The dating of the Trent Codices from their watermarks, with a study of the local liturgy of Trent in the 15th c.

Saunders, S.E

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THE DATING OF THE TRENT CODICES FROM THEIR WATERMARKS, WITH A STUDY OF THE LOCAL LITURGY OF TRENT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

by

Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

King's College
University of London
December 1983
Suparmi Elizabeth Saunders

THE DATING OF THE TRENT CODICES FROM THEIR WATERMARKS, WITH A STUDY OF THE LOCAL LITURGY OF TRENT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

ABSTRACT

Since Adler and Koller undertook their fundamental research on the Trent Codices in 1900, there has been no systematic investigation of the watermarks of this collection or of the manuscripts' possible relationship with the local liturgical use of Trent.

The first line of enquiry attempts to ascertain the copying-dates of the gatherings in each Trent manuscript and to establish the chronology of all seven codices; the second is an analysis of the liturgy of Trent in the fifteenth century to see if there is any correlation between the sacred music in these codices and local liturgical practice. The latter involves an examination of liturgical books produced at the time when the codices were being copied, an aspect that has received very little attention so far from musicologists and liturgists.

Chapter I summarises what has emerged hitherto in the published literature in relation to the dating of the Trent Codices and their repertory. It goes on to outline the method and techniques upon which watermark studies are based.

Chapter II gives tables for the distribution of watermarks in each manuscript and diagrams whenever irregularities are revealed in the structure of a particular gathering. Some of the manuscripts shared a common stock of paper, which has important implications for their chronology. It also offers a
theory that Tr92/II existed independently of Tr87/I, in spite of having common paper and scribes. To judge from the dates of their earliest and latest gatherings, the Trent Codices belong to the following periods:

Tr92/I (1431-37), Tr87/I (1433-45), Tr87/II (the Battre section: 1434-37), Tr92/II (1439-42), Tr93 (1450-56), Tr90 (1452-59), Tr88 (1456-62), Tr89 (1460-66), Tr91 (1468-80). New dates for the copying of many well-known compositions can also be put forward.

In the second part, Chapter III examines whether the Trent Codices were compiled for the Cathedral of Trent or some other important local church, an aspect that prompted a discussion on calendars, various liturgical books from the diocese of Trent, the mass proper and office of its patron saint, Vigilius, accompanied by transcriptions. It applies two standard liturgical tests, normally used to establish the provenance of a medieval missal or breviary, to the repertory of the Trent Codices. Although no definite conclusion could be drawn from this investigation, it nevertheless helps to define important aspects of the liturgy of Trent and paves the way for further research.
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I-TRcap Libri corali A, F, G, H, I & L

Trent, Biblioteca capitolare

I-TRcap 0
MS 0 (olim TRmd 377)

I-TRcap 26
MS 26 (olim TRmd 475), (Expositio hymnorum)

I-TRcap 127
MS 127 (olim TRmd 463), (Liber legendarum de sanctis)

I-TRcap 154 & 155
MSS 154 & 155 (olim TRmd 373 374), (Ordo pontificalis)

I-TRc 1120
MS 1120 (F 114), (calendar)

I-TRc 1562
MS 1562 (F 8), (missal)

I-TRc 1556
MS 1556 (F 14), (breviary)

I-TRc 1563
MS 1563 (F 15), (breviary currently deposited in Museo provinciale d'arte, Trent)

I-TRc 1718
MS 1718 (F 117), (breviary)

I-TRmd Libri corali B, C & D

Trent, Museo diocesano (plainchant manuscripts)

I-TRmd 54
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I-TRmp 1777
MS 1777 (breviary)

I-Vat Rossiano

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MS 2024 (F 19) (investiture of prebends granted by the Cathedral of Trent)

I - TRc 2387  Trent, Biblioteca comunale,  
MS 2387 (F 42) (accounts book for almshouse, Casa della Misericordia, Trent)
### ABBREVIATIONS:

Periodicals, reference books and collected editions

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<td>AH</td>
<td><em>Analecta hymnica medii aevi</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>AMw</td>
<td><em>Archiv für Musikwissenschaft</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td><em>Biblioteca sanctorum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMM</td>
<td><em>Corpus mensurabilis musicae</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTÖ</td>
<td><em>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EECM</td>
<td><em>Early English Church Music</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grove</td>
<td><em>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td><em>Musica disciplina</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>MGG</td>
<td><em>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td><em>Music &amp; Letters</em></td>
</tr>
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<td>MQ</td>
<td><em>The Musical Quarterly</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>MPLSER</td>
<td><em>Monumenta polyphoniae liturgicae sanctae ecclesiae romanae</em></td>
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ABBREVIATIONS

anon. anonymous
c. circa
col.(s) column(s)
diag.(s) diagram(s)
diss. dissertation
etc. et cetera
e.g. exempli gratia
ff following pages
f(f) folio(s)
fig. figure
ibid. ibidem
Jg. Jahrgang
MS(S) manuscript(s)
no(s). numbers
op. cit. opus citatum
p(p). page(s)
r. recto
rev. revised
ser. serie(s)
St/S Saint/San, Sancta, Sancti
tenor
tom tomus
Urk. Urkunde(n)
v verso
v. verse
vol.(s) volume(s)
wm. watermark
EDITORIAL PROCEDURE ADOPTED IN RUBRICS, TABLES AND APPENDICES

When transcribing from a manuscript, I have made the following adjustments:

Capital letters are given to proper nouns, place names, to the words 'Dominus', 'Deus' and to 'Sanctus' if the latter precedes a proper noun. The spellings for 'Christus', 'Christianus', 'hymnus' and 'paschale' are standardised.

In order to conform with modern usage, 'c' has been transcribed as 't', 'u' as 'v' and 'ij' as 'ii' (except when employed as numbers).

Stanzas of hymns and Sequences are marked in Arabic numerals, whereas the Lessons in Appendix VI are numbered in Roman.

I have also expanded, without comment, all abbreviations and introduced some punctuation to both text and rubrics. Words or names that do not appear in a manuscript are enclosed in square brackets. Tables VIa–d, however, are almost literal transcriptions of the two indexes in Trg2.

References to numbers from the thematic catalogue in Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich are written out completely in tables but contracted in footnotes.

Finally, the measurements given for a Trent Codex represent the length and width of its average folio.
I am grateful to all those who have assisted me in the preparation of this dissertation, in particular to my supervisor, Dr Reinhard Strohm, for his kindness, unflagging interest and for all the time he readily devoted to discussions. I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Brian Trowell, head of the Faculty of Music, King's College, University of London, for many valuable suggestions, and to Professor Julian Brown, Department of Palaeography, King's College, London, for his help and encouragement.

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CHAPTER I

1 PUBLISHED LITERATURE ON THE DATING OF THE TRENT CODICES

We owe the first intensive study of the contents of the Trent codices to Guido Adler, Oswald Koller and others working under them. Their introduction, published at the beginning of this century, still remains the fundamental secondary source describing the cultural, historical and political setting of the Trent Codices. It will be useful to summarise Adler and Koller's comments on each codex in turn.

In describing Tr87, Adler and Koller recognised its division into two independent sections: its main corpus on ff. 1-218 (hereafter Tr87/I) and the section on ff. 219-265 (hereafter Tr87/II). Giving a partial analysis of Tr87/I, they observed that its lettered gatherings (a-l) are no longer found in their alphabetic order. Tr87/II, which differs visibly from any other part of the Trent Codices, has its own scribe and paper, and is the only source for the works of the composer H. Battre. Adler and Koller then went on to point out that Tr87/I is related to the second part of Codex 92 (Tr92/II ff. 144-262): the manuscripts share the same scribe and the same paper.

1 Adler, G. and Koller, O. eds.: Sechs Trienter Codices. Erste Auswahl, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, xiv-xv, Jg. 7 (Vienna, 1900), pp. xii-xxxiv. The thematic catalogue, on pp. 31-80 allocates a number to most of the compositions in Tr87-Tr92. It has many inaccuracies in the spelling of textual incipits, gives erroneous indications for verso and recto, and contains misprints in references to concordant sources. A revision and up-dating of their catalogue is long overdue.

2 See also White, R.: The Battre fascicle of the Trent Codex 87 (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975). 2 vols.
Having observed that the two halves of Tr92 originated independently, Adler and Koller did not go on to suggest when or why the annexation took place; they did remark, however, that the scribal markings 'stat bis' were placed against two compositions in Tr92/I (DTÖ nos. 1368, 1460) in order to indicate their duplication in Tr92/II (DTÖ nos. 1566, 1553). They also drew attention to the two indexes, noting that the more recent one referred to the contents of the combined Tr92 though omitting the later additions.

In claiming that Tr87/I and Tr92 had originated in Northern Italy, they pointed to the similarity of the repertory to that of Ob 213 and also adduced the references to occasions in Italian history, especially to Pope Eugene IV, which occur nowhere else in the Trent Codices. Another argument they put forward to support the Northern Italian provenance was the way in which certain words were spelt.

In their summary, Adler and Koller suggested that the copying and even the assembling of the single gatherings in Tr87 and Tr92 were mainly carried out by a scribe called Puntschucher, who also drew up an index for Tr92. They do not specify, however, which of the two indexes they meant.

3 Tr87 (DTÖ no. 144), a poem in praise of Italy; also Tr87 (DTÖ no. 37), a poem for the wedding of Cleophe Malatesta of Rimini to Tommaso (recte Theodore), son of the Greek emperor Emanuel Palaiologus, on 19 May 1419. The text of DTÖ nos. 53 and 70 refer to the papal election of Eugene IV (previously Gabriel Condulmieri from Venice) on 3 March 1431; Tr92 (DTÖ no. 1391), refers to the peace treaty of Viterbo, concluded between Pope Eugene IV and King Sigismund on 8 April 1433, and DTÖ no. 1381, composed for the consecration of the Cathedral in Florence, celebrated by Eugene IV on 24 March 1436.

4 Adler, G. & Koller, O., eds.: Op. cit., p. xv; Tr87, f.72v 'adrci'; f. 74v 'volgus'; Tr92, f.68v 'edissere' instead of 'edixere'; Tr92, f. 195v 'odire' instead of 'audire'; the occurrence of the Milanese form 'Grossim' instead of 'Grossin'.
The idea that Tr92 consisted of two independent components was recently taken up by Tom Ward, who firmly established the identity of Tr92/I as an originally separate manuscript, furnished with its own index.

As for the remaining Codices, the introduction goes on to suggest that the main corpus of music in Tr88, Tr89, Tr90 and Tr91 was collected and copied between 1444-65 in Trent by Johannes Wiser, whose signature we find at the end of Tr90, and that the volumes were revised and bound towards the end of this period. The most recent pieces in Tr91, they suggested, were copied between 1460-80. Tr93 was unknown to Adler and Koller, since it was not discovered until 1920 in the archive of the Cathedral chapter of Trent.

Adler and Koller, noting that several texts relate to Trent, believed that the Codices Tr88, Tr89, Tr90 and Tr91 had been copied in and for the locality. These are: pieces to St Vigilius, patron saint of Trent; a poem of welcome to an unnamed bishop of Trent; a poem of homage to Georg Hack von Themeswald, prince-bishop of Trent (1446-65); 10

7 An index of the contents for this codex is given in Sieben Trienter Codices. Fünfte Auswahl, edited by R. Ficker. DTO, lx1, Jg. 31 (Vienna, 1924), pp. vii-x.
8 Tr89, DTO no. 594 and Tr90, DTO nos. 1090, 1142.
9 Tr88, DTO no. 394.
10 Tr88, DTO no. 452.
another reference to the latter in a *responsorium*;¹¹ and finally a poem, not set to music, in honour of Johannes Hinderbach, prince-bishop of Trent (1465-86).¹² According to Adler and Koller, these Codices would appear to have been compiled during the reigns of bishops Georg Hack and Johannes Hinderbach. From the reputation Hinderbach had as a scholar, humanist and book-collector, they suggested that it was very likely he who began the whole process of collecting music for the Trent Codices.

The editors did not embark on a study of watermarks. Their efforts towards dating were based on textual references to historical personalities, events and biographical information concerning people known to have been connected with the manuscripts, such as Wiser himself. Although these references are important, they do not indicate the dates when the manuscripts were copied.

¹¹ Tr90, DTO no. 1141.
¹² Tr89, DTO no. 642.
The introduction to the DTO volume dedicated to Tr93 mentions watermarks briefly, giving six references to Briquet. 13

The earliest attempt to record watermarks in the Trent Codices was carried out by Giuseppe Gerola when he set out to establish their Tridentine provenance. 14 His forty-six sketches, however, lack attendant chain lines, sewing dots and indications of where they appear in the Codices. Kanazawa also included a section on watermarks in the Trent manuscripts. His drawings record only the main types and omit essential features that are required to determine their identity and date. 15 Marian Cobin presented thirteen watermarks from the Aosta Codex, stating that two of them also appear in Tr92/I. Neither her sketches nor their supporting dates, on the other hand, correspond with mine (figs. 13 Ficker, R. von, ed.: Sieben Trienter Codices, p. vi, footnote 1. For full references and discussion, see below, p. 81.

14 During the peace negotiations in 1919, Gerola produced sufficient evidence at the tribunal in Vienna to prove that the paper of the Trent Codices originated in Trent, whereupon the Codices were returned to Italy. Gerola did not publish his watermark study, and according to Clemente Lunelli, it is either mislaid or lost. For a brief reference to Gerola's bibliographical activity, see Piovan, C.: 'Giuseppe Gerola', in Studi trentini di scienze storiche, xiv (1932), p. 101. Renato Lunelli, however, had access to Gerola's watermark sketches since he included them in this article 'I codici musicali tridentini del '400', Trentino, x (1934), p. 164: The pictures reappear in a recent publication, see Chemelli, A. and Lunelli, C.: Filigrane trentine (Trent, 1980), pp. 223-29. However, none of the watermarks published in this catalogue are identical with those found in the Trent Codices.

It is interesting to note here that the importance of watermark studies has also been recognised in other areas of musicology, such as for dating certain works by Beethoven¹⁷ and Mozart.¹⁸

The technique for dating by watermarks will be discussed in the following section.

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¹⁶ Cobin, M.: 'The compilation of the Aosta manuscript: A working hypothesis', Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974, ed. A.W. Atlas (New York, 1976), pp. 90-93. Corbin draws on the motet Argo vices Poliphemus by N. Zacharias as well as historical evidence to show that sections II and III of AO were copied for the Chapel of the Antipope Felix V, the former Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy. She goes on to suggest that T92/I and sections II and III of AO share two watermarks that are, in her opinion, similar or even identical, in order to establish a common origin for the two sources. However, since she has not kept abreast of the latest developments in watermark studies, her findings need to be regarded with suspicion.


3 TECHNIQUES FOR DATING BY WATERMARKS

This section discusses the principles underlying watermark studies and the dating of paper as bibliographical evidence. It also examines how specialists have approached their work and improved their methodology during the present century, and what results their research has led to. It is mainly concerned, however, with the importance of the watermark and its function for dating purposes; the interesting question of the manufacture of paper is less relevant here. The process has been discussed widely, especially in relation to paper-mills and the production of paper in specific regions.

The method of dating based on a study of paper and watermarks has been steadily developing ever since the publication in 1907 of Briquet's remarkable catalogue of watermarks, with its tracings and detailed commentaries. These four volumes have long been regarded as the most scholarly and comprehensive reference book on this subject; but various more recent specialists in watermark studies have underlined

19 Barcham Green, J.: One hundred and fifty years of papermaking by hand (Maidstone, 1960).


increasingly the need for greater accuracy in terminology. Stevenson, in the introduction to the jubilee edition of Briquet's dictionary\textsuperscript{22} summed up the important advances, as well as the shortcomings, of Briquet's contribution: the history of paper-making regions and mills, a bibliography covering watermark material up to the publication of his work, an index to archives containing documents consulted by Briquet, and the evidence offered towards the dating of printed books and manuscripts. Another critical assessment of Briquet's method and presentation was undertaken by Mošin.\textsuperscript{23}

Briquet has been criticised adversely for several reasons: his imperfect understanding of twin or companion watermarks;\textsuperscript{24} his theory that paper from the same mould was still being used fifteen years after its manufacture;\textsuperscript{25} his definition of identical watermarks;\textsuperscript{26} and the omission of certain details in his tracings.\textsuperscript{27} These points have given rise to doubts, well expressed by Piccard,\textsuperscript{28} over the usefulness of Briquet's material as a tool for dating: it must be used with care and discretion.

\textsuperscript{24} The new Briquet, p. *17.
\textsuperscript{27} The new Briquet, p. *17.
\textsuperscript{28} Piccard, G.: 'Die Wasserzeichenforschung als historische Hilfswissenschaft', \textit{Archivalische Zeitschrift}, lxi (1956), pp. 63-64.
Stevenson does not favour tracings, which have until recently been the standard method of recording watermarks; he prefers other methods such as photography and, above all, beta-radiography. The latter is now accepted as the best method of reproducing watermarks, since it records the correct size and position and does not show the inked script. No catalogue of watermarks reproduced by this method, however, has so far been published. Nevertheless, accurate and clear tracings showing the significant details can still produce superior conclusions, as can be seen in the catalogues of Gerhard Piccard. Each of the eleven volumes published so far is dedicated to a distinct type, such as the crown, the bull's head, the letter P, scales, anchor, horn, key, tools and weapons, legendary animals and the cross. The range of types here is notably smaller than that offered by Briquet, but Piccard's publications are still in progress.

Findbuch   I  Die Kronenwasserzeichen (1961)
II/1-3 Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen (1966)
III  Die Turmwasserzeichen (1970)
IV/1-3 Wasserzeichen P (1970)
  V  Wasserzeichen Waage (1978)
VI  Wasserzeichen Anker (1978)
VII  Wasserzeichen Horn (1979)
VIII Wasserzeichen Schlüssel (1979)
IX/1-2 Wasserzeichen Werkzeug und Waffen (1980)
  X  Wasserzeichen Fabeltiere (1980)
 XI  Wasserzeichen Kreuz (1981)
The theory underlying modern efforts to date paper with the help of its watermarks is based on the hypothesis, expressed clearly by Piccard, that identical papers with identical watermarks were normally used within a certain time-span, that is within three or four years after its manufacture. He acquired his supporting evidence from an examination of over 50,000 documents dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during which he discovered that the documents with the same watermark, with only five exceptions, were copied within the stated time of three or four years. It therefore follows that scribes who made regular use of paper normally exhausted one stock before purchasing further paper, and very rarely took more than four years to use up one supply. Piccard's conclusions are an important contribution to the study of watermarks. In his introduction to the volumes dedicated to the 'Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen', Piccard gives an exposition of his terminology: 'identical' (formgleich) watermarks, for him, are those which correspond exactly in shape and position on the mould.

Stevenson too uses the term 'the same watermark' or 'the identical watermark' when referring to watermarks from one and the same mould, a view that corresponds with that of Piccard.

Although the watermarks made for a pair of moulds used at the vat were normally constructed to match, the resulting marks were never identical, even though they were similar. Such watermarks are called twin or companion marks, and Stevenson has identified ten possible differences between them. 33

Stevenson prefers to view a watermark from the mould side of the paper, that is from the indented side, so as to recognise twin marks more easily. He notes whether the mark appears on the left side of the folio, i.e. mL = mould side Left Folio; or mRF = mould side Right Folio. This method reflects the practice of placing twin watermarks on opposite ends of the mould. Stevenson considers the individual patterns of sewing marks, which show up on the paper as translucent dots, as evidence for identity.

A progressive deterioration of the watermark in successive examples of paper made in the same mould occurs as the wire device on the mould side becomes loose, bent, or detached through constant use. The wire device then had to be resewn on to the mould at a number of new points which would show up on the paper. Since the pattern of dots cannot be imitated, Stevenson thinks that such constellations can offer us important further evidence of identity for the purpose of dating. 34

The importance of this new precision in the definition of 'identical' marks is that it often enables us to date paper that has hitherto been left undated or inadequately dated. The new precision becomes a powerful tool when we combine it with the

the hypothesis that all paper with the same watermark was used within a narrow period of time. Briquet's method, however, is based on watermarks that show no more than very close similarity. In a typical commentary, he very often gives lists of allegedly identical, similar or divergent varieties of the watermark under discussion; but in the references to 'identical' varieties; he does not limit the terms filigranes identiques or variétés identiques strictly enough: modern scholars would limit their use to watermarks that come from either member of a pair of moulds, used at a particular mill.

Consequently, Briquet's variétés identiques include twin marks which are two closely similar watermarks originating in one pair of moulds. These, however, can never be truly identical in form or position on the mould.

The practical results of this method led him to conclude that paper produced from the same mould was still being used fifteen or even thirty years after its manufacture.

Gerardy has recently devised a system for cataloguing watermarks which requires highly detailed information to be expressed in a formula.

35 Briquet, C.M.: Les filigranes, i, p. 17:
'Dans la règle chacune des figures reproduites dans les planches et auxquelles nous donnons le nom de types existe en deux variétés, souvent en quatre ou davantage, suivant le nombre de formes employées dans la fabrication du papier et suivant la durée d'emploi plus ou moins longue du filigrane. Ces variétés du même type proviennent d'un même battoir. Nous les appelons identiques, lorsque les filigranes s'adaptent exactement l'un sur l'autre, alors même qu'ils ne sont pas posés au même endroit de la feuille, c'est à dire, qu'ils proviennent des formes différentes'.

cataloguing he requires the watermark to be traced on the left side of the sheet viewed not upside-down but in its upright position, a pragmatic method that involves finding the conjugate folio and turning round the manuscript. The side upon which the manuscript is traced has to be labelled either zugewandt if it is the mould side, or abgewandt if it is the felt side. Many measurements have to be taken, such as distances between chain lines, the distance between the outer margins and the first chain line and finally the horizontal and vertical distances from the watermark to the left and lower margins. Chain lines have to be numbered and the number of laid lines per 100 mm must be counted.

