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Publication Date

1981-10-01

DOI

10.1017/s0261127900000322

Peer reviewed

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Source: *Early Music History*, Vol. 1 (1981), pp. 257-304

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/853751>

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THE ORIGINS OF SAN PIETRO B 80
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A
ROMAN SACRED REPERTORY*

Evidence for assumptions about the transmission of written polyphony in the fifteenth century comes primarily from two sources: archival references, both letters and pay records; and music manuscripts, the collections of the polyphony performed at a given centre. Unfortunately it is all too rare that specific archival references can be associated with surviving manuscripts of fifteenth-century polyphony. For some centres manuscripts have survived but not the archives, while for others there are archival references to the copying of music, but the manuscripts have disappeared. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence to indicate that many large manuscripts were compiled from what Charles Hamm termed 'fascicle-manuscripts' – small gatherings of bifolios just large enough to contain one long work or several short ones. By means of fascicle-manuscripts music could circulate randomly, travelling with singers from court to court, or it could be transmitted intentionally, as when the choir at one centre commissioned a piece from a composer working elsewhere. According to this argument, the large manuscripts we are familiar with may not even have been the normal repositories for music in this period. They were created only when enough fascicle-manuscripts had accumulated. These would then be recopied into a single manuscript, providing a greater degree of permanence.¹ The manuscript San Pietro B 80, a large choirbook which can now be shown to have been copied for the choir at the basilica of San Pietro in Vaticano, represents one of those rare

* This is an expanded version of a paper read at the Forty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, New York City, November 1979.

¹ C. Hamm, 'Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era', *Acta musicologica*, 34 (1962), pp. 166–84.

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instances when archival data can be matched to an existing manuscript. I believe it is also possible to show that it had as its sources not dozens of fascicle-manuscripts but two choirbooks (now lost) from the previous generation.

San Pietro v 80 has attracted and puzzled scholars for nearly a century. Now housed in the Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, it is important as a collection of all varieties of sacred polyphony from the fifteenth century – pieces that Dufay and Binchois wrote in the 1430s appear alongside Masses from the 1450s, 1460s and 1470s, Josquin's motet *Domine non secundum*, and several hymns from c. 1500. While Franz Xaver Haberl long ago introduced the manuscript in his monograph on Dufay,² the question of its date and origins was not formally articulated until Charles Hamm attempted to establish them for his study of San Pietro v 80 published in 1960. Concluding, on the basis of the manuscript's Flemish repertory, Flemish script and Flemish initials, that 'it could have been copied in northern France, then brought to Italy by Flemish musicians', Hamm was forced to admit he had been able to learn 'nothing of the history of SPv80, except that it has been in Italy for as long as it has been known'.³

San Pietro v 80 is, to use Hamm's description, 'a difficult manuscript'. With eighty-seven compositions, it is one of the largest manuscripts of the period, and yet only four pieces bear attributions (see Appendix). Even stylistic analyses and comparisons with concordances in other sources have supplied only twenty-four more; consequently over two-thirds of the compositions remain anonymous. Not surprisingly, the majority of commentators have limited themselves to an investigation, generally stylistic, of one or two of the repertorial categories in San Pietro v 80. Besides Haberl, who examined two motets relevant to Dufay's biography, this approach has since been followed notably by Rudolf Gerber, Tom Ward and Richard Loyan for the hymns, and Masakata Kanazawa for the Magnificats and antiphons as well as the hymns.⁴ With the lack of

² F. X. Haberl, 'Wilhelm Du Fay: Monographische Studie über dessen Leben und Werke', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1885), pp. 471–5 (subsequently published as *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–8), 1).

³ C. Hamm, 'The Manuscript San Pietro v 80', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 14 (1960), p. 49.

⁴ The motets Haberl dealt with are Dufay's *Ave regina* and Compère's *Omnium bonorum plenum*. The other studies are R. Gerber, 'Römische Hymnenzyklen des späten 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 12 (1955), pp. 40–73; R. Loyan, 'The Music in the Manuscript Florence, Fondo Magliabechiano xix, 112bis' (Ph.D. thesis, University of

information about the origins of San Pietro B 80, estimates about the date of the repertory have provided the only means of calculating the date of the manuscript as a whole. The results have been disparate, ranging from Paul Kast's suggestion that it was written at the 'end of the 15th century', to Hamm's pinpointing of the period 1464–74.⁵ Archival records of the payments pertaining to the work of the main scribe, which are relevant to the dating of the manuscript, will be discussed after a description of the manuscript's physical characteristics.⁶

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

San Pietro B 80 is a parchment manuscript of 249 folios which measure 35.2 × 25.1 cm, though at one time it was larger, both in terms of the number and the size of the folios. There are two modern sets of foliation, one with pencil in the lower right-hand corner of each recto, the other stamped in ink at the centre bottom of each recto.⁷ As a rule there are nine staves per page, except for seven folios (fols. 43^v, 51, 94^v, 103^v, 104, 172^v, 173^v) which have a tenth staff added at the bottom, and folio 249 which is blank.⁸

The fascicle structure of San Pietro B 80 is set out in Table 1. In its present state San Pietro B 80 has twenty-four quinterns and one quatern (fols. 31–38), bound together according to an order predetermined by an alphabetical series of signature letters written in the upper and lower right-hand corners of the first recto of each fascicle. Progressing from 'a' to 'z' in lower-case letters (omitting the

California, Berkeley, 1973), pp. 169–75, 185–96, 225–6; M. Kanazawa, 'Polyphonic Music for Vespers in the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1966), passim; T. R. Ward, 'The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth-Century Italy', *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), pp. 161–88.

⁵ P. Kast, 'Römische Handschriften', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. F. Blume, 16 vols. (Kassel, 1949–79), xi, col. 757; Hamm, 'San Pietro B 80', p. 46. Among published estimates, Hamm's favours the earliest dating. Without stating their reasons, Wolfgang Stephan (*Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems* (Kassel, 1937)), puts it after 1480, and Winfried Kirsch (*Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 1966), p. 160) at 'about 1480'.

⁶ Information on the secondary scribes of San Pietro B 80 can be found in my forthcoming dissertation, 'The Music Chapel at San Pietro in Vaticano in the Later 15th Century' (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, in preparation).

⁷ The two systems are visible in Figure 5.

⁸ Folio 249 is part of a bifolio supplied at the time of binding as a flyleaf, the other half having been pasted to the back cover. Similarly, two blank bifolios were placed at the beginning of the manuscript. All that remains of these is the first folio pasted to the front cover and the stubs of the others which were cut away.

letters 'j, u, w', and lacking 'a' and 'r' which have been rubbed away by users turning the page) and then to the capitals 'A' and 'B', followed by 'cc' and 'dd', the series reveals two changes in the physical structure of the manuscript.⁹ Before the fascicles were bound the pages were trimmed back. This is indicated by the presence of only three of the signature letters in the upper right-hand corner, and confirmed by the manner in which several of the calligraphic initials have had their tops cut off. More importantly, the series of letters makes it possible to determine that two complete fascicles have been lost from San Pietro B 80, those marked 'c' and 'd'. These would have provided room not only for the conclusion of Dufay's four-voice *Missa Ave Regina* and the opening sections of the anonymous three-voice Mass which now follows it (fols. 21–25 give the *Benedictus* and *Agnus* only), but also for another three- or four-voice Mass in between the two.¹⁰ Whether the loss is due to a deliberate excision or to the sort of indiscriminate vandalism which occurred during the sack of Rome in 1527,¹¹ it clearly happened after the manuscript had been bound, for there is now a gap between fascicles 'b' and 'e'.

The binding is a reddish-brown leather on wooden boards measuring 38 × 26 cm. Its poor condition is readily visible in Figure 1. The colour is faded, the leather is so severely worn that it is falling off the boards, and both wood and leather are covered with worm holes. Nevertheless, the blind-tooled impressions, identical on the front and back covers, are still easily distinguishable. The design is one which has been characterised as typical of monastic binderies.¹²

⁹ The letters 'dd' are barely visible in the extreme lower right-hand corner of Figure 5.

¹⁰ Because the Dufay Mass is complete as far as the *Osanna* and the anonymous Mass which follows consists of the *Benedictus* and *Agnus*, Hamm proposed that they represented a composite Mass, fashioned perhaps because Dufay's Mass 'was copied into SPB80 before it had been completed'; see Hamm, 'San Pietro B 80', p. 46. Alejandro Planchart, in a paper read at the Dufay conference at Brooklyn College in 1974, argued that the break-off was due to 'the loss of an entire fascicle from that source'; see A. E. Planchart, 'Guillaume Dufay's Masses: A View of the Manuscript Traditions', *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference*, ed. A. W. Atlas (New York, 1976), p. 44.

¹¹ For an estimate of the damage done to the San Pietro library in 1527, see G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio . . . e i codici greci Pio di Modena con una digressione per la storia dei codici di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Studi e Testi 75 (Vatican City, 1938), p. 167. A third possibility is that the missing fascicles were among the quinterns from useless books (*librorum inutilium*) sold to a used-book shop in the Campo dei Fiori when the San Pietro archives and library were moved to the Tempio della Madonna detta della Febbre in 1535; see Mercati, p. 145, and L. Schiaparelli, 'Le carte antiche dell'Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro in Vaticano', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 24 (1901), p. 410.

¹² I. Schünke, *Die Einbände des Palatina in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, Studi e Testi 216

Table 1 *The fascicle structure of San Pietro B 80*

Fascicles	Folios	Initials		Contents
		Lower right	Upper right	
1	1–10			hymn, Mass
2	11–20	b		Mass
3	missing			Mass
4	missing			Mass
5	21–30	e		Mass, motets, antiphons
6	31–38	f		hymn, motet, antiphons
7	39–48	g	g	Mass
8	49–58	h		Mass (+ hymn fragment)
9	59–68	i		Mass
10	69–78	k		Mass
11	79–88	l		Mass
12	89–98	m	m	Mass
13	99–108	n		Mass
14	109–118	o		Mass
15	119–128	p		Mass
16	129–138	q		Mass
17	139–148			Mass
18	149–158	s		Mass
19	159–168	t		Mass
20	169–178	v		Mass
21	179–188	x		Mass, hymns
22	189–198	y		hymns, Magnificats
23	199–208	z	z	Magnificats
24	209–218	A		Magnificats
25	219–228	B		Magnificat, hymns, motets
26	229–238	cc		antiphons
27	239–248	dd		motets, Te Deum, hymn

Both covers are divided by sextuple fillets into a double frame and a broad inner rectangle, which is criss-crossed by diagonals creating lozenge-shaped compartments, each filled with a small rosette. Surrounding the rectangle is a frame decorated with a juxtaposed single stamp. Originally there were two clasps affixed to the right edge of the outer frame, used to fasten the book. Several identifying library stickers adorn the binding inside and out. On the spine, in addition to the sticker giving the shelf and manuscript number 'B/80', is an early eighteenth-century, handwritten description of the contents, 'Liber Missarum musicae antiquus in canto figurato'. Two labels

(Vatican City, 1962), pp. 10, 12. The terminology I use in this description is from E. P. Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings* (London, 1928), *passim*.

stamped with the call-mark also appear on the inside of the front cover (see Figure 2).¹³

An exact dating of the binding is not currently possible. None of the archival references relating to San Pietro v 80 mentions payment for the manuscript's binding, thus the decoration of the binding itself provides the strongest clue to its date. Two of the tools used on the cover of San Pietro v 80 have been found together on the cover of a Vatican manuscript which can be dated approximately. The tenth volume of the *Obligaciones communes*, a series of taxation records in the cameral registers of the Archivio Vaticano, spans the years 1489–92.¹⁴ Although its cover has a different pattern from that of San Pietro v 80 (see Figure 3) the stamp enclosing the central rectangle on the cover of San Pietro v 80 also decorates the outer frame of *Obligaciones communes* 10, and the tool for the sextuple fillets is the same. Fillets, stamped in a series of concentric rectangles on each cover, are singled out by Goldschmidt because they 'afford very useful clues for distinguishing different binderies, or, vice versa, to recognise bindings from the same workshop'.¹⁵ In this case recognition of these covers as products of the same bindery seems justifiable because of the congruence of the sextuple fillets and the border stamp. Under Sixtus iv (1471–84) payments to the stationer (*cartolario*) Luce Johannes da Florentia for binding books were frequent and the payment records relatively specific as to the type of book being bound. Unfortunately the opposite is true under Innocent viii (1484–92), so that the papal account books are of no more assistance for dating the binding of *Obligaciones communes* 10 than are San Pietro's for that of San Pietro v 80. While the years recorded in *Obligaciones communes* 10, 1489–92, may serve as boundary dates for its binding, San Pietro v 80 cannot be dated so specifically on this evidence alone, for it is not known how long individual tools

¹³ The signature below these stickers, 'Ego Joannes paulus turunt', belongs to one of the secondary scribes. There is no indication that he was also responsible for the binding.

