The Simple Polyphony of the Divine Office From the Time of The Great Schism

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Matthew Flynn

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ABSTRACT

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Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

by
Matthew Flynn

The Cividale liturgical manuscripts preserve notated examples of cantus planus binatim, two voiced polyphony progressing in rhythmic unison following a cantus firmus based on an established chant. Contrary to common theory that this repertoire can be distinguished from mensural polyphony along class and economic lines, evidence suggests that this repertoire reflects local musical practices unrelated to social hierarchy. The temporal development of the repertoire as represented by the Cividale manuscripts supports the theory that this was an oral repertoire that was potentially improvised, and as illustrated by quotations in Quem ethera et terra, drew upon established formulas embedded in the repertoire of its performers.

Cividale 57 additionally contains two polyphonic hymns, Letare felix civitas and Iste confessor, which were added to the manuscript after its original compilation. I transcribe and analyze these hymns with emphasis on Iste confessor, relative to the Dufay Hymn cycle. I trace the monophonic tradition of the different melodies to illustrate stylistic similarities between the versions and cantus planus binatim. Research into the history of the city of Cividale and its
primary liturgical feasts suggests that the hymn is in Cividale as part of the celebration of Vespers for either Saint Martin or Saint Donatus.

Concordances between CF57 and the Apt manuscript suggest a connection between Cividale and Avignon concurrent with the Schism. Liturgical rubrics, the hierarchy of clerks, and the Hymns of the Apt manuscript illustrate that there was an established tradition in Avignon for singing Office hymns resembling cantus planus binatim. Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome establishing a musical center in the tradition of Avignon. Pope Gregory the XII traveled to Cividale for the Council of 1407, providing evidence for a possible chronology for the Cividale version of Iste confessor relative to the Dufay Vespers cycle. The stylistic similarities between the Hymns of Avignon and the Office Responsories of Cividale indicate that there was an established central tradition for the singing of simple polyphony during the celebration of the Office during the Schism. This tradition was influenced by local musical traditions and local sacred celebrations.
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Chapter 1: The Performance of *Cantus Planus Binatim* and Local Traditions

Mensural polyphony appeared in Italy in the late thirteenth century and spread throughout northern and central Italy by the middle of the fourteenth century. This emerging *musica mensurabilis* shared characteristics with mensurally notated music in France: complex compositional technique, a connection with contemporary theoretical treatises and transmission in written form, and it was intended for a small group of social and intellectual elite.¹ Mensural polyphony was a localized development focused on urban centers and cathedrals such as Florence and Padua because they could afford to support and train the musicians in this learned style. The common opinion is that other churches of the country without the same economic advantages remained focused on the performance of monophonic chant, and a style of polyphony which has widely been considered to be a simpler version relative to the new mensural notation, known as *cantus planus binatim*. As this paper theorizes, evidence supports the idea that the practice of simple polyphony was widespread for the celebration of the divine office. This central tradition was influenced and altered by local traditions, as will be illustrated by the Cividale manuscripts, but performance practice and stylistic considerations link these local

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variations to a central tradition. This tradition was not unique to smaller churches on the economic fridges of Italy, but was widely practiced, even in artistic centers such as Rome and Avignon. This tradition has largely been undocumented. As a result of the improvisatory nature of the repertory, it predominantly existed as a memorized and oral tradition, frequently performed super librum.

There has been much recent scholarship comparing this non-mensural polyphony to the development of musica mensurabilis. Most of this research has focused on theories concerning the performance of the repertoire, identifying the manuscripts, and especially what it reveals about the history of oral transmission versus written transmission; but there has been very little written about the actual musical examples themselves. The first chapter of this study by analyzing the surviving versions of the Office Responsory Quem ethera et terra, sheds further light on this largely undocumented tradition, as well as questions the modern theories about the genre.

Common opinion differentiates between the art music of the late Middle Ages and the more commonly practiced simple repertoire as a “social and educational matter, dividing the repertory into… music for traditional monastic and clerical use and… music for centers of culture with a sophisticated musical training.”2 This separates the music into a learned style and a common style. The division between the two taxonomies is frequently less defined than this theory implies, partially as a result of the question regarding the performance of music in non-mensural notation. Musical notation of the late Middle Ages did not necessarily, and probably did not, denote a one-to-one relationship between what was written, and what was intended to be

heard or performed. Our knowledge of the performance practices of plainchant is not concrete enough to make the claim that music without rhythmic notation was intended to be performed without rhythm. As a result, the music of the late Middle Ages cannot be classified into two categories determined exclusively by the presence or absence of rhythmic notation. In order to better categorize the music, Bent further divides ‘simple polyphony’ into three subsections: Simple ‘art’ polyphony of the early Trecento and later, simplified adaptations of thirteenth-century motets, and finally the repertoire of *cantus planus binatim*. Bent subdivides her classification of “simple art polyphony” into pieces of Italian origin which are “indistinguishable from international repertory,” pieces of the early Trecento “in touch with the art repertory” but predating the high style of the Trecento, and finally “simple pieces of art origin related to the note-against-note style of the Apt mass settings.” As will be argued in chapter three of this thesis, a distinction between this final taxonomy and the simple polyphony of the *cantus planus binatim* repertoire is not entirely accurate, as stylistic similarities and manuscript concordances suggest a link between the two classifications.

*Cantus planus binatim* refers to a repertoire that is two-voiced, based on a *cantus firmus*, and set note-against-note. If mensural notation was practiced in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the logical question is why was it not utilized throughout the surviving examples of *cantus planus binatim*? The probable answer is that, unlike the ‘high art polyphony,’ the performance demands of *cantus planus binatim* did not require the specific

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3 Bent, 33.
4 Ibid., 35.
5 Ibid., 35.
denotations that mensural notation provided. In a repertoire that is almost exclusively note-against-note, rhythm is the aspect of the music that is least likely to be notationalised.\(^6\) The only surviving contemporary description of the repertoire was written by Prosdocimus of Padua in 1404. Gallo summarizes Prosdocimus’s definition: “That is, in the realization (perhaps by means of the application of given formulae), together with the liturgical melody, of a second voice which accompanied it, and following it in its free rhythm.”\(^7\) Prodocimus’s ‘free rhythm’ does not mean that the music was performed completely without rhythm, but rather that it was not fixed. Prodocimus speaks of note values attached to the performance of cantus planus binatim. If the repertoire was performed with note values which were not represented in the notation, the rhythm of cantus planus binatim must have been attached to the performance practice and the rhythm of the original chant.

The surviving manuscripts which contain this repertoire are distributed uniformly from the fourteenth century through to the sixteenth century.\(^8\) These sources indicate that the practice of the repertoire died out after the sixteenth century. Our knowledge of the surviving manuscripts comes primarily from the research of Alberto Gallo, which was summarized and cataloged in his article “The Practice of Cantus Planus Binatim.” The written sources that have survived represent the exception rather than the norm. The lack of written sources can be partially explained by the theory that this repertoire was an oral rather than a written one. As Gallo explains: “Given the nature of this type of composition, it is probable that it was as a rule

\(^6\) Ibid., 33.

\(^7\) Gallo, “The Practice of cantus planus binatim,” 14.

\(^8\) Ibid., 22.
entrusted to oral tradition, and that only by way of exception, in particular circumstances or to satisfy particular requirements, did it come to be written down in permanent form.”

Classifying these compositions as performance practice implies that the level of complexity was ‘simple’ enough to not necessitate the degree of premeditation associated with the high art compositions. This is especially true if the performance practice did not have a specific set of rules dictating how the polyphony should be performed. No such sources have survived. This theory will be questioned in the analysis of *Quem ethera et terra*.

The vast majority of the surviving manuscript examples are Italian. They are equally distributed from the east in Cividale to the west in Aosta, and from Bergamo in the north to Bologna. This would suggest that the performance of *cantus planus binatim* was widespread despite the scarcity of written evidence. Manuscripts are rarer further south in the Italian Peninsula. Many can be attached to the usage of specific religious orders, especially the Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, and Carmelites. Also notable is that Gallo draws a connection between the manuscripts, namely the graduals and antiphonaries, and the secular clergy of small Italian towns. This connection supports the hypothesis that this repertoire was used to supplement monophonic chant in the smaller churches of Italy, but does not exclude its use in larger churches. The greatest concentration of surviving examples was for proses and tropes of the *Benedicamus Domino*, followed by music for the Office and paraliturgical texts,

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9 Gallo, 14.

10 Ibid., 23.

11 Ibid., 14.

12 Ibid., 23.
and finally the intonations of the Mass are the rarest. In sum, we have only 36 sources for this repertoire. The following is a brief summary of the catalogue created by Gallo for the fourteenth century, including those that span the gap between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries:

I-AO17- Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore
I-A019- Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore
I-BV37- Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare
I-Bol- Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale
I-Nn26- Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale
GB-OL72- Oxford, Bodleian Library
I-Pc55- Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare
I-Pc56- Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare
I-PES01336- Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliverina
I-Toc73- Todi, Biblioteca Comunale
I-Tn4- Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale
I-CF41- Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
I-CF47- Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
I-CF56- Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
I-CF57- Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
I-CF58- Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
I-CF101- Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
I-CF102- Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

The manuscripts do not exclusively contain cantus planus binatim, but rather the polyphonic examples are generally the exceptions. The examples are surrounded primarily by monophonic chant, almost exclusively so in the Cividale manuscripts. The processionals from Padua contain a mix of non-mensural notation and early Trecento rhythmic notation. Some of the pieces which

\[\text{\footnotesize\(^{13}\) Leo Treitler, "Cantus planus binatim in Italy and the question of oral and written tradition in general," chap. in Polifonie Primitive in Friuli E in Europa, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Edizioni Torre D'Orf\textcircled{e}, 1989), 145.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize\(^{14}\) Gallo, 15-18.}\]
employ notation from the Italian Trecento are primarily note-against-note, but do not rely on any known chant for the *cantus firmus*. Strictly speaking this repertoire would be considered art music; in style, it more closely resembles *cantus planus binatim*.  