So far Gerardy has not published a catalogue of his findings, which is a great drawback to those wishing to follow this method. I intended, for example, to apply his system to the watermarks in the Trent Codices, but having complied with the detailed requirements for ten tracings I realised that the process was unnecessarily time-consuming in relation to the immediate benefits. In this study I have therefore limited myself to consulting the Piccard catalogues and have verified my findings by correspondence with him. The results are set out in Table XV (p. 202).

The method of dating which I have adopted involves first the reproduction of watermarks in the Trent Codices and then a comparison of these watermarks with the same ones in dated archival documents. The dates are important because they indicate when that particular paper was in circulation and use.

The period of time that elapsed between the manufacture of paper and its use by a scribe has led some scholars to question the usefulness of watermarks
for the purpose of dating. 37 In analysing issues relating to the storage and transportation of paper, however, Stevenson offered convincing reasons for believing that the shortage of space at a mill would not allow paper to be kept there for very long, that a printer would order approximately the amount of paper he required for his work. 38 He also explained that the transportation and delivery of paper were efficient for local supplies.

37 Hunter, D.: Papermaking (London, 1957), p. 265. 38 Stevenson, A.: The problem of the Missale speciale, pp. 54ff. I find it reasonable to extend Stevenson's argument to the working habits of a scribe engaged in a large and repetitive task, who presumably wished to avoid the expense of ordering unnecessarily large stocks of paper.
Several musicologists and historians have made valuable contributions towards the dating and chronology of fifteenth-century music and the manuscripts in which it survives. It will be useful to summarise the different methods which scholars have adopted.

One of the approaches is exemplified in the work of Craig Wright, who (following Houdoy)\(^39\) has based his findings on a profound study of archival documents relating to the Cathedral of Cambrai.\(^40\) By intensive search, he has found new material on the life and work of Guillaume Dufay which suggests new or revised dates for some of his compositions. Planchart, whose approach combines archival evidence with historical and palaeographical awareness, also offers important notes and revisions relating to Dufay's masses.\(^41\) Following methods similar to those adopted by Planchart, Fallows suggests new dates for a number of Dufay's compositions and attributes other works to him.\(^42\)

No extensive archival study of the musical cappella at the Cathedral of Trent during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has so far appeared in print, but certain isolated initiatives have been taken.\(^43\)

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few documents relating to the local musical
institutions or musicians of this time have been
published by Santifaller, Zanolini, Bonelli,
Tovazzi, and R. Lunelli. 44

Another approach is adopted by Charles Hamm,
who bases his criteria mainly on mensural practice
and related notational features in attempting to
establish a chronology of the works of Dufay. 45

Margaret Bent bases her research not only on a
palaeographical study of a manuscript but also
focuses on the musical notation and on a minute
comparison of variant readings in concordant sources;
hers work on texts and musical notes connects closely
with the methods of classical philology. 46 Putting
this concept to practical use, Bent has been able to
determine the copying relationship between Tr93 and
Tr90, showing clearly that Tr93 was a model for Tr90. 47

44 Santifaller, L.: Urkunden und Forschungen zur
Geschichte des Trientner Domkapitels im Mittelalter
(Vienna, 1948).
Zanolini, V.: 'Spigolature d'archivio', Programma
del ginnasio vescovile di Trento per l'anno scolasti-
co 1902-03 (Trent, 1903), pp. 23-47.
Bonelli, B.: Monumenta ecclesiae tridentinae, etc.,
iii/2 (Trent, 1765), p. 148.
Tovazzi, P.: Parochiale tridentinum, ed. R. Stenico
Lunelli, R.: La musica nel Trentino dal XV al XVIII
secolo (Trent, 1967).

45 Hamm, C.: A chronology of the works of Guillaume
Dufay based on a study of mensural practice

46 Bent, M.: The Old Hall manuscript: A palaeographical
'Some criteria for establishing relationships between
sources of late-medieval polyphony', Medieval and
ey early modern Europe: Patronage, sources and texts,
ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge University Press, 1981),

47 Bent, M. ed.: Fifteenth-century liturgical music,
II: Four anonymous masses. EECM, xxii (London, 1979),
pp. ix-xi.
Allan Atlas sets out interrelationships within a group of sources and develops the theory of the musical stemma on a sophisticated level. Stanley Boorman too adopts the principal of stemmatics, applying them to books printed by Petrucci, having made a thorough study of the printing technique.

I would now like to outline some of the ways in which an accurate dating of the gatherings in the Trent Codices would assist a broader musicological enquiry. For example, when movements from a mass ordinary cycle have been split between different parts of these manuscripts, it would be very valuable to be able to pinpoint the time when they were entered into their respective gatherings. The Missa Caput, sometimes attributed to Dufay, is a good example of this. Its inner movements (Gloria, Credo, Sanctus) were copied into gatherings 11, 21 and 26 of Tr93 and into gatherings 9, 15 and 20 in Tr90 respectively. Its outer movements are in gathering 3 of Tr88. A copy of the whole mass is recorded in Tr89 in gathering 22.

50 Adler, G. and Koller, O., eds.: Sechs Trienter Codices. Dritte Auswahl. DTÖ, xxxviii, Jg. 19/1, (Vienna, 1912).
The Trent Codices contain a large body of anonymous liturgical compositions, still undated, and the majority without concordances. The following chapter attempts to date the sources in which they are contained in order to acquire at least a terminus ante quem.

51 The Trent Codices, which contain a preponderance of mass music, have the largest known collection of fifteenth-century polyphonic introits (see Tr93 and Tr90), important mass ordinary cycles, groups of Sequences and mass proper cycles (see Tr88). They also record music for the office, such as cycles of Magnificats, hymns and antiphons.
CHAPTER II

1 INTRODUCTORY

The procedure adopted in this chapter usually begins with a brief description of the manuscript and its repertory, followed by a list of its watermarks and their implication for the dating of the Codex. The plan will be modified slightly in the case of Tr93 and Tr90, which share a common repertory as well as two identical watermarks, and also of Tr88 and Tr89, which use a large quantity of related stocks of paper. Figures 1-54 (pp. 231-82) illustrate the different watermarks in their order of appearance in the Trent Codices according to the following sequence:

Tr87/I (figs. 1-9);
Tr92/II (figs. 1, 2, 8, 9);
Tr87/II (figs. 10-12);
Tr92/I (figs. 13-16);
Tr93 (figs. 17-22), Tr90 (figs. 21-32);
Tr88 (figs. 32-39), Tr89 (figs. 33, 38-45);
Tr91 (figs. 46-54).

In the tracings, the watermark is viewed the correct way up on the left side of the bifolium as previously mentioned. Twins will be pointed out in clear instances. Each gathering is usually made up of paper bearing one type of watermark; only exceptionally do we encounter a mixture of different papers. Where irregularities occur, such as the presence of two or more watermarks with different supporting dates in one gathering, or extra leaves, or too few leaves, I have given diagrams (pp. 211-30) in order to clarify the situation. Other diagrams serve to illustrate specific points or to correct erroneous analyses by previous researchers. Tables I, II, VII, VIII, XII-XIV (pp. 158, 159, 186, 187, 197, 199, 201) reveal the gathering-structure of each Codex and its distribution of watermarks. The number of bifolia or leaves are indicated for each
gathering, as are its central conjugate leaves. The last column of each table records a list of dates, all taken from comparable archival specimens. Table XV (p. 202) records all the watermarks and their supporting dates, pointing out their equivalents in Piccard's catalogue and noting which types have not yet appeared in print. At this point it is important to mention that all the Codices were restored in 1975.1 Today their wooden boards are covered in strong brown leather and each Codex has two straps (except Tr93 which has only one) to keep it closed. From the available information relating to the previous bindings, it can be seen that they were obviously not the original fifteenth-century ones.2 All the Codices have been reproduced in facsimiles which need to be consulted with caution owing to their inferior quality.3

1 They were restored at the Laboratorio di restauro del libro del Monastero di S Maria di Rosano - Pontassieve (Florence), see Restauri ed acquisizion 1973-1978 (Trent, 1980), pp. 280-81.
2 A black-and-white photograph of six Trent Codices depicting them before their restoration appears in two publications by Renato Lunelli: 'I codici musicali tridentini del '400', p. 163; and La musica nel Trentino, p. 9. According to a typewritten handlist at the Museo provinciale (Trent) and Thomas Walker's notes, the combined Tr87 and Tr92 were once bound in dark red leather with metal insets on their outer covers. Tr90 was covered in soft light brown leather with metal insets, Tr88 in soft, yellow-brown hide, Tr89 in reddish-brown leather, Tr91 in brown leather, much of which was worn away. Ficker published a note on the older binding of Tr93 in Sieben Trienter Codices, p. vi.
3 Codex tridentinus 87 (-93) (Rome, 1969-70). The facsimiles reproduce the manuscripts in a smaller size, omitting important material in their margins and many blank folios. The staves, handwriting and notation itself are not very clear.
2 Tr87/I, THE MANUSCRIPT

Tr87/I is a paper manuscript, measuring 284mm x 203mm, bound together with Tr87/II. The outer covers of their binding each have an arrangement of five metal studs for the protection of the volume, with one stud placed in each corner and one in the centre. On the rear pastedown is a small pocket containing four small rectangular strips of parchment, probably from a medieval missal. 4

The manuscript consists of 218 leaves, grouped into eighteen gatherings. A modern foliation in Arabic numerals, introduced either in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, can be found in the top right-hand corner of each recto, first in pencil on folios 1-68 and from there on usually in brown ink. The two vertical lines enclosing the writing space are ruled faintly in plummet. Pricking dots appear in the outer margins but have often been trimmed away. The number of ruled staves varies from seven to ten per folio: gathering 4 has seven (except on folios 40V-41T which have eight), gathering 13 has eight, except where the scribe added a ninth or tenth stave. The outer folios of the first bifolium in gathering 13, however, have a different layout of only seven staves. Gatherings 9 and 10 normally have eight staves whereas gatherings 1-3, 5-8, 11-12 reveal a basic layout of nine staves per folio. Eleven of the eighteen gatherings still bear the original scribal signatures (a-1) at the bottom right-hand corner of the first six rectos, as follows: a1, a2, a3, etc., b1, b2, etc. There are no letters for the first two gatherings, nor for the last five. However, a small

4 The parchment strips contain no music and transmit prayers for the preparation of the mass.
but perhaps significant mark, Q, appears at the bottom right-hand corner of f. 12\textsuperscript{v} of gathering 1, and Arabic numbers (1-6) were introduced for the first six rectos in the lower right-hand corner of gathering 2.

Charles Hamm observes that all the gatherings, with the exception of gathering 15, were copied mainly by one scribe, who was assisted by several of his students or assistants with similar script.\footnote{Hamm, C.: 'Manuscript structure in the Dufay era', Acta musicologica, xxxiv (1962), p. 169-70.}

Flotzinger recently contested the long-accepted view that the word 'Puntschucherh' was the name of the main scribe of the earlier Trent Codices, and argues that it belongs to the tradition of medieval explicits and scribal verses (see also excursus on Etcetera Buntschucherh, p. 350).\footnote{Flotzinger, R.: 'Buntschucherh – explicit', Festschrift Walter Senn zum 70. Geburtstag, eds. E. Egg und E. Pässler (Munich, 1975), pp. 89-92.}

Although there has been some work on the scribal activity in Tr87/I, no thorough examination was available until the recent publication of Peter Wright.\footnote{Wright, P.: 'The compilation of Trent 87 and 92', Early Music History, xi (1982), pp. 237-71. Of the twenty-eight gatherings in the combined Tr87 and Tr92, Wright regards gatherings 1-14 and 17 (two bifolia inserts) and gatherings 1-8 of Tr92 as the main corpus of the manuscript. The remainder is treated as a much later addition to the source.} Viewing Tr87/I and Tr92/II as a single source, he identified seven scribes.

Tr87/I contains a wide variety of watermarks and therefore requires a close analysis of the different types of paper used for its compilation. Table I (p. 158) gives the distribution of its nine watermarks, and these will be discussed later in their order of appearance in the Codex (pp. 55ff).
Adler and Koller pointed out that the present order of gatherings was the rearrangement carried out most likely by the scribe 'Puntschucher' himself. He apparently attempted to group together fascicles of the same musical genre and, in so doing, disturbed their original alphabetic order. If we survey the contents of this Codex in the list given below, it appears that the present succession of gatherings does not result in a systematic plan, in spite of any previous scribal efforts to achieve one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>genre</th>
<th>gatherings</th>
<th>folios</th>
<th>genre</th>
<th>gatherings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mass movements</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Table</td>
<td>4 mass movements</td>
<td>13&quot;c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass movements</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5 antiphons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hymn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 chanson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass movements</td>
<td>3'&quot;h'</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 fragments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Marian antiphon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass movements</td>
<td>4'&quot;l'</td>
<td></td>
<td>sacred &amp; secular compositions</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Magnificat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacred &amp; secular composition</td>
<td>5'&quot;a'</td>
<td></td>
<td>mass by Pullois</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sequences</td>
<td>6'&quot;d'</td>
<td></td>
<td>blank</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 motets</td>
<td>7'&quot;e'</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 sacred &amp; secular pieces</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Magnificats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacred &amp; secular compositions</td>
<td>8'&quot;k'</td>
<td></td>
<td>blank</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass movements</td>
<td>9'&quot;i'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacred &amp; secular compositions</td>
<td>10'&quot;g'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mass movements</td>
<td>11'&quot;b'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 motet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Marian antiphons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secular chansons</td>
<td>12'&quot;f'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mass movements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hymn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In trying to work out the original structure of the manuscript, I have first set out the contents of the eleven lettered gatherings, now ordered according to their alphabetic sequence from a-1, to see what kind of organisation emerges (Table IIIa, p. 161) and have done the same for the unlettered gatherings 1, 2, 14-18 to discover if they reflect any set plan (Table IIIb, p. 168). Do the sacred compositions follow a recognisable liturgical order within a single gathering or from one gathering to another, whether by occasion (pieces for the mass or office), genre (a series of Sequences, antiphons etc.), or seasonal sequence? I find that only two of the lettered gatherings reveal a strict plan: 6'd' and 9'i'. 6'd' is significant for its concentration on Sequences from the mass proper, three of which are by Dufay and four by Roullet. The pieces, however, do not strictly follow the succession of feasts in the Roman calendar: 

- *Isti sunt due olive* for the feast St Peter and St Paul (29 June),
- *Epiphaniam Domino* (6 January),
- *Rex omnipotens* for Ascension Day,
- *Laus tibi Christe* for St Mary Magdalen (22 July),
- *Sacerdotem Christi* for St Martin (11 November),
- *Omnes sancti seraphim* for All Saints (1 November)

and *O beata beatorum* for the Common of martyrs.

Gathering 9'i' also has an organised repertory, containing only mass ordinary movements: one Kyrie each by Roullet, Dufay and Binchois, a Gloria-Credo pair by Brassart, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the *Missa Sine nomine* attributed variously to Benet, Dunstable and Power, a Sanctus by Power, a troped Sanctus by Brassart and three anonymous Agnus Dei movements, the first of which was crossed out (f. 97r). The scribe has not copied these mass movements, however, in their correct cyclic order. Other lettered gatherings also contain mass ordinary movements, but only together with office or secular compositions. Glancing back to Table IIIa, it also appears that no two adjacent lettered gatherings follow a planned liturgical order.
If we now turn to the unlettered gatherings, a slightly different picture emerges (Table IIIb, p. 168). Gathering 1 carries on directly to gathering 2 for the continuation of the Credo by Dufay, begun on f. 12v. They are the only two gatherings in the whole manuscript to be linked by a composition. Except for a hymn, Rex gloriose by Roullet, added by the scribe on the last four staves of f. 16r, the two gatherings are devoted to movements of the mass ordinary. Although gathering 1 can be regarded as a unit with its four movements of Power's Missa Alma redemptoris mater, the combined two gatherings also form a larger entity providing material for a performance of the mass ordinary (without Kyrie):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1r-2r</td>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>Dufay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2v-3r</td>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>Grossin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8v-10r</td>
<td>Credo</td>
<td>anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10v-15r</td>
<td>Gloria-Credo</td>
<td>Dufay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15v-16r</td>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>G. Dufay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17v-18v</td>
<td>Sanctus</td>
<td>anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18v-20r</td>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
<td>anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20v-21r</td>
<td>Sanctus</td>
<td>Bloym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21v-22r</td>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
<td>anon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23v-23r</td>
<td>Agnus Dei</td>
<td>(Dunstable)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gathering 14 does not reveal any liturgical order, for it contains a mixture of sacred and secular pieces; however, it does form a self-contained entity owing to characteristics that occur only here. Its individual features include a ten-stave layout ruled in red, 9 unique watermarks (figs. 6, 7) and, in my opinion, a new scribal hand. These striking

9 There are also two other examples of white mensural notation copied on a ten-stave layout ruled in red in Bu 2216, a Codex that otherwise uses black mensural notation: a Kyrie (ff. 14v-15r) and a Magnificat (ff. 45v-48r), both by Binchois.
features led Rudolf von Ficker to conclude that
gathering 14 must have originated from another and
older manuscript;\textsuperscript{10} he also drew attention to the
trecento style of the song \textit{Salve cara Deo} by Ludvicus
de Arimino. The composition seems to point to an
Italian origin for this early gathering.\textsuperscript{11}

Gathering 15 forms an independent liturgical
unit because it transmits only the mass ordinary by
Pullois.\textsuperscript{12} The scribal hand, found nowhere else in
the manuscript, is certainly similar, though perhaps
not identical, to that of Johannes Wiser.\textsuperscript{13}

The four compositions in gathering 17 reveal no
particular liturgical order.

There are a few indications that the main scribe
must have been aware of certain principles in the
pairing of mass movements, since he wrote against the
\textit{Agnus Dei} on f. 21\textsuperscript{v}: 'Agnus non pertinet ad Sanctus'.
Similarly, he wrote at the end of the \textit{Kyrie} by
Binchois on f. 56\textsuperscript{v} in gathering 5'a': 'Illud Kyrie
non pertinet ad Et in terra'. He also copied out
the first sixteen notes of a \textit{Gloria} by Binchois,
which appears complete at the beginning of \textit{Tr92/I} on f. 1\textsuperscript{v}.
Although the latter duplication may just have been
a coincidence, it is also plausible that the scribe
of \textit{Tr87/I} knew the source \textit{Tr92/I}, containing

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{10} Ficker, R. von: 'Die frühen Messenkompositionen
der Trienter Codices', Studien zur Musikwissenschaft,
ix (1924), p. 8, footnote 15.
\textsuperscript{11} Disertori, B.: 'L'epistola all'Italia del Petrarca
musicata nei codici trentini', Rivista musicale
italiana, xlvi (1942), pp. 3-16.
\textsuperscript{12} Curtis, G.: 'Jean Pullois and the cyclic mass –
or a case of mistaken identity?', \textit{ML}, lxii (1981),
pp. 41-59.
\textsuperscript{13} Bent, M.: 'Some criteria for establishing relation-
ships between sources', p. 303.
\end{flushleft}
If both chanson and antiphon had been added later, then we could argue that the plan of the original repertory included only music for the mass ordinary. Although a palaeographic study reveals clearly that Eslongiés suy was an addition, copied by the main scribe in dark brown ink into a space that had originally been left blank, the same does not apply to Salve regina. The antiphon, which was copied neatly over four folios by the scribe who entered the Credo (ff. 30v-32r) and Agnus Dei (ff. 32r-33r) in the same gathering, lacks decisive palaeographical traits that enable us to class it as an addition.
The alphabetic order of gatherings, which tends to split up larger stocks of paper with the same watermark, does not follow the chronological order in which they were copied, an aspect which will be investigated in the next section. The letters must, therefore, have been introduced at a later stage, most likely after gatherings 3-13 had been completed. When 'Puntschucher' eventually gave Tr87/I its present form, he found it necessary to split up the alphabetic order of the lettered gatherings. His rearrangement of the lettered gatherings does not produce a better plan than that of the alphabetic sequence. Of course the very self-contained nature of the gatherings in this Codex makes it easy to arrange them in a different order, except for gatherings 1 and 2 of the present manuscript, which are unlettered in any case.

We now move on to examine the repertory in the remaining gatherings in order to see what kind of organisation it reveals. Gathering 3 'h' contains a preponderance of mass ordinary movements, an anonymous canonic chanson Eslongiés suy-de vous (f. 34r), and Dunstable's antiphon Salve regina (ff. 34v-33r). The main scribe paired Binchois' Credo and Gloria, but recorded the anonymous Gloria Jacet granum without its related Sanctus movement. 15

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14 Adler, G. and Koller, O. eds.: *Sechs Trienter Codices. Erste Auswahl*, p. xiv. This scribal entry led the editors to conclude that gathering 5 or Tr87 and gathering 1 of Tr92/I originally belonged together, but the explanation is unconvincing if we consider the differences of paper, scribal hand and the fact that Tr92/I is a separate collection.

Gathering 4'1' contains compositions for both mass and office: a Credo attributed to Power, a troped Gloria Spiritus et alme by Bourgois and a Magnificat by Binchois. The Credo is from the Missa Sine nomine attributed sometimes to Benet, Dunstable or Power. Four blank folios separate the Magnificat from the preceding mass movements, and there is also a blank folio at the beginning and the end of this gathering. Gathering 5'a' requires careful scrutiny because of its wide variety of compositions which include four mass ordinary movements, three motets, a Benedicamus Domino by Dufay, a communion from Dufay's Missa S Jacobi and the anonymous chanson Mon bien m'amour. This gathering could have accommodated more pieces on its seven blank folios, four of which precede the very first composition and three follow the last. Gathering 7'e' contains four motets (one anonymous and three by Brassart) and two anonymous Magnificats, the first of which is shown to be an English composition. The consistent hand shows no sign of a break between the copying of the motets and the Magnificat compositions. Gathering 8'k' has a mixed repertory consisting of the motet Ecclesie militantis by Dufay, five Kyries (four of which are by Dufay), ten chansons and a versicle Benedicamus Domino added on the last four staves of f. 92r. Of the three folios that have been left blank, two form the outer folios and the third is on f. 86v. The scribe copied Dufay's motet Ecclesie militantis in two different parts of the gathering in such a way that no alternative refoldings of its bifolia result in a continuous copy.

