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THE END OF THE ARS NOVA IN ITALY

The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories

Edited by
ANTONIO CALVIA, STEFANO CAMPAGNOLO, ANDREAS JANKE,
MARIA SOFIA LANNUTTI and JOHN NÁDAS



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Preface

In 2016 the San Lorenzo Palimpsest (Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 [SL]), one of the latest Trecento polyphonic music collections, was presented to the academic community under a new light, literally and figuratively. The multispectral images of the Palimpsest and the introductory study published by John Nádas and Andreas Janke¹ constitute a precious opportunity for scholars to embark upon new avenues of research. The images are, in fact, the starting point for half the essays in this volume, as our authors study them as a means to better our understanding of the polyphony composed mainly in Italy – and also in France – during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the era known as the *Ars Nova*.

The idea of giving full recognition to this important scientific breakthrough was born within the framework of the project *Polifonia Italiana Trecentesca (PIT)*, promoted by the Fondazione Ezio Franceschini and the Dipartimento di Musicologia e Beni Culturali of Cremona (University of Pavia). This idea initially took shape via the international conference “The Nature of the End of the *Ars Nova* in Early Quattrocento Italy. Research Surrounding the San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories” (X Seminario Internazionale di Musicologia Medievale “Clemente Terni”), organized by Antonio Calvia, Stefano Campagnolo, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti, and John Nádas, and held at the Fondazione Ezio Franceschini in Florence and the Centro Studi sull’*Ars Nova* Italiana in Certaldo, December 14–16, 2017. It was then relaunched in the context of the wider project *European Ars Nova: Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages (ArsNova)* funded by the European Research Council, within one of the project’s three lines of

1. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211*, Vol. 1: *Introductory Study*; Vol. 2: *Multispectral Images*, *Ars Nova*, n.s. 4 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016).

research, that dedicated to the multilingualism of Ars Nova anthologies at the end of the Great Schism.²

The San Lorenzo Palimpsest (SL) provides an exceptional picture of the repertory known in Florence during the second decade of the fifteenth century. The works transmitted in this collection range from the oldest repertory, datable to before the beginning of the Schism (represented by Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna, and most probably Donato da Firenze), to compositions by authors active well after 1378 (Francesco Landini, Bartolino da Padova, Antonio Zacara da Teramo, and Hubertus de Salinis), some of whom were witnesses to attempts to end the Schism at the church councils of Pisa and Constance in 1409 and 1414-1417 (Paolo da Firenze, Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli, and Ugolino da Orvieto).

The repertory included in SL strongly favors works in Italian (one hundred and twenty-six pieces), while also including a collection of works known via “international” diffusion. Both the French-texted repertory (eighty compositions) and the Latin motets (ten) are, however, transmitted mostly without attribution. An exception is made for Hubertus de Salinis, the only non-Italian composer for whom authorship of at least some of his works entered in SL include composer attributions.³ It is not surprising that Hubertus, like other non-native composers or composers whose activity in Florence is not recorded, was known to SL’s compiler; after all, his connections with an international figure such as Pietro Filargo (Alexander V) are well-documented.

With the term “the end of the Ars Nova” we wish to evoke a discontinuity in the manuscript tradition that coincides with the years of the resolution of the Schism. After that time, the Italian composers who constitute the bulk of the “canon” of fourteenth-century music preserved in the most studied anthological collections (in addition to SL these are Fp, Pit, Sq, R) suddenly largely disappear from the cultural horizon represented in the known collections copied only a few decades later, such as Q15 and Ox213.⁴ For example, although the beginning of Q15’s compilation was not much later than that of SL, the collections have in common only two composers (Hubertus de Salinis and Antonio Zacara da Teramo) and three compositions (three motets by Hubertus).

2. Maria Sofia Lannutti, “Combining Romance Philology and Musicology through a New Interdisciplinary Approach: The ERC Advanced Grant Project ArsNova”, *Medioevo romanzo* 44 (2020): 145-71, esp. 162.

3. See on this topic the chapter by Margaret Bent in this volume.

4. Fp: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26; Ox213: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213; Pit: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; Q15: Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.15; R: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 (“Codex Reina”); Sq: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 (“Squarcialupi Codex”).

The focus on the end of the *Ars Nova*, then, does not follow a particular narrative but looks at a time of great movement on the part of musicians and their repertoires throughout the continent; both in the context of shared musical stylistic transitions and marked by important events, the most significant of which are without a doubt the Councils of Pisa and Constance. Underscored in Italy, especially the Veneto, Rome, and Florence, is the powerful co-existence of a preservation of traditional and innovative repertoires. We have here aimed not at an individual examination of SL, but rather at placing its contents in the larger *Ars Nova* context. This also means that the focus of this publication is not limited to the city of Florence, but includes other culturally prominent areas of Italy such as Lombardy and Naples.

The point of departure of most of the essays has been the aforementioned conference “The Nature of the End of the *Ars Nova* in Early Quattrocento Italy”. Many papers have been largely reformulated in light of ongoing research (for example the chapters by Calvia and Checchi and Epifani within the ERC *ArsNova* project). A completely new contribution was provided by John Nádas.

The city of Florence has been relatively prominent in the historiography of Trecento music, which no doubt is to be explained by its rich manuscript sources. The first two essays in this volume demonstrate that it is nevertheless possible to recognize new facets and to make significant discoveries. Elena Abramov-van Rijk focuses her attention on the soundscape of Florence as seen in contemporary, music-related poetry by Franco Sacchetti. John Nádas, on the other hand, presents newly found documents that considerably expand our knowledge of Paolo da Firenze’s biography, contextualizing him as a Benedictine monk at the Badia Fiorentina, an important center of Florentine manuscript production, and also details his close association with cultural-historical forces that led to the Council of Pisa.

The multispectral images of SL and the accompanying introductory study were primarily intended to serve “as a preparatory step toward further research and study” of that manuscript and its contents.⁵ Half the contributions in this volume follow on from exactly this premise, with three authors focusing on topics that can only be investigated on the basis of this source: Margaret Bent examines the only known motet gathering that is part of a Trecento manuscript and explores, among other things, reasons that could explain the compiler’s selection of these motets; she also discusses the special role of Hubertus de Salinis in SL. Mikhail Lopatin demonstrates the possibilities of an analytical approach – applied to two settings by Giovanni Mazzuoli

5. Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, IX.

and his son Piero – that brings together the concepts of *metapoesis* and *equivocus*. In addition to the music of the Mazzuoli organists, SL contains many other *unica*, even a previously unknown ballata by Francesco Landini, transcribed and contextualized here for the first time by Antonio Calvia.

Working with SL challenges scholars to cope with its missing folios and no-longer-recoverable lacunae. Andreas Janke focuses on the incomplete composer section in this manuscript devoted to the music of Donato da Firenze. In addition to new insights on the transmission of works by this elusive composer, Janke offers a hypothesis as to how the originally complete section may have been structured. Michael Cuthbert takes the special character of SL into account by explaining how computational interval searching must be adapted if it is to be applied to palimpsested music. His particular focus is on hitherto unidentified settings, consisting mostly of the French *formes fixes*.

Our understanding of the rich musical life on the Italian peninsula in the first decades of the fifteenth century cannot possibly be limited to the city of Florence. Three of the contributors broaden our view beyond Tuscany to other significant music centers. Davide Checchi and Michele Epifani provide a special focus on *virelais* that are transmitted in the North-Italian “Reina” codex (R) as part of the French repertory regularly found in Italian music collections. They present case studies with in-depth analyses of both the music and poetry of two “realistic *virelais*”. Despite a difficult and fragmentary source situation, Anne Stone offers fresh insights into music and musical patronage in Lombardy at the beginning of the fifteenth century and suggests a new context for Matteo da Perugia’s ballade *Pres du soleil*. Turning our attention to the south, Gianluca D’Agostino seeks to trace *Ars Nova* practices in Naples despite the lack of polyphonic sources. In this process he takes into account and interconnects different sources, such as manuscript illuminations and poetry.

The present volume exemplifies ways in which the field of *Ars Nova* studies can benefit from a pluralistic approach involving musicology, literature, analysis, philology, and iconography, and how much more there is yet to discover and better understand. We would like to thank all the authors for their involvement in this undertaking and for making their valuable contributions available. We would also like to thank Letitia Glozer for her careful and skilled copy editing and Lorenzo Giustozzi for the scrupulous indexing of the book.

Florence, Hamburg, and Venice, March 2020

A. Calvia, S. Campagnolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

Apt	Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16bis
As	Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, Fondo antico presso la Biblioteca e Centro di Documentazione Francescana del Sacro Convento, cod. 187
Ash569	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569
Ash574	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574
Ash999	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 999
Ba	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1571
Bamberg	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115
Barc2	Barcelona, Biblioteca i Arxiu de l'Orfeó Català, 2
BarcA	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (<i>olim</i> Biblioteca Central de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona), 853
BarcC	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (<i>olim</i> Biblioteca Central de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona), 971
Basel71	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F.IX.71 (fragment)
BaselUb	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, N.I.6 Nr 72
Be	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, L.III.22
Bern	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. A 471 (flyleaves of A 421)
Bern827	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 827 (fragment)
Bo596	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 596, busta HH2.1
Br5170	Bruxelles, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Fonds Sint-Goedele 5170
Br19606	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 19606
BrG ₁	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, St. Gudule fragment 1
Brno	Brno, Archiv města Brna, Fond V 2, Svatojakubská knihovna, 94/106
BU2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (<i>olim</i> S. Salvatore 727)
Ca1328	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale (<i>olim</i> Mediathèque Municipale), B 1328

CaB ₂	Ca1328 [ff. 8-15]
CaB ₃	Ca1328 [f. 16]
Ch	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564
Chigi79	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.IV.79
Chigi131	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131
Chigi142	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.VII.142
Chigi300	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.300
Cil	Perugia, Private Collection of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana, fragment s.n.
Cop17a	København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fragm. 17a, inv. 2400-2409
Darmstadt521	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 521
Darmstadt3471	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 3471
Douai1171	Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 1171
Durham	Durham, Chapter Library, C I 20
Egidi	Montefiore dell'Aso, Biblioteca-Archivio di Francesco Egidi, s.n. (lost)
F.5.5	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunabolo F.5.5
Fa	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117
Fauvel	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146
Florence	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
Fountains	London, British Library, Add. 40011 B (fragments)
Fp	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26
Gent3360	Gent, Rijksarchief, Varia D.3360
Gr	Grottaferrata, Bibl. del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 219 (<i>olim</i> 374; <i>olim</i> E.β.XVI)
Gr224	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224 (<i>olim</i> Collocazione provvisoria 197)
Houghton	Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 122 (cover)
Huelgas	Las Huelgas (Burgos), Monasterio de Santa María la Real, IX ("Codex Las Huelgas")
Iv	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115
Leclercq	Mons, Private Collection of Fernand Leclercq, s.n.

Leiden342A	Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment L.T.K. 342A
Leiden2515	Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment B.P.L. 2515
Leipzig223a	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. Lat. 223a
Lo	London, British Library, Add. 29987
LoTNA	London, The National Archives, E.163/ 22/ 1/ 24
Lw	Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MLo96.P36 (fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky)
MachA	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1584
MachB	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1585
MachC	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1586
MachE	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9221
MachG	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22546
MachVg	Kansas City, Private Collection of James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell ("Ferrell-Vogüé")
Magl1040	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1040
Magl1041	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1041
Magl1078	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1078
Man	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 ("Lucca Codex", "Mancini Codex")
ModA	Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24
Montpellier	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196
MuEm	München, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274 ("St. Emmeram Codex")
Ox56	Oxford, All Souls College, 56
Ox213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213
Ox229 (PadA)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. patr. lat. 229
Pad553	Padova, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni soppresse, Santa Giustina 553
PadA (684)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684
PadA (1475)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1475
PadB (1115)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1115
PadC (658)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 658
PadD (1106)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1106
Pal204	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204
Paris554	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 554

Paris2444	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.lat. 2444
Paris11411	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11411
Paris22069	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 22069
Parma75	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 (<i>olim</i> Armadio B, Busta 75, fasc. 2)
Patetta352	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352
Perugia	Perugia, Biblioteca Sala del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi, Inc. 2 (<i>olim</i> Cas. 3, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.)
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568
Plut37	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 90 inf. 37
Pra	Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky (<i>olim</i> Národní a Univerzitní knihovna), XI.E.9 (2056)
Pz	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917
Q1	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.1
Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15
R	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina")
Redi184	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 184
Ricci118	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118
Rs	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 215; Ostiglia (Mantova), Fondazione Opera Pia don Giuseppe Greggiati, mus. rari B 35
SL	Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 ("San Lorenzo Palimpsest")
Sq	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 ("Squarcialupi Codex")
Strasbourg	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque de la Ville), 222 C.22 (destroyed)
Stresa14	Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte (<i>olim</i> Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario), 14
T.III.2	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2
Tarragona1	Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 1
Tarragona2	Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 2
Trém	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 23190
Trent60	Trento, Biblioteca di S. Bernardino, Inc. 60

Trent90	Trento, Biblioteca del Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (<i>olim</i> Museo Provinciale d'Arte), 1377 ("Tr 90")
Treviso43	Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 43
Triv193	Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 193
Triv1390	Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1390 ("Stemmario Trivulziano")
Troyes	Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque Municipale), Fonds ancien 1397
Utrecht37.1	Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 6 E 37 (Hs. 1846), part 1
Vat3213	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3213
Venice	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 145 (7554)
Vienna922	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fragment 922
Vienna3917	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3917
Vienna5094	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5094
Washington	Washington, Library of Congress, M2.I.C6a.14 Case
Westminster	London, Westminster Abbey, 33327
WoA	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2777 ("Wolkenstein Liederhandschrift A")
WoB	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, s. n. ("Wolkenstein Liederhandschrift B")
Würz	Würzburg, Franziskanerkloster, I 10

THE END OF THE ARS NOVA IN ITALY

THE SAN LORENZO PALIMPSEST AND RELATED REPERTORIES

Elena Abramov-van Rijk

A MUSICAL SONNET BY FRANCO SACCHETTI
AND THE SOUNDSCAPE OF FLORENCE

The prolific Florentine poet Franco Sacchetti (ca. 1334-1400), whose refined madrigals, ballatas, and caccias were in great demand among contemporary musicians, is strongly represented in the majority of Trecento musical manuscripts. The recent revolutionary study of the palimpsest codex Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL) by Andreas Janke and John Nádas gives us a good opportunity to speak about Sacchetti: this manuscript transmits, as an *unicum*, the ballata *Splendor da ciel*, set to music at a later date by the Florentine composer Giovanni Mazzuoli, or Jovannes Horganista de Florentia. As Andreas Janke notes, this ballata does not bear, in Sacchetti's autograph, the usual caption of having been intoned by this or that composer.¹

The interest of musicologists in Sacchetti's poetic legacy is stimulated not only by the setting of his verses to music but, also, by the fact that various contemporary musical practices are reflected in his poems. Some poems disclose the poet's custom of asking composers or singers for musical settings of his poetic texts, as, for example, Sacchetti's sonnets of correspondence with Francesco Landini and Ottolino da Brescia (the music of the latter does not survive) or his madrigal *Ben che io senta*, in which the poet complains about his colleagues who want to furnish their verses with musical dress. Janke proposes that the poems marked with the caption "per altrui" (for someone) could have been written in response to commissions, and points out that some of

1. Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest* (ASL 2211), *Musica Mensurabilis*, 7 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016), 79. Janke indicates two instances of the absence of such an inscription in Sacchetti's *Libro delle rime*: in addition to *Splendor da ciel*, the ballata *Altri n'avrà la pena*, set to music by Landini, also is not referred to as having been intoned.

them were set to music as well.² Moreover, Sacchetti's poetic repertoire directs us to an argument that is becoming increasingly prominent in modern historical research: that of the so-called "soundscape", the term used to describe an amalgam of sounds specific to an ambience or an event.³

In painting, the minuscule details of the landscape, framing the main scene of the picture (be it military, biblical, or of another kind), are helpful in expressing the ambience; it is left to our imagination to provide the scene with sonic substance. Given the impossibility of recorded sound until the modern epoch, this lacuna was partially filled with meticulous descriptions of various acoustical aspects in the contemporary literature.

In this regard, the recent study by Niall Atkinson on the soundscape of Florence is very important.⁴ Atkinson explores acoustical aspects of late medieval Florence's urban space, based on architectural blueprints, drawings, plans, and maps both ancient and modern, as well as various other wide-ranging documents (from administrative records to chronicles and other literary sources). These sources are, for example, at the foundation of his fascinating attempt to reconstruct the order in which the four main Florentine bells sounded, creating a diverse acoustic outcome in different sides of the city.⁵ Equally fascinating is the meticulous analysis of the acoustic situation reflected in the poem *I' ho vedute già di molte piazze* by Antonio Pucci, about the characteristics of the Old Market (*Mercato Vecchio*) in Florence.⁶ Selections from Sacchetti's *Trecentonovelle* are among the main sources used in Atkinson's research. The same, however, cannot be said about Sacchetti's poetic compositions, which escaped Atkinson's attention, but which provide considerable information about acoustical experiences in the Florence of his time.

Additionally, there is one more category, relevant for discussions of Sacchetti's poetry and of the San Lorenzo Palimpsest: the soundscape of the musico-poetic genre of the caccia. In this regard, Sacchetti is relevant as well, as he is the author of three caccias, two of which were set to music by Niccolò del Preposto (*Passando con pensier per un boschetto* and *State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?*).⁷ Niccolò's compositions are completely absent from SL, but this is per-

2. Janke, "Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli", 145-9.

3. There is a large bibliography on this topic. To cite only the most recent: Emma Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France 1260-1330*, New Cultural History of Music 7 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) and *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Tess Knighton and Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

4. Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

5. Ibid., 114.

6. Ibid., 26-38.

7. For more on these caccias see Niccolò del Preposto, *Opera completa. Edizione critica commentata*

haps because of the loss of an entire gathering with his works, and because the gathering which contains specifically *caccias* is difficult to read. The very existence of the separate gathering containing *caccias* – of which only five are identifiable – emphasizes the importance of this genre to SL's compilers.

The chief characteristic of the *caccia*'s poetic texts is the imitation of various sounds typical of a specific event, first and foremost of hunting (the proper meaning of the term *caccia*): sounds of horns, hunters' shouts, dogs barking, etc. These sounds function as acoustic registrations. For example, the narrative description of the happenings at the Florentine old market in the above-mentioned poem by Antonio Pucci can be nicely combined with the direct discourse in the *caccia* *Cacciando per gustar di quel tesoro* by Antonio Zacara da Teramo. As Giuseppe Corsi notes, "the *caccia* vividly depicts a market scene [...]: the voices of sellers and buyers rise up in their typical jargon".⁸

Pucci

Quando le frutte rappariscon fresche,
vengon le foresette con panieri
di fichi, d'uve, di pere e di pesche.
(vv. 67-69)

(When the fresh fruits appear,
The girls come with baskets
Of figs, grapes, pears and peaches).

Di quaresima poi agli e cipolle
E pastinache son vi e non più carne...
(vv. 142-143)⁹

(Of the Lent then there are garlic, and
onions,
And parsnips, but no more meat...)

Zacara

Et chi le vòl le buone ficora?
Et chi le vòl le bone pèrseca?
(vv. 41-42)

(Who wishes good figs?
Who wishes good peaches?)

– A l'agli, a l'agli!
Chi le vòl le bon' cepolle?
(vv. 63-64)¹⁰

(Garlic, garlic!
Who wishes good onions?)

dei testi intonati e delle musiche, La Tradizione Musicale, 18; Studi e testi, 10, ed. Antonio Calvia (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017).

8. Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970), 314. For a new edition see Davide Checchi and Michele Epifani, "Filologia e interpretazione. Un esercizio interdisciplinare su una *chace* e due cacce trecentesche", *Philomusica on-line* 14 (2015): 7-75. It is important to note that Zacara's *caccia* more likely refers to a Roman market scene, not one in Florence.

9. See Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Rimatori del Trecento* (Turin: UTET, 1969), 876.

10. The text is quoted from Checchi and Epifani, "Filologia e interpretazione", 74-5. See also Corsi, *Poesie musicali del Trecento*, 312-3.

Two of Sacchetti's *caccias* set to music by Niccolò del Preposto imitate female voices: in *Passando con pensier*,¹¹ a pleasant day on the grassy meadow full of flowers ends with the unexpected attack of a serpent and, in *State su, donne!*,¹² a group of women prefer staying at the river to their usual work of spinning. The only *caccia* by Sacchetti without a musical setting, *A prender la battaglia giuso al piano* (92),¹³ unlike all other known *caccias*, is not a dialogue, but presents the direct speech of a military leader who commands his troops: "Ardita gente tosto all'arme all'arme!" (Courageous people, promptly to arms, to arms!, v. 2). The first people sent to the attack are, as always, musicians: "Giù, trombe e trombettini, / sveglioni e naccherini, / vèr li nemici, corni e tamburelli!" (Go down [from the upper fortress] you big and small trumpets, bugles and nakers! Put down the enemy, you horns and drums!, vv. 4-6).

With this preliminary information in mind, let us now turn to a sonnet by Sacchetti from his *Libro delle rime*, which has so far gone unnoticed by historians of music, but which provides us with invaluable information regarding the soundscape of Florence and other specifically musical data. The sonnet *Se, come intendo, la campana grossa* (90) is the first of two addressed to a certain Ser Domenico di Ser Guido Pucci, a personage who also appears in the *Trecentonovelle*.

As is known, Sacchetti's collection of poetry is organized, generally speaking, in chronological order.¹⁴ This feature permits us to position, with varying degrees of certainty, the poet's stylistic preferences on a timescale. The location in Sacchetti's autograph of the sonnets for Ser Domenico allows us to date them as written by the year 1363.

The sonnet of interest to us was written, in all probability, as a response to a sonnet by Ser Domenico, unfortunately lost:

Se, come intendo, la campana grossa
v'intruona l'ore, e' mugghi de' leoni,
e de' colati i dolenti sermoni,
e 'l batter medicine con gran possa,

11. Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle Rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1990), 121-2. For the new edition see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa*, 32-8.

12. Sacchetti, *Il libro delle Rime*, 192-3 and Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa*, 105-12.

13. Sacchetti, *Il libro delle Rime*, 112-3.

14. Regarding Sacchetti's arrangement of his verses in the autograph codex Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 (Ash574) there is general consensus that it is "grosso modo [...] cronologico", according to Franca Brambilla Ageno, "Per una nuova edizione delle rime del Sacchetti", *Studi di Filologia italiana* 11 (1953): 257-320, esp. 257. Antonio Calvia provides a good discussion of chronology in Sacchetti's autograph in Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa*, XXXIX-XLIV.

ben dovrie esser vostra mente scossa
 d'ogni diletto per sì fatti soni:
 fosson liuti o mezzi cannoni,
 di pene non avreste tal percossa.

