

## INSTALMENT 6 APPENDIX.

### THE PALEOGRAPHY OF TRENT MANUSCRIPTS 88, 89 AND 91

This addition to the DIAMM editions of all three manuscripts has two purposes. Firstly it serves as a guide to some of the remarkably thorough work of Margaret Bent, Rebecca Gerber, Giulia Gabrielli and the late Peter Wright and Adelyn Leverett on the intermediate and later Trent Codices. As such it is only a summary, but it will help interested parties to explore this line of work and expand on it. Secondly, it replaces my pre-internet era paleographical work on Trent 89 and 91 in my 1989 thesis. Most of that account of the manuscripts was written in the early to mid 1980's, it contains many inaccuracies (for example, I did not recognize the existence of scribe B in these manuscripts).<sup>1</sup> Further on Scribe B see section II below. My previous study did not even use up-to-date studies of materials such as the Piccard study of ox-head watermarks.<sup>2</sup> I am happy to replace my previous work, since it means that more or everything that I wrote in my thesis has now been modified by more considered and better researched work in this online series. For those interested in what new material I offer, there is little new here apart from the suggestions that the Trent 89 mostly insular-looking Marian Propers (starting at 95v) should really belong with the Trent 88 Proper assembly, a couple of small differences with Wright's study of subsidiary scribal hands, and a little new information on the Trent 87 composer Bartholomeus Poignare.

This study is divided into the following sections. I-II deal with the paper, fascicle makeup and scribes of all three manuscripts. Section III concerns incorporation. Section IV serves as a conclusion. An index of the contents of Trent 88 and Trent 89 then follows at the end for ease of reference.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

I begin with a description of Trent 88, which has 422 folios (making it the third largest of the Trent Codices). Trent 89 has 425 folios and Trent 90 has 465.<sup>4</sup> All three of the later Trent manuscripts (88, 89 and 91) are copied on paper and the page size of Trent 88 is approximately 32 x 22 cm. The height of some pages varies by 3 cm and the width can vary by half a centimeter. Parts of the manuscript have been damaged: the first two gatherings (ff. 1-24v) show signs of water damage resulting in the upper three staves on these pages sometimes being barely legible. Folios 240-302 were copied using ink with a high acidic content, and this has resulted in some deterioration of filled note heads. There are 35 fascicles, mostly consisting of 12 leaves each. Fascicle 22 (starting at f. 253v) is the exception to this 12-page fascicle size since it has 14 leaves. The estimated age of the paper used (judging by watermarks) results in a consensus amongst scholars that the second half of the 1450's was the most likely period for most of the copying. During the 1973-78 restoration of the Trent manuscripts (at Santa Maria di Rosano monastery, Florence) it is very likely that some pages were trimmed. All of the Trent Codices were also given new

<sup>1</sup> Mitchell, R., *The Paleography and Repertory of Trent Codices 89 and 91* (Ph. D dissertation, 2 vols, Exeter University, 1989), I, pp. 8-71. The complete Trent Codices are now online in digital form at <https://www.cultura.trentino.it/Patrimonio-on-line/Manoscritti-musicali-trentini-del-400/SfogliaCodici.aspx?Codice=Tr87> etc

<sup>2</sup> Piccard, G., *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen. Findbuch II, 1-3*. Stuttgart 1966 (=Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg. Sonderreihe, 2).

<sup>3</sup> The DIAMM Trent 91 edition already has an index, given at the end of the accompanying repertory study on the same webpage (Mitchell, 'Trent 91: first steps towards a stylistic classification' pp. 68-71).

<sup>4</sup> Much of the information in the following paragraphs has been taken from the Trent 88 edition Gerber, R. (ed), *Sacred Music from the Cathedral at Trent...* (Chicago University Press, 2008) pp.1-12 and Wright, P. 'Johannes Wiser's paper and the copying of his manuscripts' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini 2* (1996), pp. 31-54. This article is the culmination of others produced by the same author, who I knew well and to whom I owe a considerable debt in terms of study material and practical help. Sigla for scribal hands and watermarks in the following pages are taken over from Wright's article, which like the Gerber study is far better illustrated than the brief account which I give here.

untooled leather bindings and were chemically treated to prevent further page damage by mildew, seepage and show-through. The restorers of Trent 89-93 did not keep the original bindings, although a 1934 photograph exists of manuscripts 87-92 grouped together after their return from Vienna.<sup>5</sup> It is clear from the photograph that the modern bindings attempt to reproduce the appearance of the older ones. The folio numbering in all three manuscripts dealt with here is nineteenth century.

The first watermark is a crescent with a X through a line extending above the crescent. The second is listed in Wright's 1994 article as 'Mounts 1' and consists of three mountain peaks with a flower that has 7 petals. The remaining watermarks (bulls-head types) are listed in the table below as described by Wright, which gives illustrations of some of the watermarks used in all three manuscripts described here.