There is a clear distinction between the development of *cantus planus binatim* and *music mensurabilis*. Multiple theories have been created as potential explanations, most prominently by Kurt von Fischer and Alberto Gallo.  

Fischer puts forward complicated taxonomies which divide the polyphonic repertoire into six distinct genres, with two primary classifications separating the lesser sophisticated works in monastic chant books and *laudarii*, and the secular influenced compositions in manuscripts intended for trained singers. Fischer recognizes that the sacred music of the Trecento and Quattrocento is stylistically complex, as it frequently blends *antique* styles and new styles of music appearing side by side.  

He attributes this diversity to “different social conditions prevailing in, for example, monasteries, small churches, cathedrals and private chapels,” and proposes that “there is a close connection between environment and educational standard of singers, musicians and clerics.”  

Alberto Gallo also attributes the distinction to one of class and location, specifically economic and financial considerations based on location. In accord with Fischer, he argues that mensural music was intended for the elite of society, and was cultivated in areas of wealth and education, namely around the major cities.

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15 Bent, 39.

16 Kurt von Fischer, “The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento.”


17 Fischer, 149-150.

18 Ibid., 157.
which served as economic centers. Simple polyphony was removed from these centers, and was
purposed for liturgical practices in smaller churches. Fundamental to Fischer’s and Gallo’s
theory is a distinction between the sacred and secular spheres, and an artistic elevation of secular
music above the sacred repertoire.\textsuperscript{19} James Borders argues convincingly that this notion of a
higher degree of artistic cultivation in the secular sphere is unsupportable, and that there was in
fact a reciprocal relationship between the two spheres. He argues that the Church supported
composers of both sacred and secular music in the Trecento and Quattrocento. Through his case
study of the Veronese clergy, he documents that some of these musicians were secular clergy
while others were members of major orders and institutions, and all of these clerics were charged
with the daily chanting of the Offices and Mass:

\begin{quote}
The existence of a relatively uniform clerical institution within the late
medieval Italian Church makes the notion of an elite, whose role was limited
to the cultivation of only mensural music, unsupportable… Thus the stylistic
differences within the Italian sacred repertory were not directly linked to the
organization on the clergy. Rather, there were correlative to fundamental
economic and cultural differences among Italian cities or regions.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

The clerical structure which is the basis of the above argument would have been true for both
major cathedrals and small towns. Polyphony was largely the responsibility of clerics in minor
orders, who served both the church and the secular courts.\textsuperscript{21} In the later chapters of this thesis I
will argue in support of Borders’ theory. I will also propose that the Cividale Manuscripts
provide evidence for a strong central tradition of sacred polyphony in the Trecento centered on


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 232.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 245.
the celebration of the Office. The individual stylistic qualities of the local traditions are notable, but ultimately tied into a central practice of simple polyphony in the Office, and one that is separate from considerations of church hierarchy.

The largest group of manuscripts deriving from a single city comes from Cividale in northeast Italy. These manuscripts provide further evidence that simple polyphony was practiced next to traditional monophonic chant. Except for CF101 and CF102, the Cividale manuscripts are either antiphonaries or graduals. Contemporary manuscripts from Cividale such as CF63 and CF98, exhibit works by composers such as Philipoctus, Zacarius, and Antonio da Cividale. These latter manuscripts do not contain examples of *cantus planus binatim*, but they provide evidence for the coexistence of simple polyphony and art polyphony in Cividale in the late Italian Middle Ages.\(^{22}\) This fact is interesting considering the previously discussed theory regarding a separation between the high art of the cultural centers, and the simple polyphony of the other churches. They illustrate that the two repertoires coexisted, and that audiences would have been exposed to both. Alternatively, it is also possible that the categories derived by modern scholars that imply a hard distinction between the repertories was not relevant during the Middle Ages.

There has been markedly little research devoted to the analysis of the individual musical examples of *cantus planus binatim*. This is especially true of English-language studies. The few analyses that have been performed tend to concentrate on *Missus ab arce*, perhaps because of its prevalence in the surviving manuscripts.\(^{23}\) Two notable analyses were performed by Leo Treitler in his article “Cantus planus binatim” in Italy and the question of oral and written

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\(^{22}\) Bent, 40.

\(^{23}\) *Missus ab arce* has survived in the following manuscripts: I-CF41, I-CF47, I-CF56, and I-CF57.
tradition in general.” In this work, he examines the Missus ab arce as well as Verbum patris hodie while responding to the research produced by Alberto Gallo. He begins by examining the conjecture that cantus planus binatim was more a matter of performance practice than composition by arguing that this conclusion is partially based on a lack of written sources, and that there might have been a notated component to this repertoire that has either been lost or yet to be discovered:

…if we cling to the idea of lost sources, we must ultimately have in mind a tradition in which writing is an indispensable link in the chain of invention, transmission, performance, and reception. And there is a world of difference between such a tradition and one in which writing is the exception and only incidental to the process of transmission.

The problem of lost sources is a common theme in the study of Medieval and Renaissance music. It is a problem worth addressing in the study of a repertoire that is largely associated with performance practice such as cantus planus binatim, as it can have significant ramifications on the liturgical use of the repertoire, and the relationship of cantus planus binatim to the greater tradition of simple polyphony in Medieval Europe. The topic has been discussed at length and with fascinating results by Michael Cuthbert in his article “Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony From the Age of Schism.” He begins by establishing three classifications of lost Medieval music: the unwritten tradition that was possibly improvised and

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25 Treitler, 145.

transmitted orally, lost musical manuscripts which are only identified by library records or fragmentary sources, and finally the pieces that were at one time written down but have been lost to history.\textsuperscript{27} Cuthbert’s research is concerned largely with the last category, and supports the arguments presented by Leo Treitler as stated above.

Cuthbert attempts to quantify the percentage of Medieval sources that have survived and uses the works of Prodenzani and Sacchetti as case studies. He concludes that for music composed by professional composers of the later Trecento, about 67\% of the works have survived, a much higher percentage than is often associated with this time period. This figure is a summary, but the percentage is variable depending primarily on the number of concordances for a work and whether the piece was for a sacred or secular sphere. Scholars theorize that the rate of survival is much lower in genres that have few \textit{unica} than in the genres with more \textit{unica}.\textsuperscript{28}

\textit{Example 1.1.}\textsuperscript{29}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{No. of Sources} & \textbf{Cacce} & \textbf{Madrigals} & \textbf{Ballate} & \textbf{Liturgical} & \textbf{Non-Liturgical} \\
\hline
Eight & 3 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 \\
Seven & 1 & 3 & 1 & 1 & 1 \\
Six & 1 & 4 & 7 & 1 & 1 \\
Five & 1 & 15 & 9 & 3 & 3 \\
Four & 2 & 15 & 17 & 1 & 1 \\
Three & 2 & 21 & 47 & 5 & 5 \\
Two & 7 & 33 & 83 & 15 & 8 \\
One & 14 & 74 & 242 & 85 & 36 \\
\hline
Totals & 27 & 166 & 409 & 112 & 47 \\
\hline
\textbf{Unica \%} & 52\% & 45\% & 59\% & 76\% & 77\% \\
\hline
\textbf{Total Copies} & 53 & 393 & 732 & 169 & 61 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{27} Cuthbert, 40.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 43.

\textsuperscript{29} Cuthbert, 47.
As illustrated in Example 1.1, there is a higher percentage of *unica* works among the Latin songs, logically resulting in a lower survival rate for these works. Despite this conclusion, the number of lost works is still not as dismal as commonly thought. There are formulas, partially derived from those used to calculate the surviving sources of literature, which scholars have produced to predict the percentage of lost works.

*Example 1.2.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surviving</th>
<th>E &amp; T *</th>
<th>BBC and survival rate</th>
<th>Cuthbert and survival rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cacce</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 (78%)</td>
<td>4 (87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrigals</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>39 (81%)</td>
<td>10 (94%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballate</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>118 (78%)</td>
<td>98 (81%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liturgical Pieces</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>37 (75%)</td>
<td>78 (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Liturgical</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16 (75%)</td>
<td>58 (45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Works</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>217 (78%)</td>
<td>248 (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>761</strong></td>
<td><strong>363</strong></td>
<td><strong>217 (78%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>248 (75%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N.B., E & T is an estimate of the number of new pieces we would find if the size of the corpus were doubled. Thus, the overall survival rates cannot be calculated.*

Two of the most prominent formulas for predicting the percentage of works that have survived to our time were derived by Boneh, Boneh and Caron (BBC) and Michael Cuthbert. As seen in Example 1.2, these formulas predict a survival rate for liturgical pieces of the late Trecento of 75% and 59% respectively, far greater than generally assumed. From these statistics in combination with the scarcity of notated examples, we can conclude that the written example of *cantus planus binatim* are indeed the exception and that the standard Medieval practice was to

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30 Ibid., 47.
leave this tradition exclusively to an oral tradition. This evidence does not address the question of how widespread the practice of this repertoire was, which I will address later in this paper.

