto Marcello, Johannes Gaspar de Leocornis, Bartholomeus de Cartulariis, Bartolomeus de Carpo, Antonius de Regio, Nicola de Columbus, Fredericus de Stephanis. Of these, Bartolomeo da Carpi and Antonio da Reggio had been chaplains to Emiliani since the early years of his bishopric, accompanying him on his long sojourns in Padua; also, joining them later, a younger chaplain, Nicola de Columbus.

sionaries. Various indications support or document the at least occasional presence of the canons Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi and Giovanni Gasparo in Padua before the death of Ciconia and following the arrival of Emiliani, who spent much time in Padua and was almost continuously there in the early 1420s throughout the compilation of the first stage of the manuscript Q15 in that city. All these men were largely in Vicenza at the time the later layers of Q15 were compiled, the late 1420s to the mid 1430s; Carpi and Giovanni Gasparo wrote their last wills long after its completion (in 1453 and 1448 respectively). I have shown that Feragut's motet *Excelsa civitas Vincencia* was written not for Emiliani in 1409 but for Malipiero in 1433.<sup>16</sup> The Vicenza chapter, having chosen Malipiero, surely remained at least outwardly loyal to him, perhaps after initial problems. Any one of three former chaplains of Emiliani, all now canons of Vicenza, ought to have been perfectly willing to accept or commission a motet in honour of the new bishop of their choice. The Q15 scribe, whether or not he was a member of that chapter, must have acquiesced in the new regime whatever his own private loyalties, since he was at first willing to copy the new motet in honour of Malipiero. Something then happened to change his mind, and this could well have been the unpleasantness that ensued after Malipiero's arrival. Whether our scribe eventually became publicly or privately reconciled to the new bishop we cannot tell, because it was not he who eventually changed the name back to Malipiero's. The circle of suspects is small. A loyal musician close to Emiliani was at least for a while privately disaffected by Malipiero's challenge to the consequences of Emiliani's over-ambitious bequests. That person, still unidentified, was the scribe of Q15.

Why was it Beltrame Feragut who wrote the motet to welcome Malipiero, and what basis of personal knowledge of the new bishop or of attachment to Vicenza prompted its composition?

<sup>15</sup> MANTESE, *Correnti*, pp. 840-841 and n. 17.

<sup>16</sup> The deletion and obvious first inference was first noted by ANDRÉ PIRRO, *La musique de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup>*, Paris, Laurens, 1940, p. 65. See also GALLO – MANTESE, *Ricerche*, chapter II; LEWIS LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984, p. 35. The erasure, which supersedes this view, was first observed in MARGARET BENT, *A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style: Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative*, "Musica Disciplina", 41 (1987), pp. 183-201. See also, for the cultivation of polyphony in Vicenza in this period, CATTIN, *Formazione*.

Did Feragut come from Venice with Malipiero? There is no documentation for any of these things, such as there is for the presence of Lymburgia (of whom more below); but since it seems that one of the latest additions to Q15, Du Fay's hymn cycle, was rounded out with hymns by Lymburgia and Feragut, probably in 1434-5, and since the group of Magnificats, copied at a similar date, is entirely by Lymburgia (including two anonymous settings attributed to him by modern scholars), except for one by Feragut, there may be circumstantial reasons to place Feragut in Vicenza at this time, and for the first time, now that we have removed a Vicenza association for Feragut as early as 1409, which was the earliest date that has been proposed in his biography, albeit inferred from a faulty dating of *Excelsa*.

Feragut has no initial or forename in Q15, but his *Ave Maria* is ascribed in the Oxford manuscript, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213 (Ox), to "Beltrame Feragu", his two other motets in that manuscript to "B. Feraguti". Identifications between archivally documented men and the composer are in this case strengthened by his possession of not one but two relatively unusual names.<sup>17</sup> His compositions are predominantly in Veneto manuscripts: a Gloria and two Credos are already in the oldest layer of Q15 (early 1420s); others, including the Este motet *Franconum nobilitate*, were copied in the early 1430s. The earliest references, and the only ones earlier than Q15, are to "Beltramus de Francia cantor" on 4 November 1415, with further payments in 1416, and come from the chapel accounts of Pandolfo III Malatesta da Fano (of the Rimini line of the family) while he was captain of Brescia, another Malatesta connection besides those for Du Fay from the late 1410s.<sup>18</sup> From 1 July 1425 to May 1430

<sup>17</sup> I am indebted to the ever-generous Alejandro Planchart for whatever in this account goes beyond existing documentation.

<sup>18</sup> ALLAN W. ATLAS, *Pandolfo III Malatesta mecenate musicale: musica e musicisti presso una signoria del primo Quattrocento*, "Rivista Italiana di Musicologia", XXIII (1988), pp. 38-92: 62-68.

<sup>19</sup> FABIO FANO, *Le origini e il primo maestro di cappella: Matteo da Perugia*, first part of *La cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano*, a cura di Gaetano Cesari, Milano, Ricordi, 1957, pp. 97-8; CLAUDIO SARTORI, *Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut, i due primi maestri di cappella del duomo di Milano*, "Acta Musicologica", XXVIII (1956), pp. 12-27: 23-7.

<sup>20</sup> ENRICO PEVERADA, *Vita musicale alla cattedrale di Ferrara nel Quattrocento: note e documenti*, "Rivista Italiana di Musicologia", XV (1980), pp. 3-30: 5; LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance*, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> Thanks again to Alejandro Planchart for information about this document (personal communication 1 September 02), citing Archivio Segreto Vati-

'D. dompnus Beltrandus de Vignone [Avignon], musichus' (also called *tenorista*) was on the pay-roll of Milan Cathedral. In 1425-8 he is called *dominus*, 1429-30 *presbiter*. Sartori interprets 'musicus' as *maestro di cappella*. The departure (apparently voluntary) of Frater Beltramus de Ferragutis left the Cathedral without a *tenorista* (yielding another musical designation), occasioning a petition the following month by three singer-priests, one of whom was confusingly called Beltrandus.<sup>19</sup> On 1 January 1431, King Charles VII of France permitted Niccolò D'Este of Ferrara to quarter his arms with the French, an honour apparently referred to in the text of Feragut's motet *Franconum nobilitate* in the text of which 'B. Feragut' supplicates to join a prince's service. 'Beltrandus' was paid with other singers of the Marquis in Ferrara on 1 July 1431, 'Bertrandus' on 19 August, though these candidates lack the corroboration of a surname.<sup>20</sup> A possible time for him to have become associated with Malipiero or with Vicenza would be after he disappears from Milan Cathedral accounts in 1430 and after his appearance in Ferrara in the summer of 1431.

It seems that Feragut's tenure at Milan is not incompatible with identifying him as the 'Bertrandus Feraguti', called 'clericus', in a papal document discovered by Alejandro Planchart in the Register of Supplications of 1430;<sup>21</sup> this man was at that time a monk of the Benedictine monastery of San Michele de Medicina near Bologna, alias de Gazanigo, but had formerly been a member of the Augustinian *eremitani* living in the convent of S. Andrea in Ferrara which he left without permission and joined the Benedictines.<sup>22</sup> This presumably preceded his 1425 appearance in Milan. The identification of such an unusual name with qualification as a singer receives support from a payment of 9 De-

cano, Reg. Sup. 240, fols. 65r-65v, dated Pridie Id Apr A 12 (12 April 1430), which is dated in LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance*, p. 35, as 1427-8.