The following table numbers Trent 88's fascicles, gives details of the watermarks, and provides a very brief description of the contents each subsection using the same paper type(s).<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 1. THE LAYOUT OF TRENT 88

| Fascicle(s) | Foliation | Paper watermark | Approx. paper dating | Contents                                             |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| I-II        | 1-24      | Crescent        | 1456                 | Ordinary cycles & misc. sacred works.                |
| III-XXI     | 25-252    | Mounts 1        | -                    | Ordinary and Proper cycles & misc. sacred works.     |
| XXII-XXVI   | 253-314   | Bull's head 6b  | 1460-62              | Ordinary cycles, motets & misc. sacred works.        |
| XXVII-XXXV  | 315-422   | Bull's head 7   | 1460-62              | Ordinary cycles, Magnificats and misc. sacred works. |

Trent 89's 425 folios mostly have a page size of 29 cm height and 19.5 cm width. As with Trent 88 some pages vary in size. There are 36 fascicles and two folio numbers are repeated in the pagination sequence (189a/b and 235 a/b). 31 of the fascicles are 12-page units and some of the paper used shares the 'bull's head 7' watermark with the paper of part of Trent 88. As with Trent 88 there is more damage: acidic ink has caused paper deterioration where there are filled noteheads, particularly in the *Missa Te Deum laudamus* at ff. 71r-80v. The estimated age of the paper used (judging by watermarks) points to a copying process that started in the later 1450's but was probably complete by around 1470. Trent 89 includes some work similar in ink colour and music type similar to the Propers in Trent 88, and it also contains additions made after the rest of the manuscript had been put together. The following table gives the same type of data as Table 1 does for Trent 88.

TABLE 2. THE LAYOUT OF TRENT 89

| Fascicle(s) | Foliation | Paper watermark | Approx. paper dating | Contents                             |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| I           | 1-12      | Bull's head 7   | 1460-62              | Ordinary cycles.                     |
| II          | 13-24     | Bull's head 8   | 1461-2               | Ordinary cycle & misc. sacred works. |
| III-IV      | 25-46     | Mounts 2        | 1468                 | As above plus one song.              |

<sup>5</sup> This photo is published in *I Codici Musicali Trentini* 1(1986), p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Wright, *op. cit.* p. 34 provides a table of approximate paper dates on the basis of all such dates also being present in non-musical local documents which he cites using the same watermarks.

(TABLE 2, contd.)

| Fascicle(s)   | Foliation | Paper watermark | Approx. paper dating | Contents                                           |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| V             | 47-58     | Bull's head 7   | 1460-62              | Ordinary cycle & Sanctus.                          |
| VI            | 59-70     | Mounts 3c       | 1461-63              | 1 Cantio & a Plenary cycle.                        |
| VII           | 71-82     | Bull's head 7   | 1460-62              | Ordinary cycle & Sanctus.                          |
| VIII          | 83-94     | Mounts 4        | 1465                 | Misc. sacred works.                                |
| IX-XIII       | 95-152    | Bull's head 7   | 1460-62              | Ordinary cycles plus misc. sacred works & songs.   |
| XIV           | 153-164   | Bull's head 8   | 1461-62              | Ordinary cycles.                                   |
| XV            | 165-176   | Bull's head 7   | 1460-62              | Misc. sacred works.                                |
| XVI-XVII      | 177-198   | Mounts 4        | 1465                 | Hymn & Introit settings, & motets.                 |
| XVIII         | 199-210   | Bull's head 7   | 1460-62              | Misc sacred works & 1 Latin poem                   |
| XIX-XX        | 211-234   | Bull's head 9   | 1460, 1463           | Misc. sacred works.                                |
| XXI           | 235a-245  | Mounts 2        | 1468                 | As above.                                          |
| XXII-XXIV     | 246-281   | Bull's head 9b  | 1460, 1463           | Ordinary cycles.                                   |
| XXV-XXVI      | 282-305   | Bull's head 8   | 1461-62              | Ordinary cycles & misc. sacred works.              |
| XXVII         | 306-317   | Mounts 2        | 1468                 | Ordinary cycles.                                   |
| XXVIII-XXXIII | 318-389   | Bull's head 9b  | 1460, 1463           | Ordinary cycles plus misc. sacred works and songs. |
| XXXIV         | 390-401   | Mounts 4        | 1465                 | Misc. sacred works.                                |
| XXXV          | 402-413   | Mounts 2d       | 1468                 | Songs & misc sacred works.                         |
| XXXVI         | 414-425   | Bull's head 9   | 1460, 1463           | As above.                                          |

Until the 1970's restoration a musical fragment with copying on both sides was kept before fascicle xxii. This now seems to have been lost, or at least was not present with the other Trent manuscripts in 1983. It is viewable in the Bibliopola Trent 89 facsimile and has since been discussed by myself and also Martin Kirnbauer in his study of the Schedel songbook.<sup>7</sup> It contains two Contratenors, one of which is a bass-like addition to the essential voices of *O rosa bella* and the other of which is an alternative Contra to the *O mensuration* version of Brolo's *Entrepris suis*.