There has been very little work published analyzing and discussing the actual examples of *cantus planus binatim*, which is a vital undertaking in the attempt to understand the nature of the repertoire. Leo Treitler has conducted two noteworthy analyses which I will discuss, and follow with my own discussion of *Quem ethera et terra*. *Verbum patris hodie* survives in four manuscripts: I-Bol, D-Bds40592, A179, and I-Vnm145. Despite the fact that this piece is not in the Cividale repertoire, its inclusion here is merited based on its stylistic similarities to this repertory, and because the central arguments of Treitler’s analysis also holds true for the Cividale examples. The four manuscripts that contain *Verbum patris hodie* can be reduced to two different versions of the polyphony which “are not random manuscript variants, they represent a different musical intention.” Treitler draws two conclusions from his analysis as a whole: first, the importance of the role of melody in the explication and declamation of language; second, a greater degree of calculation and ‘through composition’ in one version over another. As we will see, this degree of calculation, namely prior calculation that cannot be exclusively associated with performance practice, will play a crucial role in my analysis of *Quem ethera et terra*. A further aspect of Treitler’s analysis that will become relevant in *Quem ethera et terra* concerns the diachronic evolution of a performance-based repertoire. Treitler breaches this topic by analyzing a fourteenth-century and a fifteenth-century edition of *Missus ab arce*. The polyphonic voice changes between the two centuries. As illustrated in Example 1.3, in the

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31 Treitler, 146.

32 Ibid., 146.
fourteenth-century manuscript, I-CF41, the added voice possesses no literal coherence of its own. It is a simple reflection of the cantus firmus through perfect intervals.\textsuperscript{33}

\textit{Example 1.3: CF41 14\textsuperscript{th} c. Missus ab arce}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example13.png}
\end{center}

It is not difficult to imagine this style of polyphony being performed in an improvisatory manner if one is intimately familiar with the cantus firmus melody. In the later version there are both imperfect and perfect consonances which liberates the second voice and results in its own linearity. This progression is, as Treitler describes, “parallel to a shift in the precepts of organum theory…”\textsuperscript{34} Also adding evidence to this temporal development is the fact that the version contained in I-CF56 from the fourteenth century is identical to I-CF41. It must be considered that the variations between the fourteenth and fifteenth century represents a change in aesthetic and cultural taste, which would be uniquely represented in an improvised repertoire. The fifteenth-century melody indicates a higher degree of prior conception and technical ability, such as the controlled use of dissonance, which is illustrated in Example 1.4.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 148.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 148.
It is more difficult to imagine a melody such as this as a product of an improvised performance. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that the melody once preconceived and standardized, was transmitted orally.

*Quem ethera et terra* is a trope for the Responsory *Verbum caro factum est.* It was likely intended for the celebration of Matins on Christmas. The work has been preserved in four of the Cividale manuscripts: the fourteenth-century antiphonary I-CF41, the fifteenth-century antiphonaries I-CF47 and I-CF57, and the fourteenth-century gradual I-CF56. The text for the work consists of two stanzas of five lines each, followed by two stanzas of three lines each, and a concluding couplet. The stanzas with an equal number of lines are set strophically. The only variations in the music of the corresponding sections comes as a direct result of the number of syllables of text which leads to the omission or addition of repetitions on a single pitch.

An analysis of this repertoire begins with an examination of the *cantus firmus.* In addition to serving as the structure of the polyphony, it is the original melody to which the so-called ‘improvised’ line was added. The *cantus firmus* is identical in all of the manuscripts. The range of the line is from C-e, with emphasis on the C-c octave. The final of the chant rests on G,
with repeated emphasis on the pitch C. The melody was obviously established, as it exists monophonically in at least twenty-five manuscripts dating from the tenth to the sixteenth century.

The *cantus firmus* is the only line that receives a text underlay in CF41 and CF56, both of which appear in score format. The notation of the polyphony in CF57 deserves a specific mention. Unlike the two fourteenth-century manuscripts, the version contained in this fifteenth-century codex is not in score format. Example 1.5 shows that the polyphonic voice is added to the same staff as the *cantus firmus* in a less defined hand in red ink.

*Example 1.5: CF57: Red ink in Quem ethera et terra*

![Example 1.5: CF57: Red ink in Quem ethera et terra](image)

It appears as if the original antiphonary was exclusively monophonic, and at a later date, the polyphony was added by a second hand to the original version. If this conjecture is true, it would have significant implications on the performance of this repertoire which will be elaborated on later.

The added melody is the same in the two fourteenth-century manuscripts and in CF57, but CF47 has recorded a different version of the polyphonic line which exhibits little resemblance to the more common melody. Both melodies cadence at the same points and are of a similar range, but the contours of the vocal lines are unique. The fact that two different melodies are represented in these manuscripts supports the hypothesis that *cantus planus binatim*
was a repertoire rooted in performance practice. Additionally, it leads to a more general conclusion about written notation in the Middle Ages that applies to musical genres beyond *cantus planus binatim*. Musical notation in the modern sense is viewed as a system that dictates future performances. There is a one-to-one relationship between what is written down, and what is intended to be played and heard in a performance. Alberto Gallo argues that this was not the case in medieval Europe:

…in early written sources for music of every category there is evidence that the notation was descriptive on an existing practice rather than prescription for a future one (that is yet another meaning of the notion that sources document a performance practice). The evidence is simply the sort of written transmission that shows that the object represented could not have been fixed, that what was represented was just one or another way or realizing a pattern.  

Notation, as described by Gallo, was not a tool to dictate performance, but rather a representation of performance. With this insight, one can conclude that the two melodies represented for *Quem ethera et terra* are representations of two different examples of the performance of *cantus planus binatim*.

Further analysis of the predominant melody does question Gallo’s insights and the accepted theories about *cantus planus binatim*. The fact that three manuscripts preserve the exact same melody across two centuries questions the notion of an improvised performance practice, and the idea that this repertoire was not influenced by written tradition. There are two possible explanations for the repeated occurrence of this melody. First, it is possible that the melody originated as an improvisation over the *cantus firmus*, and either because the melody was popular or because it was constantly performed in a single fashion, it became standardized. As a

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35 Gallo, 153.
result, it was converted into writing. The other option is a reversal of this scenario, where a popular performance was recorded in writing in the fourteenth century. It then became standardized, and was transmitted either by writing, or orally with complete fidelity to the original manuscript. Nino Pirrotta also draws attention to this issue:

> Once a piece had been accepted in the repertory of a chapter choir (…) it was rapidly memorized, so that the written version was soon reduced to the status of a symbol or a vague mnemonic aid, and oral tradition took over. This may also have been applied to the so-called improvisations, agreed upon just once (I would like very much to use the term “concertare”) and then repeated through fidelity, and lapses, of memory.\(^{36}\)

It is appropriate to redefine the term improvisation from the modern associations, to a term used synonymously with composition or musical compilation, either by an individual or by consensus. Also of note is the complete lack of ‘memory lapses’ represented in these manuscripts, this provides further evidence for the influence of a standardized melody.

The notation of CF57 as previously described is ambiguous. The added voice notated in red ink for the *cantus planus binatim* examples is the only example of colored notation in the polyphony of this manuscript. The coloration does not appear to have any metrical significance. One possible justification which supports the first of the above scenarios is that a popular performance became standardized and consequently associated with the monophonic *cantus firmus Quem ethera et terra*. As a result of this standardization, the polyphony was added to the original monophonic edition in the manuscript by a later scribe. This is supported by the notation of the descending three pitch neumes. The original scribe annotates this symbol with a breve followed by two semibreves, while the added red notation is annotated by three semibreves.

over the syllable prevalent. Also of note is that the spacing of the original black notation for the cantus planus binatim example is significantly more spaced out than the following monophonic respond. This is a result however of the melismatic nature of that respond. As is visible on the top of the folio containing the polyphony, the original scribe gave great care to the syllabic setting of the neumes. The beginning of the monophonic Verbum caro factum est exhibits a similar spacing to the polyphonic verse. The spacing of the trope is not evidence that the scribe intended to have room for the insertion of a polyphonic voice.

A more in-depth analysis of the more common melody further obscures the picture. This examination consists of two analyses. First, a look at the polyphony and the intervalllic content created by the additional voice; second, an examination of the added melody as its own entity. The polyphony is consistent with general observations about this repertoire: the range between the two voices is within an octave, there is frequent voice crossing, and the texture is almost entirely note-against-note. The polyphony is predominately based on perfect intervals, but the top voice clearly projects its own linear content. In this sense it more closely resembles Leo Treitler’s fifteenth-century analysis of Missus ab arce. The intervalllic content between the two voices breaks down as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interval:</th>
<th>Number of occurrences:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unison</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Fifth</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Third</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Third</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Second</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tritone (formed without ficta)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the above quantitative data shows, the polyphony is heavily reliant on perfect consonances. Parallel perfect intervals are common. The major dissonances of the second and the tritone all immediately resolve to either a unison or a fifth. Breaking down the polyphony to intervallic data as seen above, also proves that the polyphonic voice is not a pure reflection of the cantus firmus, and that the performer/composer of this melody seems to have been concerned with the independent linearity of the line.