E così quasi io son giunto, lasso,
 udendo sempre con urli mortali:
 – Sei, – Cinque, – Quattro –, Tre –, e – Due –, ed – Asso –.

Chi ci cantasse suoni o madriali,
 d'amor dolci ballate o alto o basso,
 inteso c'è com'uom tra gli animali!

Cotal conforto abbiamo a' nostri mali.¹⁵

The poem can be translated as follows:¹⁶ “If, as far as I understand, the big bell stridently sounds the hours to you, and you are disturbed by the roaring of the lions, with the mournful laments of the jailed people and with the noise made by someone who prepares medicines, hitting and rubbing them in the mortar with enormous vigor, [I agree] that your mind is certainly deprived of any pleasure because of such sounds. Had the sounds been those of lutes or of small psalteries, you would not have had so much suffering. I, too, have found myself in a similar situation, alas!, when I constantly hear the deafening shouts of card players: ‘Six, five, four, three, two, and ace!’ Whoever is able to sing with low or high voice, *soni*, madrigals or sweet love ballatas, is taken here as a human among animals. This is the consolation that we have for our sorrows!”

Analysis of the text enables us to position the sounds that disturbed our Ser Domenico on the map of Florence.

The big bell is that of the Palazzo Vecchio, which sounds the hours very loudly, “intruona”. As Atkinson notes, in addition to the big bell, “la campana grossa” or *campana magna*, also called il Leone (the Lion), there were other bells in different periods such as, for example, the *campana del popolo* which, in 1337, was replaced with a bell taken from the Castello di Verino.¹⁷ Another new sonic color was added to the acoustical palette of Florence with the installation of the mechanical clock on the Palazzo Vecchio’s tower, which

15. See Sacchetti, *Il libro delle Rime*, 111.

16. I thank Aldo Menichetti for his paraphrase of this madrigal.

17. Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance*, 107-12.

began marking time on 25 March 1353.¹⁸ Thus, Sacchetti described in his sonnet the tolling produced by the *campana magna* and the mechanical clock.

The lions' roars undoubtedly refer to the enclosure of lions that the Florentine Commune kept next to the Palazzo Vecchio for several centuries. The lion as a symbol of Florence is present in various sites of the city, such as the famous Marzocco by Donatello, originally installed at Santa Maria Novella and later moved to the Piazza della Signoria. It is known that, from 1350, the lions' enclosure was situated on the back side of the Palazzo Vecchio, hence the name of the modern Via dei Leoni.

The “dolenti sermoni dei colati” (mournful moans of the jailed) – *sermoni* here are long, monotonic discourses – are the laments of the prisoners who were bound with a rope, that is, “colati”. This detail turns us in the direction of two ancient Florentine prisons, the Carceri delle Stinche and the Carceri delle Burella, both located to the east of the Palazzo Vecchio (near, respectively, the modern Teatro Verdi and in the Via delle Burella).

It was in these surroundings that our Ser Domenico lived, disturbed by unbearable sounds, to which those of a nearby pharmacy must be added (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. The presumed area of Ser Domenico's Florentine residence (Google maps)

For his part, Sacchetti complains about the likewise insufferable shouts (*urli mortali*) of the card players. Sacchetti's whereabouts are not as clear, but

18. “Niccolao Bernardi popoli Sancti Fridiani cittadino fiorentino per costruzione dell’orologio da adattare sopra la torre del palazzo del popolo fiorentino per pulsare le ore di Dio [...]” (November 20, 1353); Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Provvisioni 40, 175r-175v. See Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance*, 242.

it seems that he stayed in a location outside of Florence. It is known from Sacchetti's letter to Astorre Manfredi,¹⁹ of April 15, 1397, that in 1363 he started his public service on behalf of the Florentine Commune, and his first appointment was as rector at the Commune of Monte Voltraio, near Volterra.²⁰ Thus, this sonnet could well have been written in Monte Voltraio where, according to Sacchetti, the ferocious screams of the local card players were the predominant acoustical experience.

The dramatic structure of the sonnet *Se, come intendo* is built on comparison and contrast, so the juxtaposition between pleasant and unpleasant sounds is of great interest. The sounds pleasant to Ser Domenico's ear are those of lutes and small psalteries (*mezzi cannoni*), whereas those pleasant to Sacchetti are the sounds of singing "suoni o madriali, / d'amor dolci ballate" (*soni*, or madrigals, sweet ballatas on love). Yet all these sounds are of a purely musical nature, produced by playing instruments or by singing the most typical Trecento musical genres.

The information extracted from poetic texts is often difficult to interpret. This task is made even more challenging when it comes to poems of correspondence, in which veiled hints and piecemeal phrases must be understood by the addressee.²¹ Thus, what follows is only an attempt to determine Sacchetti's intentions.

Sacchetti appeals to the musical experience of Ser Domenico Pucci, while reminding Pucci of his own experience in music. This feature separates the two friends from the rest of the populace, who are far less sensitive to the ambient sounds. However, from Sacchetti's words it is not clear whether Ser Domenico himself played lute or psaltery, or if he was merely an expert and devoted listener. Though we know nothing about this person, we can infer some information about his *métier* from novella 145 of the *Trecentonovelle*, titled *Facendosi cavaliere messer Lando da Gobbio in Firenze per essere Podestà, messer Dolcibene schernisce la sua miseria; e poi nella sua corte essendo mossa questione a messer Dolcibene, con nuova astuzia e con le peta vince la questione* (When messer Lando da Gobbio becomes a knight in order to gain the position of *podestà* in Florence, messer Dolcibene mocks his misery; after that when Dolcibene is tried in court

19. Astorre Manfredi (1345-1405) was a military man who, after 1395, served as captain general in the service of Niccolò III d'Este.

20. See Michelangelo Zaccarello, s.v. "Franco Sacchetti", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 89 (2017), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/franco-sacchetti_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/, accessed May 21, 2018.

21. See more in Claudio Giunta, *Due saggi sulla tenzone* (Rome: Antenore, 2002), and Id., *Versi a un destinatario* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002).

under Lando's judgement, with an extravagant cunning and with flatulence he wins the case).²²

The very title of this story prepares us for a frivolous atmosphere, especially when the protagonist of the novella is none other than the famous Florentine buffoon Dolcibene de' Tori, crowned king of buffoons in 1355 by Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV. The story recounts a judicial case in which Dolcibene appears as defendant. In order to win the case, Dolcibene calls for help on "uno procuratore molto suo domestico e piacevole uomo" (an attorney very close to him and a pleasant man), namely Ser Domenico.²³ Ser Domenico's behavior, however, is far from that of a decent representative of the law, as he is constantly spicing his legal arguments with disgusting noises and smells, recalling the similar buffoonery performed by his friend Dolcibene in novellas 10 and 24.²⁴

Nevertheless, Sacchetti defines Ser Domenico as a "piacevole uomo" (pleasant man), an expression he used at least in two other instances to characterize one "dicitore in rima" (a reciter of poetry) and one buffoon. The first was the blind Pescione de' Cerchi, mentioned in the letter Sacchetti sent to Jacopo di Conte da Perugia in 1396: "E' mi ricorda ne' miei tempi, che essendo a uno mio luogo presso a Firenze era in mia compagnia uno piacevole uomo e dicitore in rima, chiamato Pescione, il quale non vedea lume". (I remember that many years ago when I was in a place near Florence, there was in my circle a pleasant man and reciter of rhymes, called Pescione, who was blind).²⁵ The second personage was a true buffoon and musician: "uno uomo di corte, chiamato maestro Piero Guercio da Imola, piacevole buffone e sonatore di stormenti" (a courtier, called Maestro Piero Guercio da Imola, a pleasant buffoon and an instrument player), the hero of novella 9 of the *Trecentonovelle*.²⁶

It is interesting that the later Florentine writer Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, in his *Paradiso degli Alberti*, describes Dolcibene as "bello di corpo, robusto e gagliardo e convenevole musico e ottimo sonatore d'organetti, di

22. Franco Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. Valerio Marucci (Rome: Salerno, 1996), 449-53.

23. "[...] [M]esser Dolcibene andò a uno procuratore molto suo domestico e piacevole uomo, che avea nome ser Domenico di ser Guido Pucci [...]".

24. Both novellas record Dolcibene's indecent escapades during his pilgrimage in the Holy Land.

25. Published in *Novelle di Sacchetti* (Florence, 1724), Vol. 2, 225-30, at 228. Pescione appears in novella 170 of the *Trecentonovelle* (568-70), and also in the *Libro delle rime* (sonnets 66a, *Qual fôra più a grato a te, Pescione*, and 66b, *Non credess'io veder Salamone*, 83-4). Sacchetti wrote on a sonnet on Pescione's behalf as a response to a sonnet written by another person, *messer Simone Peruzzi*, suggesting that Pescione himself was not gifted enough to compose verses. Sacchetti also mentions Pescione in the frottola *Chi drieto va* (65).

26. Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, 29.

leuto e d'altri stromenti" (blessed with an attractive appearance, robust and gallant, a gifted musician and an outstanding performer on organ, lute, and other instruments). This "piacevole messer Dolcibene in guadagno e sollazzo vivea" (pleasant *messer* Dolcibene lived in prosperity and delight).²⁷

All this enables us to assume that Ser Domenico, being "molto domestico" (very close) to Dolcibene, namely "having a close relationship based on friendship, knowledge, or familiarity",²⁸ could well have played musical instruments, composed and sung verses, and had other abilities typical of the Italian buffoon. And let not his title of a jurist disturb us:²⁹ in this period the profession of buffoon was well paid and in no way despised.³⁰

While expressing solidarity with Ser Domenico for his acoustical suffering, Sacchetti presents himself as a practicing musician, namely, the one who is able to sing madrigals, ballatas and *soni* (apparently the monostrophic ballatas). This ability represents a dramatic distinction from the local unpolished people: "inteso c'è com'uom tra gli animali!" ([he] is seen here as a human among animals). The expression "o alto o basso" (high or low voice) is somewhat ambivalent, as it may signify either rank or high volume. In my opinion, however, the poet meant the two voices of a polyphonic composition, the superius (or cantus) and the tenor, especially if we take into account that Sacchetti himself had set to music two of his own ballatas, *Innamorato pruno* (151) and *Mai non serò contento immaginando* (134), as he noted in his autograph. Unfortunately, their music is lost. Apparently, Sacchetti refers to Ser Domenico's similar musical abilities. To this one may add that the lute and the psaltery (here Sacchetti uses the Greek-Arab term

27. Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, *Il paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome: Salerno, 1975), 201-2.

28. See TLIO, s.v. *Domestico*, in TLIO (*Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini*, <http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO/>, last accessed July 2, 2019), 2: "Che ha con qualcuno rapporti di conoscenza, di confidenza, di familiarità. [Di un amico:] intimo".

29. Many jurists, beginning in the Duecento, were at the same time poets and theorists of poetry as, for example, the Paduan judge Antonio da Tempo, author of the famous treatise about Italian poetic forms and techniques, *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332). In her research, Barbara Haggh presents a list of musicians who combined musical activity with their profession as secretaries and notaries, among them some such important Italians such as Antonio Zacara da Teramo, Giovanni Mazzuoli, and Ugolino d'Orvieto (Barbara Haggh, "Composer-Secretaries and Notaries of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Did They Write?", in *Musik – Raum – Akkord – Bild: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Dorothea Baumann*, ed. Antonio Baldassarre [Bern: Peter Lang Verlag, 2011], 27-42). See also Alessandra Fiori, "Ruolo del notariato nella diffusione del repertorio poetico-musicale nel Medioevo", *Studi Musicali* 21 (1992): 211-35. However, Andreas Janke has pointed out that Giovanni was not a notary; Barbara Haggh has confused Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli ("Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto", 94n9).

30. For more on this see Giancarlo Schizzerotto, *Gonnella: il mito del buffone*, Accademia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, Saggi e Ricerche (Pisa: ETS, 2000), 1.

kanon, or *qanun*) are highly suitable instruments for singing verses with musical accompaniment.

Sacchetti's label for the local people, "animali", is neither as spontaneous nor as innocent as it may seem at first glance. It is highly likely that he is alluding to the famous Aristotelian expression, "man alone of the animals possesses speech",³¹ extending it as follows: not solely the ability to speak, but also the gift of singing madrigals and ballatas distinguish a human from an animal. Although this phrase certainly reflects Sacchetti's extremely sarcastic tone, typical of much of his writing, we must agree that, for him, one criterion required to be considered a human of a certain cultural level, lies in the exquisite practice of written music. For this reason we may add the sonnet *Se come intendo* to the catalogue of laments of Trecento musicians, such as Francesco Landini's *Musica son* and Jacopo da Bologna's *Oseletto selvaggio*, both of whom grieve over the sad state of the true musical art among the larger public.

31. *Politics*, 1253a, 9-10, in *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, Vol. 21, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1944).

ABSTRACT

The importance of Franco Sacchetti to musical life in fourteenth-century Florence cannot be overestimated. A prolific poet, he was highly sought after by musicians and his verses appear in most fourteenth-century musical manuscripts due to the numerous settings of his poetry. Many of his non-musical poems and other literary works provide invaluable insight into contemporary musical customs and tastes. Surprisingly, the sonnet *Se, come intendo, la campana grossa* (*Libro delle rime*, 90), which provides unique information about the Florentine soundscape and other specifically musical aspects, has thus far escaped the attention of music historians. The sonnet is addressed to a certain ser Domenico di ser Guido Pucci, a character who also appears in Sacchetti's *Trecentonovelle*. Some scholars identify ser Domenico as the procuratore of the novella 145 but others see in him an "unidentified character". By comparing particulars and drawing on details from different sources, I will demonstrate that ser Domenico had some of the important qualities and abilities typical of a jester. He was a player of musical instruments and a companion (and perhaps colleague) of the famous Florentine jester, Dolcibene de' Tori.

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NEW BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTATION OF PAOLO DA FIRENZE'S EARLY CAREER

Over the past three-quarters of a century, the late-medieval Italian composer Paolo da Firenze (ca. 1355-1436, also known as Don Paulus Abbas and Paolo Tenorista) and his compositions have come increasingly into view in our musical assessment of the early Quattrocento in Florence, beginning with the seminal studies of Nino Pirrotta and the first critical editions of the music of Trecento Italy.¹ With these studies and editions the composer has emerged as a prominent figure in Florentine culture, one whose long career began in the mid fourteenth century and continued well into the fifteenth – rivaling that of the famous Francesco Landini (d. 1397) – adding to the established repertory while apparently engaged in efforts to keep the glories of past literary and musical traditions alive. As new documentation of Paolo's biography emerged, joined with new source discoveries announced and studied, we came to more clearly define the totality of his *oeuvre* and know more of his whereabouts and the positions he held in ecclesiastical institutions. We can now identify an output of a total of some thirteen madrigals and over fifty ballatas, as well as two liturgical settings, and his known positions include the commendatory abbacy of San Martino al Pino, membership in the Florentine

1. Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino 'extra moenia'", *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. 3 (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1952), 577-606; Nino Pirrotta, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'ars nova", *Musica Disciplina* 10 (1956): 61-6; Francesco Termini, "The Music of Dom Paolo (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1956); Nino Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova* (Palm Springs: E. E. Gottlieb, 1961); Albert Seay, "Paolo Tenorista: A Trecento Theorist", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento I*, ed. Bianca Becherini (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, 1962), 118-40; W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 6-11 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1967-1978), Vol. 9; Bartolino da Padova, Egidius de Francia, Guilielmus de Francia, and Don Paolo da Firenze.

The End of the Ars Nova in Italy. The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories, ed. A. Calvia, S. Campagnolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2020), 13-42. (ISBN 978-88-9290-046-2 © SISMELE - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

archbishop's council, and the rectorship of the church of Santa Maria Annunziata in the Florentine hospice of Orbatello.² Past research has largely covered, and thus concentrated on, Paolo's career from the Council of Pisa, in 1409, to his death. What we knew of him prior to this period, especially in the two decades surrounding the year 1400, has remained scanty and largely shrouded in mystery.

The present contribution aims to fill the gaps in Paolo's career in the decades up to and surrounding the great church council of 1409. It can do so largely through access to documents now available at the Florence Archivio di Stato (ASF) and recent study of an illuminated liturgical manuscript at Cambridge University. I can now demonstrate that Paolo da Firenze was closely tied to the most important Benedictine institution in Florence and to its commendatory abbot, Bishop, then Cardinal, Angelo Acciaiuoli, and, as such, found himself at one of the centers of Florentine manuscript production and contemporaneously immersed in the activities of church history, in Florence, Rome, travels of the papal court in Tuscany, and events leading up to the Council of Pisa. The present study begins with the creation, at the Badia Fiorentina, of Cardinal Acciaiuoli's Missal now housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge University, continues with an outline of Paolo's career with consistent membership in that Florentine Benedictine monastery – in whose workshops the Missal was produced – and his privileged presence in the cardinal's entourage up to the eve of the Pisan council. On the basis of this evidence, it is possible to speculate further on Paolo's role in Florentine musical culture, including his probable initiatives and collaboration in the preservation and copying of the Florentine Ars Nova musical tradition as we know it in the late Trecento and early decades of the Quattrocento.

2. John Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition", in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1989), 41-64 (reprinted in *Arte Psallentes: John Nádas, Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento* [Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017]); Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence", *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 203-46. Relevant manuscripts and fragments cited in the present study include the following: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568 (Pit); Chicago, MS fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky, now Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS MLo96.P36 (Lw); Firenze, Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL); Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5 (F.5.5); Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 "Codice Squarcialupi" (Sq); Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 3065 (Man, also known as the Lucca Codex or the Mancini Codex); Perugia, MS fragment in the library of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana (Cil).

MS 30 OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

We begin with an exquisitely beautiful representative of the best of Florentine illuminated manuscripts from the early fifteenth century, one that has recently been studied for its intriguing genesis and the quality of its craftsmanship: a Missal housed for over two hundred years as MS 30 in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University and featuring 66 historiated initials filled with striking figures and narrative scenes, set against gold backgrounds and immersed in lush acanthus leaf borders with hundreds of ornamental initials in brilliant colors scattered throughout.³ The scholarly attention that has recently been paid to the Missal provided the initial stimulus for the present study. Indeed, the volume preserves on several folios the arms and portrait of its original owner, Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli, member of a prominent Florentine family, and it has been shown to have been created between 1402 and 1405 in the workshops leased at the great Benedictine monastery in Florence normally referred to as the Badia Fiorentina (see the manuscript's opening folio in Figure 1 for the cardinal's depiction in the lower left margin, and his *bas-de-page* heraldic arms).

The artists responsible for the Missal's illumination were Bartolomeo di Fruosino; Matteo di Filippo Torelli and his brother Bartolomeo di Filippo Torelli; and Bastiano di Niccolò di Monte; their work is documented in the Badia's account books, a topic to which I will return. Three of the illuminators who produced the Acciaiuoli Missal show regular occupancy in the Badia's workshops, where they rented *botteghe*, spaces annexed to the Badia's exterior walls that served primarily illuminators and *cartolai* (stationers), as well as bookbinders, all heavily engaged in manuscript production (see Figure 2 on page 17).⁴

3. Richard, VII Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (1745-1816), acquired the Missal in 1814 and donated it to the museum in 1816. The Fitzwilliam Museum's volume was identified as the Acciaiuoli Missal recorded in the Badia's accounts by Miklos Boskovits in 1972 ("Su Don Silvestro, Don Simone e la 'Scuola degli Angeli'", *Paragone* 23n265 (1972): 35-61, at 44-6), but it had received little attention until recently. Principal new studies of the Missal are: Ada Labriola, Paola Ricciardi, and Stella Panayotova in *Colour – The Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016), 142-54; Éowyn Kerr-Di Carlo's study, "Making the Cardinal's Missal: Looking Anew at the Circle of Lorenzo Monaco and the Illuminators of Fitzwilliam MS 30", in *Manuscripts in the Making: Art and Science I*, ed. Stella Panayotova and Paola Ricciardi (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2017), 87-95.

4. Anne Leader, *The Badia of Florence: Art and Observance in a Renaissance Monastery* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), chap. 4. The design of the monastery, diagramming all of its rented workshops, is on 101.



Figure 1. Cambridge University, The Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 30, f. 1r
 © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Figure 2. Giuseppe Zocchi (1711-1767) engraving after an original pen and ink drawing preparatory for inclusion in “Scelta di XXIV vedute delle principali contrade, piazze, chiese, e palazzi della città di Firenze”, Florence, 1744, Plate 18, with a view of the Florentine Badia with its street-level commercial workshops and the facing Palazzo del Podestà, today the Bargello Museum, looking north from Piazza Sant’Apollinare (today the Piazza San Firenze). Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Uffizi, Florence, Italy; Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY Image Reference: ART134655. Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited.

The unusual iconography of some of the Missal’s historiated initials and the opulent borders populated by fantastic birds derive from manuscripts produced at the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the leading Florentine scriptorium of the time. Two of the Missal’s documented artists enjoyed close links with the Camaldolese community: Bartolomeo di Fruosino collaborated with the head of the scriptorium, with Lorenzo Monaco, and by 1400 Matteo Torelli was renting a house from the Camaldolese monks; in 1407 he was described as their “friend”. On stylistic grounds, Matteo Torelli is considered the Acciaiuoli Missal’s principal artist. He was one of the few laymen regularly engaged to work with the monastic artists at Santa Maria degli Angeli. Bartolomeo di Fruosino, however, never appears as a tenant at the Badia, and during this period he rented his house and workshop from the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. He may in fact have operated independently from the other three artists, as he was only engaged in completing the Missal’s commission. As we shall see, this miniaturist will emerge later in this study as significant in our assessment of an important relevant volume produced in 1417: the Gradual/Antiphoner for Orbatello (MS Douai 1171).⁵

5. Ada Labriola, “Il Graduale-Antiphonario della chiesa di Orbatello miniato da Bartolomeo di Fruosino”, in *L’Ospedale di Orbatello: Carità e Arte a Firenze*, ed. Cristina De Benedictis and Carla Milloschi (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2015), 208-19.

