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THE MOTET COLLECTION OF SAN LORENZO 2211 (SL) AND THE COMPOSER HUBERTUS DE SALINIS

For John Nádas

The magnificent reconstruction of the gathering structure and contents of the San Lorenzo Palimpsest by John Nádas and Andreas Janke will long be the starting point for new work on its repertory. Like other Trecento manuscripts, SL is mostly organised by composer. The five caccias however, unlike in the other anthologies, are separated from the composer sections and presented together in Gathering XVI, apparently all anonymously, and together with other additions of international French repertory from Gathering XIV onwards. SL is also the only manuscript of Trecento repertory to include a group of motets. This might at first suggest that these, like the caccias, are segregated not by composer but by genre, and that they represent an Italian Trecento genre absent from the repertory manuscripts. Surviving in

- 1. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms.* 2211, Vol. 1: *Introductory Study*; Vol. 2: *Multispectral Images*, Ars Nova, n.s. 4 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016). See also Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)*, Musica Mensurabilis, 7 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016). See the review by Margaret Bent in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 26 (2017): 186-98. The title was garbled after proofs and corrected in the next issue, 27 (2018): 99 and online. For helpful comments on the present paper by colleagues at Certaldo and by email I thank Elena Abramov-van Rijk and Michael Scott Cuthbert.
- 2. The three-part Oseletto selvaggio in Gathering III is listed as a caccia but, despite similar musical techniques, Elena Abramov-van Rijk (email of 2 December 2017) reports that it is usually now defined as a canonic madrigal, not as a caccia or a caccia-madrigal. Its poetic text is not at all that of a typical caccia, and it was not included with the other caccias in Gathering XVI.
- 3. Motets are linked to caccias in the *Capitulum*: "Cacie (sive incalci), a simili per omnia formantur ut motteti, salvo quod verba caciarum volunt esse aut omnes de septem, aut omnes de quinque sillabis". Thorsten Burkard and Oliver Huck, "Voces applicatae verbis. Ein musikologischer und poetologischer Traktat aus dem 14. Jahrundert. (I-Vnm Lat. CI. XII.97 [4125]). Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar", *Acta musicologica* 74 (2002): 1-34 at 16.

The End of the Ars Nova in Italy. The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories, ed. A. Calvia, S. Campagnolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2020), 43-70. (ISBN 978-88-9290-046-2 © SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

similar numbers to caccias, albeit mostly in fragments, motets are absent from the composer groupings in those sources. But, in fact, the choice of Italian and international motets in SL is idiosyncratic, largely non-Italian, presented anonymously, and does not herald a change of policy from the failure of other retrospective anthologies to include motets. The ten motets in SL are all in the final gathering, XIX (see Figure 1), and together with other French repertory and additions from Gathering XIV onwards they form additions to the main retrospective Italian corpus of madrigals and ballatas, arranged by composer. The motets follow the French songs added anonymously in Gatherings XIV and XV (along with compositions by Paolo) and the even later Gathering XVII with Piero Mazzuoli; they are additions which were never planned as part of the core repertory composer groupings. The SL scribe had access to songs by Machaut that circulated outside the Machaut manuscripts, but not to his motets, which with few exceptions did not circulate. Except for two of the three by Salinis, all the SL motets are presented anonymously, even the two Italian ones.

Five of the ten motets are widely circulated international pieces. Although Italian motets (predominantly from the Veneto) are now recognised as a distinct genre,⁴ they are not included in the main collections of Trecento repertory; but only two of those here are Italian (nos. 210, *Lux purpurata | Diligite iustitiam* and 213, *Florentia mundi | Marce pater*), and even they are not of Veneto provenance – one is by Jacopo da Bologna and the other is about Florence. All earlier accounts of the contents of SL (including Figure 1) read the title of cantus II as *Parce*; the colour separation of the new multispectral images enabled Bonnie Blackburn to read the intended initial as M. The motet thus honours Marcus of Viterbo who presided over a Chapter General of the Franciscans in Florence in 1365. But even this Florentine compilation does not include the incomplete motet *Principum nobilissime* known only from PadD (1106) and attributed to Landini on the basis of the text ("me Franciscum"), nor any others of the five non-extant motets for which he was paid ("pro quinque motectis") by Andreas da Firenze in 1379.⁵ The two missing bifolia in Gathering XIX are

^{4.} Since Margaret Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VI*. Atti del Congresso internazionale "L'Europa e la musica del Trecento" (Certaldo, 19-21 July 1984) (Certaldo: Polis, 1992), 85-125.

^{5.} In his 1980 New Grove I article on Landini, Kurt von Fischer attributed three anonymous motets to Landini as doubtful works: Florencia mundi speculum (SL and Egidi), Leonarde, pater inclite (Egidi), and Marce Marcum (GR). Von Fischer's attribution was retained in the 2001 revision by Gianluca D'Agostino. I see no reason to support this attribution, nor to assume that these were among the five motets. See Kurt von Fischer, s.v. "Francesco Landini", in New Grove I and Kurt von Fischer / Gianluca D'Agostino, s.v. "Francesco Landini", in New Grove II.

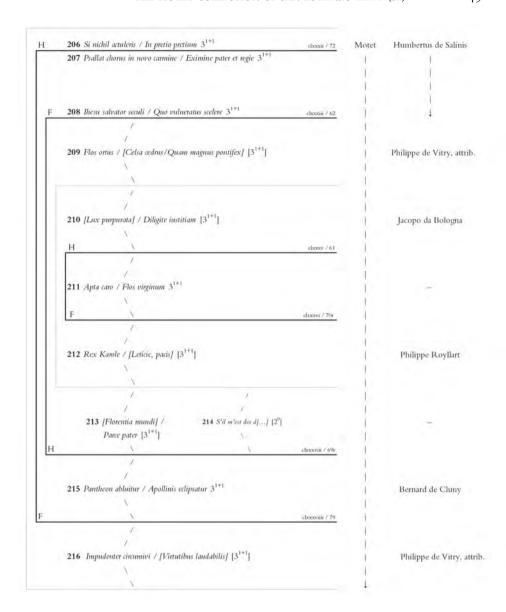


Figure 1. SL Gathering XIX, reproduced with permission from Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 47

mostly accounted for by projected completions of works on their facing pages. At most, three more short motets could have been accommodated on the missing pages, and only if each occupied a single side (see Table 1).

Table 1: Motets in SL 2211

SL	TITLE	SL CONTENTS	OTHER SOURCES	ASCRIPTIONS	COMMENTS
206 R 182r	Si nichil actuleris / In precio	SL: Tr T Mo on recto	Q15, no. 278, ff. R275v-276, A304v-305	Q15: hubertus de salinis	2 × C2, with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on d
precium	precium		recopied stage III on II	SL: Imbert' d' Salinis	€ void col
207 R182v	Psallat chorus in	SL: Tr T Mo on verso	Q15, no. 247, ff. R250v-251, A279v-280. Ct	Q15: Hubertus de salinis	2 × C1, with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on G
novo carmine /			in Q15 only (4vv)	SL: no ascription	€
	pater et regie				void col
			Utrecht37.1, f. V recto		On St. Lambert, patron saint of Liège.
			identified by Michael Scott Cuthbert ^a		
seculi	salvator	SL: Tr T Mo on recto	Q15, no. 213, ff. R220v-221, A249v-250: verso recopied at stage II	Q15: hubertus de salinis	2 × C1, with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F
	seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere			Ox213: Ubertus depsalinis	C time, no col
	Stepere		Ox213, f. 81r:	SL: Hu'bert' d' Salinis	On the passion of Christ, or Holy Week.
			black notation Strasbourg, ff. 97v-98: Mo, T; no Tr		II paraphrases stanza 2 of the hymn <i>Vexilla regis</i> ; T quotes the begininng of the hymn melody.
R 183v Celso / Qu magn	Flos ortus /	cedrus recto missing m	Iv, ff. 9v-10	SL: no ascription attrib. Vitry by Leech-Wilkinson and Kügle on grounds of structure and style ^c	Equal-cantus motet 2 × C1 with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F
	Celsa cedrus / Quam magnus pontifex		Ca1328, f. 14v: Tr, Mo, T; frag		
			Paris2444, f. 49r		On St. Louis of Toulouse
			Trém index		Vitry generally avoids breaking words with rests either by matching hockets and text or by leaving hockets untexted; this motet does not do so, which might argue against his authorship. ^d
			Würz, f. 2r: end of Mo		
			Darmstadt521, ff. 235r-v: text		
			Paris22069, f. 158v ^b		

^a Further discussed in Eliane Fankhauser, "Recycling Reversed: Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries Around 1400" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2018), 57-8.