Trent 91 has 259 folios and single pages of the manuscript measure 31 cm in height and 21.5 cm in width. As with the other sources here some pages vary a little. There are 22 fascicles, all but three of which are 12-page units. The papers used for Trent 91 have similar sorts of watermarks to those already cited, but in contrast with the earlier Codices there is a higher frequency of papers here which were probably locally sourced. Estimated dating according to paper types gives a terminus for the copying of these sources around 1480 or in the later 1470's. Much of the copying may have been complete by 1475 since there is no mention anywhere in the texts of this manuscript of Simon of Unferdorben - a local child who disappeared and was killed in 1475 and who subsequently acquired a local cultus.<sup>8</sup> The following table gives the same type of information for Trent 91 as the other do for manuscripts 88 and 89.

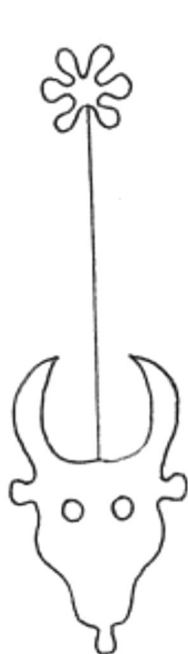
<sup>7</sup> Kirnbauer, M., *Hartmann Schedel und sein "Liederbuch"* (Lang, Bern, 2001) pp. 161-162. Both songs with their new Contra parts are given as nos 158 and 159 in the Trent 89 edition.

<sup>8</sup> See Kristeller, P., 'The Alleged Ritual Murder of Simon of Trent (1475) and Its Literary Repercussions: A Bibliographical Study' in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 59 (1993), pp. 103-135.

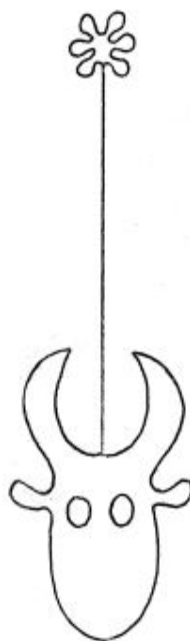
TABLE 3. THE LAYOUT OF TRENT 91

| Fascicle(s) | Foliation | Paper watermark      | Approx.paper dating | Contents                                               |
|-------------|-----------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| I-V         | 1-60      | Bull's head 10       | 1472                | Ordinary cycles & misc. sacred works                   |
| VI          | 61-72     | Scales 1             | 1474                | Ordinary cycle & misc. sacred works                    |
| VII         | 73-82     | Bull's head 10       | 1472                | Ordinary cycle and part of Liber Generationis setting. |
| VIII-X      | 83-118    | Scales 1 + Mounts 5e | 1474 + 1475         | Misc. sacred works                                     |
| XI-XV       | 119-178   | Scales 2             | 1475-7              | As above.                                              |
| XVI-XVIII   | 179-214   | Mounts 5             | 1475-8              | As above.                                              |
| XIX         | 215-225   | Bulls head 11        | -                   | Ordinary cycle & hymn setting.                         |
| XX          | 226-235   | Bulls head 12        | -                   | Ordinary cycle.                                        |
| XXI-XXII    | 236-259   | Mounts 5             | 1475-8              | Mostly Ordinary cycles.                                |

PLATES 1-7: Watermarks from the later Trent manuscripts.



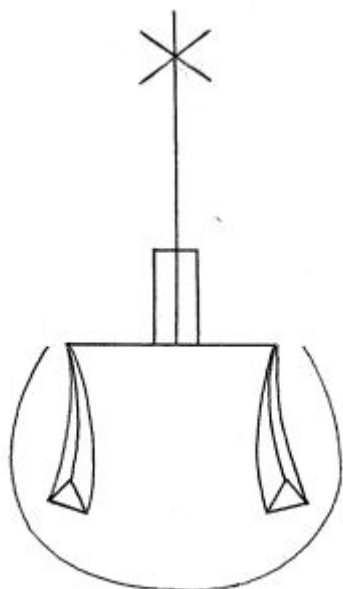
1. Trent 88 & 89  
Bulls head 7  
(original: 10.5 cm high)



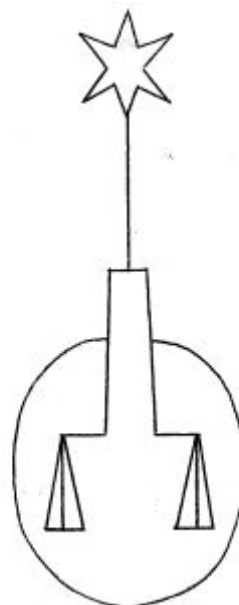
2. Trent 89  
Bulls head 9  
(original: 11 cm high)



