KATARINA ŠTER
Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana

"ALLORA PIÙ GRADITO, CHE PIÙ BATTUTO": FRANCISCANS FROM KOPER AND THEIR BAROQUE *CANTUS FRACTUS*

Izvleček: Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper hrani rokopis SIKKP D A 15, kirial iz 17. in 18. stoletja, ki je bil v rabi v koprskem frančiškanskem samostanu sv. Ane. Rokopis vsebuje eksplicitne navezave na mesto Koper (Capodistria) in je najpomembnejši lokalni vir baročnega repertoarja *cantus fractus*. Članek preliminarno predstavlja rokopis in njegovo vsebino, obenem pa razpravlja o pomenu in vlogi njegovega lokalnega repertoarja v širšem okviru frančiškanskega reda.

Ključne besede: Koper, *cantus fractus,* frančiškani, kirial, 17.–18. stoletje

Abstract: Manuscript SIKKP D A 15 from the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper is a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century kyriale from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Anne in Koper (Capodistria). Because of its explicit connections to this town, it is the most important local source of the *cantus fractus* repertoire. This paper offers preliminary observations on the manuscript and its contents, while also discussing the local role and relevance of the *cantus fractus* repertoire within a broader monastic context.

Keywords: Koper, *cantus fractus,* Franciscans, kyriale, seventeenth to eighteenth centuries

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INTRODUCTION

The Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper (Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper / Biblioteca centrale Srečko Vilhar Capodistria; SI-Ko) holds several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript volumes transmitting various chant repertoires sung in the churches of the Franciscan Friars in Koper and other coastal towns of present-day Slovenia. Alongside the traditional liturgical plainchant, some sources also contain a repertoire written in the manner of *cantus fractus*. For various reasons, this repertoire of local as well as wider importance has not yet received proper scholarly attention. Nevertheless, it represents a part of Franciscan liturgical history in the northern and eastern Adriatic, lying within the shared history of the Franciscan Province of St Jerome and the history of Franciscan monasteries in the Venetian Republic.

This article introduces one of the most important *cantus fractus* sources, which comes from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Anne in Koper: manuscript SIKKP D A 15 in the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar (SI-Ko, [MS] 15), a kyriale written during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It contains standard plainchant melodies written in the square notation of plainchant and later melodies written in *cantus fractus*-style notation, where the duration of notes is measured. The article focuses mainly on the *cantus fractus* repertoire, which consists of Mass Ordinaries and separate Credos.

The aims of the article are threefold: (1) to attract attention, through a preliminary presentation of the selected manuscript, to the hitherto unknown Baroque *cantus fractus* repertoire of the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Anne in Koper; (2) to show its specific local and other characteristics and speculate on who its creators and users may have been; and (3) to stress the need for deeper international research into this repertoire within the context of Franciscan history and the wider area once influenced by the Serenissima. The ecclesiastical and political borders that shaped the existence and transmission of this repertoire should accordingly be taken into consideration — and, as many researchers have pointed out before me, these do not coincide with the modern state borders of Italy, Slovenia, Croatia and possibly some other countries. So the Koper *cantus fractus* is to be viewed as one piece in a much larger and more complex, but tightly connected, jigsaw making up Franciscan music.

CANTUS FRACTUS AND THE UNDEFINED BORDERS OF ITS TERRITORIES

Cantus fractus[1] is a very broad and highly elusive term for which we might easily search in vain in musicology's terminological toolbox. In their preface to two special issues

This article was written within the research project Old Traditions in New Vestments: Musical and Textual Reworkings in the Performing Practices of Liturgical Music (J6-1809) and the

of the *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* Hana Vlhová-Wörner and Rhianydd Hallas pointed out the fact that the term *cantus fractus* does not appear in leading encyclopaedias of music such as *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *Grove Music Online* and that there is only a very short entry in the *Oxford Companion to Music*.[2] In the basic musicological literature a knowledge of, and writing on, the topic are sparse and fragmentary. Vlhová-Wörner and Hallas have suggested the following as the broadest definition: the *cantus fractus* repertoire embraces monophonic melodies for the Roman liturgy that contain some element of fixed rhythmic realization.[3]

Marco Gozzi, a leading expert on this repertoire, has offered a similar definition of *cantus fractus*, describing it as a "Christian liturgical chant with rhythmical-proportional elements".[4] Elsewhere, Gozzi says something similar: this is "a type of Christian liturgical chant in Latin that makes use of proportional rhythmic values in its notation and is therefore measured".[5] Even between these two very broad and general definitions there is no agreement on the monophonic nature of the repertoire. On the basis of his discovery that early (fourteenth-century) sources of the famous *cantus fractus* named *Credo cardinalis* are polyphonic — the main melody is always the same, but the second part not necessarily so — Marco Gozzi has developed a working hypothesis that, in practice, more music was performed in two parts than we can assume from monodic sources.[6]

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1 The term *cantus fractus* (*canto fratto* in Italian) was first used mainly by Italian scholars and has now attained general acceptance in scholarly writing. Throughout history, however, the repertoire covered by this "umbrella" term has been known by different names. Dyer writes (following Fabio Sebastiano Santoro's treatise published in 1715) that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *canto fratto* was regarded as a *canto misto* because it combined elements of plainchant (*canto fermo*) with the rhythmic features of *canto figurato* (polyphony); hence also the other name *canto semifigurato*. Štefancová presents very similar alternatives for the term *cantus fractus*: *canto misto*, *canto figurato*, and *canto mensurato*. See Gabrielli, "*Cantus fractus*", 53; Dyer, "New Source", 577; Štefancová, "Cantus fractus".

2 Vlhová-Wörner and Hallas, "Introduction", 197.

3 Ibid.

4 Gozzi, "Alle origini del canto fratto", 245: "canto cristiano liturgico con elementi ritmico-proporzionali".

5 Quoted from Dyer, "New Source", 571 (Gozzi gives this definition in his "Prefazione" to *Cantus fractus italiano: un'antologia,* ed. Marco Gozzi (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), 1).

6 Gozzi, "Alle origini del canto fratto", 247.

He states: "In the search for the origins of *cantus fractus*, all clues point towards simple polyphony or, if another term is preferred, towards the polyvocal amplification of the supposed liturgical 'monody'".[7]

Joseph Dyer, among others, has stressed the fact that the melodies of *cantus fractus* are "much closer to contemporary musical idioms than they are to the Gregorian chant melodies".[8] Yet the genre's liturgical context, positioning in standard liturgical books alongside plainchant and some intentional visual aspects of its notation (square- and mensural-like notation, primarily on four-line (tetragrams) — but also five-line (pentagrams) — staves), as well as its contemporary understanding, link this repertoire firmly to *cantus planus*. *Cantus fractus* should therefore continue to lie within the domain of (plain)chant scholars — but not exclusively that: since the sound of this music belies the visual impression of its antiquity, chant researchers should join forces with music scholars conversant with later periods. Only then will the sources be more fully understood and the picture gain new depth and added dimensions.

However, questions regarding monophony as opposed to polyphony and the repertoire's antiquity as opposed to its contemporaneity (arising from the reworking of Gregorian chant and composition of entirely new melodies) are only a few of the issues surrounding the elusive term *cantus fractus*. There are further questions related, among other things, to (a) the modality as opposed to tonality of individual chants; (b) the possible inclusion within the repertoire of not only rhythmicized chant but perhaps also strophic song and other genres; and (c) the vast temporal (from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century) and geographical span of this copious repertoire.

In a geographical sense the *cantus fractus* repertoire constantly gains new territory and is still widening its map. Extensive pioneering work has been carried out by scholars in Italy, who brought our first insights into the phenomenon and continue the work; the bulk of the repertoire currently known comes from that country — perhaps a reflection of the intensity of the research activity there.[9] However, the phenomenon has been seen and recognized elsewhere. Re-

7 "Nella ricercar sulle origini del canto fratto tutti gli indizi portano verso la polifonia semplice o, se si preferisce un altro termine, verso l'amplificazione polivocale della presunta 'monodia' liturgica." Gozzi claims that this has new implications also for music of the so-called Gregorian chant: "credo non si possa più parlare del cosidetto canto 'gregoriano' come di 'canto cristiano monodico'". Ibid., 248.

8 Dyer, "New Source", 576.

9 "Most of the sources discovered and catalogued thus far originated in north-eastern Italy (especially Trentino)". Dyer, "New Source", 576. See also Baroffio and Kim, "La tradizione francescano-veneta", 85–86.

cent large-scale projects in the Czech Republic[10] and in Croatia[11] (where there have been some earlier studies as well, giving rise to a number of publications and events),[12] have brought to light new sources, repertoires and their interconnections: the earlier repertoires in Bohemian sources and in Central Europe, and many new sources, especially along the Dalmatian coastline. In Austria, the phenomenon has been recognized in individual studies[13] and within the project Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich.[14]

Even after this recent expansion the musicological coverage of the repertoire is still relatively small. Joseph Dyer notes that "a comprehensive survey of the phenomenon in Italy or elsewhere in Europe remains to be written, so large and widely disseminated was this repertoire".[15] There is still a considerable need to know more (about) sources, many of which lie forgotten in archives and libraries; since several date "only" from the modern era, they are not such interesting subjects for digitalization as medieval music manuscripts. New case studies and source editions will enable scholars to make further comparisons, even if it seems at the moment that some later repertoires were mostly restricted geographically.[16] Barbara Haggh-Huglo has pointed out that comparisons and thorough examinations of the repertoire will remain a challenge until we possess a database for all *cantus fractus* compositions.[17] Such a database at an international level is indeed necessary, and one hopes that it will not take too long for this to be realized.[18]

10 Such was, for example, the project Old Myths, New Facts (a joint project of the Masaryk Institute, the Archive of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Charles University, 2019–2023) led by Hana Vlhová-Wörner. See https://www.smnf.cz/en.

11 The CROMUSCODEX70 project (Croatian Musical and Liturgical Chant Codices – Interdisciplinary Research, 2017–2021), which included a study of the sources of *cantus fractus,* was led by Hana Breko Kustura. See http://www.cromuscodex70.com/.

12 There have been several studies related to the *cantus fractus* repertoire in the context of Baroque music in Croatia, such as Katalinić's "Pregled izvora" and Soldo's "Glazbena ostavština".

13 The primary focus of the research has mainly been on the music of the Franciscans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See, for example, Paech, "'Hymnus novus'"; Prassl, "Choralquellen"; "Ein spätes Zeugnis".

14 Gozzi, "Rhytmischer Choralgesang".

15 Dyer, "New Source", 576–577.

16 Baroffio and Kim, "La tradizione francescano-veneta", 90.

17 Haggh-Huglo, "*Cantus fractus* in CA 6 and 11".

18 In discussion Debra Lacoste proposed a magnificent solution: creating a *cantus fractus* database within the Cantus Database platform. Such a database would be free-standing but at the same time facilitate comparisons and analyses across the whole repertoire as well as with plainchant melodies.

Cantus fractus, then, this unknown "younger brother" of *cantus planus*[19] who is still rising, Cinderella-like, from the ashes,[20] remains a very broad and vague term lacking clear boundaries. However, for all its musical diversity, its more stable liturgical function and visual appearance suffice to make it a specific and unique repertoire. In other words, the term has as much to do with "what" is written down as it has with "where" or "how" it was notated and performed. The question regarding "with whom" the repertoire was especially connected may also be relevant, since there seems to exist a particular connection with different branches of the Franciscan Friars Minor.[21]

This connection also brings us to a hitherto unsuspected region: the coastal towns of today's Slovenia, where *cantus fractus* was performed primarily within the different branches of the Friars Minor (the so-called Observants and Conventuals). Their primary *cantus fractus* sources, preserved mainly in Koper, have occasionally been noticed before, but never discussed. By starting to include them "in the general picture", the present article aims to place this geographical area on the *cantus fractus* map while simultaneously contributing another small piece to the larger jigsaw in the making. It is worth noting that strong monastic connections within the different provinces of the order, along with the special bonds uniting those territories that were once part of the Venetian Republic, have also played a significant role in shaping, and informing the performance of, this repertoire, which was immensely popular in its day. As the quotation in the present title describing its performance in Koper puts it: "the more measured it was [in its function of liturgical chant], the more it was cherished".[22]

19 Following the works of the theorists he consulted, Dyer uses the terms *canto fermo* (not "Gregorian chant") and "plainsong". Dyer, "New Source", 569. — Throughout this article I use the term "plainchant" to stress the liturgical function of the earlier repertoire, thereby differentiating between c*antus planus* and *cantus fractus*.