Examining the ‘improvised’ line as its own entity reveals a highly significant detail that has either been overlooked or not discussed in the literature on cantus planus binatim. The added melody to Quem ethera et terra is not entirely original. The first nine pitches of the predominant melody are exactly the same as the first nine pitches of the Kyrie polifonico of CF56. This melodic cell can be traced back further. It originates from a Mass for doubles of the second class, specifically, from the Kyrie magnae Deus potentiae (LU 28). The same nine pitches of Quem ethera et terra construct the opening melisma of the Kyrie, this figure is repeated frequently in the Kyrie.

*Example 1.6: LU 28*
According to Solesmes, the Kyrie dates back to the thirteenth century, this indicates that it predates the cantus planus binatim manuscripts by a century. The length of the quoted passage that is shared by these three different instances and their proximity in CF56 makes their occurrence by sheer coincidence highly improbable despite their typical mode 8 trajectory. There must have been a shared line of influence between the genres.
The concurrence has significance for theories of *cantus planus binatim* in a broader sense. The quotation of a melody in another composition implies premeditation. A high degree of planning, artistic skill, and musical training is required to match two unique melodies in a way that results in an acceptable sequence of intervals. *Quem ethera et terra* in the fourteenth-century manuscripts was not an improvised melody, but rather a planned composition. It is true that this one example cannot be taken as evidence to change popular opinion about the repertoire as a whole, but it does at least suggest that it should be questioned, or that *Quem ethera et terra* represents a different tradition of performance and composition. It also must be considered that it is the uniqueness of the polyphony that resulted in *Quem ethera et terra* being recorded in multiple manuscripts and consequently surviving to modern times. If this is the case, it provides evidence for the written tradition which Treitler discussed, in addition to the commonly accepted theory about an oral repertoire. The most likely scenario is that *Quem ethera et terra* reflects the use of formulae as explained in Prodocimus’s definition

Music such as *Quem ethera et terra* blurs the distinction between high art music and the simple, practical polyphony of much of northern Italy. *Cantus planus binatim* is a more varied and more complex repertoire than is generally accepted. This does not mean that it was not primarily an oral repertoire, but that there was an element of preconception that could not have been the sole result of improvised performance practice. To fully understand this distinction, further analysis of the surviving musical examples is necessary, especially with regards to their temporal development and their use of common musical material.
Chapter 2: The Origins of Two Polyphonic Hymns in I-CF57

Cividale was a prominent ecclesiastical center during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Numerous liturgical manuscripts originate from this medieval city, most prolifically from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. While these manuscripts are predominately monophonic in nature, they do preserve a small amount of sacred polyphony which has been designated as part of the *cantus planus binatim* repertoire. Enigmatically, I-CF57 also preserves two examples of mensural polyphony. These two hymns, *Latare, felix civitas* and *Iste confessor*, were not part of the original manuscript, but were added to the collection at a later date. There is no traceable origin of the text or music for *Latare, felix civitas*. *Iste confessor*, however, is a relatively common text in the Medieval liturgy, and both corresponding texts and similar musical settings can be found in contemporary manuscripts. My goal in this chapter is to propose a possible origin for this hymn, and explain why it was added to the Cividale manuscript. This will include an analysis of the polyphony and the notation, an examination of the corresponding versions in other manuscripts, and an attempt to reconstruct the relevant history of the Cathedral in Cividale.

The antiphonary CF57 dates from the early to mid fifteenth century. *Latare, felix civitas* and *Iste confessor* are each notated by a unique scribe, different from each other and from the primary scribe of CF57. It also appears as if the contratenor of *Iste confessor* was recorded by a different hand than the outer voices. *Letare* has a traditional layout on the folio, with the discant

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37 Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 57. Fifteenth-Century Antiphonary.
and contratenor presented in two adjacent vertical columns. The tenor is notated horizontally across the entire width of the folio below the upper voices. It is also written by a much more refined hand than the casual paleography of *Iste confessor*. The voices of *Iste confessor* are recorded one after the other in the order of discant, tenor, contratenor. My transcriptions of these pieces into modern notation are included at the conclusion of this chapter.38

The distinguishing factor which separates these two hymns from the other polyphonic pieces of the manuscript is the use of mensuration. While the other polyphonic examples are simple note-against-note settings where the annotation of rhythm is unnecessary, these three-voiced hymns represent a slightly more complex relationship between the voices, necessitating the indication of rhythmic values. Both hymns are written in tempus imperfectus prolatio imperfecta, resulting in a modern transcription in either 2/4 or 4/4.

An attribution of origin is difficult based on evidence from the notation alone. *Iste confessor* does occasionally utilize a dot of division in the discantus, which seems redundant given the mensuration. This tool is characteristic of Italian notation of the Trecento, and its use here could possibly point to Italian origins for this hymn. *Latare, felix civitas*, however, is significantly more rhythmically complex, with syncopations often traversing the modern bar divisions. The dot of division is absent from this song. The active syncopated rhythms and notational style is more characteristic of French practices.39 As a result, it is not possible to isolate Italy as the origin of these pieces based solely on their appearance in the manuscript. In

38 Bryan Gillingham is responsible for the transcription of these hymns in his article “Medieval Polyphony in a Cividale Manuscript” *Canadian University Music Review*, 6 (1985): 248-251, and his solutions for problematic locations in the manuscript were helpful for my own transcriptions which are largely based on his originals.

the case of Letare, there appears to be written the letters ‘M-A-U-C-H’ in the margin of the manuscript, which could be an attribution for this piece. The writing is, however, difficult to decipher, allowing for numerous other possible permutations. Possible suggestions for composers include Machaut himself (albeit highly unlikely), Matteo da Perugia, Melchior de Brissia, or Prepositus Brixiensis. The simplistic nature of the polyphony and its enigmatic inclusion in this manuscript, when combined with the illegibility of the note, make any attribution to a specific composer highly speculative at best.

Polyphonic settings of Iste confessor can largely be classified under two taxonomies: those which are based on the musical settings of Guillaume Dufay, and those that originate in Italy and exhibit no resemblance to Dufay’s settings. This dual tradition is not unique to Iste confessor, but also holds true for other pieces in Dufay’s cycle of polyphonic pieces for Vespers, such as Sanctorum meritis and Jesu corona virginum. These two traditions result from the use of two different melodies of Iste confessor as the cantus firmus of the polyphonic settings. There are, however, Italian manuscripts which contain Dufay’s settings of these hymns. Most frequently represented in the sources is Jesu corona virginum, whereas Iste confessor and Sanctorum meritis are rarer. In Italy these pieces occur in manuscripts that contain almost all of Dufay’s cycle: Q15, ModB, and CS15. There are conflicting opinions on the origin of the

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40 Ibid., 247.


43 Ward, 184.

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Dufay cycle. Heinrich Besseler attributes it to the papal chapel before the year 1433.\textsuperscript{44} Thomas Ward cites the dual melodic tradition as providing contrary evidence to an Italian origin. Charles Hamm proposes that the cycle more likely originates from between 1433 and 1435, when Dufay was in Savoy and Cambrai.\textsuperscript{45}

An analysis of the Dufay setting of \textit{Iste confessor} in ModB and Tr92 will provide a basis of comparison for analyzing the Italian example in CF57, as well as exemplifying the different traditions of this hymn. Dufay used the following melody as the basis for his polyphonic setting:

\begin{example}
\begin{music}
\begin{musicnote}
\end{musicnote}
\end{music}
\end{example}

The hymn text consists of five stanzas, which are set strophically, and exhibits the typical verbal rhythm associated with liturgical hymns. To avoid redundancy, only the text of the first two stanzas is provided as an example, and will be referred to later during the discussion of the monophonic tradition of the hymn:

\begin{quote}
Iste confessor Domini sacratus,  
Festa plebs cujus celebrat per orbem,  
Hodie laetus meruit secreta  
Scandere caelie.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} Heinrich Besseler, "Dufay in Rome," \textit{Archiv für Musikwissenschaft}, 15 (1958): 2.


Sobrius, castus fuit et quietus,
Vita dum praesens vegetavit ejus
Corporis artus.\textsuperscript{47}

Dufay sets the text as a two-voice hymn with an optional third voice in faux bourdon. As is typical with a hymn, there is an alternation between the monophonic chant and polyphony. Verses one, three, and five are sung monophonically, while verses two and four are sung strophically to Dufay’s polyphonic setting.

The range from C-c, focus on the fourth e-a, and emphasis on the pitch c clearly supports the attribution of this chant to mode 4, Hypophrygian. The first phrase, “Iste confessor domini sacratus,” is especially interesting given the Hypophrygian setting, as it exhibits a mixture of Phrygian and Dorian characteristics. The line descends from a, and emphasizes the e-f half-step between the fifth and eleventh pitches over the text “Iste confessor domini sacratus.” The melody continues its descent and comes to a break in the text on the pitch d, emphasizing the a to d decent in the opening of the melody, which is characteristic of a Dorian, rather than Hypophrygian, melody. The shared recitation tone of A between Dorian and Hypophrygian makes this interplay possible. The second phrase commences with a leap of a fifth from d to a on the text “Festa,” before returning to a more characteristic Phrygian idiom when the melody rises to c then descends to cadence on e. The second line of the chant is unambiguously Hypophrygian.