3. Trent 89  
Mounts 3c  
(original: 6.5 cm high)

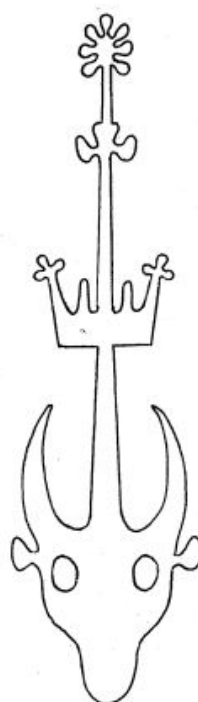


4. Trent 91 Scales 1  
(original: 10.5 cm high)



5. Trent 91 Scales 2  
(original: 10.5 cm high)

6 & 7. Trent 91  
Bulls head 11 & 12  
(originals: 16.5 &  
14.5 cm high)



## II. SCRIBAL HANDS AND POSSIBLE SCRIBAL CONCORDANCES.

Information in this section is given in a fairly brief fashion. Wright gave the chief scribe of the later Codices (Johannes Wisser) the label Scribe A. Wisser came from Munich, and he is possibly the “Johannes organist de Monaco” who matriculated at Vienna University in the autumn semester of 1454.<sup>9</sup> Wisser was succentor to the Cathedral schoolmaster Johannes Prenner from 1455-1458 and then schoolmaster in the years 1458-1465. He would have had to be ordained as a priest to take this job, and presumably this took place ca. 1457. Wisser was personal chaplain to Bishop Johannes Hinderbach of Trento in the 1470's up to at least 1477. In 1472 he was present at the exhumation of a local martyr, and in 1476 he heard the confessions of the two men allegedly involved in the killing of Simon of Unferdorben. (He is recorded as being on study leave from Trento in 1480, and later in life graduated as a Doctor of Law but we do not know where. From the late 1480's he was Tridentine Chancellor at the Imperial Court. Documents from Trento have so far not yielded any presence of him in Trento for the years 1478-88. He died in the Trento area at some time after 1497. He knew at least some of the people responsible for copying the earlier Trent manuscripts, notably the scribe Johannes Wolf.<sup>10</sup> In the following pages, the reader can assume that Wisser copied all works mentioned in the three manuscripts concerned here unless they are listed as either contributions or part-contributions of the subsidiary scribes.

Wright's Scribe B has a hand very similar to Wisser's, and he assisted in some of the Trent 88 fascicles (chiefly copying notation) while Wisser tended to enter text. Scribe B's role in working like this increases in the Trent 89 fascicles, but his hand is not present in Trent 91. A good candidate for the identity of Scribe B would be Petrus Schrott, who was succentor to Wisser as cathedral schoolmaster from ca. 1458 and definitely in that position from 1460. Schrott is first cited as rector of the cathedral school in 1465 and he stayed in that post until at least 1476. His succession to posts held by Wisser would allow for frequent contact between them.

Scribe B copied ff. 261v-282r in Trent 90 and ff. 73v-77r in Trent 88. His hand does not appear in Trent 91. He also added material to the Trent 93 fascicles at ff. 107v-108r, 210v-211r and 366v-382v. Otherwise, in the following list of pages the notation was entered by him with Wisser adding either all or some of the text.<sup>11</sup>

Trent 88:  
97v-105v  
109v-113r  
169r-185r  
315v-327r  
335v-340r<sup>12</sup>  
341v-350v

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<sup>9</sup> This suggestion is from Reinhard Strohm's article 'Identitäten und Berufswege' on the University of Vienna *Musical Life* webpage <https://musical-life.net/kapitel/identitaeten-und-berufswege>.

<sup>10</sup> Regarding Johannes Wolf see Wright, P., 'On the origins of Trent 87-I and 92-II' in *Early Music History* 6 (1986) pp. 245-270. Wolf was responsible for much of the earlier copying of the Trent manuscripts and is also likely to have been the music scribe of the large-size Zwettl fragment which was once a choirbook with extensive content. This probable scribal concordance was also a discovery of Peter Wright's, first revealed in a paper which he gave at the Glasgow Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, 1981).

<sup>11</sup> Wright lists Scribe B contributions as B1, B2 etc either to distinguish between styles of copying or because he was temporarily unsure about this work being the product of a single man. Further see Wright, 'Johannes Wiser's paper' fn. 31 on p. 41. The account of subsidiary scribes in Gerber, *Sacred Music...* pp. 2-7 differs somewhat from Wright's in the likely identification of different scribal contributions. Both studies are equally careful, and questions about very similar scribal hands are not easily resolved.

<sup>12</sup> Listed in Wright, 'Johannes Wiser's paper'... twice, both times as 335v-338v.