¹⁴ The *Obligaciones communes* record the 'obligations' levied on abbots and bishops in the 'common interest' of the College of Cardinals and the Apostolic Camera; see the account in L. E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 45, 157–9. Volume 10 is discussed briefly in E. Göller, 'Untersuchungen über das Inventar des Finanzarchivs der Renaissancepäpste', *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: Scritti di storia e paleografia*, v: *Biblioteca ed Archivio Vaticano, biblioteche diverse*, Studi e Testi 91 (Rome, 1924), p. 257.

¹⁵ Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings*, 1, p. 260. The stamp used in both bindings was juxtaposed exactly eleven times in rows along the top and bottom of each cover.



Fig. 1. The front cover of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro v 80 (Foto Biblioteca Vaticana)

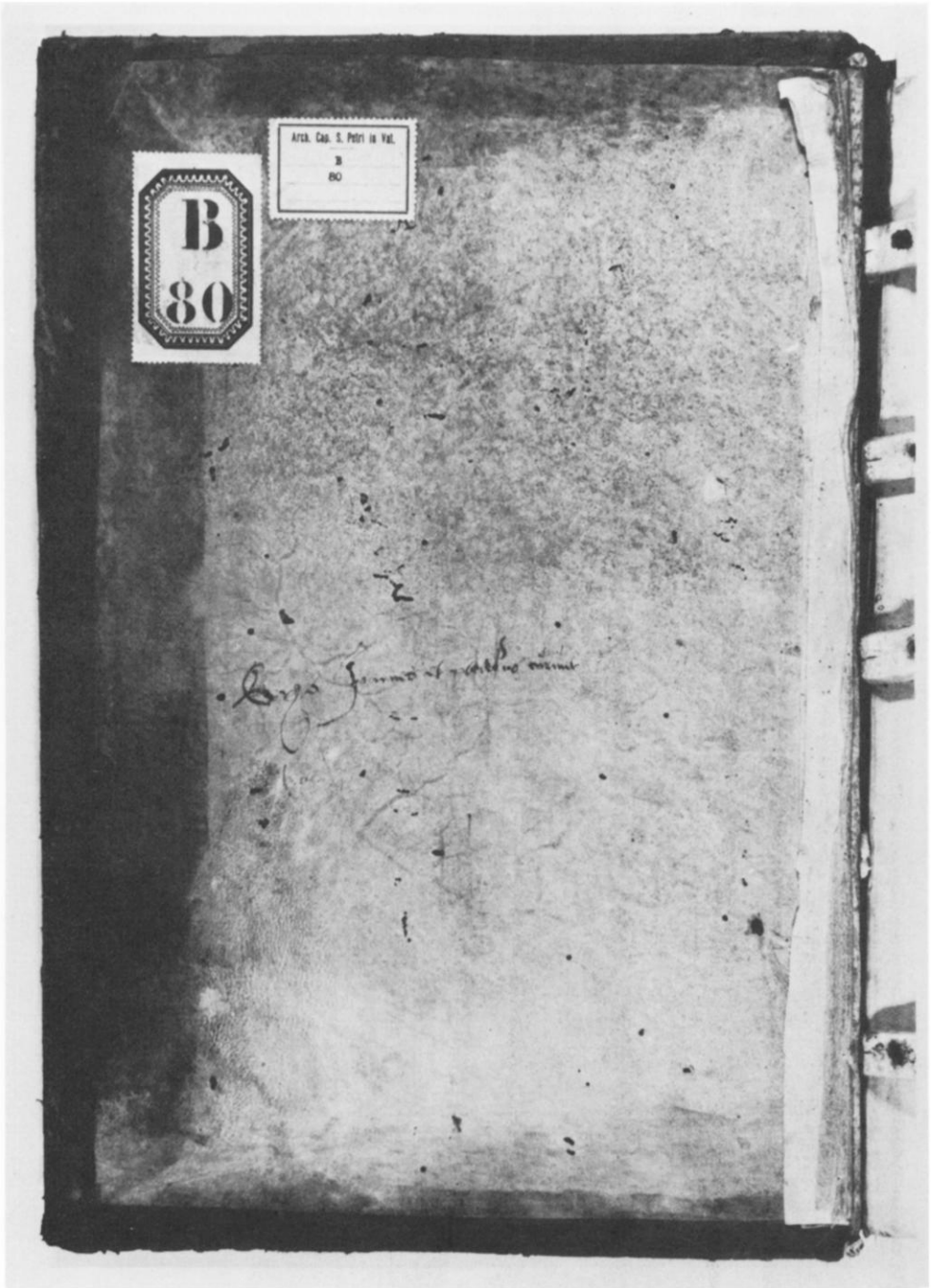


Fig. 2. The front cover, endleaf, of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80

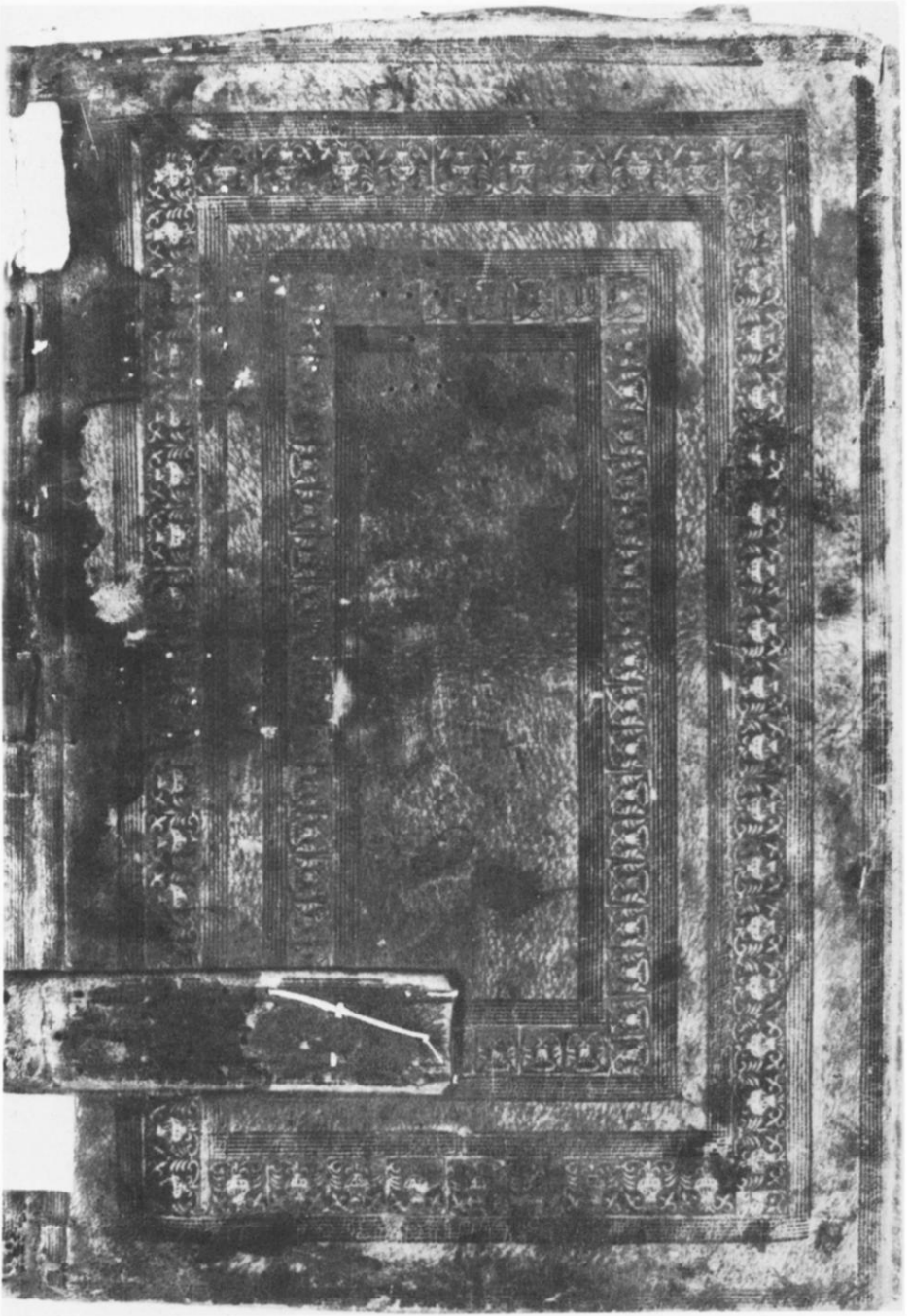


Fig. 3. The front cover of Vatican City, Archivio Vaticano, *Obligaciones communes* 10

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remained in use within a bindery.¹⁶ The correspondence with *Obligaciones communes* 10 may yet aid in the dating, either if other bindings with the same tools are found and dated, or if the records of the *cartolario* responsible for the bindings are discovered; for the moment, it is the first evidence that places San Pietro v 80 in Rome in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁷

Manuscript decoration in San Pietro v 80 is entirely in the form of pen-and-ink calligraphic initials and voice nomenclatures. The main scribe wrote two basic types of initial, which, as Hamm noted, 'are Flemish work dating most probably from the 1460's or 1470's.'¹⁸ More common are those done in red and blue ink (the latter now faded to a shade of violet, simple letters placed on a background of thin, vertical lines (see Figure 5). These are found throughout the manuscript. The other is a larger, more ornate initial done in the same brown ink as the notes and text, though sometimes it appears darker because of the thickness with which it was applied (see Figure 4). Occasionally elaborated with humorously drawn animals and human faces, this type is seen in seven Masses only, written on the seven fascicles ('g'-'n') of folios 39–108. When the folios were trimmed before the manuscript was bound these initials were cut at the top and on the left (of versos).¹⁹

¹⁶ During these years the San Pietro payment records are complete except for one eleven-month stretch, from April 1489 to February 1490. But since the surviving records vary in their thoroughness from year to year, the lack of a payment record for the binding of San Pietro v 80 does not mean that the book was bound during this eleven-month gap. Regarding payments for bindings in the papal account-books, Eugene Müntz and Paul Fabre published a number of notices in *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 48 (Paris, 1887), pp. 148–58. Tammaro de Marinis extracted all their documents referring to binding, and printed them consecutively in *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1960), I, p. 32, n. 3. The findings of Ernst Pitz suggest that *Obligaciones communes* 10 was bound in 1492 when entries into the volume ceased; in *Supplikensignatur und Briefexpedition an der römische Kurie im Pontificat Papst Calixtus III* (Tübingen, 1972), p. 97, he observes: 'Die lagen wurden beschrieben, bevor man sie zu Bänden formierte.'

¹⁷ The lack of a payment record for the binding of San Pietro v 80 raises the possibility that the manuscript went unbound for a decade or two, and suggests a practice of performing from individual fascicles rather than from a single volume. A far more luxurious manuscript, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Borg. lat. 425, the 'Messa di natale di Alessandro vi' illuminated by Pinturicchio, also appears to have waited some years for a binding. Though there is a portrait of Alexander vi on folio 8, the binding bears the coat of arms of Leo x or Clement viii; see *Quinto centenario della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1474–1975: Catalogo della mostra* (Vatican City, 1975), p. 104.

¹⁸ Hamm, 'San Pietro v 80', p. 46. Pen-and-ink initials such as those found in San Pietro v 80 were commonly drawn by the scribe and not by a separate illuminator; see L. N. Valentine, *Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts: A Glossary* (London, 1965), p. 76.

¹⁹ The animals and caricatures are on folio 65^v ('P' of 'Patrem' is made with a captive

A.F.F.

OMNIVIMETA AMORI

Itē omni potētem factorem celi et terra
 visibilium omniū et invisibilium
 Et unum dnm dnm opm filium dei
 unigenitū ex patre natū an omnia sēcula
 genuit de limbo dū dēū d do vero
 qui pp nos homines et pp nrā salutē descendit d celis
 Et incarnatus est d spū sctō ex maria virgine
 Et homo factus est

Fig. 4. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro v 80, fol. 83^v

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation from the Vatican Apostolic Library, MS San Pietro v 80, fol. 237. The page contains three systems of music, each for a different voice part: Tenor, Contratenor, and Contraltus. Each system consists of two staves of music with Latin lyrics written below. The lyrics are: "Ludentes ducuntur Aperte Vestrae lampades esse sponsus venit exire obuiam ei". The notation is in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line staff. The page number "237" is printed at the bottom center.