<sup>22</sup> According to Planchart: being unsure that what he has done is legal he asks Pope Martin V to confirm his decision "de ultima professione et receptione huiusmodi ... rata et habere illasque auctoritate apostolica confirmare" and asks absolution of any penalties he might have incurred in doing what he did. (The papal signature reads: "Fiat de absolutione. O[ddo]. Datum Roma apud Sanctum Petrum, pridie Id. Apr. Anno 12"). Planchart interprets this to mean that the pope absolved him of the penalties, but did not confirm or ratify his switch to the Benedictines, which means that the Augustinians had the right to argue that his second profession was invalid and force Feragut back into the Augustinian order. The petition is *prima facie* evidence that something was afoot and Feragut needed some support for his decision; the nature of the signature and later biographical evidence on Feragut indicate that he was indeed forced to go back to the Augustinians.



ember 1438 to 'Frater Beltramus', of the Order of St Augustine, who was recruited with other singers from Ferrara by Lorenzo de Medici on instructions from his brother Cosimo to seek appropriate personnel for the recently re-dedicated Florence Cathedral, but he is absent from the next surviving list of 1445.<sup>23</sup> The appellation *frater*, also found in some archives, helps to corroborate his identity with the Augustinian of the 1430 document, as does the ascription in the Parma fragment of his sole rondeau to 'Fr[ater] B. Ferracuti'. "Bertran Feragut" last appears in May-July 1449 as first-listed chaplain at the court of René d'Anjou, ex-King of Sicily, at Aix, but is no longer listed the following July.<sup>24</sup> Unlike Lymburgia, however, Feragut does appear in stage I of Q15 (before c. 1425), as the composer of three mass movements (nos. 42, 45, 46); then he is represented in stage II with *Excelsa civitas Vincencia* (no. 271), and in stage III (after 1433) with one hymn (no. 301) and one Magnificat (no. 324).<sup>25</sup> This is not enough to suggest a close connection with the compilation, such as Lymburgia's obvious association from stage II onwards, but it does not exclude such a connection.

#### JOHANNES DE LYMBURGIA

Matteo da Brescia and Feragut are two of the three composers who contributed works with specific Vicenza associations to Bologna Q15. For the third Vicenza composer, Johannes de Lymburgia, some revision to existing knowledge can likewise be offered. He has sometimes been proposed as the scribe-compiler of the manuscript, but two factors argue against this. One is that the single scribe of the manuscript appears to be a native Italian who at times adopts Frenchifying script mannerisms; the other is that his works are not represented in the first layer but enter the repertory only at the second stage, which would be strange

if he were the composer-compiler. All his 46 ascribed compositions are in Bologna Q15, and only two are also preserved elsewhere (one ascribed to Lymburgia, one to Du Fay). Three other anonymous works have been attributed to him.<sup>26</sup>

A Vicenza document of 1431 is the only archival source yet known to name him "de Lymburgia".<sup>27</sup> There he is named as a priest, and also given a patronymic, *quondam vinandi*; he can therefore be known as Johannes Vinandi de Lymburgia. Lymburgia was previously assumed to be in the north until just before this appearance in Vicenza. Attempts to identify him with any of the numerous musicians named Johannes from Liège or other northern cities would be stronger if they had the corroboration of this patronymic. Clercx and Reaney tried to make a single person out of references in the Liège archives<sup>28</sup> where Quitin showed there to be at least three different men: a chaplain of S. Jean l'Évangéliste, documented from the late 14th century until 1408; a *bastonarius* alleged to have become a singer; and a canon of Huy in 1436. Quitin opined that there were too many men of this name in Liège to permit certain identification, and that the solution to the composer's identity must come from Italy. Quitin also thought it unlikely that the *bastonarius* had musical responsibilities. The *Doppelmeister* problem is further exacerbated by the fact that the *bastonarius* Joh. de Lembor succeeds one called Wynandus in 1423; Vinandi now appears from the Vicenza document to be the composer's late father's name. It was the Liège *bastonarius*, undoubtedly a different man, who received a distribution of grain in Liège at the collegiate Church of St Jean l'Évangéliste in 1431 and who has been thought to have departed to the Veneto in time to be named in the Vicenza document. Quitin's caution is supported by the fact that all three men were documented as being in or near Liège in the 1430s, whereas work

the late 1410s.

<sup>26</sup> Of the five works which I listed as being tentatively attributed by modern scholars in the *New Grove*<sup>2</sup> I can no longer find or recall the authority for two of these works: *Gaude flore virginali*, Q15 no. 285 and *Hec dies quam fecit Dominus*, Q15 no. 190 should be restored to anonymous status.

<sup>27</sup> This was quoted in part by GALLO – MANTESE, *Ricerche*, p. 29, but without context.

<sup>28</sup> SUZANNE CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia, un musicien liégeois et son temps*, 2 vols., Bruxelles, Académie de Belgique, 1960, I, p. 140, and GILBERT REANEY, *MGG*, s.v. Lymburgia.

<sup>23</sup> FRANK A. D'ACCONTE, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp. 310-12.

<sup>24</sup> PIRRO, *La musique*, pp. 65-66; LOUISE ALLINSON, *Two Accounts for the Chapel of René of Anjou (1449-54)*, "Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle", 26 (1993), pp. 59-93.

<sup>25</sup> The earliest biographical notices, and the only ones prior to the compilation of Q15-I containing his mass movements, are to 'Beltramus de Francia cantor', from payment documents of 1415 and 1416, from the chapel accounts of Pandolfo III Malatesta da Fano while he was captain of Brescia (Atlas, pp.62-8), another Malatesta connection besides Du Fay from



■ Du Fay, *Missa Sancti Jacobi*, Gloria, first page, Tr 87, f. 1r

had begun at least a year earlier on the second stage of Q15 in which he first appears. Against any of the available Lymburgia identifications from the north it can be argued that his compositions indeed show the influence of composers active in the Veneto during the 1420s.

I have argued that he indeed cannot be the cleric documented in Liège earlier in 1431, but might be identified with a "presbiter Johannes de Francia" sometimes further specified as "cantore" who was present in Padua in the 1420s,<sup>29</sup> and on whose behalf and implicit strength as a singer the Padua chapter successfully petitioned Bishop Pietro Marcello in 1424 for a vacant chapter benefice as *custos*.<sup>30</sup> His pieces in honour of St Anthony of Padua and St George, both honoured in Padua, and *Congruit mortalibus* in honour of Giovanni Contarini, a member of Emiliani's circle, are likely to have been written in Padua in that decade, when Lymburgia and Emiliani were in that city, but when his own various namesakes were still in Liège. He is almost certainly the same as the Johannes de Francia, priest and *cantore*, who joined Emiliani's household well before 1431 and accompanied him from Padua to Vicenza in the late 1420s, when he would have written his Vicenza piece. He was sufficiently closely associated with Emiliani's circle to witness the will on 18 November 1431 of another household member, Giorgio di Duce di Crema, Emiliani's butler (*pincerna*), for this is the role he fulfils in the document cited by Gallo and Mantese, though they do not state this. A newly-arrived foreigner is unlikely to have taken part in such an intimate death-bed scene in the bishop's palace so soon after arrival as the 1431 Liège candidacy would require. Quitin's 1426 choirboy of St Martin in Liège is undoubtedly too young.<sup>31</sup> Why did Lymburgia apparently not enter the Q15 repertory before the second layer? There is no trace of recopies. The scribe was very possessive about his manuscript, not having

allowed anyone else to write in it over a period of compilation of at least twelve years, and perhaps Lymburgia was similarly possessive about letting copies of his compositions circulate. Maybe he relented at a certain point - or, more likely, perhaps his music was accessible to the singers in another book in Padua, equally jealously guarded, and only needed to be copied into Q15 when its users took the manuscript to Vicenza.

#### THE COUNCIL OF BASEL (1431-49), JOHANNES BRASSART AND THE VICENZA DELEGATION

The Council of Constance was designed to end the great Schism, and did so. The achievements at Basel were much less clearcut, but this Council inherited some of the remaining agenda of Constance, including controlling the power of the pope and giving more to bishops. The Council of Basel was convoked by Martin V in the spring of 1431 and, although it was confirmed by Eugenius IV, the new pope tried to close it down in December of that year. Eugenius recognised the Council two years later, in a bull of 15 December 1433.<sup>32</sup> The extensive published protocols of the Council<sup>33</sup> contain many direct references to music and musicians, mostly anonymous, and mostly in the form of dry minutes. Each session of the Council was introduced with the singing of *Exaudi nos domine, Veni creator Spiritus* and *Te Deum*, presumably in plainsong. There seem not to be independent anecdotal chronicle accounts such as the Richental chronicle provides for Constance.<sup>34</sup> The presence of only three known composers can be cited with any confidence, Brassart, Merques and, by presumption, Du Fay.<sup>35</sup> Delegations to the Council were often largely anonymous, only the most important people being formally admitted, usually by their office rather than by personal name, though individuals are some-

bishops to attend the Council of Basel. Some of the relevant documentation is published in MANTESE, *Correnti*, pp. 836-7 and 848-852.

33 Ed. JOHANNES HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense, Studien und Quellen*, 8 vols., Basel, 1896-1936.

34 ULRICH RICHENTAL, *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils, 1414-1418*, ed. O. Feger, 2 vols., Constance, Bahn, 1964.