Dufay emphasizes the modal ambiguity with his polyphonic setting. Dufay creates a cadential pause in m. 3 after the descent from a to e, establishing the Phrygian mode, which is

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, Appendix XXXI.
emphasized by both the F-E half-step in the discant and the parallel c-B half-step in the added third voice. This pause is reflected in the syntax of the verse after “prudens,” but this is the only verse of text that indicates such a break. The first major cadence, however, is a cadence on D in m. 6, emphasizing the overall descent of the first phrase from a to d.

Example 2.2:

The Dorian center is immediately weakened as Dufay has a Landini cadence on C three measures later. Again, this cadence is not indicated by the text in any verse. This cadence, and the silence which immediately follows, results in a bipartite structure to the polyphony. The cadences of the second section mirror the progression of the first with cadence points on E, D, and C in mm. 13, 17, and 20 respectively. The cadential pause of m. 3 is replaced by a full Phrygian cadence in measure 13, reinforcing the Phrygian centricity in the second part. This cadence is almost identical to the final Phrygian cadence of the piece. Besides this interplay between Phrygian and Dorian, the piece is relatively straightforward. The rhythm is basic, there

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48 Ibid, 69.
are no examples of prolonged imitation, and the third voice moves predominately in parallel fourths to the discantus.

The *Iste confessor* in CF57 is extremely simple, even when compared to the basic Dufay setting as analyzed above. The chant is set in the discantus, and as is quickly apparent, is different than the Dufay melody. The piece is unquestionably Mode 1, or D Dorian. The tenor has a limited range as it only climbs above the recitation tone (a) to b once in the piece. The chant melody has a range of G-g, but is plainly centered on the pitch d. There are no true cadences in the piece without the use of editorial accidentals, but these moments are exclusively on D or G. The discantus and tenor lines move in the same rhythm for the duration of the setting until the final cadential figure.

Of special interest in this setting, though, is the middle voice, which is the most rhythmically active of the three. A transcription of this piece is included in Example 2.3.
Example 2.3:

Iste confessor

Is - - - - te con - fes - sor, Do-mi-ni sa - cra - tus

fes - ta plebs cu - ius ce - la-brat per or - bem ho - di-e le -

Tu-tus me - ru - it se - cre - ta scan - de - re - ce - li.
It is my belief that this voice is unique to Cividale. Not only are there no concordances in contemporary manuscripts for this voice, but there is a tradition of *Iste confessor* being transmitted in a two-voice version, and of adding a third polyphonic voice which is unique to each geographical location. As previously discussed, the Dufay setting is two voiced with the option of a third voice singing faux bourdon. The Trent manuscripts contain the most settings of this hymn, five in total, including one in Trent 87 which possesses similar outer voices to CF57, but with a unique inner voice. Most significant is a concordance in the Apt manuscript of southern France, which contains the repertoire of Avignon, and is most likely an earlier source than CF57. It contains a version of *Iste confessor* that possesses identical outer voices to CF57, and a unique inner voice. This concordance not only provides evidence of a tradition of adding a third voice to this hymn, but also suggests a possible connection between Cividale and Avignon which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Based on the enigmatic inclusion of these hymns and the above analyses, there are two primary questions that arise: why did this two-part tradition between Dufay and Italy develop, and why were these hymns added to the monophonic chant manuscripts of Cividale? A possible solution for the first of these questions may be found in the monophonic tradition of *Iste confessor*.

A Confessor is an official title in the Catholic Church, such as a Doctor or a Martyr of the Church. The title of Confessor of the Church is bestowed upon a person who has proclaimed their faith during a period of great opposition or persecution, but who was not necessarily martyred. The *Liber Usualis* contains two celebrations devoted to a Confessor of the Church.

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49 Gillingham, 250.
The first is for a Confessor Bishop, and the second is for a Confessor not a Bishop. Celebrations for both the Mass and the Office are detailed in the Liber.

Hymns were a standard part of the celebration of the Office in the medieval Catholic church, as each of the individual hours were supposed to conclude with the singing of a hymn. Some of the most prominent hymns were centered specifically on the celebration of Vespers. The celebration for a Confessor Bishop as laid out in the Liber Usualis calls for the singing of Iste confessor to conclude second Vespers on the feast day of a given Confessor. This mode 8 hymn is located on LU 1177. Although centered on the pitch G rather than D as in Cividale, the melody of this chant is clearly related to the melody set in Cividale. Most striking is the exact quotation of the opening incipit of the chant in the discantus of CF57. The fifth relation between Mixolydian and Dorian preserves the exact sequence of intervals, despite the fact that the Liber’s version of Iste confessor is in Mode 8 and the Cividale version is in Mode 1. After this incipit, the Cividale setting fails to follow the monophonic version exactly, but it does preserve a strong resemblance, suggesting some level of influence throughout. For example, the leap of thirds on the text ‘Domini’ from the Liber are mirrored on the text ‘festa plebs’ in Cividale. The thirds and consequent descent on the text ‘Hac die laetus’ in the second phrase of LU 1177 are mirrored in the second part of Cividale on ‘hodie letus (laetus)’.

This last example brings up another mystery surrounding the Cividale hymn. The text for Iste confessor in CF57 is distinct from that of the Liber except for the opening incipit. The Liber’s text is as follows: ‘Iste confessor Domini, coelentes Quem pie laudant populi per orbem, Hac die laetus meruit supremos Laudis honores.’ Cividale, however, records the text: ‘Iste confessor, Domini sactratus festa plebs cuius celebrat per orbem hodie letus meruit secreta
scandereceli.’ The different texts are related and designed to celebrate the same feast, but vary significantly at the word level. Of note in the above example is the similarity of the two texts at the start of the second part: ‘Hac die laetus’ versus ‘hodie letus (laetus)’.

The *Liber Usualis* was famously compiled by the monks of Solemnes, but it is far from a comprehensive collection of chants for the Office. This is especially true for chants utilized in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is difficult to speculate about what specific melodies were in Cividale from the time of the manuscript, but it does suggest that a broader view of the monophonic tradition of *Iste confessor* is necessary. Guido Dreves was a Dominican who compiled an edition of Catholic hymns dating from the year 500 up until 1400, which overlaps with the origin of the Cividale manuscripts. While it is true that the hymn in question was added to the manuscript after its compilation, it is probable that it was used in practice before its inclusion in the manuscript, which would put it within Guido’s period of examination.

Guido Dreves’s collection includes numerous chant examples for *Iste confessor* spanning the gamut of church modes. Guido’s 39th hymn is a setting of *Iste confessor* with the same music as LU 1177, but Guido includes the text utilized by the polyphonic hymn in CF57 and by the Dufay settings.

Example 2.4: Guido 39

Guido’s collection proves that the example of *Iste confessor* in CF57 borrowed its melody from this monophonic setting.

These multiple monophonic settings also provide a possible origin for the melody utilized by Dufay. Guido’s hymn number forty has melodic similarities to Dufay’s setting. Each hymn opens with the same melodic figure beginning on A. Interestingly, the hymn which Guido recorded is a Mode 1 setting of the text. Consequently, the melody resembles Dufay’s setting even after the quotation, but loses the connection when the Dufay melody confirms the Mode 4 version.
This hymn has a concordance in the Liber Usualis as an alternative hymn on the feast of a Confessor. The Liber Usualis version preserves the text of LU 1177, but utilizes the music of Guido 40:

Example 2.7: LU 1179

While it is apparent that the melody that Dufay set is not entirely based on this version, the opening concordance, the Guido version with the mutual text, and the similarities in the Dorian section of the Dufay melody do suggest that this hymn recorded by Guido influenced Dufay’s melody.

Now that the two traditions of polyphonic settings of Iste confessor have been discussed and their manuscripts identified, Dufay’s setting and the Cividale setting have been analyzed,
and the monophonic tradition has been discussed, attention can be turned to the question of why this hymn was added to the Cividale manuscript. Research into this question is speculative as a result of the lack of available information about the history of the city itself. However, a portion of the relevant history of sacred sites can be reconstructed, which provides information on why this hymn is found in Cividale.

When identifying possible locations of origin for a given manuscript, scholars frequently turn to the specific feasts represented in the manuscript. A general example is if a manuscript contains numerous chants for the Marian devotion, the manuscript very likely was utilized in a cathedral or city dedicated to Mary. For the Cividale manuscript, the reverse of this method can be utilized. The manuscript is unquestionably from Cividale, so the question is if a connection can be found between Cividale and a Confessor of the Church, which would provide a likely explanation for why this hymn was practiced in Cividale.

I believe that there are two possible connections between a Confessor and Cividale. The first connection is through Saint Donatus of Arezzo. Saint Donatus is the patron saint of Cividale and was a bishop and martyr, but is also frequently referred to as a Confessor of the Church despite his martyrdom. As a result, the feast celebrating Saint Donatus would include the hymn for a Bishop Confessor, *Iste confessor*. It is, however, not verified as to when Saint Donatus was named the patron saint of the city. *Letare, felix civitas* also provides another connection to Saint Donatus. The city praised by the hymn is likely Cividale itself, so it is logical that it would be sung during a feast celebrating the patron saint of the city. The text is ambiguous beyond its praise for the city, but it does give praise to Saint Hermogenes in the third verse, who like Saint Donatus, was a Martyr of the Church:
O vir Dei Hermogens
Martyr sancte, pretiose,
Summi regis sceptra tenes
Congaudendo gloriose.