Fig. 5. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro v 80, fol. 237

San Pietro B 80 shares an abbreviation and a motto with three codices in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio della Cappella Sistina [Cappella Sistina 14, 15, 51], from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In San Pietro B 80 both appear at the beginning of the 'Patrem' in Barbingant's *Missa Terribilment* on folio 83^v (see Figure 4). The initials above the calligraphic 'P' are listed in Cosimi Stornajolo's inventory of San Pietro manuscripts as 'A.P.F.'²⁰ But his reading must be questioned in view of the more distinctly written 'A PP' written at the top of the 'Patrem' of Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* in Cappella Sistina 14, and the series of 'DD PP' inscriptions in Cappella Sistina 51, again, generally on the first folio of a 'Patrem'.²¹ The occurrences of these initials are recorded in Table 2. In the Cappella Sistina codices they stand at the base of sketches of crowned, bearded heads. Perhaps their function is rubrical, indicating the pope's presence or participation (as in the intonation 'Credo in unum Deum' preceding the choral 'Patrem').²²

Table 2 *Abbreviations occurring in San Pietro B 80 and Cappella Sistina sources*

MS	Folio	Abbreviations	Composer	Mass	Section
SP B80	83 ^v	.A.P.P.	Barbingant	Terribilment	Patrem
CS14	31 ^v	A PP	Dufay	Se la face ay pale	Patrem
CS51	40 ^v	DD PP	Declibano	Et super nivem dealbabor	Patrem
CS51	77	DD PP	[Faugues]	Vinnus vina	Pleni
CS51	117	DD PP	Anon.	Dung aultre amer (also in SP B 80, fols. 49 ^v –61)	Patrem
CS51	136 ^v	DD PP	Gaspar	O Venus bant	Patrem

Beneath the abbreviation in San Pietro B 80 is the hexameter 'Omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori' (Love conquers all and

dragon), folio 67^v ('S' of 'Sanctus' is a mermaid, decapitated when the folios were cut), folio 80^v ('K' of 'Kyrie' has a bear standing in it), and folios 91^v and 100^v (in each the 'E' of 'Et in terra' has the same grotesque face).

²⁰ *Inventarium codicum manusciporum latinorum Archivi Basilicae S. Petri in Vaticano*, I/A–B, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Sala consult. MS 411, p. 169.

²¹ Cappella Sistina 14 and 51 are thought to date from the early 1480s, 'not before 1481' according to Haberl, 'Wilhelm Du Fay', p. 72.

²² There is an abbreviation in a fifteenth-century missal from San Pietro (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro E 11, fol. 55), which may have a bearing on this possibility. In the margin next to the prayer to be said for the pope ('Deus omnium fidelium pastor') are the letters 'P PP' meaning 'pro papa'.

we yield to love), from Virgil's tenth Eclogue.²³ Once again a Cappella Sistina source, MS 15, has a counterpart. The pen-and-ink 'S' for the 'Sicut erat' of an anonymous Magnificat (fol. 160) incorporates the motto 'Amor vincit omnia', a quote not from Virgil but from the sequence *Amor vincit omnia potentia vincit yma*.²⁴ That one is a quote from Virgil and the other from a sequence may be incidental, for in each case the arrangement of the words within their respective initials suggests a reverse reading of the word 'Amor' as 'Roma'.²⁵

Before presenting the archival documentation concerning San Pietro в 80, something should be said about its listing in the catalogues and inventories of the San Pietro library (see Table 3). Before Cosimi Stornajolo's thorough inventory of the manuscript (Table 3, no. 4), made in the early twentieth century, San Pietro в 80 was described, if at all, in one or two sentences. In the index of 1727, the first to refer to it by the shelf letter and manuscript number в 80, the description is virtually the same as that on the eighteenth-century sticker now pasted to the spine: 'Book of old Mass music with

²³ Virgil, *Eclogue* 10, l. 69. This line also begins an octavo print entitled *Predicatio amoris* which T. de Marinis, in the *Catalogue d'une collection d'anciens livres à figures italiens* (Milan, 1925), no. 150, pp. 60–1, tentatively identifies as Roman, c. 1500. The *Predica* discusses the militancy of divine love and is set beneath a print of a preacher in a field surrounded by a group of disciples. The print and first folio are reproduced in M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italiens depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, 6 vols. (Milan, 1942), vi, no. 790.

²⁴ The sequence is noted in the fourteenth-century Florentine manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS B.R.18 (II.I.122), fol. 144^v; see B. Becherini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* (Kassel, 1959), no. 74. It was also used as the triplum of the motet *Amor-Marie preconio-Aptatur* in Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, MS without number, fols. 116^v–117, Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, MS Médecin n 196, fol. 321, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds lat. 11266, fol. 37; see H. Anglès, *El Codex musical de Las Huelgas: (Música á vens dels segles XII–XIV)*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1931), I, pp. 287–9, III, 244–8. During the time Cappella Sistina 15 was written, c. 1492–1500, this phrase served as the motto of the poet-cavaliere Matteo Maria Boiardo (1430–94); see O. Tornaghi, *Romana sapienza: Motti, locuzioni e proverbi latini*, ed. N. Quilici and F. Viviani (Ferrara, 1937), p. 175.

²⁵ In Cappella Sistina 15 if one starts at the top of the 'S' with the uppermost letter and reads down through the curve the result is 'Roma vincit'; in San Pietro в 80 Virgil's words are distributed around the 'P' of 'Patrem' in what seems a rather indiscriminate fashion (see Figure 4), with 'amori' placed in the middle, not on the right. Yet the placement of 'et nos cedamus' around the outer loop of the 'P' creates a clockwise, circular motion which leads into 'amori' from the bottom. If this motion is followed through, the second half of the motto would read 'et nos cedamus i roma'. An early-fifteenth-century collection of sayings included a conditional version of 'Roma vincit omnia': 'Roma ruit, si stat; si vertitur, omnia vincit'. The quote is included in H. Walther, ed., *Proverbia sententiaque latininitatis medii aevi*, *Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina* 2, 6 vols. (Göttingen, 1963–5), IV, no. 26938. In earlier times 'Amor' was said to be Rome's mystical name; see A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo* (Turin, 1923), p. 10, n. 25.

polyphony – 80.B'. (Table 3, no. 3). This wording can be traced back as far as Jacopo Grimaldi's 1603 inventory (Table 3, no. 2):

Book of old Mass music in polyphony of Egidius Cervelli, Petrus de Domarto, and other compositions in a manuscript of parchment folios with [blank] number of folios, and Jusquin, as in the folios with the motet *Domine non secundum peccata nostra*.

Over 80 years after his death, Josquin was still noteworthy enough for his motet to be singled out by name. But the real interest in this entry is not in the description but in its position in the inventory overall. For the lack of a better category, it was listed as no. 15 at the end of the section set aside for *Libri orationales sive rituales*. Grimaldi's earlier inventory, of 1598, also relegated San Pietro B 80 to the end of the *Libri orationales* without naming any of the composers represented in it (Table 3, no. 1).²⁶ None of the earlier fifteenth- or sixteenth-century inventories contains any record of the manuscript. Books of polyphony belonging to the choir were apparently kept separate from the basilica's other books throughout the sixteenth century, since there is no reference to a book of polyphonic music after the inventory of 1454–5.²⁷

THE PRINCIPAL SCRIBE

Work on San Pietro B 80 began during a period of unusual interest in manuscripts at San Pietro. So far as one can judge from the documents which survive from the latter half of the fifteenth century, the most productive year for music manuscripts there was 1475 (archival notices dealing with the production and repair of musical and liturgical manuscripts are listed in Table 4). Three or four singers out of nine were occupied copying music; also at this time a canon at San Pietro, Martinus de Rosa, was preparing the missal which bears

²⁶ It was misnumbered 14 in this list due to an earlier error in the numeration. The description of a 'white leather' cover is puzzling. Perhaps that too is an error related to the misnumbering. At any rate, Grimaldi omitted this description in the 1603 revision.

²⁷ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro (hereafter AGSP), Armario 19–20, *Inventario* no. 2, fol. 23^v: 'Item liber musice in canto figurato bartholomeus de magister socittatis copertis tabulis de corio albo'. Ariane Ducrot ('Histoire de la Cappella Giulia au xvi^e siècle, depuis sa fondation par Jules II (1513) jusqu'à sa restauration par Grégoire XIII (1578)', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge – Temps Modernes*, 75 (1963), pp. 179–240, 467–559) traces the choir's separate library up to 1598, until which time 'la bibliothèque fut confiée à la seule responsabilité des chanteurs. Ils faisaient relier les livres, fabriquer des caisses ou des armoires' (pp. 525–7).

San Pietro B 80 and the Roman sacred repertory

Table 3 *San Pietro B 80 in catalogues of the Library of San Pietro in Vaticano*

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- 1 *Inventarium omnium et singulorum librorum . . . Anno .D. MDXCVII Opera Iacobi Grimaldi Bononiensis dictae Basilicae sacristae*, Sala consult. MS 404:
 No. 14. Liber Musicae continens Missas in pergameno folio manuscriptum et corio albo coopertum. f. [blank].

 - 2 *Clemente VIII Pont. Max. index omnium et singulorum librorum . . . Ill. et Rmi. d. Bernardini . . . iussu conscriptus*, (1603), Sala consult. MS 405:
 No. 15. liber missarum musica antiquus in cantu figurato Egidii Cervelli, Petri de Domarto, et aliorum compositioni in folio pergameno manuscriptum foliorum n° [blank] et Jusquin ut fol. in motect Domine non secundum peccata nostra.

 - 3 *Index codicum ac librorum manuscriptorum et typis impressorum Bibliothecae Sactae [sic] Basilicae . . . anno domini MDCCXXVII per R. D. Raphaellem Sindone*, Sala consult. MS 406:
 Liber Missarum musice antiquus cum cantu figurato – 80.B.

 - 4 *Inventarium codicum manuscriptorum latinorum Archivi Basilicae S. Petri in Vaticano maxima ex parte e recensione Cosimi Stornajolo (Arch. S. Petri, H 99–100) depromptu*, Tomus I, A–B, (1968), Sala Consult. MS 411:
 p. 164: B 80 Saec. xv, membran., mm.352 × 251; ff.1–249. *Missae* vel eius partes, psalmi cantica, hymni, antiphonae, versus (vulgo *mottetti*) etc. notis musicalibus instructa.
 pp. 164–8: [list of compositions (p. 166 blank)]
 p. 168: Codex tribus manibus scriptus est; prima manus fere totum, secunda ff. 31^v–38. 219^v–224. 246^v–248^v; tertia f. 49 . . . Tegumenti tabulae corio discerpto contextae sunt saec. xv.
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his signature and coat of arms, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 72.²⁸ By far the most active scribe was Nicholas Ausquier, a singer who arrived at the basilica in mid-May 1474 and began to copy large numbers of quinterns for the choir.²⁹ The case for identifying Ausquier as the main scribe of San Pietro B 80 has several components: a payment found in the San Pietro account books for 1474–5; three receipts for payment in Ausquier's

²⁸ The manuscript was completed on 18 July 1475, according to a note on folio 423^v. Martinus de Rosa died just over a week later on 26 July. Eugene Müntz (*Les arts à la cour des papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle*, III, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 28 (Paris, 1882), p. 268, n.) prints a contemporary inventory of objects Martinus left to San Pietro on his death, beginning with a reference to his missal: 'Unum missale magnum et pulchrum'.

²⁹ Haberl (F. X. Haberl, 'Die Römische "Schola cantorum" und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1887), p. 50, n.), wrongly counts him present in the choir during 1479.

own hand; a comparison of these receipts with the text of San Pietro B 80; and a cryptic signature left within the manuscript itself. The most important clue the payments provide concerns the quantity and the groupings of the quinterns.

The first record of a payment to Ausquier for scribal work is reproduced in Table 4 (no. 16). It is for the extraordinarily large sum of 27 ducats 46 bolognini, more than most singers would earn in two years:

Pay Antonio de Mota and Nicolao Isquiner who sang contra for their salary for one year and for notating certain new quinterns of sheepskin and for the quinterns pay Johannes Fini, the stationer. In all, 27 ducats 46 bolognini just as it appears in the book of receipts in the hand of the same Nicolao on folio 87.³⁰

Just as this entry indicates, on folio 87 of the book of receipts for 1474 (that is for the year beginning March 1474 and ending February 1475) Ausquier signed for his salary every month. On the verso of this folio there are two receipts for notating music (see Table 4, nos. 17 and 18).³¹ From his detailed itemisation it is possible to show exactly how the money was divided between Antonius de Mota, Ausquier and the stationer Johannes Fini of Florence. The largest expenditure is on the singers' salaries: 2 ducats to Antonius for March, his final month in the choir, 2 ducats for each full month of Ausquier's service, and 1 ducat for his first half-month, totalling 21 ducats. What are then described vaguely in payment record no. 16 as 'certain new quinterns' are carefully enumerated: for notating seven quinterns, Ausquier received 2 ducats, while for the remaining eleven only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats – I shall return later to this inequality in payments. Finally, for providing the first seven sheepskin quinterns the stationer received 2 ducats. The grand total is $27\frac{1}{2}$ papal ducats.³²

³⁰ This is the source of Haberl's reference to 'Nicholas Isquina' in 1474; *op. cit.*, p. 49, n. 31. Folios 87–87^v of ACSP, Armaria 47–50, *Quietanza* no. 6 (1474–5), are reproduced in Figures 6 and 7.

³² Conversion charts for the various currencies circulating in Rome at this time can be found in the following sources: R. Montel, 'Un "casale" de la campagne romaine de la fin du xiv^e siècle au début du xviii^e: le domaine de Porto', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge – Temps Modernes*, 83 (1971), pp. 85–7, discusses currencies used in the *Censualia* of San Pietro, and publishes an exchange table from G. Garampi's unpublished *Saggi di osservazione sul valore delle antiche monete Ponteficie* (1776), MS, in Rome, Accademia di Francia; J. Delumeau, *La vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du 16^e siècle*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 184, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957–9), II, pp. 656 ff; W. V. Hoffmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Kurialen Behörden*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1914), II, pp. 199–200.