35 REINHARD STROHM, *The Rise of European Music*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 250-2, and Planchart, personal communication. Nicholas de Merques (from Arras) was still there in 1436 (TOM WARD, *Merques*, in *New Grove*2).

29 *New Grove*2, s.v. Lymburgia. A *Johannes de Francia presbyter tenorista* was a singer at Padua Cathedral from 1419 to 1430. GALLO-MANTESE, *Ricerche*, p. 29, note 1, give further references to singers they treat as two different men: Johannes de Francia and Johannes de Leodio. In this case, the separation of identities may prove to be over-cautious. Some of them may refer to Lymburgia.

30 See note 16 above.

31 JOSÉ QUITIN, *A propos de Jean-François de Gembloux et de Johannes de Lymburgia*, "Revue belge de musicologie", XXI (1967), 118-124.

32 Eugenius IV and Doge Francesco Foscari sent formal orders to the Veneto

times named on behalf of their constituency. References to singers occur throughout the records of the Council, mostly in connection with the official Council choir, which was apparently appointed or replenished from time to time from within the delegates and the singers they had brought with them. This raises interesting and unanswerable questions about what might have happened when singers joined together with unfamiliar colleagues and their practices, and about how international repertory was used and different traditions and even different notations reconciled. The most striking and explicit reference known to musicologists documents the presence of Johannes Brassart, formally admitted by name to the Council on 5 June 1433.<sup>36</sup> Then on 9 November 1433 Brassart is named with Nicholas de Merques and two others as forming a group of good singers received into the chapel of the Council:

*Per reverendos patres dominos Bellicensem et Albiganensem episcopos, ad infrascripta per sacrum concilium Basiliense deputatos, honorabiles et discreti viri domini magistri Johannes Brassart, presbiter Leodiensis, Guillelmus Amire Rothomagensis diocesis, Jacobus de Villa dominica Remensis et Nicolaus de Merques Attrebatensis clerici tanquam cantores idonei et sufficientes in capella sacri concilii Basiliensis recepti et deinde per reverendissimum dominum cardinalem legatum et presidentem eiusdem sacri concilii nomine et auctoritate eiusdem, adhibitis solemnitatibus consuetis, eidem sacro concilio cum omnibus iuribus privilegiis prerogativis et preeminentiis, quibus supposita sacri concilii et eorum familiares gaudent et potiuntur, incorporati et ad incorporacionem huiusmodi admissi.*<sup>37</sup>

By the reverend fathers lord bishops of Bellay and Albenga, deputies to the sacred Council of Basel for the purposes mentioned below, the honourable and distinguished men, *domini* Johannes Brassart, priest of Liège, Guillelmus Amire of the diocese of Rouen, Jacobus de Villa dominica of Reims and Nicolaus de Merques of Arras, clerics as well as accomplished and expert singers, have been received into the chapel of the Sacred Council of Basel; and thereafter, through the very reverend cardinal legate and president of the said Council, in the name

36 HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 420.16.

37 HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, II, 516.27.

38 Cambrai, BM, 1087, fol. 66v, also CRAIG WRIGHT, *Dufay at Cambrai: discoveries and revisions*, "Journal of the American Musicological Society", 28/2 (1975), pp. 175-229: 181. Du Fay must have been in Berne, which

and authority of the same, employing the usual rites, they have been incorporated into the same Sacred Council with all rights, privileges, prerogatives and pre-eminences which the subordinates of the Sacred Council and their entourage enjoy and possess, and they are admitted to incorporation of this kind.

Du Fay is assumed to have been at Basel in 1438, having been appointed formally as the delegate for Cambrai cathedral on 7 April;<sup>38</sup> but even someone of his eminence does not appear to have been admitted to the Council by name in his own right. However, it is possible that Du Fay could have been present in a previous year without there being a record of his formal admission. Some personal contact when he travelled north after leaving the Papal chapel could have facilitated the acquisition of his works both by the scribe of Q15 and by the scribes of A0 and TR.<sup>39</sup> Given that the Q15 scribe had good and prompt access to Du Fay's works up to c. 1424, again for the compilation of the *Sancti Jacobi* Mass c. 1430, and for the final stages of compilation including the hymn cycle, the *Sanctus papale* and *Supremum est mortalibus bonum*, it is worth comparing the possible dates of acquisition with gaps in Du Fay's biography, both in the early 1420s and the early 1430s. However it is not necessary for purposes of the Q15 repertory to assume that this contact took place in Basel if the Q15 scribe otherwise had access to Du Fay up to the time he travelled north from Rome after his papal service. There are two gaps in Du Fay's known itinerary when he could have visited Basel or indeed Vicenza earlier than 1438. One is the period between his departure from the papal chapel in August 1433 and his presence in Chambéry in February 1434. A northward journey at this time could have taken him via the Veneto and/or Basel, providing a possible occasion for the personal transfer of more music, possibly a final installment, to the Q15 scribe who was probably still in Vicenza. The other possible occasion for a visit to Basel would have involved a slight detour in August 1434 on his way from Savoy (where he was at the court from February 1433

again is very close to Basel, on 3 May 1438 (*Magnanime gentis*). Planchart, personal communication of 1 September 2002.

39 For TR see PETER WRIGHT, *The compilation of Tr 871 and 922*, "Early Music History", 2 (1982), pp. 237-271, and IDEM, *On the Origins of Trent 871 and 922*, "Early Music History", 6 (1986), pp. 245-70.



to August 1434) to visit his mother in Cambrai, where he arrived by the middle of October.<sup>40</sup>

A Bull of Doge Francesco Foscari delivered on 1 January 1434 ordered all the Veneto prelates to go to Basel. It seems that Malipiero had already planned to go, but he needed first to sort out some of the disorder left by Emiliani in Vicenza, which he seems to have done by September.<sup>41</sup> Malipiero responded, arriving in Basel on 11 February 1434 and was admitted to the Council on 12 February:

*12 Feb 1434 in congregatione generali fuerunt incorporati episcopus Archadiensis, archiepiscopus Cretensis, episcopus Vincensis, abbas S. Gregorii de Veneciis ...*<sup>42</sup>

Bishop Malipiero was followed by further members of the Vicenza Chapter a few weeks later. On 5 March 1434 the archdeacon of Vicenza Anthonius de Cadranis [recte Cadianis] was admitted to the Council,<sup>43</sup> and then on 7 May 1434:

*Die veneris viia maii 1434 in congregatione generali fuerunt incorporati more solito Johannes Gasparini de Leocornis, Nicolaus de Columbis canonici ecclesie Vincentine pro capitulo eiusdem.*<sup>44</sup>

This indicates the admission to the Council of these two Vicenza canons, on behalf of the Vicenza Chapter of which presumably other unnamed members were also present. Giovanni Gasparo we have already encountered; the implications of his presence will be addressed below. Nicola de Columbis was the third and apparently youngest chaplain of Emiliani for whom a Vicenza canonry had been provided, after Bartolomeo da Carpi and Antonio da Reggio.

On July 17

*Dominus abbas de Verona retulit, quod dominus episcopus Vincensis ob reverenciam concilii licenciat cantores, quos con-*

*duxerat.*<sup>45</sup>

My lord abbot of Verona reported that my lord bishop of Vicenza had given leave, out of respect for the Council, to the singers he had brought with him.

This statement is open to interpretation, and more work will be needed in the Vicenza archives before it can be determined when the singers returned to Vicenza. It seems very unlikely that they were sent home for bad singing or bad behaviour. Giovanni Gasparo's loyalty to Malipiero is attested in Vicenza both before and after the Basel expedition. We have seen already that the Vicenza Chapter prized their singers, documented over several decades, and it seems likely, despite the limited documentation and context of the Basel report, that they were appreciated at Basel too. The most likely reading seems to me to be that Malipiero had released the singers from personal service to him in order that they could without conflict of loyalties sing in the choir of the Council. The way in which singers are periodically referred to in the Council minutes suggests that delegates took it in turn to supply them, perhaps for a few months, with or without singers from other delegations. For example, in 1434, negotiations about providing singers for the council by the Paduan delegation occur on 4, 5 and 12 June<sup>46</sup> but do not seem to have been confirmed. If the above reading is correct, the Vicenza reference may indicate that the Paduan initiative failed, or that Malipiero's action enabled the Paduan singers to be replaced or supplemented. In any case, Malipiero and presumably the whole Vicenza delegation seem to have left in or before December 1434, which suggests that they may have been in action for the latter half of the year. On 23 December 1434 the Spanish were requested to provide singers, and Spanish singers are again referred to in April 1435. The only other references to singers in 1434-5 are concerned with their payment, presumably because there was a problem about this. These problems become more specific at the end of 1435,<sup>47</sup> when in September singers ask to be paid as much

<sup>43</sup> HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 38.22.