351v-356v  
 360v  
 363v-371v  
 375v-383v

Trent 89:

1v-10v  
 13v-23r<sup>13</sup>  
 47r-56v  
 83v-89r  
 95v-118r  
 120r-139r  
 141v-142v  
 173v-175r  
 177v-189v  
 190v-197r  
 211v-234v  
 246v-281v  
 282v-292r  
 294v-303r  
 342v-377r  
 390v-394r  
 414r-425r

Wright also lists another scribal hand as 91-B, which I shall call B\* here. This is the scribe of the first 40 folios of Trent 91, whose notation is written in a small hand and whose text is small, humanistic and cursive. Leverett suggested that this might be the hand of Johannes Martini, since his Masses feature prominently in this small collection. However, the paper on which the music was copied was also used elsewhere locally (see Bulls Head 10 on p. 34 of Wright's study) and there is also a similar music hand on the first page of Trent ms 1947-4.<sup>14</sup>

Scribe C was another assistant scribe, whose hand is slightly more open than Wisser's with a tendency towards pointed carats and occasional text flourishes. His work might be an alternative identifier for Petrus Schrott. In Trent 88 he copied ff. 267v-275v, and in Trent 90 he copied ff. 285r-286r, 305r and 307v-309r by himself. With additions by Wisser he also copied Trent 90 ff. 166v-167r and 296r-298r. In Trent 89 and Trent 91 his work appears as follows.

Trent 89:

23v  
 24v-25r<sup>15</sup>  
 25v-46r  
 175v-176r (with textual additions by Wisser)  
 235<sup>a</sup>r-242r  
 243v-244r  
 306v-317v  
 318r

<sup>13</sup> Listed in Wright, *op. cit.* as 13v-22v

<sup>14</sup> Photograph in Mitchell, 'Trent 91: first steps...' p. 77.

<sup>15</sup> Listed in Wright, *ibid.* as 24v

Trent 91:  
 45v-48r  
 49v-51r  
 51v-52r (with textual additions by Wisser)  
 52v-58r  
 74v-82r (with textual additions by Wisser) <sup>16</sup>

Scribe D has a distinctive hand and he appears to have been a less active assistant scribe. He copied ff. 283r in Trent 90 by himself and the following Trent 90 folios with textual additions by Wisser: 350v-351r, 366v-368v, 371v-373r and 377v-378r.

Trent 88:  
 411r-415r  
 415v-417r (with textual additions by Wisser)

Trent 89:  
 199v-206v <sup>17</sup>

Trent 91:  
 74v-82r (with textual additions by Wisser)

Scribe E was a lesser subsidiary scribe who copied Trent 90 ff. 379v-382r (with textual additions by Wisser) and who also copied ff. 57v-58v in Trent 89. Wright also lists Trent 91 ff. 226v-235r as likely to be the work of the same scribe (with notational additions by Wisser) but I prefer to classify the main work here in Trent 91 as that of a 'Scribe E2'. The 'first' scribe E also made the 'late' addition of the Pullois Mass to the Trent 87 copies at ff. 167v-174r.

Scribe F is only found in Trent 89 as the copyist of ff. 245v-246r. Scribe G is responsible for f. 93v in Trent 90, ff. 70v-71r in Trent 88, f. 341v in Trent 89 and ff. 211v-212v in Trent 91. Scribe H is likewise a minor contributor whose hand is found in Trent 88 at ff. 227v-228r and Trent 91 f. 215r.

Scribe I's hand is found in Trent 88 ff. 223v-224r (with textual additions by Wisser) and at Trent 91 f. 225v. Scribe J is responsible for the copying in Trent 88 at f. 106r (a single Lied with contrafact Latin text).

Scribe K's hand appears in Trent 88 at f. 263r, and scribe L at f. 374v in the same manuscript with added text in Wisser's hand at the bottom of the page.

Finally I list two text hands to which I will not give alphabetical letters since their contributions are minimal. One added a superimposed 'Gaude rosa' text in a large hand over the Superius of a Salve Regina setting in Trent 89 (ff. 354v-356r) and another in Trent 88 started f. 311v with a single line of untexted Superius part which has so far not been identified. The rest of the page is taken up by part of an unrelated Magnificat Tone VI setting.

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<sup>16</sup> Listed in Wright, *op. cit.* as the work of Scribe D.

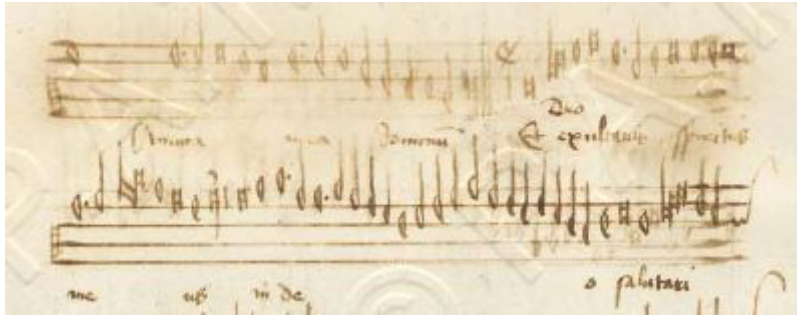
<sup>17</sup> There might be a case here for the Trent 89 copying being the work of a 'Scribe D2', since features such as its smallish minims and pronounced ascenders on 's' letters are not really like the Trent 88 copying previously cited. I feel it best here merely to mention the issue rather than to make any necessary decisions.