20 The two images of a "younger brother" and of "Cinderella" are borrowed from Giacomo Baroffio and Eun Ju Kim, since they remain as suggestive and true as they were twenty years ago. Baroffio and Kim, "La tradizione francescano-veneta", 85.

21 Despite their modest lifestyle the Franciscans of the eighteenth century found ways to create rich musical environments (to which the *cantus fractus* repertoire also belonged): "Provided that out of the scope of the European musical culture we were to choose an order whose tradition was most unique, original and distinct from music-making in other circles, one would undoubtedly point to the Franciscan Brothers." Jochymczyk, "*Musica figuralis franciscana*", 105–106. Dyer stresses that many important theorists who wrote on *cantus fractus* were Franciscans. Dyer, "New Source", 571.

22 See the concluding section of this article.

THE MONASTERY OF ST ANNE, ITS MUSICAL LIFE AND ITS *CANTUS FRACTUS* SOURCES

One of the most significant sources of Baroque *cantus fractus* from the northernmost part of the Istrian coast is a manuscript shelfmarked SIKKP D A 15[23] held by the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper, one that originates from the Observant Franciscan Monastery of St Anne in Koper.[24] The musical history of this institution has not yet received significant scholarly attention; however, it has been referenced multiple times in connection with the history of music in Koper and its cathedral.

Koper (Capodistria), the Head of Istria (*Caput Histriae*),[25] was one of the most important towns of the named province. From the thirteenth century, when it was formally incorporated into the Venetian Republic,[26] it possessed the largest Istrian community and was the seat of Venetian government in that territory.[27] During the Renaissance the town prided itself on being "the Athens of Istria" on account of its rich humanistic learning and culture.[28] Although Koper remained important, it lost its prominence after the extinction of the Venetian Republic in 1797; until then, it had been, even in musical respects, "the cultural centre of Istria"[29] — one that could also take pride in the music of its many churches. Until at least the end of the eighteenth century several institutions maintained a rich liturgical and musical life: among them, the cathedral of Koper (re-established in the twelfth century) and during different periods a number of convents and

23 Hereafter referred to as manuscript (MS) 15.

24 Throughout most of its history, the institution was known (and referred to) as the Convent of St Anne. For the sake of clarity in English, I use the more-established term "monastery" in its broadest sense, designating the medieval contemplative (for whom the term "monos", meaning "alone", would be most appropriately applied because of their style of religious life) as well as mendicant and preaching orders of later medieval origin.

25 With the old Roman name, Capris, or later Italian name, Capo d'Istria.

26 Eying Venice from the other side of the gulf, Koper had a long relationship with it. Its first pact with Venice was concluded in 932, but the inhabitants of Koper later tried to break free from it several times: in 976, 1279 and 1348, when a rebellion took place on the occasion of the great plague and was suppressed by the Republic. After the conflict of 1279 Koper became subject to Venice. Further on in the Middle Ages the city suffered from plague many times (in 1338, 1348 and 1382, as well as later). One of its most eventful periods occurred during the time of the War of Chioggia (La Guerra di Chioggia) between 1371 and 1381, when it was occupied by Genoa, and its famous relics of the local bishop and civic patron St Nazarius were infamously stolen by the Genoese; they were returned only in 1422. Mlacović, "Frederic C. Lane".

27 Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 12.

28 Ibid., 11–12.

29 This, at all events, was the opinion of Baccio Zilliotto, mentioned in Radole, "Musica e musicisti", 147.

monasteries (belonging to the Sisters of St Augustine, the Benedictine Nuns, the Dominicans, the Servites, and various branches of the Franciscans).[30]

By the early eighteenth century, when MS 15 was completed, the Monastery of St Anne had already developed a rich history.[31] In 1229 the first community of Franciscan Friars in Koper was founded, it is believed by St Anthony of Padua. The earliest known records mention the Order of the Poor Friars of Assisi in Koper in 1264, when the Bishop of Koper permitted them to construct a new church, since the old one was in poor condition. The history of the present monastery began in 1493 with the building of a new church in a different location; along with the monastery, it was completed and furnished by 1513. It was considerably smaller than the present church, which was renovated in 1627.[32] For nearly a decade St Mary of the Angels was its patroness; it was subsequently dedicated to St Anne. In addition to a large central nave, an oratory is located behind the main altar; it was in this space that the Franciscan Friars recited the Liturgy of the Hours. Its beautifully carved choir stalls date from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and have recently been restored. From the start the monastery served as a house of education and seminary for the Dalmatian Observant Province; so it was always a place of learning, particularly in theology and philosophy. In the eighteenth century it even became a house of general studies (*studium generale*) and was authorized to grant the degree of *lector theologiae*, which was recognized throughout the Franciscan Observant community.[33] Such an intellectual centre must also have been a place of musical learning and creativity.

The Church of St Anne was beautifully adorned with paintings, and one can imagine that — within the constraints of their rules — the Observants applied the same level of attention to their musical "decoration" of the liturgy, particularly as they were among the most musically significant and distinctive orders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[34] Today, directly above the church entrance, the organ loft houses an organ built by the Venetian organ-maker Francesco Merlini in 1805.[35] It is a well-preserved Venetian-style organ still possessing its original disposition and was probably the successor to an earlier instrument. The processional signs showcasing statues of patron saints from various confraternities and gold-plated lanterns used during processions serve as evidence of

30 Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprske stolnice". See also Bonin, "Samostani v Kopru".

31 The basic information on the history of St Anne's church, monastery and library presented here is available on the website of the monastery, especially in the sections concerning its history. See https://prisvetiani.si/.

32 See Košak, "Sv. Didak iz Alkale", 26.

33 See https://prisvetiani.si/en/history/history-franciscan-friary; https://prisvetiani.si/sl/zgodovina/prihod-franciskanov-zidava-samostana.

34 Jochymczyk, "*Musica figuralis franciscana*", 105–109.

35 Škulj and Dobravec, *Orgle Slovenije,* 217.

the church's many processions, where music most likely played a significant role and did not go unnoticed: At the outset of the eighteenth century Bishop Naldini observed that the Observants of St Anne were held in high esteem by the people of Koper because of their devout life and beautiful liturgical singing (see also below).[36]

Until 1920 the monastery had been part of the Franciscan Dalmatian Province of St Jerome based in Zadar. Following the Treaty of Rapallo in the aftermath of the First World War (1922), it was taken over by the Italian Franciscan Friars of the Venetian Province. After the Second World War it became once more incorporated into the Zadar province and later, in 1953, into the Slovenian Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross. By 1954 the Yugoslav state had transformed the Koper monastery into a prison. Nevertheless, the Franciscans did not abandon their church, which they were still allowed to use, and they continued to live in modest conditions in the utility rooms adjacent to it. In 1997 the property was restored to the Franciscans, who were able to move back in 2004. Today the Franciscan community, albeit with very few members, remains active in the monastery.

The Monastery of St Anne shared its history with its library. Following the dissolution of many other monasteries in the aftermath of various historical events in the early nineteenth century, the monastery library of St Anne received books from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Bernardine of Siena in Piran (Pirano)[37] as well as the Franciscan Conventual Monastery in Piran (Pirano).[38] Thereby it came to host several *cantus fractus* and *cantus planus* sources, some originating from other institutions.[39] Some of the sources it received were able to find use in the liturgical life of the St Anne community.[40]

36 Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica,* 196.

37 Today the area is regarded as part of Portorož (Portorose).

38 Štoka, "Krvna slika knjižnice", 127.

39 For instance, there is a manuscript miscellany containing *cantus planus* repertoire together with some *cantus fractus* chants (especially Credos) originating from the Monastery of St Andrea in Rovinj (Rovigno). Another example is an antiphoner originating from the Monastery of St Bernardine, today preserved as manuscript 11 in the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar in Koper; this explicitly says: "Ex con[vento] s[ancti] Bernar[di]ni […] Anno 1806. fratres S. Bernardini obtulerunt in conventum S. Annae hunc codicem, qui ex tunc pertinent ad conventum S. Annae Justinopoli". It seems that liturgical books from other Observant (or perhaps even Conventual) monasteries found further use in the liturgy of St Anne's church.

40 A source that seems to have a strong connection with MS 15 is another kyriale, likewise held by the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar as MS 13. Similarly to MS 15, it bears the St Anne's library sticker and a pencilled number 640, although it has a different shelfmark (MS 13). During the period of their coexistence at St Anne the two manuscripts may have been seen as complementary or somewhat related. They contain the same type of repertoire but share only a few Credo melodies. Manuscript 13 includes several later additions, and it is hard to discern whether these were made in Portorož or later in Koper.

St Anne's library was left largely intact until 1945,[41] but it did not entirely escape the fate of other Koper church libraries and religious communities. Their musical and cultural heritage was dispersed over time — some parts in the nineteenth century, but also more recently in the twentieth century, when, in 1940 and the following years, numerous paintings and other items from the Koper churches were taken to Italy and elsewhere.[42] During the nationalization process following the Second World War in 1945 the library of St Anne was transferred to the collection centre in Portorož and subsequently to the Koper Central Library of Srečko Vilhar, along with its sources inherited from other monasteries.[43] Part of it was returned to the Franciscans in 1977.[44] Together with the library of the Capuchin Monastery of St Martha, this library nevertheless remains one of the better-preserved monastic libraries; in contrast, almost nothing from the libraries of the Dominican monks and the musically famous Monastery of St Francis (Conventuals) survives.[45]

We may never know fully what was contained in the Koper archives or what the musical life of the various religious communities in Koper was like. Even the existing musical sources and other relevant documents from St Anne are not yet sufficiently known. However, there is another library where diverse sources and information concerning the musical life in St Anne can similarly be found: that of the cathedral, today mainly preserved in the Episcopal Archives (Škofijski arhiv) of Koper; our understanding of musical life in the Franciscan monastery is closely intertwined with what we know about the history of church music in Koper generally. The music of Koper cathedral, with its rich musical tradition and

41 Di Paoli Paulovich, "Musica a Capodistria", 168. According to a catalogue made by the Franciscan Father Hijacint Repič, the library contained approximately 12,000 volumes at the beginning of the twentieth century. There were also fifty-nine incunabula and eighty-three rare and valuable books. Between 1942 and 1944, following instructions from the Italian authorities, the catalogue and more valuable books were removed to Venice. See https://prisvetiani.si/sl/zgodovina/knjiznica.

42 During an informal conversation in 2021 Zorko Bajc, a priest from the neighbouring coastal town of Piran, mentioned that various people had also helped themselves to musical items from its ecclesiastical archives and libraries. Sometimes, these objects would be returned because the next generation was motivated ethically to restore them or simply found no use for them. Unfortunately, the disappearance of a single musical manuscript is noticed much less than the disappearance of an altar painting.

43 Marković, *Fondi librari e biblioteche,* 145–154.

44 According to the St Anne Monastery website, the library experienced additional losses during that time. On their peregrinations between the centre, the library of Srečko Vilhar and the monastery, many books vanished into the private domain of enthusiastic collectors; some returned, but others did not. See https://prisvetiani.si/sl/zgodovina/knjiznica.

45 Marković and Štoka, *Knjižna dediščina,* 20.

well-preserved sources alongside some studies on notable town musicians, has also become a prime focus of musicological research.[46]

Until the Council of Trent the liturgy and chant in Koper — including the liturgical music — mainly followed the Aquileian rite;[47] the Franciscans, however, had their own tradition that closely followed the Roman one. After the Council and up to the end of the eighteenth century many musicians came to Koper because of its favourable economic situation;[48] some internationally renowned ones were invited to perform on festive occasions in the cathedral and even to stay and teach chant and polyphony to the clergy. The level of musical performance must have been relatively high and abreast of the international standards of the time. However, local institutions also possessed skilled musicians and most likely a rich musical life. In providing music for the cathedral's liturgy there was, at least during specific historical periods, regular collaboration between the cathedral and certain monastic institutions in Koper, especially the Monastery of St Francis (Conventual Franciscan Friars) and the Monastery of St Anne (Observant Franciscan Friars). Janez Höfler states that singers from both monasteries regularly performed on more festive occasions.[49] It seems that the Monastery of St Francis had some primacy and a very thriving musical life, but there are also some favourable hints about the skills of musicians at the more austere Monastery of St Anne.