<sup>44</sup> HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 91.23-25.

<sup>45</sup> HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 151.20-21.

<sup>46</sup> 4 June 1434: *Facta relatione per dominos archiepiscopos Lugdunense et episcopum Paduanum super provisione faciendi cantoribus capelle sacre concilii quod providebat ipsis cantoribus...*

<sup>47</sup> HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 527.

as the scribes, and in December complain that they have not been paid for five months: "Cantores querimoniam fecerunt, quia non habent pecunias a v. mensibus citra etc".<sup>48</sup>

Brassart, as is well known, is named as *capellanus imperatoris* on 10 December 1434.<sup>49</sup> Mixer speculates that Brassart entered imperial service between Sigismund's coronation on 27 April and before Sigismund left Basel on 4 June.<sup>50</sup> In addition to the known December minute, we find this petition of 24 May:

*Quo ad supplicationem cantoris capelle domine imperatoris, petentis gaudere privilegiis et libertatibus incorporatorum concilio, placuit supplicacio in forma, etc.*<sup>51</sup>

As for the supplication of the singer of the chapel of my lord the emperor, asking to enjoy the privileges and liberties of those incorporated into the Council, the supplication is approved in the usual form.

Could this unnamed imperial singer be Brassart, having left the Council chapel in favour of imperial employment? If so, this would indicate that he promptly set about securing the Council privileges he had been granted first on admission to the Council and then again on admission as a chapel singer; these presumably had to be renewed because he had forfeited this status on taking up his new imperial obligations. This would confirm that he entered the imperial chapel shortly before that date, which falls within Mixer's hypothesised limits, and fits neatly with the negotiations with the Paduan delegation for new singers in early June, perhaps necessitated by Brassart's departure. Although the bi-

shop of Vicenza had arrived in February, Giovanni Gasparo (and perhaps the other singers) did not arrive until May. Malipiero returned to Vicenza by 12 December 1434,<sup>52</sup> presumably together with his delegation and Q15 unless they had left Basel earlier; certainly the date at which the canons returned might be refined by further work in witness lists in the Vicenza archives. If they left Basel in December, it might have been precisely their departure that prompted the attempt in December to recruit Spanish singers for the Council choir.

The reference which names Brassart has long been known and indeed is one of the cornerstones of his biographical documentation: Brassart and Nicholas de Merques were hitherto the only known musicians named in the Council protocols. The naming of canon Giovanni Gasparo whom we now know to be a singer, and the reference to singers that the bishop of Vicenza had brought with him, must confirm suspicions that more musicians lurk anonymously behind some of the named delegates. There is a clear opportunity for the Vicenza delegation to have met Brassart in 1434, even if his departure was the occasion of their recruitment to the Council choir, and this may have some bearing on the authority of the Q15 indexer's attribution to Brassart of a Gloria (copied twice as nos. [1] and 80) twice assigned in A0 to Johannes le Grant. Q15 already contained two of Brassart's motets, probably copied before he visited the court of Martin V and perhaps dating back to (undocumented) contacts formed at Constance with precociously talented youngsters including his contemporary Du Fay.<sup>53</sup> Brassart was absent from Liège

<sup>40</sup> Alejandro Planchart, communication of 2 September 2002.

<sup>41</sup> MANTESE, *Memorie*, p. 129, reports an amusing story about a mule given to Malipiero by Traversari and then requested to be given to Ermolao Barbaro.

<sup>42</sup> HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 23.19-21. The abbot of S. Fortunatus of Vicenza was admitted on 15 March (HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 46.9).

<sup>48</sup> HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 583. See also MARTIN TEGEN, *Baselkonciliet och kyrkomusiken omkr. 1440*, "Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning", XXXIX (1957).

<sup>49</sup> *Super supplicatione Johannis Brassart archipresbiteris parrochialis ecclesie beate Marie ad fontes Leodiensis diocesis familiaris et capellani in capella serenissimi domini imperatoris huic sacro concilio incorporati, petentis gaudere eiusdem privilegiis stando cum ipso serenissimo domino imperatore et sibi servendi, ac si presencialiter in hoc loco sacri concilii resideret etc: concordant tres deputaciones quod supplicans gaudeat omnibus et singulis prerogativis et indulgentiis, quibus gaudent incorporati, ut petitur* (HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 269.27-35).

<sup>50</sup> KEITH MIXER, *Johannes Brassart: a Biographical and Bibliographical Study*, "Musica Disciplina", XVIII (1964), pp. 37-62.

<sup>51</sup> HALLER, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, 105.14

<sup>52</sup> MANTESE, *Memorie*, p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> Brassart might have been expected to enter the repertory later, given that he is documented at Basel, but in fact he is already represented in Q15-I by two polytextual motets: *Ave Maria gracia plena/ O Maria gracia plena* (no. 229), which is also in *Tr* 871, and the unique *Magne Deus potencie/ Genus regule esperie* (no. 252). The following monotextual motets by Brassart are all rather copies of stage II-III: stage III script, in gathering XXV-XXVI, *O flos flagrans* (264), which is also in *Tr* 871 and *Ox*. The following are all on paper IIB in gath XXVI: *Te dignitas presularis* (no. 267) is in *Tr* 871, *Summus secretarius* (no. 275) is also in *Ox*, and *Gratulemur Christicole* (no. 268) is an *unicum*. Brassart's only Mass movements in Q15 are the unrelated Gloria-Credo pair (nos. 102-3), both in gathering XI, stage III, also in *A01* and *Tr* 93/90. They could have been acquired at Basel when the Vicenza delegation and Brassart had access to each other.



■ Bologna, Q15, anonymous, textless song, no. 109, f. 142v. Reproduced by permission of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna. Digital imaging by DIAMM (www.diamm.ac.uk).

between May 16, 1424 and some unspecified time in 1426, when he celebrated his first mass as a priest. Peter Wright believes that this sets his birth date 1400-1405.<sup>54</sup> Assuming a canonical age of at least 25 or, as was still officially the case, 30, he might have been born somewhat earlier, c. 1396-1401. Planchart assumes that Du Fay waited until age 30 before becoming a priest, which sets his birthdate in 1397, a date which works better than 1400 with my view, based on *Q15 termini post* and *ante quem*, of his presumed state of career and compositional development by the time of Constance.<sup>55</sup> If it was Du Fay's conciliar sympathies that led him to wait for the theologically conservative age of 30, might this not have applied to the conciliar Brassart too? He and Du Fay served together in the Papal chapel in 1431. The Council of Basel may have been an occasion for the Vicenza delegation to acquire Brassart's Gloria and Credo copied into *Q15*, as I believe, in 1434.

Now we can insert Giovanni Gasparo into the musical context of the Council of Basel. Here is a man who had been praised as an excellent singer and dear brother by Ciconia 22 years previously, belonging to the Vicenza delegation which may have provided singers for the Council. Besides the canons Giovanni Gasparo and Bartolomeo da Carpi, and perhaps others, these singers may have included the now quite elderly Vicenza mansionary-singers mentioned above, Zeno, Pietro, Antonio - and Lymburgia. Whether or not Giovanni Gasparo was still singing himself, he was still active as a resident senior canon, as the Vicenza records show, and although no musical job or status is documented for him in Vicenza, he must surely have retained a lifelong musical avocation. The evidence for Bartolomeo's musical interest and competence comes from his will of twenty years later; that for Giovanni Gasparo from the dedication by Ciconia twenty years earlier; other attested musicians weave in and out of this rich tapestry. By 1430, these men and their circle were no longer in Padua but established in Vicenza. By the time of Emiliani's death in 1433, the Vicenza chapter included several attested musicians who had been close to Emiliani and at least one who had been close to Ciconia. It is highly probable that the book was in their

hands and that one of them was the scribe. I have established the association of this circle with polyphonic cultivation, with the repertory, compilation and use of *Q15* over a period of at least 20 years; I have established the musical presence at Basel in the summer of 1434 of a group of Vicenza singers including or led by Giovanni Gasparo, Ciconia's *preclarus cantor* and *frater carissime*; and I have proposed on independent codicological and scribal grounds that the last stages of *Q15* were copied mostly in 1434 (continuously from stage II in 1433, and probably not extending beyond 1435). What did they sing, and what did they sing from? It is hard to believe that they did not take *Q15* with them.