^b Identified by Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Monks, Manuscripts, and Other Peer-to-Peer Song Sharing Networks of the Middle Ages", in *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song.* 3rd Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age, ed. Lynn Ransom (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2012), 101-23 at 122-3.

^c Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France", Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 109 (1983): 1-22, at 11; Karl Kügle, The Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Studies in the Transmission and Composition of Ars Nova Polyphony (Ottawa: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1997), 124-5.

^d See Anna Zayaruznaya, "Hockets as Compositional and Scribal Practice in the *Ars Nova* Motet – A Letter from Lady Music", *Journal of Musicology* 30 (2013): 461-501, at 493.

SL	TITLE	SL CONTENTS	OTHER SOURCES	ASCRIPTIONS	COMMENTS
210 R185r	Lux purpurata / Diligite iustitiam	SL: II and T on recto; I lost with 184v	PadA (1475), f. 50v	SL: no ascription Jacopo da Bologna (PadA)	Nearly equal cantus parts C1, C2 – with 10/6- 12/8 final cadence on d
211 R185v- 186r	Apta caro / Flos virginum ^e	SL: Mo and T on verso; Tr on recto (sic), incomplete SL: either a 10th system was intended on 70r, or scribe intended to complete on facing verso but did not do so; a clef of uncertain pitch is indeed visible on the verso	Iv, ff. 5v-6: with Ct ModA, ff.17v-18: same Ct as Iv Ch, ff. 6ov-61: different Ct Ca1328, ff. 10v-11: T and beginning of Tr Durham, ff. 338v- 339: no Ct Trém index	SL: no ascription	Final cadence on F
212 R186v	Rex Karole / Leticie pacis	SL: Tr on verso; recto missing	Ch, ff. 65v-66: Tr, Mo, T, Ct, solus T BaselUb, recto: Mo, solus T LoTNA, f. 1r: Mo, Ct, and new Ct Strasbourg, ff. 7v-8: Tr, T and solus T, but labelled Ct and T Washington, f. 2v: Mo only, frag Perugia, f. Cv-Dr (strips 1 and 9): Ct and solus T, frag	SL: no ascription Strasbourg: Philippus Royllart	The only tempus perfectum minor prolation motet in the 'French' repertory Final cadence on F
213 R188r	Florentia mundi / Marce pater	SL: Mo only	Egidi, f. 2r (original verso?): Tr only	Anon. SL: no ascription	Transcribed in Bent, "Fourteenth Century Italian Motet" Lacks tenor Equal cantus parts 2 × C1 with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F

^e This motet was once contained in a lost codex in the former ducal library, Pavia (item 84 of the inventory drawn up in 1426, Milano, Biblioteca Braidense, MS AD XV 18.4). See Kügle, *The manuscript lvrea, Biblioteca capitolare* 115, XVI, 212.

SL	TITLE	SL CONTENTS	OTHER SOURCES	ASCRIPTIONS	COMMENTS
215 R188v- 189	Pantheon abluitur / Apollinis eclipsatur	SL: lacks contrapuntally essential Mo (Zodiacum signis) Pantheon is otherwise only in Strasbourg Apollinis (original Tr) and T on verso, Pantheon abluitur on recto	Iv, ff. 12v-13 PadC (658), Bv: Tr BarcA, f. 1r: with additional textless Tr BarcC, ff. 11v-12 Brno, most of Tr Leiden2515, f. 1r: Tr Leipzig223a, r: end of Tr, mo and Tf LoTNA, f. 2r: with additional Tr Psallentes zinzugia Ox56, f. Ar: T and Tr, frag Strasbourg, ff. 64v-65: 5 voices including additional Tr Pantheon abluitur Tarragona2, f. 1v: Mo and T Trém index Vienna922, f. 2r: frag Vienna9094, f. 158r-v: instr	SL: no ascription 'B. de Cluni' in text; no other ascriptions in any source	Perhaps copied thus because compiler was looking for equalcantus motets and mistook the 2 X C2 parts with opening imitation as 'essential'. Original motet (Apollinis eclipsatur/ Zodiacum signis) has 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F, but SL version lacks proper cadence.
216 R189v	Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis	SL: Tr on verso, not overwritten; recto missing	Iv, ff. 4v-5: with Ct and solus T Apt, ff. 13v-14: Tr, Mo, Ct, T Bern, f. 18: Ct only, unique, against solus T Br19606, rotulus no. 6: with Ct and unique solus T Leiden342A, f. 1v: Tr frag Strasbourg, 20v-21: Tr, mo, solus T Troyes, f. [230r]: frag Würz, f. Iv Tarragona1h	SL: no ascription attrib. Vitry in Coussemaker's transcription of Strasbourg ⁱ	Equal-cantus motet 2 X C1 with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F

f At the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference at Maynooth on 7 July 2018, Eva Maschke announced her discovery of a new source for *Apollinis*, with the end of the triplum and the complete motetus and tenor, in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. Lat. 223a. It is on the recto of a single paper leaf (the verso is blank), formerly a flyleaf in MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1440. She has reported this in her contribution ("Entfernte Einbandfragmente aus Altzelle und *Ars nova-*Fragmente auf Papier und Pergament. Neue Entdeckungen in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig") to *Beredte Musik. Konversationen zum 80. Geburtstag von Wulf Arlt*, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta, 8, ed. Martin Kirnbauer (Basel: Schwabe, [2019]).

g Discussed in Adrian V. Steiger, "Das Berner Chansonnier-Fragment. Beobachtungen zur Handschrift und zum Repertoire", Schweizer Jahrbuch fu "r Musikwissenschaft 11 (1991), 43-65 at 57-60.

^h After the pastedown was lifted, this motet was identified by David Catalunya on Facebook, 29 October 2013.

¹ Coussemaker's index and partial copy of Strasbourg was published as *Le Manuscrit musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, XVe siècle,* Thesaurus Musicus, 2, ed. Albert Vander Linden (Brussels: Office international de librarie, [1977]).

The ten motets in SL include five of the most widely circulated international motets of the mid-fourteenth century or later, each of which is preserved in five to fourteen further sources: 209, Flos ortus / Celsa cedrus / Quam magnus pontifex; 211, Apta caro / Flos virginum; 212, Rex Karole / Leticie pacis; 215, Pantheon abluitur / Apollinis eclipsatur; 216, Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis. 6 Three of these, nos. 200, Flos ortus; 211, Apta caro; 216, Impudenter circumivi, have been attributed to Vitry with varying degrees of confidence. Three (nos. 209, Flos ortus; 211, Apta caro; 215, Apollinis eclipsatur) are listed by their motetus parts in the Trém index of 1376. Four are in Iv or Trém; Rex Karole (212) is in neither, and may therefore be later, though probably from before 1380.7 The added triplum Pantheon voice of Apollinis eclipsatur, hitherto known only from Coussemaker's copy from the destroyed Strasbourg manuscript, may also be later; it raises questions to be discussed below. It is the only one of the additional parts to *Apollinis* to survive in more than one source. I shall tentatively suggest reasons for these particular choices, though they may simply represent what was available to the compiler.

Of the other five motets, only two are Italian – nos. 210, Lux purpurata / Diligite iustitiam, and 213, Florentia mundi / Marce pater – interspersed with the "international" ones. Each is known from just one other source. Jacopo's Lux purpurata / Diligite iustitiam survives complete in the Padua fragments (PadA 1475), and SL's Marce pater complements the cantus Florentia mundi from the Egidi fragment.⁸

The group is headed by the three known motets by Hubertus de Salinis (nos. 206-208), copied consecutively in what is now their earliest source. All three are also in Q15 a few years later. In Q15 Psallat chorus in novo carmine / Eximie

^{6.} Other widely circulated motets not present here are Colla iugo / Bona condit and Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici.

^{7.} Rex Karole is dedicated to the French King Charles V (1364-1380). See Ursula Günther, ed., The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a. M. 5, 24 (olim lat. 568), Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 39 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), XXIX-XXXI.