This focus on both the city and praise for a martyr ties this hymn to the celebration of the feast for the patron saint of Cividale, Saint Donatus.

Another possible connection of a Confessor to Cividale is through Saint Martin. The Liber Usualis clearly lays out the celebration for the feast of Saint Martin, the Second Vespers of which includes the singing of *Iste confessor*, LU 1177. As previously illustrated, there is a tradition of this chant also utilizing the text for the hymn in CF57, so connections between the hymn and Saint Martin are also plausible.

There is also a possible connection between Saint Martin and Cividale, although this is a little more difficult to establish. My theory is that the hymn did not originate from the Cathedral itself, but rather from a different church in the city. This would explain why the hymns were not part of the original Cividale manuscript, but were added at a later point. The city of Cividale is located at the intersections of the Fiume Natisone and an ancient Roman road. The Cathedral is located on this ancient road on the northern bank of the river. There is a bridge connecting the two sides of the city over the river, anecdotally referred to as the ‘Devil’s Bridge’, as a result of the legend surrounding its construction. On the southern bank of the river is another sacred site: a Lombard burial ground dating back to the sixth or seventh century. It is also common knowledge that the Lombards frequently buried their dead in sacred locations, often in or around Christian churches. It is possible that there was a Christian place of worship on this site dating back to ancient times. Today, there is a church on the southern bank dedicated to Saint Martin,
which is also the location for an annual feast and celebration dedicated to the Saint. The Church received a new façade in the seventeenth century, so it can be inferred that the church at least dates back to the early 1600s, and it is possible that this church was present at the time these two hymns were transferred to CF57.

Uncertainty surrounds the hymns *Letare, felix civitas* and *Iste confessor*, and no concrete attribution has been determined for either piece. The monophonic tradition of *Iste confessor* securely places it as part of the Office celebration for a Confessor of the Church. Polyphonic concordances suggest a link between the hymn and the Papal Court in Avignon. My theory that the third voice is unique to Cividale, proves Italian influence on the hymn represented in CF57. As a result, attribution to a single composer is difficult. Further study is necessary to attempt such an attribution, as it would require a definitive solution to the complex question of geographic origin. A possible solution to help limit this search is the question of liturgical purpose within Cividale, specifically regarding the celebrations of the feasts of Saint Donatus and of Saint Martin within the city.
Letare, felix Civitas

Let-a-re, fel-lix Ci-vi-

tas, di-ta mi-ro ma-ne-re, flo-res-cit ex
te pu-re-tas, dum sub-li-

-ris fu-ne-re. A-men.
Chapter 3: Avignon and Evidence for a Single Tradition

The two previously proposed dedications for the Hymns of Cividale 57, Saint Donatus and Saint Martin, explain the role of the hymns in Cividale, but in order to reconstruct their origin and to further investigate this simple polyphony, the proposed connection between Avignon and Cividale must be investigated. A series of events in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, which included the resignation of Pope Celestine and the violent confrontation in Anagni in 1303, lead to a collapse in the established system of administration in the Catholic Church. The consequent reorganization of the church in the fourteenth century was unique as it did not occur in the Papal States in Italy, but rather, was largely centered in the city of Avignon where the papacy took up residence until the early fifteenth century.

The city of Rome was the center of the ancient Mediterranean world and of early Christianity. The map of the Christian world shifted dramatically between the rise of the Franks in the eighth century and the Papal relocation in the fourteenth century. The rise of Islam in the eighth century and the collapse of Constantinople in 1261 greatly reduced the influence of the Church in the east, and Christendom saw a dramatic shift to Europe, establishing Avignon as the new geographical center of the religion. Avignon’s location in the Rhone Valley provided a natural connection between Italy and the northern countries. As an ideally located commercial center, Florentine merchant companies set up branches in Avignon as early as 1318.\(^{51}\) The Valley

connected Italy and the great centers of Christianity with Flanders, as well as the major political cities of London and Paris. Trade flourished between the northern countries and Italy both by land and by sea, including a primary land route connecting Avignon, Lyons, Venice (Cividale’s largest political neighbor), and Florence. The Rhone Valley marked the frontier of the Empire of France and the Holy Roman Empire, and could consequently carry trade between the two. Politically, the prominence of the Rhone Valley was strengthened by the location of the Papal Councils of 1245 and 1274 in Lyons. Avignon was ideally located to assume a role as a religious, commercial, and political hub in the fourteenth century. Because of the city’s centrality, correspondence between Avignon and northern Italy was easy, quick, and constant, which is concretely illustrated by Pope John XXII’s ability to send a messenger to Venice in only thirteen days.

In order to analyze what role polyphony played in the Papal Chapel, we most briefly discuss the structure of the papal hierarchy in Avignon and Rome in the fourteenth century to examine who maintained the responsibility and the capability for the performance of polyphony, and when these clerks would have participated in the celebration of the liturgy. The first record of chaplains singing in the papal rites in Rome date back to the twelfth century. These chaplains were distinct from the Schola Cantorum and were primarily responsible for the Divine Office including Matins and Vespers on Christmas. The designation of the Office to the papal singers is a precedent that continues over the next few centuries.

52 Ibid., 35.
53 Ibid., 35-36.
The most important aids to the pope in the late Middle Ages were “high ecclesiastics drawn from the innermost circle of attendants.” Records indicate that by the late thirteenth century, there was the first distinction between these high-ranking officials and a college of lesser clerks whose responsibilities were specifically liturgical. These officials were referred to as the capellani pape. We can conclude that at this time there was an established group of clerks in the Papal Chapel who were entrusted with the responsibility of performing the tasks of the Mass and the divine office. This group of clerks was not high-ranking ecclesiastics, but lower ranking clergy. It is this chapel that would provide the music for the service.

The papal chapel was reorganized in 1334 under the third Avignon Pope, Benedict XII. While this event appears not to have dramatically affected the structure of the capellani, it did establish a new chapel of twelve members referred to as the capellani capelle. Thirteen years after the first mention of this chapel there is record of a subdivision within the capellani distinguishing between the capellani et cantores capellae intrinsecæ. This apparent division distinguishes those papal servers in both liturgical and non-liturgical spheres, and others who were recruited based on their ability to sing for the Papal Chapel. The fact that this specific subdivision was responsible for providing the music for the papal chapel in the fourteenth

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55 Ibid., 47.

56 Ibid., 49.


58 Tomasello, 55
century is unquestionable. It is also this group of clerks that would have had the musical training necessary for polyphonic performance.

The papal masses in Avignon can be divided into three categories: Low Mass, Solemn Pontifical Mass, and the missa coram papa, where the service was attended by the Pope but he was not the celebrant. Precise references to the cantores taking part in the Mass in Avignon are rare, with the first references appearing in ceremonials from 1377. But from the evidence that has survived in the ceremonials, their role can be reconstructed. Major feasts required music performed by the cantores, including for example, Holy Thursday where they performed the Introit, Tract, and the Eripe me domine, the antiphons during the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, and the Easter Vigil coram papa. Despite the scarcity of documented evidence, based on the role of the Schola in Rome and the references we do have, it is fair to conclude that the cantores were responsible for the Proper components of the Mass, and might have been the sole performers of these components in the missa coram papa.59 Further evidence originates from the Easter Virgil, where the Alleluia was intoned by the subdeacon, but the verse was performed solemniter by duo cantores.60

While polyphonic settings of mass movements have survived, with the exception of Apt 16, almost no polyphonic music from the Office in Avignon has been preserved. Evidence does suggest that there was a tradition of polyphonic performance during the Office despite the scarcity of written examples. The ceremonials indicate that the clerks who were responsible for the singing of polyphony during the Mass were present and participants during the Office, even

59 Ibid., 109.
60 Ibid., 109.
holding the primary responsibility for the practice of the Office hours on major feasts. As I will illustrate, the polyphony in the office of Avignon was largely of an improvised nature, and would be stylistically similar to *cantus planus binatim*. This music was not recorded in writing and did not assume a significant representation in the ceremonials because its practice was taken for granted by its practitioners, therefore not warranting notation or mention.

The lesser canonical hours were rarely attended by the Pope and were not the responsibility of the *cantores*. The major liturgical feasts were exceptions to this rule. Lauds on Holy Thursday, for example, was attended by the Pope who began the *Miserere Mei*, which was then finished by the singing of the psalm by the *cantores*. In contrast to the smaller hours, the Offices of Matins and Vespers were the “exclusive domain of the college of papal singers”. The primary resources for reconstructing the role of the singers in these services are the ceremonials of the *capelle pape*. Especially important is a ceremonial recorded by Francois de Conzie. Conzie served stints as the bishop of Grenoble, archbishop of Arles, and of Narbonne, and became chamberlain of Clement VII in 1383. He served the popes of Avignon until 1409, and the popes of Pisa until 1415. Eventually he served in Rome under both Martin V and Eugene IV. It is to his accounts that we owe our knowledge of many of the specific details of these services.

The major hours of Matins and Vespers were the primary responsibility of the papal singers in Avignon. This included the hymns, which could have been spoken, sung by choir in

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61 Ibid., 110.