Among the compositions in gathering 10'-g' are four Magnificats, two chansons (one each by Bourgois and Dufay), a motet O proles Yspanie/O sidus Yspanie, the responsory Si queris miracula and five compositions with common notational characteristics.

The small collection of Magnificats forms a separate group of pieces, the last of which is notated in score with the text in the cantus. The non-isorhythmic motet O proles Yspanie/O sidus and the responsory Si queris miracula are compositions by Dufay for the office of St Anthony of Padua and survive here as adjacent pieces. Planchart identifies them as the compositions mentioned in Dufay's testament. The unusual group of compositions with similar notational features use flagged semi-minims in the tenor and coloured semi-minims in the upper voices. This group, together with two additional compositions attributed to Tyling and TL or T, copied on to bifolia 7 and 8 of gathering 17, has been discussed by a number of musicologists, one of whom, Bukofzer, identified three of their tenors.

18 Planchart, A.E.: 'Guillaume Dufay's masses: A view of the manuscript traditions', pp. 33-35.
19 They are found on ff. 109r, 117v-118v, 118v; f. 119v records two compositions.
20 Bukofzer, M.F.: 'Changing aspects of medieval and renaissance music', MQ, x1 (1958), pp. 15-17. He identified 'the tenor' of DTÖ no. 83, f. 109v as the basse danse Je suis povere de leesse; that of DTÖ no. 90, ff. 117v-118v, which corresponds with the melody Aux ce bon jour de la bonestren, GB-Ob Digby 167, f. 31 and thirdly, the tenor of Tyling's composition (DTÖ no. 160), ff. 198v-119r, which is identifiable with the Dutch song 'T'Andernaken.' Hamm, C.: 'A group of anonymous English pieces in Trent 87', ML, x1 (1960), pp. 221-15.
If we now turn to II'b' we find a preponderance of mass movements, beginning with a Sequence, _Gaude virgo que de celis_, possibly of English origin.\(^{21}\) The layout of its three voices suggests that its exemplar was notated in score, with the full text assigned only to the tenor. There are also six Kyries in this gathering, four by Binchois and one each by Dunstable and Benet. Binchois' Kyrie on f. 128\(^v\) has no text following the initial 'K'. The remaining compositions in this gathering are two Marian antiphons, one each by Forest and Dunstable, and a motet, _Veni dilecte_, attributed here to Dufay, though it is generally thought to be by Johannes de Lymburgia.\(^{22}\) Feininger pointed out that the adjacent entries _Asperges me_ on ff. 124\(^r\) and 125\(^r\) are really two parts of the same antiphon by Binchois.\(^{23}\) According to its concordances,\(^{24}\) the correct underlay for section 2 on f. 124\(^r\), should read: 'lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor' rather than 'asperges me', left uncorrected. There are thirteen chansons in gathering 12'f', six of which are by Dufay, as well as three mass movements and a processional hymn, _Gloria laus et honor_ by Binchois. Here the sacred music consists of a Sanctus and Agnus Dei by Dunstable; Binchois' hymn and the Gloria _Jacet granum_ can be found in the second half of the gathering, whereas the secular repertory, except for the anonymous _Je me_, is concentrated in the first half. Among the


\(^{24}\) This piece is recorded in the following sources: _Tr92/1_, ff. 92’-93’; _Tr93_, ff. 3’-4’; _Tr90_, ff. 2’-3’ and _Bc Q15_, no. 143, see Van, G. de: 'Inventory of manuscript Bologna, liceo musicale, Q15 (olim 37)', _MD_, ii (1948), pp. 234-57.
chansons is the setting *Protegat nos divina maiestas*, the genre of which I have not been able to establish. The large initial 'P', prefixed to the first stave of f. 133⁵ appears to have been intended for this piece, but the scribe copied Merques' chanson *Vos soyes la très bien venue* in the space following it.

Gathering 13'c' offers a mixed repertory of ten compositions and two textless fragments: four mass ordinary movements, four Marian antiphons, one antiphon *Inter natos mulierum* to St John the Baptist, and Dufay's chanson *Bien doy servir*. The fourteen compositions in gathering 14 also cover an unusually broad range of pieces: three Credos (one each by Grossin, Georgius a Brugis and Zachara de Teramo), an anonymous introit *Statuit ei*, a vesper hymn *Festum nunc celebre*, three antiphons, two chansons, two songs with Italian texts, a textless piece and a motet *Elisabeth Zacharie*. Apart from the two compositions attributed to Tyling and TL, bifolia 7 and 8 of gathering 17 also transmit two works by Brassart: the antiphon *Regiña celi* with the trope *Alle Domine nate matris* and the hymn *Sacris solemnniis* for Corpus Christi.

Since 'Puntschucher's' final rearrangement of the gatherings in Tr87/I does not reflect the original structure of the repertory, I have attempted two possible sequences to see if any set plan emerges from them: the first sets out the lettered gatherings according to their alphabetic order and the second uses only the unlettered gatherings. From the alphabetic succession, it becomes clear that only two gatherings reveal a liturgical scheme in terms of an exclusive concentration on Sequences (6'd') and mass ordinary movements (9'i'). As for the unlettered gatherings, the same can only be said for gathering 15, which contains Pullois' mass. The original
repertory in gatherings 1 and 2, however, seems to have been intended solely for the mass ordinary, if we class Roullet's hymn Rex glorie (f. 16r) as an addition. Indeed, its very location suggests that the practically-minded scribe wanted to fill the four empty staves following the contratenor of Dufay's Gloria. In so doing, he seemed quite unconcerned that the added composition fell between the phrases 'suscie deprecationem' and 'Qui sedes' of Dufay's Gloria.

Since neither of the ways adopted in this section has revealed the original order in which the gatherings were copied into Tr87/I, the following section will approach the problem anew from a study of the watermarks.
This section describes the nine watermarks in the Codex in their order of appearance. Fig. 1, a watermark typical for northern Italy, depicts three mountains surmounted by a cross, and occurs in gatherings 1, 2, 6'd', 7'e', 8'k' and 9'i'. It can also be found in the first bifolium of gathering 13'c', where it envelops a group of five bifolia containing different watermarks (diag. 1, p. 211). Fig. 2 represents three mountains within a circle and surmounted by a cross and occurs in gatherings 3'h', 4'1', 5'a', 11'b' and 12'f'. Fig. 3 depicts a leopard and can be found in gathering 10'g' and the two bifolia in gathering 17 (diag. 4, p. 212). Figs. 4 and 5 are watermarks of a bull's head surmounted by a cross and are unique to gathering 13'c'. Fig. 4 appears in bifolium 3 whereas fig. 5 makes up bifolia 2 and 4-6 (diag. 1, p. 211). Figs. 6 and 7 in gathering 14 depict a flower and can be recognised as twins (diag. 2, p. 211). Figs. 8 and 9 are watermarks showing three mountains surmounted by a cross also reveal traits characteristic of twin watermarks. They occur in gatherings 15 to 18. Diagrams 3 and 4 give the distribution of watermarks in gatherings 15 and 17, the latter containing also the two inserted bifolia with fig. 3.

25 Kanazawa recorded the watermarks in gathering 14 inaccurately as a pair of scales, but this type of mark appears only in Tr91. Kanazawa, M.: Polyphonic music for vespers, p. 94.
5 THE DATING OF Tr87/I

The supporting dates for the watermarks in this manuscript are given in Table XV (p. 202) in their order of appearance. In order to discover the chronological sequence in which the original gatherings were copied, we need to rearrange their present order in accordance with the watermark evidence derived from archival equivalents. In this way we obtain the following chronological grouping:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wm dates</th>
<th>when paper was in use</th>
<th>gatherings in Tr87/I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>figs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>4, 5 1434-36</td>
<td>13c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6, 7 1433-36</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>1 1439</td>
<td>1, 2, 6'd', 7'e',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8'k', 9'i', bifolium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 1441, 1442</td>
<td>1 of 13c'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3'h', 4'1', 5'a',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11'b', 12'f'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 1440, 1444</td>
<td>10'g'; bifolia 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and 8 of 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>8, 9 1444, 1445</td>
<td>15-18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dates for figures 4 and 5 (1434-36) and figs. 6 and 7 (1433-36) established gatherings 14 and 13c' as the earliest group in this manuscript. The unusual features of gathering 14 relating to its layout of ten staves, its unique hand, its two settings of Italian texts (Salve cara Deo, Gentile alma), together with its watermarks, indicate the independent origin of this gathering, which was copied some time between 1433 and 1436. We are also able to put forward a hypothesis for the early history of gathering 13c'. Its five inner bifolia (ff. 144r-153v), which were copied some time between 1434 and 1436, must have originated independently from its outer bifolium (fig. 1), a sheet that dates from 1439. The scribe seems to have taken this single bifolium from the main stock of paper and wrapped it.
around the five bifolia to make up a regular gathering at the time when the sheets were incorporated into Tr87. Originally the five bifolia contained six compositions, beginning on f. 144v, since the first recto had been left blank. When the scribe encountered major difficulties with the Credo from Dufay's Missa S Jacobi, he abandoned the movement, leaving it unfinished on stave three of f. 153v. Some time later, when he acquired an extra bifolium (fig. 1), he added other pieces to this gathering: O flos flagrans, Bien doy servir and Ave regina celorum. Other scribes added the fragments on f. 143r.

The second group consists of paper with figs. 1, 2 and 3, whereby the stocks of paper with figs. 1 and 2 make up the main corpus of the Codex.

It is interesting to observe that the four movements from the Missa S Jacobi were not copied together in this manuscript, as the following reveals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gatherings in Tr87</th>
<th>movements from Missa S Jacobi</th>
<th>watermarks &amp; dates when paper was in use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13'c'</td>
<td>Credo,</td>
<td>figs. 4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ff. 151v-153v</td>
<td>1434-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8'k'</td>
<td>Kyrie</td>
<td>fig. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ff. 88v-89r</td>
<td>1439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>fig. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ff. 1r-2r</td>
<td>1439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5'a'</td>
<td>Communion</td>
<td>fig. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. 57r</td>
<td>1441, 1442</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above it is now clear that the individual movements of this mass were not available to the scribe at the same time.

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26 Planchart, A.E.: 'Guillaume Dufay's masses: A view of the manuscript traditions', p. 31. Planchart discusses the transmission of the Credo in which the tenor and the contra are missing after bar 155.
Gathering 10'g' and the two bifolia inserted into gathering 17 were all copied in the early 1440s and do not form part of the main stock of paper in this manuscript. They may well have been intended to be grouped together because they contain compositions with similar notational characteristics.

The last group consists of gatherings 15-18 (figs. 8, 9) which now proves to be the most recent part of the manuscript. The mass by Pullésis is the only composition copied on this stock of paper, which was in use in 1445 or soon after.

The two datable motets, Vasilissa ergo gaude and Ecclesie militantis by Dufay, were composed long before they were copied into Tr87/I. In revising the date 19 May 1419 proposed by Adler and Koller for Vasilissa ergo gaude, Besseler offered 20 August 1420 as its terminus ad quern. He thought that the motet must post-date 29 May 1419, when the marriage contract was concluded between Cleofe Malatesta and Theodore Palaeologos. 27 According to the evidence from fig. 2 in my watermark study, Vasilissa ergo gaude was copied into gathering 5'a'1c. 1441 or 1442. Ecclesie militantis, composed most likely for the coronation of Pope Eugene IV on 11 March 1433, 28 was entered into gathering 8'k' in 1439 or soon after. As for the lettered gatherings, it is now possible to suggest that one of the scribes must have added the letters a-l in 1444 at the earliest when 10'g' (the latest lettered gathering) was already available. The scribe's rearrangement of the gatherings post-dated the introduction of the letters so he could have bound the volume in or after 1445.

6 Tr92/II, THE MANUSCRIPT

This manuscript measures 287mm x 203mm and consists of ten gatherings, the last two of which are blank. It is bound together with Tr92/I. The outer covers have the same arrangement of five brass studs as the combined Tr87. Its tight binding prevents the book from closing properly.

The scribe numbered the first six leaves of each of the eight gatherings in Arabic numerals at the lower right-hand corner, though most of the numbers were subsequently trimmed away. He arranged the gatherings in their present order and, skipping gathering 1, he then placed an Arabic numeral (2-8) in the centre of the lower margin of their first recto. He did not number the two blank gatherings at the end of the Codex since they were added to the collection only later. The first recto of the entire manuscript is marked '144' in Arabic numerals, which makes it follow directly from the original foliation of Tr92/I. This contemporary foliation, however, was discontinued. Gatherings 2, 4 and 5 have a layout of seven staves per folio, whereas the remaining gatherings, including the two blank ones at the end, have nine, apart from the two instances when a tenth stave was added. Most of the repertory in this manuscript is listed on a parchment leaf prefixed to Tr92/I (transcribed in Table VIb, p. 179), which will be referred to here as the second index.
7 THE REPERTORY IN Tr92/II

This manuscript is a smaller collection than that of Tr87/I and consists of only seventy-six compositions, set out in Table IV (p. 170). No piece here is copied over two adjacent gatherings. Since the present order of gatherings follows the numerical sequence adopted by the scribe, we may assume that it is the correct one. An examination of their contents will show if they follow any liturgical plan, whether by genre, occasion or seasonal sequence.

Gathering 1 is dedicated to mass ordinary movements, comprising a Kyrie (attributed to Dufay in the second index),

29 six Glorias and a Credo by Bloym. The mass ordinary movements in gathering 2 are all by English composers and consist of a Gloria by Benet, a Credo by Ricardus Markham, a Gloria-Credo pair over the tenor Jhesu Christe fili Dei by Dunstable.

Gathering 3 combines music from the office and the mass proper, since it records eight Marian antiphons, a Sequence Benedicta es and two introits. Gathering 4, which has a mixture of sacred and secular pieces, shows no particular liturgical order. It records a Credo by Forest, three isorhythmic motets (two by Dunstable and one by Merques), three antiphons (two by Dunstable and one by Power) and two chansons, one of which is Franc cuer gentil by Dufay. The ten compositions in gathering 5 include two Sanctus (one anonymous and the other by Soursby), five Agnus Dei (two by Binchois, one each by Brassart and Driffelde and one anonymous), a Sequence

Salve mater by Power, an isorhythmic motet for Pentecost by Dunstable and an incomplete piece, attributed to 'Winchois'. Nine of the ten movements in gathering 6 are for the mass ordinary, but Power's Salve mater belongs to the mass proper. The scribe has attempted to pair related movements: i.e., the Sanctus on f. 212r with Dunstable's Agnus Dei on f. 207v, and Dufay's Sanctus Ave verum on f. 213v with the Agnus Dei Custos et pastor on f. 208v. He also paired the anonymous Gloria Credo on ff. 205r-207r. Gathering 7 consists only of Sanctus and Agnus Dei, apart from the two chansons, Je languis en piteux attributed here to Dufay and Qui son cuer by Vide. Gathering 8 is exceptional for its concentration on office music; it begins with four Marian antiphons, followed by eight hymns, six of which bear ascriptions to Dufay. These hymns, however, do not follow the sequence of feasts in the Roman calendar: Pange lingua (Corpus Christi), Ave maris stella (Feast of the Virgin Mary), Christe redemptor (All saints), Sanctorum meritis (for several martyrs), Iste confessor (for a confessor), Hostis Herodes (Epiphany), Pange lingua (Corpus Christi) and Ut queant laxis (St John the Baptist).

If we compare the repertory of Tr92/II with the contents of the second index, which covers the combined repertory of Tr92/I and Tr92/II, we find that it excludes seven compositions from Tr92/II. The omitted compositions, listed in Table VI (p. 185), must, therefore, have been added to the Codex after the second index had already been drawn up.

30 Attributed to Binchois in the second index.
The four watermarks in this manuscript (figs. 1, 2, 8, 9) have been previously discussed in relation with Tr87/I and their distribution here is given in Table II (p. 159). If we group the gatherings according to the chronology arising from the watermark datings, we obtain the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figs.</th>
<th>Date when paper was in use</th>
<th>Gatherings in Tr92/II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1439</td>
<td>1, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1441, 1442</td>
<td>2-6, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 9</td>
<td>1444, 1445</td>
<td>9, 10 (both blank)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is now possible to suggest that Tr92/II was copied some time between 1439-42 and that a few years later in c.1445, two blank gatherings were incorporated in the collection. If gatherings 1 and 7 were adjacent, then the different batches of paper in Tr92/II would group neatly together according to their paper type. It is surprising that the scribe separated gatherings 1 and 7 in view of the fact that their combined repertory provided the essential movements for a complete mass ordinary: gathering 1 would have supplied the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo, whilst gathering 7 would have given the Sanctus and Agnus Dei.
9 Tr87/II, THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript measures 283mm x 207mm, though many of its leaves have been trimmed. It consists of forty-seven leaves arranged in two gatherings, which have been erroneously regarded as gatherings 22 and 23 of the combined Tr87. The scribe who copied this section did not number its leaves or gatherings, so that its only foliation is the modern one in Arabic numerals from f. 219 to f. 265. The first gathering has a layout of eight staves, whereas the second has nine.

Adler and Koller correctly observed that this manuscript has its own scribe and paper, and went on to point out its unusual use of red coloration on f. 239.

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Table V (p. 174) sets out the thirty-seven compositions in this section, nine of which have ascriptions to H. Battre: Veni creator spiritus, Stirps regia, Agnus Dei, Gloria, Chomos Condrosi, Gaudens exulta tu, Dulcissime frater, De qua natus and Gaude virgo. It has been suggested that Battre's compositions are unique, but it is possible that Battre is to be identified with 'Batty' who has left us two settings of Regina celi letare in the Strahov Codex. Be that as it may, Loyan also suggests that Battre himself could have been the compiler and scribe of these gatherings, adding as a further possibility that some of the unattributed compositions may also be his. Although little is known about Battre, Adler and Koller thought that two of the texts used by him, Chomos Condrosi on ff. 251v-255r and Gaudens exulta tu Ceunacum on ff. 258v-260r, connect him with the Condros region of which Ciney was the capital. We do not know what post Battre held during his lifetime, but the choice of a learned text for Chomos Condrosi (which uses Latin, Greek and Hebrew phrases), coupled with the fact that his works are all religious, suggests that he was a magister at a church or cathedral school, or even, though less likely, a priest or canon at Ciney or elsewhere within the

principality of Liège. Many composers came from this area, some of whom went to Italy. It is not possible at this stage to establish if Battre himself went to Italy, nor to determine the paths by which his works reached Trent.

In revising Adler and Koller's thematic catalogue, Feininger identified two compositions which had previously been overlooked. He also recognised the correct parts of the hymn Conditor alme on ff. 219v-220r, of the motet Tantam gratiam on ff. 265r-265v and went on to correct several erroneous folio references.

The two gatherings of Tr87/II are not linked by a composition but contain a sacred repertory for office and the mass ordinary. The repertory includes three Kyries (one by Binchois, one by Dufay and the third anonymous), five Glorias, four Credos and one Sanctus and Agnus Dei. There are several motets and music for the office, including Magnificats, hymns and antiphons.

35 My search in Namur for new material relating to Battre's musical career yielded only a negative conclusion. For instance, the obituary of the collegiate church of Ciney, B-Nmd 21 (Inventaire = no. 1235), ff. 137r-173r, makes no mention of H. Battre among its list of names. Folio 173 records the decisions made in 1421 by the Chapter of Ciney concerning the celebration of the office; no reference, however, is made to the performance of music. See also Faider, P.: Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Namur (Gembloux, 1934), pp. 409-10.


11 WATERMARKS AND THE DATING OF Tr87/II

This manuscript has three watermarks (figs. 10, 11 and 12) which are found only here. Its first gathering consists of twelve bifolia, made up of paper with fig. 10 (anchor) and was copied in 1434 or very soon after (diag. 5, p. 213). Its second gathering reveals a mixture of two different types of paper: fig. 11 (geometrical design within a circle) and fig. 12 (hunting horn within a heart, surmounted by a lily). Diagram 6 gives the structure and distribution of watermarks of this gathering which is made up of ten bifolia, into which a rectangular sheet (measuring 280mm x 558mm) has been inserted. 37

Archival equivalents indicate that both stocks of paper with figs. 11 and 12 were in circulation at the same time: fig. 11 in 1435; 1436 and fig. 12 in 1437. These dates make it possible to suggest that the repertory in Tr87/II was copied between 1434 and 1437. Interestingly, the supporting archival equivalents originated in north-east France and the Netherlands.

Completed in 1437 or very soon after, Tr87/II must have been annexed to Tr87/I well after that time, most likely after 1445 because it follows on from the blank gatherings (figs. 8 and 9) of Tr87/I.

37 This sheet, added after leaf 16, has been folded to make up three leaves (marked folios 259, 260 and 261 respectively), of which the last folds out.
Tr92/I measures 282mm x 205mm and consists of 144 leaves, grouped into twelve gatherings. Except for gatherings 1 and 8 which have nine staves per folio, the gatherings have a basic layout of ten staves, each one measuring c.140mm. The vertical parallel margins encasing the staves are usually ruled in plummet, except in gatherings 2, 3 and 11 where the ruling is done in ink. Along the edge of each outer margin is a series of fine pricking dots forming a pattern that occurs only here. Instead of the common arrangement of equidistant single dots, we find here groups of five dots in a vertical line.