^{8.} I identified the connection from the opening imitation. The motet is partially reconstructed in Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet", 114-9, and subsequently published in Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 13 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987), A 14, 246. My identification is acknowledged in the commentary on 288.

^{9.} Nosow (New Grove II) calls them "an uneasy appropriation of Italian 14th-century motet style".

^{10.} One (*Psallat chorus / Eximie pater*) was recently identified in Utrecht37.1 by Michael Scott Cuthbert. He also identified Salinis's Credo no. 4 (Q15 ff. R79v-81) in Houghton; both in "Hidden in Our Publications. New Concordances, Quotations, and Citations in Fourteenth-Century Music" (paper delivered to the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, 5 November 2016).

pater et regie (207) has an inessential and presumably added contratenor that is not in SL. Unlike some Q15 contratenors, it was not added at stage II but was copied integrally at stage I before 1425. ¹¹ Ihesu salvator seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere also appeared anonymously in Strasbourg and is Salinis's only motet in Ox213, ascribed and in pride of place at the beginning of Gathering V, the original starting point of that manuscript. We will return to Salinis.

Half of the ten motets – *Psallat chorus | Eximie pater* (207); *Apta caro | Flos virginum* (211, which has a contratenor in ModA and Iv, and a different contratenor in Ch); *Rex Karole* (212); *Apollinis eclipsatur* (215); *Impudenter circumivi* (216) – survive elsewhere with one or more contratenors, and (in the case of *Apollinis*) optional added triplum parts. None of those contratenors is in SL, which (as far as can be judged, taking missing folios into account) confines itself to three-part versions. None of the motets is given with more than three voices, although one combination, for *Apollinis*, is anomalous. *Apollinis* has no fewer than three different added tripla in three different sources, all hitherto unique: a textless triplum in BarcA, ¹² *Psallentes zinzugia* in LoTNA, and *Pantheon abluitur* in Strasbourg. It is that Strasbourg voice which appears here together with the original triplum *Apollinis*, but the piece is unperformable as presented in SL: although SL has the central tenor voice, it lacks the grammatically essential motetus *Zodiacum signis* that (unusually, in this and very few other motets) provides the contrapuntal foundation below the tenor.

No fewer than four of the motets (*Apollinis*, *Rex Karole*, *Impudenter*, and Salinis's *Ihesu salvator*) were in the Strasbourg manuscript, a collection thought to have conciliar links to the 1410s (the date 1411 appeared within the main compilation). A possible connection here, direct or indirect, gains significance from the fact that Strasbourg was hitherto the unique source of *Apollinis*'s added triplum part *Pantheon abluitur*.¹³

- 11. At least two of these motets date from Q15 stage I (*Psallat chorus* entirely, and *Ihesu salvator* partly recopied at stage II; the hitherto unique *Si nichil*, now in what is probably a stage-III recopy on stage-II paper and parchment, was probably also present in stage I), but they do not appear consecutively. For these placements see Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008), Vol. 1. Q15 compositions were sometimes recopied in order to add a contratenor, but the only one of Salinis's motets with a contratenor is wholly in stage I, and the recopies in this case were not for that purpose. Both rectos of the Gloria *Jubilacio* have the text incipit following cantus II for a contratenor that was not entered (Q15 no. 54, R62v-64, stage I).
- 12. Although claimed by Maria Carmen Gómez as a five-voice version, it seems to be in only four parts. Even with drastic adjustments, a contratenor on the same opening marked *Per sanctam civitatem* does not fit. Maria Carmen Gómez, "Une Version à Cinq Voix du Motet *Apollinis Eclipsatur / Zodiacum Signis* dans le Manuscrit E-BCEN 853", *Musica Disciplina* 39 (1985): 5-44.
- 13. The triplum only of *Apollinis* also survives in PadC (658); whether this source had an added part for *Apollinis* is unknown, but unlikely. Jacopo's motet is in another Padua fragment, PadA (1475).

A picture begins to emerge of the possible reasons for the choice of motets in SL:

- The number of voices, three, appears to have been one of the bases for selection. No optional contratenors are included, even where they exist in other sources.
- All have different texts for triplum and motetus, as in all international
 motets and most Italian motets, though some Veneto motets the doge
 motet *Marce Marcum* and some by Ciconia and later composers have a
 single text in both voices.
- Some French motets have texted voices that are differentiated in range, though most are equal or nearly so; all the SL motets have two equal- or very nearly equal-range texted upper parts plus tenor.¹⁴
- The SL compiler has chosen motets where the two upper parts have fairly equal activity as well as range. This is particularly striking in the case of *Apollinis*, where the true motetus *Zodiacum*, which is slower-moving and contrapuntally essential, has been sacrificed in favour of an inessential additional triplum part. The compiler's preference for motets with equal cantus parts seems to have resulted in his misunderstanding of that composition.
- Nearly all the Italian motet repertory have 10/6-12/8 final cadences on F or d, rising parallel fifths in the upper part over a stepwise descending tenor. About half the French fourteenth-century repertory have 6/3-8/5, half 10/6-12/8 cadences, with a few irregular endings. None of the ten motets in SL has a 6/3-8/5 cadence; all have some form of 10/6-12/8 final cadence, one on G, two on d, seven on F.
- The choice of motets in SL seems to favour echo openings. Rex Karole has opening echo imitation and, like many Italian motets (including Florentia mundi), is in perfect time; it sounds superficially a bit like an Italian motet. Salinis's Ihesu salvator and Psallat chorus have opening echo imitation; the added triplum Pantheon abluitur briefly echoes in imitation the opening of its true triplum Apollinis eclipsatur; Impudenter circumivi and

^{14.} I have called these second voices mo[tetus], but it would usually be equally or more appropriate, as with Ciconia's and other Italian motets, to call the equal upper voices cantus I and II.

^{15.} This is the only French motet in perfect tempus with minor prolation found in Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., *Motets of French Provenance*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 5 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968). Günther (*The Motets*) labels as contratenor a voice found only in Ch; the parts she labels solus tenor and [tenor] are correctly labelled in Strasbourg as tenor and contratenor. It is discussed, with a proposed dating in 1378, in Carolann Elena Buff, "Ciconia's Equal-Cantus Motets and the Creation of Early Fifteenth-Century Style" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2015), 142-85.

Apta caro have spaced but not echo openings, as does Jacopo's Lux purpurata / Diligite iustitiam.

All of these choices favour characteristics of the Italian motet, albeit in the case of *Apollinis* misunderstood by the compiler. It may be that these motets were selected not only because they were widely available, but because they were more like Italian Trecento motets or could be made to appear more like them. That begs the unanswerable question why Italian motets that better meet these criteria were not included. Do the motets in SL represent a choice by the compiler, or simply what happened to be available to him?

Various dates have been given for the compilation of SL and additions to it in relation to Sq. The additions cannot be very much later than the corpus if indeed the scribe is recognisably the same throughout, as Nádas and Janke assert, though this is very hard to ascertain given the state of damage. The difficulty of making judgements about script and ink colour is also an impediment to determining whether the song-fillers within the main corpus were entered at the same time as the main items on those openings, or over how long a time spread. John Nádas's identification of the scribe of SL with that of the Gloria and Credo added later on ff. 82v-85r of Lo invites further exploration of a possible Medici connection. ¹⁶ Some of the contents of Lo have Visconti associations, but the first folio of the surviving portion of the divided manuscript bears a Medici coat of arms. ¹⁷ This, but especially the scribal connection, could bring the chronology of those two manuscripts together in Florence in the Medici orbit at an earlier date than hitherto suggested for Lo. Since San Lorenzo was the parish church of the Medici, it cannot be ruled out that the music

^{16.} John Nádas, "Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some Further Observations", in L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VI, 145-68, at 147. He there refers to the "main" scribe of SL, perhaps implying others, but in the latest publication a single scribe is favoured (The San Lorenzo Palimpsest, Vol. 1, 18 and 22 'a single hand'). That, and most other studies by Nádas referred to here are reprinted in Arte Psallentes. John Nádas: Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento (Lucca: Libreria Italiana Musicale, 2017). The scribal characteristics of Lo are described in Gulliano Di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (British Library, Additional 29987)", Studi musicali 20 (1991): 181-234, at 191 and 195, and Marco Gozzi, "Alcune postille sul codice Add. 29987 della British Library", Studi Musicali 22 (1993): 249-78. Lo was part of a larger manuscript of at least 185 folios, as the surviving leaves were originally numbered 98-185. The question of scribal identity in SL is crucial for assessing the later additions, though certainty may never be possible.