Albeit indirectly, the cathedral's records can give us partial information about music in the two Franciscan monasteries. There emerge even the names of some musicians about whom we might otherwise not have known. At Christmas 1688 we find the first mention of the organist and singer Padre Giacomo Cocever di Antonio (or Coccever d'Antonio: in Slovenian, Jakob Kočever or Kočevar)[50] from the Monastery of St Anne, a local person from Koper.[51] The account books of the cathedral mention him as a singer and singing teacher ("maestro di canto e cantante") to the cathedral priests for a year (between 1687 and 1688): "insegnò nel 1688 ai preti il canto fermo".[52] He was probably a good musician, since he

46 Among others, there were Janez Höfler ("Glasbeniki koprske stolnice") and Metoda Kokole ("Glasba v koprski stolnici"), who also wrote extensively on the life and music of Antonio Tarsia (1643–1722).

47 Studies regarding music in Koper before the end of the sixteenth century have been carried out by Jurij Snoj and Janez Höfler. See Snoj, "Koralni kodeksi"; Snoj, *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem;* Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture,* 33.

48 Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 34.

49 Ibid., 79–80.

50 Note that "di Antonio" is not part of the surname but simply an added patronymic indicating that Giacomo's father was named Antonio and still living at the time. I would like to thank Michael Talbot for drawing my attention to this fact.

51 His family owned the sepulchre numbered 43 in the cloister of the Franciscan Conventuals. Tommasich, *Famiglie Capodistrane,* 26.

52 "Haver anno uno continuo insegnato canto fermo alli Pretti". Radole, *La musica a Capodistria,* 49;

appears to have become a regular and popular performing guest at the cathedral.[53] Höfler writes that he was the monastery's estimable organist, who, together with another Franciscan of St Anne, sang solemn Masses and Vespers for the feast of St Ursula (21 October)[54] and possibly appeared on some other occasions. The cathedral accounts mention Cocever again in 1713.[55] Alisi writes that he turns up in the cathedral documents as an organist as late as 1718 and — making regular appearances as a musician in the cathedral — must have been well trained in contemporary musical styles.[56]

The extant musical sources of St Anne confirm this opinion, since they testify to the Franciscans' respect for the Order's tradition while also adopting contemporary musical styles, a point noted by scholars. Janez Höfler writes that although polyphony was in general prohibited in the Franciscan Observant Order,[57] contemporary Baroque vocal and vocal-instrumental music must have been present in the churches of St Anne and St Francis. He mentions the *cantus fractus* chants, noting their "modern" musical aspects and rhythmic characteristics:

> It seems that the focus of their church music creation was still the monophonic liturgical chant, which they had already greatly adapted to the general demands of the time. Their chant legacy from the Baroque period is preserved in several manuscripts […]. The chant as it appears in these manuscripts is partly preserved in its original and traditional non-rhythmical form without instrumental support, and partly transformed into monophonic rhythmic chants, supported by organ accompaniment written in basso continuo form. The notation is still black square chant notation [*sic*], where its individual elements have been given rhythmic meaning. Particular emphasis was placed on individual Mass chants, especially the Credo, which were to replace the solemn Baroque Mass compositions.[58]

Höfler did not delve deeper into these sources or list them, but his observations were correct, and he was able to draw attention to the fact that the friars of St Anne

Alisi, *Il duomo di Capodistria,* 54; Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprske stolnice", 141.

53 Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture,* 79.

54 In Koper the feast of St Ursula was an important occasion with a great fair lasting ten days, where many visitors would come and musical performances had to be at a very high level. Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 48.

55 Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprske stolnice," 141.

56 "Fra Giacomo Cocever suonava sempre l'organo, ma talvolta si prendeva a prestito un organo piccolo e si rinforzava l'effetto e si fondevano i suoni con violini, trombe e tamburini (1718)." Alisi, *Il duomo di Capodistria,* 55.

57 Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture,* 55.

58 Ibid., 79–80.

must have been trained in a musical style that would also fit practice at the cathedral. The musical abilities of the Franciscan Observants were acknowledged by their contemporaries, most notably by the already mentioned Bishop (of Koper) Paolo Naldini (1632–1713), who specifically mentioned their singing in his description of Koper — and not every institution was noted for its music. Were the Friars perhaps also able to perform some of their own repertoire in Koper cathedral (which would then suggest that their books, such as MS 15, were used there)?

An observation by Giuseppe Radole leads us to consider that this may indeed be the case. He mentions the *cantus fractus* repertoire in connection with the work of Giuseppe Maria Cordans, a Franciscan Observant Friar and the copyist of several music manuscripts held by the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar: "Le antifone gregoriane sono ritmate ed accompagnate da un basso continuo." He recounts, further, that during his youth he saw something similar at Koper cathedral: a collection of two-part Credos.[59] The two-part manuscript might have been used in the cathedral or brought there from some other Koper institution subsequently. Some Koper *cantus fractus* sources were also noticed by David di Paoli Paulovich.[60]

MANUSCRIPT 15 AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

Manuscript 15 in the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar therefore fits into a broader picture of music history in both the monastery and the town of Koper. It is a kyriale written mainly between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which today contains seventy-one leaves of paper measuring approximately 27.5 × 39 cm sewn together in a book and a cover. There is no special pagination or foliation preserved, although there are a few remnants of numbers visible in the upper margins of some pages, indicating that the manuscript was once paginated, as well as slightly larger. The last page with written content is 141, while page 142 is blank. The kyriale is written on paper which uses several sets of watermarks: roughly speaking, in the first part of the manuscript and close to the gutter, we find the monogram SH (e.g., on pp. 17, 31, 33, 39, 45 and 49 but also 77) in combination with a trefoil (*trifoglio*, p. 67).[61] In the second part of the manuscript we find three crescent moons

59 Radole, *La musica a Capodistria,* 62. Regarding the Credo collection, which was in poor condition because ink had corroded the paper, Radole writes: "si trattava di una raccolta di Credo a due voci. Il volume in folio [i.e., measuring about 30 × 48 cm], dove l'inchiostro aveva corroso la carta, appariva tutto bucherellato." To my knowledge, no source matching the description is known today.

60 Di Paoli Paulovich, "Musica a Capodistria", 168.

61 Similar to the sixteenth-century examples indexed in the "Corpus Chartarum Italicarum" of the Ministero della Cultura: icpl.cci.XXIX.036a and icpl.cci.XXXIX.001.a.

(*tre Lune*, p. 87; additionally in combination with the letter A below on p. 97), a watermark that was common especially in the Veneto at the time. In this part of the manuscript, there is also an unclear sign resembling a cross or a crossbow (pp. 93 and 95).[62] The printed leaf pasted on the back cover is dated 1875, showing that the manuscript may have still been in use or received a new cover in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[63]

The manuscript bears St Anne's library sticker with the inscription "Convent[us] fr[atrum] min[orum] Justinopoli". On several pages we find the monastery's round stamp ("Convent[us] Sanctae Annae Iustinopoli – Sigillum"). In the monastery the manuscript had the shelfmark XII E 3.[64] Today we can still see two pencilled markings: the number 640 (on the outside cover as well as inside)[65] and an interesting later inscription on the inner side of the cover: "II/12451 Kyriale – raccolto di Messe in uso ~~anche oltre quelli romani~~ in vari luoghi dal ord[ine] francescano".[66] It seems that the person who wrote this inscription initially considered the *fractus* chants to be a standard part of the Roman liturgy during a particular period but later revised this view, now describing them as characteristic of only the Franciscan repertoire. A small white sticker displaying the number 15 on the upper left-hand side of the cover bears the shelfmark of the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar, where MS 15 is kept today. Several indications suggest that this manuscript was written in, or at least for, the Koper Monastery of St Anne. However, apart from a few later additions in the margins and two (probably) nineteenth-century inserts, it seems to be well-preserved and probably served primarily as a manuscript for reference or a book for careful occasional (probably festive) rather than everyday use.

The main characteristics of MS 15, which will be described in the following discussion, are:

(1) it contains plainchant and *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinaries and *cantus fractus* Credos;

62 It is very similar to a late-fifteenth-century crossbow found in Fabriano, Museo della carta e della filigrana, Collezione Gasparinetti 140006, indexed in the "Corpus Chartarum Italicarum". The indexed crossbow is encircled, while the ones found in MS 15 are not.

63 The leaf is unrelated to the manuscript's contents. It contains an Italian poem (signed D. F. P.) for the Ursuline nun Maria Giuseppina's taking of monastic vows on 21 October 1875 and was printed in Koper.

64 I would like to thank Peter Štoka for this information.

65 The above-mentioned MS 13 from the Central Library of Srečko Vilhar has the same pencilled inscription.

66 This shelfmark is mentioned also in the inventory of the book collection centre (Zbirni center) in Portorož. I would like to thank Peter Štoka for this information.

(2) it consists of two main, continuously written sections (corresponding to different "hands") and contains two later inserts;
(3) it presents some written simple polyphony (diaphony), either in selected places within monodic chants or in two-part pieces;
(4) it contains two works by a known composer;
(5) some of its Credos are connected specifically to the locality of Koper.

Manuscript 15 (see Table 2 with the contents of the manuscript in the Appendix 1 below) contains three plainchant Mass Ordinaries (the first, beginning on p. 1, is specified by a later hand for the feasts of the Franciscan saints, and the third, a later addition to the manuscript, is for use in Advent and during Lent), eight *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinaries, including a two-part Ordinary, and ten *cantus fractus* Credos employing nine melodies (the melody of one Credo is used separately for two saints belonging to the Order, St Didacus of Alcalá and St Peter of Alcántara, and is written out fully in both places). Two Credos are connected to important saints of the Franciscan Order, one to the apostle St Peter and one to the Virgin Mary, while two others take their names from a locality ("Napolitano" and "Justinopolitano"). Several Mass Ordinaries and Credos are intended for *alternatim* performance (see Tables 2 and 3 in Appendices 1 and 2).

The manuscript seems to have been written in two sections (possibly by two or three major scribes), A and B. Generally speaking, Scribe A (or two scribes with very similar handwriting) wrote the first section of the manuscript (pp. 1–98), while Scribe B wrote its second section (pp. 98–142), continuing directly on the same page (p. 98) after Scribe A had finished. It would be hazardous to assert with complete confidence that only two individuals worked on these two sections: one opening in a potentially different hand occurs within the A section on p. 57, where a new Credo begins after an incomplete Mass Ordinary (implying that some pages containing the conclusion of this Mass are missing from the manuscript). This section also temporarily introduces a new form of the letter "i" along with certain notational peculiarities (see below). Nevertheless, the primary characteristics of each section — A and B — are consistent enough to support a working hypothesis of only two scribes. In the work of Scribe A the pages retain a more or less similar and unified layout. Scribe B, however, works with a changeable layout and line spacing; as a result, his handwriting undergoes small modifications. The sharpness of the quill and the quality of the paper may also have influenced his work (see Table 1 below). The A section of the manuscript is interrupted by two later inserts written respectively by Scribes C and D.

A possible genesis and more precise date of the manuscript might be reconstructable from preliminary palaeographical observations and several other facts. The first one is an attribution of two Mass Ordinaries to the composer Francesco Antonio da Budrio by Scribe A. Padre da Budrio was a Franciscan Observant Friar

and a well-known musician and theologian who flourished between the 1690s and 1710s. He was well known for his cantatas and oratorios in the Italian language.[67] Many Franciscan manuscripts also contain his music for the Order's liturgical use, although this is written in a style much simpler than that of his other works. The two appearances of his name ("del Padre Budrio" on p. 61 and "del P[ad]re Fran[ces]co Antonio, di Budrio" — most likely referring to the same composer — on p. 74) probably mean that the first section of the manuscript was written at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, but not after 1723 (see below).

The title of one of the Credos written out by Scribe B gives us further clues to the date of the MS 15. The *Credo Sancti Petri di Alcantara* cannot have been given that title before 1669, since St Peter was canonized only then.[68] This Credo has the same melody as the one for St Didacus (Diego), which could signify that these two saints (the only Franciscan ones to be memorialized by a Credo in this manuscript!) enjoyed an equal status within the Order, one symbolized by a connection to the same special Franciscan melody. Or it could mean that at the time when the manuscript was being written down a new melody for St Peter had not yet been composed through lack of sufficient time, so that one had to be borrowed from St Didacus. This would place the start of Scribe B's work in the 1670s. However, that hypothesis seems fragile: the rich and seemingly never-ending melodic invention in the Credos does not imply any lack of facility, and in any case the conclusion of the manuscript gives us a different date for the work of Scribe B. Another valid reason for adopting an already well established Franciscan Credo for a Franciscan saint could be the manuscript's preference for creating complete Mass Ordinary cycles: this Credo melody fits well musically with the plainchant Mass Ordinary for the Franciscan saints (p. 1),[69] and it might be just a fortunate *nomen est omen* coincidence that the Franciscans are represented musically by the chosen F-mode (and tonality).

