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

Izvleček: Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper hrani rokopis 15, kirial iz 17. in 18. 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*, ki 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.

Ključne besede: Koper/Capodistria (*Justinopolis*), *cantus fractus*, frančiškani, kirial, 18. stoletje

Abstract: Manuscript 15 from the Srečko Vilhar Central Library in Koper is a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kyriale from the Franciscan Observant Convent of St Anne in Koper. Because of its explicit connections to this town, the manuscript is locally the most important source of the *cantus fractus* repertoire; it was noticed before but has not yet been discussed in scholarly literature. This paper offers preliminary observations about the manuscript and its contents while simultaneously discussing the role and relevance of the local *cantus fractus* repertoire of a specific monastic order within a broader context.
Keywords: Koper/Capodistria (*Justinopolis*), *cantus fractus*, Franciscans, Kyriale, eighteenth century

INTRODUCTION

The Srečko Vilhar Central Library in Koper (Osrednja knjižnica Srečka Vilharja Koper / Biblioteca centrale Srečko Vilhar Capodistria; SI-Ko) keeps several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript volumes transmitting various chant repertoires sung in the churches of the Franciscan Friars in Koper and other Slovenian coastal towns. Next to the liturgical plainchant, some sources also contain a repertoire written in the style of *cantus fractus*. Due to various reasons, this musical phenomenon has not yet received scholarly attention in Slovenia. However, it is of local as well as broader importance. It represents a part of the Franciscan liturgical history in the northern and eastern Adriatic, within the shared history of the

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Franciscan Province of St Jerome and the history of the Franciscan convents in the Venetian Republic.

This paper will present one of the most important *cantus fractus* sources from the Franciscan Observant Convent of St Anne in Koper: Manuscript 15 from the Srečko Vilhar Central Library, a Kyriale written in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It contains "standard" plainchant melodies written in the plainchant square notation and later melodies written in the *cantus fractus*-style notation, where the duration of notes is measured. The paper will focus mainly on the *cantus fractus* repertoire, which consists of Mass Ordinaries and individual Credos.

The aims of the paper are three-fold: a) to bring attention, through the preliminary presentation of the selected manuscript, to the hitherto unknown Baroque *cantus fractus* repertoire of the Franciscan Observant Convent of St Anne in Koper; b) to show its specific local and other characteristics and speculate on who its creators and users might have been; and c) to stress the need for more profound international research of this repertoire within the context of the Franciscan history and broader area once influenced by the Serenissima. The ecclesiastical and political borders that shaped the existence and transmission of this repertoire should thus be taken into consideration – and, as many researchers have pointed out before me, they will not coincide with today's state borders of Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, and possibly some other countries. Thus, the Koper *cantus fractus* might be seen as a piece in a much larger and more complex but tightly connected puzzle of Franciscan music.

CANTUS FRACTUS AND UNDEFINED BORDERS OF ITS TERRITORIES

Cantus fractus,[1] a relatively unknown "younger brother" of *cantus planus*,[2] still rising as a Cinderella from the ashes,[3] is a very broad and highly inconclusive term for which we might search in

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1 The term *cantus fractus* (*canto fratto* in Italian), which will be discussed in more detail later, was primarily used by Italian scholars and has now achieved general acceptance in scholarship. Throughout history, however, the repertoire covered by this umbrella term has been known by different names. Dyer writes (after 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 name *canto semifigurato*. Štefancová also presents very similar alternatives for the term *cantus fractus*: *canto misto*, *canto figurato*, and *canto mensurato*. See Gabrielli, "*Cantus fractus*", 53; Dyer, "A New Source", 577; Štefancová, "Cantus fractus".

2 Based on the works of the theorists he consulted, Dyer uses the terms *canto fermo* (not "Gregorian chant") and plainsong. Dyer, "A New Source", 569.

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

vain in the musicological terminological toolbox. In the preface to two special issues 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 the leading musicological encyclopaedias such as *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *Grove Music Online* and that there is only a very short entry in *Oxford Companion to Music*.[4] In the basic musicological literature, the knowledge and writing on the topic are scarce and fragmentary. Vlhová-Wörner and Hallas suggested this as the broadest definition: *Cantus fractus* repertoire includes monophonic melodies for the Roman liturgy, which contain some element of fixed rhythmic realisation.[5]

Marco Gozzi, a leading expert on this repertoire, offered a similar definition of *cantus fractus* as "canto cristiano liturgico con elementi ritmico-proporzionali", a "Christian liturgical chant with the rhythmical-proportional elements".[6] In another place, he says a similar thing: this is "a type of Christian liturgical chant in Latin that makes use of proportional rhythmic values in its notation and is therefore measured".[7] Note, however, that even between these two very broad and general definitions, there is no agreement on the monophonic nature of the repertoire. Based on the discovery that early (14th-century) sources of the famous *cantus fractus Credo cardinalis* are polyphonic – the main melody is always the same, but the second part not necessarily – Marco Gozzi developed a working hypothesis that, in practice, more music was performed in two parts that we can assume from monodic sources.[8] He stated: "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 alleged liturgical 'monody'".[9]

Joseph Dyer, among others, stressed the fact that the melodies of *cantus fractus* are "much closer to contemporary musical idioms than they are to the Gregorian chant melodies".[10] Its liturgical context, placement in standard liturgical books alongside plainchant and intentional visual aspects of notation (square- and mensural-like notation, primarily on four but also five lines in the staff), as well as contemporary understanding of it tightly link this repertoire to *cantus planus*. Therefore, *cantus fractus* should further remain in the domain of (plain)chant scholars – but not only that. Since the sound of this music belies the sight of its antiquity, chant researchers should join forces with music scholars dealing with later periods. Only then will the sources be more fully understood, and the picture will gain new depth and more dimensions.

However, questions regarding monophony *vs.* polyphony and the repertoire's antiquity *vs.* contemporaneity (i.e., meaning the reworkings of Gregorian chant and composing entirely new melodies) are only some of the issues regarding the elusive term of *cantus fractus*. There are

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

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

6 Gozzi, "Alle origini del canto fratto", 245.

7 Dyer, "A New Source", 571, quotes Gozzi, "Prefazione", in *Cantus fractus italiano: Un'antologia*, ed. by Marco Gozzi (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), 1.

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

9 "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'". Gozzi, "Alle origini del canto fratto", 248.

10 Dyer, "A New Source", 576.

further questions related to modality *vs*. tonality of individual chants, the inclusion of the repertoire such as rhythmicised chant on the one hand but perhaps also strophic song and other repertoires on the other, the vast temporal (from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century) and geographical span of this extensive repertoire, and others.

In the geographical sense, the *cantus fractus* repertoire constantly gains territory and is still widening its map. Extensive pioneering work was carried out by scholars in Italy, who defined our first insights into the phenomenon and where the work continues; the majority of the now-known repertoire comes from there, which might also reflect the intensity of research activity.[11] However, the phenomenon was seen and recognised elsewhere as well. Recent larger projects in the Czech Republic[12] and Croatia[13] (where there were some earlier studies as well),[14] which resulted in a number of publications and events, brought to light new sources, repertoires and their connections: the earlier repertoires in Bohemian sources and Central Europe, and many new sources, especially along the Dalmatian coast. In Austria, the phenomenon was recognised with individual studies[15] and within the project *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich*.[16]

Even with such a recent expansion, the musicological coverage of the repertoire is still relatively small. Joseph Dyer noted 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".[17] There is still a considerable need to know more (about) sources, many of which lie forgotten in the archives and libraries; since many originated in the Modern Era, they were not as interesting for digitisation as medieval music manuscripts. New case studies and source editions would enable scholars to make further comparisons, even if, at the moment, it seems that some later repertoires were mostly locally bound.[18] Barbara Haggh-Huglo pointed out that comparisons and thorough examinations of the repertoire will remain challenging until we have a database for the *cantus fractus* compositions.[19] Such a database on an international level is indeed necessary, and we hope that it will not take too long before it can be realised.[20]

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

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

[13] The CROMUSCODEX70 project (Croatian Musical and Liturgical Chant Codices – Interdisciplinary Research, 2017–2021, www.cromuscodex70.com), which was also dedicated to studying the sources of *cantus fractus*, was led by Hana Breko Kustura.

[14] 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".

[15] The primary focus of the research was mainly on the music of the Franciscans from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See, for example, Paech, "'Hymnus novus'", and Prassl, "Choralquellen" and "Ein spätes Zeugnis".

[16] Gozzi, "Rhytmischer Choralgesang".

[17] Dyer, "A New Source", 576–577.

[18] Baroffio and Kim, "La tradizione francescano-veneta", 90.

[19] Haggh-Huglo, "*Cantus fractus* in CA 6 and 11".

[20] In discussion, Debra Lacoste proposed a great solution: creating a *cantus fractus* database within the *Cantus database* platform. Such a database would stand on its own but would, at the same time, enable comparisons and analyses throughout the whole repertoire as well as with the plainchant melodies.

Cantus fractus, then, remains a very broad and vague term which does not have precise borders. However, with all its musical differentiation, its liturgical function and visual aspects play a prominent role in making it a specific and uniquely understood repertoire. In other words, the term has as much to do with "what" is written down (notated) as it has with "where" and "how" it is written down and performed. The question of "with whom" the repertoire was especially connected might also be relevant since there seems to exist a particular connection with different branches of the Franciscan Minor Friars.[21] This connection also brings us to the hitherto unknown territories – to the coastal towns of today's Slovenia, where the *cantus fractus* was performed foremostly within the different branches of the Minor Friars (the so-called Observants and Conventuals). Their primary *cantus fractus* sources, preserved mainly in Koper, have been occasionally noted but never discussed. By beginning to include them "in the picture", this article aims to place Slovenia on the cantus fractus map while simultaneously contributing another small piece to the larger puzzle in the making. It should already be mentioned that strong monastic connections within the provinces of the order, along with the special ties of territories that once belonged to the Venetian Republic, also played a significant role in shaping and performing this repertoire in Slovenia.

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

One of the most significant sources of Baroque *cantus fractus* from the Slovenian coast is Manuscript 15 from the Srečko Vilhar Central Library of Koper, originating from the Koper Observant Franciscan Convent of St Anne. The musical history of this institution has not yet garnered significant individual scholarly attention; however, it has been referenced several times in the context of Koper's music history and its cathedral.

Koper/Capodistria, the Head of Istria (*Caput Histriae*),[22] was one of the most important Istrian towns. From the thirteenth century, when it was formally incorporated into the Venetian Republic,[23] it had the largest Istrian community and was the seat of the Venetian government in

[21] Despite their modesty and poverty, the Franciscans in 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, "A New Source", 571.

[22] With the old Roman name Capris, or later name Capo d'Istria.

[23] Watching Venice from the other side of the bay, Koper had a long history with it. The first pact with Venice was reached in 932, but the inhabitants of Koper tried to break free from it several times, in 976, 1279, and 1348, when the rebellion was carried out in the context of the large plague and was suppressed by the Republic. It was after the fight of 1279 that Koper had to become subjected to Venice. Later in the Middle Ages, Koper suffered under plague many times (in 1338, 1348, and 1382, as well as later). One of the most eventful periods was 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 town patron St Nazarius were infamously stolen by the Genoese; they were returned only in 1422. Mlacović, "Frederic C. Lane", 455–456.

Istria.[24] In Renaissance and Humanism, the town prided itself on being "the Athens of Istria" due to its rich humanistic learning and culture.[25] Although Koper was still important, it lost its prominence with the end of the Venetian Republic in 1797; until then, it was, even in the musical sense, "the cultural centre of Istria",[26] which could also be proud of music in its many churches. Until at least the end of the eighteenth century, several institutions had a rich liturgical and musical life, among them the cathedral of Koper (re-established in the twelfth century), several male and female monasteries (the Sisters of St Augustine, Benedictine Nuns, Dominicans, Servites, and several branches of the Franciscans).[27]

By the early eighteenth century, when Manuscript 15 was completed, the Convent of St Anne had already developed a rich history.[28] In 1229, the first community of Franciscan friars in Koper was founded, presumably 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, as the old one was in poor condition. The history of the present convent began in 1493 with the building of a new church in a different location; along with the convent, it was completed and furnished by 1513. It was considerably smaller than the present church. For nearly a decade, St Mary of the Angels was its patroness, but afterwards, the church was dedicated to St Anne. The present church was renovated in 1627.[29] In addition to the 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 beginning, the convent served as a house of education and a novitiate for the Dalmatian Observant Province, meaning it was always a place of learning, particularly in theology and philosophy. In the eighteenth century, it became a house of general studies (*studium generale*) and was authorised to grant the degree of *lector theologiae*, which was recognised throughout the Franciscan Observant community.[30] Such an intellectual centre must have also 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 unique orders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[31] Today, directly above the church entrance, the organ loft houses the organ built by the Venetian master Francesco Merlini in 1805. It is a well-preserved Venetian organ with its original disposition and probably a successor to a previous instrument. The church also held many processions, where music probably played a significant role, as evidenced by the procession signs displaying statues of patron

[24] Radole *La musica a Capodistria*, 12.

[25] Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 11–12.

[26] This, in any case, was the opinion of Baccio Zilliotto, mentioned by Radole, "Musica e musicisti", 147.

[27] Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprske stolnice". See also Bonin, "Samostani v Kopru".

[28] The basic information about the history of St Anne's church, convent and library presented here is available on the website of the convent, especially in the chapters about history. See Frančiškanski samostan Koper, "History: History of the Franciscan Friary", "History: St Anne's Church", and "Zgodovina: Prihod frančiškanov in zgodovina samostana".

[29] See also Košak, "Sv. Didak iz Alkale", 26.

[30] Frančiškanski samostan Koper, "History: History of the Franciscan Friary", "Zgodovina: Prihod frančiškanov in zgodovina samostana".

[31] Jochymczyk, "*Musica figuralis franciscana*", 105–109.

saints from various confraternities. In the treasury, gold-plated lanterns used during these processions can also be found. 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 they led a devout life, were popular confessors, and were renowned for their beautiful liturgical singing.[32]

Until 1920, the convent 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 in 1922, it was taken over by the Italian Franciscan Friars of the Venetian Province. After the Second World War, it was once more incorporated into the Zadar province and later, in 1953, into the Slovenian Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross. By 1954, the state had transformed the Koper convent 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 returned to the Franciscans, who were able to move back in 2004. Today, the Franciscan community, although with very few members, remains active in the convent.

The Convent of St Anne's shared its history with its library. Following the dissolution of many other monasteries due to various historical events in the early nineteenth century, the convent library of St Anne received books from the Franciscan Observant Convent of St Bernardine of Siena in Portorož/Portorose, as well as from the monastery in Piran, where the Conventual Franciscan Friars resided based. Thus, it hosted several *cantus fractus* and *cantus planus* sources, some originating from other institutions.[33] Some of the sources received could be incorporated into the liturgical life of St Anne's community.[34]

St Anne's library was largely left intact until 1945,[35] 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 in the nineteenth century, but most recently in the twentieth century when, in 1940 and the years that followed, numerous famous paintings and other items from the

[32] Naldini, *Corografia ecclesiastica*, 196.

[33] There is, for example, a miscellaneous music manuscript containing *cantus planus* repertoire with some *cantus fractus* chants (especially Credos), originating from the Convent of St Andrea in Rovinj/Rovigno. Another example is an antiphoner preserved in the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (Ms 11) which 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) convents could be further used in the liturgy of St Anne's church.

[34] For example, there exists a manuscript that seems to be strongly connected to the previously mentioned Ms 15. There is a kyriale which is also housed in the Srečko Vilhar Central Library as Manuscript 13. Similar to Ms 15, it bears the St Anne's library sticker and a pencil mark with the number 640, although it has a different shelf mark (i.e, 13). During the period of their coexistence at St Anne's, the two manuscripts might have been seen as complementary or somewhat related. They contain the same type of repertoire but share only a few Credo melodies. Ms 13 includes several later additions, and it is challenging to ascertain whether these were made in Portorož or later in Koper.

[35] Di Paoli Paulovich, *Musica a Capodistria*, 168. According to the catalogue made by the Franciscan Father Hijacint Repič, the library contained ca 12.000 volumes in the beginning of the twentieth century; there were also 59 incunabula and 83 rare and valuable books. Between 1942 and 1944, following the orders of the Italian authorities, the catalogue and more valuable books were taken to Venice. Frančiškanski samostan Koper, "Zgodovina: Knjižnica".

Koper churches were taken to Italy and elsewhere.[36] During the nationalisation 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 from other monasteries.[37] A part of it was returned to the Franciscans in 1977.[38] Together with the library of the Capuchin Convent of St Martha, this library nevertheless remains one of the relatively well-preserved monastic libraries; almost nothing from the libraries of the Dominican monks and the musically famous Convent of St Francis (Conventuals) survives.[39] We may never know to the full extent what was contained in the Koper archives, nor what the musical life of the various religious communities in Koper was like. However, there is another library where diverse sources and information about the musical life in St. Anne can also be found: the cathedral library, which is now mainly preserved in the Episcopal Archives (Škofijski arhiv) of Koper.

In their studies on musical life in Koper, musicologists primarily focused on notable town musicians and the music in the cathedral, as most sources have been preserved for this institution and it had a rich musical tradition.[40] Since St Anne's music sources and other relevant documents are not sufficiently known yet, our knowledge about musical life in this convent is tightly intertwined with what we know about the history of the church music in Koper in general.