#### Q15 AND BASEL

I have discussed aspects of *Q15* elsewhere, especially the complexities of the manuscript's codicological structure and history, and questions arising from the discarding and recopying of repertory. All these things will be treated more fully in the introductory material now in preparation for a facsimile edition. One aspect I have not yet addressed in print is the nature and circumstances of the latest stages of additions to the manuscript.

In what state was the manuscript in the second half of 1433, the year which marks the end of stage II work, containing *Excelsa* and defined by the latest Roman foliation? What did it look like? The book was trimmed and therefore presumably bound for the first time at the end of stage I, c. 1425. Some of the casualties of this trimming were compensated for by the scribe at stage II, but it is hard to tell when those compensatory marginal ascriptions (both to Arnold de Lantins) were in turn trimmed at a later binding. I have reported elsewhere that in 1429-30, the second stage was initiated with, and because of, Du Fay's *Missa Sancti Jacobi*.<sup>56</sup> Even if that mass was originally envisaged as a new book, it was soon incorporated into the existing amalgamated manuscript and is included in the roman foliation which defines stage II. In order to make this addition and the radical subse-

<sup>54</sup> *New Grove*2, s.v. Brassart.

<sup>55</sup> See the first few pages of ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART, *Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy*, "Early Music History", 8 (1988), pp. 117-171, especially p. 121, amplified by personal

correspondence.

<sup>56</sup> MARGARET BENT, *Music and the Early Veneto Humanists*, "Proceedings of the British Academy", 101 (1999), pp. 101-130.



quent changes, the manuscript had to be dismantled and its first binding removed. Nearly 200 folios from stage I were discarded and a similar number of new folios were added; some but not all of these were recopies of discarded stage-I repertory. It is possible but not certain that the manuscript was again rebound at the completion of this stage-II work c. 1433; at any rate, a definitive and final foliation was provided for that stage. The manuscript may still have been in loose fascicles, perhaps protected by the boards retained from the first binding. After these massive upheavals, further additions were made, at the third stage, on inserted unfoliated gatherings, apparently continuously from the completion of stage II and filling some pages left blank at that stage, with no perceptible time-gap in the script chronology; a partial index was provided, and a final binding undertaken, which included as flyleaves and pastedowns material discarded from both stages I and II. Whether this final binding was the second or third I have not been able to determine; it followed the addition of the unfoliated stage-III fascicles, the final removal of the flyleaf bifolia, and the contributions of the indexer.<sup>57</sup>

The manuscript had been foliated up to f. 286, the motet *Excelsa* had been copied and the bishop's name changed. The smoking gun of the name change from Malipiero to Emiliani in *Excelsa* cannot antedate May 1433, which provides a *terminus post quem* for its script stage, but was probably done in that year at the time of the controversial and troubled arrival of Malipiero after Emiliani's death, soon after the first copying of the motet itself, probably in the early summer of 1433. All cuttings and pastings of initials were by then complete, and nearly all discardings, though not all the recopyings of works discarded from stage I had yet been done. The later these recopyings, the more likely it is that they were made from new exemplars or different versions, as the older versions would already have been discarded and

probably cut up. The second-stage work had been completed and foliated; it was regarded as having reached a particular stage, as it was foliated in this state with the latest and definitive roman foliation, sometimes involving considerable trouble of erasure to revise the stage-I foliations, as had already been done several times during the manuscript's growth during stage I. The third-stage work must date from late 1433 to late 1434 or even 1435. It is unlikely that work continued much beyond this, because it includes no datable works, no Du Fay works later than *Supremum est mortalibus* of 1433, and certainly no works that must have been written as late as 1435. The final stage-III gatherings (XI-XII, XX, XXVIII-XXIX) were added after the latest roman foliation and remained unfoliated. Although continuous from stage II, script chronology makes it unlikely that they were started before 1434; and given the scribe's history of prompt access to new work, the absence of pieces known to be later than this makes it unlikely that the compilation extended beyond 1435.

This situates the latest stage of the Q15 compilation very close to the entire copying dates posited for *Ox*. Boone dates the compilation of *Ox* from about 1426-36, Falls in the narrower period from 1428-34, precisely contemporary with Q15 stages II-III.<sup>58</sup> It makes possible, chronologically, the scenario suggested by Jean Widaman for the copying of Arnold de Lantins's mass *Verbum incarnatum* into Q15 from *Ox*, and into *BU* from Q15.<sup>59</sup> It also makes these late additions virtually contemporary with the dates suggested by Peter Wright and others for the earliest stages of compilation of *Ao* and *TR* in the early to mid 1430s. He places the compilation of *TR* by Johannes Lupi between early 1433 and 1445, contemporary with the early phases of *Ao* and, now, the earliest part, with the late phases of Q15.<sup>60</sup> This clearly encourages the possibility that there was some mutual copying between these sources. He finds no support for any copying

Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 213, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995 (Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 1), pp. 19-20.

59 JEAN WIDAMAN, *The Mass Ordinary Settings of Arnold de Lantins: a Case Study in the Transmission of Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1988.

60 PETER WRIGHT, *On the origins*, and IDEM, *The Aosta-Trent relationship reconsidered*, in: *I codici musicali trentini a cento anni dalla loro riscoperta: Atti del convegno 'Laurence Feininger, la musicologia come missione'*, ed. N. Piffrotta and D. Curti, Trento, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 1986, pp. 138-57.

57 Some numbered folios were discarded from gathering XVII (possibly later) and some folios were left ruled but blank. The central bifolium of this gathering was removed to the beginning and accommodated the index: the composite central bifolium of gathering XXII was moved to the end and recopied at stage III, effecting the removal of the contratenor of Ciconia's *O felix templum* that had been added at stage II. This was done after the stage-II foliation; the index was done after the stage-III additions.

58 GRAEME M. BOONE, *Dufay's Early Chansons: Chronology and Style in the Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987, p. 112; DAVID FALLOWS, ed., *Oxford*,

from *TR* to *Ao*, but concludes that some pieces were copied into *TR* from *Ao*, the two most important sources for Brassart. These striking relationships of timing are obviously open to further refinement as dates for compilation are more firmly established, and more stemmatic comparison is undertaken.

The gatherings of Q15 that date entirely from stage III are XI-XII, XX and XXVII-XXIX.<sup>61</sup> The last two groups are relatively coherent compared to XI-XII, which are something of a minefield and will be discussed last after a brief review of the other stage-III sections. Gathering XX has 13 folios containing several works by Lymburgia and a rather high number of *unica*. While gatherings XXVIII-XXIX are wholly of stage III, the progression of repertory, paper and script is continuous between XXVII and those two succeeding gatherings, indicating that stages II and III were probably continuous and contiguous, or at least that stage II left some (but insufficient) blank but foliated pages for later additions. Gatherings XXVIII-XXIX contain 23 folios. Gathering XXVII originated at stage II, but 9 out of its 12 folios anticipate the use of stage-III paper in conjunction with stage-II Roman foliation. Only the roman folio numbers on the two outer bifolia, 277-8 and 287-8, are modern additions. It seems that the use of stage-III paper started precisely here, the supply for stage II being exhausted, attesting temporal continuity between stages II and III. These final three gatherings again include a number of works by Lymburgia, Du Fay's hymn cycle (with completions by Lymburgia and Feragut), a few sequences, a set of Magnificats by Lymburgia, and one by Feragut, which indicates that they or at least their music were accessible to the scribe at this point. The twenty folios of gatherings XI-XII seem to have started as a collection of Kyries by Du Fay, Binchois and Lymburgia, and then become a miscellany, with tell-tale removals of folios: see TABLE I.

The scribe must have been occupied for much of 1434 with copying the stage-III additions, including what was presumably an accumulation of most of the forty to fifty surviving works by Lymburgia. He now had access to Du Fay works written since

61 These groups follow respectively Roman folios 120, 206, and 286 (later extended to 288) but themselves have no Roman foliation: modern Arabic foliations for these three groups are 124-143, 223-235, 306-340.