^{17.} Opinion has been divided as to whether this coat of arms is of the fifteenth or the nineteenth century, perhaps added to enhance its sale to the British Museum in 1876. Most recently, Stefano Campagnolo suggests that the dating could be resolved with a simple scientific examination of the blue pigment, and prefers to see the stemma as a mark of ownership rather than of patronage (email of 2 January 2018). See Stefano Campagnolo, "Il Frammento Brescia 5 e le relazioni di copista tra i codici fiorentini dell'Ars nova", *Studi musicali* n.s., 9/1 (2018), 47-85, 82n62. He reveals further highly significant scribal interconnections between Florentine manuscripts.

manuscript reused for the Campione had indeed been associated with them, though Nádas and Janke prudently do not commit to a Medici provenance.¹⁸ These relationships deserve further exploration; there seems no reason to challenge the judgement that this scribe was working in Florence.

Another possible point of reference for the compilation could be Ugolino's employment as a singer at Florence Cathedral in 1417-1418. An earlier assumption that a whole gathering might have been devoted to him was tempered by the discovery of other ascriptions within that gathering, notably to Salinis, as noted above. But he was accorded at least a grouping if not a whole gathering of his own, perhaps reflecting his late arrival and short tenure in Florence. Ugolino and Piero must be the youngest composers represented, reflected in their position after the French section.

The main corpus was not terminated by the provision of capitals, which were anticipated by guide letters, so there was no hard break between the core repertory and the added gatherings: the manuscript was never completed as intended. Indeed, as can be demonstrated for other manuscripts, it may have remained unbound for a while, ²⁰ presumably as a growing collection, at least as far as the additions are concerned, but within a shorter time span than, for example, Q15 or Ox213. The relationship between Sq and SL, and indeed between Lo and SL, and their order of compilation, is one of the most pressing and interesting questions for future work (see Table 2 on page 54).

Hubertus de Salinis²¹ occupies a special position in SL as the only named composer of any of the motets (two of the three) and French-texted songs (three), and the only non-Italian to be named anywhere in the manuscript. The little we know about his biography is due to the fundamental researches of John Nádas and Giuliano Di Bacco, who were able to reconstruct part of his ecclesiastical career from two papal documents of 1403 and 1409.²² I am

^{18.} For San Lorenzo in this period, see Robert W. Gaston and Louis A. Waldman, eds., *San Lorenzo: A Florentine Church*, Villa I Tatti Series, 33 ([Florence]: Villa I Tatti, The Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2017), especially Christa Gardner von Teuffel, "The Altarpieces of San Lorenzo: Memorializing the Martyr or Accommodating the Parishioners?", 184-243.

^{19.} Frank D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore in the Early Quattrocento", in *Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1973), 99-126, at 106.

^{20.} As suggested in Janke and Nádas, The San Lorenzo Palimpsest, Vol. 1, 18.

^{21.} The article by Van den Borren in *MGG1* records him under "Hubertus de Salinis", without giving alternative spellings at the head of the article, though he does note the Ch ascription to "Hymbertus". He points to various corresponding place names in France and Walloon Belgium, favouring Slins near Liège. *MGG2* (Robert Nosow) follows its predecessor in prioritizing "Hubertus de Salinis", but gives alternative forms.

^{22.} The first document is Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Lateranensia (ASV, RL), Vol. 111 (Boniface IX, 1403, anno 14, lib. 158), f. 182v, dated from Rome, 4 Kl. Junii Anno XIV (29 May 1403). The letter was briefly reported by Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels

Table 2: Hubertus de Salinis, Mass Music and Motets

	Q15	OX213	SL	VENICE QI	Qı	STRASBOURG	OTHER
Gloria Jubilacio, 3vv	54: R62v-64 A63v-65			ff. 15v-19			Utrecht 37.1, f. III (Strohm, Rise of European Music, 100)
Gloria, 3vv	63: R78v-79 A79v-80				verso (I and first stave of T only), black notation [anon.]		
Credo, 3vv	55: R64v-66 A65v-67 pair, unicum						
Credo, 3vv	64: R79v-81 A80v-82 irreg paired						Houghton, identified by Cuthbert
Salve regina "Virgo mater 232: R236v-237 ecclesie", 3vv A265v-266, unica	232: R236v-237 A265v-266, unicum						
Ibesu salvator seaili / Quo vulneratus scelere, 3vv	213: R220v-221 A249v-250	no. 179, f. 81, ^a 208, R183, full black notation notation Ubertus de psalinis Hu'bert' d' Salinis	208, R183, black notation Hu'bert' d' Salinis			ff. 97v-98 (not transcribed) [anon.]	
Si nichil aetuleris / In precia 278: R275v-276 precium, 3vv A304v-305	278: R275v-276 A304v-305		206, R182, black notation Imbert d' Salinis	Ų.			
Psallat chorus in novo carmine Eximie pater et regie, 3vv	247: R250v-251 A279v-280		207, R182v, black notation anon. here				Utrecht37.1, f. V recto identified by Cuthbert

^a This is his only piece in Ox213, and was the original beginning of the collection, Gathering V, the earliest gathering to be copied. In SL the three Salinis morets (206, 207, and 208) have voices below each other on a single page, but in all cases the moretus follows the tenor: Tr TMo. Salinis is the only non-Italian composer to have pieces ascribed to him in SL.

on St. Lambert

very grateful to John Nádas for sending me the documents and his readings, on which the following summary is based.

In a papal response dated 29 May 1403 to a supplication from Ubertus de Salinis, the Roman Pope Boniface IX greeted him as a canon of Braga, referring to an earlier supplication in which he had been allowed to proceed to minor orders, despite being the illegitimate son of a priest and a single woman, and to a single benefice *sine cura*, after which time he would be given permission to attain full holy orders and receive all forms of benefices. In fact, he was eventually promoted to the diaconate and was able to receive the canonicate with prebend at Braga that he now held. He also exchanged a benefice at the church of S. Peter de Torrados for one (presumably more lucrative) at the parish church of Sanctus Salvator in Taagilde²³ in the diocese of Braga. With this letter the pope allows Hubertus to increase his beneficial portfolio by receiving greater favours, and assures him that no one can deny him this privilege.²⁴ His naming as a deacon in 1403 has led to a presumption that he was then below the canonical age of 25 for the priesthood, though this cannot necessarily be assumed. The letter is crossed out, but a marginal note explains that the corrected letter is entered again, in the first year of Gregory XII's reign; this revised letter has not been found. John Nádas believes that the corrections were needed simply due to an error in the original reading; lines 6 and 7 did not correctly represent his clerical status and the beneficial career already attained. Nothing in this document indicates that Salinis was in Italy in the period from 1403.

The second papal letter is from Alexander V, dated 10 July 1409, three days after his inauguration at the Council of Pisa. It names Humbertus [sic] de Salinis, still a canon at Braga cathedral, as a familiar of the newly elected pope and singer in the papal chapel ("familiari nostro ... in capella nostra cantor existis"). ²⁵ The letter grants him an additional lucrative canonicate and

and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism", in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 44-92, at 71-2, and anticipated in more detail (but with some ambiguities) by Robert Nosow, "The Florid and Equal-Discantus Motet Styles of Fifteenth-Century Italy" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992), to whom they had communicated it in advance of their publication.

^{23.} Or Tuagilde = Tagilde, south of Braga (not the small community of Tangil north of Braga, as Nosow suggests in MGG2).

^{24.} A copy of the letter goes to the archbishops of Vienne and Braga.

^{25.} A letter from Alexander V to Salinis, dated Pisa, 10 July 1409, ASV, RL, Vol. 138 (Alexander V, anno 1, lib. 5), ff. 105r-106r: "dilecto filio Humberto de Salinis canonico Bracharensi, familiari nostro, ... in capella nostra cantor existis". See Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels and Italian Sources", 71-72n77. According to Nosow the letter also appears to name the bishop-elect of Silva, also in Portugal, as Salinis's legal representative. See Nosow, "Florid and Equal Discantus", 89. Nosow (New Grove II) takes this document to imply that he was a priest (aged 25 or more) and that

prebend at Lisbon Cathedral, implicitly *in absentia*, worth 80 *livres tournois* annually, vacated on the promotion of its holder Fernando to the archbishopric of Lisbon. That he succeeded an archbishop might imply that Salinis was in fact already quite senior, or at least specially favoured. His benefices at Taagilde and Braga also amount to 80 *livres tournois*. In addition, he holds an expectative benefice at Coimbra (worth 50 *livres tournois*) and one at Evora which he must relinquish in order to take the Lisbon benefice. These benefices confirm his previous Portuguese career, and have led to a presumption that he had come to the council with the king of Portugal's large embassy. Salinis is not in the first full listing of the chapel of John XXIII, dated 18 March 1413, where Antonio Zacara heads the list and is called "magister", here and in the April list. ²⁶ It is therefore assumed that Salinis was by then no longer in the papal chapel; there is no further record of him.