Until the Council of Trent, the liturgy and chant in Koper – including liturgical music – followed mainly the Aquileian use;[41] the Franciscans had their own tradition that closely followed the Roman one. After the Council and until the end of the eighteenth century, many musicians came to Koper because of its good economic situation;[42] 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 "up-to-date" with the international standards of the time. However, local institutions also had skilled musicians and likely a rich musical life. In providing music for the cathedral's liturgy, there was, at least during specific historical periods, a regular collaboration between the cathedral and certain Koper monastic institutions, particularly the Convent of St Francis (Conventual Friars) and the Convent of St Anne (Observant Friars). Janez Höfler states that singers from both convents regularly performed on more festive occasions.[43] It seems that the Convent

[36] In an informal conversation in 2021, the priest of the nearby coastal town of Piran, Zorko Bajc, mentioned that various people also took musical items from the church archives and libraries in Piran; sometimes, these objects would be returned because the next generation would bring them back or find no use for them. Unfortunately, the disappearance of one music manuscript is much less visible than the disappearance of an altar painting.

[37] Marković, *Fondi librari e biblioteche*, 145–154.

[38] According to the St Anne Convent website, the library experienced additional losses during that time. On these travels between the centre, the Srečko Vilhar Library, and the convent, many books vanished into the private collections of enthusiastic collectors; some returned, but others did not. Frančiškanski samostan Koper, "Zgodovina: Knjižnica".

[39] Marković in Štoka, *Knjižna dediščina*, 20.

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

[41] Studies about music in Koper before the end of the sixteenth century were carried out by Jurij Snoj and Janez Höfler. See Snoj, "Koralni kodeksi"; Snoj, *Zgodovina glasbe na Slovenskem*; Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 33.

[42] Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 34.

[43] Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 79–80.

of St Francis had some primacy and a very prosperous musical life, but there are some hints about the skills of musicians at the more rigorous Convent of St Anne as well.

Although indirectly, the cathedral records can partially inform us about the music in the two Franciscan convents. There are even names of musicians that we may not have known otherwise. On Christmas of 1688, we thus have the first mention of the organist and singer, Padre Giacomo Cocever, di Antonio (or Coccever d'Antonio, in Slovenian Jakob Kočever) from the Convent of St Anne, a local from Koper.[44] The accounting 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 1678 and 1688): "insegnò nel 1688 ai preti il canto fermo".[45] He was likely a good musician, as he appears to have become a regular and popular guest in the cathedral.[46] Höfler writes that he was the convent's meritable organist, who, with another Franciscan of St Anne's, sang solemn masses and vespers for the feast of St Ursula (October 21)[47] and possibly on some other occasions. The accounts of the cathedral mention him again in 1713.[48] Alisi says that he was mentioned in the cathedral documents as an organist as late as 1718 and – with regular appearances as a musician in the cathedral – must have been well-trained in contemporary musical styles.[49]

The musical sources of St Anne that remain confirm this opinion, as they attest to the Franciscans respecting the Order's tradition while also adopting contemporary musical styles, a point noted by the scholars. Janez Höfler writes that, although polyphony was in general prohibited in the Franciscan Observant Order,[50] contemporary Baroque vocal and vocal-instrumental music must have been present in the churches of St Anne and St Francis; otherwise, the friars would not have been included as musicians in the cathedral. Here, he mentions the *cantus fractus* chants, noting their modern musical world and rhythmic aspect:

> 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 [*hic*], 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.[51]

[44] His family owned the sepulchre no. 43 in the cloister of the Franciscan Conventuals. Tommasich, *Famiglie Capodistrane*, 26.

[45] "Haver anno uno continuo insegnato canto fermo alli Pretti". Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 49; Alisi, *Il duomo di Capodistria*, 54; Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprske stolnice", 141.

[46] Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 79.

[47] In Koper, St Ursula was an important feast, with a grand fair of ten days, where many visitors would come and music performances had to be on a very high level. Radole, *La musica a Capodistria*, 48.

[48] Höfler, "Glasbeniki koprske stolnice," 141.

[49] "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.

[50] Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 55.

[51] Höfler, *Tokovi glasbene kulture*, 79–80.

Höfler did not list or delve deeper into these sources, but his observations were correct, and he was able to draw attention to the fact that the friars of St Anne must have been trained in the musical style that would also fit the practice in the cathedral. Their musical abilities were acknowledged by their contemporaries, most notably by the aforementioned 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 also able to perform some of their own repertoire in the Koper cathedral (which would suggest that their books, such as Manuscript 15, could have been used there)?

An observation by Giuseppe Radole leads us to consider that this could indeed be the case. He mentions the *cantus fractus* repertoire in connection with the work of Giuseppe Maria Cordans, a Franciscan Observant Friar and a copyist of several music manuscripts, at the Srečko Vilhar Central Library: "Le antifone gregoriane sono ritmate ed accompagnate da un basso continuo." He accounts further that, in the time of his youth, he saw something similar in the Koper cathedral: a collection of two-part Credos.[52] The two-part manuscript might have been used in the cathedral or brought there from some other Koper institution after the Second World War. The Koper *cantus fractus* sources were also noticed by David di Paoli Paulovich.[53]

MANUSCRIPT 15 AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

Manuscript 15 from the Srečko Vilhar Central Library thus fits into a broader history of music in both the convent and the town of Koper. It is a Kyriale written between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Today, it contains 142 pages measuring approximately 25x40 cm (the last page with written content is 141, while page 142 is blank) and a cover. The printed leaf pasted to the back cover is dated 1875, indicating that the manuscript may have still been in use or received a new cover in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[54]

The manuscript bears the St Anne's library sticker with the inscription "Convent[um] fr[atrum] min[orum] Justinopoli". On several pages, we find the convent's round stamp ("Convent[um] Sanctae Annae Iustinopoli – Sigillum"). There are two pencil markings: the number 640 (on the outside cover as well as inside),[55] and an interesting inscription on the internal side of the cover: "II/12451 Kyriale – raccolto di Messe in uso ~~anche oltre quelli romani~~ [*sic*] in vari luoghi dal ord[ine] francescano". 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 their view and labelled it as characteristic of the Franciscan repertoire. A small white sticker displaying the number 15 on the upper left side of the cover indicates the shelf mark of the Srečko Vilhar Central Library, where the manuscript is preserved (from here, the

[52] Radole, *Musica a Capodistria*, 62. About the Credo collection, which was in bad condition because the ink corroded the paper, Radole says: "si trattava di una raccolta di *Credo* a due voci. Il volume in folio [i.e., about 30x48 cm], dove l'inchiostro aveva corroso la carta, appariva tutto bucherellato." – To my knowledge, no such source is known today.

[53] Di Paoli Paulovich, *Musica a Capodistria*, 168.

[54] 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 October 21, 1875, and was printed in Koper.

[55] Ms 13 has the same pencil inscription; see above.

manuscript will be referred to as Ms 15). Several indications suggest that this manuscript was written in, or at least for, the Koper Convent 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 likely served primarily as a reference manuscript or a book for careful occasional (probably festive) use rather than one intended for everyday use.

The main characteristics of the Ms 15, which will be presented in the following, are:

(a) it contains plainchant and *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinaries and *cantus fractus* Credos;
(b) it consists of two main consequently written parts ("hands") and contains two later inserts;
(c) it records some written simple polyphony (diaphony), either in places within monodic chants or in two-part pieces;
(d) it contains two works of a known composer;
(e) some of its Credos are specifically connected to the locality of Koper.

The Ms 15 (see also Table 2 with the contents of the manuscript in the Appendix below) contains three plainchant Mass Ordinaries (the first one, beginning on p. 1, is specified for the feasts of the Franciscan saints by a later hand, and the third one, later addition in the manuscript, is to be used in Advent and during Lent), eight *cantus fractus* Mass Ordinaries, including a two-part Ordinary, and ten *cantus fractus* Credos with nine melodies (the melody of one Credo is used for two saints of the Order, St Didacus of Alcalá and St Peter of Alcántara, and is written out 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 bear a local designation ("Napolitano" and "Justinopolitano"). Several Mass Ordinaries and Credos have been intended for an *alternatim* performance (see Tables 2 and 3 in the Appendices 1 and 2).

Based on the preliminary palaeographical observations and the information in the manuscript, its possible genesis and date might be reconstructed as follows. The manuscript seems to have been written in two parts (possibly by two or three major scribes), A and B. In general, scribe A (or two scribes with very similar handwriting) wrote the first part of the manuscript (pp. 1–98), and scribe B wrote the second part of the manuscript (pp. 98–142), continuing directly on the same page after scribe A (p. 98). It is challenging to assert with complete certainty that only two individuals worked on these two parts: one potential alternate scribal beginning in the A part could be found on p. 57, which starts after the incomplete Mass Ordinary (implying that some pages may be missing from the manuscript) and temporarily introduces a new form of the letter "i" along with certain notational peculiarities (see below). Nevertheless, the primary characteristics of each part are cohesive enough to support the working hypothesis of only two scribes. In the work of scribe A, the pages retain more or less similar and unified layout. Scribe B, however, works with a changeable layout and spacing; hence, his writing is slightly adapted and varies. The sharpness of the feather and the quality of the paper may also influence his work (see Table 1 below). The first part of the manuscript is interrupted with two later inserts written by the scribes C and D.

Ms 15 can be more precisely dated with the help of several facts. The first one is an attribution of two Mass Ordinaries to the composer Francesco Antonio da Budrio by the scribe A.

Padre da Budrio was a Franciscan Observant friar and a well-known musician and theologian, who flourished between the 1690s and 1710s and was known for his cantatas and oratorios in Italian language.[56] Many Franciscan manuscripts also contain his music for the Franciscan liturgical use, although it is written in a much simpler style when compared to his other works. Double appearance of his name ("del Padre Budrio" on p. 61 and "del P[ad]re Fran[ces]co Antonio, di Budrio" on p. 74 –most likely referring to the same composer) most probably means that the first part of the manuscript was written at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, but not after 1723.

The title of one of the Credos by scribe B gives us further clues about the date of the Ms 15. *Credo Sancti Petri di Alcantara* could not have been titled so before 1669 since St Peter had only been canonised then.[57] This Credo has the same melody as the one for St Didacus (Diego), which might mean that both saints (the only Franciscan saints to get a Credo in this manuscript!) have an equal status in the Order and therefore both get special Franciscan melody. Or it could mean that, in the time when the manuscript was being written down, the new melody for St Peter had not been composed yet due to the lack of time and was borrowed from St Diego, which would place the start of the scribe B's writing in the 1670s. This, however, does not seem very likely: the rich and seemingly never-ending melodic invention in the Credos does not imply a lack of invention, and the conclusion of the manuscript gives us another date for the work of scribe B. Another reason for adopting a well-established Franciscan Credo for a Franciscan saint may be the manuscript's inclination to create complete Mass Ordinary cycles: this Credo melody fits well musically with the plainchant Mass Ordinary for the Franciscan saints (p. 1),[58] and it might just be a fortunate "nomen est omen" coincidence that the Franciscans are musically represented by the chosen F-mode (and tonality).

Next to the manuscript's last item, *Credo Justinopolitano*, we find written the year 1723 (see Figure 5 below), most probably meaning that this piece was composed in 1723.[59] A less probable explanation would be that the year 1723 refers to the completion of the whole manuscript in general and is not strictly related to *Credo Justinopolitano* (which would imply that this Credo might have been composed earlier). However, such cases are more often found at the end of manuscripts and not by the title of the last item. In any case, the time of Padre da Budrio's activity and 1723 are very close, and the bulk of the manuscript seems to be a product of one period rather than of several centuries as was supposed previously on the basis of its more ancient-looking plainchant masses. This fact is further confirmed by the direct following of the second hand to the first one in the manuscript. The main manuscript corpus by scribes A and B is interrupted with two later additions, written by scribes C and D, which shows that it was in use even in later times (see Table 1 below).

[56] More about da Budrio in Giorgi, "*Ex tenebris lux*".

[57] Reagan, "St. Peter of Alcántara".

[58] This Mass seems to be officially or at least more widely recognised as the Mass for the 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, "Svjedočanstvo ritmiziranog korala", 464.

[59] By now, 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.

Table 1 | Compilation of Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library, Ms 15

SCRIBE	PAGES	PAGES AND THEIR LAYOUT	REMARKS
A	1–40	six staves of four red lines	*ca* 1700
C	41–44	six staves of four red lines	later insert – nineteenth century?
A	45–88	45–65: six staves of four red lines 66–86: five staves of five red lines 87: three staves of five red lines realised 88: empty page	*ca* 1700
D	89–92	six staves of four purple lines	later insert – nineteenth century?
A	93–98	six staves of four red lines	*ca* 1700
B	98–142	98–108: six staves of four red lines 109–110: six staves of four brown lines 111–114: eight staves of four brown lines (after two staves on p. 114, a new layout of five lines begins) 114–126: seven staves of five brown lines 127–134: nine staves of four brown lines 135–140: seven staves of four brown lines 141: four staves out of seven realised 142: empty page	finished 1723 continues directly after scribe A

The majority of the manuscript was written by the first scribe, who wrote most of the Mass Ordinaries (including two plainchant Masses at the beginning) and some Credos. Both the *planus* and *fractus* repertoires in this section are monophonic, with few instances where notes for a potential second voice are added, particularly in the cadences. No Mass Ordinary or Credo in this section of the manuscript bears any special title, though the name of one composer is known. As shown above (Table 1), this section is quite consistent in its layout: it contains six staves of four red or occasionally brown lines per page, except for the part where we find five staves of five red lines per page (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 consistent exchange of basic red and blue initials (and capitals); occasionally, yellow (golden) and orange/pale red ones also appear (the yellow colour seems to replace blue in some instances, such as in Sanctus on p. 9 and in 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 designate the beginnings of the chants are slightly larger than those that merely divide the longer texts into smaller units (capitals). The initials are unembellished, with the exception of two instances of a moderately ornamented letter "P", which retains the same shape in both cases ("Patrem", pp. 57 and 93). Two text sections within the same chant and with the same capital following one another might exhibit different shapes for the same letter, thereby emphasising the visual contrast between the two sections of the text. The concluding "Amen" section of the Gloria typically features an even simpler capital than the rest in this part; one such initial (p. 23)

was left uncoloured, which could imply that the initials were originally drawn (perhaps with the aid of a ruler) and coloured later.

The prevalent use of serif in the A part of the manuscript gives the initials a slightly "squarish" yet still elegant appearance. Typically, a thicker penstroke for the stem represents the principal pillar of the letter, while 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 ornamental rounding, while rounder letters such as "G" ("Gratias"), "D" ("Domine"), and "Q" ("Quoniam") also employ prolonged lines that conclude with rounding shape.

The scribe A usually concludes individual phrases in the text with a dot positioned in the middle of the writing, within the text body. He also employs specific signs, albeit inconsistently; several different signs appear on the same page (as seen on p. 57, Figure 1). A horizontal "unfinished 8" or "mirrored S" shape designates missing letters (as in "magna[m]"). The word-ending abbreviation for "bus" is indicated with a distinctive "9" sign. A right-slanted *custos* shape (with a notehead on top) indicates a specific shortening for "s[un]t" or for some other words. The sign of "cedille" placed under a vowel indicates a diphthong (as in "terrę", meaning "terrae"). The vowel "i" generally has a right-slanted line at the top ("í"). However, in some instances, "i" is used with a dot (pp. 57–88), which appears atypical for the scribe A; the handwriting, however, remains the same. After a while, however, it continues with the usual "í," so I still consider this part to be the work of scribe A.

The second major part of the manuscript (by scribe B) 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 (a two-part Mass). The part written by this scribe includes several significant specifics missing from the first part of the manuscript: it employs titles associated with saints' names and locations, and only here is "si suona" noted next to the solmization syllables, when present. Its layout is much less unified than in the first part; its varying conditions lead the scribe to write in a more condensed style and with slightly vertically elongated letters, particularly from p. 111 onward. In this and several other instances (such as p. 127), it is challenging to determine with complete certainty whether only one scribe copied the B-part of the manuscript; however, a closer examination confirms that hypothesis. Scribe B adapts the number of staves and the writing of the text to the contents as he works through the manuscript; he leaves blank spaces for titles and so forth. The number of staves per page varies significantly, ranging from six to nine, with sometimes four and sometimes five lines in a staff, also differing in colour (see Table 1 above). Some paper was likely prepared in advance, but for certain pieces, one could argue that the number of lines in a staff adjusts to the ambitus of a piece (e.g., *Credo Justinopolitano* on pp. 135–141, see Figure 5). This is the only part of the manuscript that uses descriptive names for the Credos.

In this part of the manuscript, the initials are only red: larger ones for the beginnings of individual chants and smaller ones for individual sections of chants. The writing appears smoother and more rounded in general, and the serif is less pronounced. This scribe consistently uses dots above the vowel "i" and incorporates written-out diphthongs "ae" (as in "terrae"). Some letters, such as "g", exhibit specific forms that differ from those of the A-scribe. Text units are concluded with a dot at the lower line of the text (similar to a dot in modern punctuation).