62 See also the important study of manuscript distribution by GIULIANO DI

1426, and had perhaps continued to receive them even during the period when work on Q15 was suspended: *Apostolo glorioso* (1426), *Sancte Sebastiane* (1426-8?) *Balsamus et munda cera* (1431), *Supremum est mortalibus* (1433), the Sanctus *papale* and the hymn cycle, both of which are most recently thought by Alejandro Planchart to date from Du Fay's period in papal service between October 1428 and July 1433.

The latest datable piece in Q15 is his motet *Supremum est mortalibus*, which names Eugenius IV and the Emperor Sigismund: it is associated with the Treaty of Viterbo, April 1433, copied in a stage-III fascicle, in a clearly stage-III script, and shares with the Sanctus *papale* divisi (fauxbourdon or otherwise) on the same staff as another notated part. Given the fixed point of the script of *Excelsa civitas Vincencia*, there may have been some delay in receiving Du Fay works that were probably not copied until 1434-5.

If most of the well-appreciated Vicenza singers were in Basel for at least several months in 1434, during the period when the stage-III works are most likely to have been copied, it is hard to escape the suggestion that they took with them not merely copies of their repertory but this particular copy of work in progress. If Q15 indeed physically went to Basel, concordances that might have been copied in either direction from other repertories associated with the Council will need to be carefully examined.

Two-way exchange becomes a possibility; not only affecting sources for Q15's repertory but what sources may have been copied from it, and how. The Council of Constance provided a demonstrable conduit for the transmission of composers and compositions to the Veneto in the late 1410s. An obvious meeting point in the early 1430s was the Council of Basel. Both these councils (also Pisa, and Ferrara/Pavia) served a function similar to the job-market role of large American academic conferences. That some pieces were in circulation since Constance is principally attested by Q15.<sup>62</sup> Presence in Q15-III does not necessarily mean that a piece was received late, as it might be (and in some

BACCO - JOHN NÁDAS, *The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism*, in: *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 44-92.

cases was) recopied from the rejected first-stage copy. In other cases the recopies may have been made from "new" sources. Some older repertory that was copied late, like Ciconia, is almost certainly recopied from earlier discarded copies, while other repertory composed after 1425 must have been newly entered.

Surprisingly few of the concordances between *Ao* and *TR* occur in *Q15*'s latest layer; but pieces will need to be examined individually to establish whether there is any direct evidence. Let us take a look at the number of copies of *Q15* pieces in the manuscripts that have the most numerous concordances with *Q15*. These figures include duplicates which are often stemmatically independent: *BU* 29; *Ox* 45; *TR* (*Tr* 87<sub>1</sub> and *Tr* 92<sub>2</sub>) 39. *Ao* has more concordances with *Q15* than any other manuscript – 60 including duplicates, for 49 pieces, 15% of *Q15*. Works in *Q15*-III that are also in *Ao* show a particular concentration in gatherings XI-XII.

Of the late additions to *Q15* in gatherings XI-XII, the Du Fay Gloria/Credo pair (nos. 107, 108, no. 5 in Besseler IV) existed in *Q15*-I without contratenors. It is not possible to tell if the *Q15*-III versions were copied from *Q15*-I, or from a new independent source, as seems more likely unless a stage-II version was meanwhile discarded (as with nos. [1]/80). Evidence of the fragments on backs of capitals argues rather against direct copying, especially as some of them seem to have been pasted down earlier than the new copy was made; and when *Q15* went to Basel the older leaves would have already been discarded if section II was complete, bound and with all its pasted initials.

There is a striking contrast between the positions in *Q15* of Du Fay, accounting for about 25% of the manuscript, and Binchois, thought to be only very slightly younger than Du Fay, but with only eight attributed pieces.

Either Binchois's career started later (after soldiering?) or his

music was less accessible or less interesting to the *Q15* scribe. *Q15* can signal or reflect biographies: there is no evidence that Binchois's career had an Italian dimension. Moreover, none of the Binchois pieces are unique to *Q15* except the one (Gloria no. 156, Kaye 15) which Trowell has convincingly attributed on mass-pairing and stylistic grounds to the English composer Bodoil.<sup>63</sup> Kaye does not note this although he declares it to be in a style otherwise unknown in Binchois's music. Three of the eight Binchois works in *Q15* are plagued by an unusually high number of alternative attributions (for nos. 156, 162, 289), but this problem in Binchois attributions is not confined to *Q15*. Of the remaining Binchois works, two are in gathering XII, the widely circulated Kyrie *Angelorum* and the *Asperges* setting ii. The widespread Binchois Kyrie *Angelorum* (no. 97) is followed in *Q15* by three Kyries. Two are by Du Fay (one unique, one in *Tr* 93/90 and *MuEm*), and one, unique, by Lymburgia. The scribe seems to have started a cycle of Kyries (cf the cycles of hymns and of Magnificats later on) but the contents of this gathering then became miscellaneous.

The Binchois *Asperges* (no. 110) is the only one of this group uniquely shared with *Tr* 92<sub>1</sub>. The two settings published by Kaye are extreme variant versions of a single setting. Although Kaye noted that *Tr* 92<sub>1</sub> presents the superius of his *Asperges I* no. 29 and the tenor and contratenor of his *Asperges II* no. 30, his edition does less than justice to the complexity of their transmission. The *Tr* 92 version is not only a hybrid amalgam of the two settings; the hybrid version in *Tr* 92 was originally notated there entirely as the *Q15* version, his *Asperges II*, and subsequently had its top part altered to that of *Asperges I*, without making the corresponding necessary changes to the lower parts.<sup>64</sup> It is clear therefore that in this case the *Q15* version is quite independent of *Asperges I* (Kaye 29), which is in *Ao* 165v-6, *Tr* 87/124v-5 (*TR*), *Tr* 93 3v-4 and *Tr* 90 2v-3, as well as the hybrid version. Presumably adopting or adapting the criteria I first set out in 1981,

ume, chapter 5, fn 21. See also ALEXANDER BLACHLY, *Mensuration and Tempo in 15th-Century Music: Cut Signatures in Theory and Practice*, Columbia University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1995, pp. 26, 336-7, and ANDREW KIRKMAN - PHILIP WELLER, *Binchois's Texts*, "Music & Letters", 77 (1996), pp. 566-596: 572.

<sup>63</sup> *New Grove* and *New Grove*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bodoil.

<sup>64</sup> I set this out in MARGARET BENT, *The use of cut signatures in sacred music by Binchois*, in: *Binchois Studies*, ed. Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 277-312: 301. This diagnosis was acknowledged, and my reading accepted by Kirkman in the same vol-

Peter Wright judges *TR* and *Ao* to be independent of each other for this piece.<sup>65</sup> His splendid series of articles on *TR* and the relation between *TR* and *Ao* shows that in some cases the copying relationship is direct or at least directional from *Ao* to *Tr* 87<sub>1</sub>.<sup>66</sup>

The Sanctus *papale* (no. 106) must be new to *Q15*, presumably composed while Du Fay was in papal service 1428-33, therefore after *Q15*-I was complete; it is only so called and ascribed in *Tr* 92<sub>2</sub> and in *Q15* (see facsimile of this Sanctus from *Tr* 93 on p. 39). Planchart associates the particular kind of scoring with this period, but it is also present in the early 1420s, in *Q15*-I, though differently notated.<sup>67</sup> It occurs only in *Q15*, *Tr* 92<sub>2</sub> and *Tr* 93/90. Like the *Missa Sancti Jacobi* movements, this is a difficult choreography, and some bits have fallen out: the Contratenor secundus for Besseler's section D is only in *Q15*, though that for section I is also in *Tr* 92. I suspect that many works with this kind of complex scoring were originally notated with the parts for each small section bunched together.<sup>68</sup> Because such clumpings frequently do not name parts, their transfer on scribal initiative to more normal layouts on the page could lead to precisely the strong differences of layout in different sources that may originally have come from the same exemplar, as in the *Missa Sancti*

*Jacobi* Kyrie. Differences in layout cannot be taken as evidence against direct copying, but rather as different solutions to a common problem.