Table 4 *References to manuscript production in Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro*

The information in each entry is given in the order: item number, manuscript number (all with the prefix *Armaria*), volume title and number, fascicle number (*Intorno*), folio number, date of entry, text of entry.

- 1 41–2, *Censualia* no. 7, I, 68, 19 March 1458
Die xviii dicta mensis solvimus de mandato *dominorum* Vicariorum pro xi quaternis carte pro canto figurato quos abeat dominus decano duc. unus.
- 2 41–2, *Censualia* no. 8, I, 49^v, January 1460
solvimus domino Vicario pro uno colletario bol. 2.
- 3a 41–2, *Censualia* no. 8, IV, 38^v, 10 May 1461
Die x mensis maii solvi de consensu camerariorum Guilelmo nostro cantori pro certis cantis factis et scriptis in libro ecclesie – bol. lvi.
- 3b 41–2, *Censualia* no. 8, III, 51, 15 May 1461
Die xv mensis dicti solvi de consensu *dominorum* Camerariorum guilelmo nostro cantori pro certis cantis scriptis in nostro libro pro ecclesie – bol. lvi.
- 4 41–2, *Censualia* no. 8, III, 77^v, 17 December 1461
Die xvii dicti mensis solvi de mandato domini vicarii petro teotonico mercario pro duodecem paribus signaculorum ad usum librorum cori nostre basilice – bol. xviii.
- 5 41–2, *Censualia* no. 9, III, 68, 30 June 1463
Eodem die solvi philipp nostro cantori pro certis quinternis notatis de mandato *dominorum* camerariorum duc. duos bol. xxii.
- 6 41–2, *Censualia* no. 10, IV, 92^v, 30 November 1467
Die xvii dicti mensis solvi de mandato domini vicarii petro teotonico mercario presente domino Johanni Cornuel nostro contratenorista pro una missa cantata [sic] notata in libro ecclesie bol. xxi.
- 7 41–2, *Censualia* no. 10, IV, 104, February 1468
Solvi de mandato domini Vicarii prefati magistro petro cartario per manus archiepiscopi pro ligatura et aptatura missalis cappelle domini bonifatii carl. papales duodecem.
- 8 41–2, *Censualia* no. 10, IV, 104 February 1468
Solvi magistro petro francigene pro religatura gradualis parvi nostre basilice ad omnes suas expensis – duc. I bol. 12.
- 9 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, II, 55, 11 April 1472
Die xi dicti mensis solvi uni cartulario francigene per manus Innocentii nostri beneficiati pro lineatura trium quinternorum bol. duodecem.
Die dicta pro tribus quinternis lineatis pro scribendo lectionarium per manus Innocentii d. unum.
- 10 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, II, 84, 10 October 1472
Die dicta solvi Johanni britoni cartulario pro tribus quinternis cartis pecorine ad scribendum lectionarium per manus Innocentii . . . bol. 68.
- 11 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, II, 100, 5 March 1473
Die v dicti [mensis] solvi pro ligatura et minatura lectionarii vz. prime partis per manus Innocentii duc. unum bol. xli.

Table 4 (*cont.*)

- 12 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, III, 51^v, 31 May 1474
Die dicta solvi pro ligatura unius psalterii magistro Johanni Britoni de mandato vicarii duc. unum.
- 13 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, III, 58, 24 December 1474
Die supra dicta per manus domini protonotarii de cesarinis et domini falconis Johanni fini cartulario pro ligatura et illuminatura missalis dello convento duc. duodecem et bol. sex.
- 14 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, III, 61^v, 12 February 1475
Die XII solvi Magistro Johanni fini cartulario florentino de mandato vicarii pro duobus quinternis de capretto in folio regali bol. sexaginta. Item pro uno quinterno regali de carta barabacina bol. decem, et pro lineatura bol. octo, pro duobus pecoris pro coperta bol. XVI que omnia fuerunt pro antiquo libro canto etc. de mandato vicarii pro manus egidii et nicolai cantorem. Intotum sunt duc. unus et bol. 22.
- 15 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, III, 64, 28 February 1475
item solvi David Fornant qui cantavit contra pro aliquos menses et notavit aliquos quinternos novos in libro antiquo qui erat destructos de mandato vicarii per manus domini stefani Camerarii duc. tres et bol. XI libro quitantiarum fol. 92.
- 16 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, III, 64, 28 February 1475
Item solvi Antonio de mota et nicolao isquiner [*sic*] qui cantaverunt contra pro salario ipsorum unius anni et pro notatura certorum quinternorum in carta pecorina novorum et pro carta solvi Johanni fini cartulario. Intotum duc. viginti septem bol. quadraginta sex sicut apparet in libro quitantiarum manus ipsius nicolai folio 87.
- 17 47–50, *Quietanza* no. 6, 87^v, February 1475
Ego nicholaus ausquier recepi a domino iheronimo camerario quia notam septem quinternas in carta pecorina ducatos duos con fidem fano quatenus solvit supra dictis camerarius magistro Johanni fini cartulario florentino pro supra dictem septem quinternis ducatos duos papales.
- 18 47–50, *Quietanza* no. 6, 87^v, February 1475
Item ego recepi a dicto domino iheronimo camerarii pro residuo undecim quinternarum videlicet pro notatura et pro cartis duos ducatos cum dimidio et in fidem ipsius domini iheronimi hanc quittance manu propria scripsi.
- 19 47–50, *Quietanza* no. 7, 28 February 1476
Die ultima februaryi anno milesimo cccc°LXXVI° ego nicholaus ausquier cantor ecclesie sancti petri recepi a domino christoforo camerario pro quinternis parcameni et pro scriptura ipsarum ducatos auri in auro novem et quarant tres. Ita est Nicholaus ausquier.
- 20 41–2, *Censualia* no. 11, VII, 62, 5 January 1479
Die v Exposui pro ligatura missalis Sancti blasii . . . bol. 60.
- 21 41–2, *Censualia* no. 15, III, 35, 31 March 1495
Item pro bibalia allo dicto notario bolognini quindici.
- 22 41–2, *Censualia* no. 15, III, 40^v, 24 April 1495
Item alli notari dello Vicario pro bibalia carleni uno.
- 23 41–2, *Censualia* no. 15, III, 48, 5 June 1495
Item pro bibalia alli cantori de palazzo un duc. de auro.
- 24 41–2, *Censualia* no. 15, III, 49, 18 June 1495
A di 18 de jugno diei alli cantori pro bibalia per commessione delli cammorlegni che venero con noi alla processione dello corpo de christo duc. uno doro.

San Pietro v 80 and the Roman sacred repertory

Table 4 (*cont.*)

- 25 41–2, *Censualia* no. 14, iii, 286, 6 April 1498
Die VI Aprilis pro incollatura ligatura et coopertura lamentationem per manus
Theodoricus cantores carl. tres . . . bol. 22.
- 26 41–2, *Censualia* no. 16, v, 79, December 1499
et Joanni cantori pro annotatura aliorum quinterniorum pro Cappella ducatos
tres.
- 27 41–2, *Censualia* no. 16, v, 89^v, February 1500
Joanni Tarentino Cantori pro salario plus sibi promisso pro duobis mensibus
Carlenos viginti.
- 28 41–2, *Censualia* no. 18, 62^v, 30 April 1501
Item pacai ad dimitrio per commissione de misser petro [de militibus Camer-
arius] pro certis copie factis per nicolo contra alto pro cantare lo di de sancto
marco . . . carlini dodici.
- 29 41–2, *Censualia* no. 19, 97^v, 2 June 1502
Et Nicolao Cantori pro scriptura et notatura facta in quibusdam libellum ad
Cantandis portandis quos aptis ad usum nostre cappelle . . . bol. 45.
-
-

On the strength of Ausquier's specific record, the first tentative identification of his manuscript with San Pietro v 80 is feasible. His first two instalments were of seven and eleven quinterns. Because he characterised the second group as the 'remaining' (*residuo*) eleven quinterns, the impression is that together the eighteen fascicles constituted a unified set. If one begins with quintern 'g' on folio 39 – which incidently is exactly where Charles Hamm concluded that the manuscript was begun³³ – then a count of eighteen fascicles would extend to folio 218, the last folio of quintern 'A'. In terms of music, Ausquier's first two scribal receipts would thus pertain to what is now the second half of the Mass section, the entire hymn section, and all the Magnificats copied by the main hand. Furthermore, the specific division spelled out by Ausquier of seven fascicles plus eleven accords with marked differences in the scribal details found in each section, chief among which are the pen-and-ink initials adorning the beginning of each Mass movement, hymn and Magnificat. As noted earlier San Pietro v 80 contains two basic types of initial. The larger, more ornate brown-ink initials, occasionally elaborated with humorously drawn animals or faces, appear in seven Masses only, written on the first seven fascicles ('g'–'n') of the eighteen now under consideration. Other details, though of less importance individually, are together noteworthy by virtue of the fact that Ausquier added them only in these seven quinterns: Ausquier's only composer

³³ Hamm, 'San Pietro v 80', p. 42.

attribution, that to 'F. Caron' (fol. 99); the motto 'Omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori' (fol. 83^v); and, on the first folio of the *Missa Soyez emprentich* (fol. 71), the direction to turn the page, 'vlove archangele' (turn archangel). This last is not the plea for divine intervention it seems to be, but rather an instruction to his fellow singer Archangelo Blasio. Archangelo had joined the choir in March 1473, having previously served at the nearby Hospital of the Santo Spirito. He remained at San Pietro until November 1475 singing soprano; (the direction to turn the page is written underneath the soprano line of Kyrie 1). In December 1475 he left to join the papal choir. These seven quinterns are marked out sufficiently by the scribal details listed above for it to seem reasonable to connect them with the first payment Ausquier received as a scribe. But equally important for this identification is the fact that the next eleven quinterns conclude with the last Magnificat Ausquier copied, thereby constituting the sort of stopping-place suggested by Ausquier's reference to the 'remaining' eleven quinterns.³⁴

The next payment record is again a receipt in Ausquier's hand, dated 'the last day of February 1476' (see Table 4, no. 19). Both for an undisclosed number of quinterns and for writing them ('e pro scriptura ipsarum'), he received from the chamberlain Christoforo Sancti 9 gold ducats 43 bolognini. It is not possible to break down the lump sum into separate categories because Ausquier failed to note the number of quinterns, how much (if any) money was owed to the stationer, and whether or not there were allotments for the addition of the ornate calligraphic initials. However, in view of Ausquier's phrasing and the common practice of medieval and renaissance scribes, we may assume that this payment would have covered the parchment for the nine remaining fascicles, the music he copied onto eight of them, and the calligraphy throughout the manuscript.³⁵ Although these are the only payments to Ausquier that can be tied

³⁴ It is worth noting that Ausquier was paid no more for his labours on the first seven fascicles than was the *cartolario* Johannes Fini. Johannes's fee takes into consideration not only the sheepskin, but also the preparation of this material. The dressing of parchment was a lengthy process, entailing cleaning, scraping, cutting and, in this case, folding and assembling into quinterns. Johannes Fini may be the 'giovanni di Piero Fini' paid on 26 April 1461 for preparing parchment quinterns for papal scribes; the payment has been printed in Müntz and Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle*, p. 129. The will of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville also mentions 'Johannes Fini *cartulario*' regarding an inventory of the books in his library; see Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes*, III, p. 294.

³⁵ See note 18 above. Figure 8 reproduces Table 4, no. 19.

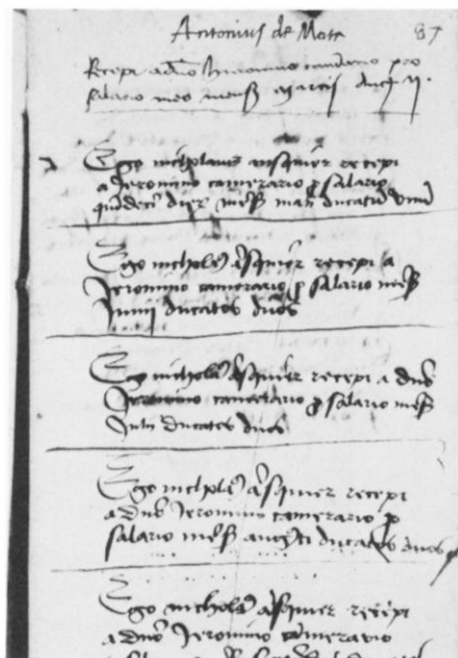


Fig. 6. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro, Armaria 47–50, *Quietanza* no. 6 (1474–5), fol. 87

directly to San Pietro v 80 one is tempted to view the gradual rise in the salary he collected for singing as a supplementary reward for copying. By at least August 1475, and perhaps as early as March, his monthly allowance had risen from 2 to 2½ ducats. The following January it crept up still further, to 3 ducats.