Tom Ward, who has established Tr92/I as an independent manuscript, showed that the copying was done by one scribe over a considerable period of time and that at least five other scribes added work on folios which had been left blank. The main scribe introduced the foliation in Roman numerals in the top right-hand corner of the recto, beginning on the second left of gathering 1. He also had a strange way of marking numbers from ninety to one hundred and nineteen, prefixing them with a Roman 'I', not only on the leaves themselves but also on folio references given in the original index which he copied on the first recto of gathering 1.

13 THE REPERTORY OF Tr92/I

Ward has already set out the entire contents of this manuscript, making an important distinction between the original layer copied by the principal scribe, his own additions and also the works copied by the remaining scribes. In this way Ward was able to identify certain introit-mass ordinary cycles found in the original layer of the first seven gatherings. 39

Apart from covering the important issues relating to the grouping of mass movements, Ward also draws attention to the often unusual combinations of antiphon and verse texts in the introits in this section and tried to find the same combinations in various liturgical books to see if it stemmed from any particular liturgical practice. This interesting line of enquiry, however, was difficult to pursue owing to the paucity of information available on local liturgical practices.

If we consider the succession of the gatherings in Tr92/I (Table II, p. 159), we find that gatherings 2 and 3 are linked by Dufay's Sequence Victimae paschali laudes on ff. 23v-24r, gatherings 10 and 11 are bridged by the Credo of Dufay's Missa S Jacobi on ff. 118v-120r, and gatherings 11 and 12 by the anonymous introit Gaudeamus omnes on ff. 131v-132r.

We now move on to a discussion of the original index which I have transcribed in Table VIa (p. 176). Adler and Koller have already found that the index omits entries for incipits beginning with the letters T, U, V, X owing to lack of space on the folio. In spite of its incomplete state, the original index records

114 of the 147 compositions in this manuscript,\textsuperscript{40} omitting thirty-three pieces. Table VIc (p. 183) shows that fourteen of the omitted pieces begin with T, U, V and X. It is surprising to find that none of the compositions listed in Table VIc appears in the second consolidated index, transcribed here in Table VIb. One explanation for their exclusion from the second index could be that the latter was just a partial copy of the first index, taking over even its inaccuracies; but it is also possible that the nineteen compositions which do not begin with T, U, V and X were added after both indexes had been completed.

\textsuperscript{40} The thematic catalogue overlooks the antiphon \textit{Et omnes angelis} by Merques on f. 126v.
14 WATERMARKS IN Tr92/I

The discovery that Tr92/I is an independent manuscript is corroborated by the watermarks, which occur only here. Table II gives the distribution of the four watermarks in Tr92/I (figs. 13, 14, 15 and 16). Figs. 13 and 14, twin watermarks depicting a bunch of grapes, appear in gatherings 1-6, 8 and 12, as well as in bifolia 4, 5 and 6 of gathering 9. Fig. 15, which represents a bull's head surmounted by a cross, occurs in gatherings 7 (diag. 7, p. 215), 11 (diag. 10, p. 216) and in bifolia 1-3 of gathering 9 (diag. 8). Fig. 16, a watermark of a crossed pair of keys, is unique to gathering 10 (diag. 9, p. 216).

It has been suggested that sections II and III of the Aosta Codex and Tr92/I have a common origin, sharing not only twenty-five concordances but also two watermarks. 41 Cobin's tracings of a bunch of grapes and a bull's head in AO, however, do not match with my figs. 13, 14 or 15, as previously mentioned.

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15 THE DATING OF Tr92/I

The evidence obtained from the watermarks suggests that Tr92/I was copied by 1437 or shortly after. The three different stocks of paper that make up this manuscript were available in the first two-thirds of the 1430s: fig. 15 from 1431 to 1436; fig. 16 in 1435; figs. 13 and 14 in 1435 and 1437.

The three pairs of adjacent gatherings that are bridged by a particular composition (see p. 75) pose no problem, even though a pair may consist of two different types of paper. This is true of gatherings 10 and 11, which contain figs. 16 and 15 respectively, as well as gatherings 11 and 12, which have figs. 15 and 14. The occurrence of two different papers within gathering 9 (figs. 13, 14 and 15) also strengthens the belief that the batches of paper in Tr92/I were available to the main scribe in 1435, the year when they were all in current circulation.

At this point it is important to mention two datable motets by Dufay recorded in this Codex: the earliest composition, Supremum est mortalibus (ff. 32v-34r) is usually associated with a 'Peace of Viterbo' in April 1433, while the later motet, Nuper rosarum flores (ff. 21v-23r), was composed for the dedication of the cathedral S Maria del Fiore in Florence on 25 March 1436. To judge from the evidence from figs. 13 and 14, the scribe could have copied Nuper rosarum flores into gathering 2 as early as 1436, which suggests that the motet reached Trent very soon after Dufay composed it.

In revising the date for Supremum est mortalibus, Fallows draws on historical evidence to show that the first meeting of Pope Eugene IV and King Sigismund took place on 21 May 1433 when Sigismund entered Rome at the Pope's invitation.\(^{42}\) Fallows suggests

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42 Fallows, D.: Dufay, pp. 34-35.
that this was the event for which Dufay composed the motet and, since Sigismund is described as rex, it must predate the occasion when he was crowned emperor in 31 May 1433.

The evidence from figs. 13 and 14 is important when we consider the plenary mass by Libert, the only composition to exist as a complete cycle in Tr92/I. It must have been copied into gatherings 6 and 7 by 1437 or very soon after. Judging from its stylistic features, Besseler thought that Libert's mass was composed c.1430 and that it postdated Dufay's Missa S Jacobi. Reaney, however, in reassessing Libert's musical achievements, thought the reverse: Libert's mass, previously underrated, had been the model for the more mature mass by Dufay, not only because of its use of plainsong paraphrase in the cantus throughout (except in the Gloria and Credo) but also for its noteworthy size. It should be mentioned here that Libert's introit Salve sancta parens uses an unusual verse, Sola sine exemplo placuisti femina Jhesu Christo, which I found to be a line from a poem by Caelius Sedulius, who also wrote the text of this introit antiphon. The choice of text for the verse is certainly appropriate for a votive mass for the Virgin Mary.

Four of the movements in Libert's mass have concordances in Mbs 14274 in gatherings dating from 1440 and 1443.\textsuperscript{46} The presence of fifteen compositions attributable to the composer Merques suggests that there must have been a link between one of the places where Merques was active and the place where Tr92/I originated.\textsuperscript{47} Ward thought that Merques' compositions originated during the period 1433 to 1436, during his service in the Chapel of Basle. He also places the origins of the music in Tr92/I in the Conciliar Chapel in which Merques had served, or the Chapel of the Duchy of Savoy.

According to current opinion, Tr92/I was assembled c.1440 in the Basle-Strasbourg region for use in the Chapel of the Antipope Felix V.\textsuperscript{48} The way in which Tr92/I could have reached Trent from the Chapel of Felix V (the former Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy) was via Alexander of Mazowia, bishop of Trent from 1423 to 1444.\textsuperscript{49}

This bishop could have acquired the manuscript for his own use or for that of his cathedral in Trent and, in so doing, may have begun a long-term interest in the collection of polyphonic music.

\textsuperscript{46} D-Mbs 14274, f. 69\textsuperscript{v} Salve sancta parens; ff 71\textsuperscript{v}-72\textsuperscript{v} Sanctus; f. 72\textsuperscript{s} Agnus Dei and f. 94 the Sequence Ave mundi. For the dating of Mbs 14274, see Rumbold, I.: 'The compilation and ownership of Munich, Clm 14274', Early Music History, ii (1982), pp. 161-235.


\textsuperscript{49} Alexander was a leading figure in the Council of Basle and a fervent supporter of the Antipope Felix V, exerting influence not only as Cardinal Louis Aleman's right-hand man, but also as uncle of Frederick III, who was to become King of Germany in 1440 and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1452.
The original order of the gatherings in Tr87/I and what is today Tr92/II has so far not been satisfactorily established. Current literature assumes that both parts once formed a single set of fascicles, a view that would require further investigation. The following discussion offers two hypotheses relating to the early history of Tr92/I, Tr92/II and the two parts of Tr87.

According to the first theory, one of the scribes, who copied the combined Tr87/I and Tr92/II, decided to split this collection into two unequal parts. Taking the smaller section that eventually became Tr92/II, he numbered the first eight gatherings and annexed them to Tr92/I. The blank gatherings added later were not available to him at that time. He (or some other scribe) then copied a new consolidated index on to a parchment leaf. This leaf was then prefixed to the collection and the volume was eventually bound in that way. As for the other part of the collection which later became Tr87/I, the scribe went on to mark eleven of the gatherings with the letters a-l in a seemingly arbitrary way and with no apparent reference to the grouping or sequence of the contents. When he proceeded to rearrange the gatherings more systematically, he inevitably disturbed the original alphabetic order. He place four blank gatherings at the end of the Codex (gatherings 15-18) before attaching the unrelated Battre section at the end of the volume.

The assumed division of the original Codex into two unequal parts, however, raises a few queries and doubts as to why it was necessary at all. Can we hypothesize an alternative theory for the early history of Tr87 and Tr92? It is possible, after all, that Tr92/II existed quite independently of any connection with Tr87/I: the independent systems of numeration in Tr87/I and Tr92/II support this.

Looking at the dates of the combined Tr92 in column 6 of Table II (p. 159), it is possible to suggest the year 1442 (the earliest copying date for Tr92/II) or soon after, as the time when Tr92/II was annexed to Tr92/I. Musical additions can be determined if we work out which compositions in both parts of Tr92 were omitted from the original index and from the more recent one. We already know that thirty-three compositions are missing from both indexes. Although it is possible that the scribe forgot to include them, it is more likely that new musical material was entered into both parts of Tr92 after both indexes had been compiled. After all, the second index omitted seven compositions in Tr92/II. The fact that more music was entered after the combined Codex had been assembled and probably bound, suggests that it still continued to serve a useful practical function as a working collection of music. In other words, it is unlikely that in the early 1440s this manuscript had become part of a collection locked up in a private library. Tr87/I was most likely in current use at that time, but quite separately from Tr92/II and perhaps in another place.
Tr92/I and Tr92/II share six concordances, two of which were noted by one of the scribes, who wrote 'stat bis' against them. This is another indication that the contents of the manuscript were still used after the book had been bound.

Looking at the list of dates in column 6 of Table II, the set for Tr92/I leads into Tr92/II without any chronological difficulty. The last gathering of Tr92/I, copied on to paper that was in use in 1435 and 1437, follows into a series of gatherings dating from a marginally later period. The two collections of music, as previously mentioned, are independent, each characterised by its paper, system of numeration and, in the case of Tr92/I, by its use of red coloration. The joining of the two parts was no arbitrary matter but a deliberate decision to enlarge an already existing collection (Tr92/I) with further compositions.

In comparing the manuscript structure of Tr87 and Tr92 in Tables I and II, we notice certain remarkable parallels: both Tr87/I and Tr92/II are attached to an already existing collection of music and both incorporate a stock of blank gatherings made of the same paper. Whereas Tr92/II was joined with Tr92/I in or after 1442, the annexation of Tr87/II to Tr87/I could have happened only after 1445, the date of the blank gatherings that separate the two manuscripts.

51 'stat bis' ff. 6v-7v Sanctus Dufay (= DTO no. 1566), ff. 105v-106v Credo Anglicanus (= DTO no. 1553), ff. 115r-116r Credo (= DTO no. 1541 Forest), ff. 116r-118r Gloria (= DTO no. 1512), ff. 132v-133r Ave regina (Leonel) (= DTO no. 1525), ff. 140v-141v Mater ora filium (Leonel) (= DTO no. 1536).
Tr93 measures 317mm x 205mm and consists of 282 leaves, divided among thirty-three gatherings. A standard layout of eight staves for each folium is ruled out for gatherings 1–30, 32 and 33. Gathering 31, however, has sometimes seven (ff. 360\(^{v}\), 361\(^{v}\)–365\(^{v}\)), eight (ff. 359\(^{v}\)–360\(^{r}\), 361\(^{r}\)), and nine staves (ff. 356\(^{r}\)–359\(^{v}\)). The length of each staves measures c. 160mm. Throughout the last three gatherings the ruling of the staves is usually faint and rather shaky. The two vertical margins enclosing the staves are ruled throughout in plummet, and are only just visible in the last three gatherings. Pricking marks appear in the outer margins, though only at wide intervals of 60mm.

Assuming that the present order of gatherings corresponds to the one intended by the scribe, the two sets of original numeration are both inconsistent. The first, introduced in Arabic numerals in the lower right-hand corner of the first recto folio, does not mark the first gathering but begins with a '2' in gathering 2; it then proceeds until '14', skipping '5', so that the scribal number '14' aligns with gathering 13 of the present manuscript. No more original numberings occur until gathering 16, where the second series of signatures (found on the last verso in the bottom right-hand corner of each gathering) resumes correctly with number sixteen, continuing until 20. From there it proceeds inconsistently with 18–26, leaving the remaining four gatherings unnumbered. Most of the numbers, however, are barely legible owing not only to the faded condition of the ink, but also to trimming and the tight binding of the manuscript.
Table VII (p. 186) gives the distribution of the six watermarks in Tr93 (figs. 17-22). Three stocks of paper (figs. 17, 18 and 19) were used to make up gatherings 1-30, the main corpus of the Codex. Fig. 17 depicts a Greek cross and occurs in gatherings 1 (diag. 11, p. 217), 3 (diag. 12), 6 and bifolium 1 of gathering 30 (diag. 15, p. 219). Fig. 18, which represents an eyeless bull, is in gatherings 2, 4 and 5 (diag. 13, p. 218), 16 and bifolia 2-6 of gathering 30 (diag. 15). Fig. 19, a watermark of three mountains surmounted by a cross, constitutes the largest stock used in the manuscript and appears in gatherings 7-15, 17-29. Diag. 14 reveals the gathering structure and distribution of fig. 19 in gathering 20.

The remaining three watermarks (figs. 20-22), which represent two different varieties of the bull's head surmounted by a flower, are not unique to Tr93. Fig. 20 makes up the five bifolia of gathering 31 (diag. 16). The irregular structures in gatherings 32 and 33 are shown in diags. 17 and 18, together with the distribution of the two closely related watermarks, figs. 21 and 22.

Bockholdt gives a brief description of Tr93 and its recent history, by way of an introduction to his main discussion on Dufay's mass compositions.52

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Tr90 measures 307mm x 210mm and contains 365 leaves grouped in thirty-nine gatherings. Each corner of its outer covers is protected by a small metal piece in the shape of a fleur-de-lys, in addition to which there is a metal flower design in the centre of the cover itself.

The whole Codex has a standard layout of eight staves per folio, each stave measuring c.150mm in length. The vertical margins enclosing the staves are ruled in brown ink. Pricking marks appear in the outer margins at intervals of 26mm, though many have been trimmed away.

The fifteenth-century signatures appear in Arabic numerals in the bottom right-hand corner on the last verso of each gathering throughout the Codex. Although many numbers have been trimmed away, a sufficient number survive to suggest that the manuscript is bound in the order intended by the scribe, Johannes Wiser. The clearly visible numbers run from 8-18, 24-27 and 36. Wiser's signature appears at the end of the Codex on f. 365v, where he wrote 'Scriptum notatum per Johannem Wiser'.

Table VIII (p. 187) gives the distribution of the thirteen watermarks (figs. 20-32) in Tr90, among which are three unique pairs of twin marks: figs. 24 and 25 (tower) in gatherings 12-18, 25; figs. 28 and 29 (bull's head, surmounted by flower) in gatherings 29 and 30; figs. 30 and 31 (bull's head, surmounted by flower) throughout gatherings 31-33. Among the remaining watermarks, figs. 21 and 22 form a closely related pair, first encountered in Tr93, and reappearing here in gatherings 1-7. Diagram 19 shows
the irregular structure of gathering 1. Figs. 20 and 23 represent another closely related pair, appearing together in gatherings 8-10 (diags. 20-22, p. 221ff); fig. 20, however, occurs on its own in gathering 11 (diag. 23). This watermark has already featured in Tr93 in one of the three gatherings added at the end of the Codex.

The scorpion watermark (fig. 26) is unique, occurring only on an inserted half-folio, marked 194b, in gathering 17 of Tr90. Fig. 27, another unique watermark, depicts a different variety of bull's head surmounted by a flower; it can be found throughout gatherings 19-24 and 26-28. Finally, the last six gatherings contain fig. 32, depicting two crescents with a star.
THE DATING OF Tr93 and Tr90

The recent demonstration by Margaret Bent that Tr90 was copied from Tr93 has reversed previous views of the relationship between these two sources. So long as Tr93 was dismissed as a poor partial copy of Tr90, it did not receive the attention it warranted. What are the implications if one considers it as an independent source? Issues concerning its date and relationship with Tr90 now need to be investigated.

Ficker assigned Tr93 to the first half of the fifteenth century and gave six references for the four watermarks which he identified in this Codex. Kanazawa also noted four watermarks in this manuscript, but was under the impression that it has one in common with Tr87 and Tr92. My work, however, disproves this.

Supporting archival equivalents reveal that the main corpus of Tr93 was copied some time between 1450 and 1452. The last three gatherings seem to have been copied at a slightly later period (1452-56). Wiser began the first eleven gatherings of Tr90 by using the same paper found in the last three gatherings of Tr93:

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<th>wm gatherings in Tr93 (fig.)</th>
<th>gatherings in Tr90</th>
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54 Ficker, R. von, ed.: Sieben Trienter Codices. Fünfte Auswahl. DTÖ, Lxi, Jg. 31 (Vienna, 1924), p. vi. Ficker refers to nos. 5,500, 11,798, 15,215, 14,779, 14,782 and 14,790 from Briquet's catalogue.
55 Kanazawa, M.: Polyphonic music for vespers, i, p. 184. According to Kanazawa, gatherings 7-15 and 17-29 of Tr93 are from the same stock of paper as gatherings 15-21 of Tr87 and 21-22 of Tr92. He identifies their common watermark as A2, for which he gives thirteen references (nos. 588-600) from Briquet's catalogue.
The discovery of common watermarks between Tr93 and Tr90 suggests that Wiser himself may have added the last three gatherings of Tr93. Three factors can be mentioned in support of this theory: first, this section was a later addition and not planned together with the main corpus of mass music in Tr93; second, it is a varied collection mainly of office hymns, antiphons and secular songs; third, the sudden change of paper and the faded condition of the ink contrast with the better condition of the preceding sections; furthermore, the hand that copied the text seems to be that of Wiser, who also added two other compositions on ff. 123v-125v in Tr93: the Kyrie Tube by Cousin and a Kyrie by Pullois. Wiser then wrote 'Scriptum et notatum' on f.125v at the end of the Kyrie section to mark his contribution.

Since the stocks of paper forming the main corpus of Tr93 were in use between 1450 and 1452, it is possible to assume that it was completed by 1455, the year when Johannes Hinderbach became canon and provost of the Cathedral of Trent. 56 He could have acquired the gatherings of Tr93 and made arrangements for a copy (Tr90) to be made.

Although I have found no archival references to Wiser in Trent before 1459, 57 the evidence from the paper in Tr93 and Tr90 indicates that he was working in Trent from 1452 onwards, during which period he was copying Tr90 and making a few insertions into Tr93. Already 'magister et rector scolarum', Wiser was promoted by the Cathedral chapter of Trent in 1459 to the chaplaincy of the altars of St Dorothea and St Nicholas. From the dates revealed by my watermark


57 The first record relating to Wiser dates from 3 June 1459. see Trent, Archivio capitolare, Instrumenta capitularia Antonii Brecio annorum 1459-1463, MS 10, ff. 19v-20r.
study, we can deduce that Wiser finished copying \textit{Tr90} c. 1459. It is tempting to speculate that it was his diligent work as an indefatigable copyist that helped him to obtain this new appointment, which offered him the income from both these altars. Detailed information about the life of Johannes Wiser is not yet available, but research into archival documents in the Cathedral archives of Trent would undoubtedly yield new information about him; more valuable still, it could also throw light on decisions made by the Chapter regarding the performance of music in the Cathedral.
If we consider the relationship between Tr93 and Tr90, we find that there are sixty-five compositions in Tr93 that Wiser did not copy into Tr90 (Table IX, p. 189). Among them are mass movements, a large group of Sequences, hymns, antiphons, chansons, and a few fragments. The omission of the Sequences from Tr93 is surprising and invites the speculation that they were not required by the Cathedral of Trent, nor by the didactic purposes of the local Cathedral school. In compiling Tr90, we note, Wiser did not always copy the compositions in the order in which they appeared in his exemplar, since he moved the four Magnificats (Tr93, ff. 8v–9v, 10r–11r, 16v–17r, 17v–18r) well on into the second half of Tr90. This suggests that Wiser's first priority lay in collecting introits and movements of the mass ordinary, so that office compositions were recorded only half-way through gathering 24 of Tr90. The last piece that Wiser copied from Tr93 came from the end of its thirtieth gathering, and at this point (Tr90, f. 282v onwards) he continued to copy approximately one hundred and fifty additional pieces, from sources still unknown to us before finally signing his name at the end of the Codex. Even when Wiser was copying the series of pieces from Tr93, he interrupted its sequence by adding compositions here and there that did not feature in his model.

The fourteen additional works include two introits, six Kyries and Christ ist erstanden (Table X, p. 191).
The contents of Tr93, with its carefully-organised groups of introits, Kyries, Sequences, Credos, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, are devoted entirely to the mass ordinary, except for the last three gatherings containing a miscellany of office music. In the first six gatherings of Tr93 we notice a curious alternation between stocks of paper with figs. 17 and 18. This section contains four settings of the antiphon Asperges me, three settings of the antiphon Vidi aquam, four Magnificats and forty-five introits, all copied in the early 1450s. The stock of paper with fig. 18 recurs throughout gathering 16 (which contains part of the Gloria section) and the first bifolium of gathering 30, where it is also found together with fig. 17. This gathering marks the end of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei in Tr93.