Next to the manuscript's last item, the *Credo Justinopolitano*, we see written the year 1723 (see Figure 5 in Appendix 3), which seemingly indicates that this piece was composed in that very year.[70] A less plausible explanation would be that the year 1723 refers to the completion of the manuscript as a whole and does not

67 There is more about da Budrio in Giorgi, "Ex tenebris lux".

68 Reagan, "St. Peter of Alcántara".

69 This Mass seems to be officially, or at least widely, recognized as the designated one for Franciscan saints. See, for example, an illustration from d'Andri's missal from 1707 (the version in MS 15 appears more ancient and the grouping of the notes is different, but it is still the same melody). Breko Kustura, "Glazbeni rukopisi", 464.

70 I have not yet managed to establish whether there was a special ecclesiastical occasion connected with the composition of a new Credo in Koper in 1723.

relate specifically to the *Credo Justinopolitano* (thereby allowing this Credo to have been composed earlier). However, such instances tend to occur more often after the end of a manuscript's last item than as a supplement to its own heading. At all events, the period of Padre da Budrio's activity and 1723 are very close, and the bulk of the manuscript does certainly appear to be the product of one discrete period rather than work over several centuries (as one might have initially inferred from a cursory glance at the more ancient-looking plainchant Masses). This relative compression of the time frame is further suggested by the fact that the second hand (B) follows on directly from the first one (A) in the manuscript — the exchange takes place on page 98. The manuscript's main corpus is interrupted by two later additions, written by Scribes C and D, a fact showing that it remained in use for some time afterwards (see Table 1 below).

Table 1 | Compilation of SI-Ko, [MS] 15

SCRIBE	PAGES	PAGES AND THEIR LAYOUT	REMARKS
A	1–40	six tetragrams ruled in red ink lines	*c.* 1700
C	41–44	six tetragrams ruled in red ink	later insert (nineteenth century?)
A	45–88	45–65: six tetragrams ruled in red ink 66–86: five pentagrams ruled in red ink 87: three pentagrams ruled in red ink completed (followed by empty space) 88: empty page	*c.* 1700
D	89–92	six tetragrams ruled in purple ink	later insert (nineteenth century?)
A	93–98	six tetragrams ruled in red ink	*c.* 1700
B	98–142	98–108: six tetragrams ruled in red ink 109–110: six tetragrams ruled in brown ink 111–113: eight tetragrams ruled in brown ink 114: two tetragrams ruled in brown ink followed by five pentagrams ruled in brown ink 115–126: seven pentagrams ruled in brown ink 127–134: nine tetragrams ruled in brown ink 135–140: seven tetragrams ruled in brown ink 141: four tetragrams out of seven ruled in brown ink completed 142: empty page	finished 1723, continues directly after scribe A

Most of the manuscript was written by the first scribe (see Figure 1), who copied most of the Mass Ordinaries (including the two plainchant Masses at the start) and some of the Credos. Both the *planus* and *fractus* repertoires in this section are monophonic, with a few instances where notes for a potential second voice are added, particularly at cadences. No Mass Ordinary or Credo in this section of the manuscript is provided with any special title, although the name of one composer is known. As shown above (Table 1), this section is quite consistent in layout: it contains six four-line staves (tetragrams) per page coloured red or occasionally brown, except for a part where we find five staves of five lines (pentagrams) per page coloured red (beginning in the middle of the first Mass Ordinary by Padre di Budrio on p. 65).

The handwriting — *rotunda textualis formata* — in this section is simple and neat. There is a regular alternation of basic red and blue initials (and capitals); occasionally, yellow (golden) and orange/pale red ones also appear (yellow appears to replace blue in some instances, such as in the Sanctus on p. 9 and the first Mass by Padre Budrio on pp. 62–73). Later in the manuscript green initials begin to appear occasionally (for example, on p. 72). The initials that mark the beginnings of the chants are slightly larger than those that merely divide the longer texts into smaller units (capitals). The initials are unembellished, leaving aside two instances of a moderately ornamented letter "P", which retains the same shape in both cases (Patrem, pp. 57 and 93). Two textual sections within the same chant and with the same capital following one another may exhibit different shapes for the same letter, thereby creating a visual contrast between the two portions of text. The concluding Amen section of the Gloria chants typically features an even simpler capital than the sections preceding it; one such initial (p. 23) has even been left uncoloured, which could imply that initials were originally drawn (perhaps with the aid of a ruler) and coloured only later.

The prevalent use of a serif in the A section of the manuscript gives the initials a slightly "squarish" yet still elegant appearance. Typically, a thicker pen stroke for the stem represents the principal pillar of the letter, while the other lines are thinner and subordinate to it. The letters "K" ("Kyrie") and "T" ("Tu"), for example, feature a serif ending in a triangular shape, while the letter "A" ("Agnus") generally has a prolonged serif ending with an ornamental curlicue; rounder letters such as "G" ("Gratias"), "D" ("Domine"), and "Q" ("Quoniam") also employ prolonged lines concluding with a curlicue (p. 12).

Scribe A usually concludes individual textual phrases with a dot positioned centrally within the body of the text. He also employs specific signs, albeit inconsistently; several different signs appear on the same page (as visible on p. 57; see Figure 1). A horizontal unfinished 8 or mirrored S shape indicates final missing letters (a suspension, as in "magna[m]"). The abbreviation for the word-ending "us" is represented by the traditional sign resembling the numeral "9". A right-slanted *custos*

shape surmounted by a note head denotes a specific form of abbreviation known as contraction that is used for "s[un]t" or any other word from which one or more internal letters have been omitted. A cedilla placed below a vowel denotes a diphthong (as in "terrę", meaning "terrae"). The vowel "i" has generally a right-slanting line at its top (similar to "í"). However, in some instances "i" appears with a dot above it (pp. 56–88), something that appears atypical for Scribe A; the handwriting, however, otherwise remains the same. Since after a while the writing continues with the earlier design of the letter, I consider this whole section to be the work of Scribe A alone.

The second major section of the manuscript (by Scribe B; see Figure 2) follows directly after that by Scribe A and appears to be a straightforward continuation by another individual, although it also introduces a new style to the repertoire (in a two-part Mass). The contribution of this scribe includes several significant specific features missing from the first section of the manuscript. This is the only portion of the manuscript to employ descriptive names for the Credos; it employs titles associated with saints' names and locations. Only here is "si suona" (indicating a performance with organ) written next to the solmization syllables in certain places.

The layout of this section is much less unified than in the A section; its varying conditions lead the scribe to write in a more condensed style and with slightly vertically elongated letters, particularly from p. 111 onwards. Scribe B adapts the writing of the text to the contents as he works through the manuscript; he leaves blank spaces for titles and similar entries. The number of staves per page varies significantly, ranging from six to nine, with a mixture of those of four and five lines, and also of colouring (see Table 1 above). Some staves on the paper were probably pre-ruled, but for certain pieces one could argue that the number of lines chosen for a staff makes a calculated adjustment to the ambitus of a piece (e.g., in the *Credo Justinopolitano* on pp. 135–141; see Figure 5). In several instances (such as p. 127), it is hard to be completely certain whether only a single scribe was responsible for the B section of the manuscript; however, closer examination seems to confirm that hypothesis.

In this section of the manuscript the initials are uniformly coloured red: larger ones serve for the beginnings of individual chants and smaller ones for their individual sections. The writing becomes smoother and more rounded in general, and serifs are less pronounced. This scribe consistently places dots over the vowel "i" and opts for written-out diphthongs (e.g., "ae" in "terrae"). Some letters such as "g" adopt specific forms differing from those employed by Scribe A. Textual units are concluded by a dot placed on the baseline of the text (as in modern punctuation). In certain instances, individual Mass movements end with a small ornament (for example, on pp. 100, 103, 118 and 126), one that also follows the title of the *Credo Justinopolitano* (Figure 5).

The first four-page insert by a later hand in the manuscript (Scribe C on pp. 41–44; see Figure 3) contains a simple *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinary (perhaps this

could serve as a basis for polyphonic improvisation at certain points). The paper appears identical to that for section A: the staff of four red lines with six staves per page. However, the section in question is clearly an insert, since it appears in the middle of a different *cantus fractus* Mass, immediately before its Agnus Dei. Scribe C was not as skilled as his colleagues, or perhaps he worked hastily; the initial letters are also less elegant. Some inconsistencies in his writing (e.g., between "Chÿrie" and "Chirie" on the same page of the Kyrie) might reveal a specific template used in his copying. This scribe employs the traditional ampersand special sign ("*&*") for "et" and places a *corona* sign at the end; there is also a special type of F-clef. At the beginning of the insert numerous vertical lines (equivalent to regular barlines) appear on the staff; their number decreases progressively so that hardly any remain on its final page.

The plainchant Mass for Advent and Lent in the hand of Scribe D (pp. 89–92; see Figure 4) is probably the most recent addition to the manuscript. It is written in staves of four purple lines, six per page. The text is presented neatly and clearly, using short dashes between individual syllables to indicate the continuation of words. So late an addition proves that the manuscript remained in use even up to the nineteenth century. During liturgically more austere periods such as Advent and Lent the more elaborate *cantus fractus* Masses were perhaps deemed less appropriate. Consequently, MS 15 was conveniently supplemented with the missing forms of the Ordinary appropriate for those two liturgical seasons.

Regarding the notation of MS 15, the plainchant Mass Ordinaries employ square plainchant notation on four red-line staves, typically headed by C-clefs. The *custos* at the end of lines is usually slanting, with a note head positioned below. This notation employs oblique shapes (ligatures) and preserves the visual representation of the more ancient neume groupings — unlike many other manuscripts of the time, MS 15 does not present the melody merely in a simplified sequence of square notes. (Here, one might counter this interpretation with the argument that the beginning of the manuscript could have been written much earlier than the late 1600s, but that possibility is excluded by the fact that the plainchant is followed directly by the more modern *fractus* Mass Ordinaries written in the same hand.) The notation employs some unique forms, such as a ligature that points downward to indicate an independent sequence of descending notes (instead of a *clivis*), and an interesting shape for the *porrectus*, which looks like an inverted *torculus*. Another special form is one for a *scandicus*, which adds an extra note to the customary *pes* form, resulting in a sequence of three rising notes. The initial and final notes of chants often feature special signs indicating a kind of prolongation; they may resemble an extended *longa* or sometimes an undulation and occasionally two connected *puncti* interrupted by an upward pen stroke. This visual prolongation can also be found in certain other plainchant manuscripts, thereby connecting the *cantus planus* repertoire to that of *cantus fractus*.

The notation of the *cantus fractus* repertoire, at least in the two main sections (A and B), employs a consistent system throughout the manuscript. The clefs used are C and F (Scribe B uses designs different from those of Scribe A), and the mensural note values used are those of *longa* (here used in lieu of a *brevis*, which is highly unusual),[71] *semibrevis*, *minima* and occasionally *semiminima* (Scribe C employs a different system of notation, using an ordinary *brevis* and not a *longa*; the typical figure here is that of a dotted *brevis* followed by a *minima*).[72] The longer note always divides into two notes of the next level down, even in triple metre; thus the *longa* has the value of two *semibreves*, a *semibrevis* of two *miminae* and a *minima* of two *semiminimae*. Perhaps, at least for this manuscript, this convention was regarded as the notational "house style" of the monastery. A *semiminima* as executed by Scribe A features a straight flag angled sharply to the stem of the note, while its equivalent from Scribe B has a more rounded junction at the point where the flag meets the stem. A new oblique ligature form indicating the downward movement of two notes (most probably meaning two *semibreves*) inserted between the groups of *minimae* appears from p. 57 onwards, along with the visual triple prolongation of the first or last note. This place coincides with the possible change of scribe in section A; however, this is something difficult to be certain about. Scribe B frequently writes in accidentals, sometimes in a brown colour (the same as for the notes) and sometimes in red: his flats are rounder and larger, and his *custodes* exhibit a less straight line in comparison with the work of Scribe A. Also, in the *fractus* chants the initial or closing note of many chants is written in duplicate as if to indicate prolongation. But this is a scribal habit and does not necessarily mean that each beginning or ending should be as long as ostensibly marked.[73] The undulating shapes of concluding notes become more pronounced in Scribe B's work.

The mensuration of the *cantus fractus* pieces is rarely specified, but it usually — with a few exceptions in triple metre — adopts *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. Barlines in the modern metrical sense are not regularly used except in the two-part Mass, where they might be added more consistently than usual for purely practical reasons, and in the *Credo Justinopolitano*. These barlines appear only before the

71 For comparison: MS 13 and several other *cantus fractus* sources I have consulted use the conventional shapes of *brevis* and *semibrevis,* reserving *longae* for even longer notes or not using them at all.