A comparison of Ausquier's bookhand with his handwriting in the *Quietanza* confirms the identification of him as the main scribe. Though there are differences there are more similarities, many more than one would expect to find in such a comparison.³⁶ Furthermore, like many medieval and renaissance scribes, Ausquier did sign his work, though not nearly so obviously as most. On folio 237, near the

³⁶ Among the similarities are: the capital 'E' as in 'Ego' in each entry in the *Quietanza* and in San Pietro v 80 on folio 83^v, line 5; the final 's' as in his first signature in the *Quietanza* and in San Pietro v 80 on folio 237, line 1, in 'virgines' and 'vestras'. In both San Pietro v 80 and his receipts there are similar inconsistencies. See for instance the two forms of 'r' as in 'camerario' (bottom of Figure 6) and in San Pietro v 80 on folio 83^v, line 7, in 'incarnatus' and 'virgine'; and also the 'd' as in the third line of his first *Quietanza* entry and in San Pietro v 80 on folio 83^v, lines 5 and 6 (straight stem) and folio 89^v, line 2 (looped stem).

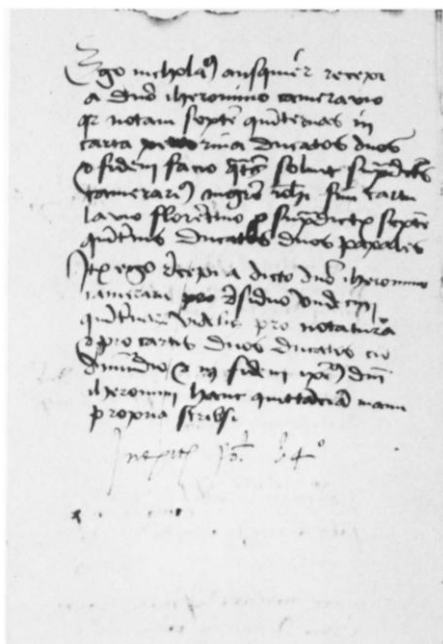


Fig. 7. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro, Armaria 47-50, *Quietanza* no. 6 (1474-5), fol. 87^r

end of the fascicle devoted to antiphons, there is a seemingly capricious inversion of the liturgical designation for the antiphon *Prudentes virgines* (see Figure 5). Viewed right side up (by turning the book upside down) the words ‘de virginibus a/’ prescribe this antiphon for the Feast of the Virgins. In this case the designation is unlike any other liturgical classification in the manuscript: the addition of the abbreviation is unusual for reasons given below, and the form of the ‘-us’ abbreviation differs from Ausquier’s normal script. There are few other instances in San Pietro B 80 of compositions being identified both by liturgical designation and genre. To cite one example: Ausquier copied two versions of the hymn *Ave maris stella*, one on folio 183 in the hymn section, and the other on folio 194 among the Magnificats. For the first he supplied the liturgical designation only, ‘in sancte marie solemnitatibus’, while for the second he added its genre, ‘Hymnus marie virginis beate’. Here, as in all cases other than the antiphon *Prudentes virgines*, he included the genre of a piece whenever it was copied outside the section allotted for it.

Thus the antiphon abbreviation in 'de virginibus a/' is actually redundant because it occurs over an antiphon placed in the middle of the antiphon section. Ausquier also customarily placed the genre before the liturgical assignment, rather than afterwards, as in this case. As a result of these changes, viewed as Ausquier intended them, one is left with a very reasonable facsimile of his name. There may also be a second word in this puzzle, though that is not clear. The possibility that Ausquier was the composer of this antiphon must be discounted. He was seizing the only opportunity he had to place his cryptic signature in the manuscript.

Dating the records of the three scribal payments, and with them Ausquier's work, is problematic. The earliest record, in the *Liber exitus*, is dated the last day of February 1475, but in fact this notice is nothing more than a summary made at the end of the fiscal year. Along with Ausquier's two undated receipts from the *Quietanza* it includes payment to the contratenor Antonius de Mota, who had not sung at San Pietro since the previous March. The last relevant record, Ausquier's final receipt for scribal payment, is dated the last day of February 1476. At best this date represents the completion of the calligraphic initials and voice nomenclatures and reveals nothing about when the music might have been finished. Quite possibly it is not even that, but rather once again a listing at the end of a year of accumulated expenditures.

A measure of Ausquier's progress may exist in the placement of the two anonymous Christmas motets (folios 224^v–228) between the Magnificat section and the fascicle devoted to the Magnificat antiphons. Special Christmas music at San Pietro would have been particularly useful in 1474, since five years earlier Pope Paul II had decreed 1475 to be a Jubilee year, which in keeping with tradition commenced on Christmas eve.³⁷ When Sixtus IV ushered in the Holy Year with the ceremonial opening of the Holy Door at San Giovanni in Laterano, the new choral manuscript at San Pietro may have already comprised a solid Mass section (thirteen in all), a complete cycle of hymns, an extensive collection of Magnificats (also thirteen) and two Christmas motets. For Ausquier to have prepared these

³⁷ Paul II's Bull of 19 April 1470, confirmed by Sixtus IV on 26 March 1472, proclaimed that Jubilee years would henceforth occur every twenty-fifth year, rather than, as was customary, every fiftieth; see L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 40 vols. (St Louis, 1891–1953), iv, ed. and trans. F. Antrobus, pp. 117, 273ff.

eighteen fascicles between his arrival in mid-May and mid-December, he would have averaged two and a half quinterns per month. A conservative projection for the remaining fascicles, based on this pace, places his completion of the music and text of San Pietro v 80 in late March 1475.

Several major questions about the provenance of the manuscript San Pietro v 80 have thus been answered. Yet while the Flemish characteristics described two decades ago by Charles Hamm can be explained as the work of a northerner in Rome, the inability to trace Nicholas Ausquier to any other court or church has left other questions unanswered. San Pietro v 80 represents a prime example of the need to distinguish between manuscript provenance and repertory transmission. The questions that remain are summarised not by 'where did Ausquier come from?' but rather, 'where did the music come from?' For the central core of San Pietro v 80 the immediate sources came not from northern Europe, but from San Pietro. In fact, it can be demonstrated that an earlier polyphonic manuscript was incorporated into the fabric of San Pietro v 80.

On two occasions the San Pietro records for the 1460s include payments to singers for copying music into the *libro ecclesie*. Johannes Raat and Johannes Cornuel were compensated in 1467 for copying a Mass together (see Table 4, no. 6); and in 1461, Guillelmo *nostro cantori* was paid for composing and copying certain pieces (see Table 4, no. 3). The search for other references to the entry of music in the *libro ecclesie* leads to the following notice dating from the end of the pontificate of Calixtus III, the first Borgia pope (see Table 4, no. 1): 'The nineteenth day of said month [March 1458] pay by the mandate of the Lord Vicar for eleven parchment quaterns for the polyphonic music which the Lord Dean [Nicholas Volfardo] has – one ducat.' Presumably one or two of the singers at San Pietro then copied the polyphony onto some but not all of the quaterns, leaving room for subsequent additions. Unfortunately any money expended for this purpose was not recorded in the account-books of 1458 or 1459, and no account-book survives for 1460. I have yet to encounter any biographical information concerning Volfardo, but several clues exist connecting the music for which he was responsible in 1458 with music copied by Ausquier in 1474–5.

Firstly, there is the discrepancy in the amounts Ausquier was

paid. The first receipt is for 2 ducats in exchange for seven quinterns, while the second group of eleven quinterns brought him only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats, significantly less per quintern. Any thought that the music in the first group was valued more highly than the music in the second group must be rejected; such a notion is completely incompatible with the established standard of payment based on quantity. Quality seems to have been a factor only with respect to the style of print, the intricacy of initials and border decorations, and type of parchment and binding. In the light of this attitude, the number and type of fascicles bought in 1458 is especially interesting. Because payments were customarily made with an exactitude that today appears laborious, we can determine that Ausquier's eleven quinterns were copied directly from Volfardo's eleven quaterns. Eleven quaterns equal forty-four bifolios; eleven quinterns equal fifty-five – a sizable difference. However, this disparity proves to be the key to understanding the decreased pay scale for the eleven quinterns. The 2 ducats Ausquier collected for seven quinterns works out at 4.4 bolognini per bifolio; whereas $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats for the next eleven quinterns is only 3.5. But if he was paid for the quaterns he copied from rather than the quinterns he copied onto, the disparity disappears; $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats for eleven quaterns is almost exactly 4.4 bolognini for each bifolio, the same rate he collected for the first group.

If this hypothesis is correct, one could expect to find evidence that Ausquier had filled fewer staves per page and written fewer notes per staff in order to stretch the sixteen pages in a quatern out to the twenty in a quintern. In fact he did just that. Since the three-voice Masses occur with equal frequency in the first seven fascicles (folios 39–99) and the next eleven fascicles (there are five in each group), they provide the only real common denominator for purposes of comparison. Conveniently, in both groups of five Masses the average number of staves required for each Mass is 150. Yet in the first set the Masses occupy only ninety-five pages, while the second set is spread over 104. We find a similar gap in the average number of notes per staff, with the staves in the second group of Masses repeatedly shorter by more than three notes. The effect of these differences is more pronounced because they occur simultaneously: fewer notes per staff and fewer staves per page in the second group. Ausquier used them hand in hand to expand the quaterns from the older manuscript into quinterns in San Pietro v 80.

Thus much of the music from the first layer can be placed in Rome by 1458. The repertory of these eleven fascicles divides into three groups: six Masses, twenty hymns and twelve Magnificats.³⁸ Composers are known primarily through concordances with other manuscripts, one exception being the Cervelli–de Domarto Mass (folios 143^v–154) – an attribution supplied by the hand which appended the Kyrie. Dufay’s six hymns and five (or perhaps six) Magnificats make him the composer with the largest representation. One Magnificat is by Dunstaple, and at least one other by Binchois (the Magnificat *primi toni*, folios 196^v–198, is attributed to Binchois in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216, and to Dufay in Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α .x.1.11 [Modena α .x.1.11]). Everything else is anonymous. Elsewhere in San Pietro v 80 Binchois has two other compositions, the Ordinary antiphon *Asperges me* (folios 239^v–240) and the Te Deum (folios 242^v–246). Outside the hymn and Magnificat sections these pieces alone have concordances with Modena α .x.1.11, Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS q 15, and Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza, MS 92, all sources which date from before 1450. Their presence in the 1458 manuscript seems probable, the half quintern they occupy having simply been displaced from the middle eleven quinterns by Caron’s *Missa L’homme armé*, which intrudes across the first five folios of the fascicle marked ‘o’. We may thus set Binchois’s known contribution to the early layer at three or four pieces, second only to Dufay.

These fascicles, then, were probably the *libro ecclesie* referred to in a payment record of 1461 (see Table 4, no. 3a): ‘The tenth day of the month of May, according to the agreement of the chamberlain, pay Guilelmo our singer for certain songs composed and written in the church’s book – 56 bolognini.’³⁹ Guillelmo sang tenor at San Pietro from October 1455 to October 1461, with intermittent periods of employment at Padua Cathedral. The *Acta capitulare* of Padua

³⁸ Whether or not the three hymns in the Magnificat section (fols. 194, 219, 228^v) should be considered part of the older manuscript is not clear.

³⁹ Table 4, no. 3b transmits a slightly different version of this notice. The date is given as 15 May (rather than 10 May) and no mention is made of the music having been composed (‘factis’). Yet there can be no questioning the fact that the two entries refer to the same payment. For 1461 two complete *Libri exitus* exist. The first, *ACSP*, Armaria 41–2, *Censualia* no. 8 (1461), Intorno III, from which Table 4, no. 3b is taken, is in fact a tidy copy of the second, *Censualia* no. 8 (1461), Intorno IV. Priority is therefore given to the earlier version.

refer to him as 'Guillelmo da Francia', and first mention him in January 1456. He apparently travelled back and forth between the two cities; a meeting of the cathedral chapter on 5 November 1461 decided by a vote of ten to two to pay him his salary for four of the months he had resided in Rome.⁴⁰

Some or all of his additions to the *libro ecclesie* should be present, anonymously, in the early layer of San Pietro в 80. Among the manuscript's anonymous compositions, one may date from the spring of 1461, about the time of the absence from Padua for which the chapter paid Guillelmo. The tenor of the *Missa Thomas* (fols. 166^v–181), the last Mass in this section and the only one for four voices, suggests a connection with a major event in the pontificate of Pius II. The text of the tenor is two short sentences, appearing first in the Kyrie I and the Christe respectively (see Example 1): 'As Thomas slain is given to the grave, a new Abel succeeds the old' ('Thomas cesus dum datur funeri/ Novus Abel succedit veteri'). The metaphorical juxtaposition of Thomas with Abel seems a politically apt, though theologically hyperbolic, description of Thomas Paleologus, one of the two surviving brothers of Byzantium's last emperor, Constantine XI.⁴¹ In 1460 Thomas, known in Italy as the 'Despot of Morea', fled his kingdom in the Peloponnesus to avoid the Turkish onslaught led by the Sultan Mehmed II. The analogy with Abel is particularly fitting because the Sultan's attack was precipitated by a quarrel between Thomas and his brother Demetrius. While Demetrius capitulated and offered his daughter for the Sultan's harem, Thomas won the undying gratitude of Pope Pius II by bringing with him to Italy the head of St Andrew, the first apostle. The honours bestowed upon Thomas after he arrived in Rome on 7 March 1461 are reported to have continued for weeks.⁴² Pius II presented him with the Golden Rose, the symbol of virtue, and set him up in the palace near ss. Quattro Coronati with an annual

⁴⁰ Many of the Padua records have been printed in R. Casimiri, 'Musica e musicisti nella Cattedrale di Padova nei secoli XIV, XV, XVI', *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale*, 18 (1941), pp. 8–11, 152–6. For further details see Reynolds, 'The Music Chapel at San Pietro in Vaticano', chapter 6.