For this Sanctus, as in the *Missa Sancti Jacobi*, *Q15* presents both voices of duos consecutively within the topmost part. The secundus contratenor following the (first) contratenor has the unique secundus contratenor part for section D of Besseler's edition, followed (with a clef change) by cantus II for section E, squeezed in. This part in *Tr* 92 and *Tr* 93 occurs within the contratenor part, neither of which has the contratenor secundus for section D. None of the other sources do this, and nor did *Q15* in stage I copies of pieces of this type.<sup>69</sup> The Sanctus *papale* is somewhat different, as it has a few four-part sections too, and further divisi within them. *Q15* is more accurate than the version of *Tr* 92 and cannot have been copied from it. *Tr* 92 must be copied from an exemplar similar to *Q15*. *Tr* 93 mostly could have been copied from *Tr* 92. There is just one note in which *Tr* 93 agrees with *Q15* against *Tr* 92: in 25, *Tr* 92 has *a fe*, *Tr* 93 and *Q15* have *a ge*.

In *Q15* no. 96, the Du Fay Kyrie *cum jubilo*,<sup>70</sup> there are vari-

<sup>65</sup> WRIGHT, *The Aosta-Trent Relationship*, p. 148. On testing for direct and directional copying, see MARGARET BENT, *Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony*, in: *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 295-317. We can rarely talk about whole manuscripts being copied from others: each piece needs to be examined not only for variants but also for ambiguities and graphic details. Even Machaut MS B (Paris, BN n.a.f. 1584), largely a slavish copy of Vg, may have been the source for the version of the *Prise d'Alexandrie* in the Vogüé manuscript. Even *Tr* 90, largely copied from *Tr* 93, has some material copied from elsewhere.

<sup>66</sup> Peter Wright cites Bukofzer as saying one must have been copied from the other or both copied from an unknown third source because the order is not the same (WRIGHT, *The Aosta-Trent relationship*, p. 138). This may be a case of pushing the anomaly to a lost place, as the change of order would have to have taken place somewhere, even if that somewhere is now invisible. With rare exceptions such as the Machaut manuscripts and *Tr* 93/*Tr* 90 most anthologies are unique compilations.

<sup>67</sup> For a first stage of this argument, see MARGARET BENT, *Divisi and a versi in early fifteenth-century mass movements*, in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei, Lucca, LIM, 2004, pp. 95-137.

<sup>68</sup> For "bunched parts" see *Ca 11* Binchois Credo no. 21 (reproduced in BENT, *The use of cut signatures*, pp. 277-312) and the anonymous Credo *Ca 11* no. 22 with monophonic "chorus" passages alternating with "bunched" three-part sections, followed by a mensural monophonic Credo 48v-49v. *MuEm* uses what I have called a "bunched" layout for Du Fay's troped Gloria *Spiritus et alme*, no. 109 (*Q15* no. 136), also presented this way in *Tr* 92, though with "normal" layout in *Tr* 93/90 (but with separated Amen) and *Q15*. This is the only piece in *MuEm* to use such a layout. However, this is not an *a versi* piece, but a simple alternation of chant and three-part polyphony without *a versi* changes of scoring.

<sup>69</sup> Mass movements of this kind in stage I include the Legrant Gloria and Credo nos. 50, 51, the Antonio Romano Gloria and Credo nos. 26, 27, the Loqueville Gloria no. 52, and Zacar's Credo *Deus deorum* no. 59, which are laid out as four-part pieces, cantus I on the left, cantus II (duos only) on the right, Tenor and Contratenor singing with cantus I for trios only. These are further discussed in my Teramo paper (see note 67). In the case of Legrant and of Binchois in Cambrai this scoring is associated with Ø, also in two Magnificats by Busnoys, for which see my *The use of cut signatures in sacred music by Ockeghem and his contemporaries*, in: *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes*, ed. Philippe Vendrix, Tours, CESR, 1998, pp. 641-680.

<sup>70</sup> Ed. BESSELER, *CMM I*, IV/14.



ants between *Tr 92* and *Q15* in the Contratenor where *Q15* in fact has a separative error: 8.2 minim should be a semibreve (preceded by a semibreve that may have had its stem erased). Was the scribe looking at a pair of semibreves in ligature, as they appear in *Tr 92*? The *Tr 92* version has mensurally notated intonations (and precedes the Du Fay Gloria *Spiritus et alme* no. 1422, ff. 65-6 = *Q15* no. 136): *Tr 92* also gives all three parts for each section, I, Tenor, Contratenor, before going on to the Christe then the final Kyrie, like the bunched parts referred to above and exemplified in Cambrai. Like the Kyrie, the Gloria in *Tr 92* again has the movements bunched up in sections with all three parts; why have these two movements not been treated as a pair? The Gloria is followed in *Tr 92* by the Du Fay *Letabundus* (*Q15* no. 316), the doubtful *Mittit ad virginem* (*Q15* no. 325) and another *Letabundus* (not in *Q15*) whose attribution to Du Fay by Hamm is endorsed by Planchart.

I have not undertaken a complete collation of variants for the shared pieces, but of the spot checks I have made there is as yet no *prima facie* evidence for any *Q15* versions being copied directly from the versions of *Ao* or *TR*. Some of the versions are close enough to suggest shared exemplars, but with slight separative variants in both directions. The absence of such evidence does not yet allow us to make assumptions about the physical presence of *Q15* at Basel in 1434.

But there are two intriguing things which may corroborate or at least hint at such actual presence, for which strong circumstantial and biographical evidence has already been given. Even if the stemmatic evidence does not yet support a hypothesis of musical sharing and copying in both directions, the presence of the manuscript at Basel may nevertheless be hypothesised. One indicator is a distinctive watermark pair shared with Gath-

ering XIV of *Tr 87<sub>1</sub>* (the so-called Puntschucher fascicle of *TR*) and the main stage-III paper of *Q15*, a very indistinct leaf mark with at least one twin variant,<sup>71</sup> which in *Q15* is a rather blotchy and indistinct leaf shape on a rather absorbent paper without clear chain and laid lines. Since the copying of *Q15*-III, established on other grounds, coincides with the time that the Vicenza singers were in Basel, we might speculate whether this paper was acquired in Basel.<sup>72</sup> It seems to be the only watermark concordance so far discovered between any two independently copied music manuscripts from the 1430s.

The other indicator is *Q15* no.109, almost the only piece on the handout in gatherings XI-XII that I have not yet mentioned (see facsimile on p. 48). It has no known concordances, and indeed no text. It is the only piece in *Q15* not copied by the *Q15* scribe.<sup>73</sup> It appears to be a textless song in a Germanic hand, evidently unique, maybe even a composing copy, as the deleted first attempt at the tenor might suggest. If the erasure and deletion in *Excelsa civitas Vincencia* is one smoking gun, this elusive song is another: how did this book get anywhere near a Germanic hand? It is at least possible that it did so in the company kept by the Vicenza delegation at Basel, and that here alone the scribe let the book out of his hands for the only piece in the entire collection which he did not copy himself. Of course, the song might have been added only after our scribe had finished his work, or have been added later by a northerner in Vicenza. We can still hypothesise not merely a relationship between *Q15* and Basel, but that *Q15* itself was at Basel.

#### POSTSCRIPT

New archival findings have emerged while this article was in press (summer 2004) which may cause some adjustments to the picture presented here as well as in a partial Italian version of this paper.<sup>74</sup>

Du Fay in these gatherings, and the incomplete index - which however is not incomplete because it reflects an earlier stage of compilation - would that it did! - it is just incomplete, and late, and offers no chronological help. This index also includes some composer attributions not present in the body of the manuscript.

<sup>74</sup> MARGARET BENT, *Musici vicentini intorno al vescovo Pietro Emiliani*, in *Musica, cronaca e storia a Vicenza nell'età della dedizione alla Serenissima*, a cura di Paolo Troncon, Vicenza, Conservatorio di Musica di Vicenza, 2003, pp. 91-113.

<sup>71</sup> I am deeply grateful to Peter Wright for sharing his experience of the Trent watermarks and confirming this identification.

<sup>72</sup> Flower or leaf watermark, compare with *Tr 87<sub>1</sub>* (XIV). This could support a hypothesis that the two books had been in the same place, or obtained their paper in the same city, even without being side by side, or without evidence of direct copies from one to the other.