The name Hubertus or Humbertus appears both with and without an "m", but these are not simple variants; there are distinct traditions for the two names. ²⁷ Hubert was a venerated eighth-century bishop of Liège; the name in various forms but without the "m" is rare in southern Europe. Humbert is a name particularly associated with Savoy and south of the Alps, so "Hubert" might well have been assimilated to "Humbert" or Umberto in Italy and Iberia. The Veneto manuscripts Ox213 and Q15, accustomed to migrants' names from the Low Countries, unanimously call him Hubertus or Ubertus, without "m". ²⁸ The Italian scribe of Ch uses the – perhaps for him – more familiar "Hymbert". The San Lorenzo ascriptions are hard to read, but both

his birthdate can therefore be set between 1378 and 1384, but as the document does not name him as a priest this cannot be taken for granted; many men older than 25 were still described as deacons or subdeacons.

- 26. John Nádas, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo", Studi musicali 15 (1986): 167-82; 16 (1987): 175-6, reports the three surviving accounts volumes from the papacy of John XXIII, preserved among the Strozzi papers in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence: Magl.XIX.80 (1410), Magl.XIX.79 (1410-1412), Magl.XIX.81 (1413-1414), citing Lothar Waldmüller, "Materialien zur Geschichte Johannes XXIII (1410-1414)", Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum VII (1975): 229-37. Nosow (New Grove II, s.v. "Hymbert de Salinis") says that he was no longer in the chapel by January 1413, but that list is not a full one. Zacara then heads the list and may have been magister cappelle, though not so named. See Nádas, "Further Notes", and Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Zacara e i suoi colleghi italiani nella cappella papale", in Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004), 34-54.
- 27. As noted in n1, my review in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* was printed from uncorrected proofs; I had changed Humbertus to Hubertus, but this was not implemented. Leofranc Holford-Strevens observes that Humbert (Germanic, "warrior-bright") is a name particularly associated with Savoy (and thence, as Umberto, with the Italian royal family); the Dominican Humbert of Romans was from Romans-sur-Isère in southeastern France. Hubert ("mind-bright") was a bishop of Liège, whose name in various forms (e.g., Hupperts) became widespread in northern Germany and the Low Countries.
 - 28. The importance of being Ubertus?

forms appear to be present.²⁹ Given that all archival or musical sources of the name are Italian, the presence in some of those Italian sources of the almost uniquely northern form without "m" may count as a *difficilior lectio* favouring Hubert, and thence a Liège origin. Nádas and Janke standardise his name to "Humbertus" in their inventory of SL; the first papal document calls him Ubertus, the other Humbertus.

Van den Borren named the composer only as Hubertus in his article in MGGI though noting the Ch variant. He had no biographical documents, but he made the case for the composer's origin in Slins (Salinis), a demesne that belonged in the fourteenth century to the cathedral chapter of St. Lambert of Liège, a few kilometres from that known musical centre. The latinisation of Slins as "de salinis" or "de psalinis" is documented in Liège archives.30 Van den Borren noted the dedication of Psallat chorus to St. Lambert, as well as the name Hubert being relatively restricted in the Middle Ages to that area. Additional support for a liégeois origin comes from the texts of the motets. Two of Salinis's three motets are based on older works. Both texts of *Psallat chorus / Eximie pater* are adapted to celebrate St. Lambert, the patron saint of Liège, from a widely-circulated St. Nicholas motet on the tenor Aptatur.³¹ "Aptatur" (= "fitting", or "adapted") ends triplum and motetus parts in both motets, though the Salinis motet is no longer on that tenor. The words "Domine Nicholae" and "Hac die, Nicholae" in the two original texts are here replaced by "Sancte Lamberte"; other variants are minor. In Q15, tenor and contratenor join the upper voices between the fer-

29. Ascriptions in the musical sources are as follows: Q15, H de Salinis or Hubertus de salinis; Ox213, Ubertus de psalinis; Ch, f. 46 En la saison carries an ascription to Hymbert de Salinis, but for a song that may be spurious anyway. SL, Janke and Nádas, The San Lorenzo Palimpsest, Vol. 1, 20, read two of the ascriptions as 'Imbertus' (R177r and R182r); and another as 'Hubertus' (R183r); in the other cases it is not clear (to me) whether there is an abbreviation sign over the "u". They report for R175v M' Hu, R177 Imbert, R179 Hu t' d' S, R182 Imbert' d' Salinis, R183 Hu'bert' d' Salinis

30. I am grateful to Catherine Saucier, email of 19 February 2017, for the following references: Four payments from the Cathedral of Liège, Compterie des Anniversaires, register numbers 80 (1418); 83 (1426); 84 (1432); and 87 (1442) for the celebration of the anniversary of Hermannus de Salinis (also spelled "Psalinis" in register 87) in the month of February.

One payment from the collegiate church of Sainte-Croix, accounts of the grain, register number 206 (1354?) to Jacobus de Salinis (possibly a canon of Sainte-Croix?) for singing a responsory on the feast of St Lambert.

31. The older motet, with both texts, is in Montpellier, fascicle 4, no. 51 (60), ff. 98v-100; Bamberg, no. 30; Darmstadt3471; Huelgas; Paris11411; and Westminster. On *Aptatur*, see now Catherine A. Bradley, "Choosing a Thirteenth-Century Motet Tenor: From the Magnus liber organi to Adam de la Halle", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72 (2019): 431-92, and Margaret Bent, Jared C. Hartt and Peter M. Lefferts, *The Dorset Rotulus: Contextualising the Early English Motet* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2021).

matas with the emphatic words "sancte Lamberte", the only text in those parts. 32

Like those of *Psallat chorus / Eximie pater*, the texts of *Si nichil / In precio* are taken from a thirteenth-century composition, in this case two stanzas of a three-part conductus in score, which starts with Salinis's motetus underlaid to the music, followed by the triplum stanza.³³ In Salinis's setting, the equal cantus parts set the two texts with nearly simultaneous syllabification over a free accompanying tenor in the Italian manner. These short texts, taken from thirteenth-century models, lead to motets that are exceptionally short for the early fifteenth century, even where the music is extended with textless canonic or sequential interludes, as here. *Ihesu salvator / Quo vulneratus* is another strikingly short motet. Since two of Salinis's three motets use older texts, could these texts also be preexistent, although not yet identified? Although many texts start with these words, I could not find elsewhere the version that mentions Judas.

Nádas and Di Bacco collected some twenty references in papal documents to clerics called "de Salinis", nearly all explicitly from the Besançon diocese.³⁴ Nosow places his birth categorically in Salins-les-Bains near Besançon.³⁵ The Besançon affiliation is lacking, however, in both documents affecting our Hubert, which could support him not being from that diocese. Nothing else associates the composer with Besançon, which seems not to have had a significant musical tradition at the time. Northern musicians were in demand in Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, as evidenced by the careers of Ciconia, the Lantins, and, only a little later, Du Fay. The name Hubert, and the motet texts for St. Lambert, make it in my view more likely that he was from Slins