There are a great many polyphonic introits in both Tr93 and Tr90, covering a wide range of feasts. Unless other such collections have been lost, this would strongly suggest that a considerable development in the composition and collection of introits took place during the years following the production of Tr87/I, where the only introit (Statuit ei on f. 162r) features as a random item. Except for the settings of Statuit ei on f. 1032 and Gaudeamus omnes on f. 131v, each introit in Tr92/I had a special function in that it was linked with a composite mass ordinary.

In Tr93 the arrangement of its sixty-four introits seems closely to follow the feasts in the Roman calendar (Table XI, p. 192). Since the two introits Etenim sederunt on ff. 63v and 64v appear in the manuscript between the feasts of SS Peter and Paul (29 June) and the beheading of St John the Baptist
(29 August), it would be more consistent in liturgical terms to assign them to the secondary feast of St Stephen, i.e. Inventio S Stephani Protomartyris, semi-duplex, rather than to his main feast on 26 December.

Although nearly all of the introits in Tr93 are anonymous, their concordances with the Aosta Codex enable us to attribute five to Brassart (Nos autem, ff. 45\textsuperscript{v}-46\textsuperscript{r}; Cibavit eos, ff. 48\textsuperscript{v}-49\textsuperscript{r} and 357\textsuperscript{r}-357\textsuperscript{v}; Sapientiam sanctorum, f. 66\textsuperscript{r}; Dilexi justitiam, ff. 76\textsuperscript{v}-77\textsuperscript{r}; Salve sancta parens, ff. 90\textsuperscript{v}-91\textsuperscript{r}), one to Sarto (Gaudeamus omnes, ff. 81\textsuperscript{v}-82\textsuperscript{r}) and two to Binchois (Salve sancta parens, ff. 91\textsuperscript{v}-92\textsuperscript{r} and 356\textsuperscript{r}). Mixter thinks that Brassart's surviving output of eight introits were written after 1434. Engaged as 'rector capellae' in the imperial chapel of Emperor Sigismund from 1434, Brassart continued his service under Albrecht II and Frederick III until c.1443. During this period he may have composed other introits, now lost or simply unidentified.

Table XI gives the verses that directly follow the introit antiphon because several do not correspond with those printed in modern editions of plainchant (LU, GR): this is certainly true of Spiritus Domini, Benedicta sit, Terribilis est, Statuit ei, Salve sancta parens.

58 Johannis Brassart opera omnia, ed. K.E. Mixter. CMM, xxxvi/1 (1965), nos. 7, 3, 6, 4.
Tr88 measures 310mm x 210mm and has 422 leaves arranged in thirty-five gatherings.

The standard layout throughout the book is eight staves per folio, each stave measuring 143mm. Less common is a nine-stave layout, in which each stave measures 160mm. We also find numerous examples of a stave added in free hand. In the outer margins, pricking-marks are visible at regular intervals of 30mm. Vertical lines enclosing the staves are mostly ruled in ink and only occasionally in plummet, as in gathering 32. No scribal signature survives in Tr88, except for an isolated case on f. 375 in the bottom right-hand corner where the word 'fols' appears in brown ink.

Tr88, made up of thirty-four sexternions and one septernion, has no irregular gathering-structures. Table XII (p. 197) records the distribution of its eight watermarks (figs. 32-39), six of which depict a bull's head with tongue (figs. 34-39). The common features they reveal, not only in mould structure but also in the watermark design itself, suggest that they originated from several moulds used at a particular mill. These watermarks do not always show up clearly in the paper throughout the fourteen gatherings (nos. 22-35) in which they occur, especially when obscured by the density of ink. As for the other watermarks in the manuscript, fig. 32 (first encountered in Tr90) appears only in the first two gatherings (diags. 25, 26, p. 224) and fig. 33 occurs in gatherings 3 to 21.
Changes in the script suggest that the Codex was not entirely copied by Wiser (main scribe A): three other scribes were involved, albeit on a modest scale. Scribe B, whose notes are formed with short stems and triangular noteheads, added the composition *Salve virgo mater* on ff. 70v-71r. Scribe C copied the *Missa Le serviteur* on ff. 267v-275v, on to paper that is now largely ruined with holes. His minims, constructed with long noteheads and short stems, are evenly spaced on the staves. In the Kyrie and Gloria of this mass he wrote 'Xristi', a small mistake left uncorrected. Wiser, however, corrected Scribe C's work in the *Osanna* on stave 3 on f. 273r by erasing a series of notes and supplying in his own hand the continuation of that part. Scribe D copied *Gaude mater misericordia* (a contrafactum of the rondeau *Quant ce vendra*)\(^60\) on f. 411r and also the first three movements of *Missa Le serviteur*, beginning on f. 411v, which he attributed to 'Jo. Obeghem'.\(^61\) Wiser then supplied the Sanctus and Agnus Dei.

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\(^60\) This rondeau, anonymous in Tr88, is attributed to Busnois and Ockeghem in other sources. Perkins, L.L.: *Ockeghem, Johannes*, *Grove*, xiii, p. 495.

\(^61\) Schuetze, G.Jr.: *'Faugues, Guillâume'* , *Grove*, vi, p. 417. Schuetze reports that this mass had been credited to Faugues by Tinctoris, whose testimony is more authoritative.
Tr89 is approximately the same size as Tr88, measuring 305mm x 211mm; it contains 425 leaves of extra thickness, arranged in thirty-six gatherings. The scribe usually ruled eight staves per folio in brown ink (each measuring about 138mm), and sometimes nine (each measuring 160mm) as in gatherings 9, 11 and 15. Only gathering 35 (ff. 402v-403v) has an unusual layout of six staves, each made up of eight lines.

Pricking marks usually appear 30mm apart on each folio in the outer margins, except in gathering 10 where the scribe made small groups of four holes at regular intervals along the outer margins. Vertical margins enclosing the staves are ruled in plummet or lin ink. As in the case of Tr88, no original foliation survives. The Codex has forty blank leaves, eleven more than Tr88.

Tr89 contains only one irregular gathering in which a half folio (marked 189b) was inserted after leaf 1 in gathering 17 (diag. 28, p. 225).

Table XIII (p. 199) reveals the distribution of nine watermarks in Tr89 (figs. 33, 38-45), among which we find a unique pair of twins: figs. 44 and 45 (bull's head surmounted by flower and double hook) in gatherings 19, 20, 22-24, 28-33 and 36.

As for the remaining watermarks, fig. 33 (first found in Tr88) reappears only in gathering 6. The types of watermark represented by figs. 38 to 41 (a bull's head with tongue) make up a considerable part of the Codex, occurring throughout gatherings 1-5, 7-15, 18, 25 and 26. Of these closely related watermarks, figs. 38 and 39 appeared previously in
Tr88. Figs. 42 and 43, which depict three mountains surmounted by a flower, reveal common features. They appear separately in gatherings 3 and 8, but together in gatherings 4, 27 and 35 as revealed in diags. 27, 29 and 30 (pp. 225ff.).
23 THE DATING OF Tr88 AND Tr89

An examination of the watermarks in Tr88 reveals its interesting connections not only with Tr90 but also with Tr89. The occurrence of fig. 32 in the last six gatherings of Tr90 and at the beginning of Tr88 has chronological implications: it strongly suggests that Wiser began copying Tr88 on paper that had been left over from Tr90. According to one archival equivalent that I was able to find in Trent, the same paper must have been in use in 1456.62 Fig. 32, however, is recorded neither in available printed catalogues, nor in Piccard's private files, so it could be a rare watermark.

Similarly, fig. 33 appears in both Tr88 and in gathering 6 of Tr89. Considering the implications of this, it is possible that the single gathering in Tr89 had been misbound and should have been incorporated with its related stock of paper in Tr88. So far no archival equivalents for fig. 33 have been found.

Two further watermarks (figs. 38 and 39), depicting a bull's head with tongue, are common to both Tr88 and Tr89. Their location in the manuscript suggests that Wiser must have started copying Tr89 using the same or related stock of paper continuing from Tr88. This particular batch of paper dates from 1460 to 1462. Although many of the gatherings in Tr88 are still undated through lack of archival equivalents, it is possible to speculate from the present evidence that the volume was finished c.1462. Wiser then worked on Tr89 and completed the volume by c.1466, according to the evidence from fig. 42.

62 When searching in the Trent archives for watermarks comparable with those in the Trent Codices, I found a document dated 25 May 1456, which revealed a watermark identical with my fig. 32. See Trent, Archivio di Stato, sezione latina, capsa xvii, no. 28.
Tr88 opens with the anonymous Missa Veterem hominem, whose Kyrie was copied on a different paper at the end of gathering 22 (fig. 34). This suggests that Wiser may not have had the complete mass in front of him when he began copying it c.1456.

Tr88 records sixteen anonymous cycles of mass propers in gatherings 10-19 (fig. 33), 30 (figs. 38, 39). The succession of their feasts does not follow the order of the Roman calendar; furthermore, the saints or occasions to which they are dedicated are not particularly unusual. They do represent, however, an important development in the history of polyphonic mass music. It should be mentioned that in a mass proper cycle the melody of each movement is already determined by the chant of its feast, whereas in the five movements of a mass ordinary cycle the links are established by a specific cantus firmus in the tenor or by the head motive.

The only mass proper cycle for which I can offer a copying date is the feast celebrating the assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August). According to the evidence from figs. 38 and 39, it was copied into gathering 30 c.1462. Gerken, however, analysed the stylistic features of the mass proper cycles in Tr88 and concluded that they were 'the work of anonymous composers, writing in the early style of Dufay, around the middle of the fifteenth century'.

Feininger's attribution of eleven proper cycles to Dufay has recently been reappraised. Fallows, assessing the validity of Feininger's claim in the light of new ascriptions, now finds that Dufay may have composed three of the masses: those dedicated to the Holy Spirit, St Anthony of Padua and St Francis.

Tr89, very much like Tr88, contains a predominantly sacred repertory. Gottlieb devotes his research to its twenty-one mass ordinary cycles, dividing them into three categories: the first includes seven masses based on isorhythmic tenors, the second, nine masses composed over non-isorhythmic tenors and the third, five freely-composed masses.

Tr89 has a continuous copy of the Missa Caput on ff. 246v-256r, with an erased attribution to Dufay.

65 Fallows, D.: Dufay, pp. 188-90, 231-32.
66 Gottlieb, L.: The cyclic masses of Trent Codex 89, (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1958). I have supplied DTO numbers for most of the masses listed by Gottlieb, who rarely gives either folio numbers for them or references to the DTO thematic catalogue. His first category of masses includes Misse: Te Deum (DTO nos. 546-50), Caput (DTO nos. 677-81), Christus resurrexit (DTO nos. 723-26), Du cœur je suspire (DTO nos. 692-96), Monyel by Touront (DTO nos. 682-86), Quand ce vendra (DTO nos. 711-14) and a Missa [Gross Sehnen](DTO nos. 623-27).
67 Ibid., Misse: [Deutsches Lied], O rosa bella III (DTO nos. 715-19), Sine nomine (DTO nos. 509-13), Le serviteur (DTO nos. 606-10), Clemens et benigne by Caron (DTO nos. 746-50), Beati Antonii by Piret, [Prolatio perfecta](DTO nos. 643-47), Sine nomine (DTO nos. 704-08), Sine nomine (DTO nos. 736-40).
68 Ibid., Misse: [Tertii toni](DTO nos. 531-35), Sine nomine (DTO nos. 518-19), [Ad voces pares](DTO nos. 569-72), Sine nomine by Jo. Bassere (DTO nos. 698-702) and Sine nomine (DTO nos. 687-91).
who may not be its composer. There are several reasons for attributing this masterpiece to an English composer, who used a chant from the Sarum rite in the tenor as well as a troped Kyrie.

In his attempt to identify the two St Anthony masses by Dufay, Fallows speculates that the plenary cycle in Tr89, ff. 59v-71r, could be Dufay's lost mass for St Anthony Abbot. It appears with the heading 'Introitus misse beati Anthonii' and contains the propers for St Anthony Abbot as well as an ordinary cycle (without the Kyrie).

Reynolds puts forward an interesting connection between Vat SP B 80 and Tr89 on the basis of their common repertory. In Tr89, concordances with the Roman source include ten Magnificat settings in gathering 8 (fig. 43) and an anonymous mass in gathering 27 on ff. 306v-315r. This mass was copied into Tr89 c.1466. All these pieces were recorded in the Roman manuscript in 1463, according to Reynolds's archival research. Since Johannes Hinderbach was working in Rome in 1465, Reynolds suggests that he could easily have brought back music to Trent.

Fallows, D.: Dufay, p. 192. Fallows clarifies the situation concerning the two masses for St Anthony mentioned in Dufay's testament: one for St Anthony of Padua, composed perhaps for the dedication of Donatello's altar at Padua (13 June 1450), and another for St Anthony Abbot, which seems not to survive.
The connection between Tr89 and Hinderbach has already been mentioned by Adler and Koller, 72 who associated the poem of welcome Clerus istius venen-randus (copied without music on f. 199v) with Hinderbach's election as bishop on 5 October 1465. Another possible occasion for the poem, in my opinion, could have been Hinderbach's return to Trent as prince-bishop in 1466, shortly after his consecration in Rome in July 1466. 73 It is possible that Wiser, at that time occupied with the last stages of Tr89, simply added the text on one of its blank leaves to mark the important event.

When Hudson attempted a chronology of Hayne van Ghizeghem's compositions, he naturally included Tr89 among the sources of Hayne's works, since it records his chanson Amours amours on ff. 25v-26r. 74 Since Tr89 is the earliest source to record this song, Hudson reasoned that Amours amours must have been composed before 1472, the year he thought the Codex was completed. From the results of my watermark study, it is now possible to suggest that Amours Amours was copied into Tr89 in 1466.

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25  **Tr91, THE MANUSCRIPT**

This manuscript is the most recent Codex in the collection and measures 310mm x 215mm. It consists of 259 strong leaves, arranged in twenty-two gatherings. **Tr91** has two quaternions, nineteen sexternions and only one irregular gathering (diag. 37, p. 230), in which the twelfth leaf is wanting.

The scribe always ruled nine staves per folio, each measuring c.167mm, except in gathering 20, where he only ruled eight per folio, each measuring 160mm. Pricking marks appear 28mm apart in the outer margins except in gathering 8, where its distinctive pattern of three marks recurs at regular intervals. **Like** **Tr88** and **Tr89**, **Tr91** shows no traces of original foliation.
26 ASPECTS OF THE REPERTORY IN Tr91

Although Tr91 is an important source of sacred music for the second half of the fifteenth century, very little of it has been transcribed or examined so far. It records a large quantity of music for the mass ordinary, such as twelve mass cycles in gatherings 1–3, 5–7, 16, 19–22, 75 and a much smaller amount of music for the office. Its repertory, consisting of 162 compositions, 76 is largely anonymous, since the scribe attributed only three works to composers: one to Busnois and two to Vincenot. The authorship of a few other compositions can be determined from concordances. In gathering 4 we find a variety of pieces: Busnois' motet In Ydraulis, Perfunde celi rore by Martini, a Gloria and a Credo, five versicles Benedicamus Domino, two hymns and a chanson Vous marchez. It is remarkable that eight out of the fourteen compositions in gathering 8 have concordances in the Glogauer Liederbuch. 77 The

75 The twelve masses are: Cucu by Martini (DTÖ nos. 1145–49), La basse dancze by Faugues (DTÖ nos. 1151–55), Regina celi letare (DTÖ nos. 1156–60), Sine nomine (DTÖ nos. 1176–81), Sine nomine (DTÖ nos. 1184–88), Sine nomine by Vincenot (DTÖ nos. 1193–97), Sine nomine by Vincenot (DTÖ nos. 1299–1302, no Agnus), Sig sind und hüyl (DTÖ nos. 1338–42), Sine nomine (DTÖ nos. 1344–48), Sine nomine (DTÖ nos. 1349–52, no Agnus), Ad fugam (DTÖ nos. 1353–57), Gentil Madonna mia (DTÖ nos. 1358–62). Loyan transcribed the Missa Ad fugam in Canons in the Trent Codices. CMM, xxxviii, (Rome, 1967), pp. 2–15. The rubric in Tr91 'Quatuor ex una' indicates the derivation of the other voices.

76 The entries in the thematic catalogue for Tr91 are DTÖ nos. 1145–1364. Sections of a single work, however, are often listed misleadingly as separate compositions.

combined repertories of gatherings 9 and 10 provide the necessary material for a performance of the mass ordinary: five Kyries, three Glorias, a Credo, three Sanctus and a movement that can be sung either as a Sanctus or an Agnus Dei. The remaining pieces include an Easter gradual, Hec dies, two hymns and two antiphons. Gathering 11 also records music for the mass proper, the mass ordinary and for the office.

One striking feature of gatherings 12, 13 and part of 14 is the exceptionally long series of anonymous compositions that closely follow the major feasts in the Roman calendar: Christmas (DTÖ nos. 1243-50), dedication of the church (DTÖ nos. 1251-60), Easter (DTÖ nos. 1261-68, 1270-71), followed by a few items for Corpus Christi, Holy Trinity and St Peter. Continuing from the communion Tu es Petrus on f. 160⁰ are five Sequences: Ave preclara for the Virgin Mary (ff. 160⁰-164⁰), Lauda Sion for Corpus Christi (ff. 164⁰-166⁰), Mittit ad virginem for the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (ff. 169⁰-172⁰), Veni Sancti spiritus (ff. 172⁰-174⁰) for Easter and Sancti spiritus nobis for Pentecost (ff. 174⁰-177⁰).

The liturgically-organised succession of compositions according to the Roman calendar is a notable feature of Tr91. Most of the repertory of twenty-one hymns in Tr91 is concentrated in gatherings 17 and 18. The fact that a few of the more unusual hymns begin with their second stanza makes their identification warrant further examination.

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78 The thematic catalogue gives incipits for verses 1, 6, 9 and 12 of Ave preclara as separate items (DTÖ nos. 1282-85). The Sequence has twelve verses.

79 The thematic catalogue offers separate entries for verses 1, 6, 9 of Mittit ad virginem (DTÖ nos. 1290-92).

80 Incipits for verses 1, 12 and 20 are listed for Sancti spiritus nobis (DTÖ nos. 1294-96).
difficult. This is the case with the hymn to St Martin Martine confessor dei (= Qui pace Christi) on f. 191v; to St Andrew Exorta a Bethsaida (= Quos arte piscatoria) on f. 192r and to St Nicholas Plaudat letitia (= Presul precipuus) on f. 192v-193r.

Following the Easter Sequence Mundi renovatio, we find other hymns which set the even-numbered verses to polyphony: Gaude civitas Augusta (= Narcissus primo plantavit) on f. 205v-206r is dedicated to St Afra, patron saint of Augsburg; Gaude visceribus (= Cuius magnifica) for the nativity of the Virgin Mary; then two settings of a hymn to St Lawrence, Martyris colimus (= Pontifex sixtus) and the hymn Urbs beata Jerusalem (= Nova veniens) on f. 207v.

Most of the hymns in gatherings 17 and 18 display an unusual notational feature: their superius, which carries the chant, is given in Hufnagelschrift and their lower voices in white mensural notation. A black neume corresponds to a semibreve in normal mensuration or a breve in  \( \text{\textfrac{2}{3}} \) time. Kanazawa points out that the hymn-settings in Tr91, as well as those in the earlier Trent Codices, frequently use a melodic version that is different from the one generally known today. His idea that this was bound up with a local practice is convincing, although a further suggestion that it probably was that of Trent cannot yet be substantiated. In order

81 AH, xxvii, p. 218.
82 AH, lii, p. 94.
83 AH, li, p. 209.
84 AH, liv, p. 224.
85 AH, lii, p. 84.
86 AH, li, p. 144.
87 AH, li, p. 193.
to show melodic variants, Kanazawa copied out three versions of *Exultet celum laudibus*, the first taken from Tr91 (f. 194r), the second from a setting by Dufay and a third from a modern plainchant edition. The only fifteenth-century Tridentine hymnbook I have been able to find, however, unfortunately does not contain music. The method of comparing the structural plainchant melodies in polyphonic compositions with corresponding melodies transmitted in fifteenth-century plainchant sources, could nevertheless offer a means for determining their provenance. We would need, however, a large supply of plainsong manuscripts, originating from different regions, before we could draw significant conclusions from a comparison of the plainchant used in the polyphonic compositions with the corresponding monodic version.

It would now be useful to discuss the following compositions in Tr91 owing to their rather unusual texts: *Ecclesiam vestris* (ff. 72v–73r), a setting of the polyphonic gospel (ff. 82v, 107v–111r), and two settings of *Alle Dei filius* (ff. 94v, 145v–146r). *Alle Dei filius* is a prosula to the widely-disseminated antiphon *Cuprex-glorie* and can be found in the Easter play together with such items as *Quem queritis* and *Victime paschali laudes*. The prosula originated from the abbey of St Gall, and sixteenth-century sources from this monastery continue to transmit it. *Alle Dei filius* (ff. 145v–146r) has a concordance in the Glogauer Liederbuch and its text has also been set to polyphony elsewhere.