72 Angela Fiore suggests that it should be called "rhomboid" rather than "square" notation; rhomboid notation also differs from mensural notation. Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 45.

73 Note shapes indicating prolongation are common in these types of manuscript. In some instances, they may indeed serve to extend the note, whereas in others their function is more ornamental in nature. See the examples in Gozzi, "'Notazione quadrata'", 464–474.

accented beats of selected phrases, but not randomly: their meaning and purpose seem to serve multiple functions, including essential visual and performance-related assistance.

Most of the keys used in the repertoire of these two manuscripts correspond to the modern F and C major, with some pieces in G major or D, A and E minor (not forgetting the earlier modes used for the chant). This choice of keys is probably linked to the capabilities of the organ. The openings of several Mass Ordinaries or individual Credos feature pitch or transposition designations using solmization syllables (such as "A la mi re"), indicating that the organ was played at that point either as an accompaniment or in *alternatim* performance. More direct instructions for playing appear, as is apparent from the wording "si suona in C sol fa ut". In the case of the *fractus* chants, these rubrics were entered by the original scribe next to the title; the annotation "De la sol re" for the first plainchant Mass was added by a later hand.



Figure 1 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section A, p. 57



Figure 2 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section B, p. 124 (Credo "In S. Diego", opening)

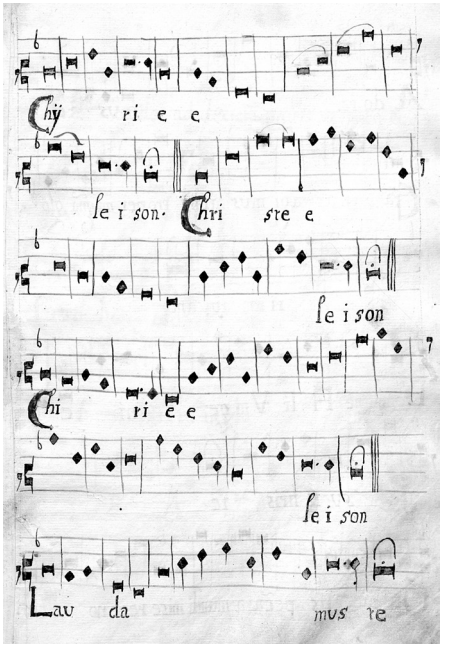


Figure 3 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section C, p. 41



Figure 4 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: Section D, p. 89



Figure 5 | SI-Ko, [MS] 15: p. 135 (*Credo Justinopolitano*, opening)

THE *CANTUS FRACTUS* CHANTS IN MS 15 AND KOPER: PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

For the closing part of this preliminary study of MS 15 I would like to focus on its musical characteristics and connection to Koper, which can be established primarily from the Credo repertoire. Credos appear to be representative "showpieces" of the *cantus fractus* repertoire for numerous reasons, both theological and musical. Marco Gozzi posits that since Credos did not possess so many ancient melodies as other Gregorian chant repertoires, they were quicker to adopt new, rhythmically specified melodies alongside other, later genres; or that perhaps this evolution was a means of creating more variety in the lengthy Credo text.[74] Harrison Russin connects the "explosion" of Credos between 1300 and 1500 with the broader theological context of the time and the new catechesis, which demanded that every believer should know the basics of religion such as the Ten Commandments and the Creed.[75] In later ages it could possibly be connected to the propagandistic objectives of the Catholic Restoration following the Reformation. The names of some *cantus fractus* Credos suggest that they might have held a special local significance and have a link to specific festivals.

In his important article Joseph Dyer highlights many key aspects of the *cantus fractus* repertoire in relation to the so-called Robbins Landon manuscript of possibly Venetian provenance and provides a list with incipits for all the Credos found there.[76] Most of the *cantus fractus* Credo melodies from the manuscript he discusses are probably *unica*, although he was able to find some concordances for others. A comparison of all the Credos of MS 15 (including those from the complete Mass Ordinaries) with his list yields two concordances. These are both instances of transmission of the individual Credos existing separately outside the framework of Mass Ordinaries (which suggests that Mass Ordinaries including a Credo were usually disseminated in their entirety). An untitled Credo from MS 15 (Credo *fractus* no. 2, p. 93; see Appendix 3) presents a variant of Dyer's *Credo Veneziano* (no. 11) and the Credo "della Madonna" (no. 7) listed by Giulia Gabrielli,[77] in both cases with a slight difference. Another untitled Credo (*fractus* Credo no. 7, p. 127; see Appendix 3) resembles the *Credo Padoano* (no. 4) — except that the ornamentation is somewhat different, and the second part of the melodic incipit is transposed a fifth higher, in MS 15.[78] The beginning of the *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* (*fractus* Credo no. 5, p. 118; see Appendix 3) resembles

74 Gozzi, "Canto gregoriano e canto fratto", 28 and 30.
75 Russin, "Late-Medieval Catechesis".
76 Dyer, "New Source", 605–607.
77 This Credo also appears in the lists made by Miazga and Baroffio and Kim. Gabrielli, *Il canto fratto,* 441.
78 The incipits of the Credo Veneziano and Credo Padoano are listed in Dyer, "New Source", 606.

a simpler, less ornamented version of the untitled Credo from Dyer's list (no. 7), but their continuations are quite different.

Both the Robbins Landon manuscript's Credos that are "concordant" with MS 15 — *Veneziano* and *Padoano* — also appear without specific names in another source: MS 13 in Srečko Vilhar, which comes from the Franciscan Observant Monastery of St Bernardine in Portorož (beginning on pp. 5 and 74). In the case of *Veneziano*, MS 13 has the same variant as MS 15, whereas for *Padoano* its version matches that of the Robbins Landon manuscript. The first Credo melody (MS 15's *fractus* Credo no. 2) may even be preserved elsewhere, since it is listed by Giulia Gabrielli as Credo "della Madonna" (no. 7),[79] while many other melodies resemble each other up to a point where it becomes impossible to determine objectively whether the melody should be referred to as "the same", a "version" of the same or "a different" melody. From this individual example it might be concluded that some melodies were more widely disseminated, while others remained more locally, or even institutionally, restricted. However, even though they were used in monasteries situated relatively close to each other, MSS 13 and 15 do not share any additional concordances, despite the fact that MS 13 contains no fewer than twenty-one *cantus fractus* Credos.

The individual and local names of the Credos are not associated with the same melodies in each source; it seems that the more geographically distant the name is, the more interchangeable it may become with another name. It also appears that the more recognizable melodies are more likely to receive a specific name. Another typical repertoire-related issue, one linked to the partly oral transmission and the performance-practice possibilities of this repertoire, arises here: the already-mentioned thorny question of the difference between a variant and a new melody.

It appears that certain melodies, along with the works of specific composers and copyists, had particular dissemination paths within certain geographical regions. In many cases, they were connected with specific life trajectories among the Franciscans. This is the case with the works by the Italian Franciscan composer Francesco Antonio da Budrio, to whom two Masses in MS 15 are attributed. Not many of his "Franciscan" works seem to have survived, but we find copies of them in the archives of present-day Slovenia and Croatia, which shows that there were some main lines of dissemination.[80]

79 This Credo also appears in the lists made by Miazga and Baroffio and Kim. Gabrielli, *Il canto fratto,* 441.

80 Zdravko Blažeković highlights the dissemination of da Budrio's works among the Franciscan musicians in Slavonia. For instance, the Observant Franciscan Franjo from Vukovar copied a volume of his one- and two-part Masses while studying in Ferrara in 1722. Another Franciscan named Vlahović copied another of da Budrio's works (a Martirologium, in his Consonans dissonantia), which is likewise dated 1722. Blažeković, "Music Repertoire".

Many characteristic aspects of the music of *fractus* Mass and Credo settings discussed by Joseph Dyer (regarding the Robbins Landon manuscript) and other scholars are also observable in MS 15. The newer compositions function in the realm of tonality rather than that of modality, even if they occasionally mimic the melismata of Gregorian chant. They also feature virtuosic ornamentation, melodic leaps and sequential melodic progressions.[81]

The Mass Ordinaries often display a significant degree of thematic unity, as evidenced by the transcriptions of the incipits of their movements (see Appendix 3). They typically adhere to fundamental harmonies, although their melodies may become highly ornamented — here we encounter something akin to a theme-and-variations model, which most clearly reflects the creative process involved in composing this music. Since many melodies observe similar principles (triadic movement, typically avoiding wide melodic leaps in favour of stepwise motion), some Mass Ordinaries even bear close similarity to one another and incline towards being formulaic in preference to distinctive. Conversely, there are compositions that are very individual, such as the *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* and the *Credo Justinopolitano*.

There is evidence that these Mass Ordinaries and Credos were both performed, either continuously or in an *alternatim* manner, to the accompaniment of an organ.[82] If the Mass Ordinary was performed *alternatim*, so, too, was usually its Credo; certain separately written-out Credos were likewise performed *alternatim* (see Table 2 in Appendix 1). Even though *alternatim* performance seems inappropriate for a Credo, where every word had to be sung or spoken by all the participants,[83] MS 15 utilizes that technique frequently, implying that the non-sung words had to be spoken aloud instead. The Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei melodies consistently follow the same written pattern of *alternatim* performance, while the situation is somewhat different for Kyries and Credos (see Table 3 in Appendix 2). Kyries can be written in various ways, such as having one Kyrie section, two separate sections for the Christe and then one Kyrie section again (the most common solution among the written *alternatim* versions). Alternatively, each section may be notated just once and occasionally marked with "III", signifying that each section is to be sung three times (or performed in alternation with the organ in the standard manner). The Credo consistently follows an individual pattern, where the choir always sings the Patrem and later the obligatory verse (sung kneeling) Et incarnatus est. However, in one case the regular exchange with the organ is skipped for one verse, allowing the choir additionally to sing Crucifixus etiam pro nobis, which was ordinarily performed by

81 Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 45.

82 More about the alternatim practice is described in Beban, "Fra Petar Knežević".

83 Dyer, "New Source", 597.

the organ in this manuscript (in the *fractus* Mass Ordinary no. 5, beginning on p. 45; see also Table 3 in Appendix 2).[84]

As observed already in the case of the Robbins Landon manuscript described by Dyer,[85] particular attention is given to certain Credo verses: especially Et incarnatus est and Et resurrexit. These characteristics occur similarly in MS 15; there are textual features (such as "homo" written in red lettering, along with repetitions of specific words) and musical directions (for a change of metre or even tempo directions such as "adagio" — although the latter are quite rare) that demarcate these sections of the Credo. Particularly in the Gloria and Credo, some words may be repeated several times in specific sections for expressive purposes; here, these chants move away from simple "recitation" of the sacred text towards the practice of the more obviously "composed" secular music of the time. In these two chants we also find characteristically florid settings — virtuosic, even — of the concluding Amen.

In the *Credo Justinopolitano* the verse Et incarnatus est is presented as a two-part canon (see the transcription of this section in Appendix 4), accompanied by specific written instructions on how it should be performed by two choirs.[86] This serves as just one example of how individual manuscripts can provide valuable insights into performance practice: even though this Credo occasionally resembles a potentially virtuosic solo piece (allowing for possible further improvised ornamentation), it is clear that the involvement of the choir was envisaged, at least for certain sections. If polyphony was possible there, why not in other places? Some passages, while written monophonically, could easily be transformed into short canons or embellished with parallel thirds and even contrary motion in consonances — both procedures being observable in MS 15 in various places.[87]

The longest section of simple polyphony in MS 15 comes in the form of a two-part Mass; here, it is based on the principle of "mirroring" between the voices and moving within triads, utilizing leaps of a third.[88] Polyphonic writing primarily results in parallel thirds, with occasional fifths and (but rarely) fourths. The two-part Mass in MS 15 partially supports the thesis that this was probably not a manuscript for daily use but rather one intended as a copy text: in the Kyrie and Gloria the "Basso" and

84 Ibid., 598.

85 Ibid.

86 The beginnings of the parts are marked with I and II in the music, while the cadence is written out in two colours: brown (I) and red (II). The note regarding performance by two choirs appears in the margin next to this verse: "Questo verso và cantato à Canone: Unisono à 2. II [—] qui prin[ci]pia il secondo Choro doppo che il primo averà cantato le p[rim]e due bat[tut]e."

87 The performance of simple polyphony would require at least two singers, so the previously mentioned singing by Cocever and another Friar of St Anne at Mass in Koper Cathedral could already imply polyphonic performance.