In some instances, individual mass movements are ended with a small ornament (for example, on pp. 100, 103, 118, and 126), which also follows the title of *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 it could serve as a basis for polyphonic improvisation at certain points). The paper appears to be the same as in part A: there are still four red lines in a staff, with six staves per page. However, this part is clearly an insert, since it appears in the middle of another *cantus fractus* Mass, before the Agnus Dei. The scribe was not as skilled as the others, or perhaps he worked hastily; the initial letters also appear more clumsy. 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 or a greater influence of Germanic pronunciation on his Latin. This scribe employs a special sign for "et" ("&") and places a *corona* sign at the end; there is a specific type of F-clef. At the beginning of the insert, numerous vertical lines (consistent with regular barlines) appear in the staff; their number decreases throughout the insert, leaving nearly none on the final page.

The plainchant Mass for Advent and Lent by scribe D (pp. 89–92, see Figure 4) is likely the most recent addition to the manuscript. It is written on six staves of four purple lines per page. The text is presented neatly and clearly, with short dashes between individual syllables indicating the continuation of the words. Such a late addition demonstrates that the manuscript was in use even in the nineteenth century. During the more restrained liturgical periods, such as Advent and Lent, richer *cantus fractus* Masses were perhaps deemed less appropriate. Consequently, Ms 15 is conveniently supplemented with the missing Ordinary for those liturgical seasons.

The plainchant Mass Ordinaries are notated using square plainchant notation on four red lines, typically following the C-clefs. The *custos* at the end is usually slanted, with a notehead positioned at the bottom. This notation employs oblique shapes (ligatures) and preserves the visual representation of more ancient neume groupings; unlike many other manuscripts of the time, it does not present the melody in a simplified sequence of square notes. (Here, one might argue that the beginning of the manuscript could have been written much earlier than the late 1600s, but the plainchant is directly followed by the more modern *fractus* Mass Ordinaries.) The notation employs some unique forms, such as a ligature that points downward to indicate an independent sequence of descending notes (instead of *pes*), or an interesting shape of *porrectus*, which looks like an upside-down *torculus*. Another special form is that of *climacus*, which adds an additional note to the usual *pes* form, resulting in a sequence of three rising notes. The initial and final notes often feature special signs indicating a kind of prolongation; they may resemble an extended *longa*, sometimes an undulation, or occasionally two connected *puncti* interrupted by a penstroke upwards. This visual prolongation can also be found in other plainchant manuscripts, connecting it to the *cantus fractus* repertoire as well.

The *cantus fractus* repertoire, at least in the main two parts, employs a consistent system throughout the manuscript. The clefs used are C and F (scribe B uses different forms compared to scribe A), and the mensural notation signs used are those of *longa* (which is unusual, but here *longa* actually represents *brevis*),[60] *semibrevis*, *minima*, and, occasionally, *semiminima* (scribe C

[60] For comparison: Ms 13 uses shapes *breves* and *semibreves*, keeping *longae* for the even longer notes or not using them at all.

employs a different type of notation, using brevis instead of longa; the typical figure here is that of a dotted *brevis*, followed by a *minima*).[61] The larger note always consists of two notes of the next level, even in the triple meter; thus, the *longa* has two *semibreves*, a *semibrevis* has two *minimae*, and a *minima* consists of two *semiminimae*. Perhaps, at least for this manuscript, this was regarded as the notational "house style" of the convent. The *semiminima* by scribe A features a straight flag angled sharply to the stem of the note, while the one by scribe B has a more rounded angle where the flag meets the stem. (A new ligature form indicating the downward movement of two notes (*semibreves* or "*longae*") inserted between the groups of *minimae* appears from p. 57, along with the visual triple prolongation of the first or last note.) Scribe B frequently marks accidentals, sometimes using brown colour (the same as the notes) and sometimes red: his b-flats are rounder and larger, and the *custodes* exhibit a less straight line compared to the work of scribe A. Also in the *fractus* chants, the initial or closing note of many chants is written as doubled; this is a scribal habit and does not necessarily imply that each beginning or ending should be as lengthy as indicated.[62] The undulating shapes of concluding notes are more pronounced in scribe B's work.

The measure of the *cantus fractus* pieces is rarely specified, but it usually— with a few exceptions in triple meter—follows *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. Barlines in the modern metrical sense are not regularly used, except in the two-part mass, where they might be notated more consistently for purely practical reasons, and in the *Credo Justinopolitano*. It is true that they only appear before the accented beats of selected phrases, but not randomly: their meaning and role seem to serve multiple functions, including strong visual and performative help.

The majority of keys used in the repertoire of these two manuscripts are F and C major, with some pieces in G major, along with D, A, and E minor (as well as earlier modes for chant). This choice of keys is likely linked to the possibilities of the organ. The beginnings of several Mass Ordinaries or individual Credos feature pitch or transposition designations using solmisation syllables (such as "A la mi re"), indicating that the organ was played at that point, either as an accompaniment or in an *alternatim* performance. More direct indications for playing exist, such as "si suona in De La Sol Re." For the *fractus* chants, these designations were written by the original scribe beside the title; the marking "De la sol re" for the first plainchant Mass was noted by a later hand.

[61] Angela Fiore suggests that it should be called "rhomboid" rather than "square" notation; rhomboid notation is also different from mensural notation. Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 45.

[62] Note shapes indicating prolongation are common in these types of manuscripts; in some instances, they may indeed serve to extend the note, while in others, they function more ornamentally. See the examples in Gozzi, "'Notazione quadrata'", 464–474.

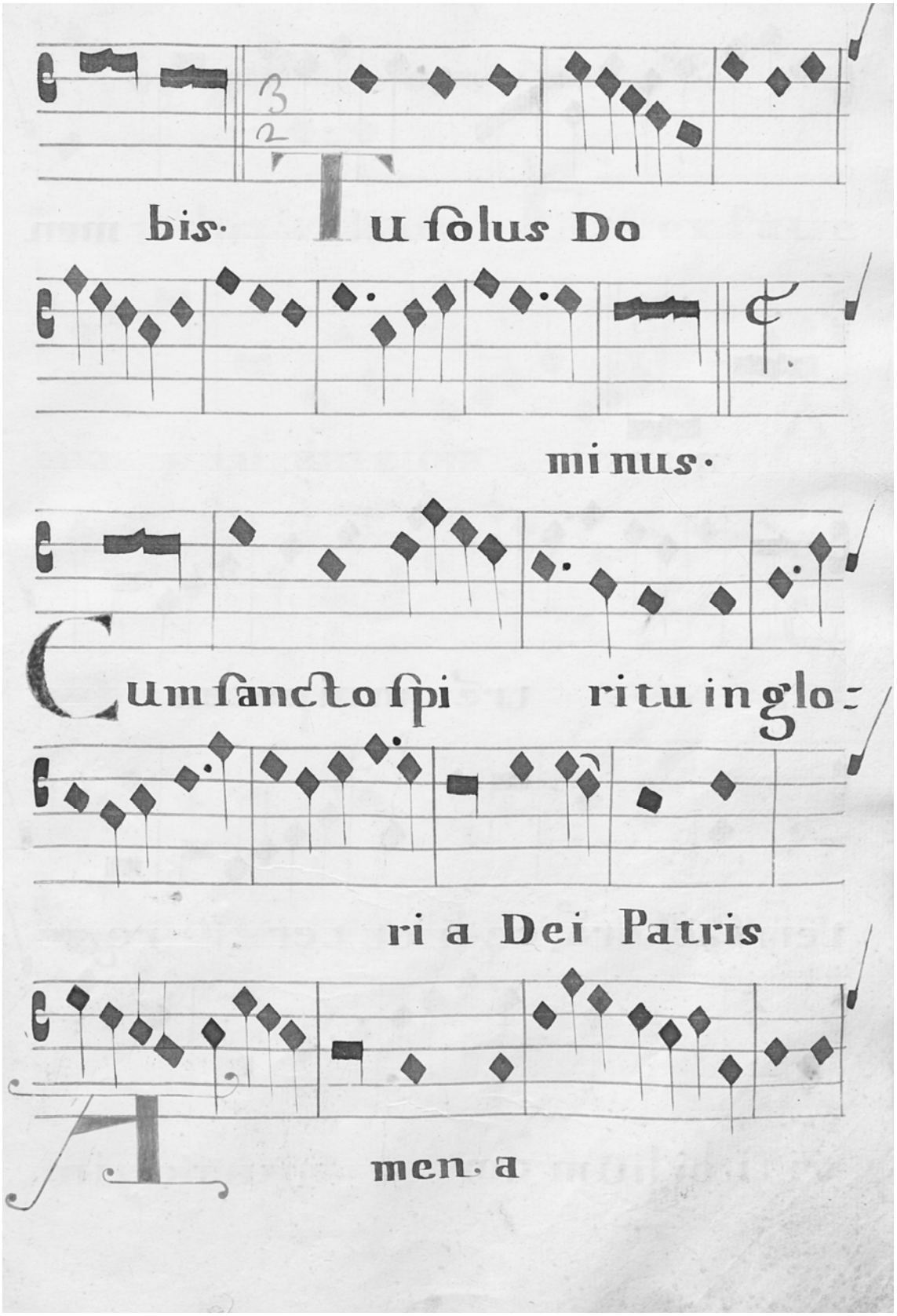

Figure 1 | Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms 15: Part A, p. 79

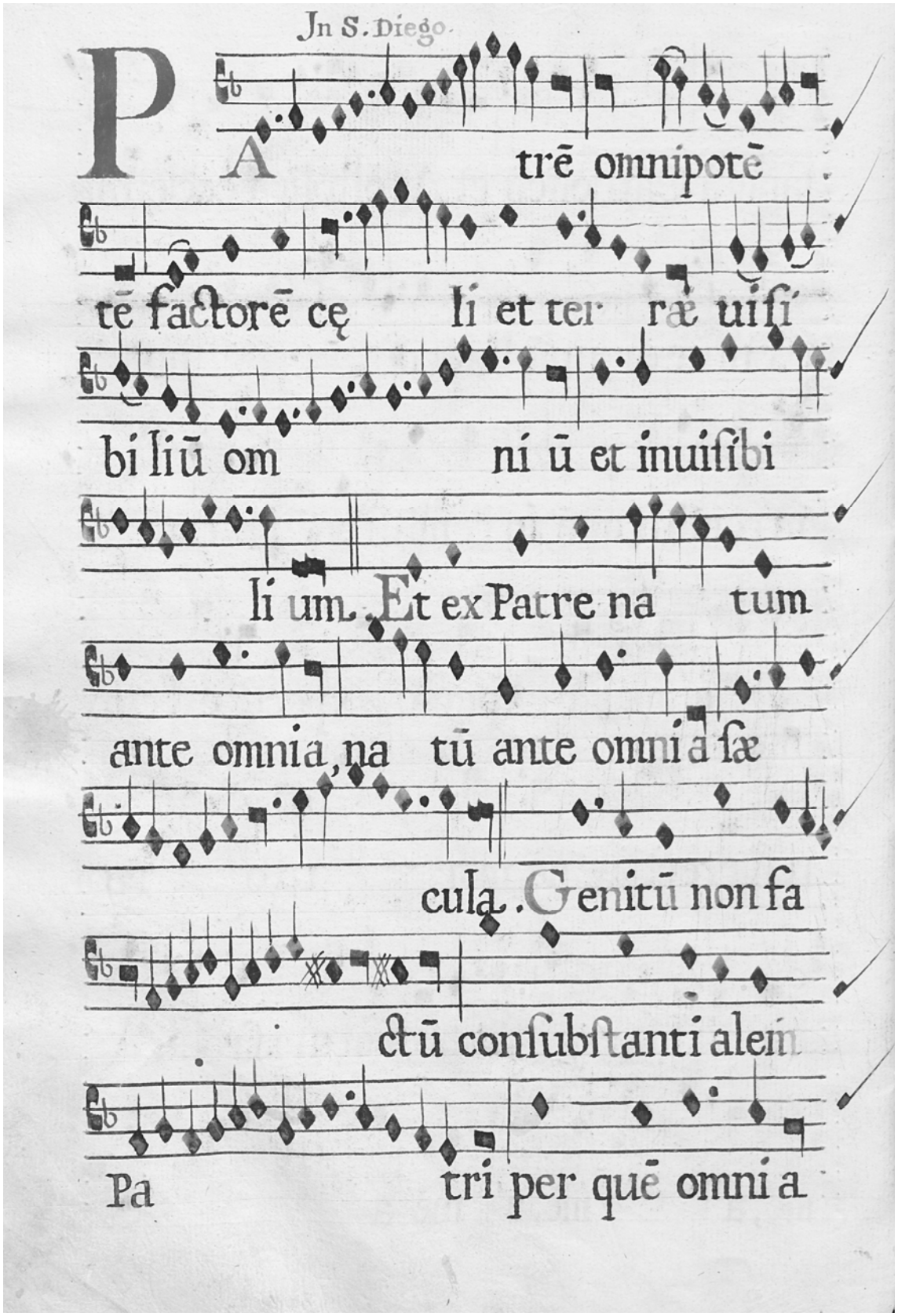

Figure 2 | Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms 15: Part B, p. 124 ("In S. Diego")

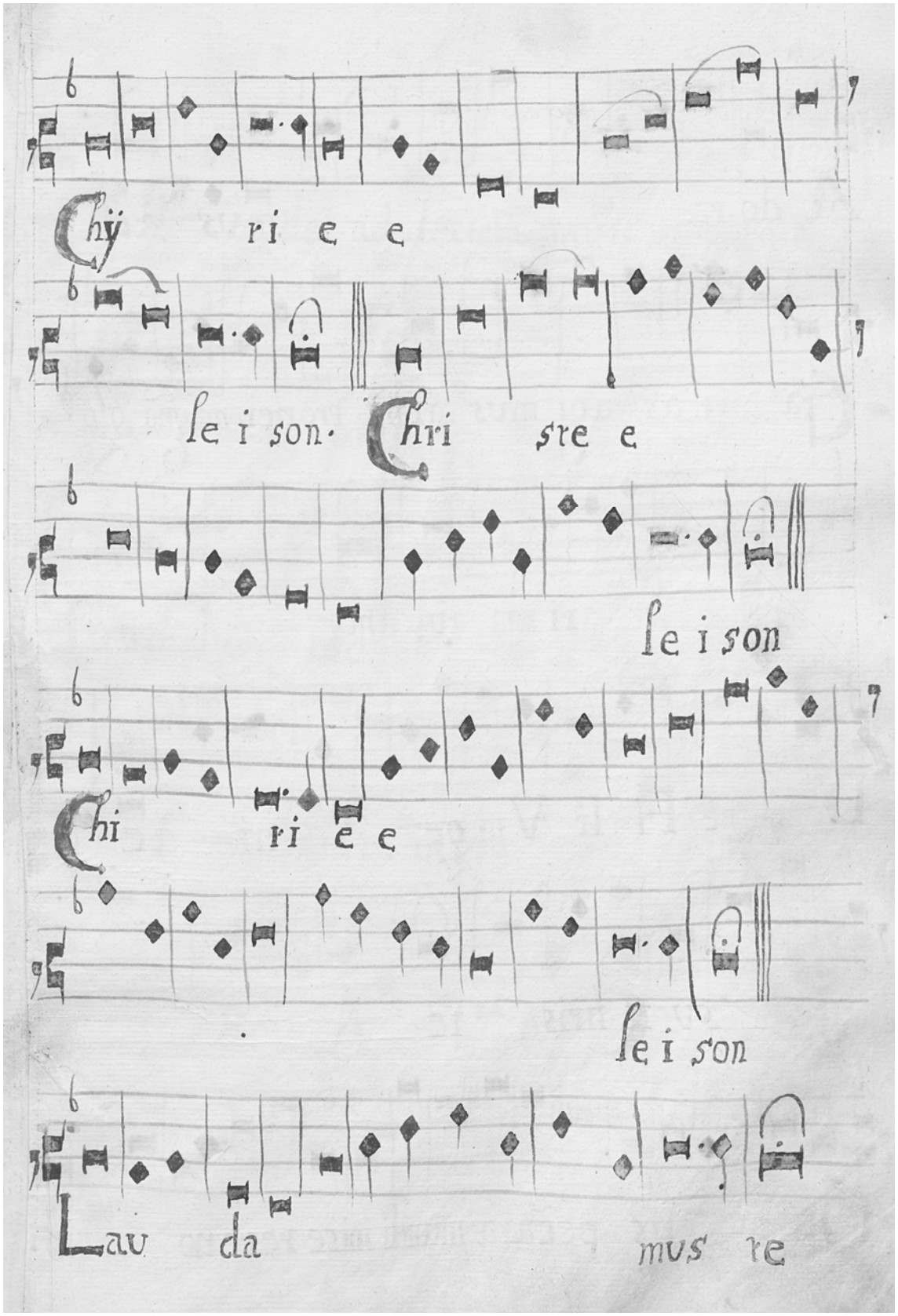

Figure 3 | Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms 15: Part C, p. 41