Although a full exploration of this subject would take us beyond the scope of the present study, we should pause here for a moment to realize the significance of the evidence of an artistic network connecting Santa Maria degli Angeli to the *botteghe* at the Benedictine abbey of Santa Maria Assunta di Firenze (the Badia Fiorentina). While Acciaiuoli's Missal is stylistically consistent with other manuscripts produced at Santa Maria degli Angeli, Di Carlo's study suggests it was created at the Badia's workshops.⁶ In light of new findings, this Missal and perhaps many of the illuminated manuscripts currently connected with Santa Maria degli Angeli were made (or partially completed) at the Badia instead.⁷ The newly discovered archival documents, to be discussed below, place this group of illuminators – traditionally associated with Santa Maria degli Angeli – at the Badia during the first twenty-five years of the fifteenth century. And while both institutions have been well-established as centers for manuscript production, what is new is that there had been few suggestions until recently that their activities could have been inter-related.⁸ Furthermore, there is no record of an in-house scriptorium at the Badia, as it in fact was only surrounded by commercial stationers and illuminators. Records from the two monastic institutions show that the artists of the cardinal's Missal paid rents on residences and workspaces owned by both Santa Maria degli Angeli and the Badia, and this now strongly suggests a model of Florentine manuscript production not previously fully considered.

6. Di Carlo, "Making the Cardinal's Missal", 87.

7. George Bent subscribed to the idea (first put forward by Boskovits, "Su Don Silvestro") that we must temper our views of a "school" at Santa Maria degli Angeli, stating that, while the scriptorium there might have been responsible for the copying of texts, their decoration was likely subcontracted to professional secular painters and illuminators (George Bent, "The Scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli and Fourteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination: Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Don Lorenzo Monaco, and Giovanni del Biondo", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 [1992]: 507-23, esp. 516ff; George Bent, "S. Maria degli Angeli and the Arts: Patronage, Production, and Practice in a Trecento Florentine Monastery" [Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1993], 276ff; George Bent, *Monastic Art in Lorenzo Monaco's Florence: Painting and Patronage in Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1300-1415* [Lewiston, NY, 2006], 194). Di Carlo has further explored this idea, offering significant new information on where the activities of these professional painters and illuminators might have taken place. More recently, Ada Labriola ("Il Graduale-Antiphonario della chiesa di Orbatello", 216) has strongly suggested that Santa Maria degli Angeli was generally responsible for texts and music, but not always the decoration of manuscripts, depending on their commission. In this regard, a related question remains for musicologists: could the copyists of texts and musical square note notation in liturgical books of the period, for which Santa Maria degli Angeli is well known, have been capable of copying mensurally notated music in sources such as Pit and Sq?

8. See the work on the *cartolai* of the Badia in the period 1425-1450 in A. C. de la Mare, "The Shop of a Florentine 'Cartolaio' in 1426", in *Studi Offerti a Roberto Ridolfi Direttore de La Bibliofilia*, ed. Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli and Dennis E. Rhodes (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 237-48; Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *Miniatura e Miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI Secolo: Documenti per la Storia della Miniatura* (Florence: Olschki, 1962), 186-91.

The cardinal's Missal appears to have been actually produced in the Badia's commercial workshops by a group of people who were familiar with the Santa Maria degli Angeli style. It is possible that the text could have been done at Santa Maria degli Angeli, but not the decoration. The relationship between the two institutions demonstrates that we must alter the older, accepted, view of Santa Maria degli Angeli as *the* unique scriptorium where all elements of manuscript production were completed in-house. By outsourcing commissions to illuminators, and perhaps even the stationers and binders who had workshops at the Badia, Santa Maria degli Angeli was utilizing a well-known group of artists, many of them trained at the Camaldolese monastery or having professional connections with it.

CARDINAL ANGELO ACCIAIUOLI (1349-1408)

In the early stages of studying the life and works of Paolo da Firenze, in the 1950s and 1960s, Nino Pirrotta had instinctively – and now demonstrably correctly – proposed a connection in 1404 between the composer and Angelo Acciaiuoli, by then a senior cardinal in the papal curia, in Rome (see Figure 3), and suggested that Paolo may have remained with him for a number of years.⁹

9. The earliest evidence of Paolo's career has been said to be contained in a Roman document dated 1404, first cited specifically in Pirrotta's early articles and book on Paolo (see note 1 above). The document in question is Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2664, ff. 253r-259v (dated Rome, July 16, 1404). Two drafts (one the first rough copy [*minuta*] of the document) are cited by Pirrotta, consisting of a *procura* from Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli drawn up in Rome at his titular church, San Lorenzo in Damaso, with "Dominus Paulus de Florentia abbas Pozzoli Aretine diocesis" (Abbot, of the monastery of S. Andrea al Pozzo [S. Andrea de Puteo] in the diocese of Arezzo) as one of the witnesses (see its first folio in Figure 3). See also Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia", note 6. In fact, on May 2, 1419 Paolo appointed Frate Angelo di Giovanni dei Tarlatini da Perugia rector of this very church, which had been under Paolo's administration. This same priest would later take over Paolo's duties at the monastery of San Martino al Pino (Florence, Archivio di Stato [ASF], Diplomatico, Vol. 14, f. 432v). Later documents attest to Acciaiuoli's position regarding the church, not monastery, of S. Andrea al Pozzo (see ASF, Notarile Ante Cosimiano 47 for a February 1438 document, f. 47r). It seems probable that Paolo had been rector of the church of Sant' Andrea, but the scribe in the Vatican document of 1404 used the superior title "abbas" honorifically, as Paolo was in fact already abbot of S. Martino al Pino. On the church of Sant' Andrea de Puteo, see Angelo Tafi, *La Chiesa Aretina dalle Origini al 1032* (Arezzo: Badiali, 1972), 368-75: "Elenco delle pievi ed altri enti ecclesiastici della diocesi di Arezzo alla fine del XIII secolo" [Under the pieve di San Pietro di Ficareto we find the dependent church of Sant' Andrea de Puteo]. The same honorific wording obtains, for example, in a notarial document (ASF, Notarile Ante Cosimiano 7454 [1386-1462], ff. 217r-v), in which a 1420s list of the Florentine archbishop's council members is headed by "D. Paulus Abbas [in] S. M[aria] de Orbatello de Flor[entia]"; of course, he was not abbot of the church in Orbatello! Throughout this notary's documents, Paolo is in fact always referred to as "D. Paulus Abbas" (see

Given the new strong Florentine basis for such a relationship in the context of Acciaiuoli's ties with the creation of his Missal at the Badia Fiorentina, and Paolo's representation as a Benedictine monk in a black habit in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 "Codice Squarcialupi" (Sq, f. 55v), I thought it opportune to now explore the cardinal's career and any documentation of the Badia that could shed more than speculative light on this intriguing situation. The immediately significant elements to emerge in tracing his career are that Acciaiuoli, before his election to the cardinalate in 1384, had served as the bishop of Florence (1383-1385) and – most significantly – continued his connection with his native city as the abbot *in commendam* of the Badia Fiorentina (from 1385 until his death in 1408). We may outline his career as follows:

- Angelo Acciaiuoli was born in Florence on April 15, 1349 (son of Jacopo di Donato Acciaiuoli and Bartolomea di Bindaccio da Ricasoli);
- Appointed bishop of Rapolla on December 3, 1375;
- Transferred to become bishop of Florence on June 26, 1383 (until 1385) by Pope Urban VI;
- Abbot *in commendam* of the Badia Fiorentina from 1385 until his death in Pisa on May 31, 1408;
- On December 17, 1384 appointed cardinal-priest of the Roman titular church of San Lorenzo in Damaso; resident primarily in Rome starting in 1387;
- Legate to Boniface IX in the Kingdom of Naples in 1390 (and later in Hungary in 1403);
- Back in Florence for a brief period in 1395 (February 6 to May 11);
- Appointed Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals on August 29, 1397. Travels as papal legate to Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Valacchia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Slovenia. He was one of the executors of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon's will, eventually succeeding him as cardinal-bishop of Ostia/Velletri;

also ASF, Notarile Ante Cosimiano 7452, ff. 73r-74v, where he is again cited as "Dns Paulus Abbas S. M. de Orbatello"). Arnold Esch, in his "Florentiner in Rom um 1400. Namensverzeichnis der ersten Quattrocento-Generation", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 52 (1972): 476-525, describes in some detail the presence of a substantial Florentine colony in Rome, starting in the last decade of the fourteenth century and extending well into the next century. The Florentines were mainly concentrated in the Rione Ponte, spreading into the Rione Parione (Piazza Navona and surroundings) and other areas, but especially in the parish of SS. Celso e Giuliano in the Rione Ponte (487ff). This is made evident in many of the protocols of MS Vat. Lat. 2664. Esch provides an extensive register of Florentines all living nearly continuously in Rome in that twenty-five-year period (ca. 1388-1413), from the return to Rome of Pope Urban VI to the flight from Rome by Pope John XXIII in 1413.

- Assisted in the coronation of King Ladislaus of Naples at Zara on August 5, 1403, then returned to Rome;
- In December 1404 he was elevated to the position of archpriest of the Vatican Basilica of Saint Peter; then, on June 12, 1405 he became cardinal-bishop of Ostia/Velletri;
- On August 29, 1405 (the year his Missal was completed) he became vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church;
- Presided over the papal conclave in November-December of 1406 culminating with the election of Gregory XII;
- Died in Pisa on May 31, 1408;
- On August 3, 1408, Gregory XII appointed Niccolò di Jacopo Guasconi to succeed him as commendatory abbot at the Badia Fiorentina; and
- He was buried in Pisa cathedral; his remains were moved to the Carthusian Monastery called “la Certosa” of Florence, probably on June 12, 1409 (*lastra tombale* done by Francesco da San Gallo in 1550).

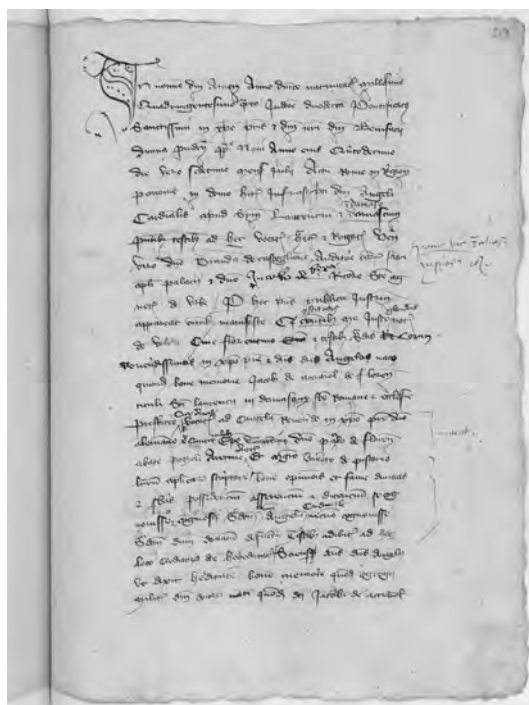


Figure 3. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2664, f. 253r

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The account books (*entrate e uscite*) of the Badia during the period of Acciaiuoli's abbacy – documenting all payments to members of the community and the rental of book-making workshops from the Badia, including the *miniatori* and *cartolai* of the workshops – were first mentioned in 1878 by Gaetano Milanesi (in his edition of Vasari's *Le Vite*) and then considered lost, only to have been recently transferred to the *fondo* of the Badia Fiorentina in the ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 78, Vols. 300–302, with an earlier volume to be found in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashb. 1825; taken in their entirety, these volumes cover the last decade of the fourteenth and the first two decades of the fifteenth century.¹⁰

PAOLO DA FIRENZE AT THE BADIA FIORENTINA AND IN THE ENTOURAGE OF ANGELO ACCIAIUOLI

Although my examination of the documentation in the ASF volumes began with an interest in tracing the presence of, and payments to, the artists and craftsmen who created the cardinal's Missal (starting in volume 300 of the Badia's records), the repeated appearance of a monk named Paolo certainly raised suspicion of our Paolo's presence, until certainty was to be found in volume 301, f. 80r, in which the monk Paolo is further identified, in 1402–1403, not only as “Don Paolo di Marcho della detta badia” – and that his salary was in part to be set aside for him in Rome – but that, thanks to the interest of the cardinal (Commendatory Abbot Angelo Acciaiuoli) this Don Paolo had earlier been appointed abbot (*in commendam*) of the Monastery of S. Martino al Pino (in March 1401, a position associated with the composer; see Figure 4).¹¹

10. See Annamaria Bernacchioni, “Riflessioni e proposte sulla committenza di Gherardo Starnina, pittore del guelfismo fiorentino”, in *Nuovi studi sulla pittura tardogotica: intorno a Lorenzo Monaco*, ed. Daniela Parenti and Angelo Tartuferi (Livorno: Sillabe, 2007), 44–55; at 49 and 54n29; see also Ada Labriola et al. in *Colour – The Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 142–6.

11. An important point to be made is that there was in fact only one monk named Paolo at the Badia during this entire period. The entry reads as follows: “Don Paolo di Marcho monacho della detta badia dee avere per suo salario del sopradetto anno F. quatordecim F. 14.

Anne avuto a dì 4 di gennaio 1401 [1402] F. uno S. diciotto D. quatro p. in una somma di F. 10, e' quali detto dì diedi alla tavola d'Antonio di Jacopo per danari che rimise(?) a Roma per Don Paolo F. 1 L. 0 S. 18 D. 4.

Anne avuto per infino a dì primo di gennaio 1402 [1403] F. ~~sei~~ [cancelled] cinque e lire tre per mesi sei per suo salario, diedi a lui proprio in più partite ebbe Don Paolo el salario per infino a tutto aprile 1402, disse di stare senza salario, per reverendia del cardinale, el quale el fece fare Abate del Pino [F] 6. [L] 3. [S] 18. [D] 4”.



Figure 4. ASF, Corporazioni religiose sopresse dal governo francese 78, Vol. 301, f. 80r (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited. / Archivio di Stato di Firenze

This is an extraordinary document in the context of Paolo's biography and the circles in Florence within which he was active: he is cited as a member of the Badia Fiorentina, and this entry further underscores the connections both with Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli and Paolo's evident residence in Rome in those years. As a listing of Paolo's citations in the account volumes demonstrates, the first documentation of him as a monk residing at the Badia now dates back to 1391 (see the Appendix at the end of this article listing the full Badia entries citing Paolo in the Acciaiuoli volumes and slightly beyond; other relevant entries have also been included).

The documentation implies that Paolo, born in 1355, may have entered the Badia as a professed Benedictine as early as 1380, although the extant accounts only begin in 1391. Before the end of the century, Paolo evidently stood out enough among the monks to have attracted the attention of Angelo Acciaiuoli, into whose entourage he was welcomed. Paolo appears to have left the Badia to be with the cardinal in Rome some time in 1403 (Figure 5), or perhaps slightly earlier, and to have remained with him – certainly absent from and replaced at the Badia by Don Guaspare abate di San Donato (Figure 6) – until the cardinal's death after which, in the autumn of 1408, we again find Paolo resident at the Badia serving the new Commendatory Abbot Niccolò Guasconi, but away temporarily in 1409 due to his attendance at the

Council of Pisa. Paolo disappears completely from the Badia's records after 1411, probably having moved to his new residence in the Florentine hospice known as Orbatello, assuming the position of rector of the church of Santa Maria Annunziata.



Figure 5. ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese 78, Vol. 302, f. 45v (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited. / Archivio di Stato di Firenze

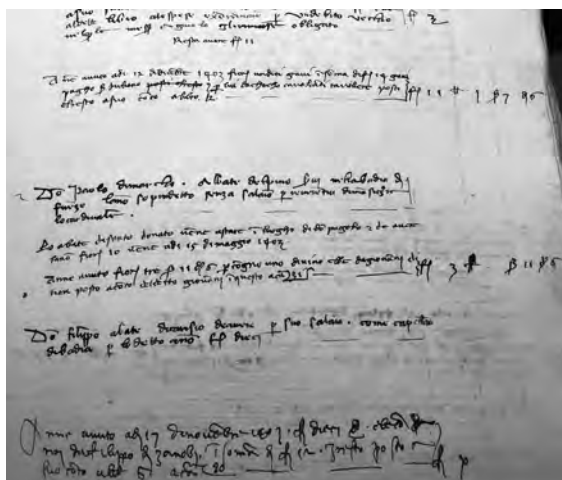


Figure 6. ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese 78, Vol. 302, f. 8or (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited. / Archivio di Stato di Firenze

The Badia documents allow us to observe that, when Paolo was resident at the monastery, he also served the commendatory abbots in administrative and routine capacities (see volume 300, section 4, f. 112v; volume 301, section 3, f. 80r; volume 307, section 2, ff. 79v, 80v, 87r, section 3, f. 89r, and section 4, f. 32v). These records include contacts with outside musicians who performed at the Badia, comprising the city's wind players (volume 301, section 2, f. 80r and volume 307, f. 84r) and, most importantly, the organist/composer Giovanni Mazzuoli ([ca. 1350/61-1426] volume 301, section 2, f. 149v; volume 307, section 2, f. 68v).

PAOLO DA FIRENZE DURING THE FINAL YEARS OF THE SCHISM PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF PISA

Given Paolo's close ties with, and evident presence in, the circle of Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli (at least from ca. 1401 to the cardinal's death in May 1408), the new documentation suggests that Paolo lived through, and experienced first-hand, the most decisive moments of the cardinal's later career, namely the years of great religious-political tensions during which a solution to the Great Schism – the calamity that had afflicted the Church for some thirty years – was sought. The critical moments of this experience were also surely felt by the composer as a Florentine citizen and cleric, and he would most likely have responded in sympathy with his city's reactions to the evolving developments that moved it toward subscribing to the Council of Pisa in 1409. That period of the cardinal's direct involvement would have dated from the conclave of November-December 1406 that elected and crowned Gregory XII as pope, overseen by Angelo Acciaiuoli as head of the College of Cardinals. The full weight of that election's significance lay in having made what was thought to be a decisive step toward resolving the destructive schism suffered by the Church. With former Pope Innocent VII's death, hope arose throughout Christendom that some end would finally come to the Schism. Angelo Corrado (who took the papal name Gregory XII), along with all the other cardinals in the conclave, had sworn a solemn vow that within three months he would send an embassy to his rival to find a mutually convenient time and place to meet, relinquish the papacy along with the concurrent abdication of his rival, the Avignon pope (and do so even if the other did not), and agree not to create more cardinals – each pope pledging to omit nothing necessary toward the attainment of these goals. At the conclave in Rome, all cardinals first unanimously vowed to unify the church, which was then reiterated

in writing with the oath taken by newly elected Pope Gregory XII in asserting his primary purpose of ending the Schism.¹²

The three years that passed between the election of Gregory XII and the convening of the Council of Pisa saw Florence take a central role in moving the Church toward some resolution of the Schism. For Angelo Acciaiuoli, the city's past bishop and now head of the College of Cardinals, this was especially significant. With an eye toward its own glory as well as its own security, the republic sought to act as mediator between the two papal obediences. The principal effort became the push to force the Roman pope to keep the oath he had made in the 1406 conclave to do all in his power to resolve the Schism.¹³ Given Paolo's direct connection with his cardinal mentor and his native city, the final year that led to the Pisan council must have been particularly moving for the composer, and I believe we can further support here previous speculation that the relevant, fierce political-religious tensions of 1408-1409 were well depicted in his madrigal *Girand' un bel falcone*, which must date from this time.¹⁴

By early 1408, deep disappointment had been created by Gregory XII's lack of advancement toward unity. He had invented new reasons to avoid meeting with Benedict XIII in an agreed-upon Italian city; much of this was due to Gregory's inability to act – many claiming the root cause being his innate stubbornness and his own deliberate protective stance. At the beginning of 1408 – and into 1409 – the two popes sat less than thirty miles apart but moved nowhere closer to agreement, even regarding a meeting place. Matters finally drove his supporters to exasperation when, on May 4, Gregory,

12. Alison Lewin, "Florence and the Papacy During the Great Schism" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1991), 274, and her published version: *Negotiating Survival: Florence and the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 136 and chap. 6, "Florence and the Council of Pisa (1407-1410)". See also Alison Lewin, "'Cum status ecclesie noster sit': Florence and the Council of Pisa (1409)", *Church History* 62 (1993): 178-89. A critical edition of the election capitulation is given by Martin Souchon, *Die Papstwahlen in der Zeit des großen Schismas: Entwicklung und Verfassungskämpfe des Kardinalats von 1378 bis 1417*, 2 vols. (Braunschweig: Benno Goeritz, 1898-1899), 285-95. The election vows are also cited in a letter from Acciaiuoli to the English King Henry IV in David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae ab anno MCCCCL ad annum MDXLV*, III (London: Sumptibus R. Gosling, 1737), 291; for Gregory XII's own letter quoting his oath, sent to various universities, see 287ff. Upon election as pope (November 30, 1406, crowned on December 19), Gregory confirmed his former promise to end the Schism, and he wrote to the pope and cardinals at Avignon in that regard. He also issued an encyclical apprising the whole of Christendom of his good intentions (Eustace Kitts, *In the Days of the Councils: A Sketch of the Life and Times of Baldassare Cossa (Afterward Pope John the Twenty-Third)* [London: Constable, 1908], 247-50).

13. Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes 1378 to 1409*, *Kirchengeschichtliche Quellen und Studien* 12, ed. Walter Brandmüller (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1983), chap. 8.

14. Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia", 205.

sensing the growing disapproval of his cardinals, forbade them to leave Lucca or even to congregate without his explicit permission, fearing abandonment and treason.¹⁵ On May 9, going against the articles of the original conclave's vows, he held a consistory in a most rebellious climate – in fact, the cardinals present refused to sit still and rose up against him. Gregory went ahead and promoted four prelates to the cardinalate, including Gabriele Condulmer, the future Pope Eugenius IV. On May 11, seven cardinals – joined by two others on May 13 – headed by Angelo Acciaiuoli (and with him surely Paolo the musician) and including Oddo Colonna (the future Pope Martin V) proposed rebellion and abandoned Pope Gregory in Lucca, leaving for Livorno to meet with Benedict's cardinals and begin planning for a council to be held in Pisa beginning in March of the following year. A quite generous amount of documentation testifies to the enraged stances of the Roman cardinals and important members of Christianity at large (including the universities of Paris and Bologna, and the leading role played by the papal legate of Bologna, Baldassare Cossa, the future Pope John XXIII), seen in exchanges of letters containing blistering accusations that Gregory was perjuring himself and falling into schism and heresy.¹⁶ It is also true that heated anti-papal sentiments later

15. Graziano di Santa Teresa, "Contributi alla Libellistica dello Scisma Occidentale (1378-1417)", *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 15 (1964): 387-424, at 394. Gregory imposed unacceptable conditions on his cardinals: "Precipimus omnibus et singulis Cardinalibus existentibus in Romana Curia, sub pena privationis Cardinalatus et omnium beneficiorum suorum, quam quilibet eorum incurrat ipso facto, ne ab ista die, quarta videlicet Maij inantea, aliquis eorum exeat de Luca, sine spetiali et expressa licentia nostra per nos oretenus sibi facta. Item sub pena periurij, quam incurrant ipso facto, precipimus et mandamus eisdem, ne ulterius congregentur in aliquo loco sine expresso mandato nostro. Item sub eadem pena periurij, quam incurrant ipso facto, precipimus et mandamus eisdem, ne aliquis eorum participet cum oratoribus Petri de Luna neque cum oratoribus Gallicis, sive per se sive per interpositam personam".