88 A similar style is found, for example, in polyphonic Masses composed by suor Bonito, a nun from the convent of the Poor Clares in Naples. Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 45.

"Tenore" parts of the Mass follow one another and are not written on facing pages, so both singers (or groups of singers) could not use the manuscript simultaneously. However, this situation changes in the Credo, where "Basso" is written on a *verso* side, and the simultaneously sung "Tenore" appears on the facing *recto* side of the manuscript. The terms "Basso" and "Tenore" appear to describe a function rather than an ambitus, since the voices sometimes simply exchange their melodies, as witnessed in the incipits of the Kyrie and Gloria (*cantus fractus* Mass Ordinary no. 8; see Appendix 3).

Certain sections of chants featuring black or white notes above the melody — particularly at cadences — likewise suggest two-part performance. Such instances are rarely written out clearly and completely, as in the canon in *Credo Justinopolitano*, but appear to be executed in haste, perhaps in order to propose a suitable polyphonic solution for a specific place in a particular chant. This suggests that polyphonic improvisation was both feasible and actually practised, and was indeed understood not as polyphony in its own right but rather as a "polyvocal amplification" of an otherwise monodic chant.[89] The intentionally simple polyphony is also interpretable as a reflection of the Franciscan ideal of simplicity and modesty. Given that the Monastery of St Anne also functioned as a pedagogical institution of the Order, this practice could even be considered as a way of learning the fundamentals of music composition.[90] In contrast to the earlier observation, these few scribbled instances of improvisation show that, even if this manuscript was perhaps primarily intended for reference, it also had significant practical use and value.

The identity of the scribes of MS 15 will most likely remain unknown, even though similar but signed manuscript volumes were not particularly rare in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, some particular names are associated with the manuscripts of the St Anne and St Bernardine monasteries, many of them with attested widespread scribal and compositional activities within the larger region (for instance, the Dalmatian Franciscan Observant Province of St Jerome, to which both monasteries belonged). One notable figure is the Franciscan Frane Divnić (1612–1693), who served in various monasteries within the province and copied several manuscripts, including some in Piran and others in various houses in the province.[91] For instance, in November 1668 he completed a gradual in the Monastery of St Bernardine,[92] but his handwriting differs from all those seen in MS 15.

89 Gozzi, "Alle origini del canto fratto", 248.

90 Giulia Gabrielli has on several occasions emphasized the importance of the *cantus fractus* repertoire for pedagogical purposes, a sentiment echoed by the organist Edoardo Bellotti, who performed this repertoire at the Radovljica Festival in August 2024.

91 He copied out at least thirteen manuscripts, most of which are today held by Franciscan monasteries in Zadar (Croatia). A repertoire analysis of his manuscripts copied in various places remains a task for the future. Stipčević, "Baroque Music and Popular Culture", 59.

92 Franciscus Difnicus [Frane Divnić], Graduale (Franciscan Observant Monastery of St

Another named copyist from a few decades later is more directly associated with St Anne's Monastery: Don Giuseppe d'Andri. In 1727, on behalf of himself and his two nephews, this man donated twelve valuable manuscript volumes to the Monastery of St Anne to free the family from an old debt owed to it. D'Andri intimated that from those books the Franciscans could sing the Mass and the Vespers, by which he evidently meant that these were liturgical music books.[93] Accordingly, these books must have been suitable for use by the Franciscan Observants and must have included a specific repertoire. Further studies have shown that d'Andri was more than just a generous donor: he was the actual person who copied and embellished all of these (and many other) books.[94] Don Giuseppe d'Andri (1665–1743) was a native of Koper who, after a brief period as an Observant Franciscan of St Anne, became a secular priest and for most of his life performed various roles in Venice. He returned to Koper in 1721 to assist his nephews after they had lost their father but seems to have maintained regular contact with the family and local community throughout his absence. In 1739, after more than fifty years of priestly service, he celebrated "the New Mass" once again in his native city — at the Monastery of St Anne, where he is also buried. In his memoirs he notes that he is famed as a scribe and claims to have produced manuscripts for institutions in northern Italy, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Istria and other regions for the use of monastic orders such as the Franciscans and Augustinians.[95] Hana Breko Kustura has recently highlighted his contribution to the field of chant book production and the *cantus fractus* repertoire: d'Andri was in fact the copyist of a manuscript (a book combining a kyriale, gradual and sequentiary) produced in 1707 in Koper and preserved in Split.[96] From the reproductions and detailed descriptions contained in Breko Kustura's article one gains an impression of Giuseppe d'Andri as a copyist with a particular style.[97] He was clearly familiar with the repertoire of the

Bernardine, Piran (Portorož), 1718), 19. SI-Ko, MS 19.

93 Manara mentions d'Andri's donation within the context of writing about the opulence of St Anne's monastery church as regards paintings and musical manuscripts: "ricco […] per codici gregoriani del principio del Cinquecento, ai quali s'aggiunsero nel 1727, per donazione di Don Giuseppe d'Andri, parecchi graduali e vesperali pure del Cinquecento, e più tardi tutta la biblioteca del convento soppresso di San Bernardino di Pirano". A document he quotes is the one already named in Caprin's work. Caprin, *L'Istria nobilissima,* 69; Manara, "Il Convento di Sant'Anna", 331.

94 Gianni, "Di un miniatore capodistriano", 45. The biographical facts relating to d'Andri are taken from this source.

95 Gianni quotes from d'Andri's memoirs: "sappia ognuno che io di questo scrivere son maestro, perchè tutto il corso di mia vita sempre ho scritto di tali e consimili libri". Ibid., 47.

96 Breko Kustura, "Svjedočanstvo ritmiziranog korala". In this article Hana Breko Kustura also emphasizes the need for a deeper investigation into the repertoire throughout the entire province, as well as its links to the Venetian area (i.e., Venice and its environs), where many of the chants may have originated.

97 Ibid., 14–15.

Dalmatian Observant Franciscan province and had strong ties to St Anne's Monastery during the time of production of MS 15. However, his handwriting for text and music, as well as for the ornamentation, does not appear to align with any of the hands found in the Koper MS 15, although some features bear a likeness. Given its probable *terminus ad quem* of 1723, MS 15 would appear too early to have been part of d'Andri's bequest made in 1727.

The scribes of MS 15 must remain anonymous for a while longer; however, it is still possible to make assumptions about the individual musicians who might have used this manuscript. They may or may not have coincided with the scribes. (It would seem that at that time such books were produced by (semi)professional scribes both within the Order and outside it.) The production time of this manuscript coincides with the musical activities of the previously mentioned Giacomo Cocever, an organist, singer and music teacher active in the cathedral as well as in his "home", the monastery church. It is conceivable that he, as an organist, would have had such a collection at his disposal — for accompanying on the organ or for singing.[98]

It is difficult to ascertain whether such a musician as Cocever — if he was the actual user of this book — could also perform the same repertoire at Koper Cathedral. Manuscript 15, however, is closely related to the town as well as to the Observant Franciscans and their church of St Anne. The title of the first Mass Ordinary, "Sanctorum ordinis nostri", appears to have been typical for the Franciscans,[99] and the two Credos named after Franciscan saints point directly to their use within the Order. St Didacus (Diego) of Alcalá (*c.* 1400–1463) and St Peter of Alcántara (1499–1562) were very popular figures, but for some reason Credos for the most important saints of the Order (St Francis and St Anthony) are not present.

Didacus of Alcalá was the first Franciscan lay brother to become a saint,[100] and he was well known in Koper. The church of St Anne still houses Pietro Mera's altar painting from 1629 of St Didacus healing the sick (it was probably commissioned during the architectural renovation of the church in the 1620s).[101] His altar is the last one on the right-hand side near the church's entrance. This is one of the earliest uses of the motif in this region, and it is quite possible that St Didacus in the painting is not healing a blind man but rather a person suffering from something else — perhaps even plague.[102] Following a disastrous outbreak of plague in Koper between 1630 and 1632, many new churches dedicated to the patrons offering protection against

98 Research on his work and life has yet to be conducted.
99 Dyer, "New Source".
100 He was canonized in 1588 by Pope Sixtus V. Donovan, "St. Didacus".
101 The painting was mentioned by Naldini in 1700. Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica,* 195; Košak, "Sv. Didak iz Alkale", 26.
102 Košak, "Sv. Didak iz Alkale".

the plague were erected in the town.[103] It is possible that in its immediate aftermath the Franciscan Observants encouraged devotion to their saints, who were known for their works and miracles resisting the plague. St Didacus performed miraculous cures of the plague in Rome and cared for the sick during its outbreak in Spain. Both the altar painting and the special Credo for this saint indicate that he was particularly venerated in the Monastery of St Anne.[104] I have not yet managed to gather any information about the instrument or instruments in use at the monastery during that period, but the written evidence of this *alternatim* Credo (together with the known presence of an excellent organist at the monastery during the time of MS 15) suggests that the institution must have possessed an organ prior to the one acquired in 1806.

Not all *cantus fractus* sources reference saints' names, suggesting that this was not a rule but rather a choice made by the individual monastery. Next to the titles associated with saints MS 15 also includes two chants with local designations: the *Credo Napolitano* and *Credo Justinopolitano* (see the transcription of the latter in Appendix 4). The title of the first chant appears to be widely known, even if that does not mean that it is always linked to the same melody. The final piece in the manuscript (probably placed there intentionally) is the *Credo Justinopolitano*, or the Credo of Koper (Justinopolis). The title aligns with the Franciscan tradition of assigning names of localities to Credos, but it additionally implies that the piece was composed in or for Koper. It also suggests an intentional reference to Koper's co-patron saint, St Justin the Philosopher. The feast of the translation of his relics was celebrated with great solemnity in the cathedral on 21 April 1687 (they were brought to the Koper cathedral from Rome by Bishop Paolo Naldini), and another solemn celebration of this feast with music was mentioned in 1702.[105]

The *Credo Justinopolitano* is undoubtedly the jewel in the crown of the collection: it stands out as one of the longest and most complex pieces, and as one containing unusual music that also appears also to be the most artfully "composed". Other *fractus* compositions apply barlines more freely, but the *Credo Justinopolitano* uses them consistently — in the manner of modern barlines. Its melody is quite dramatic and skilfully crafted, beginning with wide leaps and chromatic nuances; its ambitus is also quite large. The use of a simple yet expressive two-part canon in the most important section of the Credo — Et incarnatus est — with a written-out cadenza and special performing instructions has already been mentioned. We may never understand why the melody was given this name or how it was actually

103 Kramar, "Epidemije v slovenski Istri", 100–101.

104 Some other *cantus fractus* sources evidence similarly close connections with local patrons. The Robbins Landon manuscript contains the feast of the Saviour (Holy Redeemer), protector against the plague; the feast was a typical one for Venice. Dyer, "New Source", 575–576.

105 Radole, *La musica a Capodistria,* 56; Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprske stolnice", 141.

performed,[106] but it was probably well known and popular locally in the town of Koper: both within the Monastery of St Anne and beyond its walls.

CONCLUSION: THE MEASURED GREGORIAN CHANT

A great deal has been written about *cantus fractus* and its role and meaning, sincere attempts being made to grasp the nature of this specific repertoire within its historical context, along with warnings against too modern an understanding of the phenomenon. As already mentioned, alongside the question of "what" is recorded regarding the repertoire, there are also questions concerning "how" and "why" this is so. This preliminary examination of MS 15 confirms much of what has been said about the phenomenon: with its blend of plainchant and *fractus* chants within the same source, its "plainchant-imitation" and visually cohesive style, together with a unified functionality, this manuscript was treated not as a compilation of various (possibly incompatible) styles and genres but rather as a liturgical compendium containing music for the Mass Ordinary on Sundays and solemn feasts. The characteristic notation seems intentionally to represent a visual connection to the ancient and venerable, as well as authoritative, chant melodies, even though in musical respects the *cantus fractus* melodies reflect the more modern Baroque sensibilities of their performers and listeners.

Several statements from that time prove that the *cantus fractus* repertoire was not understood as a separate genre, but more simply — as has been suggested by Marco Gozzi — as "l'altro gregoriano" (the other [kind of] Gregorian [chant]).[107] The *cantus fractus* repertoire belonged to the musical practice of many religious orders and appears to have been especially popular among the pastorally oriented Franciscans. In the view of Angela Fiore, this liturgical music (taking as an example the convent of the Poor Clares in Naples) could "delight the faithful" ("potesse dilettare il fedele"), while not lessening the sanctity of Gregorian chant; it merely made the music more appealing by absorbing the characteristics of the vocal and instrumental music of the time.[108] Regarding its function, she defined it as "liturgical chant that tries to bring distinctive traits of 'modern' music into dialogue with Gregorian practice".[109]

In her article Fiore described musical life at the Convent of St Clare and offered a beautiful example of the contemporary understanding of the *cantus fractus* repertoire. Stimulated by performances of the Real Cappella, the convent's

106 A recent performance at the Radovljica Festival in August 2024, featuring four singers trained in Medieval and Baroque music alongside improvisation specialist Edoardo Bellotti on the organ plus a preceding practical workshop on *cantus fractus* from the Koper sources, revealed numerous new possibilities.