PLATE 8. Hand of Johannes Wisser (Scribe A), Trent 88 f. 50v.



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9. Hand of Scribe B, part of Trent 88 f. 73v.



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10. Hand of Scribe C, part of Trent 89 f. 24v.



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11. Hand of Scribe D, part of Trent 91 f. 74v.



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12. Hand of Scribe E, part of Trent 89 f. 57v.



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## 13: Hand of Trent 91 Scribe B\*, part of Trent 91 f. 3v.



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## III. COMPILATION

It should be evident from the foregoing description that some minor scribes out of the over-a-dozen possible contributors copied material merely to fill up pages after some fascicle order for the manuscripts had been decided. Scholarly consensus (mostly achieved by the work of Margaret Bent, Alejandro Planchart and Gareth Curtis) has shown that the chief scribe of the later Trent Codices - Johannes Wisser - made a copy of much of the contents of Trent 93 early in his career, and this survives as Trent 90. Until recently the origins of Trent 93 were uncertain, but the recent discovery of a fragment from nearby Bolzano with Tridentine concordances may suggest that much of Wisser's parent material in Trent 93 was copied there.<sup>18</sup> I shall return to the Bolzano fragment in due course since its appearance and presentation is instructive for some of Wisser's scribal habits. Wisser knew the chief scribe of the earlier Trent collection (Johannes Wolf), whose work on Trent 87 and similar music seems to have begun in the 1430's. As we have just explained, the Pullois Mass was added to the same stack of music at a later date.

By comparison with Trent 93, parts of Trent 90 look messily copied but Wisser seems to have been fastidious in checking and correcting copies, and there are elements of graphic mimicry in Trent 90 when parent pages in Trent 93 are compared with Wisser's work.<sup>19</sup> While some of the music added to Trent 90 is not found in Trent 93, there seems to have been a general plan to Wisser's copying work and much of his next large project (which survives as Trent 88) seems to have been planned and much of it was continuously copied. The biggest difference between this collection and earlier Tridentine copies is that Ordinary cycles are now mostly grouped together instead of occurring as separate groups of Glorias, Credos, and Sanctus/Agnus settings. The first Mass in Trent 88 has all of its movements in sequence.

Trent 88 begins as a direct follower to Trent 90, initially using paper with watermarks also found in the latter. The two manuscripts also share some ink colour. Gerber, *op. cit.* p. 3 also indicates that stave-ruled paper seems to have been prepared in batches consisting of the following groups; fascicles 1-2, 3-9, 10-11, 12-17, 18-21, 22-25 and 27-35, excluding some blank folios.<sup>20</sup> Much of the manuscript appear to have been continuously copied up to f. 70v. Thereafter the plan is less clear, although it was evidently Wisser's intention to copy a large batch of Proper cycles together from f. 113v onwards. It also seems that some of his copying of Propers ended up in odd places: while the Trent 88 collection of Propers mostly gives its material in cycles, there is another assembly of Marian Propers in Trent 89 (starting at 95v) with the same ink colour as some of the Trent 88 Propers (which has deteriorated to a light rust-brown) where Wisser has added texting to notation copied by Scribe B. The Introit here (*Salve sancta parens*) is stylistically different from the Propers that follow it, some of which are curiously like insular descant-type settings. These may well be English as well might the accompanying Marian antiphons written in similar or related styles. One

<sup>18</sup> See Gabrielli, G., 'A new source of Quattrocento music discovered in Bolzano' in *Early Music* XLIII no. 2 (2015), pp. 255-267.

<sup>19</sup> See Bent, M., 'Trent 93 and Trent 90: Johannes Wisser at work' in *I Codici Musicali Trentini* 1 (1986), pp. 84-111.

<sup>20</sup> Folios 39, 85, 93v-94, 96v-97, 106v-109, 135, 141, 162, 168r-v, 276, 357, 362v-363, 372, 375, 384, 386v, 390 and 410v.

of these (a canonic *Salve Regina* also in the Bolzano fragment, no. 169 in our edition) has graphic mimicry of the Bolzano copy taking imitation as far as copying a bracket before a verbal canon and also the abbreviation before it. Here is a clear example of further work on Mass Propers by the Trent scribes as well as showing them to be fastidious copyists on occasion.<sup>21</sup> I also notice that the music hand here in the Bolzano fragment is very similar to one of the main hands in Trent 93.