16. Aldo Landi, *Il Papa Deposto (Pisa 1409): L'Idea Conciliare nel Grande Scisma* (Turin: Claudiana, 1985), 129; Johannes Vincke, *Briefe zum Pisaner Konzil*, Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte, 1 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1940), letter no. 19, 39-40; Giovan Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, cujus Johannes Dominicus Mansi et post ipsius mortem Florentius et Venetianus editores ab anno 1758 ad annum 1798 priores triginta unum tomos ediderunt, nunc autem continuat et absoluta* (Paris and Leipzig: Welter, 1903), Vol. 27, cols. 33-6. The Florentine Signoria had played a role in inviting the cardinals to abandon the pope (see the original letter in ASF, Signori, Missive, Cancelleria I, ff. 76r-77r). See also Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 3 (Milan: Societas Palatinae, 1738), 837-41; at 41; as well as Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 26, cols. 1167-75, and Johannes Vincke, *Schriftstücke zum Pisaner Konzil*, Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte, 3 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1942), 107-12 for the caustic accusations leveled against Gregory, spelling out the theological legality of abandoning him (dated sometime in June 1408). Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, cols. 50-6, provides the letter from the cardinals to all members of the Church dated Livorno, June 24, 1408, plus an addendum, stating in so many words that they expected a solution and tranquility, and instead got turmoil and iniquity (citing scripture, Isaiah chap. 5): (col. 54) "Veberunt ad hauriendum aquam: et iterum illud: Expectabamus pacem, & ecce turbatio: & justitiam, & ecce iniquitas, & iudicium, & ecce clamor"

reached another critical point in February 1409, when the Florentine Signoria called for a representative group of 120 citizens – many specializing in law and theology – to debate the question of whether or not to continue to believe in and stand by the pope.¹⁷

... “Per ista quidem de electione vestra ad apicem summi apostolatus, gaudium in moerorem & luctum, & expectata consolatio unitatis in maius scandalum & labores fere intolerabiles sunt conversi, ut sic quilibet nostrum dicere possit illud Job: Conversa in luctum est cithara mea, & organum meum in vocem stentium: et iterum illud: Expectavit ut faceret uvas & fecit labruscas: labruscas, inquam, acerbissimas ...”; also provided in Jaques Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, II (Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert, 1724), 213-14; in Vol. I (235-6, chap. CXII) the cardinals, in a placard posted in Lucca, branded Gregory as: “... schismatique, d’heretique, de precursor de l’Antechrist, de fourbe, et de scelerat insigne, mais d’yvrogne, d’insensé, d’homme de fang, de lâche qui prodigue et prostituë son honneur, d’esclave de toutes les affection de la chair, de destructeur du public, tant par rapport au spirituel, que par rapport au temporel etc...”. Vous n’êtes pas venu, lui dit-on, “pour donner la paix, comme vous l’avez juré, mais pour metre le feu aux quatre coins de la Maison de Dieu, et en abbatre les colonnes, par la cruelle persécution que vous faites à ses Prélats...”. See also Vincke, *Briefe*, letters nos. 18-20 and 37-44, for the outrage expressed by the Florentines and Gregory’s cardinals who abandoned him on May 11: their accusations of deliberate rejection of unity and repeated lying on his part had at that point reached a new high – unacceptable, and a stimulus for preparations to depose him. Angelo Acciaiuoli, as Dean of the College of cardinals, heads the list of signatures of the rebellious cardinals.

17. Cited in Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, “Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia”, 205; see Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 27, P. II: *Cronica Volgare di Anonimo Fiorentino, dall’anno 1385 al 1409, già attributa a Piero di Giovanni Minerbetti*, ed. Elina Bellondi (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1949), 377-8: “Capitolo XX. – Come li nostri Signori fiorentini raunaro molti dottori di leggi e decretali e maestri in teologia, e molti altri savi uomeni, e dissono loro come erano le cose di papa Ghirigoro e domadarono loro del loro parere: li quali tutti dissono ch’elli era eretico e nimico della fede cristiana, e che a lui non si dovea più credere.

Ancora li nostri Signori vollono e feciono raunare tutti li dottori di leggi civili e canoniche, e teologi e ministri di tutte le regole, e abati e priori e savi uomeni di scienza della città e contado e distretto di Firenze, o a loro in alcuno modo sottoposti, a dì sette di febraro nel vescovado di Firenze, e quivi andati li nostri Signori, e’ dissono tutto quello di che erano richiesti che facessero e da cui, e per quali ragioni lo dovessero fare, e a quello che obbligati erano, e per che le dette obbligazioni erano istate fatte dal Comune di Firenze e quando e’ dissono tutte le cagioni che a loro diceano tutti quelli che queste cose dimandavano loro che si facessero, mostrando per quelle ch’ellich’elli si doveano levare dalla ubbidienza di papa Ghirigoro; le quali cose tutte sono quelle che dette sono per li loro ambasciadori. In effetto di che seguì che tutti questi maestri di sopra nominati, e suti insieme tre dí, diligentemente disaminate tutte le parti, e dopo lunga pratica fatta tra loro d’ogni cosa, finalmente di concordia rapportarono a’ signori Priori e al Gonfaloniere della Iustizia, che elli teneano, che Ghirigoro fosse eretico e cismatico e non vero papa, e nimico della fede cristiana, e guastatore di quella, che niuno a lui dovea credere, né per papa tenerlo, né chiamarlo più papa Ghirigoro, ma doveasi chiamare Agnolo Col[rari]o, come avea nome; e molte altre cose dissono di lui di sua vergogna; e poi tutti questi savi uomeni, che furono in tutto centoventi, tutti si sottoscrissono di loro mano propria, e questo e’ suggellarono di loro suggello molto solennemente. Di che li Signori, avendo tutte queste cose, subito mandarono uno dottore in decretali a Rimino per lo ambasciadore al detto papa Ghirigoro a dirli tutte queste cose per più iscusa di loro, e a pregarlo che per bene della fede cristiana e per pace della Santa Chiesa di Roma e per levare la cisma del mondo gli piacesse di venire a Pisa a essere con gli altri cardinali a eleggere uno nuovo papa, acciò che uno solo papa fosse tra’ cristiani. E suto con lui il detto ambasciadore e detteli tutte queste cose e mostratoli ogni cosa, il detto Agnolo Coriario rispuose cosí, e disse cosí ch’elli volea tenere concilio per modo ragionevole e che a lui pareva che li cardinali dovessero venire a lui piuttosto ch’egli a loro; e che a Pisa non volea in

Thus the documents from early May 1408 – from the Florentine Signoria and especially the May 11-14 expressions of scorn from the cardinals at Livorno and Pisa who had abandoned their standing popes¹⁸ – together with the summer/fall 1408 preparations for the council in March-June 1409¹⁹ – mark the clearest period during which the scathing terms denouncing Gregory as a heretic and schismatic might have given rise to the poetic/lyrical perspective of a falcon turning into a crow depicted in Paolo's madrigal *Girand' un bel falcon*. We can easily imagine this, given the context of what the Schism meant to Paolo, who had been with Cardinal Acciaiuoli for many years, living day-to-day with the gravity of the ongoing turbulence and his mentor's tireless efforts to bring it to an end. Paolo surely came to feel, especially after the unexpected death of his cardinal-mentor at the end of May 1408, that Acciaiuoli had not died in vain; on the contrary, Paolo must have attended the Council of Pisa with great interest – not as a simple participant but, rather, as someone deeply invested politically, historically, and emotionally.²⁰

niuno modo tenere concilio, né quivi andare, ma sí altrove: e poi disse che più distesamente risponderebbe alli Signori fiorentini, e direbbe le cagioni e le ragioni perché questo faceva”.

18. Vincke, *Briefe*, 37-46; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, cols. 29-36.

19. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, cols. 50-56.

20. In these documents Gregory is referred to in many despicable ways, in addition to his usual *sopranome* of “Errorius”: “Angelus maledictus, fermentum schismatice perversitatis. Qui tyrannorum furore collisus domini tunicam inconsulitem de super textam per frusta decerpit” (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, col. 458); “Angelus, errorius dignissime vocatus” (col. 484); see also cols. 485-6, and Edmond Martène, *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moralium, Amplissima Collectio* (Paris: Montalant, 1723), Vol. 7, 850-1: “Tu autem, Angele Mi Corrario, qui a paucis Gregorius, et a multis Errorius appellaris”; also quoted in Martene's Preface, LXXIX-LXXX. See also Santa Teresa, “Contributi alla libellistica”, 387-424, which treats the historical context – and offers modern editions – of two writings denouncing Pope Gregory XII dating from 1409 and transmitted in the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3477: the *Satira* (ff. 142r-146v) and the *Litera Cocorum* (ff. 147r-148r; also known as the *Epistola delusoria*). The latter of these contains the following violent accusatory attack directed at Gregory: “Item ad videndum declarari, te fore ebriosum, delirum, hereticum, publicum Ecclesie Dei destructorem et ypocritam maledictum”.

Specifically, reference to the historical/theological attributes of crows, as opposed to falcons – when assessing the nature of Pope Gregory XII (named, and, later, Benedict XIII) in ultimately revealing his falsehood – is made in Giovanni Stefano Menocchio, *Trattenimenti eruditi del P. Gio. Stefano Menocchio della Compagnia di Gesù, Stuore del padre Giovanni Stefano Menocchio della Compagnia di Gesù: tessute di varie eruditioni sacre, morali, e profane* (Padova: Giovanni Manfrè, 1701), in his Centuria Terza, chap. 54; on the negative characteristics of crows, see 434-7, at 437, where Pope Gregory XII is specifically cited. Other sources for the meaning of falcons and crows include: Linda A. Koch, “Power, Prophecy, and Dynastic Succession in Early Medici Florence: The Falcon Impresa of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73 (2010): 507-38, making a case for falcons representing qualities of faithfulness, renewal, and moral fortitude, and, citing Francis Ames-Lewis (“Early Medicean Devices”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courland Institutes* 42 [1979]: 122-43), she attaches Christian fidelity and strength to the symbol of the falcon, as well as widespread associations of falcon emblems with status, authority, and legitimacy. See also Michel Pas-

PAOLO AND FLORENTINE MUSIC SOURCES OF THE EARLY QUATTROCENTO

The final section of this article is devoted to a brief discussion positioning Paolo at the center of manuscript production in Florence – especially music manuscripts – based on his residence at the Badia, surrounded by its workshops for miniaturists, *cartolai*, and *legatori*, and his familiarity with its artists, particularly those who worked on Cardinal Acciaiuoli's Missal. Among them was Bartolomeo di Fruosino, the artist whom Paolo contracted quite likely on the basis of ongoing collegiality, if not past collaboration, in Badia circles, and who is now thought to have been responsible for the illumination of the Gradual-Antiphonal created for the hospice church at Orbatello in 1417 (MS Douai 1171), and who may have participated in the creation of the Sq miniatures around the same time.²¹ It is also important to realize that the composer's entire extant *oeuvre* of secular and sacred compositions was transmitted by a well-circumscribed group of only four or five scribes in the extant sources –

toureau, *Bestiari del Medioevo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012), 179, in which the falcon is assigned the following attributes: it is the chosen bird of aristocracy; forms part of courtly education; has splendid plumage; is quick, intelligent, and obedient; is the enemy of the serpent and all demonic creatures. It was the church that saw the crow in a bad light; the episode recounted of the crow in Noah's ark painted the bird as unfaithful, an egoist, and consumer of "carogne" (scum, low-life, human remains [eyes]). The crow is part of the Devil's bestiary, the image of man the sinner, rendered black through his sins, the incarnation of a demon with black power. It was St. Augustine who associated "cras, cras" with men full of vices putting off repentance until "tomorrow". See also Silvia Berrica, "Animali simbolici del cristianesimo: i volatili" (Laurea Triennale, Università La Sapienza di Roma, 2009), 3-4, in which the crow is shown to represent heresy, the sinner: "il Falco era quindi un uccello estremamente sacro; il falco era perfetto da paragonare ad emblema dell' anima, come l'animo umano che deve ricercare l'elevazione e non fermarsi alle bassezze della materialità, così il Falco in qualsiasi posto si trovi cerca sempre il punto più alto".

21. Labriola, "Il Graduale-Antiphonario della chiesa di Orbatello", 212-13; Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia", 211; and Mirella Levi-D'Ancona, "Bartolomeo di Fruosino", *The Art Bulletin* 43 (1961): 87-8; and Luciano Bellosi, "Il Maestro del Codice Squarcialupi", in *Il Codice Squarcialupi*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Florence: Giunti Barbera-Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 154-7. The research path to better understanding the genesis and compilation of Sq may well rest with efforts on Paolo's part in conserving the Italian Ars Nova tradition; not only musically, but also possibly placing that magnificent source in the context of Paolo's association with the Roman papal court, Florence's support of the Pisan Council of 1409, and the close ties the city was to continue to develop with Pope John XXIII for whom Sq may have been created. In this regard, it could well be that during his Roman years of residence (and beyond) Paolo became acquainted with the papal chapel's leading musician/composer, Antonio Zacara da Teramo, and it was Paolo who could have later introduced the renowned composer to Florentine musical circles in 1410 and 1413 – and seen to Zacara's inclusion in Sq as "the singer of our pope". On the presence of Pope John XXIII and Zacara in Florence, see John Nádas, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo", *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986): 167-82; 16 (1987), 175-6; and Francesco Zimei, "Sulle tracce di Zacara a Firenze", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VIII. Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo, 1959-2009*, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, and Francesco Zimei (Certaldo: Centro Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, 2014), 255-64.

apart from the recently studied SL manuscript – in what we may consider to have been a small circle of copyists closely associated with the composer.²² Paolo and his scribes were involved in the creation of Pit, Cil, and Lw, the insertion of a polyphonic setting of a *Gaudeamus omnes* in Ash999 (ca. 1423), and in the additions to the final folios of Man when it arrived in Florence from the Veneto toward the end of the first decade of the Quattrocento.²³ In the larger picture of the artistic landscape of late-medieval Florence, the composer undoubtedly played a major role as an initiator and collaborator in compiling the musical treasures of the Trecento right down to his own day.²⁴

In this regard, and most significant in its relevance to the context of the newly documented biography of the composer, we may point to the “smoking gun” evidence of a final fragment (F.5.5) which, in addition to its scribal concordance tying it to the aforementioned Paolo sources, now gains in significance due to its origins.²⁵ The two parchment leaves present a portion of Francesco Landini’s ballatas in alphabetical order, demonstrating a decidedly archival intent to preserve the music of the Trecento. Additionally, this surviving bifolio has been revealed to derive from a source that was no doubt dismembered and then recycled ca. 1500, and in this case used as guard leaves for an incunabulum host volume that was at one time in the library of the Badia Fiorentina, as made clear by an insertion in a late fifteenth-century

22. The idea of a scribal monopoly was first advanced by Nino Pirrotta, “Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento”, 66, and most recently further analyzed by Ursula Günther, “Die ‘anonymen’ Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23 (1966): 73–92, and Nádas, “The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista”. We cannot exclude the possibility that Paolo himself may have been one of the copyists of his works in the extant sources. On SL, see *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211, Introductory Study and Multispectral Images*, ed. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, *Ars Nova*, n.s., 4 (Lucca: LIM, 2016), Vol. 2, no. 151; see also Andreas Janke and John Nádas, “New Insights into the Florentine Transmission of the Songs of Antonio Zacara da Teramo”, *Studi Musicali*, n.s., 2 (2015): 197–214, reprinted in *Arte Psallentes*, 201–15.

23. Paolo’s role in compiling and organizing the contents of Pit, especially its final section containing sacred works (and, tellingly, the madrigal *Girand’ un bel falcone*), has recently been compellingly studied by Francesco Zimei in “The *Ordinarium missae* of Pit Between Compilation and Liturgy (With Some Insights Into Paolo da Firenze’s Role)”, in *Liturgical Books and Music Manuscripts with Polyphonic Settings of the Mass in Medieval Europe*, ed. Oliver Huck and Andreas Janke (Hildesheim: OLMS, 2020), 81–107.

24. The preservation and celebration of musical traditions in the early fifteenth century has been discussed in John Nádas, “Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence”, in *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto - 1 settembre 1987*, Vol. 1 (Round Tables) (Turin: E.D.T., 1990), 126–35.

25. The scribe of the entire music fragment F.5.5 is the main scribe (E, who worked closely with scribe B of Pit) in Pit, ff. 99v–111r and who also copied the entire Cil fragment (Nádas, “The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista”, with a works list, including information on scribal concordances). For a larger view of scribal networks, see Stefano Campagnolo, “Il Frammento Brescia 5 e le Relazioni di Copista dei Codici Fiorentini dell’*Ars Nova*”, *Studi Musicali* 9/1 (2018): 47–85.

hand on the verso of the volume's first folio: "Iste liber est congregationis Sancte Justine ordinis Sancti Benedicti deputatus Monasterio Sancte Marie seu Abbatie de Florentia. Signatus 1^o".²⁶ Beyond accepting as mere coincidence the origin of the fragment's host volume in the very institution of which Paolo was a member in the decades around the year 1400, investigative sense encourages one to conjecture that the manuscript of which fragment F.5.5 once formed a part was, in the early fifteenth century, a collection that belonged to Paolo at the Badia, and there it remained after Paolo left the institution, and even after his death, only to be used by the monastery library many decades later as a source for recycled parchment (evidently when the music was no longer meaningful). The early provenance is confirmed by a citation of this volume in a sixteenth-century inventory of the Badia Fiorentina.²⁷ Jason Stoessel, in a recent collection of essays on music sources before 1600, at one point focusses on the scriptorium of Santa Maria degli Angeli with regard to MS Douai 1171, Pit, Ash999, and Sq, and he has this to say about their creation – striking very close to the documentary truth revealed in the present study: "Don Paolo, as an administrator and a Benedictine abbot living in Florence, was in a position to influence the requisition of the resources, and to harness his own resources and personal associates, for music manuscript production. This seems to have occurred at the zenith of his career in the second and early third decade of the fifteenth century".²⁸

26. Mario Fabbri and John Nadas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concorances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 67-81.

27. See Rudolf Blum, *La Biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i Codici di Antonio Corbinelli*, Studi e Testi 155 (Vatican City, 1951), 131, no. 345, and Curt F. Bühler's review of Blum's book in *Speculum* 26 (1951): 707-9, in which the magnificent contents of the late-medieval Badia library are analyzed. The significance of a possible research avenue opened by Blum's study cannot be overstated: the inspection of other Badia volumes held today in Florentine libraries for the possibility that some of their guard leaves derive from the same original music manuscript as does fragment F.5.5.

28. "The Makers and Owners of Early Fifteenth-Century Song Books in Italy: The Benedictine Contribution to the Courtly Musical Culture of the Late Middle Ages", in *Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners, and Users of Music Sources Before 1600*, ed. Lisa Colton and Tim Shephard (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 77-96, at 81-8. It is worth noting that perhaps even the Cardinal's famous Missal, cited at the beginning of the present study, had been housed in Florence, at the Certosa, before making its way to England (see note 3); see Caterina Chiarelli, *Le attività artistiche e il patrimonio librario della Certosa di Firenze: dalle origini alla metà del 16. secolo*, 2 vols., Analecta Cartusiana, 102 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984), 57 and 92, where it is suggested that the missal was one of two such manuscripts that were included among the books left to the Certosa in the cardinal's will (see Figure 7, the entry 7 lines from the bottom ["Item unus missale cum armis domini pictis in multis locis"]).

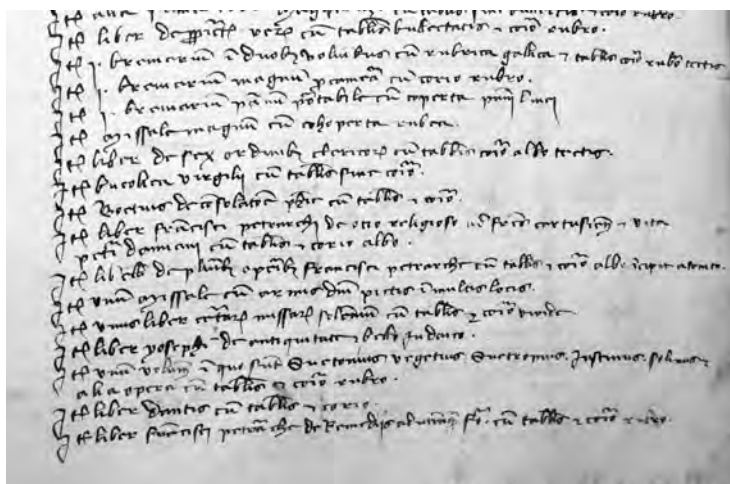


Figure 7. ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli Avanti il Principato, Vol. 19, f. 103r (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited.