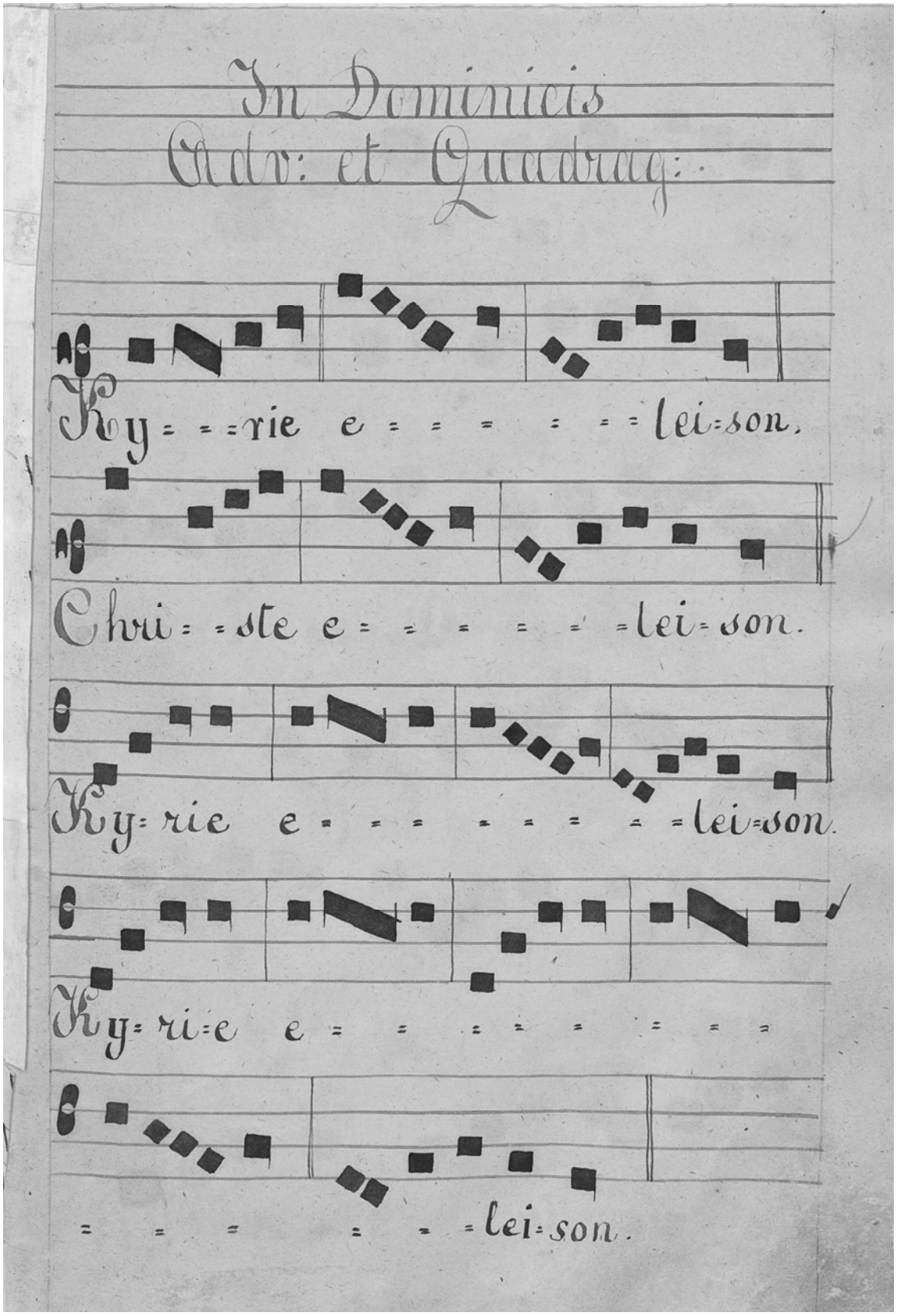

Figure 4 | Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms 15: Part D, p. 89

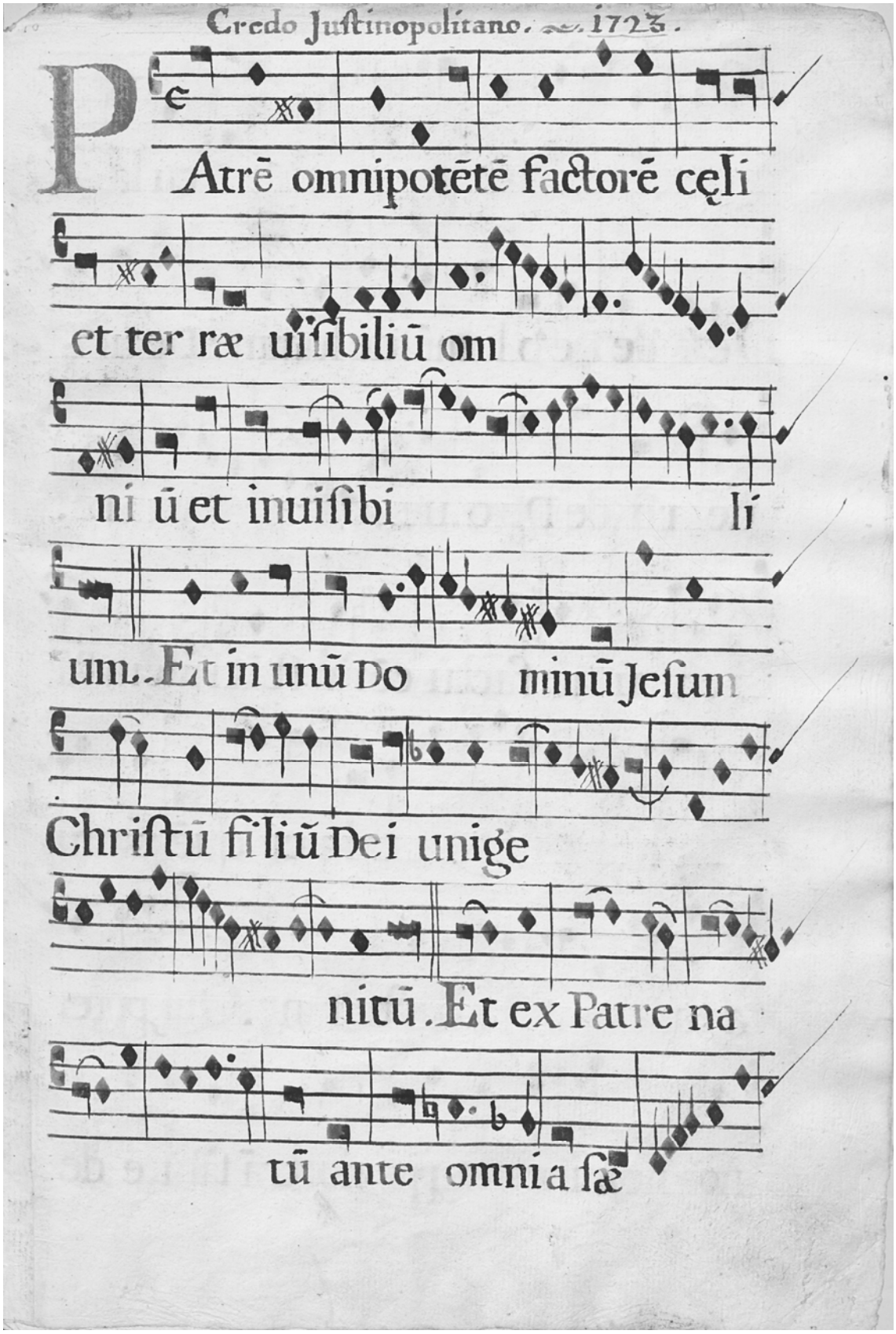

Figure 5 | Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms 15: "Credo Justinopolitano", p. 135

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 connection to Koper, which can be established foremostly from the Credo repertoire. Credos appear to be a representative "parade horse" of the *cantus fractus* repertoire for numerous reasons, both theological and musical. Marco Gozzi posits that since the Credos did not have such early melodies as other Gregorian chant repertoires, they were quicker to adopt new, rhythmically specified melodies alongside other later genres; or perhaps this was a means to create more variety in the lengthy Credo text.[63] Harrison Russin connects the explosion of the Credos between 1300 and 1500 with the broader theological context of the time and the new catechesis, in which it was expected that every believer should know the Ten Commandments as well as the Creed.[64] In later times, it could possibly be connected to the objectives of the Catholic Restoration following the Reformation. Some *cantus fractus* Credo names suggest they might hold a special local significance and were likely linked to specific festivities.

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 the possibly Venetian provenance and provides a list of incipits for all the Credos found there.[65] Most of the Credo *fractus* melodies from the manuscript he discusses are likely *unica*, although he was able to find some concordances for the others. A comparison of all the Credos of Ms 15 (including those from the complete Mass Ordinaries) with his list yielded two concordances. These were both instances of the Credos transmitted individually, outside Mass Ordinaries (which suggests that the Mass Ordinaries were usually disseminated as a whole). An untitled Credo (Ms 15, Credo *fractus* no. 2, on p. 93; see Appendix 3) from Ms 15 represents a variant of Dyer's *Credo Veneziano* with a slight difference (no. 11), and the *Credo in S. Diego* (Ms 15, Credo *fractus* no. 6, p. 124; see Appendix 3) resembles the *Credo Padoano* (no. 4) – except that the ornament is somewhat different and the second part of the incipit melody is transposed a fifth higher in Ms 15.[66] The beginning of the *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* (Ms 15, Credo *fractus* no. 5, p. 118; see Appendix 3) resembles a simpler, less ornamented version of the untitled Credo (no. 7), but their continuations are quite different. Both "concordant" Credos – the Robbins Landon manuscript's Veneziano and Padoano – also appear without specific names in another Koper manuscript, Ms 13 from the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (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. It seems that some melodies were more widely disseminated, while others remained more locally, or even institutionally, bound. Ms 13 and Ms 15 do not share any further concordances, even if Ms 13 contains twenty-one *cantus fractus* Credos.

63 Gozzi, "Canto gregoriano e canto fratto", 28 and 30.

64 Russin, "Late-Medieval Catechesis".

65 Dyer, "A New Source", 605–607.

66 The incipits of these Credos are listed in Dyer, "A New Source", 606.

The local names of the Credos are not necessarily associated with the same melodies in every source; it seems that the more geographically distant the name is, the more interchangeable it may become with another name. However, it appears that the more recognisable melodies are more likely to receive a specific name. Another typical repertoire issue, linked to partly oral transmission and performance practice possibilities of this repertoire, is presented here: the question of the difference between a variant and a new melody.

Two masses in Ms 15 are attributed to the Italian Franciscan composer Francesco Antonio da Budrio, who was active at the end of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century. Not many of his "Franciscan" works seem to be preserved, but we find copies of them in the archives of today's Slovenia and Croatia, which means there must have existed some lines of dissemination.[67]

Many characteristic aspects of the *fractus* Mass and Credo settings discussed by Joseph Dyer (regarding the Robbins Landon manuscript) and other scholars can also be observed in Ms 15.[68] New compositions function in the realm of tonality rather than modality, even if they occasionally mimic the melismas of Gregorian chant. They also feature virtuosic ornamentation, leaps in the melody, and sequences of melodic progression.[69]

The Mass Ordinaries often exhibit 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, which notably reflects the creative process involved in composing this music. Since many melodies abide by similar principles (triadic movements, typically avoiding large leaps in the melodies in favour of stepwise motions), some Mass Ordinaries bear similarities to one another and tend to be rather formulaic than distinctive. Conversely, there are compositions that are very individual, such as *Credo Maggiore della Madonna* or *Credo Justinopolitano*.

There is evidence that both Mass Ordinaries and Credos were performed either in complete or in *alternatim*.[70] If the Mass Ordinary was performed *alternatim*, so was usually its Credo as well as some individually written Credos (see Table 2 in Appendix 1). Even though the alternatim performance was discouraged in the case of Credo, where every word had to be sung or spoken,[71] Ms. 15 appears to utilise that practice frequently, which would mean that the non-sung words had to be spoken aloud. Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei consistently follow the same written pattern of alternatim performance, the situation is somewhat different for Kyrie and Credo (see Table 3 in Appendix 2). Kyrie can be written in different ways, such as one "Kyrie", two "Christe" sections, and then one "Kyrie"; or each section may be written out just once (occasionally marked with "III"), likely indicating an alternatim performance with repetition of the

[67] 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 also dated to 1722. Blažeković, "The Music Repertoire".

[68] Dyer, "A New Source"

[69] Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 45.

[70] More about the *alternatim* practice is described in Beban, "Fra Petar Knežević".

[71] Dyer, "A New Source", 597.

same melody where necessary, or sung with three repetitions in each part. The Credo consistently follows the same pattern, with the choir always singing the "Patrem" and later the obligatory sung kneeling verse, "Et incarnatus est". However, in one case, the regular exchange with the organ is interrupted, allowing the choir to additionally sing "Crucifixus etiam pro nobis" which was typically performed by the organ in this manuscript (in the Mass Ordinary *fractus* no. 5, beginning on p. 45).[72]

As observed in the case of the Robbins Landon manuscript, particular attention is given to certain Credo verses, especially "Et incarnatus est" and "Et resurrexit." These characteristics can also be found in Ms 15; there are textual features (such as "homo" written in red letters, along with repetitions of specific words) and musical indications (the change of meter or even tempo markings like "adagio" – although these are quite rare) that distinguish these sections of the Credo. Particularly in Gloria and Credo, the words might be repeated several times in specific sections for expressive purposes; here, these chants move away from the "recitation" of the sacred text towards more "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 in Appendix 4), accompanied by specific written instructions on how it should be performed by two choirs. 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 (perhaps even further ornamented), it is clear that the involvement of the choir was foreseen, at least for certain sections. If polyphony was possible here, why not in other places? Some parts, while written monophonically, could easily be transformed into short canons or embellished with parallel thirds or mirrored voice leadings – both procedures can be seen in Ms 15 in various places.

Ms 15 contains a two-part Mass written in simple polyphony, based on the principle of mirroring between the voices and moving within triads, making use of jumps or leaps of thirds.[73] Polyphonic writing primarily results in parallel thirds, with occasional fifths and fourths. The two-part Mass of Ms 15 partially supports the thesis that this was probably not a manuscript for daily use but rather intended for reference: in Kyrie and Gloria, the "Basso" and "Tenore" parts of the Mass follow one another and are not written on mirroring pages, so that both singers (or groups) could not use the manuscript simultaneously. However, this situation changes in the Credo, where "Basso" is written on the even page, and the simultaneous "Tenore" appears on the following odd page of the manuscript. The terms "Basso" and "Tenore" appear to describe a function rather than an ambitus, as the voices sometimes simply exchange their melodies, as seen in the incipits of 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 in cadences, also suggest a two-part performance. Such instances are seldom written out clearly and completely, as seen with the canon in *Credo Justinopolitano*, but appear to be executed in haste, perhaps to indicate a suitable polyphonic solution for a specific spot in a particular chant. This suggests that polyphonic improvisation was feasible and indeed practiced. Given that the

[72] A similar case is described in Dyer, "A New Source", 598.

[73] Similar style, for example, can be found in the polyphonic Masses composed by *suor* Bonito, a nun from the convent of Poor Clares in Naples. Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 45.

Convent of St Anne also functioned as a pedagogical institution of the Order, this practice may even be considered a way to learn the fundamentals of music composition.[74] In contrast to the earlier observation, these few scribbled instances of improvisation indicate that, even if this manuscript was perhaps primarily intended as a reference, it also had significant practical use and value. The intentionally simple polyphony is also regarded as a reflection of the Franciscan ideal of simplicity and poverty.

The copyists of Ms 15 – although signed copies of similar manuscripts were not particularly rare in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – will most likely remain unknown. However, some names are associated with the manuscripts of the St Anne and St Bernardine convents, many of them with attested widespread scribal and compositional activities within the broader region (for instance, the Dalmatian Franciscan Observant Province of St Jerome to which both convents 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 different houses of the province.[75] Thus, in November 1668, he completed a gradual in the Convent of St Bernardine, but his writing differs from all the hands of Ms 15.[76] Another name of a copyist from a few decades later is associated with St Anne's Convent. In 1727, Giuseppe d'Andri, on behalf of himself and his two nephews, donated twelve valuable manuscript books to the Convent of St Anne to free the family from the perpetual legacy. D'Andri indicated that from those books, the Franciscans could sing the Mass and the Vespers, signifying that these were liturgical musical liturgical books.[77] Therefore, the books must have been musical liturgical manuscripts suitable for use by Franciscan Observants, and they must have included a specific repertoire. Further studies have shown that d'Andri was more than just a generous donor – he was actually the one who copied and embellished all of these (and many more) books.[78] Don Giuseppe d'Andri (1665–1743) was a local from Koper who, after a brief period of being an Observant Franciscan of St Anne, became a secular priest and served most of his life in various roles in Venice. He returned to Koper in 1721 to assist his nephews after they had lost their father but seemed to have maintained regular contact with the family and local community throughout. In 1739, after more than 50 years of priestly service, he celebrated "the New Mass" once again in his native city – at the Convent of St Anne, where he is also buried. In his memories, he notes that he is known as a famous scribe and claims to have produced manuscripts for institutions in northern Italy, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Istria, and other regions, for the use

[74] The importance of *cantus fractus* repertoire as pedagogical was mentioned several times by Giulia Gabrielli, as well as noticed by the organist Edoardo Bellotti who played this repertoire in a recent concert in Radovljica.