⁴¹ The fullest account of the conflict and exile is given in D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1932–53), I, pp. 241–90. See also W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 444–54; J. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea* (Stuttgart, 1830), II, pp. 400–9. The best description of Thomas's entrance into Rome is in Pastor, *History III*, pp. 249–51.

⁴² Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

pension of 6000 ducats. He died in the Hospital of the Santo Spirito on 12 May 1465.

Example 1

(a) Kyrie I

Thomas cesus dum datur funeri

(b) Christe

Novus Abel succedit veteri

The image shows two musical staves. Staff (a) is for 'Kyrie I' and contains the text 'Thomas cesus dum datur funeri'. Staff (b) is for 'Christe' and contains the text 'Novus Abel succedit veteri'. Both staves show a single melodic line on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature. The notes are mostly quarter notes with stems pointing upwards.

Musical leads deserve further study. Reinhard Strohm has recently found both text and music of the cantus firmus of the *Missa Thomas* in the rhymed office in honour of St Thomas Becket, *Pastor caesus*, 'which is probably of English origin'.⁴³ The truncation of the Credo should also be mentioned; the text omits the 'Filioque' clause and the reference to the apostolic Church which had long been a source of contention between Rome and Constantinople. Ruth Hannas's theory that such Credo deletions stemmed from a desire in the

⁴³ I am very grateful to Dr Strohm for this information and for many other helpful suggestions. He has provided the following note:

The cantus firmus of the *Missa Thomas cesus* comes from the well-known rhymed office for St Thomas Becket of Canterbury (29 December) of the thirteenth century, *Pastor caesus in gregis medio* (Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, ed. G. M. Dreves, C. Blume and H. M. Bannister, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922), 13, no. 92). It is probably of English origin, though Analecta Hymnica gives more continental than English sources for the text. Several other excerpts from the office were used in English polyphonic works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: *Pastor caesus*, *Jacet granum oppressum palea*, *Opem nobis, o Thome, porrige*, etc. Thanks to Karlheinz Schlager of Erlangen, who gave me access to the microfilm collection of liturgical manuscripts founded by Bruno Stäblein, I have so far identified the cantus firmus *Thomas cesus* in three continental manuscripts: Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 116 (antiphony from the abbey of St Rictrud in Marchiennes, p. 15); Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, MS 2^o6 (from Lübeck Cathedral, a manuscript written by Herbord Kürler of Dortmund, dated 1397); Erfurt, Kreisbibliothek, MS Amplon. 8^o44 (antiphony, perhaps from Aachen, which also contains polyphony, p. 14). The passage is contained in the seventh responsory of Matins (mode 7), which reads as follows (quoted from Douai 116, fol. 60^v): 'R Mundi florem a mundo conteri/Rachel plorans iam cessat conqueri/Thomas cesus dum datur funeri/Novus Abel succedit veteri. V. Vox cruoris vox sparsi cerebri/Celum replet clamore celebri.' The melody of the cantus firmus in San Pietro B 80, however, seems slightly closer to the version preserved in Lübeck 2^o6, a manuscript with apparently Hanseatic–Flemish connections. As long as not all surviving transcriptions of the chant melody have been compared with the cantus firmus in San Pietro, the provenance of the Mass cannot be established with certainty. (For the musical tradition of the Office in honour of St Thomas Becket of Canterbury, see B. Stäblein, *Das Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern III/4 (Leipzig, 1975), pp. 162–5.)

West to conciliate the Greeks has been tempered and qualified on many occasions, and rightly so.⁴⁴ Omissions from the Credo, as well as other parts of the text of the Mass Ordinary, were so numerous and varied during the latter half of the fifteenth century that no single explanation will suffice. For the *Missa Thomas*, however, Hannas's interpretation serves admirably, except that Roman diplomatic courtesy would have been extended to Paleologus not to conciliate but to welcome.

These arguments are suggestive but not conclusive. Whatever the circumstances of its origin, the presence of a Mass commemorating the name Thomas is of interest in view of the annual trips the San Pietro choir made to the church of San Thomas in Formis to sing Mass on 20 December, the feast-day of St Thomas the Apostle (not St Thomas Becket). The choir made this visit from at least 1462 to 1474.

The archetype that gave rise to the second layer of San Pietro v 80 was written towards the end of the pontificate of Pius II, during the first half of 1463. The account-books name the singer Philippe as scribe of several fascicles (see Table 4, no. 5): 'The same day [30 June 1463] pay Philipp our singer for notating certain quinterns by mandate of the Lord Chamberlain – 2 ducats 22 bolgnini.' At the rates current in 1463 – 72 bolognini and 12 deniers per papal ducat⁴⁵ – the payment to Philippe was the equivalent of 168 bolognini; at 21 bolognini per quintern this would have paid for the notation of exactly eight quinterns.⁴⁶ There is not much of San Pietro v 80 left to choose from. Layer one is already accounted for, and the pieces contained in the first fascicles are too late. Precisely eight fascicles remain: the seven quinterns of Masses Ausquier copied first, and the single quintern of antiphons near the end. The antiphons are all

⁴⁴ R. Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5 (1952), p. 155. Disagreement first came in W. K. Ford's letter in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7 (1954), pp. 170–2. More effective replies are in S. Kenney, *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise* (New Haven, 1964), pp. 52–3; M. Bent and I. Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer – a New Source', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 22 (1969), pp. 413–14; G. Chew, 'The Early Cyclic Mass as an Expression of Royal and Papal Supremacy', *Music and Letters*, 53 (1972), pp. 260–2.

⁴⁵ This is according to the table of Garampi printed by Monel in 'Un "casale" de la campagne romaine', p. 87.

⁴⁶ In 1467 Johannes Raat and Johannes Cornuel were paid 21 bolognini for one Mass. Given the average length of one quintern per Mass, and the mid-1470 rate of 22 bolognini per quintern, it is safe to calculate the mid-1460 rate at one bolognini less.

anonymous, while among the Masses two may be by Barbingant, one is attributed to W. de Rouge, and one, the last of the group, is by Caron.⁴⁷ According to other references in the account-books Philippe appears to have been a highly regarded member of the choir; he sang contratenor at San Pietro from April 1462 until June 1465. During Lent, in March 1465, Philippe was singled out by the ‘will of the chapter’ at San Pietro to receive 2 ducats as ‘alms for the first Masses sung in our church’.⁴⁸ Further information, including a surname for Philippe, is lacking.

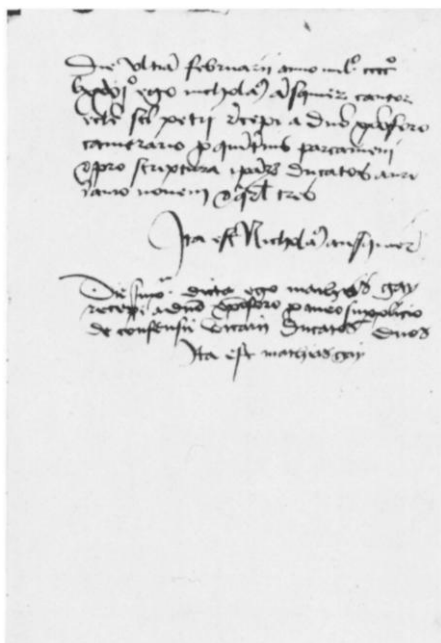


Fig. 8. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro, Armaria 47–50, *Quietanza* no. 7 (1475–6), unfoliated

⁴⁷ The only attribution Ausquier left in San Pietro 80 is that to ‘F. Caron’. A close examination of his hand removes any doubt about this reading. Haberl (in ‘Wilhelm du Fay’, p. 471) and Robert Eitner (in his *Quellenlexikon*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1900–4), II, p. 341) both misread it as ‘P. Caron’. Their error was pointed out in J. Thomson, *An Introduction to Philippe (?) Caron* (New York, 1964), p. 3. The only difference between the capital ‘S’ on folio 210^v and the ‘F’ on folio 99 is the crossbar which forms the ‘F’. Accompanying Ausquier’s attribution is what I take to be a portrait (of Caron?) in the margin directly below the superius initial. It is definitely not one of Ausquier’s grotesques, nor does it appear to be a caricature, but rather a profile of a man dressed in a cassock (see Figure 9).

⁴⁸ ‘Die dicta dicti mensis [31 March 1465] solvi philippo nostro cantori de voluntatis capituli ducatos duos quos donaverunt dicto philippo pro elemosina prime misse cantatis in ecclesia nostra,’ *ACSP*, Armaria 41–2, *Censualia* no. 10 (1465), Intorno III, *Liber exitus*, fol. 52.



Fig. 9. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro v 80, fol. 99

Stylistically the compositions in this section are more modern than those in layer one, and the concordant sources prove that they are later. From the little that is known of the composers represented, the Mass repertory seems to draw upon a mixture of Anglo-Burgundian and Parisian influences. The composer with the largest representation, Barbingant, is one of the more obscure figures from the mid-15th century.⁴⁹ His known output stands at four secular compositions, two of which have conflicting attributions, and the two Masses transmitted in San Pietro v 80, the *Missa Terribilment* (fols. 80^v–90) which has the initial containing the motto ‘Omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori’, and the *Missa sine nomine* (fols. 39–48^v) which begins Philippe’s Mass section.⁵⁰ Besides the reference to him by Tinctoris, Barbingant’s name occurs in two Parisian sources: in the *Livre de la déablerie* (Paris, 1508) where Éloy d’Amerval modifies it to rhyme with Ockeghem, and in Guillaume Crétin’s *Déploration* on the death of Ockeghem.⁵¹ Crétin, a *chapelain perpetuel* at the Sainte Chapelle by 1476, groups Barbingant with some older contemporaries of Ockeghem – Fede, Binchois and Dunstaple.⁵² Ockeghem’s own influence on the Masses Philippe copied is slight. His chanson provided the basis for the anonymous *Missa D’ung aulter amer* (fols. 49^v–61) which follows Barbingant’s first Mass. Of the others, the *Missa Soyez emprentich* by de Rouge is based on Walter Frye’s ballade *So ys emprentid*,⁵³ and the preceding anonymous Mass (with two separate and complete Kyries in San Pietro v

⁴⁹ C. W. Fox, ‘Barbireau and Barbingant: A Review’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 13 (1960), pp. 70–101; C. Hamm, ‘Another Barbingant Mass’, *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac*, ed. G. Reese and J. Snow (Pittsburgh, 1969), pp. 83–90.

⁵⁰ Hamm has twice shown this Mass to be by Barbingant. In addition to the stylistic similarities discussed in ‘Another Barbingant Mass’, he had previously identified one passage with an example in Tinctoris’s *Proportionale musices*, see Hamm, ‘San Pietro v 80’, p. 43.

⁵¹ *Oeuvres poétiques de Guillaume Crétin*, ed. K. Chesney (Paris, 1932), pp. 60–73.

⁵² A connection between Barbingant and Paris may exist in the two chansons with conflicting attributions to Barbingant. *L’homme banni* bears Barbingant’s name in the Mellon Chansonier (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 91) and in Tinctoris’s *Proportionale musices*, while it is attributed to Fede in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. 176. *Au travail suis*, ascribed to Barbingant in the Dijon Chansonier (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 517) is attributed to Ockeghem in the *Nivelle de la Chaussée* manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale). Even if Barbingant was responsible for neither chanson, in each case the other attributee is a musician with strong ties with Paris: Ockeghem was in the service of three successive French monarchs from at least 1453 until his death in 1497, and Fede apparently spent most of the years between 1449 and 1474 in Paris (see C. Wright, ‘Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), pp. 204–5).

⁵³ Frye’s ballade is printed in the *Walter Frye: Collected Works*, ed. S. W. Kenney, Corpus

80) is found in Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza, MS 90, with 'anglicu' written over the Gloria. W. de Rouge seems to have been employed at the chapel of Charles of Orleans in 1455.⁵⁴ Regarding the composer of the *L'homme armé* Mass which ends this section, Craig Wright has attempted to identify its composer 'F. Caron' with Jean Caron, *petit vicaire* at Cambrai Cathedral from 1455 to 1458.⁵⁵

Remarkably close ties exist between the collection of Magnificat antiphons, which appears also to belong to layer two, and a slightly smaller grouping of antiphons in Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza, MS 89 [Trent 89]. Hamm was the first to note the extent of the musical relationships: 'They are so similar to one another in style that they must all be by the same composer.'⁵⁶ All are in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, all begin with a short intonation, and all have the chant melody placed straightforwardly in the superius. There are ten shared by both sources, eight in San Pietro v 80 and three in Trent 89, making a total of twenty-one (see Table 5).