APPENDIX

Archival Documents

PAOLO AT THE BADIA FIORENTINA AND IN THE CIRCLE OF CARDINAL ANGELO ACCIAIUOLI

BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA

Ashb. 1825

Entrate e Uscite Badia Fiorentina, 1391-1392

f. 1r: In Dei nomine Amen, anno domini milesimo tregentesimo nonagessimo primo [...] Questo libro contera tuta l'entrata e uscita che ànne Francescho notaio e procuratore del Reverendissimo [...] patre e Signore Messer .A. cardinale di fiorençe, comendatario dello monistero e badia di fiorençe [...] e sara solamente d'uno anno cominciando a dì primo di novembre 1391 e finendo a dì primo di novembre 1392 [...]

f. 55v: **Domino Paulo monacho** de avere l'anno di suo salario Fiorini quatordecì, comincia l'anno a dì primo di settembre 1391 F. 14

[there are four subsequent entries: February 28, 1392 (di mesi sei finiti a dì primo di genaio 1391 [=1392]), April 13, 1392, July 26, 1392, and December 22, 1392 (this last paying “di mesi sei finiti a dì 8 di genaio 1392 [=1393]”) ... these payments are said to be re-recorded later in summaries of expenses in this very volume]

f. 67v: [1391] A **Domino Paulo monacho** per suo salario chome apare nançi a sua ragione a carta 54 Fiorini sete Lire una Soldi cinque F. 7 L. 1 S. 5

f. 68v: [1392] A **Domino Paulo monacho in badia** per suo salario, apare nançi a carta 54, Fiorini quatro Soldi sette F. 4 S. 7

f. 69r: [1392] A **Domino Paulo monacho**, a dì 26 di luglio, per suo salario, Fiorini tre Soldi sei, apare nançi a carta 54 F. 3 S. 6

f. 72v: [1392] A **Domino Paulo monacho in badia**, per suo salario di mesi sei finiti come apare nançi a carta 54, Fiorini sette Soldi tredici F. 7 S. 13

ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI FIRENZE

Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 78 [Badia Fiorentina] Filza 300 Acciaiuoli I

Section 1

f. 55v: Salary paid to Don Paulo monacho della badia

Dominono Paulo monacho della badia de avere l'anno di suo salario Fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di genaio 1392 e perfino allo detto dì è pagato a libro cuchio(?) a carta 54

Anne auto Domino Paulo sopra scritto a dì 24 di magio per suo salario da dì primo di genaio per fino a dì primo di magio 1393 Fiorini quatro Lire una Soldi cinque per meglio di Fiorini perche gli deono avere grani(?) Soldi otto, in tuto Fiorini quatro Lire una Soldi tredici Denari otto, apare nançi a carta 59 F. 4 L. 1 S. 13 D. 8

Anne auto Domino Paulo sopra scritto a dì 15 d'ottobre per suo salario di mesi sei finiti a dì primo di novembre 1393 Fiorini sette meglio Lire una, apare nançi a carta 81 F. 7 L. 1

f. 79v: A **Domino Paulo monacho e capelano** in badia, per suo salario come apare nançi a carta 55, Fiorini quatro Lire una Soldi 13 Denari otto F. 4 L. 1 S. 13 D. 8

[the date would seem to be July or August of 1393, on the basis of previous dates on this folio]

f. 81v: A **Domino Paulo monacho e chapelano in badia**, a dì detto [15 Oct.] per suo salario di mesi sei, Fiorini sette Lire una, apare drietto a carta 55 F. 7 L. 1

f. 100r: A dì 5 di março 1392 [1393] ebi in denari ... [**Domino Paolo** is one of the witnesses to a donation of monies to the Badia] [...] apare ale sspese nançi a carta 79: "A Geri fornaio a dì detto di sopra [May 31] per staia quattro di grano, comprai da lui per quello mi trovai meno che aveva avuto Domino Lorenço monacho, apare naçi a carta 100 [...]"

Section 2

f. 56v: [in the listing of salaries for the familiars of the Badia:]

Domino Paulo monacho della badia de avere l'anno di suo salario Fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di novembre 1393 e per fino a dì detto e pagato da me Francesscho procuratore [...]

A dì primo di novembre: Ànne auto **Domino Paulo sopra scritto** per suo salario d'uno anno finito a dì detto di sopra Fiorini quattordici Lire una Soldi diciassette per meglio di fiorini [...] apare adrieto a carta 85 [one of the folios is now missing] F. 14 L. 1 S. 17

Section 3

f. 73v: A **Don Pagolo monacho di badia**, a dì 21 di novembre 1396, contanti Fiorini quattordici, aparisce in questo [Libro] a carta 88 F. 14 S. 14

f. 88r: "salari di famiglie di casa"

Don Pagolo monacho della badia de avere l'anno per suo salario Fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di novembre 1395 F. 14

A **Don Pagholo** a dì 21 di novembre 1396 contanti Lire cinquantatre e Soldi diciotto per fiorini quattordici, a Soldi dicessette il Fiorino, per lo suo salario del sopradetto anno Fiorini quattordici F. 14 S. 15 D. 8

Section 4

f. 62r: ["Salari della famiglia 1397 primo di novembre finito ultimo d'ottobre 1398"]

Don Pagolo monacho della badia di Firenze de avere dalla detta badia per suo salario F. quattordici d'oro per l'anno 1397 incominciato a dì primo di novembre e finito a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1398 F. 14

Ànne avuto **Don Pagholo** sopra detto a dì 25 d'ottobre 1398 contanti F. dodici d'oro furono meglio che di sugello danari 20 l'uno F. 12 L. 1

Ànne avuto a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1398 contanti F. due d'oro e gravi valsono meglio che sugello [...] F. 2 S. 3 D. 4

f. 112v: A **Don Pagholo monacho di badia**, a dì 12 di settembre [1398] [in mar-

gin: "in asenza"] per una coltelliera con sei cultelle e con tre coltellini, la quale feci fare per la casa, Lire nove e Soldi quattordici L. 9 S. 14

Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 78
Filza 301 Acciaiuoli II

Section 1

f. 55v: [under "Salari", beginning on f. 55r: there are now 6 monks altogether, plus some clerics and *cappellani*. After the first monk, Don Benedetto, we find:] **Domino Pauolo monacho** della badia de aver l'anno di suo salario fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di novembre 1394

Ànne avuto Domino Pauolo sopra scritto a dì 29 d'ottobre 1395 fiorini quattordici e perche sono fuore di sugello, sono meglio lire una soldi dieci e pagato per tuto e il detto mese, apare adietro a carta 95 F. 14 L. 1 S. 10

f. 95r: [1395] **A Domino Pauolo monacho in badia** a dì detto [29 October 1395] per suo salario d'uno anno fiorini quattordici lire una soldi dieci, apare innanzi a carta 55 F. 14 L. 1 S. 10

Section 2

f. 80r: "Conto di salari di famiglia della badia di Firenze per l'anno 1398 incominciato a dì primo di novembre e finito a dì primo di novembre 1399"

Don Pagholo monacho della badia di Firenze de aver dala detta badia F. 14 per l'anno 1398 finito a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1399 F. 14 d'oro

Ànne avuti **Don Pagolo** F. 13 d'oro e per lui gli pagai a Don Lionardo ditedice(?) vicario di San Felice e priore di Castiglione, per uno paio d'organi F. 13

Ànne avuti a dì 5 di novembre 1399 F. uno e di punto posto abia avere a le Ricordanze .A., a carta 20 F. 1 L. [blank] S. 1 D. 8

Section 3

f. 88r: "Conto di salari della famiglia della badia di Firenze ... per uno anno incominciato a dì primo di novembre 1399 e finito a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1400"

Don Pagolo monaco della badia di Firenze dee aver dalla detta badia per salario suo per l'anno scritto di sopra fiorini quattordici F. 14

Ànne avuto a dì 27 di gennaio F. 11 de quali due F. posti a ragione di Giovanni cartolaio e quelli **Don Paolo** mise dare a lui posto il detto Giovanni abbia dato due F. a sua pigione dove dovea dare a carta 4, valsono meglio che di sugello S. 14 D. 8 F. 11 L. 0 S. 14 D. 8

f. 149v: [last sub-entry] [1400 or 1399?] E de dare, che diedi a Nanni di Nicholò degli organi [Giovanni Mazzuoli] che venne a sonare el dì della sagra, el dì di San Benedetto, el dì dela donna, diedi F. uno, valse lire quatro L. 4

Section 4

f. 80r: "Conto di salari di famiglia dela badia di Firenze per l'anno cominciato di primo di novembre 1400 e finito di ultimo d'ottobre 1401"

Don Pagolo monacho della badia di Firenze dee avere per suo salario per uno anno detto di sopra fiorini quattordici d'oro F. 14

Ànne avuto **Don Pagolo** sopradetto a di 2 di marzo 1400 fiorini tre d'oro per parte di suo salario. Disse voleva per lo piato che faceano e fratelli ala corte del capitano. Valsono meglio che di sugello S. cinque denari 4 F. 3 S. 5 D. 4

Ànne auto **Don Paolo** sopradetto a di 2 di luglio 1401 F. 4 per parte del salario del sopradetto anno, furon meglio che di sugello D. 16 per F. F. 4 S. 5 D. 4

Ànne avuto **Don Paolo** sopradetto a di 24 di gennaio F. sette e per lui diedi detto di alla tavola d'Antonio di Jacopo del Vigna in una quantità di F. dieci e soldi diciotto, furon meglio che di sugello S. sette F. 7 L. 0 S. 7

Section 5

f. 80r: "Conto di salari della famiglia che sta al servizio della badia di Firenze per uno anno incominciato di primo di novembre 1401 e finito di ultimo d'ottobre 1402"

Don Paolo di Marcho monacho della detta badia dee avere per suo salario del sopradetto anno F. quattordici F. 14

Ànne avuto a di 4 di gennaio 1401 [1402] F. uno S. diciotto D. quattro p. in una somma di F. 10, e' quali detto di diedi alla tavola d'Antonio di Jacopo per danari che rimise(?) a Roma per Don Paolo F. 1 L. 0 S. 18 D. 4

Ànne avuto per infino a di primo di gennaio 1402 [1403] F. cinque e lire tre per mesi sei per suo salario, diedi a lui proprio in più partite ebbe Don Paolo el salario per infino a tutto aprile 1402, disse di stare senza salario, per reverendia del cardinale, el quale el fece fare Abate del Pino 6 . 3 . 18 . 4 (see Figure 4, above)

Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 78

Filza 302 Acciaiuoli III

Section 1

f. 42v: Don Guasparre abate di Santo Donato [this is the priest who was to take Don Paolo's place at the Badia while Paolo was in Rome with the cardinal; see below], el quale sta in Santo Apostolo, de dare L. 12 S. 19 pic. e quali paghammo a maestri raconciarono la chiesa tra per loro opere e per ombrici(?) fu di d'acordo e egli renderebbe posti a uscita in questo [Libro] a carta 45 [on f. 45v we find a record of payment for work on the roof of Santo Apostolo, citing the abbot of San Donato. N.B. this is the church directly across from the Acciaiuoli palace in Florence.]

ff. 44v-45r: [1403, first opening of a section covering expenses for Cardinal Acciaiuoli:] "Messer Agnolo Acciaiuoli cardinale di Firenze de dare a di 16 di maggio ..."

(44v) E de dare F. 5 d'oro per lui ad Antonio di Nictri trombetta per parte di prestanza andò a Roma per trombetta del cardinale, ebbe da Ser Giuliano(?) F. 5

[There are a number of further entries for this trombetta immediately following. This opening reveals a permanent move to Rome by Cardinal Acciaiuoli; he is having so many things dear to him moved from Florence ... including his *dilettissimo* Paolo.]

f. 45v: [continuation of the uscita for Cardinal Acciaiuoli:]

Et de dare e quali ebbe l'Abate Pagholo quando andò a Roma F. dieci d'oro nuovi ebbe per noi dall'abate Baldassare per pieno(?) levammo a Messer Giovanni Acciaiuoli; apare a Libro delle ricordanze carta 1, valsono meglio L. 2 S. 6 D. 1 F. 10 L. 2 S. 6 D. [there are folios missing at this point (ff. 48, 49, 51-58)] (see Figure 5, above)

[Paolo is no longer being cited as a member of the Badia monks, but rather as abbot of San Martino al Pino; see his citation as an unsalaried Badia monk under the listing of salaries for familiars on f. 80r below). This could reflect the temporary suspension of his official service at the Badia in 1403. Paolo probably went to Rome in May 1403 (see the record of the salary payment document on f. 80r below, and, as we shall see, most likely remained with Cardinal Acciaiuoli until the latter's death at the end of May 1408)]

f. 80r: "Conto di salari della famiglia per l'anno presente, cominciato di primo di novembre 1402 e finito di ultimo d'ottobre 1403, cioè di monaci, capellani, cherici, e altri famigli"

Don Paolo di Marcho, Abbate del Pino, servì nella Badia di Firenze l'anno sopradetto senza salario per reverentia di Monsignore lo Cardinale.

Lo abate di Santo Donato venne a stare in luogho di Don Pagholo e de avere l'anno fiorini 10; venne a di 15 di maggio 1403 (see Figure 6, above)

Section 3

ff. 66-70 [1404-1405, a listing of Badia family members being paid their salaries; Paolo is not among them.]

f. 100v: under "Uscita d'ogni d[enaro] si trae di chassa"

Et de avere a di 30 di settembre 1405 F. uno d'oro dem[m]o a Bartolomeo di Fruosino dipintore per miniature d'un quaderno del messale di Monsignore, che furono in tutto 27 mini, posto detto messale debba dare a carta 152 F. 1

ff. 130r-132v: [1406 includes salary payments to members of the Badia, and again Paolo is not present]

Corporazioni Religiose Soppresses dal Governo Francese, 78
Filza 307 Eredità Guasconi (1408-1412 [sic 1415])

Section 2

f. 68v: [under 1408] A **Giovanni di Niccholo delgi [degli] orghani** [Giovanni Mazzuoli], a dì 10 d'ottobre L. 4 S. 3 per uno monachordo il quale chomperò Messer l'Abbate da lui, portò Christofano chericho a lui detto da me Don Francesco chamrilingho L. 4 S. 3

f. 79v: [under 1408] A l'**Abbate Paulo**, a dì 15 di dicembre L. due, ebbe per chonperare una tavola di gesso la quale istà in sagrestia, ebbe e[l] detto da me Don Francesco [in] chontanti L. 2 [after the cardinal's death, we find Paolo having returned to Florence, to the Badia]

f. 80v: [under 1408] **All'Abbate Pagholo** a dì 18 di dicembre S. cinque per bichieri chonperò per Messer l'Abbate, ebbe e[l] detto da me Don Francesco [in] chontanti S. 5

f. 87r: [under 1408-1409] **All'Abbate Paolo**, a dì detto [7 Feb. 1408 = 1409] fiorino uno d'oro nuovo, ebbe per conprare 1 paio di stadere e pagare [per] 1 cordiglio per Messer l'Abate F. 1 S. 5

Section 3

f. 11r: [1409] Da Biagio di Jachopo a dì 19 di novembre F. 7 d'oro die per me **all'Abate Paolo di Marcho**, messi in uscita a llui in questo [a carta] 90, e a ragione di Biagio al Libro dare e avere segnato A carta 39 F. 7 [Paolo is back at the Badia, receiving a salary, after having attended the Council of Pisa]

f. 84r: A spese straordinarie, detto dì [August 19, 1410] L. tre picc. i quali die a l'**Abate Paolo** per dare a' trombetti che feciono alla festa per Santa Maria mezza aghosto, a libro dare e avere segnato X a carta 19 L. 3

f. 87v: A lui sopradetto [Messer Nicholo di Jachopo Ghuasconi abate di Firenze] [October 3, 1409] F. uno d'oro nuovo il quale avevo lasciato e li desse **all'Abate Paolo**, e lui avevo fatto debitore al Quaderno di Ricordanze segnato B, carta 18, el detto Messer l'abate l'àn tenuto per sé al [Libro] dare e avere segnato X carta 28 F. 1 S. 5

f. 88v: [1409] A **Don Pagholo di Marcho abate della Badia al Pino**, detto dì [October 22, 1409] F. 6 d'oro ebe contanti in quanti a ragione di S. 78 D. 4 a Libro Salari segnato X a carta 3 F. 6

f. 89r: A spese di chasa detto dì [November 12, 1409] L. 14 S. 13 D. 8 per i quali demmo a l'**Abate Pagholo** per dare a Chalvano dipintore per dipintura della segiola di Messer l'Abate, a Libro dare e avere segnato X carta 32 L. 14 S. 13 D. 8

f. 90r: [1409] **All'Abbate Pagholo di Marcho**, a dì 19 di novembre, F. sette d'oro, ebe per noi da Biagio di Jachopo, messi [in] conto da lui in questo [Libro] c. 11, e a ragione **dell'Abbate Paolo** a Libro salari segnato A [a carta (3)9] F. 7

Section 5

[The next section in this filza again covers the year 1409-1410 (dare/avere per opening)] Questo libro è di Messer Niccolo di Jacopo Guasconi abate della Badia di Firenze in sul quale scriverò io Biagio di Jacopo chi dovrà dare et avere per alcuna ragione al detto Messer Niccolo o alla detta badia, et chiamasi dare et avere segnato B [...]

f. 4r: [1408] E a dì 6 d'ottobre F. 3 S. 9 [...] si levo per l'**Abate Pagolo** per tutto detto [...] posto de dare a carta 6 F. 3 L. 1 S. 4 D. 4

f. 5v: **L'Abate Pagholo** monaco in badia, de dare a dì 27 di settembre [1408?] L. 2 S. 4 [...] per lui a Francesco di Giovanni di [...] e comp. posto devino avere in questo [Libro] a carta 4

E a dì 6 d'ottobre [1408?] L. 4 S. 16 [...] per [...] 16 di vignello per [...] il braccio ebbe di Francesco di Giovanni di [...] e comp. [...] in questo [Libro] a carta 4 F. 4 L. 1 S. 4 D. 4

f. 6r: **L'Abate Pagolo monaco in badia** de avere a dì [left blank, possibly early 1409?] F. 4 L. 3 S. 4 D. 10 per altretanti pognamo n'abi avuto a sua ragione Libro Salari A(?) a carta 3 F.4 L.3 S. 4 D. 10

f. 32v: [under "spese straordinarie di casa di badia"] E deono dare a dì 15 d'ottobre 1409 F. uno L. 4 S. 7 [...] demmo **all'Abate Pagolo** per pagare certe spese fatte nella segiola di Messer l'abate come apare a uscita B a carta 88 [in the previous section] F. 1 L. 4 S. 7

E a dì 12 di novembre L. 14 S. 13 D. 8 p. **all'Abate Pagolo** per dare a Chavano di Santore(?) per dipintura d'una segiola di Messer l'abate, a uscita B a carta 89 L. 14 S. 13 D. 8

E a dì 2 di gennaio 1409 [=1410] L. 2 S. 15 p. die Biagio a Messer l'abate per dare a trombetti della parte che gli fecion la mattinata come apare a uscita B a carta 94 L. 2 S. 15

f. 34v: E a dì 26 dicembre [1409 payment to the *trombetti* for a *mattinata*.] "per dare la mancia a' trombetti

f. 39r: [Under spese for Biagio di Jacopo di Messer Biagio Guasconi (camarlingo)]... E a dì 19 di novembre F. 7 d'oro per noi **all'abate Pagolo monaco di casa**, come apare a entrata B a carta 11 F. 7

f. 44r: [... Dec. 1409 payment to the] piffari della parte che gli fecion la mattinata, come appare a entrate B carta 15 L. 2 S. 15

Section 7

f. 3v: [1408] **Don Pagolo di Marcho abate della Badia al Pino**, dee avere a dì primo di novembre per suo salario cominciato detto dì, a ragione di F. diciotto [dodici is crossed out]. [Paolo is back in the Badia as a salaried member of the monastery]

Nota: [written above: "l'anno", and then "F."] il suo salario d'uno anno da dì 1 di novembre 1408 infino a dì 31 d'ottobre 1409, F. 18 d'oro

E de avere a dì primo di novembre F. diciotto d'oro i quali saranno per suo salario d'uno anno, il quale chomincia a dì 1 di novembre 1408 e finisce a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1409 F. 18 d'oro [a number of subsequent entries cover payments in Oct. and Nov. 1409 and into 1410 referring to Libro Uscite segnato B]

f. 23v: [1410] **Don Pagolo di Marco da Firenze abate della Badia al Pino**, si riferimò con Messer l'abate per stare in Badia per suo vicario a dì 1 di novembre 1410, e debbe avere per suo salario l'anno F. diciotto d'oro

Partissi a dì 15 di giugno [1411?], monta il suo salario a F. 11 S. 18 D. 10 [a number of subsequent entries cover payments in 1411]

Section 10

f. 82r [1410] **All'Abate Paolo abate del Pino**, a dì 6 giugno detto, F. 1 d'oro ebe contanti in questo a libro salari segnato A a carta 3 F. 1

f. 87v: [1410] A Don Pagholo della marca [di Marco?] a dì 4 di settembre 1410, L. 3 S. 17 D. 8 quale(?) portò l'**Abate Pagolo** a lui detto per suo salario di mese 1 dì 6 e stato in casa, a Libro salari A a carta 21, e che i salari di badia deon dare a debitori e creditori C carta 39 L. 3 S. 17 D. 8

f. 88v: A spese straordinarie a dì 16 di settembre 1410, L. 2 per i quali ebe il vescovo di San Jacopo per richonciare la chiesa della badia, portò l'**Abate Pagolo** a Libro debitori e creditori C a carta 45 L. 2

f. 92r: A spese straordinarie a dì detto [22 Oct. 1410] L. 1 S. 18 D. 6 quali ebe l'**Abate Pagolo** per fare accorciare due anelli alle finestre del rifettorio et per fare et per accorciare il battaglio della canpana [...] a Libro debitori e creditori C a carta 58 L. 1 S. 18 D. 6

f. 93r: A Ser Jacopo prete e chappellano di badia, a dì 4 di novembre 1410, L. 9 S. 2 quali ebe contanti i quali portò l'**Abate Pagolo**, posto n'abi avuto a Libro Salari A a carta 22, e posto a salari di badia deon dare a Libro debitori e creditori C a carta 53 L. 9 S. 2

f. 99v: [1410=1411] All'Abate Pagolo, abate del Pino, a dì 3 di Febraio [1411] F. sei d'oro ebe contanti, in questo a carta 79 [...] posto n'abi avuto a Libro salari A a carta 24 e che i salari di badia deon dare a debitori C a carta 80 F. 6

f. 106v: [1411] All'Abate Pagolo del Pino a dì detto [19 June 1411] F. 3 d'oro S. 35 p. portò e[l] detto in contanti, e in questo [Libro] per resto di suo salario; a libro salari A a carta 24, che i salari di badia debi dare a debitori e creditori [Libro] C carta 104(?) F. 3 L. 1 S. 15

Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 78 Filza 308 Guasconi Tom. III

[1412-1418: monks and chaplains of the Badia are being paid their salaries in these years after 1411, but Paolo no longer appears]

ABSTRACT

Recent study of a liturgical volume housed at Cambridge University and archival accounts from Florence's major Benedictine monastery, the Badia Fiorentina, in whose rented workshops artists and book makers created that beautifully illuminated Missal, allow for a substantial investigation of Paolo da Firenze's early career. Angelo Acciaiuoli, abbot *in commendam* (1385 - d. 1408), bishop of Florence, and then cardinal, became the great supporter and patron of Paolo, a documented member of the Badia's monastic community for at least two decades.