62 Ibid., 112.

plainchant, or performed polyphonically, with the manner of performance likely dependent on the liturgical rank of the feast. Polyphony would have been performed on solemn days with the pope in curiam at least until the end of the reign of Eugene IV.64 Notable for the previously discussed Cividale Responsory, Quem ethera et terra, and the Hymns, the celebration of Matins for Christmas as laid out in the reforms of 1334 and the description from Conzie, the Pope intoned the Domine labia mea aperies but then the cantores executed and sung the Invitatory, Venite exultemus, and the Hymn Jesu redemptor omnium. The presence of polyphony was likely. The readings for these services are carefully assigned, but the Responsories were at the discretion of the cantores and the magister; the assignments of the incipits were also at the discretion of the magister. Frequently in Avignon, the pope would celebrate first Vespers on important feast days, but second Vespers would be celebrated exclusively by the cantores, coram papa.65 This was the case for Benedict XIII and the last Avignon Popes: “The heavy reliance on the cantores for the celebration of Vespers… implies that such liturgical ceremonies were among the most musically sophisticated displays witnessed by the popes in their chapel.”66

The most solemn of these offices were, however, intoned by the Pope, including the celebration of Vespers on Christmas. The format for the intonation of each antiphon is carefully laid out for this service, involving the eldest cardinal deacon, the eldest cardinal bishop, the senior cardinal priest, and the pontiff himself. Solidified by the rubrics is the distinction between the role of upper clergy and the cantores. The higher clergy simply read the texts which were

64 Michael Phelps, "Du Fay’s Hymn Cycle and Papal Liturgy During the Pontificate of Eugene IV," Musica Disciplina, 54 (2009), 84-85.

65 Tomasello, 112.

66 Ibid., 115.
then responded to by the *cantores*. This distinction supports Borders’s original theory about musical responsibility residing in the lower ranks of the clergy at a given chapel. Similar to the celebration of Matins, the specific Responsories and hymns for Vespers and their formats are not as carefully delineated as the antiphons for the Office, and were most likely assigned to either the *cantores* or to acolytes who participated in the service. The *Benedicamus domino*, for which the largest repertoire of *cantus planus binatim* has been preserved, was most likely executed by two acolytes, potentially in polyphony. During the Christmas Vigil, the pope began the hour with the *Deus in adiutorium*, as well as by intoning the first antiphon, the antiphon *ad Magnificat*, and finally he intoned the Hymn. At the conclusion of the hour the ceremonial announces that *duo acoliti... dicut Benedicamus domino*. The Christmas service itself concluded with *duo de capellanis capelle dicunt: Benedicamus*.\(^{67}\) While the rubrics do not specifically mention polyphony, the performance of a standard text by two equal voices is the kind of scenario that would be embellished with simple polyphony.

The flexibility with which the musical aspects of these services were executed, frequently by trained singers such as the *cantores*, who were responsible for the music of other services in the church, resulted in the opportunity for the inclusion of an improvised version of simple polyphony which has largely not been preserved. This style of polyphonic performance used to elaborate a musical line on established texts as a type of musical trope, is the nature of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy. The services which most likely included polyphony were those which depended heavily on the papal singers, including the *missa coram papa* and the Office of Vespers.

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\(^{67}\) Ibid., 113.
where the *cantores* were the principal officiates. While collections of polyphonic mass ordinaries exist, music from the office in Avignon is rare. In the absence of such written settings, we must provisionally conclude that the bulk of whatever liturgical polyphony was performed at the canonical hours was improvised on plainchant and that this state of affairs was taken for granted by compilers of the ceremonials. The examples that were recorded are exclusively contained in Apt, ms. 16. Andrew Tomasello also theorizes that the hymns were performed *super librum* by the papal singers in Avignon, an improvised polyphonic line above a standard melody; the style of music contained in the Apt manuscript validates this claim. It also speaks to the uniqueness of having the practice notated in Apt, a similar situation to Cividale, and the exclusivity of the Apt examples cannot be taken as evidence for how common this practice was in the Papal Chapel.

The city of Apt in southern France was within the archdioceses of Avignon. Two manuscripts containing polyphonic music originate from the city: Apt ms. 9 and Apt ms. 16, the second of which is most relevant for this study. In this manuscript is a collection of polyphonic mass ordinaries, hymns, and motets, providing a picture of the repertoire of the papal chapel in Avignon. The collection of polyphonic office hymns for Avignon is the only one of its kind, and all but two of the 48 pieces are unique to the manuscript. The hymns were entered into Gathering II to fill what was otherwise empty space in the manuscript, a similar situation to CF57. The first pieces notated in this gathering were most likely Apt 11 and Apt 12, a Kyrie and

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68 Ibid., 116.

a Gloria, on folios 9v and 10-11 respectively. Apt 21, 22, 23, and 24 were recorded on the conjugate folios of the gathering, 15v-16, and are the polyphonic hymns Ave maris stella, Jesu coronum virgínnum, Deus tuorum, and ultimately the hymn Iste confessor for the Common of a Confessor. Feasts that enjoyed particular devotion in Apt were for Saint Castor, Saint Auspice, and most importantly Saint Marcian Confessor of the Church, connecting the prominence of the Common of a Confessor in Apt with Cividale. Iste confessor appears in the Apt manuscript as a two-voice concordance to Cividale 57. Despite the rhythmic notation in Apt ms. 16, the style of the polyphony emulates that of the simple polyphony of Cividale, with two equal voices progressing in rhythmic unison. From the improvised practice of polyphonic hymns in Avignon, and their stylistic relationship to the simple polyphony of Cividale, we can concretely conclude that the practice of simple polyphony was not restricted to the economic fringes of Christendom, as proposed by Alberto Gallo and Kurt von Fischer in the first chapter of this study, but was widely practiced even in artistic centers such as Avignon. This suggests a central tradition for the practice of simple polyphony in the liturgy of the Late Middle Ages, which will be discussed in the subsequent pages.

Avignon was the center of Christendom in the fourteenth century. The city emerged as a trade center connecting northern Europe to Italy, facilitating correspondence between northern Italy and Avignon. A strong tradition of polyphonic music in the papal court in Avignon centered on the services coram papa and the major office hours, placing significant responsibility on the

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The Avignon Pope Urban V failed to return the papacy to Rome in the 1360s. The Roman papacy was not reestablished, although not uncontested, until Gregory XI in 1377. Gregory XI moved to Rome and not only reestablished the administrative structure, but moved the papal singers to Italy, which “signals the first continued presence of northern musicians in Italy in the period between the death of Guillaume de Machaut and the early career of Guillaume Du Fay.” Giuliano di Bacco and John Nádas have successfully compiled a list of the singers who accompanied Gregory XI on this relocation. During the period of 1376-1379 Nádas and Bacco found record of the presence of thirteen singers in Gregory’s chapel who previously enjoyed ‘long distinguished careers as musicians at the Avignonese court.’ In addition to the migration of musicians from the northern countries to Italy, the establishment of this musical chapel in Rome increased the number of local musicians becoming trained professional singers. Although none of the singers included in the list provided by Nádas and Bacco originate from Cividale, it is evidence of an increase in the influence of the papal court in Italy. The papal curia in Rome, in contrast to other centers, was not a fixed establishment, but rather moved freely with its chapel musicians throughout the peninsula and later into northern Italy. The influence of this Italian musical center established in large part by Avignonese musical tradition has dramatic implications for the state of Italian music in the early fifteenth century:

This increased movement of personnel and distinctive musical/cultural

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73 Ibid., 45.

74 Di Bacco and Nádas, 46.

75 Ibid., 47.
tastes associated with the four centers served to bring about an ‘internationalization’ of musical styles and repertories within the Italian peninsula itself. It is not an overstatement to claim that in the decades surrounding the year 1400 we may point to the heretofore unrecognized creation of a new musical world in and around Rome, in which it should be possible to witness the absorption of imported repertoires that at once contrast and go hand in hand with what we know to have taken place at the other centers.  

This provides further evidence of a connection between the musical traditions of Avignon and northern Italy, which is manifest by the concordance in the Apt manuscript and in CF57. While it may not be accurate to associate Cividale with one of the ‘centers,’ the concordance does suggest a shared line of influence, similar to the situation described above.

Notated settings of the Mass ordinaries are not rare, contrasting with the office Responsories and hymns, which were largely not recorded, as their performance was taken for granted, thereby making *Iste confessor* and its adjacent hymns in Apt an exception. The polyphony of Cividale appears to mirror this relationship between polyphony and the liturgical service. The concordance of the hymn in each city provides evidence for a connection between the services in Cividale and Avignon, and suggests that the musical practice in Cividale was not as isolated as previously thought, and that the *cantus planus binatim* of the city is rather part of a larger tradition of simple polyphony taken for granted during the celebration of the Divine Office.

With this connection between the hymns of northern Italy and the papal court of Avignon, it is worth returning to the possible origins of the Dufay cycle and his setting of *Iste confessor*. More scholarship has been devoted to this cycle recently by Alejandro Planchart, who concludes:

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76 Ibid., 48.
“the fact that the hymns are a cycle for the entire year suggests to me that they were intended for the papal chapel rather than for a princely court, where not all vespers were celebrated with the same consistency.”

Planchart believes that the Italian melodies set by Dufay were in practice during the reign of Pope Martin V, and hypothesizes that the three melodies without a traceable Italian origin, *Iste confessor*, *Sanctorum meritis*, and *Jesu corona virginum*, originated in the chapel of Pope Martin V. A record dated September 7, 1428 has survived for the production of a manual for a book of hymns for the chapel of Martin V. This is the only such record from Martin’s time.