107 Gozzi and Luisi, *Il canto fratto.*

108 Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 44.

109 Ibid., 45.

sisters repeatedly expressed their desire to be allowed to make more music in the convent. In order to appease the Nuns and their families (who had contributed rich dowries to the convent), the authorities offered them a compromise:

> […] that the Nuns might introduce the use of Gregorian chant in the manner that is done here in the Pontifical Chapel, for with such formality they would be able to practise singing, which, even if it is not of the same kind as other Music, is equally virtuosic, and, what is important, much more devout, and congenial to the religious state.[110]

It is clear that, when contemporaries speak about the *cantus fractus* of their time, they refer to a specific style or manner of performing "Gregorian" chant (which for them signified both liturgical and liturgically suitable chant). We are fortunate that something similar was also documented regarding the Monastery of St Anne. In his historiographical sketch of the Diocese of Koper Bishop Paolo Naldini described its many churches. Although he did not in general pay much attention to music in his descriptions, he mentions it in relation to the popularity of the Monastery of St Anne:

> [People] are also attracted by the assiduous assistance of the religious in confessionals; the precise execution in the choir, alternated with Gregorian chant, which is all the more cherished, the more it is measured; and religious restraint in the cloister, all the more revered by the laity, the less it is observed [elsewhere].[111]

What the Franciscans sang, then, was perceived as measured "Gregorian" chant. This is also the case for MS 15, which, even in this preliminary sketch, is opening the door wide to future possible research. Much remains to be done regarding this and many other sources. A diachronic study of musical life in the Monastery of St Anne still needs to be undertaken with the aid of extant sources and the Franciscan archives preserved in Koper, Venice and elsewhere.

110 "[...] che potrebbero le Signore Monache introdure l'uso del Canto Gregoriano nella maniera che si fa qui nella Cappella Pontificia, poiché con tal formalitá avrebbero campo d'esercitare il canto che se bene non è della medesima specie della Musica è però egualmente virtuoso, e quello che importa, assai più divoto, e confacevole allo stato religioso." Quoted from Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 43–44.

111 "L'attraono pure l'assidua assistenza de' Religiosi alle Sedie Confessionali; l'esatta uficiatura del Coro, contra puntata col Canto Gregoriano, allora più gradito, che più battuto; e la religiosa ritirateza nel Chiostro, dal secolo tanto più venerata, quanto meno veduta." Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica,* 196.

Regarding the monastery's *cantus fractus* repertoire, further comparisons with other sources, particularly within the St Jerome Franciscan Province, and the Franciscan sources of Venice and the wider Veneto, would most likely reveal much more about the dissemination and adaptation of these melodies. Additionally, taking a broader perspective, a comparative analysis of liturgical melodies from various regions and sources would constitute another level of exploration; however, this will necessitate some initial melody identification.

Practical workshops and performances of this repertoire, historically and liturgically informed, using appropriate instruments, would open up opportunities for experimentation and realization of what is possible. This "other Gregorian chant", intended to please the ear and praise God, simple and predictable yet ever-changing and challenging, offers great potential for improvisation and flexible performances. If I may once again borrow Baroffio and Kim's Cinderella image for the conclusion: If we wish to see her truly rise from the ashes and beyond, it is worthwhile to continue searching for the — now already forgotten and broken but still shining — pieces of her glass slipper.

APPENDIX 1

Table 2 | Contents of SI-Ko, [MS] 15

Content refers to the Mass Ordinaries and individual Credos in the Manuscript: MO = Mass Ordinary (including Credo, if present); K = Kyrie eleison; G = Gloria; C = Credo (in the Mass or individual composition); S = Sanctus; A = Agnus Dei.

Cantus refers to the style of the chant, which may be plainchant or *cantus fractus*; numbers in square brackets refer to the numbering of the plainchant Mass Ordinaries, Mass Ordinaries in *cantus fractus* and Credos in *cantus fractus*; the *cantus fractus* items, with their numbers, can be found in Appendix 3.

PAGE	CONTENT	*CANTUS*	TONALITY	TITLE OF THE COMPOSITION; REMARKS
1	MO	*planus* [1]	F mode (5) "De la sol re" (later hand)	"Sanctorum Ordinis Nostri" without C
6	MO	*planus* [2]	F mode (5)	variant of *De angelis* without C simple diaphony in the final cadences
11	MO	*fractus* [1]	A minor "A la mi re"	K: each invocation written out once, marks for three repetitions of each ("III") — or *alternatim*, as the rest of the Mass G, C, S, A: *alternatim*

PAGE	CONTENT	*CANTUS*	TONALITY	TITLE OF THE COMPOSITION; REMARKS
18	MO	*fractus* [2]	F major "EF fa ut"	K: *alternatim* G, C, S: complete A: two invocations, probably the first one should be repeated C: triple metre expressive word-repetitions diaphony: thirds in some cadences
31	MO	*fractus* [3]	F major "EF fa ut"	K, G, C, S, A: *alternatim* [A continues on p. 45]
41	MO	*fractus* [4]	F major (mode 6)	later insert based on chant (Sanctus of *De angelis*) K: each invocation written out once G, S, A: *alternatim* without C
45	MO	*fractus* [5]	C major "A la mi re"	[A of the previous MO] K, G, C** (see Table 3): *alternatim* incomplete S, A: missing tempo markings
57	C	*fractus* [1]	D minor	new note shapes
61	MO	*fractus* [6]	C major "B fa B mi quinto Tuono"	"Messa del Padre Budrio" K, G, C, S, A: *alternatim* expressive word-repetitions (added later) diaphony: octaves in some cadences
74	MO	*fractus* [7]	C major "A la mi re 3a maggiore"	"del P[ad]re Franc[esc]o Antonio, di Budrio" K, G, C, S, A: *alternatim* tempo markings
89	MO	*planus* [3]	F mode (6)	later insert "In Dominicis Adventis et Quadragesimae" based on chant Masses (Mass Ordinary XVII, *De angelis*) without G (Lent and Advent) without C
93	C	*fractus* [2]		very syllabic "homo" written out in red letters
98	MO	*fractus* [8]	F major	"Messa a Due Voci" two-part Mass (T, B) K, G, C, S, A: *alternatim* K, G: T part written one after the B part C: B and T parts written on mirroring pages (odd — even), possible simultaneous singing S, A: B and T parts written on the same page
111	C	*fractus* [3]	D minor	very simple, formulaic melody

Table 2 | *continued*

PAGE	CONTENT	*CANTUS*	TONALITY	TITLE OF THE COMPOSITION; REMARKS
114	C	*fractus* [4]	A minor "A la mi re Per 3. B"	"Credo sancti Petri" formulaic melody most cadences on a and e alternately
118	C	*fractus* [5]	G major	"Credo maggiore della Madonna" exchange of verses in duple and triple metre unusual notation in triple metre expressive word-repetitions
124	C	*fractus* [6]	F major	"In S. Diego" *alternatim* marking "Adasio" on the word "Prophetas" expressive word-repetitions
127	C	*fractus* [7]	F major "Si suona in C sol fa ut"	"Credo Napolitano" a characteristic rhythm with syncopation connects most phrases
129	C	*fractus* [8]	F major "Si suona in C sol fa ut"	"Credo infra Octava a feria Quinta in cena Domini"
132	C	*fractus* [9]	F major "Si suona in C sol fa ut"	"Credo sancti Petri de Alcantara" [= C *fractus* 6 for St Didacus] *alternatim* marking "Adasio" on the word "Prophetas" expressive word-repetitions
135	C	*fractus* [10]	A minor	"Credo Justinopolitano — 1723" short two-part canon on "Et incarnatus est" relatively large ambitus: octave plus fourth chromaticism not such polished writing as in previous Credo compositions (notes) — maybe the previous ones were copied and this one newly composed

APPENDIX 2

Table 3 | Form of the *alternatim* chants in SI-Ko, [MS] 15 (verse incipits)

Kyrie eleison	
CHOIR	ORGAN
	Kyrie eleison
Kyrie eleison	
	Kyrie eleison
Christe eleison	
	Christe eleison
Christe eleison	
	Kyrie eleison
Kyrie eleison	
	Kyrie eleison

Gloria in excelsis Deo (intoned by the priest)

CHOIR	ORGAN
	Et in terra pax
Laudamus te	
	Benedicimus te
Adoramus te	
	Glorificamus te
Gratias agimus tibi	
	Domine Deus, rex caelestis
Domine Fili unigenite	
	Domine Deus, Agnus Dei
Qui tollis […] miserere	
	Qui tollis […] *suscipe*
Qui sedes ad dexteram	
	Quoniam tu solus
Tu solus Dominus	
	Tu solus Altissimus
Cum sancto spiritu Amen	

Credo in unum Deum (intoned by the priest)
* version 1
** version 2 [Credo from the *cantus fractus* MO 5]

CHOIR	ORGAN
Patrem omnipotentem	
	Et in unum Dominum
Et ex Patre natum	
	Deum de Deo
Genitum non factum	
	Qui propter nos homines
Et incarnatus est **Crucifixus etiam pro nobis Et resurrexit tertia die	**Crucifixus etiam pro nobis*
	Et ascendit in caelum
Et iterum venturus est	
	Et in Spiritum Sanctum
Qui cum Patre et Filio	
	Et unam sanctam catholicam
Confiteor unum baptisma	
	Et expecto resurrectionem
Et vitam venturi saeculi Amen	

Sanctus	
CHOIR	ORGAN
Sanctus Pleni sunt caeli et terra	*Sanctus* *Sanctus Dominus Deus* *Benedictus qui venit*

Agnus Dei	
CHOIR	ORGAN
Agnus Dei […] miserere nobis	*Agnus Dei* […] *miserere nobis* *Agnus Dei* […] *dona nobis*

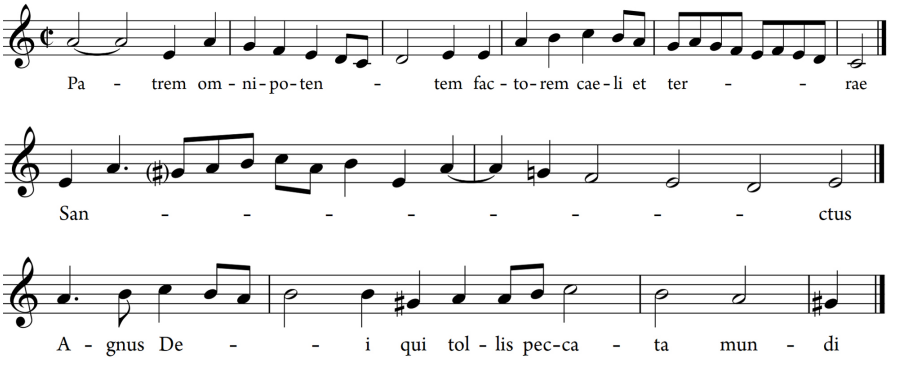
APPENDIX 3

Cantus fractus chants in SI-Ko, [MS] 15

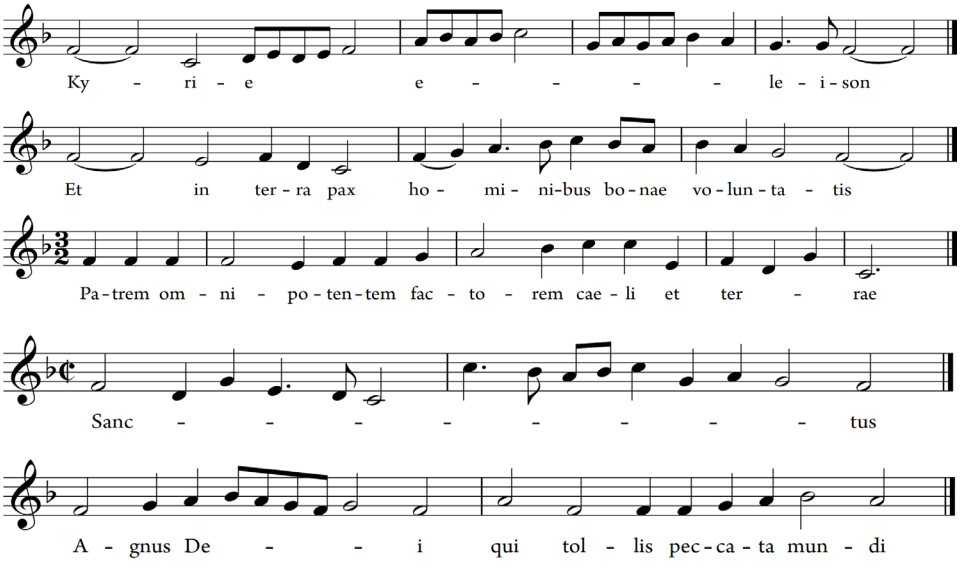
The text of the chants in the transcription is provided in modern Latin orthography, but without punctuation except for capital letters at the beginning and in certain words. In MS 15 the initial note of many chants is written with double the usual length and is transcribed here in the same manner; this does not imply that each opening should be quite as long as shown. The same applies to the final notes of pieces. The transcription retains unaltered the position of barlines found in the manuscript.