The rest of Trent 88 demonstrates deliberately put-together assemblies of hymns, Magnificat settings and a growing collection of Ordinary cycles with their movements mostly copied together. A few are split up, one or two Masses are simply not present in their full form, and in the second half of Trent 88 there is much more collaboration by other scribes and possibly some evidence of copying for the sake of fascicle incorporation. For example, the last work in Trent 88 (Faugues's *Missa Le serviteur*) is preceded by the start of a fascicle where a contrafactum of Busnois's Rondeau *Quant ce viendra* has been entered. The two works are not connected and it is possible that the song was the second of these works copied. Secondly, a subsidiary scribe has copied a three-voice *Christe redemptor* hymn setting on f. 374v. This has no relationship to the three-voice works preceding and following it and may also be part of a page-filling process. Some of the Trent scribes' parent material for Trent 88 seems to have been at the end of extended transmission lines or may have been of poor quality. This may be particularly relevant to the English Masses copied therein and also the only song with English text in the manuscript, which is badly mangled (*Agwillare habeth*). Likewise, Wisser's copy of the Jo. Gayus Magnificat (the fifth piece in the manuscript) seems to be full of errors and the Mass cycle starting at f. 253v is demonstrably a late copy of a well transmitted work that is likely to be English. The Agnus setting starting on f. 263v seems to have its sections in the wrong order, and it is followed by a four-voice Introit setting whose copying also has defects. Maybe this particular niche of works following f. 253v came from a particularly unreliable and provincial parent source.

Trent 89 shows similar signs of initial organisation followed by attempts to incorporate material. My 1989 study proposed the identification of early, intermediate and late examples of copying by Wisser and Scribe B based on recurrence of verticals framing ruled staves (a habit gradually abandoned) and more majuscules being used for voice names than in earlier copying. What I suggested in terms of general copying sequence was perhaps too inflexible, but as in Trent 88 there are deliberate attempts to create batches of pieces grouped by type. There is a hymn section (fascicle 16, starting at f. 177) followed by a short Introit section, and large numbers of Ordinary cycles in which the old habit of separating movements by type has completely disappeared. There are also several Marian motets, Magnificats and Sequence settings copied together in fascicles 30-31 (starting at f. 349v). Not all of the Mass cycles were copied by Wisser, and there are clear signs of an incorporation process at the following points in the manuscript. At the end of fascicle 2 there is a Tone IV Magnificat setting which was started by Wisser and an assistant (with the latter copying the notation) and finished by one of the other important subsidiary scribes: see ff. 21v-25r. There is then a Hayne chanson and the *Missa Groß senen* (ff. 26v-41r) and two more Magnificat settings to fill up most of fascicle 4. Wisser then added an isolated canonic Kyrie from a cyclic Mass on f. 46v to finish this fascicle - unless he had of course copied it in an illogical place here earlier. This activity looks like an incorporation process as well as connected scribal activity, and only successive copying can explain much of the sequence of pieces here except possibly the appearance of Hayne's *Amours amours*.

A similar process can be seen at ff. 175v-176r, where a subsidiary scribe has copied two hymn settings with Wisser adding small quantities of text to both copies. The fascicle concerned (15) ends at f. 176v, so the scribes could have added more music here if they wished. Similarly, the copies of the *Missa Du cuer* and the Bassere Mass in Trent 89 are respectively followed by a cantio and a hymn setting. Both seem to

<sup>21</sup> In contrast, the copies of the *Missa Du cuer* in Trent 89 have a particularly careless error possibly caused by hurrying. The monomorphic second-section Tenor of the Agnus is miscopied despite the same music having been entered on previous pages for other movements (see p. 1013 in the commentary to the Trent 89 edition). Elsewhere in this Mass the considerable confusion over accidentals perhaps also speaks of the Trento scribes working in haste.

be present merely to fill up more blank pages. Quite why the incorporation process took place is uncertain: maybe there were simply too many independent fascicles of music produced. The decision to gather them together may have been taken merely to tidy up common material while its relevance and purpose were still within memory. There may have been more copying by Wisser and the assistant scribes than actually now survives. The last page of Trent 89 gives short sections of part of Touront's Tone VI Magnificat (a work otherwise not present in the Trent manuscripts) and the Agnus from the Missa *Sig säld und hail* which is fully copied in Trent 91.

In Trent 91 there is also a detectable collection process, but the start of the manuscript consists of nearly four fascicles of Masses and shorter works (ff. 1-40r) in a smallish musical hand which is not found elsewhere in these manuscripts. From the end of fascicle 4 Wisser's hand reappears in a Martini motet celebrating an Estense wedding in 1473, so the addition to ff. 1-40r cannot be before that date. Together with the help of a subsidiary scribe Wisser copies miscellaneous sacred music up to the end of fascicle VII (f. 82r) and thereafter is another planned section of works chiefly containing music for the Office which is compositionally all quite alike (up to the start of fascicle XV, 178r). As in the other manuscripts discussed here there are signs of copying incorporation, discussed in detail by Adelyn Leverett in her dissertation.<sup>22</sup> She saw, too, that the original presentation order of at least the first half of Trent 91 might have been different, and that the addition of the first forty folios may have been a late decision. In fact all of Trent 91 up to f. 60v (where a fascicle ends, and where there is a short Benedicamus trope) may have originally been part of a different ordering scheme. Following the section of Office music (which ends with a deliberately assembled set of Sequence settings ending at f. 177r) the format returns to Ordinary cycles copied by various scribes interspersed with a small group of hymn settings and miscellaneous items. One piece is incomplete due to loss of copied material; folio 215r is the start of fascicle XIX, which has a page missing and on 215r there are only partially preserved lower voices for a piece known elsewhere as a Touront motet. There is no evidence that music collecting for the bishops of Trento ended with Wisser's contributions in the late 1470's, but there are two important points here. Firstly Wisser's absences from Trento in his later years, and secondly change of repertory in Trent 91 (whose contents are not as geographically international as in the previous manuscripts) perhaps speaks of a change in musical traffic coming across the Alps.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