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89 TRcap 26 (olim TRmd 475).
91 D-Mbs 5023, ff. 20v–21v; D-Mbs 14274, f. 128r by Jo. Waring; D-B 40021 (olim Z21), f. 252.
The text of *Ecclesiam vestris* (f. 72\textsuperscript{V}-73\textsuperscript{R}) is listed neither in *Analecta Hymnica*, nor in similar collections, but a search through many plainchant sources dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has enabled me to find it in three *graduals* as the second verse of the Sequence *Petre lumen Christi*.\textsuperscript{92}

Turning to the last verso of gathering 7, we find two responses: *Et cum spiritu tuo* and *Gloria tibi Domine*. Their rubric *'Ad Mattheum videlicet liber generationis'* refers to the gospel setting in gathering 10 (ff. 107\textsuperscript{V}-111\textsuperscript{R}) to which they belong. This polyphonic gospel setting begins with *Dominus vobiscum* and continues with *initium sancti Evangelii secundum Mattheum*; then follow a few verses from the Book of Generations of Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{93} How these responses became separated from the rest of the piece remains a mystery.

Taking an overall view of the repertory in *Tr91*, it can be seen that seven adjacent pairs of gatherings are linked by compositions: gatherings 3 and 4 by Busnois' motet *In Ydraulis* (ff. 35\textsuperscript{V}-37\textsuperscript{R}), gatherings 6 and 7 by the Sequence *Ecclesiam vestris* (ff. 72\textsuperscript{V}-73\textsuperscript{R}), gatherings 9 and 10 by a Sanctus (ff. 106\textsuperscript{R}-107\textsuperscript{V}), gatherings 12 and 13 by an offertory *Domine Deus in*

\textsuperscript{92} A-Wn 12865, ff. 214\textsuperscript{V}-215\textsuperscript{R}, rubric: 'Petri et Pauli'. The manuscript is a Premonstratensian gradual from north-west Germany, copied at the end of the fourteenth century. Its square notation is on four red lines.

A-Wn 1802, ff. lxx\textsuperscript{V}-lxxi\textsuperscript{R}, rubric: 'De S. Petro'. This gradual, copied in Germany or Bohemia, dates from the fourteenth century.

D-Müd GV 269, ff. 230\textsuperscript{R}-230\textsuperscript{V}, rubric: 'In festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Sequentia'.

\textsuperscript{93} *Biblia sacra*, vulgate edn. of Pope Sixtus V (Paris, 1892), chapter i, verses 1-16. The plainsong version for this passage appears in many lectionaries; see also Stäblein, B.: *'Evangelium*', *MGG*, iii (Kassel, 1954), cols. 1618-29.
simplicitate (ff. 141V-142R), gatherings 13 and 14 by the introit Cibavit eos (ff. 154V-155R), gatherings 14 and 15 by the introit Spiritus Domini (ff. 166V-167R), gatherings 21 and 22 by the Kyrie Gentil madonna mia (ff. 247V-248R).

Although Tr91 includes a number of movements from the mass proper, it gives priority to mass ordinary music. Only in gatherings 12, 13 and part of 14 do we find compositions for the mass and office, arranged according to a recognisable sequence of feasts. We find a concentration of music for the office only in gatherings 8, 17 and 18.
Table XIV (p. 201) gives the distribution of the nine watermarks in this manuscript (figs. 46-54), which occur only here. Figs. 46 and 47 are two closely related marks of a bull's head with a triangle enclosing a half-moon. They appear in gatherings 1-5 and 7. Fig. 48 depicts a pair of scales within a circle surmounted by a star, and occurs in gatherings 6, 8-9 and in bifolium 1 of gathering 10, where it envelopes five other bifolia from a different stock of paper (diag. 33, p. 228). Figs. 49 and 50 represent a pair of scales within a circle surmounted by a six and seven-pointed star; they appear together in gatherings 11-15 as illustrated in diags. 32-36 (pp. 227ff). Figs. 51 and 52 depict the common design of three mountains surmounted by a flower and appear together in gatherings 16-18, 21 and 22. Fig. 53, a watermark of a bull's head with three small circles within a triangle, can be found only in gathering 19 (diag. 37). Finally, fig. 54, which represents a bull's head wearing a crown, is unique to gathering 20 (diag. 38).
28 THE DATING OF Tr91

The supporting date for fig. 48 suggests that the four earliest gatherings (6, 8-10) were copied in 1468 or very soon after. Archival equivalents for figs. 46 and 47 indicate that the paper of gatherings 1-5 and 7 was in use a little later, 1470-73. Figs. 49 and 50 appear together in gatherings 11-15, but neither watermark can be found in available catalogues. However, since the archival equivalent I found for fig. 49 dates from 1480, it is quite likely that fig. 50 also dates from around that time. No archival equivalents have yet been found for figs. 51-54 in the last seven gatherings. The evidence from fig. 49 makes it possible to put forward 1480 as the earliest date for the completion of Tr91.

Many of the watermarks do not show up clearly in the manuscript since the ink has ruined many leaves and has also destroyed a number of musical notes. Adler and Koller suggested that Tr91 was copied and compiled over a long period between 1460 and 1480 and that most of the collection was complete by 1472. My watermark dating narrows this timespan to 1468 - 1480, making 1480 the earliest possible copying date for gatherings 11-15.

Tr91 contains three motets which give us important clues to the dating of the Codex: Omnium bonorum plena in gathering 3 (ff. 33v-35r), Perfunde celire in gathering 4 (ff. 40v-42r) and In Ydraulis, bridging gatherings 3 and 4 (ff. 35v-37r).

Finscher regards Omnium bonorum plena as an early

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work by Loyset Compère, composed some time between 1470 and 1474 in a style that predates that of his more mature second period. He argues that 1474, the year of Dufay's death, must have been the latest possible date for his motet since its text still mentions the composer as 'lumen totius musicae'.

According to Lockwood, Perfunde celi rore by Johannes Martini, was composed in 1471 in honour of the marriage of Ercole I d'Este to Eleonora d'Aragona and not in 1473, as sometimes stated. Noblitt's recent study of the watermarks in Mbs 3154 offers the date 1471 – 1474 for Busnois' motet In Ydraulis, previously believed to predate 1467.

According to my watermark study, all three motets were copied on one stock of paper some time between 1470 and 1473 (figs. 46, 47).

If we now turn to the pieces that link two adjacent gatherings, only one composition requires an explanation: the Sequence Ecclesiam vestris. Since it bridges two gatherings (6 and 7) that date from 1468 and 1470-73 respectively, the piece must have been copied into gathering 6 at a time when the later gathering was already available.

CONCLUSION

The present watermark study makes it possible to suggest a date not only the gatherings but also for particular folios of the Trent Codices. This precision is important when a single gathering contains several watermarks from different periods, as in Tr87 (Table I). In this case, the dating of each folio has significant implications relating to the compositions recorded therein.

Tr87 and Tr92 have long been recognised as the earlier group of the Trent Codices. They subdivide into four separate components, each of which needs to be dated as a manuscript in its own right. Giving the dates of their earliest and latest gatherings, the four manuscripts belong to the following periods:

- Tr92/I (1431-37)
- Tr87/I (1433-45)
- Tr87/II (1434-37)
- Tr92/II (1439-45)

Tr87/I and Tr92/II are two independent collections, each with their own systems of scribal signatures. Their use of the same stocks of paper, together with the presence of common scribes, suggests that the two manuscripts came from the same scriptorium, yet there is sufficient evidence to think that each served a different function. Whereas Tr87/I was copied as an independent manuscript, Tr92/II was intended to continue from Tr92/I. This view is supported by the need for the second consolidated index prefixed to Tr92/I, the markings 'stat bis' added in Tr92/I to pieces common to both manuscripts, and the contemporary foliation number '144' on f. 1r of Tr92/II. 1442 is the earliest date when Tr92/II could
have been attached to Tr92/I, according to the supporting date of its latest gathering. The two manuscripts, however, could have been bound only after 1445, because of the addition of two blank gatherings at the end of the combined Codex at some point in the mid-1440s.

Tr87/II was already complete when the scribes were just beginning Tr92/II and copying the main corpus of Tr87/I. Tr87/II must have been annexed and bound with Tr87/I after 1445, since it follows on directly from the latest gatherings of Tr87/I.

If we now consider the remaining Trent Codices, which date from the second half of the fifteenth century, we find that common stocks of paper serve to reinforce the accepted chronological order:

- Tr87 (1450-56)
- Tr90 (1452-59)
- Tr88 (1456-62)
- Tr89 (1460-66)
- Tr91 (1468-80)

The following pairs of Codices share common watermarks: Tr93 and Tr90 (figs. 20, 21, 22), Tr90 and Tr88 (fig. 32), Tr88 and Tr89 (figs. 33, 38, 39). The last three gatherings at the end of Tr93 use the same stocks of paper as Tr90, a Codex that was copied and bound in Trent. It is therefore likely that the three gatherings of Tr93 were copied and added in Trent, where the manuscript was subsequently bound.

Tr88 and Tr89 have two batches of paper in common: a large quantity of related paper depicting a bull's head with tongue (figs. 34-41) and a smaller stock with three mountains surmounted by a flower (fig. 33).
Tr91, the last Codex, was begun about two years after the completion of Tr89; it has unique watermarks and seems to have been copied over a long period of time.

Although I have been able to date most of the gatherings in the Trent collection, eleven out of fifty-four watermarks I have traced still lack archival equivalents: they are figs. 33-37 in Tr88, fig. 43 in Tr89 and figs. 50-54 in Tr91. As a result of my research it is now possible to suggest new copying dates for many compositions in the Trent Codices, a selection of which is listed in Table XVI (p. 205).
CHAPTER III

1 INTRODUCTION

Adler and Koller have suggested that the second group of Trent Codices (Tr88-Tr91) was copied in and for Trent. If that were so, and if the manuscripts were compiled for liturgical use, it should be possible to establish a correlation between the sacred contents of these Codices and local liturgical practice.

A prerequisite to further discussions on this subject, however, would be the definition of the Tridentine liturgy itself, an independent study which will be attempted in the present investigation. It is only after we have determined special features characteristic of the local liturgy by various tests that we will be equipped to examine the implications of Adler and Koller's suggestion: could the music of the later Trent Codices fulfil the requirements for the Cathedral of Trent or some other important local church? The category of music most likely to have served such needs would have been the repertories of largely anonymous liturgical works based on plainchant for the divine office, rather than international repertories by known composers. Some music for the office features in Tr91, where it is grouped at times in a surprisingly systematic way; a small quantity also appears in Tr88-Tr90 and Tr93.

A glance at the pertinent bibliography shows that the Tridentine liturgy in the fifteenth century has so far received very little attention, so that this research is no easy task. Benedetto Bonelli's four comprehensive publications still remain the fundamental

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secondary sources for the transcription of documents and information relating to the diocese of Trent up to the eighteenth century. Nothing of similar scope has appeared since that time, although there are a few recent contributions.

Since no collection of liturgical manuscripts necessary for a detailed study of the Tridentine liturgy has yet been published, I have compiled my own list of sources, selecting as far as possible those dating from the fifteenth century. A few, nevertheless, date from the end of the fourteenth century, and some come from the early sixteenth century. The most important categories of liturgical book are missals and breviaries for textual references, and graduals and antiphoners for plainchant melodies, although other kinds of book have also been consulted. Most of the manuscripts I have listed are located in Trent itself, though some have been dispersed through various vicissitudes to libraries in Bressanone, the Vatican City, Karlsruhe, Nuremberg and even Keble College, Oxford.

It will of course be important to describe in detail the methods I have applied to determine the Tridentine provenance of liturgical manuscripts. When rubrics do not specifically ascribe a book to Trent or any other locality, the application of certain tests already well-known to liturgists can

2 Bonelli, B.: Notizie istorico-critiche intorno al vescovo, etc., i (Trent, 1760); ii (Trent, 1761); Notizie istorico-critiche della chiesa di Trento, etc., iii/1 (Trent, 1762); Monumenta ecclesiae tridentinae, etc., iii/2 (Trent, 1765).

often help to determine its provenance. The first, by far the most efficient of the three for our present purpose, examines the saints appearing in local calendars. The remaining two tests, however, are only useful for defining local characteristics if the information they require, namely a complete series of Alleluias for the Sundays after Pentecost and the responsories for the Sundays in Advent, is available from sources already known to be of Tridentine origin. All three tests will also be applied to the repertory of the more recent Trent Codices: from a study of their calendared feasts, a selection of saints, series of Alleluias and responsories, plainchant intonation and structural plainchant notes, we may be able to detect Tridentine elements.

Apart from the Trent Codices, two other sources (TRc 1563 and TRc 1947/4) will be discussed for the evidence they may yield relating to the cultivation of polyphony in Trent.

Planchart carried out a study on similar lines relating to Dufay's Missa S Jacobi. In his search for Parisian books that transmitted the liturgy of St James as it was sung at Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie in the fifteenth century, he found the relevant liturgical manuscripts, namely a notated breviary and a missal, each with its own calendar.4

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4 Planchart, A.E.: 'Guillaume Dufay's masses: A view of the manuscript traditions', pp. 26-33.
2 THE DIOCESE OF TRENT

The principality and diocese of Trent were both governed by a prince-bishop, who exercised temporal and spiritual power over this territory; but they did not share the same boundaries.\(^5\) The diocese was surrounded by nine others; it was bordered on the north and north-west by Bressanone and Chur; on the west and south-west by Como and Brescia; on the south and south-east by Verona and Vicenza, only just touching Padua; on the east by Feltre, sharing only a short frontier with Belluno (see Plate 1, p. 114).

Voltelini has outlined the history of the local monasteries in Trent in a short but comprehensive

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\(^5\) The frontiers of the diocese of Trent remained constant for about 1000 years, from the eighth century until the second half of the eighteenth century, when changes were introduced by Empress Maria Theresa in 1752. Her son, the Emperor Joseph II attempted, in 1785, to unify the ecclesiastical boundaries with the political borders in order to avoid interference from bishops who were subjects of other states, such as the Republic of Venice. The complicated issues concerning ecclesiastical and political boundaries are discussed by:
Malfatti, B.: 'I confini del principato di Trento', Archivio storico per Trieste, l'Istria e il Trentino, ii (1883), pp. 1-32.
study. Cesarini Sforza\textsuperscript{7} and Emert\textsuperscript{8} have added supplementary notes about the religious orders in the diocese.

\textsuperscript{6} Voltelini, H. von: 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Tirols', Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums, xxxiii (1889), pp. 64-104.

\textsuperscript{7} Cesarini Sforza, L.: 'Appunti sulle congregazioni religiose esistite nella nostra città', Studi trentini, xvi (1935), pp. 272-76.

\textsuperscript{8} Emert, G.: 'Appunti sulle chiese minori di Trento in un manoscritto inedito del Conte Simone Consolati', Studi trentini, xviii (1937), pp. 50-54.
DIOCESE OF TRENT
AND NEIGHBOURHOOD
IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
3 THE CULTIVATION OF POLYPHONY IN TRENT

Apart from the main collection of the Trent Codices at the Castello del Buon Consiglio, there are two other sources of polyphony in manuscripts of the Biblioteca comunale: an early fifteenth-century Italian fragment copied on to both sides of a parchment leaf, placed at the end of a local breviary (TRc 1563) that once belonged to the episcopal library, and a gathering dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, containing nine compositions (TRc 1947/4).

Mariano Welber has identified the fragment as a Credo, copied in an Italian/French notation dating from about 1430.9 Margaret Bent recognised it as a Credo by Antonio Zacara da Teramo.10 Bearing in mind that the fragment was attached to a breviary annotated by Bishop Hinderbach, it is little surprising (if he indeed was responsible for collecting the music of the Trent Codices) that he did not pass this composition on to Wiser.

TRc 1947/4, which Disertori thought was copied in Trent, consists of five oblong sheets of paper, folded and sewn to form ten folios (20 pages).11 Although Lunelli was the first to mention this source, it was Disertori who discussed its contents and analysed its paper. Its repertory, which consists of secular songs, one of them (on f. 4v) attributed to Caron, has no link with

9 Welber, M.: Johannes Hinderbach rerum vetus\ss arum studiosus (tesi di laurea, Universit\'a cattolica di Sacro Cuore, Milan, 1969/70), Appendix 1, p. 3.
local liturgy. Nevertheless, a connection with German-speaking territory is indicated by the presence of several incipits in German, including Fraw Bruat (Tyrolean dialect for 'Frau Braut'), Ein fröhlich wesen, Wenn ich gedenckh, Ja freilich halt wie pald and Freundlich hort. Having examined and sketched the two watermarks found in the manuscript, Disertori correctly assumed that the two shapes originally belonged together. He recorded the leaves on which the two halves of the watermark occurred, thus allowing us to reconstruct the whole design as being the letter 'P', surmounted by a hat with stylised ribbons.

The presence in Trent of the two previously mentioned sources indicates a local interest in polyphony both before and after the period when the Trent Codices were being compiled.

12 This piece is anonymous in TRc 1947/4 but attributed elsewhere to Pipelare and to Pierre de la Rue. See Rubsamen, W.: 'La Rue, Pierre de', MGG, viii (Kassel, 1960), col. 231.

13 We can deduce that TRc 1947/4 consists of two bifolia (cut horizontally to form eight leaves), and a half bifolium, giving another two leaves. From a study of the paper, we conclude that folios 2 and 3 originally belonged together, as did folios 4 and 5. Piccard has not yet published this watermark, but the type resembles no. 3446 of Briquet's catalogue, dating from 1489. If the date is correct, then this gathering must have been copied almost nine years after Tr91. Its measurements and system of five staves per folio suggest, however, that it was a separate collection, never intended to be bound with Tr91.
There are unfortunately no published documents relating to the performance or cultivation of polyphony in the monasteries of Trent. I have found only one negative reference in a manuscript containing the constitution for the friars of the Carmelite Order, copied in Trent from 1478 to 1480, which forbids Carmelite Brothers to sing either motets or merry songs under rubric III 'De divino officio et modo pulsandi'.

I have not been able to find a satisfactory definition of the term 'upp(a)tura'. If this word derives from 'ruptura', then the musical genre forbidden by the Carmelite Order could have been the hocket.
THE CULTIVATION OF PLAINCHANT IN TRENT

Table XVII (p. 207) lists twelve plainchant manuscripts, copied in and for Trent during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. However, only Ngm 18575, dating from the fifteenth century, contains the relevant plainchant items for a comparison between the sacred music of the Trent Codices and the local liturgical requirements of Trent, which will be discussed later. The manuscript consists of thirty parchment folios and two additional leaves. Irtenkauf refers to the book simply as Messbuch, but its small selection of feasts combines items from both gradual and antiphoner as we know them today (Table XVIII, p. 208). This kind of mixture, however, is only to be expected in liturgical and plainchant sources of the fifteenth century, which often do not fall within well-defined categories.

The musical notation is written in clear Hufnagel-schrift on four red lines, denoting the 'c' and 'f' lines. In his study of the thirty-eight churches and convents of St Vigilius in the diocese of Trent, Morizzo has also included an entry for the St Vigilius church near Appiano. Interested more in the architecture of the buildings and the canonic visits during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, he did not discuss the plainsong manuscript.

Most of the other sources in Table XVII have been excluded from this study because of their recent date.

For example, Libri corali A, B, H, I in the chapter library of Trent were copied during the reign of Bishop Bernardo Clesio (1514-39), whereas volumes G and L date from the seventeenth century. Libro corale F contains the office for St Vigilius, but its copying date (1584) postdates the Council of Trent. According to Casagrande, Trmd 54 and Libri corali C and D date from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Morizzo also points to a set of plainchant volumes, a manual, gradual and psalter for the use of the cantors in the Vigilius church at Moena near Bolzano, without giving their dates or description. This set of liturgical books can no longer be found in this church. A great many plainchant books from the diocese of Trent must have been lost or dispersed, and it is possible that further sources may yet be found.

17 Casagrande, V.: Catalogo del Museo diocesano (Trent, 1908), pp. 20-27, 35.
19 I discovered that this date was written inside the initial on f. XCV, appearing with a jumble of letters that presumably out the name of the scribe.
21 Libro corale C records the antiphons beginning on the Sunday before the first Sunday in Advent and ends on the sixth Sunday after Epiphany. Libro corale D transmits the antiphons from Septuagesima to compline of Holy Saturday.
5 CALENDARS AND THE LITURGICAL USE OF TREN'T

Friedrich Althan, in his erudite thesis, showed long ago how calendars can help us to establish the liturgical use and provenance of the missal or breviary to which they are prefixed. 22 Bonelli, agreeing with his methods and views, published four such calendars, examining their hagiological contents to determine the date and provenance of the respective manuscripts. 23 Their methods of analysis are important for the present study because they enable us to distinguish manuscripts of Tridentine origin from the ones copied elsewhere and which were only later adopted for the use of Trent. If we are to draw parallels between the Trent Codices and the local liturgy, we must be certain that our liturgical sources are authentic.

The main libraries of Trent have a large collection of liturgical manuscripts, many of which have been excluded from this study either because they do not show reliable connections with Trent, or because their dates do not fall within the given period. For example, a manuscript catalogued by Cetto as a fifteenth-century Tridentine calendar has been omitted here because St Vigilius, the local patron saint, does not feature among its calendar entries. 24

In the present study, I shall discuss seven calendars, of which only four are Tridentine. Although the remaining three originate from other diocese, the interesting links they reveal with

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22 Althan, F.: De calendariis in genere et speciatim de calendario ecclesiastico dissertatio, etc., (Venice, 1753), p. 33.
Trent led me to incorporate them in the present investigation.

Bonelli was the first to draw attention to regional cross-influences that had existed, or may have existed, between Trent and other dioceses, and also to the distinctions among monastic uses. He gives the following titles to the edition of calendars, given here in translation:

1. Salzburg-Trent of the thirteenth century;
2. Augsburg-Trent of the thirteenth century;
3. Franciscan-Trent of the fifteenth century;
4. Augustinian-Trent of the fifteenth century.

He did not allocate shelfmarks to the four manuscripts he listed, but I have been able to identify three with manuscripts in Trent today: the first calendar with the missal TRc 1562 (F 8) and the second with the breviary TRc 1718 (F 1117). The third calendar does not correspond to any of the liturgical books in Trent, but the last matches the one in the Roman breviary TRmp 706.