As a member of the cardinal's *familia*, Paolo followed Acciaiuoli to Rome in the early Quattrocento for several years' residence, witnessing the most critical moments in Italian efforts to end the Great Schism – including the conclave that elected Pope Gregory XII; vigorous Florentine and church rejection (led by Acciaiuoli) of Gregory XII; and final preparations for the 1409 Council of Pisa.

Paolo's presence at the Badia permitted interaction with artisans central to Florence's book industry. As a musician who continued to compose new works into the early fifteenth century, with a strong desire to preserve the Trecento's musical legacy, we have speculated that he was closely involved in the preparation and completion of key musical sources of the period. This hypothesis is strengthened by the survival of a music fragment used in the binding of a volume from the Badia's extensive library.

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

For John Nádas

The magnificent reconstruction of the gathering structure and contents of the San Lorenzo Palimpsest by John Nádas and Andreas Janke will long be the starting point for new work on its repertory.¹ Like other Trecento manuscripts, SL is mostly organised by composer. The five caccias however, unlike in the other anthologies, are separated from the composer sections and presented together in Gathering XVI,² apparently all anonymously, and together with other additions of international French repertory from Gathering XIV onwards. SL is also the only manuscript of Trecento repertory to include a group of motets. This might at first suggest that these, like the caccias, are segregated not by composer but by genre, and that they represent an Italian Trecento genre absent from the repertory manuscripts.³ Surviving in

1. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211*, Vol. 1: *Introductory Study*; Vol. 2: *Multispectral Images*, Ars Nova, n.s. 4 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016). See also Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)*, Musica Mensurabilis, 7 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016). See the review by Margaret Bent in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 26 (2017): 186-98. The title was garbled after proofs and corrected in the next issue, 27 (2018): 99 and online. For helpful comments on the present paper by colleagues at Certaldo and by email I thank Elena Abramov-van Rijk and Michael Scott Cuthbert.

2. The three-part *Oseletto selvaggio* in Gathering III is listed as a caccia but, despite similar musical techniques, Elena Abramov-van Rijk (email of 2 December 2017) reports that it is usually now defined as a canonic madrigal, not as a caccia or a caccia-madrigal. Its poetic text is not at all that of a typical caccia, and it was not included with the other caccias in Gathering XVI.

3. Motets are linked to caccias in the *Capitulum*: “Cacie (sive incalci), a simili per omnia formantur ut motteti, salvo quod verba caciaturum volunt esse aut omnes de septem, aut omnes de quinque sillabis”. Thorsten Burkard and Oliver Huck, “Voces applicatae verbis. Ein musikologischer und poetologischer Traktat aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. (I-Vnm Lat. CI. XII.97 [4125]). Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar”, *Acta musicologica* 74 (2002): 1-34 at 16.

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

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

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

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

H	206 <i>Si nichil actuleris / In pretio pretium</i> 3 ¹⁺¹	cxxxix / 72	Motet	Humbertus de Salinis
	207 <i>Psallat chorus in novo camine / Eximine pater et regie</i> 3 ¹⁺¹			
F	208 <i>Ihesu salvator seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere</i> 3 ¹⁺¹	cxxxix / 62		
	209 <i>Flos ortus / [Celsa cedrus/Quam magnus pontifex]</i> [3 ¹⁺¹]			Philippe de Vitry, attrib.
	210 <i>[Lux purpurata] / Diligite iustitiam</i> [3 ¹⁺¹]			Jacopo da Bologna
H	211 <i>Apta caro / Flos virginum</i> 3 ¹⁺¹	cxxxix / 61		—
F	212 <i>Rex Karole / [Leticie, pacis]</i> [3 ¹⁺¹]	cxxxvi / 70r		Philippe Royllart
	213 <i>[Florentia mundi] / Parce pater</i> [3 ¹⁺¹]			—
	214 <i>S'il m'est des d[...]</i> [2 ⁰]			—
H	215 <i>Pantheon abluitur / Apollinis eclipsatur</i> 3 ¹⁺¹	cxxxviii / 69r		Bernard de Cluny
F	216 <i>Impudenter circumivi / [Virtutibus laudabilis]</i> [3 ¹⁺¹]	cxxxviii / 79		Philippe de Vitry, attrib.

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

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

Table 1: Motets in SL 2211

SL	TITLE	SL CONTENTS	OTHER SOURCES	ASCRPTIONS	COMMENTS
206 R182r	<i>Si nichil actuleris / In precio precium</i>	SL: Tr T Mo on recto	Q15, no. 278, ff. R275v-276, A304v-305 recopied stage III on II	Q15: hubertus de salinis SL: Imbert' d' Salinis	2 × C2, with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on d c void col
207 R182v	<i>Psallat chorus in novo carmine / Eximie pater et regie</i>	SL: Tr T Mo on verso	Q15, no. 247, ff. R250v-251, A279v-280. Ct in Q15 only (4vv) Utrecht37.1, f. V recto identified by Michael Scott Cuthbert ^a	Q15: Hubertus de salinis SL: no ascription	2 × C1, with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on G c void col On St. Lambert, patron saint of Liège.
208 R183r	<i>Ihesu saluator seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere</i>	SL: Tr T Mo on recto	Q15, no. 213, ff. R220v-221, A249v-250: verso recopied at stage II Ox213, f. 81r: black notation Strasbourg, ff. 97v-98: Mo, T; no Tr	Q15: hubertus de salinis Ox213: Ubertus depsalinis SL: Hu'bert' d' Salinis	2 × C1, with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F c time, no col On the passion of Christ, or Holy Week. II paraphrases stanza 2 of the hymn <i>Vexilla regis</i> ; T quotes the beginning of the hymn melody.
209 R183v	<i>Flos ortus / Celsa cedrus / Quam magnus pontifex</i>	SL: Tr on verso; recto missing	Iv, ff. 9v-10 Ca1328, f. 14v: Tr, Mo, T; frag Paris2444, f. 49r Trém index Würz, f. 2r: end of Mo Darmstadt521, ff. 235f-v: text Paris22069, f. 158v ^b	SL: no ascription attrib. Vitry by Leech-Wilkinson and Kügle on grounds of structure and style ^c	Equal-cantus motet 2 × C1 with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F On St. Louis of Toulouse. Vitry generally avoids breaking words with rests, either by matching hockets and text or by leaving hockets untexted; this motet does not do so, which might argue against his authorship. ^d

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

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

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

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

SL	TITLE	SL CONTENTS	OTHER SOURCES	ASCRPTIONS	COMMENTS
210 R185r	<i>Lux purpurata / Diligite iustitiam</i>	SL: II and T on recto; I lost with 184v	PadA (1475), f. 50v	SL: no ascription Jacopo da Bologna (PadA)	Nearly equal cantus parts C1, C2 – with 10/6- 12/8 final cadence on d
211 R185v- 186r	<i>Apta caro / Flos virginum^c</i>	SL: Mo and T on verso; Tr on recto (<i>sic</i>), incomplete SL: either a 10th system was intended on 70r, or scribe intended to complete on facing verso but did not do so; a clef of uncertain pitch is indeed visible on the verso	Iv, ff. 5v-6: with Ct ModA, ff. 17v-18: same Ct as Iv Ch, ff. 60v-61: different Ct Ca1328, ff. 10v-11: T and beginning of Tr Durham, ff. 338v- 339: no Ct Trém index	SL: no ascription	Final cadence on F
212 R186v	<i>Rex Karole / Leticie paci</i>	SL: Tr on verso; recto missing	Ch, ff. 65v-66: Tr, Mo, T, Ct, solus T BaselUb, recto: Mo, solus T LoTNA, f. 1r: Mo, Ct, and new Ct Strasbourg, ff. 7v-8: Tr, T and solus T, but labelled Ct and T Washington, f. 2v: Mo only, frag Perugia, f. Cv-Dr (strips 1 and 9): Ct and solus T, frag	SL: no ascription Strasbourg: Philippus Royllart	The only tempus perfectum minor prolation motet in the 'French' repertory Final cadence on F
213 R188r	<i>Florentia mundi / Marce pater</i>	SL: Mo only	Egidi, f. 2r (original verso?): Tr only	Anon. SL: no ascription	Transcribed in Bent, "Fourteenth Century Italian Motet" Lacks tenor Equal cantus parts 2 × C1 with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F

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

SL	TITLE	SL CONTENTS	OTHER SOURCES	ASCRPTIONS	COMMENTS
215 R188v- 189	<i>Panttheon abluitur / Apollinis eclipsatur</i>	SL: lacks contrapuntally essential Mo (<i>Zodiacum signis</i>) <i>Panttheon</i> is otherwise only in Strasbourg <i>Apollinis</i> (original Tr) and T on verso, <i>Panttheon abluitur</i> on recto	Iv, ff. 12v-13 PadC (658), Bv: Tr BarcA, f. 1r: with additional textless Tr BarcC, ff. 11v-12 Brno, most of Tr Leiden2515, f. 1r: Tr Leipzig223a, r: end of Tr, mo and T ^f LoTNA, f. 2r: with additional Tr <i>Psallentes zinzugia</i> Ox56, f. Ar: T and Tr, frag Strasbourg, ff. 64v-65: 5 voices including additional Tr <i>Panttheon abluitur</i> Tarragona2, f. 1v: Mo and T Trém index Vienna922, f. 2r: frag Vienna5094, f. 158r-v: instr	SL: no ascription 'B. de Cluni' in text; no other ascriptions in any source	Perhaps copied thus because compiler was looking for equal- cantus moters and mistook the 2 X C2 parts with opening imitation as 'essential'. Original motet (<i>Apollinis eclipsatur</i> / <i>Zodiacum signis</i>) has 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F, but SL version lacks proper cadence.
216 R189v	<i>Impudenter circumvivi / Virtutibus laudabilis</i>	SL: Tr on verso, not overwritten; recto missing	Iv, ff. 4v-5: with Ct and solus T Apt, ff. 13v-14: Tr, Mo, Ct, T Bern, f. 18: Ct only, unique, against solus T ^g Br5170: Tr frag, Mo, solus T Br19606, rotulus no. 6: with Ct and unique solus T Leiden342A, f. 1v: Tr frag Strasbourg, 20v-21: Tr, mo, solus T Troyes, f. [23or]: frag Würz, f. 1v Tarragona1 ^h	SL: no ascription attrib. Vitry in Coussemaker's transcription of Strasbourg ⁱ	Equal-cantus motet 2 X Ct with 10/6-12/8 final cadence on F

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

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

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

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

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

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

The group is headed by the three known motets by Hubertus de Salinis (nos. 206–208), copied consecutively in what is now their earliest source.⁹ All three are also in Q15 a few years later.¹⁰ In Q15 *Psallat chorus in novo carmine / Eximie*

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

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

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

9. Nosow (*New Grove II*) calls them “an uneasy appropriation of Italian 14th-century motet style”.

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

pater et regie (207) has an inessential and presumably added contratenor that is not in SL. Unlike some Q15 contratenors, it was not added at stage II but was copied integrally at stage I before 1425.¹¹ *Ihesu salvator seculi / Quo vulneratus scelere* also appeared anonymously in Strasbourg and is Salinis's only motet in Ox213, ascribed and in pride of place at the beginning of Gathering V, the original starting point of that manuscript. We will return to Salinis.

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

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

11. At least two of these motets date from Q15 stage I (*Psallat chorus* entirely, and *Ihesu salvator* partly recopied at stage II; the hitherto unique *Si nichil*, now in what is probably a stage-III recopy on stage-II paper and parchment, was probably also present in stage I), but they do not appear consecutively. For these placements see Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008), Vol. 1. Q15 compositions were sometimes recopied in order to add a contratenor, but the only one of Salinis's motets with a contratenor is wholly in stage I, and the recopies in this case were not for that purpose. Both rectos of the Gloria *Jubilatio* have the text incipit following cantus II for a contratenor that was not entered (Q15 no. 54, R62v-64, stage I).

12. Although claimed by Maria Carmen Gómez as a five-voice version, it seems to be in only four parts. Even with drastic adjustments, a contratenor on the same opening marked *Per sanctam civitatem* does not fit. Maria Carmen Gómez, "Une Version à Cinq Voix du Motet *Apollinis Eclipsatur / Zodiacum Signis* dans le Manuscrit E-BCEN 853", *Musica Disciplina* 39 (1985): 5-44.

13. The triplum only of *Apollinis* also survives in PadC (658); whether this source had an added part for *Apollinis* is unknown, but unlikely. Jacopo's motet is in another Padua fragment, PadA (1475).

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

- The number of voices, three, appears to have been one of the bases for selection. No optional contratenors are included, even where they exist in other sources.
- All have different texts for triplum and motetus, as in all international motets and most Italian motets, though some Veneto motets – the doge motet *Marce Marcum* and some by Ciconia and later composers – have a single text in both voices.
- Some French motets have texted voices that are differentiated in range, though most are equal or nearly so; all the SL motets have two equal- or very nearly equal-range texted upper parts plus tenor.¹⁴
- The SL compiler has chosen motets where the two upper parts have fairly equal activity as well as range. This is particularly striking in the case of *Apollinis*, where the true motetus *Zodiacum*, which is slower-moving and contrapuntally essential, has been sacrificed in favour of an inessential additional triplum part. The compiler's preference for motets with equal cantus parts seems to have resulted in his misunderstanding of that composition.
- Nearly all the Italian motet repertory have 10/6-12/8 final cadences on F or d, rising parallel fifths in the upper part over a stepwise descending tenor. About half the French fourteenth-century repertory have 6/3-8/5, half 10/6-12/8 cadences, with a few irregular endings. None of the ten motets in SL has a 6/3-8/5 cadence; all have some form of 10/6-12/8 final cadence, one on G, two on d, seven on F.
- The choice of motets in SL seems to favour echo openings. *Rex Karole* has opening echo imitation and, like many Italian motets (including *Florentia mundi*), is in perfect time; it sounds superficially a bit like an Italian motet.¹⁵ Salinis's *Ihesu salvator* and *Psallat chorus* have opening echo imitation; the added triplum *Pantheon abluitur* briefly echoes in imitation the opening of its true triplum *Apollinis eclipsatur; Impudenter circumivi* and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another possible point of reference for the compilation could be Ugolino's employment as a singer at Florence Cathedral in 1417-1418.¹⁹ An earlier assumption that a whole gathering might have been devoted to him was tempered by the discovery of other ascriptions within that gathering, notably to Salinis, as noted above. But he was accorded at least a grouping if not a whole gathering of his own, perhaps reflecting his late arrival and short tenure in Florence. Ugolino and Piero must be the youngest composers represented, reflected in their position after the French section.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 2: Hubertus de Salinis, Mass Music and Morets

	Q15	OX213	SL	VENICE	Q1	STRASBOURG	OTHER
Gloria <i>Jubilatio</i> , 3vv	54: R62v-64 A63v-65			ff. 15v-19			Utrecht 37.1, f. III (Strohlm, <i>Rise of European Music</i> , 100)
Gloria, 3vv	63: R78v-79 A79v-80				verso (I and first stave of T only), black notation [anon.]		
Credo, 3vv	55: R64v-66 A65v-67						
	pair, <i>unicum</i>						
Credo, 3vv	64: R79v-81 A80v-82						Houghton, identified by Cutlbert
	irreg paired						
Salve regina "Virgo mater ecclesie", 3vv	232: R236v-237 A265v-266, <i>unicum</i>						
<i>Ihesu salvator seculi</i> / <i>Quo vulneratus scelere</i> , 3vv	213: R220v-221 A249v-250	no. 179, f. 81, ^a full black notation Ubertus de psalms	208, R183, black notation Hu'bert d' Salinis			ff. 97v-98 (not transcribed) [anon.]	
<i>Si nihil actuleris</i> / <i>In precio precium</i> , 3vv	278: R275v-276 A304v-305		206, R182, black notation Imbert d' Salinis				
<i>Pallat chorus in novo carmine</i> / <i>Eximie pater et regie</i> , 3vv	247: R250v-251 A279v-280		207, R182v, black notation anon. here				Utrecht 37.1, f. V recto identified by Cutlbert
on St. Lambert							

^a This is his only piece in OX213, and was the original beginning of the collection, Gathering V, the earliest gathering to be copied. In SL the three Salinis morets (206, 207, and 208) have voices below each other on a single page, but in all cases the moretus follows the tenor. Tr T Mo. Salinis is the only non-Italian composer to have pieces ascribed to him in SL.

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

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

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

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

23. Or Tuagilde = Tagilde, south of Braga (not the small community of Tangil north of Braga, as Nosow suggests in *MGG*2).

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

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

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

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

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

26. John Nádas, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo", *Studi musicali* 15 (1986): 167-82; 16 (1987): 175-6, reports the three surviving accounts volumes from the papacy of John XXIII, preserved among the Strozzi papers in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence: Magl.XIX.80 (1410), Magl.XIX.79 (1410-1412), Magl.XIX.81 (1413-1414), citing Lothar Waldmüller, "Materialien zur Geschichte Johannes XXIII (1410-1414)", *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* VII (1975): 229-37. Nosow (*New Grove* II, s.v. "Hymbert de Salinis") says that he was no longer in the chapel by January 1413, but that list is not a full one. Zacara then heads the list and may have been *magister cappelle*, though not so named. See Nádas, "Further Notes", and Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Zacara e i suoi colleghi italiani nella cappella papale", in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004), 34-54.

27. As noted in n1, my review in *Plain-song and Medieval Music* was printed from uncorrected proofs; I had changed Humbertus to Hubertus, but this was not implemented. Leofranc Holford-Strevens observes that Humbert (Germanic, "warrior-bright") is a name particularly associated with Savoy (and thence, as Umberto, with the Italian royal family); the Dominican Humbert of Romans was from Romans-sur-Isère in southeastern France. Hubert ("mind-bright") was a bishop of Liège, whose name in various forms (e.g., Hupperts) became widespread in northern Germany and the Low Countries.

28. The importance of being Ubertus?

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

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

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

30. I am grateful to Catherine Saucier, email of 19 February 2017, for the following references:

Four payments from the Cathedral of Liège, Compterie des Anniversaires, register numbers 80 (1418); 83 (1426); 84 (1432); and 87 (1442) for the celebration of the anniversary of Hermannus de Salinis (also spelled “Psalinis” in register 87) in the month of February.

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

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

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

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

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

32. Montpellier variants include the following: Tr: *two tegmine* (Q15 has the metrically less correct *two regimine*); *domine Nicholae* (Q15 *Sancte Lamberte*); *aptatur* (Q15 wrongly *optatur*). Mo: *hac die Nicholae* (Q15 *Sancte Lamberte*); *nos doce* (Q15 *doce nos*). Nosow (*New Grove II*) suggests that “Salinis seems to have travelled provided with ready-made texts, which explains the re-use of 13th-century French motet or conductus texts”.

33. The motetus imagines a contemporary reception of Homer and Croesus; Homer’s literary prowess would now mean nothing, while Croesus’ wealth would bring him friendship, praise, and honour. See Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Early Fifteenth-Century Music VII*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 11 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955). He reports text in other sources including Emilie Dahnk, *L’Hérésie de Fauvel*, *Leipzig romanistische Studien, Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 4 (Leipzig: Selbstverlag der Romanischen Seminars, 1935), 34. *In precio precium* is in Fauvel, p.mus. 16; the first lines are from Ovid, *Fasti* I.217. Florence no. 652, ff. 227r-v, two stanzas of a conductus, has *In precio precium* underlaid in one voice, with Salinis’s triplum text *Si nichil* following as a second stanza.

34. Di Bacco and Nádas, “Papal Chapels and Italian Sources”, 71-2.

35. See Nosow, s.v. “Hubertus de Salinis”, in *MGG2*. In his earlier dissertation (“Florid and Equal Discantus”, 98 and 87), however, because of prepublication access to the information about his beneficial career in Portugal, he called him a “Portuguese composer” and “from the diocese of Braga, in northern Portugal”.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

41. *Codex Chantilly*, 133-4 and 150.

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

43. Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, 181.

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

Table 3: Songs by or possibly by Salinis

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

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

45. Reported by Janke, "Die Kompositionen", 33.

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

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

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

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

47. Anne Stone's chapter in the present volume addresses Filargo's patronage of Matteo da Perugia.

48. Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 27–8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

52. Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels and Italian Sources", 71-2; Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 29.

53. The complete motets from which these examples are adapted are published in Reaney, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music VII*.

20

fu-sus, suc-cu - re mi - se - ris,

sit ho - nor, laus et glo - ri - a

23

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

27

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

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

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

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

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

MANUSCRIPT ABBREVIATIONS

Apt	Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16bis
Bamberg	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115
BarcA	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 853
BarcC	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 971
BaselUb	Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, N.I.6 Nr 72
Bern	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. A 471 (flyleaves of A 421) ⁵⁵
Br5170	Bruxelles, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Fonds Sint-Goedele 5170
Br19606	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royal Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 19606
Brno	Brno, Archiv města Brna, Fond V 2, Svatojakubská knihovna, 94/106
Ca1328	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque Municipale), B 1328
Ch	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564
Darmstadt521	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 521
Darmstadt3471	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 3471
Durham	Durham, Chapter Library, C I 20
Egidi	Montefiore dell'Aso, Biblioteca-Archivio di Francesco Egidi, s.n. (lost)
Fauvel	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146
Florence	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. 29.1
Fp	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26
Gr224	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224 (<i>olim</i> Collocazione provvisoria 197)
Houghton	Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 122 (cover)
Huelgas	Las Huelgas (Burgos), Monasterio de Santa María la Real, IX ("Codex Las Huelgas")
Iv	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115
Leiden342A	Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment L.T.K. 342A
Leiden2515	Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Fragment B.P.L. 2515
Leipzig223a	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. Lat. 223a
Lo	London, British Library, Add. 29987
LoTNA	London, The National Archives, E.163/ 22/ 1/ 24
ModA	Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24
Montpellier	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196

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

Ox56	Oxford, All Souls College, 56
Ox213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213
PadA (1475)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1475
PadC (658)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 658
PadD (1106)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1106
Paris2444	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.lat. 2444
Paris11411	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11411
Paris22069	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 22069
Perugia	Perugia, Biblioteca Sala del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi, Inc. 2 (<i>olim</i> Cas. 3, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.)
Q1	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.1
Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15
Reina	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina")
SL	Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211
Sq	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 ("Squarcialupi Codex")
Strasbourg	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque de la Ville), 222 C.22 (destroyed)
Tarragona1	Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 1
Tarragona2	Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, Fragment 2
Trém	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 23190
Troyes	Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes (<i>olim</i> Bibliothèque Municipale), Fonds ancien 1397
Utrecht37.1	Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 6 E 37 (Hs. 1846), part 1 ⁵⁶
Venice	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 145 (7554)
Vienna922	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fragment 922
Vienna5094	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5094
Washington	Washington, Library of Congress, M2.1.C6a.14 Case
Westminster	London, Westminster Abbey, 33327
Würz	Würzburg, Franziskanerkloster, I 10

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

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- New Grove I* *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 1st ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980).
- New Grove II* *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001).
- MGG1* *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 1st edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949-1986).
- MGG2* *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, 2nd edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1994-2008).