- 32. Montpellier variants include the following: Tr: tuo tegmine (Q15 has the metrically less correct tuo regimine); domine Nicholae (Q15 Sancte Lamberte); aptatur (Q15 wrongly optatur). Mo: hac die Nicholae (Q15 Sancte Lamberte); nos doce (Q15 doce nos). Nosow (New Grove II) suggests that "Salinis seems to have travelled provided with ready-made texts, which explains the re-use of 13th-century French motet or conductus texts".
- 33. The motetus imagines a contemporary reception of Homer and Croesus; Homer's literary prowess would now mean nothing, while Croesus' wealth would bring him friendship, praise, and honour. See Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Early Fifteenth-Century Music VII*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, II (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955). He reports text in other sources including Emilie Dahnk, *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, Leipzig romanistische Studien, Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe, 4 (Leipzig: Selbstverlag der Romanischen Seminars, 1935), 34. *In precio precium* is in Fauvel, p.mus. 16; the first lines are from Ovid, *Fasti* I.217. Florence no. 652, ff. 227r-v, two stanzas of a conductus, has *In precio precium* underlaid in one voice, with Salinis's triplum text *Si nichil* following as a second stanza.
 - 34. Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels and Italian Sources", 71-2.
- 35. See Nosow, s.v. "Hubertus de Salinis", in *MGG2*. In his earlier dissertation ("Florid and Equal Discantus", 98 and 87), however, because of prepublication access to the information about his beneficial career in Portugal, he called him a "Portuguese composer" and "from the diocese of Braga, in northern Portugal".

near the known musical centre of Liège, given that Salinis is a documented latinisation of that place-name.³⁶

Doubt hangs over the attribution of what was hitherto his only song, *En la saison*, unique to Ch (f. 46). There is also doubt about the dedicatee and date, despite Ursula Günther's careful heraldic work. In an ingenious and wideranging study, involving heraldry, genealogy, and historical connections, Günther associated two ballades with members of the du Guesclin family.³⁷ *Bonté de corps* (R f. 55) is unambiguously tied to Bertrand du Guesclin (d. 1364) by an acrostic as well as by the heraldic content of the text. The ballade *En la saison* specifically refers to the du Guesclin family heraldry and contains references to an "olivier" and a "pierre".³⁸

Günther concluded that the ballade was in fact written in the early 1390s for the son of Thomasse le Blanc, dame de la *Roberie* et de la Bouverie ("la pierre", she female, "pierre" the name of her father, "blanche" the family name), wife of Bertrand and mother of Olivier du Guesclin, who from 1386 was seigneur of Brisarte. He died before 1397 but seems to have been alive in the early 1390s. Günther leaves open the possibility that the ballade could instead refer to a younger grandson of Thomasse called Olivier, about whom nothing is known, but would place *En la saison* at the latest before 1398. The younger candidate might have to be considered if a later date for the song became necessary to reconcile with authorship by Salinis.

The ballade carries an ascription to Salinis at the head of the page in Ch, but the name of Jo. Cuvelier (or Cunelier; u and n are often indistinguishable) appears under the tenor in the same hand. Reaney assumed that just the tenor was by Cuvelier, but Günther rightly thought this unlikely. Cuvelier may well be Jean le Cuvelier, chronicler of Bertrand de Guesclin, the high-ranking Constable of France, buried with royalty in St. Denis. The Règles de la seconde rhétorique refer to a poet Jacquemart le Cuvelier from Tournai, possibly the author of that chronicle, completed ca. 1387, and thus well placed to be the author at least of the text of the ballade honouring a member of that family, perhaps his son. "Jo. Cunelier" is the composer of another Ch ballade, on Gaston Febus, Se Galaas (f. 38) which, as Günther points out, has strong stylistic and notational affinity with En la saison, both of which use full and void forms

^{36.} Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music* 1380-1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 100, calls Hubertus de Salinis "a contemporary of Ciconia from the diocese of Liège".

^{37.} Ursula Günther, "Zwei Balladen auf Bertrand und Olivier du Guesclin", *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968): 15-45. The heraldry is discussed in great detail, "a la barre vermeille" on 23.

^{38.} Günther offers a corrected version of the text and music, which was taken over by Reaney in *Early Fifteenth-Century Music VII*. She calls it one of the latest works in Ch, by a very young Salinis ("Zwei Balladen", 38).

of both black and red notation. Other works in Ch, anonymous or with cryptic ascriptions, have been linked to this composer on stylistic and notational grounds.³⁹ Without the subsequent documentary evidence for Salinis in 1403 and 1409, Günther thought En la saison must be a very early work, under the influence of Cuvelier. Her sense of Salinis's likely age was based on the span between a ballade written before 1398 and his presence in the later manuscripts Ox213 and Q15, and the assumption that his Gloria Jubilacio was written as a prayer for the end of the Schism in 1417. Since Günther's article, the above-reported biographical documentation of Salinis in the first decade of the century has come to light. It now seems more likely that this Gloria was composed in 1409, referring as it does to a newly elected pope (Alexander V) who will bring the Schism to an end.⁴⁰ As Salinis's career can now be documented only in the first decade of the fifteenth century, if the assumptions that he was still young are correct, and if the identity proposed for Cuvelier holds, Cuvelier seems the likelier author for a piece dedicated to someone who died before 1398.

Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone question the Salinis ascription of *En la saison* and favour attributing the entire piece to Cuvelier on grounds of context, musical style, and notational links to his other ascribed composition (*Se*

39. Lorsques Arthus (Ch, no. 61 f. 40v) and Se Geneine (Ch, no. 63 f. 41v) have cryptic superscriptions, which Gilbert Reaney reads as 'Jo Cun[elier]' ("The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047", Musica Disciplina 8 [1954]: 59-113), and Günther as Jo Cuvelier ("Zwei Balladen"), a reading adopted in Reaney's edition. It is hard to share their confidence; Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms. 564; Introduction (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008) are more cautious and read it as J. O. However, the stylistic and notational usage between all four pieces and the anonymous Medée fu (Ch, no. 26 f. 24v) is so strikingly similar that the same composer is quite possible.

40. Lacking biographical guidance, Van den Borren associated the Gloria *Jubilacio* with the election of Martin V in 1417, which ended the Schism (as reported in Reaney Early Fifteenth-Century Music VII, IX). Now that Salinis is known to have been associated with Pietro Filargo around the time of his election as Pope Alexander V, documented as a familiar of the new pope and singer in his chapel, a date in 1409 seems likelier, even if the hope that this election would end the Schism proved premature. This earlier dating was first proposed in print by Strohm (Rise of European Music, 100). Without access to the new documents, Strohm proposed that he was active in Florence around 1410. This redating was affirmed at a conference held at the Library of Congress on April 1-3, 1993 by Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels and Italian Sources", 71n77 and Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 29, both published in Sherr, Papal Music and Musicians. For the Gloria, see Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music VII, VII, IX, and xxv, and Agostino Ziino, ed., Il Codice T.III.2: Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994), 50. The trope text is in Analecta Hymnica 47, 279 and is set by Salinis as duets. The trope is as follows: "Gloria, jubilacio uni Deo et simplici, | vero Christi vicario, | nostro summo pontifici. | Laudet chorus ecclesie | unum Christi vicarium; | benedicat, glorificet, | adoretque non dubium. || Gratias tibi ferimus | quia, excluso scismate, sacro dedisti pneumate | verum papam quem credimus. | Fili patris obediens, | agnus Dei purissime, | carisma sanctum tribuens | unionis sanctissime. || Tu tulisti de medio | scisma donante flamine | ut esset pax et unio | sub veri pape culmine. || Patris sedens ad dexteram, | solus sanctus et dominus, regeque sponsam dexteram, papam nostrum quem colimus".

Galaas) and perhaps to the two other Ch songs that may be by Cuvelier. They note that Salinis has no known connections "to the Avignon papacy or to the French circles in which so many Ch composers appear to have been active".41 His status as a deacon in 1403 suggests that Salinis may still have been relatively young (even though succeeding an archbishop-elect, as noted above), perhaps born in the early 1380s. If so, he cannot be the composer of a notationally and heraldically complex composition dating from the early 1390s. probably composed closer in time to Cuvelier's activity, in the 1380s, and much more elaborate notationally and stylistically than anything else attributed to Salinis.⁴² The SL songs by him appear to be much simpler in style – as are his Mass movements and motets, which casts further doubt on his authorship of the complex ballade. Style alone would not necessarily discount his authorship; Sus un fontaine, for example, is an essay in proportional and mensural subtlety found nowhere else in Ciconia's works. But I agree that En la saison is probably by Cuvelier; it seems very unlikely that, as a young composer with an early beneficial career in Portugal, Salinis had contacts with, or reasons to honour, the du Guesclins.