The three calendars prefixed to TRc 1562, TRc 1718 and to another breviary, TRc 1556, form an independent group of manuscripts, that did not originate in Trent. Once part of the episcopal library, they all contain Johannes Hinderbach's annotations. Each will be discussed in turn with an accompanying plate to give examples of Hinderbach's comments. Although he was long recognized as an indefatigable reviser and commentator on calendars and other texts, no-one has yet analysed them with the purpose of assessing their importance for the

Tarugi Secchi, G.: La biblioteca vescovile trentina (Trent, 1930), pp. 36ff.
liturgy in the Trentino area. Hofmann-Wellenhof's biographical study of Hinderbach focuses more on his political career and family connections than on his library and glosses. Perhaps Hinderbach's marginal notes are simply an academic expression of his humanistic and cultural interest, and had no influence outside his library. On the other hand, apart from correcting scribal errors in grammar and punctuation, or erroneous references to the scriptures, Hinderbach also observed the conspicuous textual disparity that existed between the readings in liturgical books, such as TRc 1562, and those of the Roman Curia (Appendix I, p. 283).

Six calendar entries copied in red suggest that the liturgical destination of the missal TRc 1562 was the archdiocese of Salzburg. In this book we find a mass celebrating the feast of Corpus Christi which indicates that it was copied after the establishment of this feast in 1264. Hinderbach added the names of many saints, including those of Trent against the appropriate dates in the

27 In this respect Hinderbach's activity was akin to that of Nicolas of Cusa, Bishop of Bressanone, 1450-64. Both men rank among the precursors of the Council of Trent.
Bickell, G. ed.: Sinodi Brixinensis saeculi XV (Innsbruck, 1880), pp. 34ff.
28 Depositio S Ruperti (27 March), Translatio Ruperti episcopi (23 September), Dedicatio Salzburgensis (24 September), Translatio Virgilii (sic) episcopi (25 September), Octava S Ruperti (1 October) and Octava S Virgilii (3 October).
calendar: Remedii Heremite (15 January), Massentie Vidue Matris S Vigilii Episcopi et Martiris Tridentine (30 April), Sysinii Martiri et Alexandri martirum de Valle Anagnie quorum et reliquie nostris temporibus ibidem sub altari sunt XXV. die mensis Maii sub anno Domini nostri MCCCLXXII (28 May), Vigilii Episcopi et Martiris ac Patroni nostri (26 June), Quirici et Julite martirum Patronum in Trameno (16 July); Plate II (p. 124) gives the calendar entries for May and June.

In the breviary TRc 1718, the second of Bonelli's calendars, Hinderbach's annotations go beyond the addition of new names to the calendar because he copied the legend of St Vigilius at the beginning and end of the manuscript, an entry which links an otherwise non-Tridentine source with the liturgy of Trent. Its calendar mentions two saints who are patron saints of the diocese of Augsburg: Udalrici episcopi (4 July), copied in red ink and Afre et Sodalium eius (7 August), recorded in black (Plate III, p. 125). In the breviary Udalricus (also known as Udalric or Ulric) is mentioned in a prayer in the canon whilst the hymn Gaude civitas Augusta pays homage to St Afra. This hymn also appears in Tr91, ff. 205v-206r, with the rubric 'De sancta Affra'. Its plainchant melody in the cantus is recorded in Hufnagelschrift. Although the polyphonic setting

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34 TRc 1718, pp. 2-4, 1166-67.
CALENDAR ENTRIES FOR MAY AND JUNE FROM MISSAL I–Trc 1562
relates directly to a hymn in a locally found breviary, neither St Afra nor the breviary itself, are essentially Tridentine. We can only speculate that the hymn had originally been composed for local use in the diocese of Augsburg.

Plate IV (p. 127) shows Hinderbach's annotations for May in the breviary TRc 1556, a manuscript which Gerola suggested came from Passau.\footnote{Gerola, G.: 'Le cronache medioevali trentine', p. 75, footnote 41.}

We now move on to four manuscripts which were copied in and for Trent: the two breviaries TRmp 706 and TRmp 1777, the missal KA Pm 8 and a Marian prayer book BREsm 55 (C 13). In TRmp 706 (Bonelli's fourth calendar) the entry for St Vigilius and that of St Simon of Trent (28 March - 'passio beati pueri Simonis de Tridento 1475', see Plate V, p. 128) constitute important features for the localisation of the manuscript.\footnote{Simon's name appears on 28 March, although he was allegedly martyred on Holy Thursday, 23 March 1475. \footnote{TRmp 706, f. 7\textsuperscript{r}: 'Incipit psalterium secundum consuetudinem Romane curie et diocesis Tridentine'. f. 90\textsuperscript{r}: 'Incipit breviarium secundum consuetudinem Romane curie et diocesis Tridentine'. }} The rubrics on ff. 7\textsuperscript{r} and 90\textsuperscript{r} clearly confirm its local provenance.\footnote{The presence of several entries in red relating to St Augustine suggest that the manuscript once belonged to an Augustinian monastery in Trent, most likely San Michele all'Adige.\footnote{Translatio S Augustini (28 February), S Monice matris S Augustini (4 May), Conversio Sancti Augustini (5 May), S Augustini episcopi et confessoris (10 September).}}

The third calendar listed by Bonelli (Franciscan-Trentino) does not correspond with the one prefixed to the fifteenth-century Franciscan breviary TRmp 1777, which was copied by a Bishop Johannes, suffragan...
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Entry</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Domnus habet dies xxxi unam xx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sigmundus regis. Translatio s. elisabeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Antonius et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Semanep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
</tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Domnus et Epiphanius dominus.</td>
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PLATE V
CALENDAR ENTRIES FOR MARCH IN BREVIARY I–TRmp 706
of Trent under Bishop Alexander of Mazowia and titular bishop of Tino and Micone in the province of Nasso. Bonelli recorded an annotation written by Hinderbach on the now lost binding of this breviary. In the calendar of TRmp 1777 Remedius, Sisinius, Martyrius and Alexander were added in black, whereas St Vigilius appears in the original layer in red. Many names originally recorded in black have been underlined subsequently in red, an important adaptation serving to upgrade their liturgical rank. The original layer in red lists many saints associated with the Franciscan Order and also many new entries added in red. Plate VI (p. 130) shows the entries for September, among which there is an annotation by Hinderbach.

The calendar of the fifteenth-century Tridentine missal KA Pm 8 is transcribed for the first time in

Bonelli, B.: Monumenta ecclesiae tridentinae, etc., iii/2, pp. 345, 389: 'Hoc breviarum, quod olim fuit Reverendi Patris Johannis, olim Episcopi Suffragani ecclesiae Tridentine, eius manu scriptum, emimus a Guardiano et Fratribus Chori S Bernardini extra muros, pro XX Ducatis auri pro usu nostro et aliorum, ne veniret in manibus extraneorum, in Vigilia Omnium Sanctorum anno Domini MCCCCLXXIII. Joannes Episcopus Tridentinus manu sua annotavit pro memoria posterum.'

40 Bonelli, B.: Monumenta ecclesiae tridentinae, etc., iii/2, pp. 345, 389: 'Hoc breviarum, quod olim fuit Reverendi Patris Johannis, olim Episcopi Suffragani ecclesiae Tridentine, eius manu scriptum, emimus a Guardiano et Fratribus Chori S Bernardini extra muros, pro XX Ducatis auri pro usu nostro et aliorum, ne veniret in manibus extraneorum, in Vigilia Omnium Sanctorum anno Domini MCCCCLXXIII. Joannes Episcopus Tridentinus manu sua annotavit pro memoria posterum.'

41 Antonini Abbatis (17 January), Fabiani pape martiris Sebastiani Martiris (20 January) who have been given nine lessons, Vincentii confessoris ordinis predicatorum (5 April).

42 The original layer in red includes: Translatio S Francisci confessoris (25 May) graded with nine lessons; S Antonii de ordine fratum minorum, duplex maius (13 June) with nine lessons; Ludovicici episcopi et confessoris ordinis fratum minorum, duplex maius (19 August).

43 New entries in red include: Translatio S Bernardini, duplex minus (17 May), Bernardini confessoris ordinis minorum, duplex maius (20 May) and In festo sacrarum stigmatum beati Francisci, duplex maius (17 September).
PLATE VI
CALENDAR ENTRIES FOR SEPTEMBER IN BREVIARY I–Trmp 1777
Appendix II (p. 285). None of its entries suggests monastic use, but the frequent references in the manuscript to 'fratres' and 'sacerdotes' indicate that the book must have been used in a community. There is no mention of a specific religious institution or chapel in the text relating to the church or altar. Its calendar records both St Vigilius and his mother, St Maxentia, in red and the martyrs Sisinius, Martirius and Alexander in black. Surprisingly Hermagoras and Fortunatus (12 July) have been omitted from this calendar even though the diocese of Trent was suffragan to the important patriarchate of Aquilea in the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{44} Remedius, Valentinus\textsuperscript{45} and Corbinianus,\textsuperscript{46} other saints connected with Trent, have also not been mentioned. The scribal note on the rear pastedown of the missal confirms its provenance and date.\textsuperscript{47} The book was copied by Leonard Stockër de Arding on 22 August 1468 at Beseno, a town near Trent. The note also informs us that the book was commissioned by Balthasar von Liechtenstein, a garrison commander in the service of Duke Sigismund of Tyrol.\textsuperscript{48} Archival documents dating from 25 September 1455 and 7 September 1465 confirm his military position as

\begin{itemize}
\item 'Explicit liber missarum quem comparavit generosus ac magnificus vir Walthisar de Liechtnstain (sic). Finitus in Biseno per me Leonardum Stockër de Arding. Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo octavo undecimo kalendis mensis septembris'.
\end{itemize}
captain of the fortress at Beseno. How or when the manuscript left Trent and crossed the borders to Germany is a matter for conjecture, but an eighteenth-century annotation on its front pastedown tells us that Philip Jacob, abbot of the monastery St Peter in the Black Forest, purchased it in 1763.

Finally, we now come to the calendar BREsm 55 (C 13), which is a Tridentine manuscript dating from the first half of the fifteenth century. It was once in the episcopal library of Trent and contains some annotations by Hinderbach. Its provenance is clear from its calendar entries, which record the names of all local saints in red, except for Remedius. The entry for 18 November is of particular local significance: Dedicatone basilice apostolorum Petri et Pauli de urbe. Et eodem die ecclesie Sancti Vigilii Tridentine. The manuscript, however, is not useful for comparison with texts in the Trent Codices, since it consists largely of homilies and sermons by St Augustine, St Bernard, St Fulgentius, Origen and others. The sermons discuss Marian feasts, the Gospel and the spiritual mysteries of Jesus Christ.

To summarise, this section attempted to distinguish local sources from those copied outside the diocese by examining their calendars. Of the four Tridentine manuscripts, only TRmp 706 and the missal KA Pm 8 will be discussed again because they provide not only the texts relating to the office and mass of St Vigilius, but also the Tridentine series of responses and Alleluia verses which will be discussed in the following section.

50 'Emit reverendissimus ac amplissimus Dominus Doctor Philippus Jacobus monasterii Sancti Petri in Silva nigra abbas. Anno 1763'.
6 THE APPLICATION OF TWO LITURGICAL TESTS ON THE TRENTOCODICES

There are two liturgical tests which are currently regarded as decisive means for distinguishing the liturgical use of one church or diocese from another: the series of responsories for the Sundays in Advent and the list of Alleluia verses for the Sundays after Pentecost. Appendix III (p. 297) gives the Tridentine series of responsories and we find that only three texts from this list appear in Tr91: Ecce virgo concepier on f. 83r, Ecce Dominus veniet on f. 84r and Ave Maria on ff. 124v-125r. Their plainchant intonations, however, do not match the melodies of the Tridentine responsories with the same texts, transcribed in Appendix IV from TRmd Libro corale C. The three above mentioned compositions in Tr91 appear to have functioned as a communion, an antiphon and offertory respectively. Although responses do occur in the later Trent Codices, they do not correspond with the series typical for the diocese of Trent.

See also Bryden, J. R. and Hughes, D. G.: An index of Gregorian chant, i (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989), pp. 53, 144, 149.
Both liturgists and musicologists have devoted some attention to the Alleluia verses for the Sundays after Pentecost, but it was Cosmo Alexander Gordon who developed the effectiveness of this test in his unpublished research. 55 In spite of the scope of his work, Gordon did not incorporate Trent in his investigations. However, when I compared the Tridentine series of Alleluia found in KA Pm 8 for the Sundays after Pentecost (Appendix V, p. 302 and see also below pp. 140ff) with the thirty-seven Alleluia settings in the Trent Codices, they did not correspond. There are only three polyphonic settings in these manuscripts which relate to Pentecost, 56 though not to any of the Sundays following it.

We can now conclude that although the responsory and Alleluia series in Appendices III and IV represent two important characteristics of the Tridentine liturgy, they do not correlate with the repertory of the Trent Codices.

55 Gordon's still unpublished work related to the analysis of medieval Latin missals, focusing particularly on the technique of comparing Alleluia series as a means of distinguishing liturgical uses. Most of his papers are deposited in GB-Ob Dep. b. 224/1-17, though a typescript copy of his two lectures on Manuscript missals: The English uses (delivered in 1936 at Cambridge University as the Sandars lectures) is also available in London (GB-Lbl Add. 44920). Gordon widened the scope of his research to include continental uses; having consulted c.600 manuscript missals and over 100 printed ones, he identified c.300 liturgical uses. GB-Ob Dep. b. 224/5-13 contain an index of sources arranged in alphabetic order of location and shelf-marks. Gordon also incorporated into his work the notes of Dom Gabriel Beysaac. Though himself an important practitioner of the method of comparing Alleluia series, Beysaac published very little on this technique.

56 Alleluia Emitte spiritum, Tr88, ff. 116v-117r; Alleluia Veni sancte spiritus, Tr88, ff. 117v-118r (Dufay); Alleluia Verbo Domini, Tr88, ff. 125v-126r.
Among the office repertory of the Trent Codices are two hymns to St Vigilius with the text *Gaudio summo celebrare*. According to current opinion, their incorporation links the later Trent Codices directly with the liturgy of Trent, thus suggesting a local origin of the manuscripts. This opinion needs further investigation by considering first the context of the hymn in the office of St Vigilius and then the nature of their polyphonic settings. The context of *Gaudio summo celebrare* can best be seen in the local breviaries TRc 1563, Vat Rossiano 620, and TRmp 706. Appendix VI (p. 303) gives a transcription of the office of St Vigilius as transmitted in TRmp 706, a breviary that has already been discussed in the previous section. An additional source for his office is an Austrian manuscript, which originally

57 Tr90, f. 376v (attributed to Christofferus Antony), Tr89, ff. 141'-142' (anonymous). The text of the hymn is edited in All, xxiii, p. 290. Appendix Xa (p. 315) gives the notes of its plainsong melody.


59 TRc 1563, ff. 396v-395': 'In vigilia Sancti Vigilli martiris'. For description of this manuscript, see Hermann, H.J.: Die illuminierten Handschriften in Tirol, pp. 253-55.

60 Vat Rossiano 620, ff. 299v-301v: 'De Sancto Vigilio episcopo et martiro'. For description of the Codex, see Silva-Tarouca, D. da: Descriptio codicum graecorum necnon latinorum e codd. mss Rossianis 401-1193, iii (unpublished handwritten catalogue in the Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, no date).


belonged to the Carthusian monastery in Schnals. It is not a breviary, however, but a collection of religious writings by such authors as St Augustine and St Gregory.

Hinderbach's annotations throughout TRc 1563 indicate that the book once formed part of the episcopal library. Hermann dated it in the late fourteenth century and, in the absence of a calendar, concluded from the presence of a portrait of St Vigilius and his office that the breviary was commissioned by some local (Plate VI, p. 137).

Dreves referred to Vat Rossiano 620 erroneously as a missal, a mistake subsequently perpetuated by Irtenkauf. This breviary, copied in 1471 according to the date on its spine, once belonged to Gian Francesco de Rossi, a nineteenth-century book collector. It transmits a corrupted version of the office of St Vigilius. Baroffio drew attention to

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62 A-Iu 501, ff. 212V-215V: 'Incipit officium Sancti Vigilii et martiris'. Since no description of this manuscript is available in print Appendix VII (p. 310) gives a list of its contents.

63 All, xxiii, p. 290.


64 The Rossiana collection was founded by cavaliere commendatore Gian Francesco de Rossi (1796-1854), who was a fervent collector of manuscripts, printed books and incunables. After his death, the collection was first donated to the Jesuit college in Rome, then transferred to Vienna in 1855 before being finally bestowed to Pope Benedict XV in 1920. For further details, see Trenkler, E.: 'Eine versäumte Gelegenheit', Biblos, xxiii (1974), pp. 4-13. Silva-Tarouca, C. da: 'La Biblioteca rossiana', La civiltà cattolica, anno 73, quaderno 1720, i (1922), pp. 320-35.

65 The text has many scribal errors, especially when referring to place-names, such as 'Adtemenseml (Athens), 'Saria' (Sarca).
PLATE VII
MINIATURE OF ST VIGILIUS IN BREVIARY I-TREC 1563

...
the hymn *Magne pater Augustine*, f. 96⁶⁶ and the invocation in the litany *Sancte pater Augustine*, f. 84⁴, both of which suggest Augustinian use.⁶⁷

A comparative study of the four sources shows a few differences in the office of the patron saint, one of which concerns the distribution of verses in the hymn *Gaudio summo celebrare*. All eight verses are written out under vespers I in TRmp 706 and Vat Rossiano 620, but the hymn is subdivided in TRc 1563 in such a way that verses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 are sung at vespers I and verses 6, 7 and 8 are sung at lauds. Other changes occur in the rendering of rubrics and the order in which a common stock of responses and verses appear. The length of the lectiones, drawn from sources containing the passion of St Vigilius, vary from one manuscript to another.

Having placed the hymn *Gaudio summo celebrare* in its liturgical context, it is now important to consider its polyphonic settings in TR90 and TR89. In both cases the original text, written under the three voices, proved to be an incipit to the well-known hymn *Ut queant laxis* in honour of St John the Baptist (24 June). The text *Gaudio summo celebrare* seems to have been added later to the hymn *Ut queant*. Whether it was the common use of the Sapphic stanza in both hymns, or the proximity of St John's liturgical feast to that of St Vigilius which gave rise to the adaptation, remains a mystery. The

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⁶⁸ TRc ap 0 (olim TRmd 377), ff. 1⁴-IV⁴ is one example of a fifteenth-century source containing the passion of St Vigilius.
⁶⁹ In quantitative verse, the Sapphic stanza is made up of three lesser Sapphic lines (LS/LL/L/SS/LS/LL or LS) and an Adonic line (LSS/LL or LS); quantities are shown by L(long) and S(short).
absence of settings especially composed for St Vigilius, however, suggests that there were no local composers in Trent to supply them.
Chevalier alluded to a Tridentine Missale speciale dating from 1450, which is not in any of the libraries in Trent today. References given by Dreves and Ehrenberger, however, have led me to D-KA Pm 8, which is the only fifteenth-century Tridentine missal that I was able to find. It records the mass proper for St Vigilius in the Sanctorale, transcribed here in Appendix VIII (p. 311). Appendix IX (p. 313) sets out incipits for the mass proper of St Vigilius from three sources and indicates which of the items has a polyphonic setting in the Trent Codices. The sources include KA Pm8, the missal Okc 5, copied for Cardinal

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71 AH, xliv, p. 281-82. Ehrenberger, H.: Biblioteca liturgica manuscripta (Karlsruhe, 1889), p. 61, no. 3. The organisation of this missal reveals no unusual features. It begins with the temporale, which spans from the first Sunday in Advent to the feria quinta in Cena Domini. This is followed by a section for the ordinarium missae with monodic formulae for the preface, notated in Hufnagelschrift. The canon of the mass is preceded by a full-page miniature of the crucifixion. The temporale then resumes with Easter and ends with the twenty-fourth Sunday after Pentecost. The sanctorale begins with the feast of St Andrew on 30 November. The commune sanctorum contains the programmes for specific categories of saints who are usually not important enough to have special masses in the sanctorale, unless a particular locality has adopted one of them as its patron saint. Lastly, we find a section of five votive masses said for a number of intentions, e.g. for the Holy Trinity, Holy Wisdom, Holy Spirit, Charity and for the Holy Cross.
Bernardo Clesio in the first half of the sixteenth century and a plainchant source Ngm 184575. Despite the fact that the mass to St Vigilius used to be recited and sung to plainchant throughout the diocese of Trent, no special polyphonic setting for it features in the Trent Codices. We would have expected to find it in Tr88 among the anonymous cycles of mass propers. Three movements of a possible polyphonic mass to St Vigilius are available only from items of the Common, the missing items being settings for its Alleluia, communion and Sequence. Had there been a mass to St Vigilius, then we could have considered it as a decisive pointer to the liturgy of Trent and consequently a manifestation of local provenance.