The ties between the two collections extend further. The sources transmit different versions of the antiphon *Prudentes virgines*: the copy

- Mensurabilis Musicae 19 (n.p., 1960), and also in S. W. Kenney, 'Contrafacta in the Works of Walter Frye', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 8 (1955), pp. 201–2.
- ⁵⁴ The *Missa Soyez emprentich*, anonymous in San Pietro v 80 is attributed to W. de Rouge in Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza, MS 90 (fols. 310^v–318). W. de Rouge has on several occasions been identified with Guillaume Ruby, organist at Rouen in 1399, member of the royal chapel of Charles VI, and later at Burgundy under John the Fearless (1415) and Philip the Good (1430–51); see M. F. Bukofzer, 'An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century' [the Mellon Chansonnier], *Musical Quarterly*, 28 (1942), p. 27; and G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (2nd edn, New York, 1959), pp. 43, 92–3. However, it seems more likely that de Rouge is the Lerouge mentioned by Tinctoris in his *Proportionale musices* as the composer of a *Missa Mon cuer pleur*, and the Le Rouge included by Éloy d'Amerval in his *Livre de la déablerie* (Paris, 1508), where he is placed alongside Ockeghem, Agricola and others. The 'maistre Guillaume le Rouge' listed in the chapel of Charles of Orleans in 1455 would be of the correct generation to fit these citations (see E. Dahnk, 'Musikausübung an den Höfen von Burgund und Orleans während des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 25 (1934), pp. 184–5). Tinctoris also lived for a time in Orleans; he appears in the list of students at the university in 1462 (see N. Gotteri, 'Quelques étudiants de l'université d'Orléans en 1462', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École de Rome: Moyen Âge – Temps Modernes*, 84 (1972), p. 557).
- ⁵⁵ James Thomson (*An Introduction to Philippe (?) Caron*, pp. 4ff) identified the 'Philippe le Caron' listed among the choirboys at Cambrai with the composer of five extant Masses and some twenty chansons. Wright, ('Dufay at Cambrai', p. 205) shows that this list was made between 1469 and 1483 when Jean Hémar was *magister puerorum*, and is therefore too late to have included the composer of the Caron Mass in San Pietro v 80.
- ⁵⁶ Hamm, 'San Pietro v 80', pp. 45, 50–1. See also Kanazawa, 'Polyphonic Music for Vespers', 1, pp. 393–8.

in Trent 89 is corrupt, and that in San Pietro v 80 is truncated. Minor errors in Trent, such as the *g* in bar 24 of the bass line (Example 2a) and (if it is an error) the parallel octaves in bar 23, do not match the obstacle to performance one finds in the last phrase of the tenor part, where one or two notes are completely missing. In San Pietro v 80 this phrase differs significantly, being shorter by two bars and apparently utilising a variant form of the chant (Example 2b). However, close inspection of Ausquier's work in San Pietro v 80 reveals this phrase to be a corrected copy, corrected after a version virtually identical to the flawed copy found in Trent 89 had been entered, then scraped away. The erasures are partly visible in Figure 5; Example 2c gives what can be made out of Ausquier's first effort.

Table 5 *Magnificat antiphons in San Pietro B 80 and Trent 89*

Antiphons	San Pietro v 80	Trent 89
in both sources		
<i>Iste sanctus</i> (one martyr out of Paschal)	232	90 ^v
<i>Qui vult venire</i> (one martyr out of Paschal)	230, 232 ^v	90 ^v
<i>Istorum est</i> (several martyrs out of Paschal)	231	91
<i>Sacerdos et pontifex</i> (a confessor bishop)	231 ^v	91 ^v –92
<i>Similabo eum</i> (a confessor not a bishop)	237 ^v	92 ^v
<i>Veni sponsa</i> (a virgin)	236 ^v	93
<i>Prudentes virgines</i> (several virgins)	237	92 ^v
<i>Petrus apostolus</i> (SS. Peter and Paul)	233	89 ^v
<i>Tradent enim</i> (apostles and evangelists out of Paschal)	238	89 ^v –90
<i>Estote fortes</i> (apostles and evangelists out of Paschal)	238 ^v	90
in San Pietro v 80 only		
<i>Lux perpetua</i> (one or several martyrs, Paschal)	229	

San Pietro v 80 and the Roman sacred repertory

Table 5 (*cont.*)

Antiphons	San Pietro v 80	Trent 89
<i>Dum esset</i> (sovereign pontiffs)	236	
<i>O doctor optime</i> (doctors)	230 ^v	
<i>Hic vir despiciens</i> (a confessor not a bishop)	234 ^v	
<i>Veni sponsa</i> (a virgin)	229 ^v	
<i>O quam metuendus</i> (dedication of a church)	235	
<i>Crucem sanctam</i> (Holy Cross)	235 ^v	
<i>Da pacem</i> (for peace)	233 ^v –234	
in Trent 89 only		
<i>Sancti et justii</i> (one or several martyrs, Paschal)		91
<i>Gaudent in celis</i> (several martyrs out of Paschal)		91 ^v
<i>Amavit eum</i> (a confessor bishop)		92

Having dated layer two 1463, it becomes feasible to demonstrate a connection between it and the compilation of Trent 89. Trent Castellol del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza, MSS 88, 89, 90, and 91 were copied in Trent between *c.* 1459 and the 1470s by the scribe who signed himself Johannes Wiser.⁵⁷ Credit for collecting the music may belong in part to the noted humanist and bibliophile Johannes Hinderbach, Bishop Johann IV of Trent from 5 October 1465 to 1485. Hinderbach's selection as bishop is referred to in the

⁵⁷ G. Adler and O. Koller, eds., *Sechs Trienter Codices: Erste Auswahl*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst Österreich 14–15 (Vienna, 1900), p. xx. The suggestion of the editors that the codices were copied between 1444 and 1465 is no longer tenable. More recent investigations include Kanazawa's work on the watermarks and fascicle structure ('Polyphonic Music for Vespers', 1, pp. 95ff); T. R. Ward, 'The Structure of the Manuscript Trent 92/1', *Musica Disciplina*, 29 (1975), pp. 127–47; G. Spilstead, 'Towards the Genesis of the Trent Codices: New Directions and New Findings', *Studies in Music*, 1 (1976), pp. 55–70. Spilstead argues for a compilation spanning approximately the years 1459–70 (p. 60–1).

⁵⁸ Adler and Koller, eds., *Sechs Trienter Codices*, p. xix; see also L. Gottlieb, 'The Mass Cycles of Trent Codex 89' (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1953), pp. 193–200.

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Example 2

- (a) Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza, MS 89, fol. 89^v

Musical score (a) showing three staves (treble, bass, and a lower bass staff) with measures 21 and 25 marked. The score is in a common time signature and features a melodic line in the treble clef, a bass line in the middle clef, and a lower bass line in the bottom clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and ties.

- (b) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80, fol. 237

Musical score (b) showing three staves (treble, bass, and a lower bass staff) with measures 21 and 25 marked. The score is in a common time signature and features a melodic line in the treble clef, a bass line in the middle clef, and a lower bass line in the bottom clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and ties.

- (c) Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80, fol. 237, erased version

Musical score (c) showing three staves (treble, bass, and a lower bass staff) with measures 21 and 25 marked. The score is in a common time signature and features a melodic line in the treble clef, a bass line in the middle clef, and a lower bass line in the bottom clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and ties. Some notes in the treble clef are enclosed in brackets, indicating an erased or alternative version of the music.

only poem without music in Trent 89 (fol. 199).⁵⁸ At the time of his appointment Hinderbach was working in Rome, in the diplomatic corps of Emperor Frederick III, where he could easily have been exposed to the music in the San Pietro choirbook, as well as to the music in the collection of the basilica's most recent copyist, Philippe. On the basis of the San Pietro B 80 antiphons one cannot argue that music copied for San Pietro in 1463 provided a source for Trent 89 because this manuscript transmits three antiphons not included in

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San Pietro v 80. But because the respective readings of *Prudentes virgines* were originally so close, the possibility of a common Roman source is strong.

To return to an assessment of Ausquier's contribution: the percentage of San Pietro v 80 that was 'new' when Ausquier finished copying is surprisingly small. At the very least he added the Masses at the beginning of the manuscript, the motets by Dufay and Compère, and the antiphon on folio 30^v. Questions remain about the two motets that follow the Magnificat that Hamm attributed to Busnois (*O beata infantia* and *Flos de spina*, folios 224^v–228), though their concordances with Trent manuscripts suggest that they belong to layers one or two.⁵⁹ Of the pieces he added, the two by Dufay have long been recognised as those copied in Cambrai, the antiphon *Ave Regina* by Simon Mellet in 1464 and the *Missa Ave regina* in 1473.⁶⁰ Interestingly, in one of the other sources to transmit the *Missa Ave regina*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 5557, the hand that entered it is remarkably similar to Ausquier's.⁶¹

The records of two payments contemporary with the first made to Ausquier may help to explain how Ausquier came to copy all the older compositions as well as the more modern ones. On 12 February 1475 two singers, Egidius and Nicholas, and the stationer Johannes Fini were paid for additions to the 'old book of song' including new fascicles and a thick parchment cover (see Table 4, no. 14). That these additions were repairs is indicated in an undated payment (from the year 1474–5) to David Fornant, 'who sang contra for some months and notated some quinterns in the old book which was destroyed' (see Table 4, no. 15). These notices raise the possibility that the recopying of music in the San Pietro collection was spurred, at least in part, by damage sustained by the older sources.

Ausquier's role in the evolution of San Pietro v 80 was twofold:

⁵⁹ There is also a question about the identity of the Mass copied by the singers Johannes Raat and Johannes Cornuel into the *libro ecclesie*. Together they were paid 21 bolognini for transcribing one Mass on 30 November 1467 (see Table 4, no. 6).

⁶⁰ J. Houdoy, 'Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai', *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de l'Agriculture et des Arts de Lille* (Paris, 1880), pp. 195, 197.

⁶¹ Hamm noted that 'the hand of the main scribe resembles that found in parts of Brussels 5557 and in the Mellon Chansonnier', 'San Pietro v 80', p. 45. Joshua Rifkin ('Scribal Concordances for some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26 (1973), pp. 305–25), calls attention to instances in which one scribe copied the same piece into two different manuscripts.

innovation and renovation, with the emphasis on the latter. His primary task was to transcribe the older sources onto new parchment, to maintain a tradition that extended back forty years to Dufay's tenure in the papal choir during the early 1430s. As in 1458 and 1463 enough blank folios were prepared to provide for the continuance of that tradition. By the time the last compositions were added in 1500, San Pietro v 80 was the repository of musical styles covering seven decades. In this manuscript's separate stages the changing tastes of the fifteenth century are readily apparent. Beginning in 1458 as a manuscript devoted largely to hymns and Magnificats, it was very much in keeping with the repertory codified some ten years earlier in the Ferrarese manuscript Modena α .x.1.11. But by the time Philippe joined the choir in 1462, the growing popularity of the polyphonic Mass had been felt at San Pietro. Following Ausquier's contributions the input of new Masses stopped completely, perhaps owing to the increased importance of the papal choir under Sixtus IV, and the presence of the first great Mass collections of the Cappella Sistina, codices 14, 51 and 35. The extended effort put into the compilation of San Pietro v 80 may even signify an end to the creative process among San Pietro musicians, rather than a continuation.

Besides attesting an active manuscript tradition at San Pietro, however, San Pietro v 80 shows an alternative to transmission by means of fascicle-manuscripts. The manuscripts copied at San Pietro during the 1450s and 1460s may very well have derived from individual fascicles. That the larger manuscripts could then be the sources of still larger collections merely adds another stage to the process of transmission, and in so doing, another opportunity for revisions or errors to enter into the transcriptions. The faulty version of *Prudentes virgines* apparently went uncorrected until Ausquier copied it in 1474–5; and the ornamented superius for the antiphon *Da pacem* (fol. 233^v) may date from the same period. On a different level, the Magnificats of Dufay, Binchois and Dunstaple underwent alterations that ranged from simple excision of the even-numbered verses, to compositional changes in the number of voices and the type of mensuration sign. These changes could have been made decade by decade as the needs and tastes of the San Pietro singers changed. How many other large fifteenth-century manuscripts were affected by such an intermediate stage remains to be determined.

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Two of the most likely candidates are Cappella Sistina 14 and 51. Also apparently copied in Rome, about 1480, they too have a selection of earlier works, in this case all of them Masses.

The respect evinced for the works of previous generations is manifested in other aspects of the Roman quattrocento, most obviously in architecture. As Rome prospered in the latter half of the fifteenth century, cardinals and nobility built themselves *palazzi* with great speed and in great numbers. Invariably they simply added to existing medieval or early-fifteenth-century structures, rather than starting afresh. The basilica of San Pietro is a prime example. When Pope Nicholas v formulated plans to reconstruct it in the 1450s, the plans called for the old Constantinian basilica to be incorporated into the new.⁶² However, this spirit had changed when Pope Julius II resumed the project in the early sixteenth century. His plan led to the complete destruction of the old basilica.⁶³ This break with the past can also be seen in sixteenth-century music manuscripts, where, in contrast to San Pietro в 80 the repertories were as new as the manuscripts.