Phelps then suggests:

> Perhaps the exemplar for this papal manual contained the same hymn chants later treated polyphonically by Du Fay, who happened to enter papal service just as the book of hymns was compiled, in the fall of 1428.

> I believe that the hymn chants set by Du Fay likely originated in the vespers tradition current at Avignonese court and were later brought to the Council of Constance by former members of Benedict XIII’s curia. In fact, the manuals of Martin’s Avignonese predecessors were, literally, hand-delivered to him by the former magister caeremoniarum of that same pope, Benedict XIII.

We have already established the musical style of the Avignon simple polyphony to most likely be similar to the practice of northern Italy represented by the Cividale manuscripts. Given the strong connection between Avignon and northern Italy, musically speaking, an attribution to the Avignonese court is valid.

The Hymns of CF57 provide evidence for the arguments put forth by Alejandro Planchart and Michael Phelps. ModB and Q15 are irrefutable evidence that compilers actively sought out


78 Ibid., 116

79 Phelps, 89.
Office hymns in Italian manuscripts after the Great Schism. The three hymns of non-Italian origin in Dufay’s cycle, including *Iste confessor*, were already established in the papal chapel by the time Dufay entered Martin’s service in 1428, after the compilation of Apt 16 bis. The inclusion of *Iste confessor* in Cividale and other manuscripts including Trent is evidence of a central tradition and a single line of influence for the practice of hymns at Vespers, but a tradition that was still largely undocumented. The Dufay version of *Iste confessor* originated from this time of compilation after the Schism and likely from the papal chapel of Pope Martin V in Rome. As previously shown during the discussion of the monophonic version of these chants, the presence of one melody does not imply the exclusion of the other, not limiting the practice of the Chapel to this single hymn. Despite the existence of multiple versions of the hymn, they reflect a similar style of performance. This tradition was not entirely a localized development, but was rather a single tradition with influence stretching from Avignon into northern Italy. The local churches altered the original version as to fit their specific service or taste, as illustrated by the tradition of adding a third voice to the original in *Iste confessor*, but while maintaining a strong connection to the original style. Additionally, this tradition provides further evidence for the localized celebration of Saint Martin in Cividale.

This manner of polyphonic performance appears not to have been unique to the hymns, but also applied to the Office responsories for appropriate occasions. This is supported by the fact that the majority of the large hours were celebrated by the *cantores*, opening the door for the inclusion of polyphony for multiple movements, as well as the striking stylistic similarities between *Iste confessor*, especially in the Apt and Cividale manuscripts, and the polyphonic

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80 Ibid., 90.
Office responsories. The dominant feature of these responsories is the structure of two melodic voices progressing in rhythmic unison with one based on an established chant melody. While the notated Responsories lack rhythmic indications in the manuscript, this does not mean that they were performed without rhythm, as rhythm was the least likely of this musical language to be notated. Prodocimus refers only to the fact that the added voice followed the ‘free rhythm’ of the cantus, most likely relying on the accepted practices of the time for the performance of plainchant: performance in rhythmic unison but with clear rhythmic intentions in an identical manner to the hymn repertoire. The widespread hymn tradition supports that this was indeed the case. Also, the means of performance practice dictated in CF57 for Quem ethera et terra with its alternation between monophonic melodies and polyphonic elaborations on these melodies mirrors that of the Hymns, further linking the two genres. The links between the Hymns and the Responsories, and the connection between the papal chapel in Avignon and the repertoire of northern Italy provide evidence for a single tradition of polyphonic performance for the celebration of the Office in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The great interest in the hymn in the early fifteenth-century Italy influenced Dufay's creation of the first complete polyphonic setting for Vespers. Tom Ward also puts forward the hypothesis that “the [hymn] text used for Vespers of each feast is a matter of tradition, as is the melody used with each text.” The tradition as a result “is rather uniform in Italy in the fifteenth century,” and that uniformity in the monophonic tradition “tends to support the existence of a

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81 As previously mentioned, the Dufay version of this hymn shares many characteristics with this style as well. It begins with this homophonic texture, but becomes slightly more rhythmically complex as the hymn progresses.
central tradition.” This tradition continued in the polyphonic settings and manifested and developed in distinct ways as visible through the improvised added melodies in the responsories of Cividale, but the realization of these texts through simple polyphony, often improvised above an established chant, was well established from Italy to Avignon.

A final body of evidence that sheds some light on the liturgical polyphonic music of Cividale and supports the hypothesis that the version of *Iste confessor* in CF57 originates from the papal court in Avignon and predates the Dufay hymn cycle, comes from the study of the contemporary composer Antonius dictum Zacharius. Zacharius was one of the key musical figures that emerged after the reestablishment of the papacy in Rome after 1377. Zacharius served as a singer and scribe in the papal chapel perhaps as early as Pope Urban VI, and resided in Rome until he left with Pope Gregory XII to go north in 1407. There is evidence that many of his most prominent pieces were written in Rome, including his Gloria ‘Mcinella’ which exhibits a distinct style of notated simple polyphony at its opening, a style related to the Cividale and Apt hymns. The opening of this Gloria in its homophonic, two-voiced rhythmic texture is of note to this discussion, and is a ‘trademark’ of Zacharius’s style. The only break to the opening homophonic texture is on the syncopated rhythmic figure in the tenor on the syllables ter- and vo-lu-ta-tis. This figure is typical of simple mensural polyphony, and occurs twice in the added voice of *Iste confessor* in CF57. This ‘rhythmicized, homophonic’ simple polyphony is

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83 Bacco and Nádas, 56.

reminiscent of *cantus planus binatim*, and supplies evidence for the presence and inclusion of simple polyphony in Rome during Zachara’s residency.

*Example 3.1: Zachara’s Gloria “Micinella”*\(^{85}\)

The later years of Zacharius’s career were spent traveling with Pope Gregory XII’s curia throughout Tuscany and Umbria. This campaign included the Council of Cividale in June-September 1409, held in competition with the contemporary rival council in France. The manuscripts CF 63 and CF 98 contain securely linked compositions to the papal expedition. They contain polyphonic mass settings that utilize this trademarked divisi technique, including compositions by Zacharius. This technique only appears to have been utilized by Zacharius and those composers in his circle: “It would appear to be a technique or style that could have been

\(^{85}\) Ibid., 54.
invented by him, or at least adapted from improvised performance practice and a similar but
simple two-voiced notated style in some earlier and contemporary Italian sources.” Based on
the evidence in this study, the second of the above scenarios seems to be the most plausible.
Given that a style of improvised polyphonic music was in practice in Avignon and Rome after
the reestablishment of the papacy in 1377, it is likely that Zacharius, a papal singer, would be
well acquainted with this style. The influence is seen in his music and leads to the inclusion of
composed passages of simple polyphony.

Reinhard Strohm has devoted significant research to the Cividale manuscripts containing
the repertoire from Pope Gregory XII’s expedition north. He agrees with the theory that the
pieces of CF 63 and CF 98 were brought north with the papal curia for the Council of Cividale in
1409, and adds further support to this claim by drawing attention to the fact that the pieces by
Zacharius in Cividale are *unica*, strengthening the “hypothesis that the codex originated for the
chapel of Gregory XII around or after the time when these two musicians were its members.”
He singles out three works in Cividale: a credo by Zacharius because of the divisi style at its
openings as previously discussed, and two Glorias by Rentius. These Glorias are more artistic,
as in they exhibit a higher compositional technique, and utilize a non-mass *cantus firmus* which
was a ‘novel device’ at the time. The only contemporary evidence of this practice occurring

86 Bacco and Nadas, 81.

87 Reinhard Strohm, "Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale?," A Late Medieval Songbook and
its Context: New Perspectives n the Chantilly Codex, ed. Anne Stone and Yolanda Plumey (Turnhout: Brepols,
2010).

88 Ibid., 236.

89 Ibid., 236.
elsewhere can be found in manuscripts from Ghent and Apt, strengthening my theory about a connection between the music of Cividale and Avignon.

From this body of evidence I can propose a chronology for the polyphony of CF57. The hymn *Iste confessor* originated in Avignon before the Schism. This is supported both by stylistic features and concordances in contemporary manuscripts. The hymn was then transmitted to Italy during the Schism, at least by the time that Gregory XI and the curia from Avignon returned to the See of Saint Peter. The hymn was in the repertoire of the papal curia in Rome, which traveled to Cividale for the council in 1409, making this date the latest probable date that the hymn was added to the Cividale repertoire. The *cantus planus binatim* in CF57 and the other Cividale manuscripts in this study predate the arrival of this hymn. This style of simple polyphony for the celebration of the Office was already in practice in Cividale before the arrival of the papal curia, and is representative of a tradition of performance for the Office that was entrusted primarily to oral tradition. This reliance on oral transmission was also true for the practice of hymns in Avignon and is evidence for a central tradition of polyphonic music for the Office. This tradition, though common, was not standardized, and fueled the search for notated polyphony for the Office in the years immediately following the end of the Schism under Martin V, culminating in the Dufay Office Cycle, which included a setting of the monophonic chant for the Common of a Confessor from the chapel of Martin V. The Cividale manuscripts not only contain specific examples of simple polyphony from the time of Schism, but portray a performance style utilized from Italy to Avignon before the composition of the Dufay cycle for Vespers.
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