72 Parkes, M.: *The medieval manuscript of Keble College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 10-12. This manuscript is not a Roman Pontifical as indicated erroneously on the spine (Pontificale Romano/1536) but a festal missal for the use of the Bishop of Trent, namely Cardinal Bernardo Clesio, 1514-39. It contains the order for the celebration of seven major feasts: Nativity, Resurrection, Pentecost, St Vigilius, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Nativity of B.V.M. and All Saints. Intonations of the Gloria and Credo and the tones of the proper preface are given. This book, once owned by William Bragge (1823-84), was acquired by Canon Liddon on 7 June 1876 in the Bragge sale of manuscripts. He then bequeathed the book to Keble College in 1890. The missal has also been described by Frere, W.H.: *Biblioteca musicolo-liturgica*, i, (London, 1901), p. 162, no. 542.
The present chapter has so far given us cause to believe that the Trent Codices reflect very few aspects of the local liturgy. Were it not for the paucity of Tridentine plainchant books dating from the fifteenth century, it would also have been interesting to pursue here another channel of enquiry, entailing a comparison between intonations of polyphonic chants in the Trent Codices with their corresponding local plainsong melodies. Until more fifteenth-century local liturgical sources come to light, Ngm 184575 will remain the most useful source of plainchant owing to its inclusion of several important feasts listed here in Table XVIII (p. 208). Appendix Xa-e (pp. 314ff) provide transcriptions for five items in this manuscript: vespers II and mass proper for St Vigilius, vespers II and mass proper for the dedication of the church and a mass proper for the Blessed Virgin Mary. Since no modern edition of plainchant gives the musical variants of Predonico, it will be interesting to compare the melodies in Ngm 184575 with those in Liber Usualis (LU) and Graduale Romanum (GR). In comparing the musical items for vespers II of St Vigilius with the edition in LU 'De uno martyre' (Table XIX, p. 209), we find that they do not correspond exactly. The differences are more obvious in his mass (Table XX, p. 210) when certain phrases in the introit Statuit ei move in stepwise motion in the Predonico source and their corresponding passages in LU have a leap of a minor third. These melodic differences occur on the syllables do(minus, prin(cipem), in e(ternum).

73 See also Bryden, J.R. and Hughes, D.G.: An index of Gregorian chant, i, p. 401.
Equally, phrases of Statuit ei in the plainsong source include leaps of a minor third where the corresponding passages in GR move in smooth stepwise motion on the syllables pa(cis), te(stamentum), fe(cit). In the manuscript certain rising melodic phrases in the introit, gradual and Alleluia, avoid the B-flat pitch in such a way that the resulting melodic outline becomes A-c-A rather than the commonly edited A-B♭-A. The Alleluia in this mass has no resemblance to the one published in a collection of Alleluias, though it has the same text. 74

The Sequence Salve dies gloriosa is significant because its text outlines the most important events in the life of St Vigilius. 75 Here again, although the Trent Codices have a collection of Sequences, 76 it is surprising that they omit Salve dies gloriosa, especially in view of the fact that both its text and plainchant were available in Trent.

Appendix Xc and d transcribe vespers II and mass proper for the dedication of the church at Redon. Although the date for this feast is difficult to determine, the three additional Alleluias in the mass offer a clue. Their rubrics specify which Alleluia has to be sung if the feast falls between Easter and Ascension, Ascension and Pentecost, or within the octave of Pentecost. This feast must, therefore, have occurred some time between Easter and Pentecost.

75 AH, lxiv, p. 281.
76 There are groups of Sequences in
Tr87, ff. 73r-84r, gathering 7;
Tr93, ff. 201r-224v, gatherings 18, 19;
Tr91, ff. 155r-178v, gatherings 14, 15.
Appendix XI (p. 345) shows which of the plainchant settings for the feast of the dedication of the church have been set to polyphony. Most of these items have settings in Tr91.

The intonation of the Alleluia in Tr91, f. 139⁷, however, suggests that the composition may not necessarily be the Alleluia Ὕ Adorabo as stated in the thematic catalogue. The only clues for its identification are the incipit 'Alleluia' in all four voices and the directs indicating the beginning of the missing verse. Although the Alleluia also appears together with compositions for the dedication of the church, its intonation does not correspond with the one usually associated with the Alleluia Ὕ Adorabo.⁷⁷

Ngm 184575 concludes with a Marian mass (Appendix Xe, p. 336). All its movements are set to polyphony in the Trent Codices, except for the Alleluia with the verse Sancta Dei.

⁷⁷ LU, pp. 1251-52.
MS 184575 - Marian mass

**genre** | **item** | **GR** | **DTO nos.**
---|---|---|---
introit | Salve sancta | p. 403 | compare with: 469, 634, 674, 1500, 1663 (=851), 1664 (=852), 1665 (=853), 1233, 1236, 1337, 1406, 986, 934, 960, 961
 | Virgo Dei genitrix | none | none
 | Sentiant omnes | none | none
Gradual | Benedicta et venerabilis | p. 407 | 559, 1409
Alleluia | Virgo Dei | none | none
 | Virgo Yesse | p. 416 | 561
Sequence | Verbum bonum | none | 455, 1240
Offertory | Felix namque | p. 422 | 395, 562
Communion | Beata viscera | p. 423 | 396, 563; 1420

The complete Marian mass in Tr92/I by Libert has a different text for the Alleluia, Sequence and offertory as well as a different verse in the introit. It will be noticed that all intonations of the introit Salve sancta parens in the Trent Codices rise to a minor third, reaching the top note of the opening phrase before descending to the second syllable.

Likewise Ngm 184575 gives the pitches A-C-d-f-d but GR gives A-C-d-e-d. In this instance, it seems that the scribes of the Trent Codices preferred to copy the plainchant intonation with which they were familiar, rather than adopt certain variants from other uses.

77a The notes A-C-d-e-d of the intonations Salve, (sancta parens) appear in the following manuscripts at the British Library: MS Landsdowne 462, f.118 (a 14th-century gradual for Sarum use), Add. MS 10, 928, f.130f (a German gradual dating from the 14th or 15th century), and Add. MS 15, 119, f. 229 (a 15th-century Italian gradual).
It is important to consider the role of the suffragan bishops of Trent for their cultural achievements. In addition to performing their own duties, some of them also copied and commissioned liturgical manuscripts. The important contribution of the Franciscan friar Johannes, suffragan bishop under Bishop Alexander of Mazowia and Bishop Georg Hack have already been mentioned in connection with his breviary TRmp 1777. Going back further to the episcopate of Georg von Lichtenstein (1390-1419), the suffragan bishop Fra Vitale ('episcopus Ariensis') commissioned two volumes of the Ordo Pontificalis for his own use. Hermann described these manuscripts from the point of the art historian, placing emphasis on miniatures and initials without outlining their liturgical contents.

I have transcribed the main chapter headings prefixed to both volumes (Appendix XII, p. 346). The two volumes were copied in 1402 by Johannes de Bugella, a priest from the diocese of Vercelli. The three coats-of-arms, painted on the first recto of TRcap 154, are those of Fra Vitale, the principality of Trent and of Georg von Lichtenstein. Though an important source for the Tridentine liturgy, the Ordo Pontificalis does not reveal direct links with the Trent Codices. The list of duties carried out by Fra Vitale, when acting on behalf of Georg I, does not mention any musical activities (Appendix VII, p. 310).

79 TRcap 154 (olim TRmd 373) and TRcap 155 (olim TRmd 374).
11 RECORDS OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS IN TRENT

The present section will discuss two fifteenth-century records that mention liturgical manuscripts belonging to two important members of Trent Cathedral.

The first document is the testament of Johannes Lupi, chaplain of the altar of St Maxentia and organist of Trent Cathedral. With reference to archival documents, Lunelli has outlined Lupi's ecclesiastical career from the time he matriculated at the University of Vienna in 1428 until he died in 1467.82 Having been presented for investiture in the chapel of S Giacomo in Bolzano by Archduke Frederick of Austria on 25 May 1431, Lupi took up his new position in June of that year. The canons of Trent Cathedral granted him the parish of Caldaro in December 1447, after he had become chaplain to Archduke Sigismund of Austria and altarist of St Maxentia.

Lupi's testament, transcribed partially by Zanolini at the beginning of this century,83 was reported lost by Spilsted.84 Today it appears with other wills in the capsa dei testamenti in the Archivio capitolare.85 In his recent unpublished transcription, Leonardi

83 Zanolini, V.: 'Spigolature d'archivio', Programma del ginnasio vescovile di Trento per l'anno scolastico 1902-03 (Trent, 1903), pp. 40-42.
84 Spilsted, G.: 'Towards the genesis of the Trent Codices', p. 70, footnote 45.
85 Trent, Archivio capitolare, capsa dei testamenti unico documento cartaceo. The document measures 440mm x 315mm and has a scarcely visible watermark of a bull's head with eyes surmounted by a flower with six petals. Peter Wright succeeded in (contd)
points out that since the seal mentioned in Lupi's testament does not occur on the present document ('...ipsa manu mea conscripsi et hoc cum sigillo meo sigillavi et impressi'), it is most likely only a copy. In his Will, Lupi mentions by name not only members of the Cathedral chapter of Trent and his various musical instruments, but he also goes into detail about liturgical books. Lupi wrote that his three breviaries corresponded to the Use of Salzburg, Passau and the Roman Curia. He intended the first two books to be sold and their proceeds to be given to poor priests and the hospital at Bolzano; as for the Roman breviary, he bequeathed it to the Cathedral of Trent, where it was to be chained to a convenient place so that priests, who did not have their own books, could use it. It is now possible to suggest that Trent Cathedral may have followed the Use of the Roman Curia.

Lunelli argued that Lupi's six books containing measured music were the Trent Codices themselves but Federhofer did not agree for two reasons: first, because only six books were mentioned and not seven, and second that Lupi, being

identifying Johannes Lupi as the main scribe of Tr87 (ff. 1-218) and Tr92 (ff. 144-268), which he now calls 'MS A'. He recognised that the handwriting found in Lupi's Will coincided exactly with the main hand of MS A. Information from his unpublished paper, 'New light on the origins of the earliest Trent Codices', read on 25 July 1983, 11th Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music, Pembroke College, Oxford.

86 'Item lego et ordino breviarum meum secundum rubricam curie romane ut cum catena ligetur in choro Sancti Vigili ad locum aptum propter foreses et clericorum aliorum qui non habent proprios libros et qui nunquam amovetur'.

87 Lunelli, R.: La musica nel Trentino dal XV al XVII secolo, p. 20. He discusses the following clause in Lupi's Will: 'Lego et ordino ecclesie parochiali Beate Marie Virginis in Bolzano et hoc pro fabrica omnia cancionalia vel figuratos cantus quos habeo in omni potestate mea, qui sunt sex libri magni et parvi'.

an organist, would have needed organ tablatures similar to FZc 117. He also went on to say that Lupi was unlikely to have been a collector of manuscripts. In favour of Lunelli's theory, however, it is now possible to argue that the testament mentions only six books because the last Trent Codex was begun only c. 1468 after Lupi's death († 1467).

Whilst searching for additional new information relating to Johannes Lupi, I found only one document dating from 1400 which refers to a certain Johannes Vulp.\(^89\) He cannot be identified with the organist Johannes Volp because the date is too early. (Appendix XIII, p. 349).

The second record that refers to liturgical books is an annotation written in 1476 by Ambrosio Slaspekch who was secretary to Bishop Georg Hack from 1455 and canon of Trent Cathedral from 1457. In 1467 he not only succeeded Johannes Lupi as priest of the parish at Caldaro, but also became chaplain to Frederick III.\(^90\)

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89 Trent, Archivio di Stato, sezione latina, capsa xxvi, no. 20, document copied in 1400.
90 For archival references relating to the career of Ambrosio Slaspekch, see: Santifaller, L.: *Urkunden und Forschungen*, Urk. 480 (1 October 1455), Urk. 517 (15 April 1467), Urk. 522 (20 August 1467). Schneller, F.: 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bisthums Trient aus dem späteren Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums*, xl (1896), p. 46. According to the document in Trent, Archivio capitolare, capsa xxvi, no. 43/2, Slaspekch was given the parish of Caldaro on 5 April 1467 after Lupi's death.
Slaspekch's annotation describes the circumstances in which he acquired a manuscript, identifiable today with TRcap 127. 91

When the Cathedral chapter gave Slaspekch the book in 1473, it was in such bad condition that he had it restored together with two other missals. Slaspekch went on to explain that the restoration and binding were carried out by Johannes Mileti, a mendicant friar of the Carmelite Order. Little is known about Mileti, except that he came from France and that it was he who copied a manuscript recording the general constitutions for the Carmelite Order. 92

Records kept by almshouses occasionally give a general reference to music. One such book was kept by the prior Wolfail of S Maria di Campiglio in 1463, but it refers all too briefly to the singing and

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91 TRcap 127 (olim TRmd 463) Slaspekch wrote the following note in red ink on folio 'c':

Hic liber antiquissimus legendarum de Sanctis/ spectat Ecclesie Tridentine / sanctissimi patroni nostri beati Vigilii./ Qui, defuncto quondam domino Johanne Anhanng /Canonico prefate Ecclesie / de Anno domini 14470;/ repertus fuit in domo eiusdem, tunc optata per quondam dominum Johannem Strelitz, / dictum de Tenno, / qui presentem /librum / etiam ad vitam suam tennuit. / Quo defuncto de Anno domini 146III0;/ liber iste, octo annis /occultatus opera aliquorum, / ad lucem redit./
Et Anno domini 1473;/ de voluntate Capituli /Ecclesie prelibate;/ michi Ambrosio Slaspekch /Canonico Tridentino / totus laceratus et destructus / ad utendum et gaudendum ad vitam meam / consignatus fuit./
Quem quidem librum / una cum aliis duobus libris missalibus,/ prenominate Ecclesie Tridentine /spectantibus,/ meis expensis reformari et ligari /feci./
Anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo Sexto / Completum per religiosum virum fratrem /Johannem Mileti,/ Ordinis beate Marie de Monte /Carmeli,/ Decima Februaril 92.

92 GB-Ob Canon. Misc. 79, f. 66r: 'Scripta sunt hec per me fratrem Johannem Mileti de Francia ordinis carmelitarum dig quinta decima marci scilicet in die anno M-CCCCCLxxviii'. In civitate Tridentina'. Similar entries occur on ff. 74, 76 with corrections of the date. A description of the manuscript appears in an unpublished catalogue by S.J.P. Van Dijk: Handlist of the Latin liturgical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, iii, p. 248.
celebration of vespers. 93 Other similar records, disappointingly, do not mention music at all. 94 TRc 2024 (F 19), which tells us about the investiture of prebends granted by the Cathedral chapter of Trent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, also remains silent about local musical activity.

93 TRc 1104 (F 72), f. 19V.
94 TRc 1111 (F 72b), accounts book for S Maria di Giovo; TRc 2387 (F 42), accounts book kept by the Casa della Misericordia, Trent.
It has long been suggested that Christofferus Anthony and Ludovicus Krafft were local composers because their music survives only in the Trent Codices. Had this been the case, it is strange that neither of them set the poem Clerus istius venerandus to music, particularly in view of its local importance. Only its text, offering homage to Hinderbach, was copied on a folio that had otherwise been left blank. We need to bear in mind here that even though the vast repertory of the Trent Codices suggests an intense cultivation of polyphony over a long period of time, it does not follow that Trent itself was a centre of composition. This idea would explain why four other compositions were adapted to fit specific local occasions: Pour l'amour/Imperitante Octaviano, Hélas mon cueur/ Virtute cuius presideat, Advenisti/Lauda Sion and Advenisti desiderabilis. The text Imperitante Octaviano was added to an already existed composition, which gives the incipit Pour l'amour qui est en vous. Bishop George Hack is mentioned by name in a phrase ('Ob id laudes, inclitus presul Georgius soli Deo'), that is sung to seventeen notes with fermata. This composition is followed by another anonymous contra-

95 Three compositions are attributed to Christofferus Anthony: a Magnificat in Tr93, ff. 16r-17r (=Tr90, ff. 375v-376v), a hymn Ut,queant laxis/Gaudio summo celebriam in Tr90, f. 376v, a Sanctus in Tr90, ff. 432v-434r. Santifaller transcribed an archival document dating from 1468 that refers to a 'Cristoforus Antonii de Molveno'. Whether he is to be identified with the composer of that name is not certain. See Santifaller, L.: Urkunden und Forschungen, p. 371, Urk. 495.


97 Tr89, f. 199r.
98 Tr90, f. 463r.
99 Tr90, f. 464r.
100 Tr88, ff. 336v-337r.
101 Tr88, ff. 250v-251r.
factum, in which the added text invokes the help of St Vigilius. Bishop Hack is mentioned for the second time in Advenisti/Lauda Sion in the text 'Advenisti: venisti nostras, Georgi, optatus ad urbes'. The words Lauda Sion in the tenor suggest that the piece may originally have been associated with a Sequence for Corpus Christi before its adaptation. Since its intonation does not correspond with the one generally associated with the well-known Sequence Lauda Sion, it could therefore be the opening melody for 'Advenisti'.

The added text Advenit desiderabilis refers to an unnamed bishop of Trent, perhaps to Bishop Hack. Its lines are modelled on Advenisti desiderabilis, which is a widely-disseminated antiphon from the oldest layer of the Easter liturgy. Žak gives its scriptural derivation, liturgical context and mentions the practice of singing it to welcome the arrival of a ruler, who is symbolically regarded as a long-awaited liberator. This antiphon was sung not only in Trent but also in Heidelberg in 1414 at the reception of King Sigismund. In Tr88, it also has a trope Triumphat Dei filius.

Another composition, Heya, heya, nun wie sie grollen, has also been associated with political events. According to Adler and Koller, its text refers to the uprising in Trent of 1463, when the local population rebelled against Bishop Hack, thus forcing him to flee.

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102 Žak, S.: Musik als 'Ehr und Zier' im mittelalterlichen Reich (Neuss, 1979), pp. 187-89.
104 Tr89, f. 388v.
to Bolzano (Bozen), where he stayed for two years at Castel Roncolo (Schloss Runkelstein). The composition, however, is not unique to Trent since its melody and text occur in other sources. 105

It now becomes clear that the polyphonic compositions usually associated with Trent are additions or adaptations, and in the case of Heya, heyä, it is not even exclusive to Trent.

At this point, it is also important to note the absence of polyphony for St Hedwig, whose office was introduced by Bishop Alexander of Masowia. 106 Apart from St Vigilius and St Afra, 107 the other saints in the Trent Codices are venerated so widely that they cannot be considered for the problem of localisation.

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105 Adler and Koller observed that a textless arrangement of the song appears in I-Fn Magl.-XIX. 59, ff. 174v-175r.
See also Becherini, B.: Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze (Kassel, 1959), p. 27, no. 166.
R. Strohm thinks that the tenor of the polyphonic composition Heya, heyä is a late monodic song by Oswald von Wolkenstein. Its text and melody occur in another polyphonic setting in a fragment found in Linz.

107 There is a hymn to St Afra in Tr91, ff. 205v-206r.
15 GENERAL CONCLUSION

The present dissertation follows two independent lines of enquiry: first, the dating of the Trent Codices from a study of their watermarks and second, a review of the correlation between the Codices and local liturgical practice in Trent during the fifteenth century.

The results from the watermark investigation now make it possible to suggest new copying-dates for the musical repertory contained in the collection, and thus to determine the period when certain genres began to gain importance, such as the notable preponderance of introits appearing in Tr93 just after 1450. Bearing in mind that only one introit had been recorded in Tr87/I (c.1433-45), an immense cultivation of the genre must have taken place in the 1440s, during the years that elapsed between the production of the two volumes. At present, no satisfactory explanation has been offered for the sudden appreciation of the introit in Trent, a development that had not been particularly foreshadowed in the earlier Codices. Unless many sources of introits have been lost, we may speculate that certain liturgical decisions created a demand for them.

From the earlier to the later group of Codices, there is a definite progression towards more sophisticated organisation - that is, a movement that departed from the less distinct plan in the volumes copied during the 1430s and 1440s (Tr92/I, Tr92/II, Tr87/I and Tr87/II), to the more developed organisation found in the manuscripts copied between 1450 and 1480 (Tr93, Tr90, Tr88, Tr89 and Tr91).
It must however be remembered that the choice of material in all the Trent Codices was limited by the availability of compositions and by their problematic paths of transmission, and did not depend solely on the taste of the individual scribes.

Each Codex in the second group displays a particular trait. The well-defined structure governing the main corpus of Tr93 (where a concentration of mass music is accommodated according to introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Sequence, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei) suggests that the scribes already had most of their copying material at the outset, or else they simply knew which musical centres could supply them with the required polyphony.

Subsequent Codices reveal the following special features. The first half of Tr90 is unusual in having been copied from a continuous volume (Tr93) rather than from separate fascicles. In contrast to the lettered gatherings in Tr87/I, which can be arranged in any order without breaking the continuation of a piece, the succession of gatherings in the first twenty-four gatherings of Tr90 was largely determined at the very beginning.

Tr88 is remarkable for its long series of mass propers and Tr89 for its cycles of the mass ordinary. Tr91 continues the well-established preference for mass ordinary cycles as well as introducing a novel element, such as the provision of polyphonic settings for almost an entire feast, the dedication of the church.
If we consider the repertory of the Trent Codices in the light of local liturgical practice, there are good reasons for believing that it fulfils the essential requirements of neither the Cathedral of Trent, nor of any other church in the diocese, as outlined in Chapter III. If their repertory had been designed, rather than adapted, for local use, it would have been reasonable to expect newly-composed music for the mass and office of St Vigilius, local patron saint, to be found in the Codices. Furthermore, none of the texts that refer to Tridentine prince-bishops was set to new music, if set at all.

In an effort to establish the provenance of the Trent Codices using liturgical methods, the widely-accepted responsory and Alleluia tests were applied to the polyphonic repertory. The results proved negative because the responsories and Alleluias in the Codices did not coincide with the corresponding series which were characteristic of the diocese of Trent in the fifteenth century.

Finally, we must again emphasise three of the issues that fall outside the scope of the present study. It does not attempt a full paleographic analysis of the Trent Codices, nor an elaborate discussion of the musical style of the repertory, nor a wholesale study of the concordances with other manuscripts. These matters are considered only in so far as they illuminate the main thrust of the research. Though such a comprehensive approach will in the end prove essential, it would have extended the scope of this study far beyond the practical boundaries of a doctoral dissertation.

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