⁶² On fifteenth-century construction in Rome in general, see T. Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Rome, 1958). On the plans for rebuilding San Pietro formulated under Nicholas v, see pp. 163–214. Delumeau gives an overview in his *La vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle*, I, including lists of churches (p. 257) and *palazzi* (p. 274) built in the fifteenth century.

⁶³ On the plans and construction of the new San Pietro see the comprehensive article, C. Frommel, 'Die Peterskirche unter Papst Julius II in Licht neuer Dokumente', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 16 (1976) pp. 57–131.

APPENDIX

Inventory of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80

Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Scribe	Layer	Concordances and comments
1	Vexilla regis	4		E	5	Hymn for Passion Sunday
1 ^v -9	Missa Au chant de lalouete	4		A	3	
9 ^v -20 ^v	Missa Ave regina	4	[Dufay]	A	3	Br5557, fols. 110 ^v -120 ^v ; Mod m.1.13, no. xiv; complete to Osanna
21-25	[Mass] M _{ASS}	[3 or 4] 3		[A] A	[3] 3	missing Kyrie, Gloria, Credo and part of Sanctus missing
25 ^v -27	Ave regina	4	[Dufay]	A	3	Antiphon for the BVM
27 ^v -30	Omnium bonorum plena	4	[Compère]	A	3	Tr91, fols. 33 ^v -35
30 ^v -31	Regina celi	3		A	3	Antiphon for the BVM
31 ^v	Ut queant laxis	4		E	5	Hymn for St John the Baptist
32	[blank]					
32 ^v -35	Domine non secundum	4	Jusquin	D	4	BarcOC5, fols. 67-68 (incomplete); BerlPS40013, fols. 249 ^v -252; GS35, fols. 4 ^v -6; NurGN83795, fols. 123-125 (T), fols. 77-79 ^v (B); SG463, fols. 32 ^v -33 (S), fols. 92 ^v -93 (A)
35 ^v -37 ^v	[blank]					
38	Petrus apostolus	4		E	5	Antiphon for Octave SS. Peter and Paul
39-48 ^v	Mass	3	[?Barbingant]	A	2	Tr89, fols. 306 ^v -315
49	Veni Creator Spiritus	1		F		CS15, fol. 30 ^v , S only. Hymn for Pentecost
49 ^v -61	Missa dung aulter amer	4		A	2	CS51, fols. 113 ^v -122; Ver755, fols. 43 ^v -63

Appendix (cont.)

Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Scribe	Layer	Concordances and comments
61 ^v -70 ^v	Mass	3		A	2	Kyrie (SPB80, fols. 61 ^v -62), Tr88, fols. 253 ^v -254; Gloria, Tr88, fols. 254 ^v -255 ^v ; Tr90, fols. 430 ^v -431 ('anglicu'); Credo and Sanctus, Tr88, fols. 256-259. No concordance with Agnus. SPB80 has two complete Kyries.
71-80	Missa Soyez emprentich	3	[W. de Rouge]	A	2	Tr90, fols. 310 ^v -318; fol. 71, 'volue archangele' after Kyrie i S
80 ^v -90	Missa Terribilment	3	[Barbingant]	A	2	Ver759, fols. 9 ^v -15; fol. 83 ^v , 'Omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori' in initial, and 'A.P.P.' above it
90 ^v -98 ^v	Mass	3		A	2	
99-113	Missa Lhomme arme	4	F. Caron	A	2	CS14, fols. 127-138
113 ^v -121 ^v	Mass	3		A	1	Kyrie, Per431, fols. 7 ^v -9
122-129	Mass	3		A	1	
129 ^v -143	Mass	3		A	1	
143 ^v -154	Mass	3	Egidius Cervelli (Kyrie)	B	3	Kyrie added on fols. 143 ^v -144 and 153 ^v -154
154 ^v -166	Missa Pour lamour dune	3	P. de Domarto	A	1	Sanctus, Tr89, fols. 57 ^v -58; attribution on fol. 144 ^v by Scribe B
166 ^v -181	Missa Thomas	4		A	1	T text, Kyrie i: 'Thomas cesus dum datur funeri'; T text, Christie: 'Novus abel succedit veteri'

Appendix (cont.)

Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Scribe	Layer	Concordances and comments
181 ^v	Conditor alme siderum	3	HYMNS	A	1	
182	Christe redemptor . . . Conserva	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Bol q15, no. 313; Bol q15, no. 318b; CS15, fols. 5 ^v -6; Mod x.1.11, fols. 1 ^v -2; MC871, 25; Tr92, fol. 134. All but SPB80 and Bol q15, no. 318b, have the text 'Christe redemptor omnia-Ex patre'.
182 ^v	Hostis Herodes	3		A	1	
183	Ave maris stella	3		A	1	
183 ^v	Jesu nostra redemptio	3		A	1	
184	Veni Creator Spiritus	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Bol q15, no. 315; CS15, fols. 29 ^v -30; FM112, fols. 5 ^v -6; Mod x.1.11, fols. 9 ^v -10; MC871, fol. 30; MuEm, fol. 55; Tr92, fol. 30; Tr93, fol. 357 ^v
184 ^v	O lux beata	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Bol q15, no. 315b; CS15, fols. 32 ^v -33; Mod x.1.11, fols. 11 ^v -12; MC871, fol. 32; Tr92, fol. 14
185	Pange lingua	3		A	1	
185 ^v	Eterne rex	3		A	1	
186	Aurea luce	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Bol q15, no. 320b; CS15, fols. 39 ^v -40, 41 ^v -42; Mod x.1.11, fols. 13 ^v -14
186 ^v	Lucis Creator optime	3		A	1	
187	Urbs beata	3		A	1	

Appendix (cont.)

Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Scribe	Layer	Concordances and comments
187 ^v	Deus tuorum militum	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Bol q15, no. 321b; CS15, fols. 56 ^v -57; Mod x.1.11, fol. 19 ^v ; Tr88, fols. 387
188	Jesu corona virginum	3		A	1	
188 ^v	Sanctorum meritis	3		A	1	
189	Ad cenam agni	3		A	1	
189 ^v	Exultet celum laudibus	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Bol q15, no. 321; CS15, fols. 53 ^v -54, 55 ^v -56; FM112, fol. 11; Mod x.1.11, fols. 17 ^v -18; MuEm, fols. 71, 73
190	Audi benigne	3		A	1	
190 ^v	Vexilla regis	3		A	1	
191	Adesto Sancta Trinitas	3		A	1	
191 ^v -193 ^v	Magnificat primi toni	3	MAGNIFICATS	A	1	
194	Ave maris stella	3		A	1	Hymn for the BVM
194 ^v -196	Magnificat primi toni	3		A	1	
196 ^v -198	Magnificat primi toni	3	[Dufay or Binchois]	A	1	BU, pp. 90-5 (Binchois); FM112, fols. 13 ^v -15; Mod x.1.11, fols. 31-32 ^v (Dufay-Binchois); Tr90, fols. 332-333
198 ^v -200	Magnificat secundi toni	3	[Binchois]	A	1	FM112, fols. 15 ^v -17 ^v ; Mod x.1.11, fols. 35-36 ^v ; Tr90, fols. 328 ^v -329 ^v
200 ^v -203	Magnificat tertii et quarti toni	3	[Dufay]	A	1	CS15, fols. 95 ^v -99; Mi2269, fols. 8 ^v -10; MC 871, fols. 42 ^v -44; Tr89, fols. 165-166

Appendix (cont.)

Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Score	Layer	Concordances and comments
203 ^v -205	Magnificat quinti toni	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Mod x.1.11, fols. 43 ^v -44 ^v
205 ^v -207	Magnificat secundi toni	3	[Dunstaple]	A	1	Mod x.1.11, fols. 33-34 ^v
207 ^v -209	Magnificat sexti toni	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Bol q15, no. 197; FM112, fols. 17 ^v -21, 52-53; Mod x.1.11, fols. 37-38 ^v ; MuEm, fols. 138 ^v -139 ^v ; Tr90, fols. 330 ^v -331 ^v ; Tr92, fols. 17 ^v -18, 19 ^v -21
209 ^v -211	Magnificat septimi toni	3	[?Dufay]	A	?1	Hamm identifies this as the Dufay Magnificat septimi toni copied by Mellet at Cambrai in 1462.
211 ^v -213	Magnificat octavi toni	3	[Dufay]	A	1	FM112, fols. 21 ^v -22; Mod x.1.11, fols. 39-40 ^v ; Tr92, fols. 9 ^v -11
213 ^v 214	Magnificat quarti toni staves only	1		A	?1	beginning of superius only
214 ^v -216	Magnificat octavi toni	3		A	1	
216 ^v -218 ^v	Magnificat primi toni	3		A	1	
219	Iste confessor	3		A	?1	hymnus unius confessoris
219 ^v -224	Magnificat octavi toni	3	[?Busnois]	C	3	Mi2269, fols. 17 ^v -20; OxfBLLa.6, fols. 109-109 ^v ;
224 ^v -226	O beata infantia	4		A	?	Hamm calls this a twin of the Busnois Magnificat in Br5557. Antiphon for Octave of Christmas; CS15, fols. 161 ^v -163; Mu3154, fols. 4 ^v -6; Tr89, fols. 193 ^v -195
226 ^v -228	Flos de spina	4		A	?	Cantio BVM Christmas; CS15, fols. 166 ^v -168; Mi2269, fols. 121 ^v -123; Tr90, fols. 434 ^v -436
228 ^v	Aures ad nostras	3	[Dufay]	A	1	Hymn for Sundays of Lent; CS15, fols. 18 ^v -19; Mod x.1.11, fol. 6

Appendix (*cont.*)

Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Scribe	Layer	Concordances and comments
			ANTIPHONS			
229	Lux perpetua	3		A	2	
229 ^v	Veni sponsa	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 93
230	Qui vult venire	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 90 ^v ; same as SPB80, fol. 232 ^v
230 ^v	O doctor optime	3		A	2	
231	Istorum est	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 91
231 ^v	Sacerdos et pontifex	3		A	2	Tr89, fols. 91 ^v -92
232	Iste sanctus	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 90 ^v
232 ^v	Qui vult venire	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 90 ^v ; same as SPB80, fol. 230
233	Petrus apostolus	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 89 ^v
233 ^v	Da pacem	1		A	?3	ornamented superius for fol. 234
234	Da pacem	3		A	2	
234 ^v	Hic vir despiciens	3		A	2	
235	O quam metuendus	3		A	2	
235 ^v	Crucem sanctam	3		A	2	
236	Dum esset	3		A	2	
236 ^v	Veni sponsa	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 93
237	Prudentes virgines	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 92 ^v ; liturgical designation 'de virginibus a/' written upside down, thus resembling the name 'Ausquier'
237 ^v	Similabo eum	3		A	2	
238	Tradent enim	3		A	2	Tr89, fols. 89 ^v -90
238 ^v	Estote fortes	3		A	2	Tr89, fol. 90
239	[staves only]					

Appendix (*cont.*)

Folio	Title	Voices	Composer	Scribe	Layer	Concordances and comments
239 ^v -240	Asperges me	3	[Binchois]	A	1	Ordinary antiphon of the Missa Ad aspersionem aquae benedictae outside Paschal Time; Bol Q15, no. 143; Tr90, fols. 3 ^v -4; Tr92, fols. 92 ^v -93; Tr93, fols. 4 ^v -5
240 ^v -242	Vidi aquam	3		A	1	Ordinary antiphon of the Missa Ad aspersionem aquae
242 ^v -246	Te Deum laudamus	3	[Binchois]	A	1	benedictae in Paschal Time Mi:2269, fols. 118 ^v -120 ^v ; Mod x.1.11, fols. 21 ^v -24; Ver761, fols. 222 ^v -225
246 ^v -248	Hostis Herodes	4		E	5	

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BarcOC5	Barcelona, Biblioteca de l'Orfeó Catalá, MS 5
BerlPS40013	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (formerly Preussische Staatsbibliothek), Mus. MS 40013
Bol q15	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS q 15 (olim 37)
Br5557	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5557
BU	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216
CS 14, 15, 35, 51	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio della Cappella Sistina, MSS 14, 15, 35, 51
FM112	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. xix.107bis
MC871	Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, MS 871
Mi2269	Milan, Cappella Musicale del Duomo, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica, MS Librone 1 (olim 2269)
Mod m.1.13	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.m.1.13 (lat. 456)
Mod x.1.11	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.x.1.11 (lat. 471)
Mu3154	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3154
MuEm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274
NurGN83795	Nuremberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, MS 83795
OxfBLLa.6	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS lat. liturg. a.6
Per431	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 431
SG463	St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 463
SPv80	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro v 80
Tr88–92	Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Biblioteca della Soprintendenza, MSS 88–92
Tr93	Trent, Archivio Capitolare, MS 93
Ver755, 759, 761	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MSS DCLV, DCCLIX, DCCLXI