However, the fact that Salinis was known to the Ch compiler favours a date of compilation of that manuscript around and after 1410, whether or not he composed the ballade. It is indeed because of the ascription of the ballade *En la saison* to "Hymbert de Salinis", who was apparently already in the service of Pietro Filargo at the time of his election as Alexander V in 1409, that Plumley and Stone associate the later parts of the Ch repertory with the circles around this pope; they suggest that the actual compilation may have started under his aegis and continued after his death, and that Ch was compiled between ca. 1409 and 1420, later than previous datings and in the same decade as SL.⁴³ All Salinis's other works — three motets, four Mass movements, and his *Salve regina* — are in Q15, hitherto all *unica* except the motet *Ihesu salvator* and a concordance in Houghton for Credo Q15 no. 64 discovered by Michael Cuthbert. Most of them (probably all originally) are in the old layer before 1425.⁴⁴

^{41.} Codex Chantilly, 133-4 and 150.

^{42.} Plumley and Stone (*Codex Chantilly*) do not cite this chronological problem as a reason for discounting the ascription to Salinis.

^{43.} Plumley and Stone, Codex Chantilly, 181.

^{44.} Nosow observes (*New Grove II*) that the troped *Salve regina 'Virgo mater ecclesie'* "is otherwise set only by English composers; it reflects the international milieu at the Council of Pisa, and was probably composed in the *divisi* notation current in papal circles". For that technique, see Margaret Bent, "*Divisi* and *a versi* in Early Fifteenth-Century Mass Movements", in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo* e il suo tempo, 95-137.

Table 3: Songs by or possibly by Salinis

	SL	Сн
En la saison que toute riens		f. 46 unicum
(ballade, J. Cuvelier), 3v		
opus dubium?		
Con plus (rondeau?), 2v	198, R175v	
	"M Hu"	
	void notation	
<i>J'ai</i> (rondeau?), 2v	201, R177r	
	Imbert	
	void notation	
unidentified ballade, 3v	204, R178v-179r	
	Hu't d' S	
	void notation	
OTHER POSSIBLE CANDIDATES		
Las (virelai), 3v	199, R176r	
	anon in same group	
T (rondeau?), 3v	200, R176v anon.	
	void notation	
unidentified virelai, 3v	202, R177v	
	anon. in same group	
Adieu plaisir (ballade), 3v	205, R179v-180	

Four of the added French songs in Gathering XVIII of SL (all unica) are the only pieces in void notation, though they again appear to be by the same scribe.45 These are nos. 198 (R175v); 200 (R176v); 201 (R177r); and 204 (R178v-179). This is particularly striking given that Salinis's motet *Ibesu sal*vator is one of only two pieces in black notation in Ox213. It was the showpiece at the beginning of the original compilation (the current Gatherings V-VIII), the first recto of Gathering V, with an enormous capital I and monogram "YHS". A more formal script was used at the comparable place at the beginning of Q15 (f. R1); and Bartolomeo da Carpi prescribed "bona nota" for the black notation in which the Lamentations he requested for his memorial volume were copied. The only other black-notation piece in Ox213 is Ciconia's O felix templum, in what I presume to be its original Italian notation. This leaves Salinis's motet as the only piece in full-black French notation in Ox213, presumably its original notation, which contrasts interestingly with his voidnotation songs in SL. All the contents of Q15 (except the later-added textless song no. 109) are in black notation. The (full) clefs and (void) custodes of the SL songs appear to be consistent with those of the black-notation pieces, so there

^{45.} Reported by Janke, "Die Kompositionen", 33.

is no prima facie reason to challenge the claim that all are by the same scribe, even though the void note-bodies are larger than and differently formed from full-black notes. Three of the four void-notation songs in SL are ascribed to Salinis. These ascriptions are very striking, as all the other French songs (apart from one by Ugolino) are the fifty-four anonymous unica, or anonymously presented known songs of international circulation by Machaut, Senleches, and others. It is possible that the fourth void-notation song, the three-voice rondeau no. 200, could also be by Salinis - perhaps reflecting an authorial notational preference – and the other anonymous songs appearing consecutively with them are also candidates. So at least three songs in SL, nos. 198, 201 and 204, are ascribed to him, and possibly four (the void-notation songs) or more (nos. 199 and 202) may be by him. They remain untranscribed and incompletely decipherable. In positing void notation as a possible authorial preference, we should be aware that his only motet in Ox213 is in black notation. But that could well have been because it was the first piece, and presented conservatively, not uncommon for opening pages or pieces; the opening recto of Q15 uses a more formal text script than what follows.

The two ascribed rondeaux (198 and 201) are both for two equal voices.⁴⁶ No. 203, ascribed to Ugolino, is also a two-voice piece (but a ballade with differentiated ranges) and adjacent to a three-voice ballade by Salinis with macaronic text (no. 204). But the other items in this consecutive group, nos. 199, 202, 205, and the fourth void-notation piece, no. 200, all directly precede his three motets (nos. 206-208) and may also be candidates for authorship by Salinis. The recto for no. 205 is not overwritten and contains the contratenor. These songs seem to be much simpler in style and notation than *En la saison*, hitherto his only ascribed song, further bringing his authorship of that ballade into question.

It is perhaps noteworthy that no works by Salinis are preserved in ModA together with those of Matteo da Perugia, since both composers were in the service of the Pisan Pope Alexander V (Pietro Filargo).⁴⁷ Although Filargo must be suspected of strong musical persuasions and tastes, corroborated perhaps by the connection with his supporter the music-loving Pietro Emiliani, whom he promptly promoted to the bishopric of Vicenza,⁴⁸ no motets survive for that new pope by Salinis or Matteo. However, Salinis's troped Gloria *Jubi*-

^{46.} The then-known repertory of equal-voice songs was catalogued by David Fallows, "Two Equal Voices: A French Song Repertory with Music for Two More Works of Oswald von Wolkenstein", Early Music History 7 (1987): 227-41.

^{47.} Anne Stone's chapter in the present volume addresses Filargo's patronage of Matteo da Perugia. 48. Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 27-8.

lacio, referring to a newly elected pope who will bring the Schism to an end, and formerly associated with Constance, has now more plausibly been associated with Alexander V and the Council of Pisa.⁴⁹ This new dating is also consistent with his disappearance from archival records by 1413; he is then no longer listed when Zacara is named.

I will now comment on Salinis's three short motets. All three are in SL and all were copied in Bologna Q15 a few years later than SL. Si nichil actuleris / In precio precium is so far known from no other copies. Ihesu salvator seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere is in Ox213 and Strasbourg. Psallat chorus / Eximie pater was recently identified in Utrecht37.1 by Michael Cuthbert. In Q15 it has an inessential and presumably added contratenor, apparently unique to that source. The layout of all three of his motets in SL is highly unusual, each complete on a single page: triplum, then tenor, followed by the motetus below the tenor. *Ihesu salvator* also appears with the parts in this unusual order on its single side in Ox213 for his only motet in that manuscript. Q15 uses the normal layout across an opening. No other motet in Ox213 with two cantus parts occupies only one side, so there is no precedent there for this layout.⁵⁰ It was the original opening piece of Ox213, and may have been chosen for this position because it could be contained on a single page, the opening recto of the manuscript.⁵¹ The choice of an opening motet addressed to Jesus can perhaps be read as a salutation of new beginnings through Church councils; we know

^{49.} Strohm suggested that Ciconia's Gloria Suscipe Trinitas might be associated with post-Pisan conciliarism around the election of John XXIII in May 1410 (see Rise of European Music, 17). Instead, Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels and Italian Sources", 70-7, argue that the Trinity is invoked as a statement of faith, symbolic of unity of differences, and, above all, that it would be blasphemous to equate it with the very division that was tearing the church apart. Starting from a careful exegesis of the text, they reject the claim associating the Trinity invocation with threefold schism, i.e., after 1409, that was suggested by Michael Connolly and reported in Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1984-1985). It has always felt uncomfortable to have to place this Gloria in the final years of Ciconia's life. Di Bacco and Nádas point to Ciconia's patron Philippe D'Alençon's role in trying to mediate the Schism, and find the text suited to the intellectual climate surrounding debates starting with the Jubilee year in 1390 and attempts in 1395 to force Benedict XIII's abdication. They argue for a date for this Gloria between 1390 and Philippe's death in 1397, placing it in Ciconia's Roman years that they have so persuasively documented.