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

ABSTRACT

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

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Mikhail Lopatin

MUSICO-METAPOETIC RELATIONSHIPS IN TRECENTO SONG:
TWO CASE STUDIES FROM THE SAN LORENZO PALIMPSEST
(SL 2211)

Words ... are full of echoes, of memories, of associations – naturally. They have been out and about, on people's lips, in their houses, in the streets, in the fields, for so many centuries. And that is one of the chief difficulties in writing them today – that they are so stored with meanings, with memories, that they have contracted so many famous marriages.

Virginia Woolf¹

INTRODUCTION

Methodology and structure

This work is part of a series of studies of musico-textual (or rather musico-metatextual) relationships in Trecento song, some of which have already been published or accepted for publication elsewhere.² I will therefore refrain here from duplicating a thorough methodological discussion of the entire project presented in these publications, confining myself in this introduction only to a few preliminary remarks that seem indispensable for introducing the analytical model pursued in the main portion of this essay. This will be followed by two case studies drawn from the recent facsimile edition of Firenze,

1. Virginia Woolf, *Selected essays*, ed. David Bradshaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 88.

2. This series of studies has assumed the shape of a book (currently in preparation), with five chapters dedicated to five different sets of metapoetic topoi. Two of these chapters have now been published as articles: Mikhail Lopatin, "Metapoesis in Trecento Song: 'Divisio' at the Intersection of Love, Poetic Form, and Music", *Music and Letters* 99/4 (2018): 511-50; and Id., "Tornando indietro: Dante's 'Tornata' and Metapoetic Returns in the Trecento Madrigal", *Music analysis* 38/1-2 (2019): 204-40. Both articles contain more extensive discussions of the analytical model used here.

Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211, the San Lorenzo Palimpsest, by John Nádas and Andreas Janke (hereafter abbreviated as SL) and Andreas Janke's research focused on the same song corpus.³

My first case study, Giovanni Mazzuoli's madrigal *A piè del monte*, arises directly from the following introductory remarks and is intended to illustrate in a more straightforward fashion the basic tenets of the proposed methodology. In the second and central case study of this essay, Piero Mazzuoli's three-voice ballata *A Febo*, I shall offer a more detailed examination of this song's form and content, arguing that the metapoetic motif of transformation/mutation creates multiple echoes across this song's amorous content (via Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), poetic structure (which, I argue, might be viewed as "metamorphic"), and musical setting (via *mutatio* in the hexachordal structure of the music and its use of *musica ficta*). Both case studies will ideally provide more evidence, drawn from the later layer of the Trecento song repertory, in support of the analytical model that I present here and elsewhere, and hopefully become significant in pursuing the question of metapoesis in Trecento song culture – to use Dante's colorful description, this creature "whose scent is left everywhere but which is nowhere to be seen".⁴

Recent research on musico-textual relationships in different medieval musical repertories has largely undermined and blurred the distinction, drawn perhaps too sharply in the past, between large-scale formal (syntactic, metrical, rhythmic) and semantic relationships between text and music.⁵ In the process of redefining their relationships, the role of music – its sonic/performative and visual aspects, form, texture, melodic and rhythmic shapes,

3. See Andreas Jamke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016); and Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)*, Musica Mensurabilis, 7 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016).

4. This is from Dante's description of his hunt for the illustrious vernacular through the pastures and woodlands of all Italy (see *De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.16.1). Both the original text and the translation reproduced here (by Steven Botterill) can be consulted online at the Princeton Dante Project at <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/pdp/vulgari.html> (accessed August 8, 2018).

5. On musico-textual relationships in Trecento music, with a clear stratification of these into "formal", "rhythmic", and "semantic" groups, see Marco Gozzi, "On the Text-Music Relationship in the Italian Trecento: The Case of the Petrarchan Madrigal *Non al so amante* Set by Jacopo da Bologna", *Polifonie: History and Theory of Choral Music* 4 (2004): 197–222; as well as multiple observations and further bibliography in Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, Musica Mensurabilis, 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005); Elena Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando: The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Bern: Verlag Peter Lang, 2009), particularly chap. 6 (237–64); and a recent conference volume, *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano: Verso una nuova edizione critica dell' "Ars Nova"*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015).

and so on – assumed a central position, with the music not only ornamenting and “sonifying” the textual carcass and supporting the meaning of the words, as often claimed previously, but actively contributing to the process of signification itself.⁶

Formal and semantic aspects of this relationship easily overlap: By imposing its own syntactic flow onto the text, music cannot but create new semantic links; musical forms themselves therefore become eloquent and expressive, not neutral, with their shapes corresponding to the meaning of the text(s), or its main idea, its “materia”.⁷ In addition, what has been largely overlooked in this regard is the innate ambiguity and polysemic, or “chameleon-like”,⁸ quality of words that facilitates their transfer from strictly “semantic” to “formal” (or vice versa), from “poetic” to “metapoetic”, from “textual” to “paratextual”, and so on – the kind of ambiguity that was often explored intentionally by poets and theorists alike (I will return to the intentional equivocality shortly).

This essay takes the more comprehensive approach to musico-textual relationships as its premise, viewing these relationships (through the metapoetic lens) as not just ranging from merely formal to semantic, but as revealing a deeper interpenetration and tighter entanglement of the two. While in the Trecento song repertory forms are not as diverse and multilayered as in the Ars Nova motets and therefore carry much less expressive potential in themselves, there are nonetheless other effective means, I argue, for articulating the unity of form and content, and for binding formal and semantic relations between music and text.⁹ It is here that metapoesis enters the stage.

6. See, for instance, Ardis Butterfield, “The Language of Medieval Music: Two Thirteenth-Century Motets”, *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 2 (1993): 1-16. In particular, the author notes that “not only does the music support the meaning of the words, but ... it contributes to the process of meaning” (5).

7. “Since meaning is a function of syntax, a composer who projects the latter in his musical setting cannot but reflect the former in some sense”: see Leo Treitler and Ritva Maria Jonsson, “Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship”, in *Studies in the History of Music, I: Music and Language* (New York: Broude, 1983), 1-23, esp. 2; with regards to “eloquent forms”, see Anna Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

8. “A word ... is a chameleon in which there arise, every time, not only different shades, but also sometimes different colors”, quoting Yury Tyanyanov in *Words in Revolution: Russian Futurist Manifestoes 1912-1928*, ed. Anna Lawton and Herbert Eagle (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2005), 286.

9. Dorothea Baumann coined the term “extraordinary forms” in relation to some abnormal structural patterns that she saw in Trecento songs (see “Some Extraordinary Forms in the Italian Secular Trecento Repertoire”, in *L’Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento IV*, ed. Agostino Ziino [Certaldo: Polis, 1978], 45-63), but most of these “extraordinary forms” have recently been “normalized” and adjusted to more regular and recognizable patterns in Antonio Calvia, “Presunte anomalie e intertestualità verbale e musicale nell’opera di Nicolò del Preposto”, in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 143-87.

In its broader sense, “metapoesis” refers to the kind of self-reflexive poetic writing in which a poet shows interest in the writing process itself and the mechanics of poetic production: metapoesis, to put it simply, is poetry about poetry, or how to write poetry, with a more or less articulated interest in theorizing – something very familiar to all literary scholars of the Trecento.¹⁰ This broader metapoesis is familiar to musicologists as well, since the kind of autoreferentiality that results from the metapoetic practice seems to be consistently present from the Troubadour tradition onwards, and throughout the Italian Trecento and Ars Subtilior, as attested to in numerous poems and songs that reflect on the poetic or musical act, and which use the language mingled with technical terminology imported from treatises on poetry, poetic form, and music theory.¹¹

My focus in this and related studies is slightly different, however: not on these broader issues of self-reflexivity and autoreferentiality, but much more on the metapoetic potential of those pieces in which metapoesis does not seem to feature prominently at first glance but can be uncovered by looking at the ambiguities of poetic language. What I examine here, therefore, is the use of a poetic lexicon that might be understood as referring to the mechanics of the text or its musical setting, if there is any, and acknowledging its formal poetic and musical constitution. I focus on the semantic field established by such potentially metapoetic items as *divisio*, *caesura*, *mensura*, *pausa*, *ritornello/return*, *mutazione*, and others, and their interpretative potential not only in poetic content and versification, but also in music theory and hence in the resulting musico-(meta)textual coordination (two of these items will be explored later in this essay). All items just listed, arguably a brief sample from a larger metapoetic lexicon, are pertinent – and some are, in fact, central – to medieval music theory and can therefore be easily extrapolated to analytical consideration of musical settings. This metapoetic potential, too, has drawn the atten-

10. Take Dante, for instance, who not only wrote a separate treatise on linguistic and poetic matters (*De vulgari eloquentia*, quoted above), but theorized extensively in his own poetry, so that we, as readers, never lose sight of Dante-the-poet behind Dante as a poetic persona.

11. On self-reflexive songs (songs about music or singing) in the Ars Nova / Ars Subtilior, see Ursula Günther, “Fourteenth-Century Music with Texts Revealing Performance Practice”, in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 253–70; Anne Stone, “Self-Reflexive Songs and Their Readers in the Late 14th Century”, *Early Music* 31 (2003): 180–94. In the Italian Trecento alone, famous examples are Jacopo’s *Oselletto selvaggio*, Giovanni’s *O tu cara scienza*, and Landini’s *O Musica son and Sì dolce non sonò*. On this last piece, see particularly Pedro Memelsdorff, “La ‘tibia’ di Apollo, i modelli di Jacopo e l’eloquenza landiniana”, in “*Col dolce suon che da te piove*”: *Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo*. In memoria di Nino Pirrotta, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 241–58.

tion of some Trecento literary scholars (particularly those focused on such major poets as Dante and Petrarch), but has been relatively neglected in the musicological literature.¹²

The mechanics of the metapoetic relation that I explore between music and text is based on the idea that certain words could be used deliberately for their ability to equivocate, the concept explored and theorized in Trecento lyrics in Antonio da Tempo's and Gidino da Sommacampagna's discussion of "*equivocus*".¹³ What Antonio and, later, Gidino describe as *equivocus* concerns solely the changing meanings of words in a strictly poetic context, either in one language (Italian) or between several (Italian/French or Italian/Latin). This analytical tool could be instrumental in appreciating the relationships between versification and poetic content and, ultimately, between text and music, that is, across different media and discourses. The role that *equivoci* (in Antonio da Tempo's specific sense) play in musical settings has already been emphasized by Pedro Memelsdorff, who noted that "it is through music that composers (or poet-composers) explore possible equivocal connotations which enrich, where appropriate, the polysemic contents of poetic texts".¹⁴ Memelsdorff's

12. In Dante studies, one fairly straightforward example is the issue of Dante's "beginnings", as in his obsession with the opening formula "comincia" ([here] begins) in the *Vita nova*, or his series of "new beginnings" in the *Inferno*: see Guglielmo Gorni, "La teoria del 'cominciamento'", in *Il nodo della lingua e il verbo d'amore: Studi su Dante e altri duecentisti* (Florence: Olschki, 1981), 143-86; Teodolinda Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy: Detheologizing Dante* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), chap. 2, 21-47. Dante's predilection for using certain words in specific metrical positions is further explored in Pier Marco Bertinetto, *Ritmo e modelli ritmici: Analisi computazionale delle funzioni periodiche nella versificazione dantesca* (Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier, 1973); and Pietro G. Beltrami, *Metrica, poetica, metrica dantesca* (Pisa: Pacini, 1981). Metapoesis as a term figures in Francesco Marco Aresu, "The Author as Scribe. Materiality and Textuality in the Trecento" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015), 65-76; Id., "Modalità iconica e istanza metatestuale nella sestina petrarchesca *Mia benigna fortuna el uiuer lieto* (Rvf CCCXXXII)", *Textual cultures* 5/2 (2010): 11-25; and Ronald L. Martinez, "Guinizellian Protocols: Angelic Hierarchies, Human Government, and Poetic Form in Dante", *Dante Studies* 134 (2016): 48-111. See particularly Martinez's and Barolini's metapoetic readings of *Par.* XXIX in Martinez, "Guinizellian Protocols", 60-5 and Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy*, 237-8. See also Barolini's chap. 10 (218-56), in which Dante's programmatic concern with "jumping" (in *Par.* XXIII 62: "convien saltar lo sacro poema") is linked to his extensive and meaningful use of enjambment. The idea of the conflation of different categories (grammatical and rhetorical) is explicitly mentioned (with regard to Boethius, but in direct relation to Dante) in Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, *Time and the Crystal: Studies in Dante's Rime Petrose* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 18.

13. See Antonio da Tempo, *Summa artis rithmici vulgaris dictaminis*, ed. Richard Andrews (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1977), 87-90; Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Trattato dei ritmi volgari*, ed. G. B. C. Giuliani (Bologna: G. Romagnoli, 1870), 172-9. For other references to verbal games, see also Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali in un madrigale araldico trilingue attribuito e attribuibile a Petrarca: *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 45-92.

14. "È tramite la musica che i compositori (o poeti-compositori) esplorano possibili connotazioni equivocate con cui all'occorrenza arricchire i contenuti polisemici dei testi poetici", in Pedro

analysis shows how Trecento music highlights and clarifies (rhythmically or melodically) equivocal poetic dictions. My own analytical investigation proceeds along the same lines but applies the idea of *equivocus* more broadly, using it as a link between different discourses and different layers of meaning.

Equivocus is a kind of verbal game, of course. As such, it may be understood in a broader context of a variety of other verbal games that permeate the vernacular poetic language of the Trecento: acrostics, *senbals*, and other coded references to people, and so on – all games that explore verbal equivocality. Petrarch's Laura, whose name metamorphoses throughout the *Canzoniere* into a breeze (*l'aura*) or a laurel (*lauro*), or is presented scattered across the lines of the poem (as in Sonnet 5's "Laureta"), is a clear case of this sort of semantic fluidity. All these linguistic devices testify, in Steven Botterill's words, to this period's "lively interest in the theory and practice of the language which is its medium. Trecento texts are often marked by a sense of audacious linguistic experimentation, and they are, by and large, highly self-conscious of their own historical status as belonging to an almost entirely new branch of discursive practice: writing in Italian".¹⁵

These verbal games clearly show a fascination with the equivocality of a newly emerging poetic language, which is approached simultaneously from the practical and theoretical perspectives, and often fuses both perspectives to create unexpected metapoetic ambiguities. In the Middle Ages, this verbal ambiguity was sometimes seen as potentially disruptive to the process of signification and therefore morally suspicious, but more often (as in the cases of Antonio da Tempo and Gidino da Sommacampagna) as playful and ingenious.¹⁶

To sum up, I propose to extrapolate the discussions of metapoesis (already present in the literary studies) and *equivocus* (discussed by Antonio da Tempo

Memelsdorff, "Equivocus": per una nuova lettura del rapporto testo-musica nel Trecento italiano", in *L'ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VII. "Dolci e nuove note": atti del quinto convegno internazionale in ricordo di Federico Ghisi (1901-1975): Certaldo, 17-18 dicembre 2005*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2009), 143-88, at 185.

15. Steven Botterill, "Però che la divisione non si fa se non per aprire la sentenza de la cosa divisa" (V.N., XIV, 13): The 'Vita Nuova' as Commentary", in *La gloriosa donna de la mente: A Commentary on the "Vita nuova"*, ed. Vincent Moleta (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 61-76, at 65.

16. As to the former, the twelfth-century grammarian Magister Guido expresses this concern very clearly: "Just as someone who gets lost on a journey needs the guidance of someone else in order to return to the right road and proceed with certainty, in the same way many words placed in syntactic structure, because of some inherent uncertainty about their meaning, require the addition of other words to govern them, i.e., to free them from the uncertainty that they bear, and show that they mean something specific", quoted in Elena Lombardi, *The Syntax of Desire: Language and Love in Augustine, the Modistae, Dante* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 21n2.

and explicated by Memelsdorff) and apply them to Trecento song culture – in particular to the two case studies that follow this introduction – namely to the interrelation of music and text in these pieces. Instead of viewing music and text separately, or categorizing their relationships as either formal or semantic, I use metapoesis to show the closer entanglement of the two and the new meanings potentially produced in the course of their interaction. Metaphorically, this interaction can be likened to the interrelation of two voices in polyphony, which move in parallel or contrary motion, drifting apart or crossing each other's paths. Taking this as an analogue, music and text might be understood as relating to each other contrapuntally, in that both carry a certain amount of semantic (or metapoetic) potential that is realized or (perhaps more often) abandoned, but certainly shaped in one way or another in the process of their “singing together”.

CASE STUDY I: GIOVANNI MAZZUOLI'S MADRIGAL «A PIÈ DEL MONTE»: ON METAPOETIC RETURNS

A relatively simple example of semantic fluidity and ambiguity of the metapoetic kind can be seen in Giovanni Mazzuoli's madrigal *A piè del monte*, recently revealed in the SL Palimpsest and edited by Andreas Janke in his study of the two Mazzuolis and Ugolino da Orvieto.¹⁷ The text of this piece given below closely follows Janke's edition:¹⁸

A piè del monte, ove 'l bel fiume bagna,
tra gli albucelli una vaga cervetta
si pasce sopra alla novella erbetta.

[...]

Rechomi allor la 'ngrata or quando torna.
Fuge al boscho mi mostra le corna.

17. SL, ff. 22v-23r (=LXXXIIv-LXXXIIIr). Edition in Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 189-91.

18. Note that the text is probably incomplete (lacking the second terzetto) and some of the readings proposed below, taken from the existing editions and recordings, are still open to discussion owing to the problematic state of the SL Palimpsest. That the verb “tornare” appears at the very end of the first line of the ritornello is clear, however, as is its position within the musical structure and, therefore, the resulting musico-textual coordination – the chief concern of this section. The English translation by Gina Psaki is taken from the liner notes for the CD recording *Splendor da ciel*, Ensemble La Morra (Ramée, Catalogue number RAM 1803), at 33 (available online at https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/sanlorenzo_e.html, last accessed October 29, 2019).

English translation:

At the foot of the hill, where the fair stream flows,
among the bushes a lovely little hind
nibbles on the fresh new grass.

[...]

Now when I go there that ingrate turns
and flees into the wood, and shows me her horns.

The first *terzina* of this madrigal presents a characteristic description of an ideal *locus amoenus*, with multiple echoes of the earlier madrigal tradition as well as of various Petrarch's and Boccaccio's texts.¹⁹ Against this ideal setting, the *ritornello* introduces dramatic interaction between the two main protagonists – the poetic “*io*” and a *cervetta* [hind] – that ends with the latter running away into the woods (“[*lei*] *fuge al boscho*”). Lexically, the metapoetic interest here lies in the first line of the *ritornello* that ends with “*torna*” [to turn / return]. The strategically important position of the verb *tornare* at the end of the line emphasizes its poetic and musical significance, as it becomes one of the two rhyme words in the final couplet of the text (*torna/corna*) and, as was conventional in madrigal settings, receives a florid penultimate melisma in the musical setting that helps sonically enhance the word.

In metapoetic terms, *tornare* is important insofar as it creates a link between the amorous story of this madrigal and the terminological apparatus normally associated with the final part of the madrigal, typically called, in music manuscripts and poetic treatises, *tornello*, *ritornello*, or *volta*, all terms implying some sort of (re)turn.²⁰ These words were often transmitted in music sources

19. See discussion of this text in Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 69–73.

20. The use of the term “*volta*” in Italian sources is discussed in Pedro Memelsdorff, ed., *The Codex Faenza 117: Instrumental Polyphony in Late Medieval Italy*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2013), Vol. 1, 127. Both “*ritornello*” and “*volta*” are used in Antonio da Tempo's *Summa* with regards to the madrigal: “*mandriales ... cum retornellis sive volti*” (Antonio da Tempo, *Summa*, 71; emphasis mine). The term *volta* is also used in relation to the madrigal in the so-called Vercelli treatise, see Anna Cornagliotti and Maria Caraci Vela, eds., *Un inedito trattato musicale del medioevo (Vercelli, Biblioteca agnesiana, Cod. 11)* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 90: “*la secunda parte se chiama la volta*” (emphasis mine). The same term (or its Latin equivalent, “*versus*”), it seems, is implied in the earliest Trecento music source (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 215; Ostiglia (Mantova), Fondazione Opera Pia don Giuseppe Greggiati, mus. rari B 35 [Rs]) by the abbreviation “V”; more apparent is its use in a north-Italian music manuscript, Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117 (Fa), in the Italian section. The terms *tornello*/*ritornello* are frequently

beside the main body of the text as a sort of paratextual commentary, thus acquiring a degree of visual prominence. In a sense, what happens in Giovanni's madrigal might therefore be understood as internalization of this paratextual component, its transformation from a paratextual (ritornello, as the name of the part) into a purely textual phenomenon ("return" as a poetic motif).²¹

Giovanni's piece is not alone in its exploration of (metapoetic) returns: it is in good company with thirteen other "*tornando*" songs (twelve madrigals and one caccia) that introduce return as a poetic motif in their ritornellos (see Table 1). Overall, these fourteen pieces range chronologically from the earliest layer of Trecento repertory (Giovanni and Jacopo) to its 'post-Landinian' stage (Paolo and Giovanni Mazzuoli).²²

While the madrigal's ritornello seems to suggest some sort of return by its very name, hardly anything ever returns in ritornellos – rather, what happens is a series of "turns" in the authorial voice, addressee, poetic diction, rhyme pattern, and music.²³ These generic conventions notwithstanding, Giovanni's piece is one of the few madrigals in this group (marked in bold in the Table) that introduces, rather idiosyncratically, a sonic articulation of the return motif.

The beginning of the penultimate melisma on "*torna*" (see Example 1[a] below) introduces two melodic elements in the top voice (boxes A and B in the example), accompanied by an ascending fifth in the tenor (box C). All three elements may seem generic in terms of their melodic and rhythmic pro-

encountered in the music manuscripts transmitting Trecento repertory, mostly in conjunction with tenor parts (for instance, "tenor tornelli").