One of the most illuminating aspects of studying these manuscripts is the light that they shed on now-lost parent sources. In the pages of my editions the critical notes show evidence of copying from a probably insular source of Propers or at least a derivative of such a source (see the Trent 89 edition nos 161-164). A song motet possibly copied from a source like the Schedel songbook with small pages and several page turns (see the same edition, no. 43) and what looks like a contrafactum in the making or at least evidence of adapting a short piece (see the same edition, no. 97). Also, larger pieces with close readings of concordances in Munich 3154 (the early pages of which may be from Innsbruck) and a five-part votive antiphon possibly copied from an English source (see no.170) speak of a transmission network that dispersed music in all directions, but notably gathered large quantities of sacred music in Trento and possibly in nearby Bolzano. By contrast, it seems that some of the earlier Verona choirbooks were purchased more or less ready-made.<sup>23</sup> A little further off, ripples in the pond of transmitted music resulted

<sup>22</sup> Notably the copying of an introductory section to a *Liber Generationis* setting on f. 82v when the main setting occurs slightly later in the manuscript. The short section concerned has a comment attached showing which work it belongs with. Further on Trent 91's compilation see Leverett, A., *A palaeographical and reportorial study of the manuscript Trento, Castello del Bonconsiglio, 91 (1378)*. Ph. D. Dissertation, 2 vols, Princeton, 1990, I, pp. 33-71.

<sup>23</sup> On Verona ms 559 (which seems to have locally copied repertory) see Bussolin, G. & Zanussi Fortes, S., 'Il codice 759 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona' in Gozzi, M. (ed), *Manoscritti di Polifonia nel Quattrocento Europeo* (Trento, 2004) pp. 109-128. In the same publication an article by Jeffrey Dean (pp. 93-108) suggests that Verona ms 755 (a composite source) was purchased complete. It may then have been added to in Verona (at folios 11-130). Manuscript 756 is known to be the work of an early sixteenth century Netherlandish scribe responsible for other

in some of the pieces copied at Trento also turning up in the Strahov manuscript and Kosice fragments (whose geography is uncertain) and also in the Specialnik compilation towards the end of the fifteenth century.

There is still obviously much work to be done on the subsidiary scribes, their possible identities and their travels. I am hoping that the considerable leap forward made by the current generation in the field of paper and calligraphy study will continue to yield discoveries and likely contexts for the Trent manuscript collection. Amongst recent discoveries in that respect perhaps the most illuminating is that Nicolas Merques (a minor composer in Trent 92) also turns out to be one of its scribes.<sup>24</sup> Finally, a small and accidental discovery of my own that seems to have otherwise escaped attention. The composer of a Gloria in Trent 87 (Bartholomeus Poignare) is known not only for that solitary piece of music but from several references which give him in the papal chapel at choirboy age (July 1425-July 1430), then going north, then in the papal chapel again from 1431-33 and then going north again to be a resident canon in Arras by 1437.<sup>25</sup> I have now found a reference to him being a notary and appointed to the Council of Basle on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1435.<sup>26</sup> This conveniently fills in a gap in Poignare's known career.

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<sup>24</sup> See Strohm, R., 'Guillaume Du Fay, Martin Le Franc und die humanistische Legende in der Musik' in *Neujahrsblätter der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zurich*, p. 192 (Zurich, 2008) and Wright, P., 'Nuove Scoperte sulla carriera di Nicolas de Merques' in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento* 8 (2014), pp. 483-488.

<sup>25</sup> See Planchart, A., 'Music for the Papal Chapel in the Early Fifteenth Century' in Sheer, R. (ed), *Papal Music and Papal Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford., 1998) pp. 93-124.

<sup>26</sup> See Menzies, G., *1421. The Year China Discovered the World* (Bantam books, 2002-2003) p. 479, which describes part of the famous Vinland Map forgery thus: "...an ink transfer was found under the end papers of the binding. It related to the appointment of the notary Bartholomeus Poignare to the Council of Basle on 16 September 1435." Presumably this is the same man as previously cited.

<sup>27</sup> For reasons of space, most pieces with possible known composers or *opera dubia* mentioned in the critical commentaries do not have their suggested composers cited here.

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