Music example 1 | Mass Ordinary in A minor ("A la mi re"), *cantus fractus* MO 1, pp. 11–18

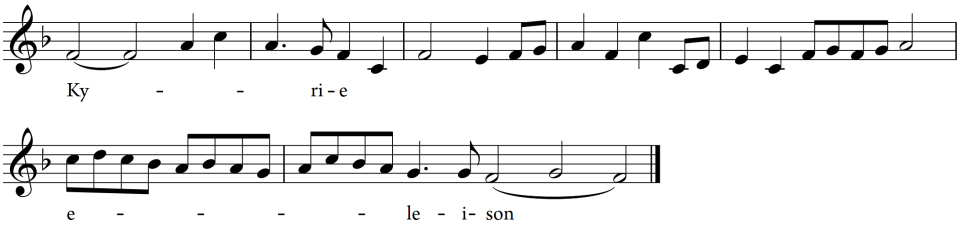




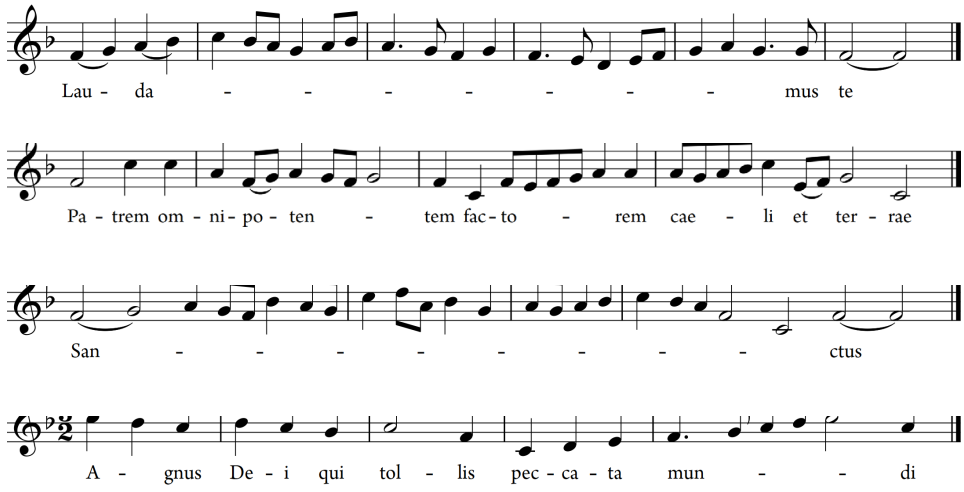
Music example 2 | Mass Ordinary in F major ("EF fa ut"), *cantus fractus* MO 2, pp. 18–31



Music example 3 | Mass Ordinary in F major ("EF fa ut"), *cantus fractus* MO 3, pp. 31–40 and 45



Music example 3 | *continued*



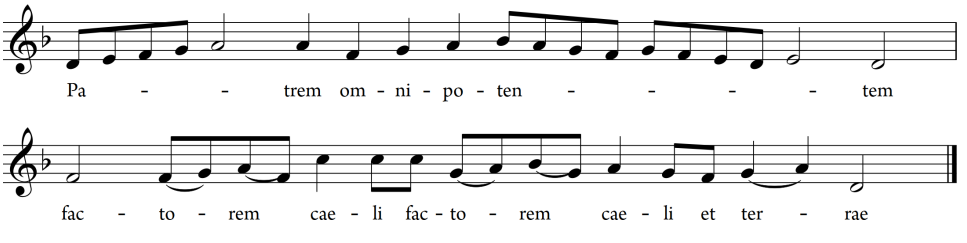
Music example 4 | Mass Ordinary in F major (mode 6), *cantus fractus* MO 4, pp. 41–44



Music example 5 | Mass Ordinary in C major ("A la mi re"), *cantus fractus* MO 5 (incomplete), pp. 45–56



Music example 6 | Credo in D minor, *cantus fractus* C 1, pp. 57–61



Music example 7 | "Messa del Padre Budrio" in C major ("B fa B mi quinto Tuono"), *cantus fractus* MO 6, pp. 61–73

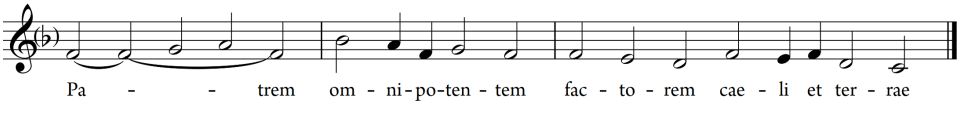


Music example 8 | Mass Ordinary "del P[ad]re Fran[ces]co Antonio, di Budrio" in C major ("A la mi re 3a maggiore"), *cantus fractus* MO 7, pp. 74–87





Music example 9 | Credo in F major, *cantus fractus* C 2, pp. 93–98



Music example 10 | Mass Ordinary "Messa a Due Voci" in F major, *cantus fractus* MO 8, pp. 98–110



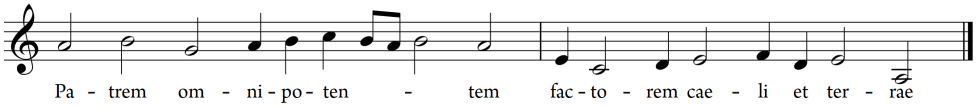
Music example 10 | *continued*



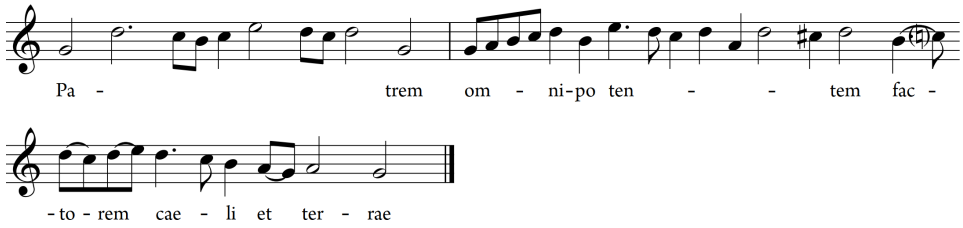
Music example 11 | Credo in D minor, *cantus fractus* C 3, pp. 111–114



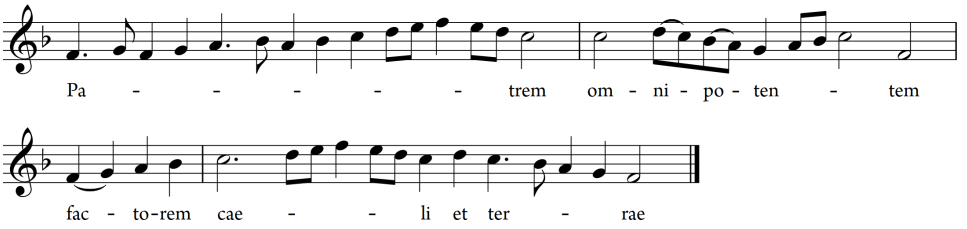
Music example 12 | *Credo Sancti Petri* in A minor ("A la mi re Per 3. b"), *cantus fractus* C 4, pp. 114–118



Music example 13 | *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* in G major, *cantus fractus* C 5, pp. 118–123



Music example 14 | Credo "In S. Diego" in F major, *cantus fractus* C 6, pp. 124–126



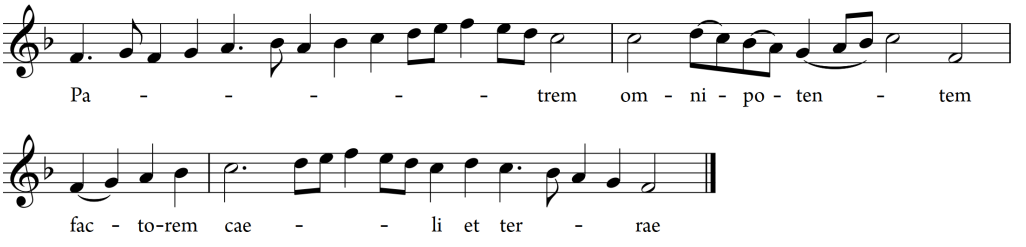
Music example 15 | *Credo Napolitano* in F major ("Si suona in C sol fa ut"), *cantus fractus* C 7, pp. 127–129



Music example 16 | *Credo infra Octava e feria Quinta in Cena Domini* in F major ("Si suona in C sol fa ut"), *cantus fractus* C 8, pp. 129–132



Music example 17 | *Credo Sancti Petri de Alcantara* in F major ("Si suona in C sol fa ut"), *cantus fractus* C 9 (= C 6), pp. 132–134



Music example 18 | *Credo Justinopolitano* in A minor, *cantus fractus* C 10, pp. 135–141



APPENDIX 4

Music example 19 | *Credo Justinopolitano* (SI-Ko, [MS] 15, pp. 135–141)




om - ni - a fa - - - - - cta sunt. Qui pro -
pter nos ho - mi - nes et pro-pter nos - tram sa - lu - tem de - scen - - dit de
I. II.
cae - - lis. Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi-ri - tu san - cto
ex Ma - ri - a Vir - gi-ne et ho - mo, et ho - mo
fa - - - - - - ctus est. Cru - ci - fi -
- xus e - ti-am pro no - - - - - bis sub Pon - ti - o Pi -
- la - to pas - sus, pas - sus et se - pul - tus est.
Et re - sur - re - - - - - xit ter - ti - a di - e se -
cun - dum, se - cun - dum scri - ptu - - ras. Et as - cen - dit in
cae - lum se - det ad dex - te - ram Pa - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - tris. Et i - te-

Music example 19 | *continued*




rum. Et ex -
pe - cto re - sur - re - cti - o nem mor -
- tu - o rum. Et vi - tam ven - tu - ri sae - cu - li A -
men, A
men, A
men, A -
- men, A men.

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Povzetek

"ALLORA PIÙ GRADITO, CHE PIÙ BATTUTO": KOPRSKI FRANČIŠKANI IN NJIHOV BAROČNI *CANTUS FRACTUS*

Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper hrani rokopis 15, kirial iz 17. in 18. stoletja z dodatki iz 19. stoletja, ki je bil v rabi v koprskem frančiškanskem konventu sv. Ane. Rokopis vsebuje eksplicitne navezave na Koper in je najpomembnejši lokalni vir baročnega repertoarja *cantus fractus* ter v muzikološki literaturi še ni bil obravnavan. Članek preliminarno predstavlja rokopis in njegovo vsebino, obenem pa razpravlja o pomenu in vlogi tovrstnega lokalnega repertoarja nekega monastičnega reda v širšem okviru.

Rokopis vsebuje »standardne« koralne melodije v kvadratni koralni notaciji in kasnejše melodije, zapisane v slogu *cantus fractus*, kjer je trajanje not merjeno. Razprava se osredotoča na slednji repertoar, ki vsebuje predvsem cikle mašnega ordinarija in posamezne stavke Credo, in s tem opozarja na obstoj baročnega *cantus fractus* repertoarja v konventu sv. Ane v Kopru. Vsebinsko in oblikovno predstavi rokopis, za katerega se je izkazalo, da je njegov nastanek tesno povezan s Koprom, saj vsebuje nekaj lokalnih značilnosti. Razprava odpira še številna vprašanja, med drugim o ustvarjalcih in uporabnikih rokopisa, poudarja pa tudi pomen širših mednarodnih primerjalnih raziskav v okviru glasbene zgodovine frančiškanskega reda Province sv. Hieronima in območja Beneške republike. Na ta način koprski *cantus fractus* postaja košček v veliko večji in kompleksnejši sliki frančiškanske glasbe.