^{50.} There is another layout anomaly for no. 211: *Apta caro / Flos virginum* in SL has motetus and tenor on the verso, triplum on recto. There is no obvious explanation for this except the weak ones that the motetus (*Flos virginum*) starts without rests, or that it was confused with the triplum *Flos ortus*

^{51.} Gatherings I-IV with newer material were added in front of the original starting point, now Gathering V, the present Gathering I being the last to be copied. See David Fallows, ed., Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canon. Misc. 213, Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Salinis was at Pisa,⁵² which could also have been the conduit for SL's acquisition of international repertory.

All three Salinis motets are short, respectively only 64, 64, and 56 breves in length, with freely composed tenors and no rhythmic or structural repetition; all have simultaneous and equal or nearly equal text in the texted portions of both voices. *Ibesu salvator* is in imperfect time, with 64 breves of C. There is short (five breves) opening echo imitation at the unison, between equal top parts over a free tenor, and it ends with a 10/6-12/8 cadence on F. Two lines of text are set simultaneously in the upper parts, followed by an untexted interlude, then two more lines, then another untexted interlude, then two final lines of text. There are some parallel fifths with the tenor and between voices I and II.⁵³



Example 1. *Jhesu salvator*, first textless interlude with strict rhythmic canon (8-minim unit) in all three voices (Reaney, bars 8-15)

^{52.} Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels and Italian Sources", 71-2; Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 29. 53. The complete motets from which these examples are adapted are published in Reaney, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music VII*.



Example 2. *Jhesu salvator*, second textless interlude, with two strict rhythmic canons (of 4- then 6-minim units) between the upper voices, also strictly melodically sequential in I (Reaney, bars 20-26)



Example 3. *Psallat chorus*, first textless rhythmic sequential passage. Each voice has a different rhythm. The integrated contratenor is present only in Q15 (Reaney, bars 27-31)

These untexted interludes are quite ingenious. The first (Ex. 1) presents rhythmic canons $\downarrow \bullet \downarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet$ in all three parts at a semibreve's distance, four and a half times. The next (Ex. 2) has rhythmic repetition and melodic sequencing in the upper parts only: $\downarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet$ (five times) then $\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$ (three times) strictly melodically sequential; in II: $\downarrow \bullet \bullet \bullet$ (four times) then $\bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet \bullet$ (three times).

Psallat chorus is the only one of Salinis's motets with a contratenor, which may have been added by the Q15 compiler in accordance with his habit. Unlike some Q15 contratenors, it was not added at stage II but was copied integrally at stage I. Psallat chorus also has 64 breves, this time of €, and 11 breves of echo opening. Again, there are different simultaneous texts, alternating with interludes of textless rhythmic sequencing in the upper voices. The first four text lines are followed by just such an interlude of five breves (Ex. 3); two more lines take us to "Sancte Lamberte" in all (four) parts with fermata chords at 38-42, then three lines followed by five breves of textless rhythmic sequencing reversing the roles of I and II. Q15's added contratenor makes parallels, and forms tenor cadences below the unison cadences of triplum and tenor, before a final line. The even shorter motet Si nichil has 56 breves of €, again with simultaneous texting throughout, but no echo opening, and no textless interludes.

In conclusion: a closer examination of the choice of motets in SL and the possible reasons for those choices leads to an extension of the comments I made in an earlier article, namely drawing attention to the contemporaneous copying of the retrospective Trecento anthologies and the new international style represented in Q15.54 The comments should also be extended to include the simultaneous cultivation of Italian- and French-texted pieces evident in the Padua fragments and to a striking extent in SL. What I perhaps failed to stress sufficiently in that article was that the core repertory of SL follows the normal pattern for Trecento manuscripts, but that additions including French songs and motets stand outside that core. (Fp of course also contains added French songs but no motets). The prominent inclusion of Salinis but not Ciconia in a conciliar collection is noteworthy, as is the absence of motets by Landini in a Florentine anthology. SL is indeed an exception among the Trecento anthologies in its inclusion of a group of motets, albeit as an afterthought; but apart from not being typically Italian, they hardly change the still-unexplained exclusion of Italian motets from those anthologies and of all but two in SL.

^{54.} Margaret Bent, "Continuity and Transformation of Repertory and Transmission in Early 15th-Century Italy: The Two Cultures", in *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, Musica Mensurabilis, 3, ed. Sandra Dieckmann, Oliver Huck, Signe Rotter-Broman, and Alba Scotti (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007): 225-46.

MANUSCRIPT ABBREVIATIONS

Apt Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16bis
Bamberg Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115
BarcA Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 853
BarcC Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 971

BaselUb Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, N.I.6 Nr 72
Bern Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. A 471 (flyleaves of A 421)⁵⁵
Br5170 Bruxelles, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Fonds Sint-Goedele 5170

Br19606 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek

Albert I, 19606

Brno, Archiv města Brna, Fond V 2, Svatojakubská knihovna, 94/106 Ca1328 Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale), B

1328

Ch Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 Darmstadt521 Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 521 Darmstadt3471 Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 3471

Durham Durham, Chapter Library, C I 20

Egidi Montefiore dell'Aso, Biblioteca-Archivio di Francesco Egidi, s.n. (lost)

Fauvel Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146 Florence Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. 29.1

Fp Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26

Gr224 Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224

(olim Collocazione provvisoria 197)

Houghton Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 122

(cover)

Huelgas Las Huelgas (Burgos), Monasterio de Santa María la Real, IX ("Codex

Las Huelgas")

Iv Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115

Leiden342A Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment L.T.K. 342A Leiden2515 Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment B.P.L. 2515

Leipzig223a Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. Lat. 223a

Lo London, British Library, Add. 29987

LoTNA London, The National Archives, E.163/22/1/24 ModA Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.Μ.5.24

Montpellier Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H

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^{55.} Also known as MS A 421. The ambiguity arose from an original cataloguing error, but it is now standard to refer to the host MS as A 421, the music fragments in its binding as A 471, following Adrian V. Steiger, "Das Berner Chansonnier-Fragment. Beobachtungen zur Handschrift und zum Repertoire", Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft/Annales Suisses de Musicologie, Neue Folge/Nouvelle Serie 11 (1991), 43-66.

Ox56 Oxford, All Souls College, 56

Ox213 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213 PadA (1475) Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1475 PadC (658) Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 658 PadD (1106) Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1106

Paris 2444 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.lat. 2444
Paris 1411 Paris 22069 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11411
Paris 22069 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 22069

Perugia Perugia, Biblioteca Sala del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi,

Inc. 2 (olim Cas. 3, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.)

Q1 Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna,

Q.1

Q15 Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna,

Q.15

Reina Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina")

SL Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211

Sq Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 ("Squarcialupi

Codex")

Strasbourg Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (olim Bibliothèque de la Ville),

222 C.22 (destroyed)

Tarragona 1 Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 1 Tarragona 2 Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 2 Trém Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 23190

Troyes Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes (olim Bibliothèque Munici-

pale), Fonds ancien 1397

Utrecht 37.1 Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 6 E 37 (Hs. 1846), part

т⁵⁶

Venice Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 145 (7554) Vienna922 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fragment 922

Vienna5094 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5094 Washington Washington, Library of Congress, M2.1.C6a.14 Case

Westminster London, Westminster Abbey, 33327 Würz Würzburg, Franziskanerkloster, I 10

^{56.} For the contents and numeration of these fragments see Eliane Fankhauser, "A Collection of Collections: New Insights into the Origins and Making of the Utrecht Fragments, NL-Uu 37.1", *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 64 (2014), 3-29. The group relevant here is designated 37.1, and within that the folios or bifolios are allocated roman numerals.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

New Grove I The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie, 1st

ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980).

New Grove II The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie,

2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001).

MGG1 Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Friedrich Blume, 1st edi-

tion (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949-1986).

MGG2 Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, 2nd edi-

tion (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1994-2008).

Other abbreviations: Tr, triplum; Mo, motetus; T, tenor; Ct, contratenor; C1, C2, clef C1, clef C2; I, II, cantus I, cantus II; col, coloration; frag, fragment, fragmentary; M, minim; S, semibreve

ABSTRACT

Groups of motets do not occur in the other collections of Trecento repertory. The ten motets in SL Gathering XIX include five international favourites, only two Italian motets, and the three short ones by Salinis, already known. Stylistic criteria for the choices are suggested. The biography of Hubertus de Salinis is reviewed, suggesting that a northern (Liégeois) origin is likely, that he is not 'Humbertus', not from Besançon, and unlikely to be the composer of *En la saison*. Stylistic features of his motets are reviewed, as is his authorship of at least three unique songs in SL. Some unanswered questions remain.

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