[75] He wrote at least thirteen manuscripts, most of which are today kept in the Franciscan convents in Zadar in Croatia. A repertoire analysis of his manuscripts copied in various places remains to be done. Stipčević, "Baroque Music and Popular Culture", 59.

[76] Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library, Ms 19.

[77] Manara mentions D'Andri's donation within the context of writing about the richness of the convent church in the terms of 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.

[78] Gianni, "Di un miniatore capodistriano", 45. The biographical facts about d'Andri are taken from this author.

of monastic orders such as the Franciscans and Augustinians.[79] Hana Breko Kustura recently highlighted his contribution to the field of chantbook production and the *cantus fractus* repertoire: d'Andri was namely he copyist of a manuscript (a book combining a kyriale, gradual, and sequentiary) copied in 1707 in Koper and preserved in Split.[80] From the reproductions and detailed descriptions available in Breko Kustura's article, one can view Giuseppe d'Andri as a copyist with a particular style.[81] He was clearly familiar with the repertoire of the Dalmatian Observant Franciscan province and had strong ties to St Anne's Convent during the production of Ms 15. However, his writing of text and music, as well as the ornamentation, does not appear to align with any of the hands of the Koper Ms 15, though some features are comparable. Given the possible concluding year of 1723, Ms 15 would likely be too early to be part of d'Andri's legacy established 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 been identical to one of the scribes. (It would seem that, at that time, such books were produced by (semi)professional scribes both within the Order and outside of it.) The production time of this manuscript coincides with the musical activities of the aforementioned Giacomo Cocever (Jakob Kočever or Kočevar), an organist, singer, and music teacher, active in the cathedral as well as in his "home" convent church. It is conceivable that he, as organist, would have had such a collection at his disposal – for playing the organ or singing.[82]

It is difficult to say whether he would be able to perform the same repertoire also in the cathedral. Ms 15, however, is closely bound 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,[83] and two of the Credos with the Franciscan saints point directly to their use within the Order. St Didacus of Alcalá (Diego; *ca* 1400–1463) and St Peter of Alcántara (1499–1562) were very popular, but the Credos for the most important saints of the Order (St Francis and St Anthony) are notably missing.

Didacus of Alcalá was the first Franciscan lay brother to become a saint,[84] and he was well known in Koper. The church of St. Anne still houses Pietro Mera's painting of St Didacus healing the sick from 1629; it was probably commissioned during the architectural renovation of the church in the 1620s;[85] His altar is the last one on the right side, near the church entrance. This is one of the earlier uses of the motif in this region, and it is quite possible that St Didacus is not healing a blind man but rather a person suffering from something else – perhaps even plague.[86] Following a disastrous outbreak of plague in Koper between 1630 and 1632, many new churches

[79] Gianni quotes D'Andri's memories: "sappia ognuno che io di questo scrivere son maestro, perchè tutto il corso di mia vita sempre ho scritto di tali e consimili libri". Gianni, "Di un miniatore capodistriano", 47.

[80] Breko Kustura, "Svjedočanstvo ritmiziranog korala". In this article, Hana Breko Kustura also stresses the need for deeper study of the repertoire across the whole province as well as its connections to Venetian area from where many chants possibly originated.

[81] Breko Kustura, "Svjedočanstvo ritmiziranog korala", 14–15.

[82] Research on his work and life - as yet to be done.

[83] Dyer, "A New Source".

[84] He was canonized in 1588 by Pope Sixtus V. Donovan, "St. Didacus".

[85] The painting is mentioned by Naldini in 1700. Naldini, *Corografia eclesiastica*, 195; Košak, "Sv. Didak", 26.

[86] Košak, "Sv. Didak iz Alkale".

dedicated to the patrons protecting against the plague were built.[87] It is possible that, after that time, the Franciscan Observants encouraged devotion to their saints, who were known for their works and miracles against the plague. St Didacus performed miraculous cures of the plague in Rome and cared for the sick during the outbreak in Spain. Both the altar painting and the special Credo for this saint indicate that he was particularly venerated in the Convent of St Anne.[88] I have not yet managed to gather any information about the instrument at the convent during that time, but the written record of this Credo in *alternatim* (along with the presence of an excellent organist at the convent then) suggests that there must have been an organ prior to the one acquired in 1806.

Not all *cantus fractus* sources refer to saints' names, suggesting that this was not a rule but rather a choice made by the specific convent. Next to the titles associated with saints, Ms 15 also includes two chants with local designations: *Credo Napolitano* and *Credo Justinopolitano* (see the transcription in Appendix 4). The title of the first chant appears to be widely known, even if it does not imply that it is always linked to the same melody. The final piece in the manuscript (probably positioned there intentionally) is *Credo Justinopolitano*, or the Credo of Koper (Justinopolis). The title aligns with the Franciscan tradition of local names for Credos, but may also imply that the piece was composed in or for Koper. It may also suggest a 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 is mentioned in 1702.[89]

Credo Justinopolitano is undoubtedly a crown piece of the collection: it stands out as one of the longest and most complex pieces with unusual music, which also appears to be the most perfectly "composed." Other *fractus* compositions apply bar lines more freely, but the *Credo Justinopolitano* uses them consistently as modern bar lines. The melody is quite dramatic and skillfully crafted, beginning with large 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 cadence and special performing instructions was already mentioned. We may never understand why the melody was given this name or how it was actually performed,[90] but it was probably known and popular locally – within the Convent of St Anne and beyond its walls.

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

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

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

90 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, along with the previous practical workshop on cantus fractus from Koper sources, revealed numerous new possibilities.

CONCLUSION: THE MEASURED GREGORIAN CHANT

A great deal has been written about *cantus fractus*, its role and meaning, with sincere attempts to grasp the nature of this specific repertoire within its historical context, along with warnings against too modern an understanding of the phenomenon. Alongside the question of "what" is recorded regarding the repertoire, there are also questions concerning "how" and "why" this is so. The preliminary examination of Ms 15 confirms much of what has been said about the phenomenon: with its blend of plainchant and *fractus* chants, its "plainchant-imitating" and visually cohesive style, together with unified functionality, this manuscript is not viewed as a compilation of various (possibly incompatible) styles and genres, but rather as a reference book containing the music of the Mass Ordinary for Sundays and solemn feasts. The characteristic notation seems to intentionally represent a visual connection to the ancient and venerable, as well as authoritative, chant melodies, even though musically its melodies reflect the 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 simply – as has been suggested by Marco Gozzi – as "l'altro gregoriano", "the other Gregorian [chant]". The *cantus fractus* repertoire was part of the musical practice of many religious orders and appears to be especially popular among the pastorally oriented Franciscans. In view of Angela Fiore, this liturgical music (exemplified by the Santa Chiara Convent of Poor Clares in Naples) delighted the faithful ("potesse dilettare il fedele") and, at the same time, did not diminish the sanctity of Gregorian chant; it merely made the music appealing by incorporating the characteristics of vocal and instrumental music of the time.[91] Regarding its function, she defined it as "liturgical chant which tries to bring into dialogue distinctive traits of the 'modern' music with the Gregorian practice".[92]

In her article, Fiore described musical life of the Santa Chiara Convent and offered a beautiful example of a contemporary understanding of the cantus fractus repertoire. Stimulated by the performances of the Real Cappella, the convent sisters repeatedly expressed their wish to be allowed to make more music in the convent. In order to appease the Nuns and their families (which 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.[93]

It is clear that, when contemporaries speak about *cantus fractus* of their time, they refer to a specific style or manner of performing "Gregorian" chant. We are fortunate that something similar

[91] Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 44.

[92] Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 45.

[93] "[...] 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." ASN, S. Chiara, Copr. Rel. Soppr., f. 2554, c. 361r/v. Quoted after Fiore, "La tradizione musicale", 43–44.

was also documented regarding the Convent of St Anne. In his historiographical sketch of the Diocese of Koper, Bishop Paolo Naldini described its many churches. Although he did not generally pay much attention to music in his descriptions, he mentioned it in relation to the Convent of St Anne, claiming that the Observants of St Anne were very popular due to their exemplary living, as confessors, and also for their singing:

> [People] are also attracted by the assiduous assistance of the religious in confessionals; the precise execution in the choir, contrasted 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].[94]

What the Franciscans sang, then, was perceived as measured Gregorian chant. This is also the case in Ms 15, which, even in a preliminary sketch, is widely opening the door to future possible research. Much remains to be done regarding this and many other sources. A study of the musical life in the Convent of St Anne through history still needs to be undertaken, with the help of the remaining sources and the Franciscan archives preserved in Koper, Venice, and elsewhere Regarding the convent'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 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 possibilities for experimentation and realisation 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 her glass slipper.

[94] "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.

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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, 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*, ki 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 bo usmerila predvsem na ta repertoar, ki vsebuje predvsem cikle mašnega ordinarija in posamezne stavke Credo. S tem predvsem opozarja na obstoj baročnega *cantus fractus* repertoarja v konventu sv. Ane v Kopru. Rokopis je oblikovno in vsebinsko predstavljen, izkaže pa se, da je njegov nastanek tesno povezan s Koprom, saj vsebuje nekaj lokalnih značilnosti. Razprava odpira še vprašanja njegovih ustvarjalcev in uporabnikov ter druga z repertoarjem povezana vprašanja, 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.

APPENDIX 1

Table 2 | Contents of Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms 15
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

PAGE		*CANTUS*			TITLE OF THE COMPOSITION; REMARKS
1	**MO**	*planus*	1	F-mode (5) "De la sol re" [later hand]	"Sanctorum Ordinis Nostri" no **C**
5	**MO**	*planus*	2	F-mode (5)	variant of *De angelis* no **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*
18	**MO**	*fractus*	2	F-major "EF fa ut"	**K**: *alternatim* **G, C, S**: complete **A**: two invocations, probably the first one would be repeated **C**: ternary meter 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-mode (5)	later insert based on chant **K**: each invocation written out once **G, S, A**: alternatim no **C**
45	**MO**	*fractus*	5	C-major "A la mi re"	[**A** of the previous MO] **K, G, C****: *alternatim* incomplete **S, A**: missing tempo markings
57	**C**	*fractus*	1	D-minor	**K, G, C, S, A**: *alternatim* expressive word repetitions new note shapes
61	**MO**	*fractus*	6	C-major	"Messa del Padre Budrio" **K, G, C, S, A**: *alternatim* expressive word repetitions (added later)

				"B fa B mi quinto Tuono"	diaphony: octaves in some cadences
74	**MO**	*fractus*	7	C-major "A la mi re 3a mag-giore"	"del P[ad]re Franc[esc]o Antonio, di Budrio" **K**, **G**, **C**, **S**, **A**: *alternatim* tempo markings
89	**MO**	*planus*	3		later insert "In Dominicis Adventis et Quadragesimae" no **G** (Lent and Advent) no **C**
93	**C**	*fractus*	2	F-major	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	A-minor	very simple, formulaic melody
114	**C**	*fractus*	4	D-minor (?) "A la mi re Per 3. B"	"Credo sancti Petri" formulaic melody most cadences on a and e in exchange "unfinished" cadences – leading to D?
118	**C**	*fractus*	5	G-major	"Credo maggiore della Madonna" exchange of verses in binary and ternary meter unusual notation in ternary meter 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" 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	"Credo sancti Petri di Alcantara" [= **C** *fractus* 6 for St Didacus] *alternatim*

				"Si suona in C sol fa ut"	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 cromaticism Not such exact writing as for previous Credo compositions (notes) – maybe the previous ones were copied and this one composed

APPENDIX 2

Table 3 | Form of the *alternatim* Chants in Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (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	**Crucifixus etiam pro nobis*
Et resurrexit tertia die	
	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
Sanctus	
	Sanctus Dominus Deus
Pleni sunt caeli et terra	

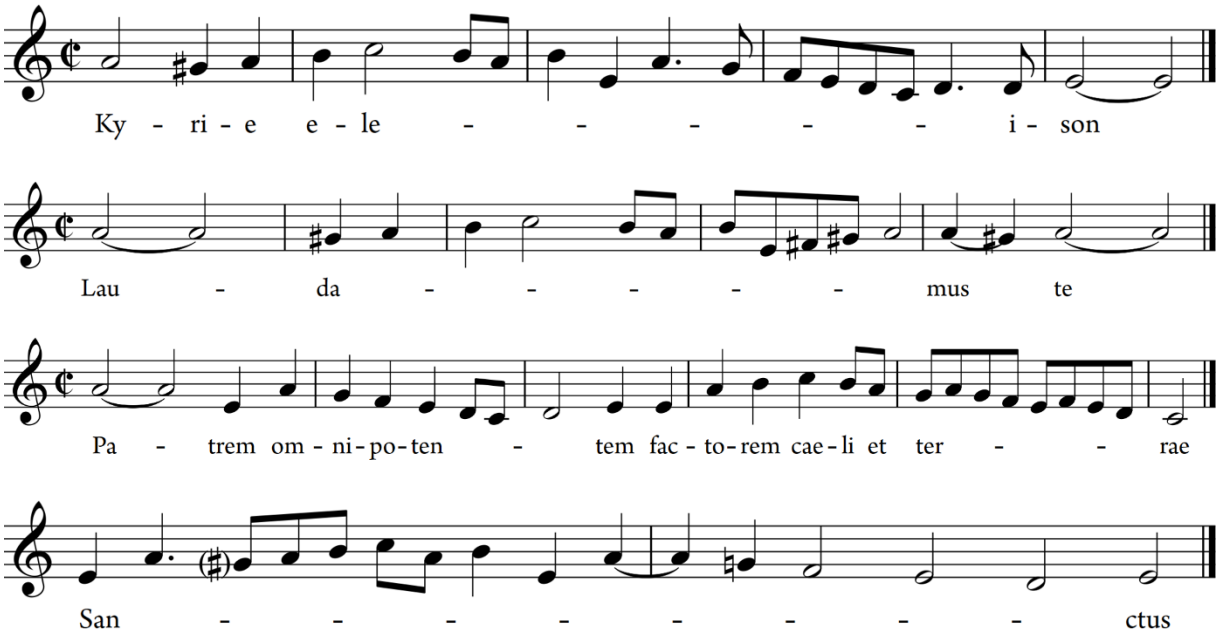
	Benedictus qui venit
Agnus Dei	
choir	**organ**
	Agnus Dei […] miserere nobis
Agnus Dei […] miserere nobis	
	Agnus Dei […] dona nobis

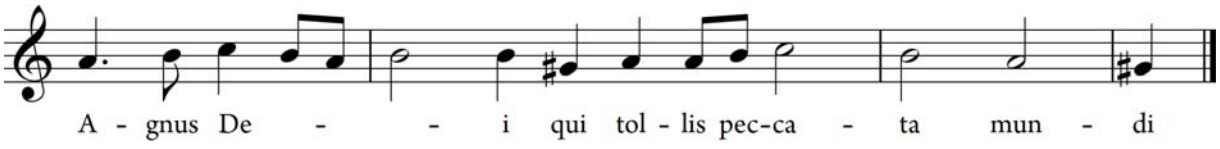
APPENDIX 3

***Cantus fractus* chants in Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms 15**

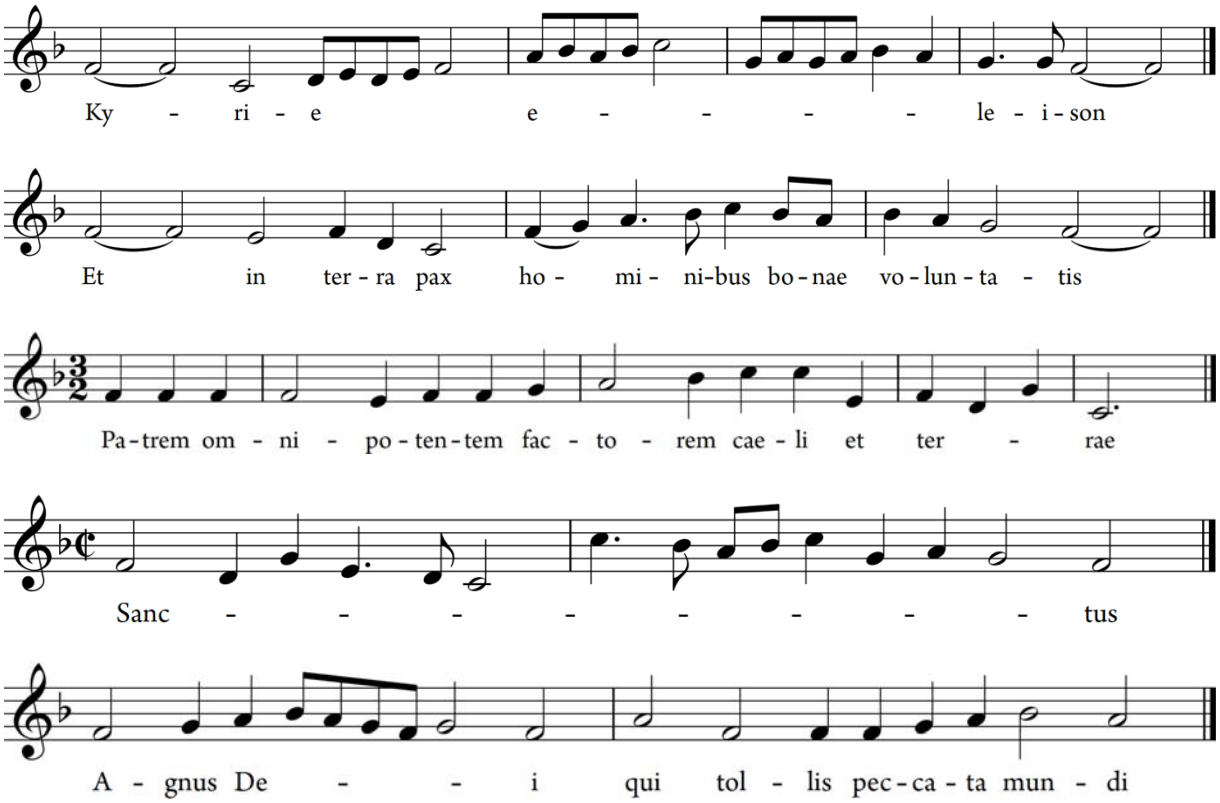
The text of the chants in the transcription is provided in modern Latin orthography, but without punctuation except for capital letters at the beginning and in certain words. In Ms 15, the initial note of many chants is written as doubled and is transcribed here in the same manner; this does not imply that each beginning should be as lengthy as indicated. The same applies to the final notes of pieces. The transcription maintains the position of bar lines from the manuscript.