<sup>73</sup> The only other late additions to the manuscript not in the hand of the main scribe are a few composer attributions at heads of pages, including

TABLE I. *Q15* GATHERINGS XI-XII: CONTENTS AND CONCORDANCES\*

<i>Q15</i> de Van	<i>Ao</i> <sub>1</sub>	<i>Ao</i> <sub>2</sub>	<i>Tr 87<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>Tr 92<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>Tr 92<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>Tr 90/93</i> and other <i>Tr</i>	other Mss	composer: title
96					1421	<i>Tr 90</i> 882 <i>Tr 93</i> 1694	<i>MuEm</i> 108	Du Fay: Kyrie <i>cum júbilo</i> <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 14
97	27	49	34		1445	<i>Tr 87<sub>2</sub></i> 175 <i>Tr 90</i> 888 <i>Tr 93</i> 1700	<i>MuEm</i> 91	Binchois: Kyrie <i>angelorum</i> Kaye <sup>1</sup> n. 9
98								Du Fay: Kyrie <i>orbis factor, unicum.</i> <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 12
99						<i>Tr 90</i> 855 <i>Tr 93</i> 1667	<i>MuEm</i> 248	Du Fay: Kyrie <i>fons bonitatis</i> <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 16
100								Du Fay: Kyrie <i>rex genitor, unicum.</i> <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 18
101								Lymburgia: Kyrie <i>qui de stirpe regia, unicum.</i> Etheridge <sup>2</sup> II, n. 1
102	43					<i>Tr 90</i> 920 <i>Tr 93</i> 1730		Brassart: Gloria <i>CMM</i> 35/1, n. 14
103	41					<i>Tr 90</i> 939 <i>Tr 93</i> 1769	<i>MuEm</i> 161	Brassart: Credo <i>CMM</i> 35/1, n. 15
104				1566	1368			Du Fay: Sanctus <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 6.1
105				1567				Du Fay: Agnus <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 6.2
106				1561		<i>Tr 90</i> 986 <i>Tr 93</i> 1818		Du Fay: Sanctus <i>papale</i> <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 7.1
107		79	8		1375		<i>Ca</i> 67 <i>Ca</i> 11 10	Du Fay: Gloria <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 5.1
108		84	9		1377	<i>Tr 90</i> 942 <i>Tr 93</i> 1773	<i>Ca</i> 69 <i>Ca</i> 11 17	Du Fay: Credo <i>CMM</i> 1/4, n. 5.2
109								textless, <i>unicum</i>
110					1444	<i>Tr 90</i> 786 <i>Tr 93</i> 1590	<i>SPB80</i> 85	Binchois: <i>Asperges (II)</i> KAYE, n. 30

\* Piece are referred to by inventory numbers, not folio numbers.

<sup>1</sup> PHILIP KAYE, *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992.

<sup>2</sup> JERRY ETHERIDGE, *The Works of Johannes de Lymburgia*, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972.

There was no reason hitherto to assume that Malipiero actively continued his predecessor's patronage of polyphonic music, beyond the facts that a motet was composed by Feragut for Malipiero's enthronement, and that one of his household familiars was a *Johannes de Francia, cantore* (apparently not a priest, and therefore probably not the man I have above identified with Lymburgia). It now appears that another northerner among Malipiero's familiars, his chaplain Guillelmus Musart of Brussels, was the writer of the index of Q15. This man knew the manuscript intimately and must have been a user, *i.e.*, a singer; he supplied a few composer attributions, loyally changed the bishop's name back to that of Malipiero, and prepared the manuscript for its final binding. I had supposed that, after Emiliani's death, the manuscript probably passed to the music-loving Vicenza chapter, many of whom had been close to it throughout its long com-

pilation. The scribe was unquestionably from Emiliani's circle, and continued work for perhaps two years after Emiliani's death. If the book passed thereafter to Musart and Malipiero's household, it could still have been used with members of the Vicenza chapter; but it becomes equally possible that the singers Malipiero released to the Council of Basel were not (or not only) the canons and mansionaries of Vicenza and former associates of Emiliani, but also his own household familiars, who included at least two northern singers of polyphony. If Malipiero, like his predecessor, must now be counted as a patron of polyphony, could it be that this avocation was one of the reasons the musical Vicenza chapter wanted him as their bishop, and its musical culture one of the reasons he was willing to leave Venice for Vicenza? This and other findings will be documented in a more extended study.

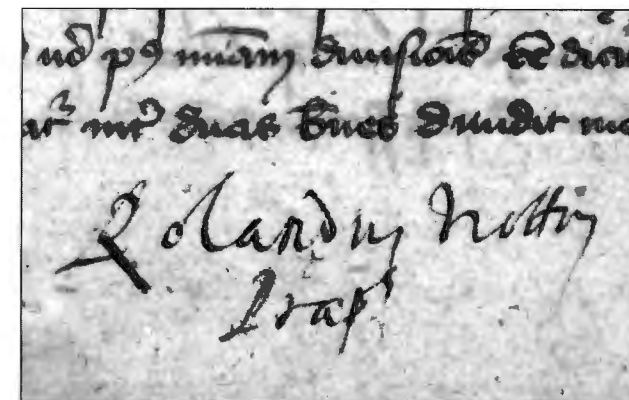
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## THE OWNERSHIP OF THE AOSTA CODEX

*Peter Wright*

Among the many unanswered questions concerning the famous 'Aosta Codex'<sup>1</sup> are those of when and how this important collection of early fifteenth-century polyphonic music reached the city of Aosta. In his report on the manuscript of 1948 – the first to be published – Guillaume de Van was unable to offer any explanation for the presence of the source in the library of the Seminario Maggiore where it is housed today.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately he had overlooked a vital clue, in the form of an inscription located on the second folio (Fig. 1): 'Rolandus Viottus Praepositus'. The inscription was first noted by Marian Cobin, who observed that Viottus, or Viot,<sup>3</sup> a well-known humanist and bibliophile, was from 1611 to 1641 provost of the monastery of Grand-St-Bernard.<sup>4</sup> She also drew attention to the fact that the seminary library was founded with books that had belonged to the Priory of St Jacquême, former residence of the provosts of Grand-St-Bernard, which had stood on the site occupied by the present seminary prior to its foundation in the late eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Noting that one of Viot's predecessors, François de Savoy, was also an avid collector of books, Cobin suggested that it was through the offices of the latter that the musical codex had arrived at the



■ Fig. 1. Roland Viot's note of ownership (fol. 2r)

priory, some time between his appointment as provost in 1459 and his death in 1490.<sup>6</sup>

Attractive as this hypothesis may appear, it turns out to be somewhat difficult to sustain. At the time that Viot was provost the musical codex clearly formed part of his personal collection rather than part of the priory library, although it must eventually have been bequeathed to the library along with the remainder of his collection. The fact that he himself owned the manuscript therefore makes it very unlikely that he obtained it, either directly or indirectly, from one of his predecessors.

While de Van may have overlooked Viot's *ex libris*, he did not fail to record the presence, just towards the end of the third section of the codex, of a second and altogether more curious note of ownership, inscribed above a series of solmisation exer-

I wish to express my particular gratitude to Jeffrey Dean for his thoughtful comments on an earlier version of this paper. I also wish to thank Margaret Bent, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Lorenz Welker and Philip Weller for advice on specific points, and Franco Lovignana of the Seminario Maggiore, Aosta, for his kind co-operation in granting me access to the musical codex and other source materials.

<sup>1</sup> Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, MS 15 (olim A1 D 19).

<sup>2</sup> GUILLAUME DE VAN, *A recently discovered source of early fifteenth century polyphonic music*, "Musica disciplina", II (1948), pp. 5-74: 19.

<sup>3</sup> This is the form of his surname consistently adopted in modern writings, including the present study, although I have yet to find an instance of his having used it himself.

<sup>4</sup> MARIAN COBIN, *The compilation of the Aosta manuscript: a working hypothesis*,

in *Papers read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974*, ed. Allan Atlas, New York, Brooklyn College, 1976, pp. 76-101: 86. Cobin transcribes the inscription as 'Rolandus Viottus Pvt.'; examination of other of Viot's notes of ownership confirms both the present reading 'praepositus' and Cobin's reading of Viot's ambiguously written surname as 'Viottus'. For details of Viot's life and career see PIERRE FOURNIER, *Un écrivain valdôtain du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Roland Viot*, "Bulletin de l'Académie de St. Anselme", XXXVIII (1961), pp. 143-84, and LUIGI QUAGLIA, *La Maison du Grand-Saint-Bernard: des origines aux temps actuels*, Aosta, IITLA, 1955.

<sup>5</sup> COBIN, *The compilation*, p. 86. For details of the history of the seminary library see AMADÉE-PIERRE FRUTAZ, *Formation et développement de la Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire*, Aosta, Société Editrice Valdôtaine, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> COBIN, *The compilation*, p. 86.