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

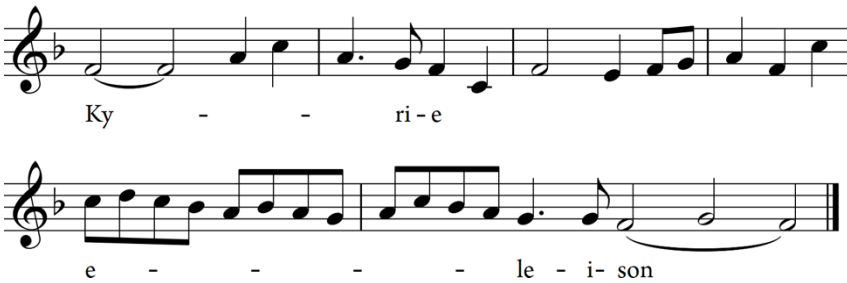


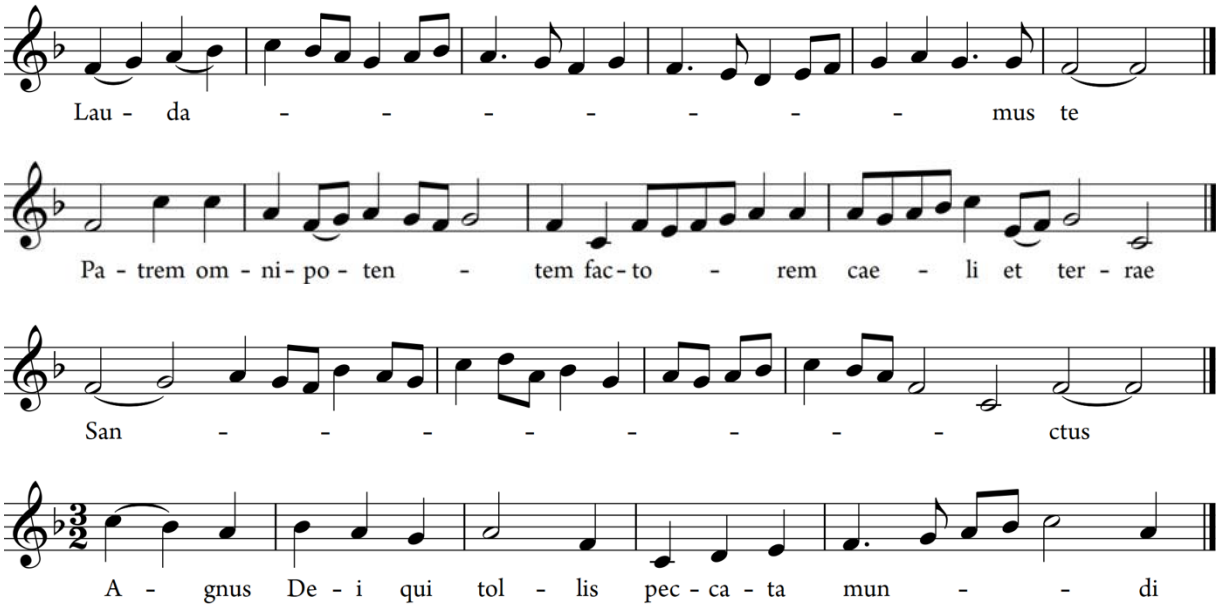


2. Mass Ordinary in F-major ("EF fa ut") – *cantus fractus* MO 2, pp. 18–31

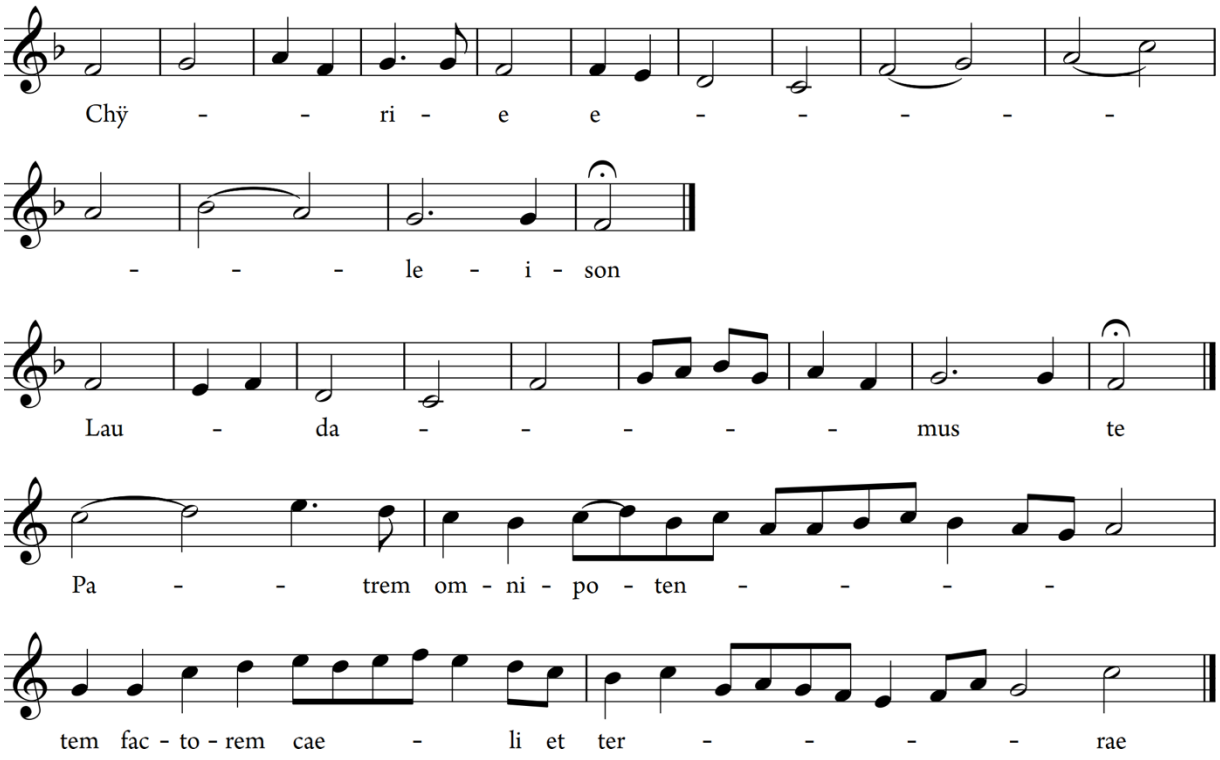


3. Mass Ordinary in F ("EF fa ut") – *cantus fractus* MO 3, pp. 31–40 and 45

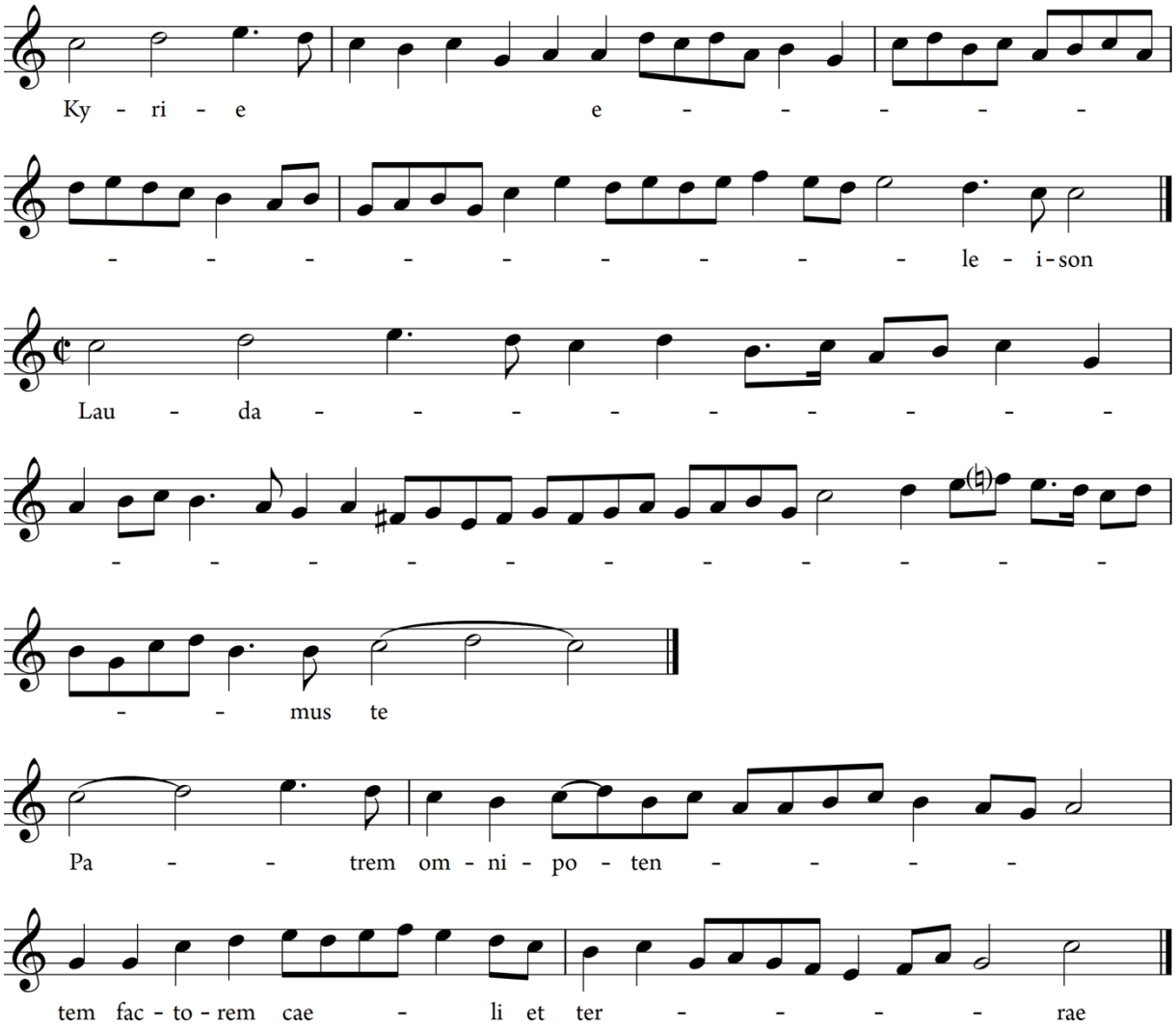




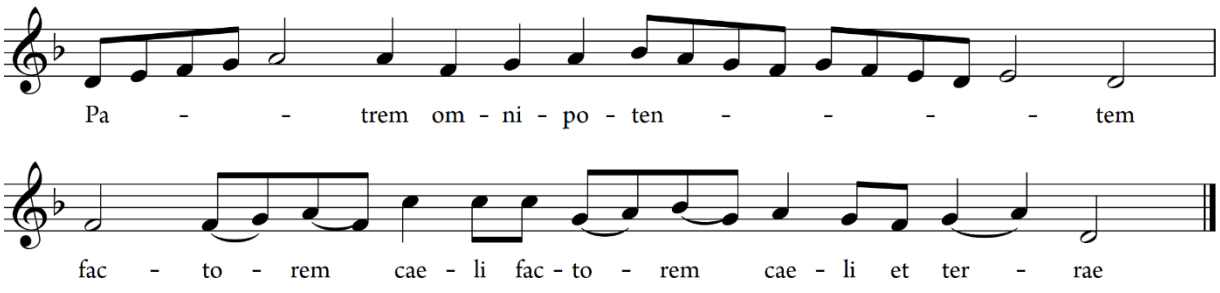
4. Mass Ordinary in F-mode, *cantus fractus* MO 4, pp. 41–44



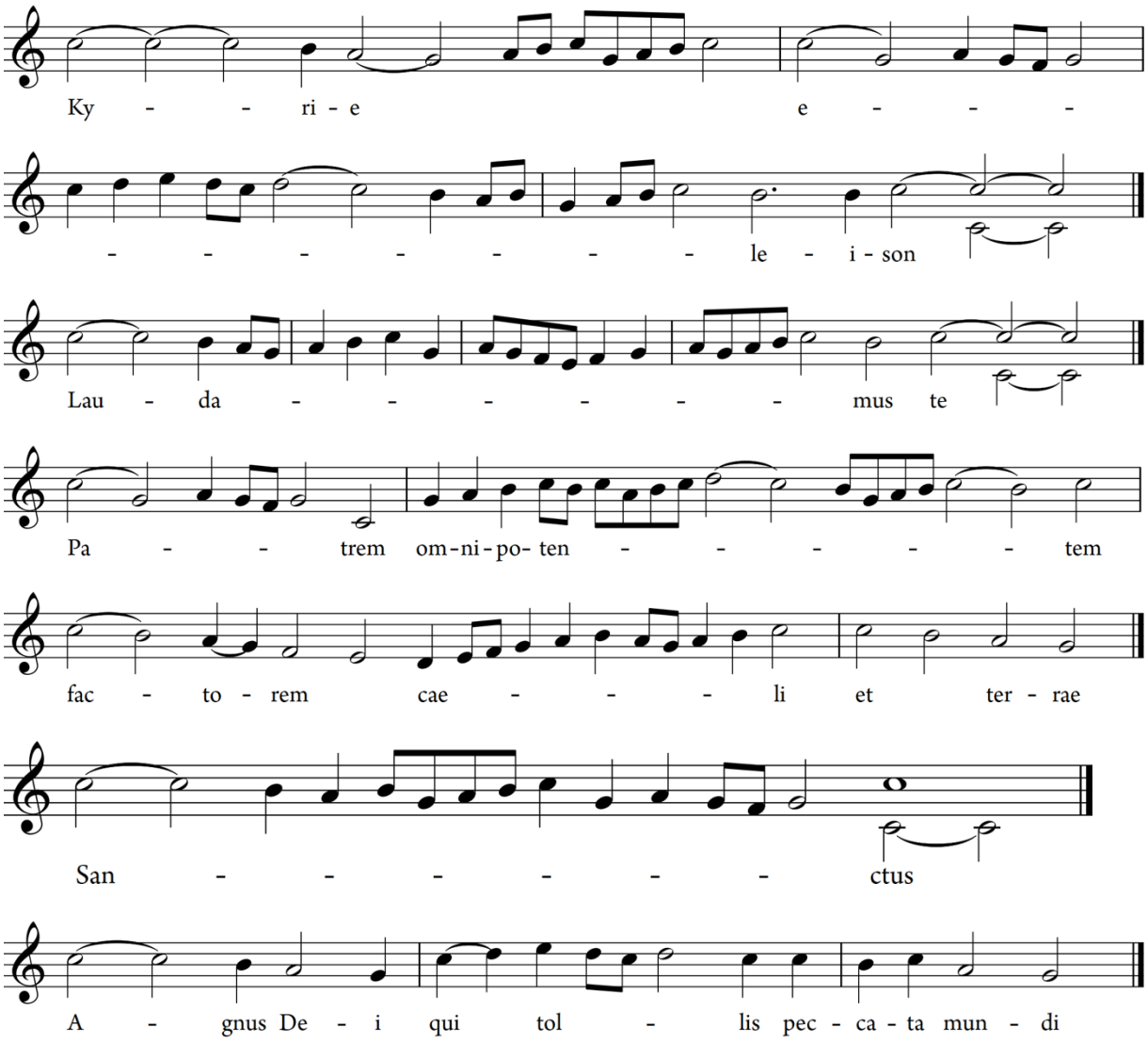
5. Mass Ordinary in C-major ("A la mi re"), *cantus fractus* MO 5 (incomplete), pp. 45–56



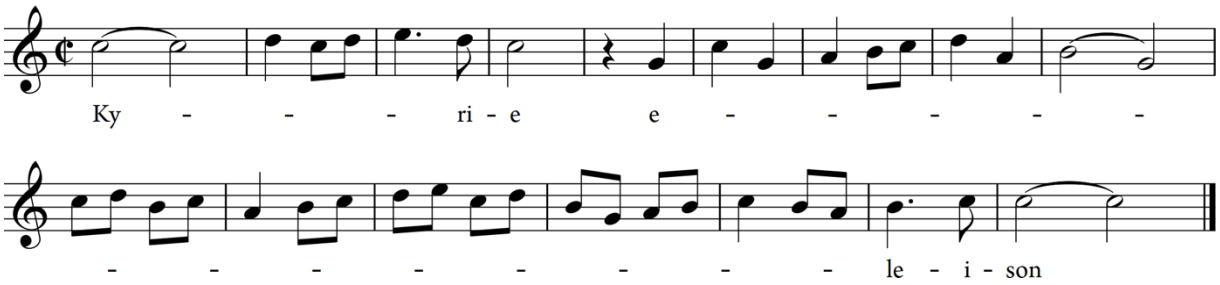
6. Credo in D-minor, *cantus fractus* C 1, pp. 57–61

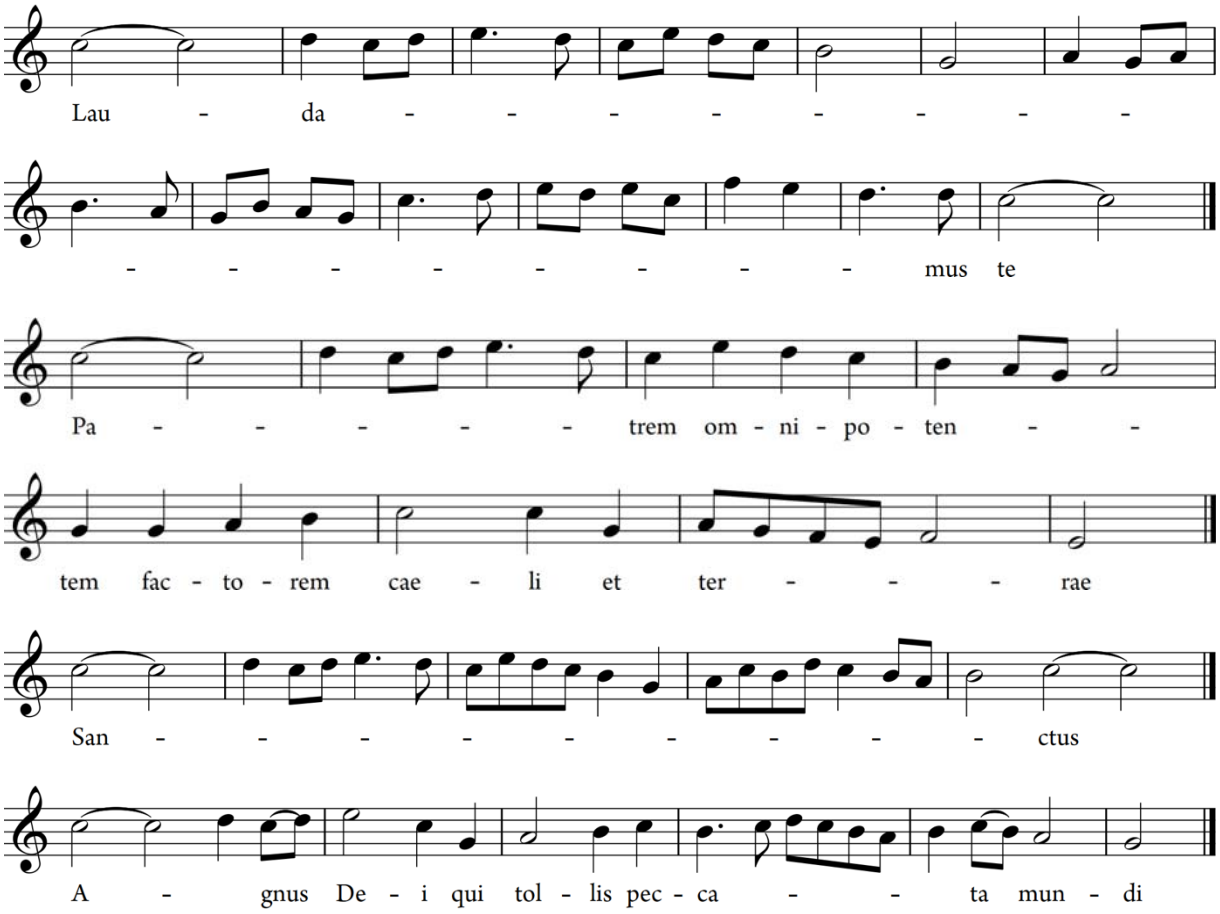


7. "Messa del Padre Budrio" in C-major ("B fa B mi quinto Tuono"), *cantus fractus* MO 6, pp. 61–73

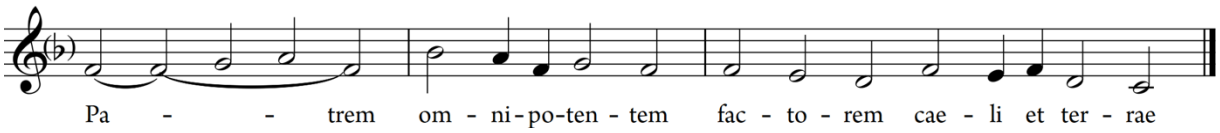


8. Mass Ordinary "del P[ad]re Fran[ces]co Antonio, di Budrio" in C-major ("A la mi re 3a maggiore"), *cantus fractus* MO 7, pp. 74–92

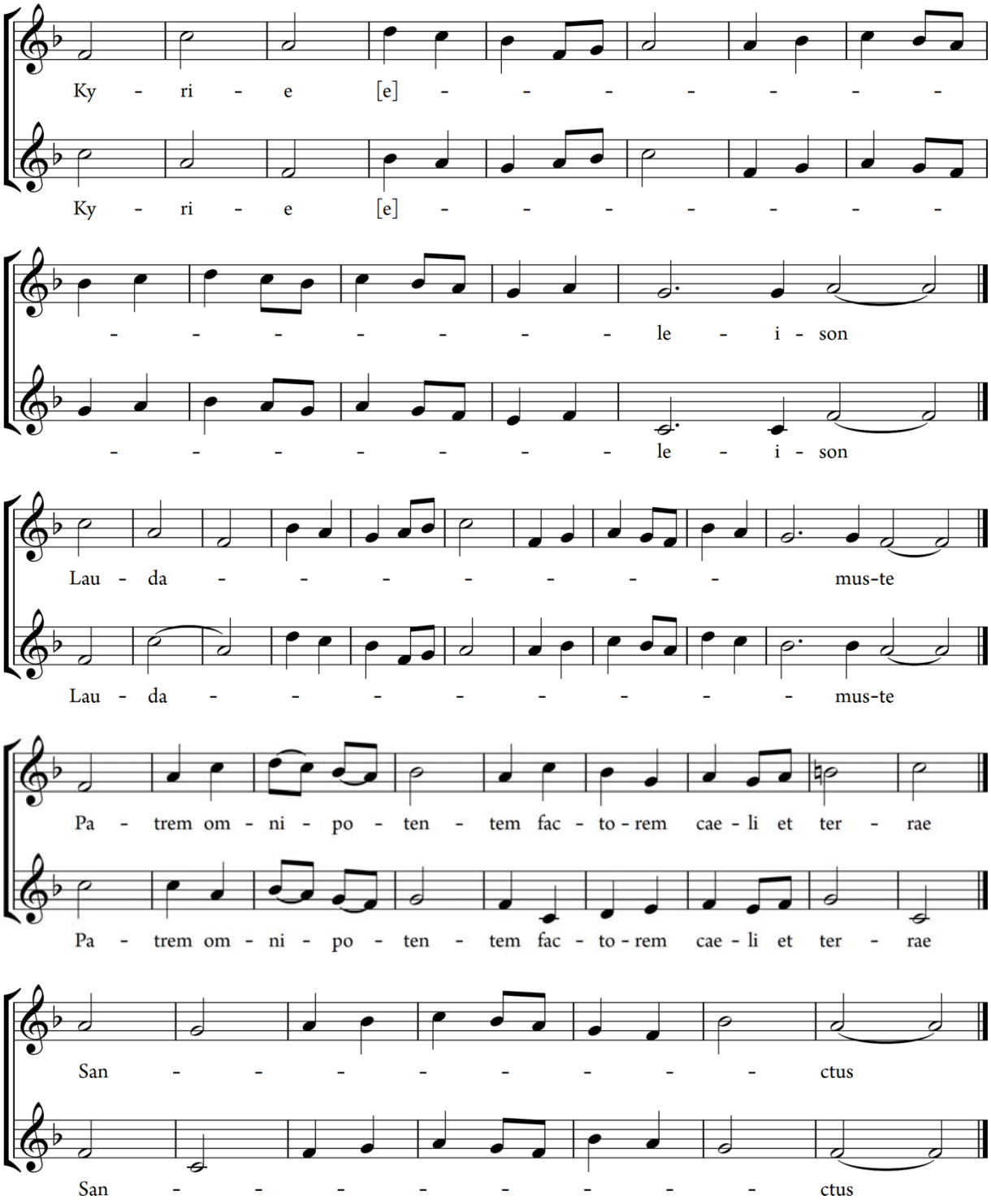


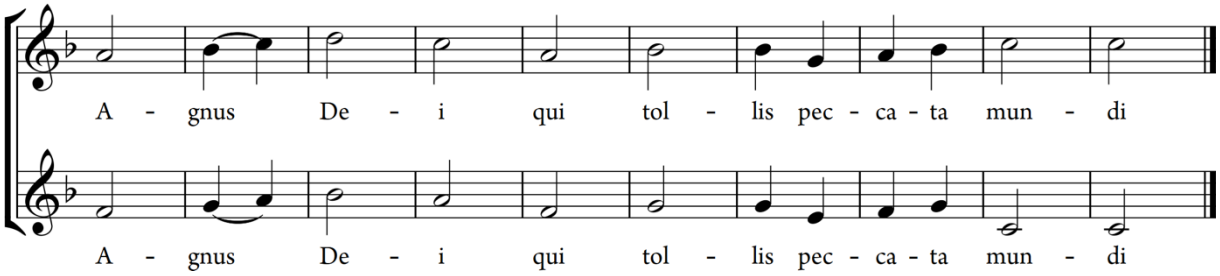


9. Credo in F-major, *cantus fractus* C 2, pp. 93–98

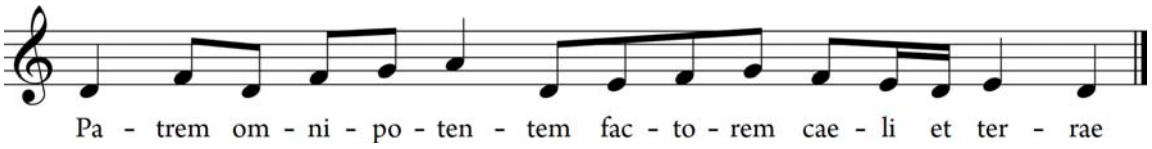


10. Mass Ordinary "Messa a Due Voci" in F-major, *cantus fractus* MO 8, pp. 98–110

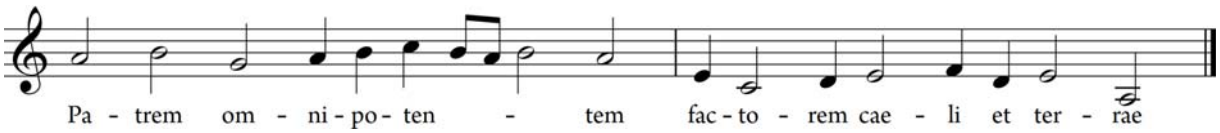

Ky - ri - e [e] - - - - - - -
Ky - ri - e [e] - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - le - i - son
- - - - - - - le - i - son
Lau - da - - - - - - - mus-te
Lau - da - - - - - - - mus-te
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae
San - - - - - - - ctus
San - - - - - - - ctus



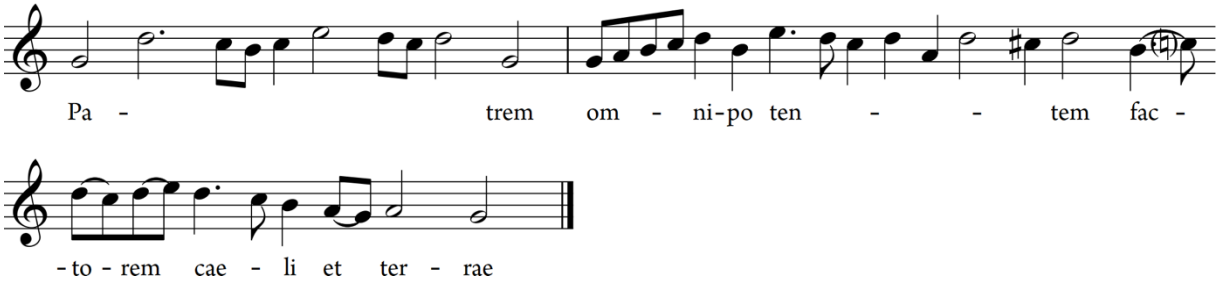
11. Credo in A-minor, *cantus fractus* C 3, pp. 111–114



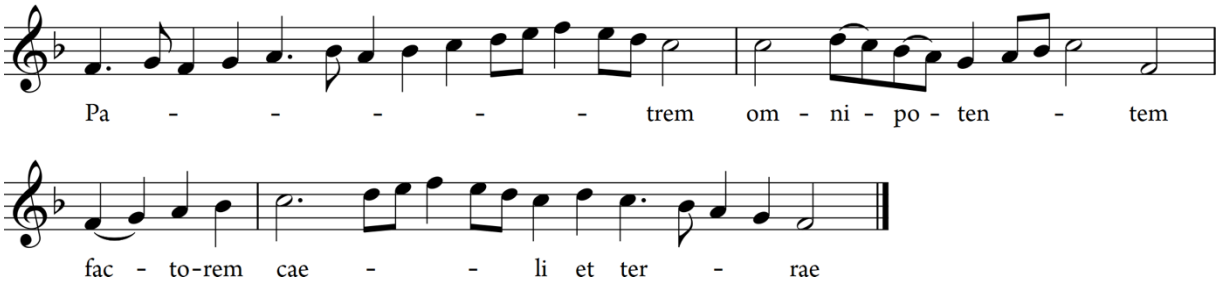
12. "Credo Sancti Petri" in D-minor (?) ("A la mi re Per 3. b"), *cantus fractus* C 4, pp. 114–118



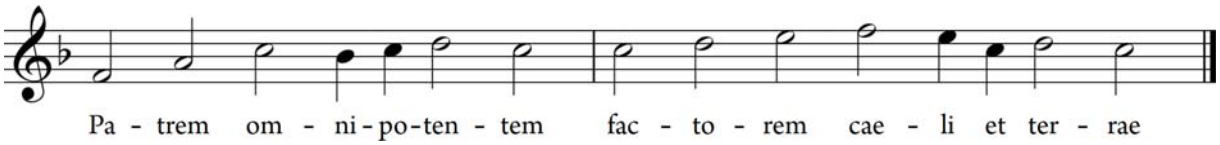
13. "Credo Maggiore della Madonna", *cantus fractus* C 5, pp. 118–123



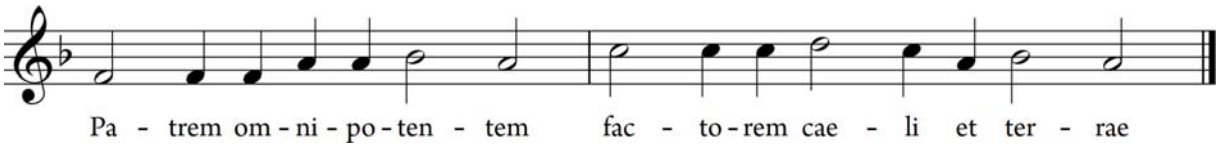
14. Credo "In S. Diego" in F-major, *cantus fractus* C 6, pp. 124–127



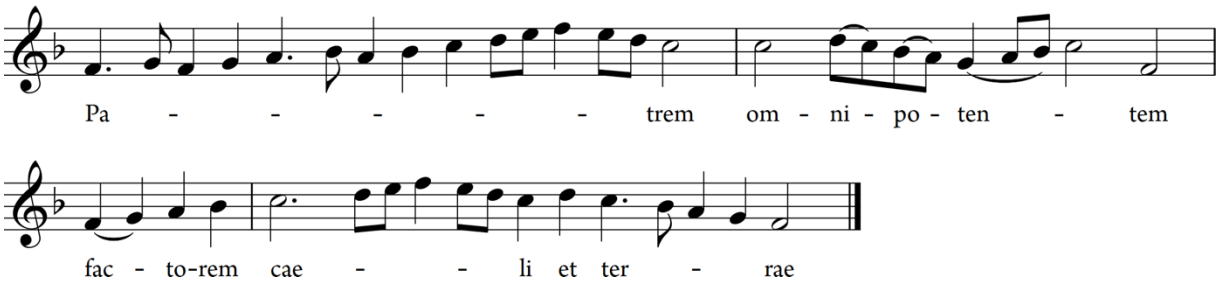
15. “Credo Napolitano” in F-major (“Si suona in C sol fa ut”), *cantus fractus* C 7, pp. 127–134



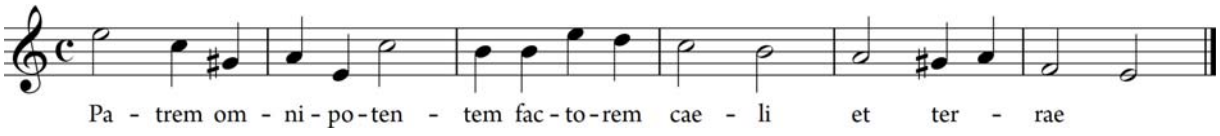
16. “Credo infra Octava e feria Quinta in Cena Domini” in F-major (“Si suona in C sol fa ut”), *cantus fractus* C 8, pp. 129–132



17. “Credo Sancti Petri de Alcantara” in F-major (“Si suona in C sol fa ut”), *cantus fractus* C 6, pp. 132–134

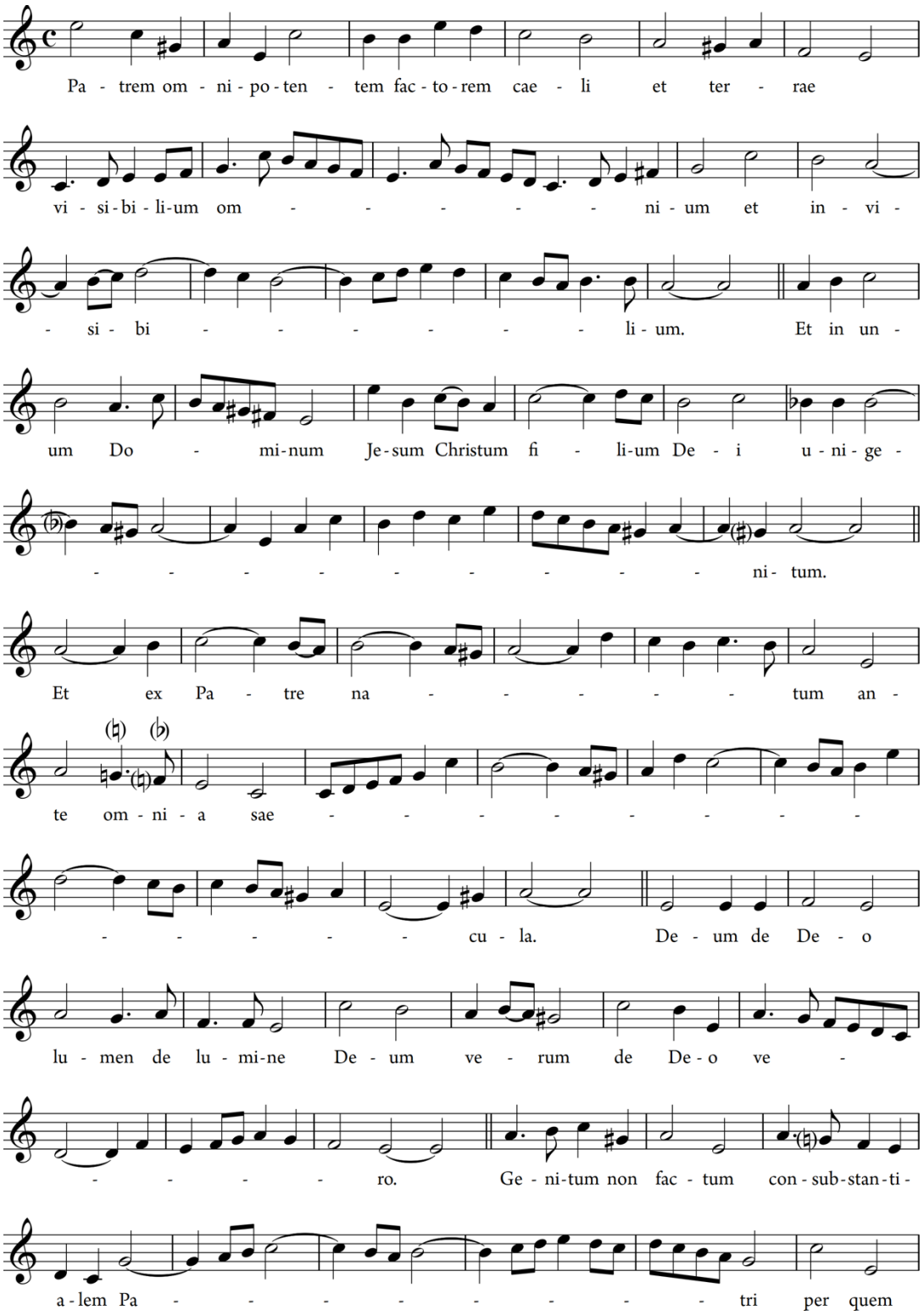


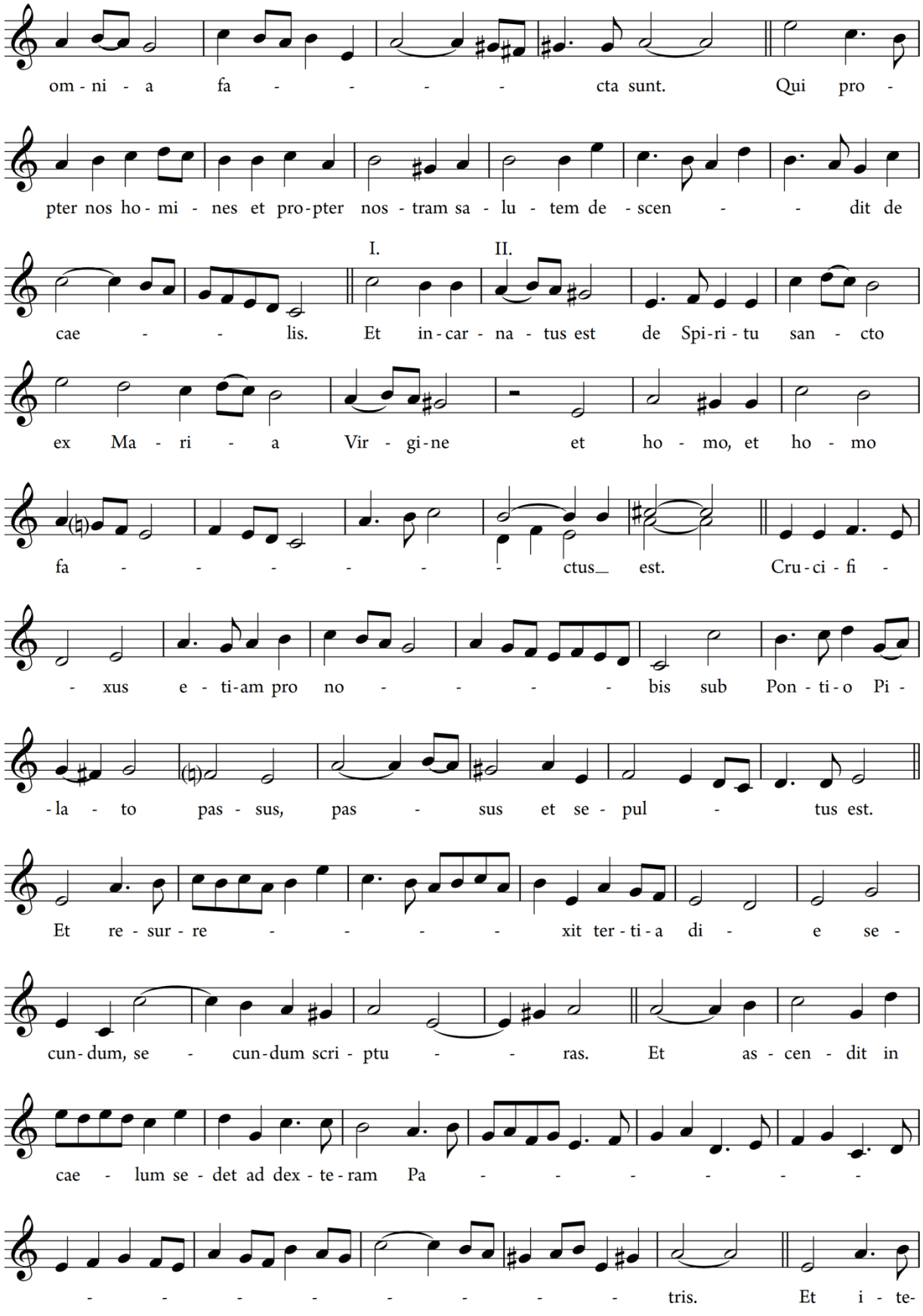
18. “Credo Justinopolitano” in A-minor, *cantus fractus* C 9, pp. 135–141

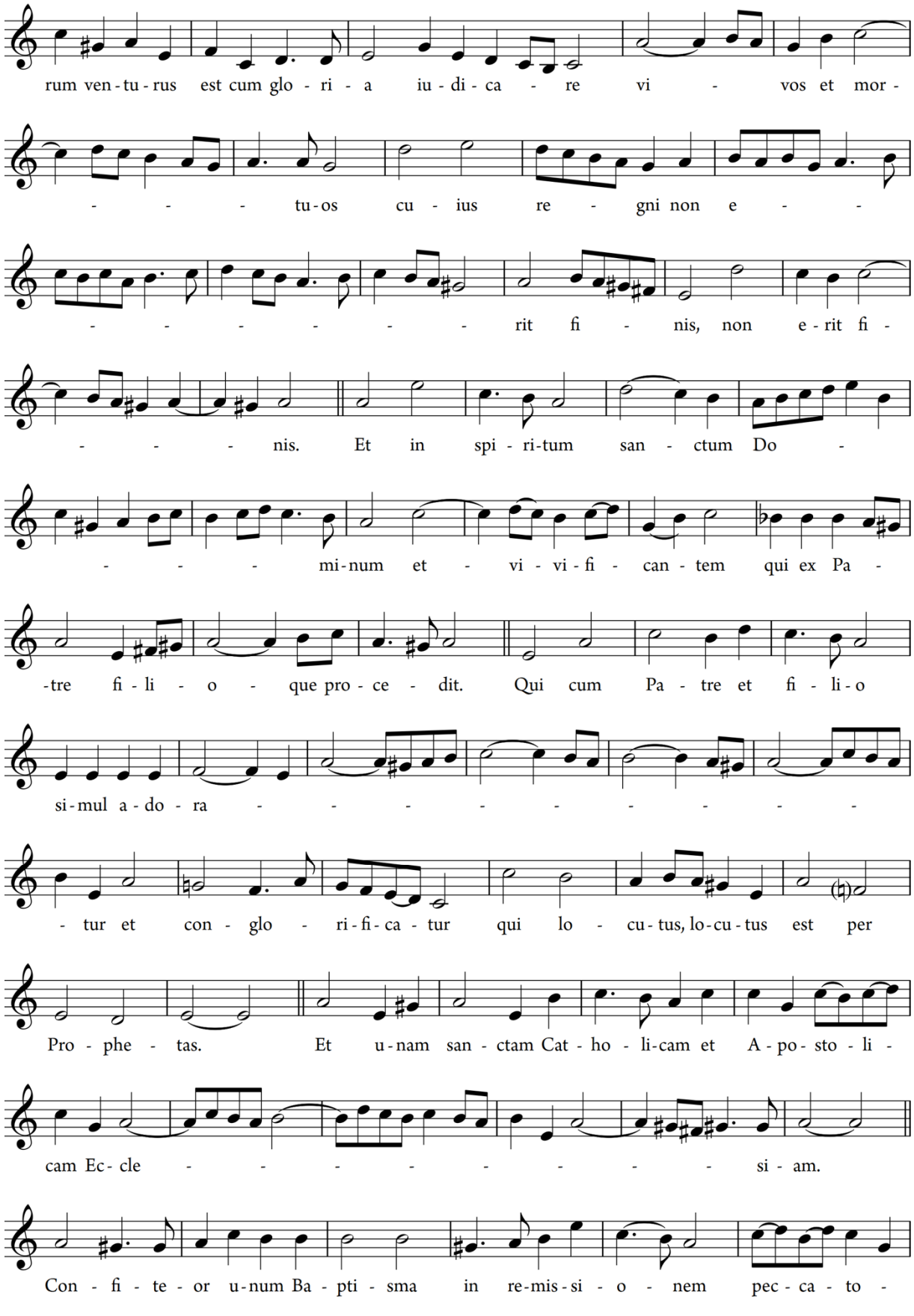

Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae

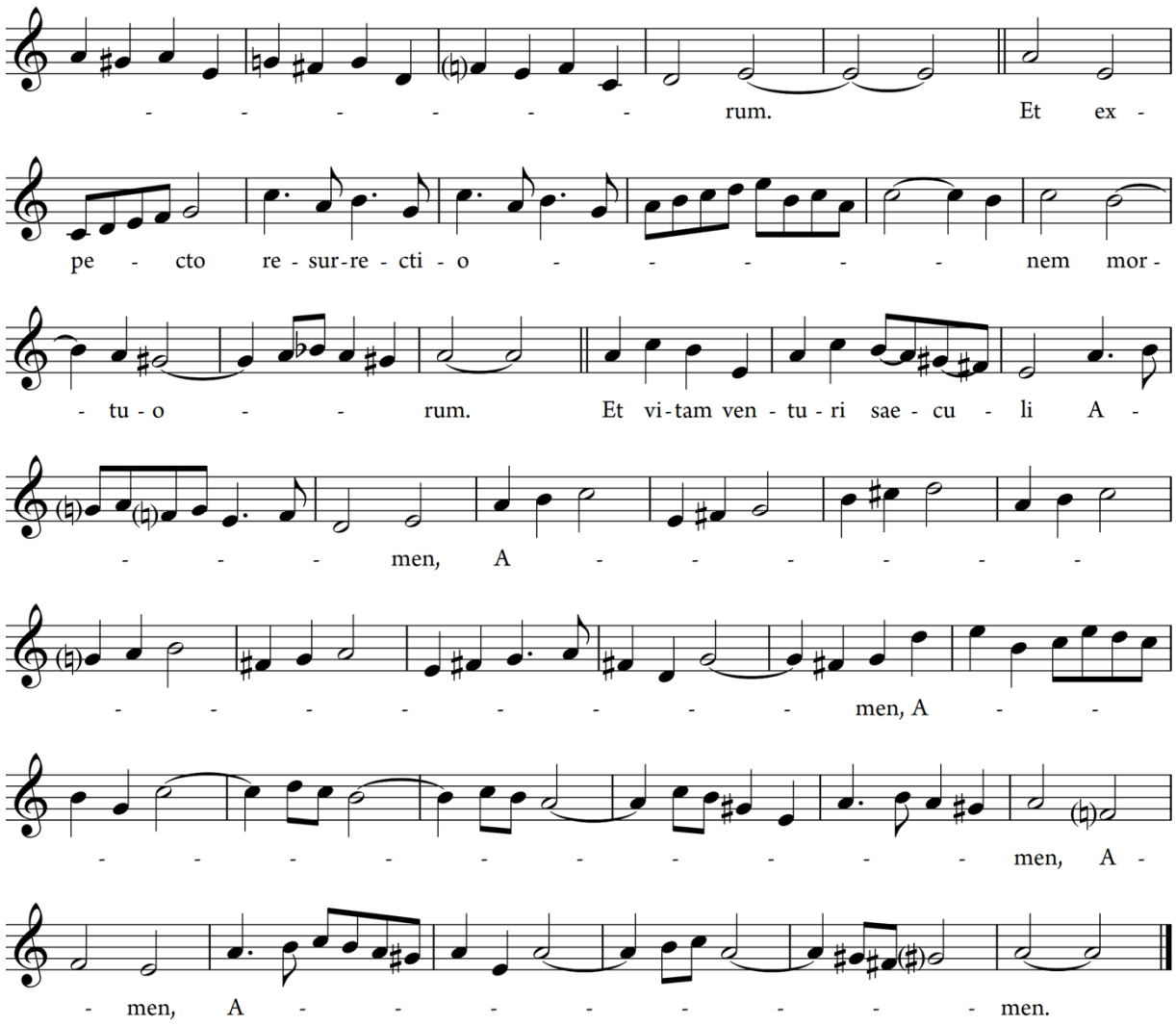
APPENDIX 3

Koper, the Srečko Vilhar Central Library (SI-Ko), Ms. 15: *Credo Justinopolitano*, 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-


rum ven-tu-rus est cum glo - ri - a iu - di - ca - re vi - vos et mor -
- - - tu-os cu - ius re - gni non e - -
- - - - - - - rit fi - nis, non e-rit fi -
- - - nis. Et in spi - ri-tum san - ctum Do -
- - - mi-num et - vi - vi - fi - can - tem qui ex Pa -
-tre fi - li - o - que pro - ce - dit. Qui cum Pa - tre et fi - li - o
si-mul a - do - ra - - - - - - - - - -
- tur et con - glo - ri-fi-ca - tur qui lo - cu-tus, lo-cu-tus est per
Pro - phe - tas. Et u-nam san - ctam Cat - ho - li-cam et A - po - sto - li -
cam Ec - cle - - - - - - - - si - am.
Con - fi - te - or u-num Ba - pti - sma in re-mis-si - o - nem pec - ca - to -


- - - - - - - 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.