21. See a more detailed examination of "tornando" madrigals (which includes three further case studies, of Jacopo's *I' senti' già*, Giovanni's *O tu cara scienza mia musica*, and Donato's *Come da lupo*), with a link to Dante's definition of the "tornata" in the canzone, in my article "*Tornando indietro: Dante's 'Tornata' and Metapoetic Returns*".

22. Table 1 includes only those pieces that have musical settings; for a similar use of return in a solely poetic context, see Petrarch's *RVF* 54 ("et *tornai indietro* quasi a mezzo 'l giorno" in line 10, emphasis mine).

23. On this quasi-metapoetic "turning" of voice and poetic register in the final "tornada" of a Trouvère canso, see Judith A. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), particularly chap. 1 (33–75). The last section of the Trecento madrigal is characterized by a process of change – of rhymes and music – rather than any kind of return, as specified, for instance, in (i) Antonio da Tempo: "mandriales autem cum duobus retornellis undenariis debet mutari consonantias et sonum in retornellis" (A madrigal with a two-line ritornello, however, must change its consonance [rhyme] and sound [melody] in the ritornello), see Antonio da Tempo, *Summa*, 74; and (ii) the author of the Vercelli treatise: "et poy de la dicta volta debe essere alt[r]a misura che la prima parte" (And after that, in the said *volta* there should be a mensuration different from that of the first part), see Cornagliotti and Caraci Vela, *Un inedito trattato*, 90. All this makes Giovanni's decision to "return" (musically) stand out from the normal and expected pattern.

Table 1: “*Tornando*” madrigals

TITLE COMPOSER/POET	MUSIC SOURCES ^a	VERB USED IN THE RITORNELLO	NOMENCLATURE IN THE SOURCES	POSITION OF THE VERB / ITS MUSICAL SETTING	MUSICAL REPETITION (MEASURE NUMBERS)
<i>Donna già fui</i> Giovanni da Firenze	Fp, Sq, SL	<i>tornare</i>	“R[ritornello]” (Fp)	second line, syllables 1-3/melismatic	internal (111- 113/115-117)
<i>O tu, cara scienza</i> Giovanni da Firenze	Fp, R, Lo, Sq, SL	<i>ritornare</i>	“R[ritornello]” (Fp)	first line, syllables 3- 5/syllabic	between the parts: 27- 30/100-103 and 41- 45/49-51/87-88/96- 100
<i>I' senti' già</i> Jacopo da Bologna	R, Sq, SL	<i>tornare</i>	none	first line, syllables 3- 5/part of melisma	between the parts: 1- 9/61-65
<i>Un bel sparver</i> Jacopo da Bologna	Fp, R, Pitr, Sq, SL, Perugia	<i>tornare</i>	“R[ritornello]” (Fp)	first line, syllables 9- 11/mostly syllabic	none
<i>Nel prato pien di fiori</i> Anon. (Jacopo da Bologna?)	R	<i>tornare</i>	none	first line, syllables 1- 3/melismatic	internal, as part of canon (77-80/80-83)
<i>Sì forte vola</i> Gherardo da Firenze	Sq	<i>tornare</i>	none	second line, syllables 6-8/syllabic	none

^a Fp = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26; Lo = London, British Library, Add. 29987; Perugia = Perugia, Biblioteca Sala del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi, Inc. 2 (*olim* Cas. 3, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.); Pitr = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771; Sq = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87; Trent60 = Trento, Biblioteca di S. Bernardino, Inc. 60.

TITLE COMPOSER/POET	MUSIC SOURCES	VERB USED IN THE RITORNELLO	NOMENCLATURE IN THE SOURCES	POSITION OF THE VERB / ITS MUSICAL SETTING	MUSICAL REPETITION (MEASURE NUMBERS)
<i>Un bel girfalco</i> Donato da Cascia/Niccolò Soldanieri	Pit, Sq, SL	(non) <i>ritornare</i>	none	first line, syllables 3- 5/part of melisma	none
<i>Come da lupo</i> Donato da Cascia/Niccolò Soldanieri	Sq	(non) <i>tornare</i>	none	second line, syllables 10-11/melismatic	between the parts: 69- 75/91-94
<i>Faccia chi de'</i> Donato da Cascia	Pit, Sq	(non) <i>tornare</i>	none	second line, syllables 8-9/syllabic	internal, some part of canon (45/48/51/54/57)
<i>Dappoi che 'l sole</i> Niccolò del Preposto	Lo, Sq	<i>tornare</i>	"tenor tornelli" (Sq), "il tenore del ritornello" (Lo)	first line, syllables 1- 3/melismatic	internal, as part of canon (213-221/221- 229)
<i>Un pellegrin uccel</i> Paolo da Firenze	Pit	<i>tornare/volgere</i>	none	second line, syllables 5-7/syllabic	none
<i>A piè del monte</i> Giovanni Mazzuoli	SL	<i>tornare</i>	none	first line, syllables 10- 11/melismatic	between the parts: 77- 79/5-6
<i>Spesse fiate ha preso</i> Anon.	R	<i>volere/revolvere/tornare</i>	none	first line, syllables 2- 4/syllabic, 9- 11/melismatic; second line, syllables 8- 9/syllabic	none
<i>Di virtù vidi</i> Anon.	Trent60 (tenor only)	<i>ritornare</i>	none	second line, syllables 9-11/melismatic	unclear, incomplete

files, and they often reappear individually in this and other pieces of Giovanni's, but this particular combination of all three is introduced in this ballata only once before, within the initial melisma of the first part in mm. 5-6 (see Example 1[b]). That this repetition involves both voices of the madrigal – that is, the entire dyadic contrapuntal structure – is particularly important in emphasizing sonically the musical return that coincides precisely with the poetic return on “*torna*”.

(a)

(b)

Example 1. (a) *A piè del monte*, mm. 77-83; (b) *A piè del monte*, mm. 1-8

Considering that melodic repetitions across two parts seldom occur in the Trecento madrigal repertory, this particular gesture gains greater weight and enhances the return motif of the text and the missing “returning” function of the ritornello. In this case, the “return” creates a strong musico-metapoetic link between the amorous content, poetic form, and Giovanni Mazzuoli’s musical setting. Finally, the fact that Giovanni’s setting responds so unambiguously to the metapoetic impulse of the text, and the fact that it is not the only “*tornando*” madrigal to do so, amplifies the relevance of “return” to the metapoetic discourse I explore.

CASE STUDY II: PIERO MAZZUOLI'S BALLATA «A FEBO» (3 vv.)

A. Poetic content and form: Metapoetic transformations

Piero Mazzuoli's ballata *A Febo* survives in two different versions in SL, for two and three voices, that respectively open and close the seventeenth gathering of the palimpsest.²⁴ In this essay, I focus on the opening three-voice setting. The text below (Table 2) follows Janke's edition of this piece with some emendations proposed by Gianluca d'Agostino.²⁵

Table 2: *A Febo* (Piero Mazzuoli), original text and the musico-poetic structure

PART	TEXT	RHYME	MUSIC
<i>Ripresa</i>	A Febo Damn'e a Marte Venere mai	Y	A
	poté piacer, quant'ora	z	
	a me questa gentil che 'l ciel onora.	Z	
<i>Piede 1</i> (mutazione 1)	Alcmena, Leda, Europa o qual più Giove	A	B
	per sua biltà dal cielo	b	
	condusse amante nella greggia humana,	C	
<i>Piede 2</i> (mutazione 2)	converso in Geta o 'n pioggia o 'n cigno o 'n bove;	A	B
	costei sott' un bel velo	b	
	qual sol[e] delle stelle allor soprana	C	
<i>Volta</i>	parsa saria, né più bella Diana	C	A
	vide Attheon ancora;	z	
	dunqu'io felice e chi di lei innamora.	Z	
<i>Ripresa</i>	<i>A Febo Damn'e</i> etc.	YzZ	A

*English translation:*²⁶

Neither Daphne to Phoebus nor Venus to Mars
could ever be as pleasing
as this noble lady whom the heaven honors, is to me now.

Alcmene, Leda, Europa – or any other

24. SL, ff. 91v-92r (=CLXIV-CLXIIr, for 3 voices) and ff. 97v-98r (=CLXIXv-CLXXr, for 2 voices).

25. See Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 106 and Gianluca D'Agostino, "Transitional Forms, Conservative Tendencies, Florentine Pride and Classical Echoes in the Italian Poetry Set to Music in the First Half of the 15th Century", *Studi musicali*, n.s. 7/2 (2016): 287-369, at 326.

26. English translation by Gina Psaki: *Splendor da ciel*, 34-5.

who with her beauty drew Jove from the sky
as a lover among the human flock,

transformed into Geta or into rain or a swan or a bull –
would be concealed under a fair veil,
dimmed as stars are dimmed by the sun

and are lost, nor no fairer Diana
Did Actaeon ever see;
Therefore happy I, and whoever of her is enamored.

Neither Daphne to Phoebus nor Venus to Mars
could ever be as pleasing
as this noble lady whom the heaven honors, is to me now.

The amorous text of this ballata is richly interspersed with a number of mythical exempla known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but most probably filtered through later medieval sources related to Ovid.²⁷ They all perform essentially the same functions in their emphasis on the degree of the poetic persona's delight and contentedness in seeing his beloved, "*gentil, che 'l ciel onora*". In this regard, the central part of the text (lines 4-9) is particularly rich with Ovidian characters, as it alludes to a number of Jupiter's love affairs in

27. The appearance of "Geta" reveals non-Ovidian sources. The name of Amphitryon's servant does not appear in the story of Alcmena in the *Metamorphoses*, but became popular in the twelfth-century Latin comedy *Geta* by Vitalis of Blois, a reworking of an earlier Plautus's play *Amphitruo*; see the edition of the former in *Three Latin Comedies*, ed. Keith Bate (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1976), 13-34. There the name "Geta", probably borrowed from Terence, replaces "Sosia" in the earlier comedy (on this borrowing, see Jan M. Ziolkowski, "The Humour of Logic and the Logic of Humour in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance", *Journal of Medieval Latin* 3 [1993]: 1-26, at 13n3). Note, however, that Jupiter's transformation into Geta occurs neither in Ovid nor in this Latin comedy, where it was in fact Mercury who underwent this particular transformation. This version is therefore either an error committed by the poet or the copyist of this ballata, or a later variation of the myth derived from a source unknown to me. Other characters are clearly recognizable from the *Metamorphoses*: in particular, all of Jupiter's love affairs are grouped together in Arachne's tapestry described in Book VI, lines 103-28. The poet of this ballata could have taken the majority of these characters directly from Ovid's text (or its Trecento vernacular version prepared by Simintendi da Prato), although it seems more likely, given the presence of Geta, that the text was influenced by the medieval reception of Ovid, either in the form of a commentary, *accessus*, or via the earlier poetic tradition, perhaps even native. On Ovid's reception in the Middle Ages, see *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's Metamorphoses and its Reception*, ed. Philip Hardie, Alessandro Barchiesi, and Stephen Hinds (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1999); and *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, ed. James G. Clark, Frank T. Coulson, and Kathryn L. McKinley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). On Ovid in the Italian lyrics of the Due- and Trecento, see Julie van Peteghem, "Italian Readers of Ovid: From the Origins to Dante" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013).

which the god underwent various transformations: into Geta, rain, a swan, and a bull.

Line 7 articulates Jupiter's metamorphoses with the past participle *converso* (converted / transformed) and then presents a list of his transformations that clearly responds to the earlier list of his victims in line 4: Geta / Alcmena; *pioggia* / Danäe – not mentioned here, but perhaps implied by “*qual più*”; *cigno* / Leda; and *bove* / Europa. Lines 4 and 7 also rhyme with each other, thus creating a sonic link that strengthens the already strong semantic relation between the two lines. In addition, the rhyme pair *Giove* / *bove* (rhyme A in Table 2), rarely used in Trecento lyrics, performs a sonification of one of Jupiter's transformations. As the god himself transforms into a bull, retaining his old identity under a new shape, his name (“*Giove*”) transforms into the name of the animal (“*bove*”) while retaining some of its sonic characteristics in the new word (*-ove*) – even more so, considering the musical repetition in *pie*de 2, which strengthens the sense of sonic similarity in the performance of this piece.²⁸ Rhyme in this case might best be understood not simply as a sonic and semantic component of the poetic text (as it is understood by most literary scholars), but as a metamorphic tool that stitches the two together and helps realize, on a sonic level, the transformation presented in the lyrics and explicitly articulated with “*converso*” in line 7.²⁹ These tight sonic and semantic links between *pie*de 1 and *pie*de 2 of the ballata, I argue, justify a joint analytical consideration of their musico-textual relationships rather than a separate consideration of *pie*de 1 only, with *pie*de 2 considered less representative in this regard (as is usually the case with strophic compositions). This has significance for the musical role of “*converso*”, a topic to which I will return shortly.

The metamorphic play just described in relation to one rhyme pair, *Giove* / *bove*, can be viewed on a much grander scale. The complex coordination of

28. The rhyme pair *Giove* / *bove* appears in Fazio degli Uberti's account of Jupiter's transformations in the *Dittamondo* (written between 1345-1367). Although this particular rhyme is not present in his text, Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* might have been another source of inspiration for the poet, as it recounts Jupiter's love affairs with Europa, Danäe, Leda, and Alcmene, among others. Finally, Petrarch's *canzone della metamorfosi* (RVF 23), also a likely source of inspiration, presents a series of metamorphoses of the poetic *io*, including *cigno* (l. 60), *cervo* (an echo of the tale of Diana and Actaeon, l. 158), and *pioggia* (l. 162).

29. On the sonic and semantic links created by rhymes, see, among others, Aldo Menichetti, *Metrica italiana: fondamenti metrici, prosodici, rima* (Padua: Antenore, 1993), 583, citing Roman Jakobson, *Linguistics and Poetics*, in Id., *Selected Writings, Vol. 3, Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry* (The Hague: Mouton, 1981), 18-51, at 38. Rhyme's semantic function was noticed, in addition to Jakobson and Menichetti, by many other scholars who belonged, or were somehow related, to the so-called “Russian formalist school”; see, for instance, Yuri Lotman, *Struktura budozbestvennogo teksta. Analiz poeticheskogo teksta* [The Structure of the Artistic Text. Analysis of the Poetic Text] (Saint Petersburg: Azbuka, 2018), 450.

music and text in the Italian ballata on the whole – in which, uniquely among all Trecento poetic genres, music and text develop asynchronously between the two repetitions of the *ripresa* (see Table 2, columns 3 and 4) – seems particularly apt for accommodating the notion of metamorphosis not only as a poetic topos, but (metaphorically) in a larger structural sense. A metamorphic reading of the ballata's structure is already suggested by the Trecento nomenclature of its parts.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that Jupiter's metamorphoses in Piero Mazzuoli's *A Febo* are explicitly articulated in the two subsections of the ballata's second part, the *piedi*. This is the part of the form that was conceptualized throughout the Trecento as that which brings change and *mutatio* to the overall musical and poetic structure. In Antonio da Tempo's *Summa* and, later, in Gidino da Sommacampagna's *Trattato*, this part was explicitly labeled *mutazione*, and both writers explained the term by referring to the changes that this part brings: in it, "the sound or the song ... is changed" (Gidino); "they are called *mutationes*, since the sound starts to change in the first *mutatione*" (Antonio).³⁰ Antonio's definition is perhaps more intriguing, as it seems to introduce change not as an immediate transformation of sound, as implied by Gidino's wording (from 'A' to 'B', see Table 2), but rather as a gradual process ("*sonus incipit mutari*").

If *mutationes* only begin this process, the next section, called the *volta* (a turn), presents a much more advanced stage of metamorphosis. Musically, this section simply "turns back" to the music of the *ripresa* (A), but this musical turn is not replicated in the accompanying text and its rhyme scheme, which develops a more complex pattern of "turning to" or, rather, "turning back into", the first part. A sonic transformation (via rhymes) in this ballata's text moves at a slower pace: it starts with the last rhyme of the *piedi* (the C rhyme in Table 2) and introduces a pair of rhymes borrowed from the *ripresa* thereafter (zZ). In sum, while the musical change is immediate and irreversible, the text presents transformation and acquisition of a new form as a process, which means that in the musico-poetic whole of the ballata there is a sense of a gradual and non-simultaneous metamorphic shift in which some parts acquire a new form straight away (music), while others (rhymes) retain their old shape for a time – something akin to the process of metamorphosis as described by Ovid.

The sonic transformation – in music and rhyme pattern – manifested in the *piedi* and *volta* is echoed throughout in this ballata's lexical choices and syn-

30. "Io sono o sia lo canto ... ee mutato" (see Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Trattato*, 71); "apelatur mutationes eo quod sonus incipit mutari in prima mutatione" (Antonio da Tempo, *Summa*, 49).

tactical structure. I have already noted the use of the past participle *converso* at the beginning of *piedel/mutazione* 2, which creates a tight metapoetic link between the poetic content (Jupiter's transformation into the bull) and poetic form (*mutazione* as a sonic transformation). This metapoetic reading could be extrapolated further to the *volta*, in which the asynchronous sonic metamorphosis of rhymes and music just noticed runs parallel to this section's syntax and poetic vocabulary. It starts by tightening the sonic link between this section and the last line of *piede* 2 with an enjambement (see lines 9-10: "*qual sol[e] delle stelle allor soprana / parsa saria*"), and then performs a series of "turns" back toward the first, initially by introducing a new pair of mythical lovers that echoes the two pairs of the *ripresa* (lines 10-11: Diana and Actaeon), and finally returning to the lyric "*io*", which makes the metamorphosis of this part complete and facilitates a transition from the *volta* to the final repetition of the *ripresa* (line 12: "*dunqu'io felice e chi di lei innamorata*"; compare line 3: "*a me questa gentil che 'l ciel onora*").

B. Music theory: Mutatio and musica ficta in Ugolino of Orvieto's Declaratio musicae disciplinae

The two parts of the three-voice musical setting are strikingly different in terms of overall sonority and in particular in their use of *ficta* signs.³¹ The range of *ficta* in this piece extends from a regular b-fa within the soft hexachord to a rather idiosyncratic a-fa, although the question remains, as Janke notes in his analysis of the piece: were these originally intended by the composer or added in later stages of the copying process, and thus represent the reception history of this ballata rather than its original state? I shall address this question shortly, but whatever the case may be, in its current state the two parts of the ballata differ greatly, with the second part being particularly ambitious in its exploration of tonal space. The analysis undertaken here aims at relating this (I think, original) use of *ficta* and hexachordal mutations to the metapoetic motif of *mutatio* discussed above. In doing so, I shall rely on the discussion of mutations and *ficta* offered in late Trecento-early Quattrocento Italian treatises – sources chronologically and geographically proximate to SL in general and Piero's ballata in particular – including one written by Ugolino of Orvieto, whose own compositions are transmitted in SL alongside those of the two Mazzuolis.³²

31. For a very useful general survey of *ficta* and *recta*, see Margaret Bent, "Musica Recta and Musica Ficta", *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 73-100, reprinted in *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 61-93.

32. On hexachordal '*mutationes*' and their explanation and visual demonstration in medieval

The extensive use of *ficta*, I argue, responds in several ways to *mutatio* as a metapoetic motif of the *piedi*: first, because *musica ficta/falsa* was generally conceptualized as a transformative and deceptive musical gesture; and, second, because, viewed in a hexachordal context, *ficta* is the clearest sign of a hexachordal *mutatio*, that is, a switch from one hexachordal propriety to another.

The definition of *ficta* in the so-called Vercelli treatise provides a fair account that supports the former point and its typical conceptual linking of *ficta/falsa* to *figitur/fingere* (to deceive): “*musica falsa* means to deceive [*figere*], or sing one [hexachordal] syllable in place of another, during which process of deception a semitone is made out of a tone and vice versa, a tone is made out of a semitone”.³³ “Deception” (singing “wrong” syllables) and transformation (making a semitone out of a tone, and vice versa) go hand in hand, hence the vocabulary of transformation that does not hesitate to enter the discussion soon thereafter, in fact in the next sentence: “and now let us transform [*trasmutaremo*] fa-sol [that is, a tone] into fa-mi [a semitone].”³⁴ In this definition and elsewhere in many other treatises, *musica ficta/falsa* convey two important ideas directly related to the poetic topoi discussed above: that of sonic mutation and deception. In this light, it is not hard to see the potential relation between the extensive use of *ficta* in the second part of Piero’s ballata and the textual imagery of this second part, in particular with a series of Jupiter’s transformations (in line 7 of *piede* 2) aimed to deceive his female victims (listed in line 4 of *piede* 1) – not only by his appearance, but even sonically, by a deceitful transformation of his own name (“*Giove*” into “*bove*”).³⁵

As for *mutatio*, while a hexachordal mutation may well occur within the diatonic gamut, and not every *ficta* sign signals a mutation, it is safe to say that in general the link between the two is fairly tight.³⁶ In his Book 6, for

music theory, see Adam Whittaker, “Signposting Mutation in Some Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Music Theory Treatises”, *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 26 (2017): 37–61. In Example 2, which I offer below, my own demonstration of hexachordal syllables and mutation is largely based on the model shown by Whittaker.

33. “Falsa musica è fingere, onvero fare una voce per una altra, nel quale fingere advene che del tono se ne fa semitono et, hè converso, de semitono se fa tono”; see Cornagliotti and Caraci Vela, *Un inedito trattato*, 62.

34. “Aduncha trasmutaremo fa sol in fa mi”, etc. (Ibid.).

35. It also brings to mind the erotic connotations that the B-flat sign had throughout its earlier reception history; see Bonnie Blackburn, “The Lascivious Career of B-flat”, in *Eroticism in Early Modern Music*, ed. Laurie Stras (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 19–42.

36. One such manifest pairing of the two concepts is the theory of *coniuncta* that arises around the beginning of the fifteenth century; see Oliver Ellsworth, “The Origin of the *Coniuncta*: A Reappraisal”, *Journal of Music Theory* 17 (1973): 86–109; Karol Berger, “The Expanding Universe of «Musica Ficta» in Theory from 1300 to 1550”, *The Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985): 410–30; and Ste-

example, Jacobus does not hesitate to replace “*falsa musica*” with “*falsa mutatio*”, also calling it “*mutatio irregularis*” (as opposed to “*mutatio regularis*” within the diatonic gamut).³⁷ Clearly, at least the use of e-fa and a-fa in Piero’s ballata would conform to Jacobus’s understanding of this term.

Ugolino of Orvieto’s *Declaratio musicae disciplinae* provides a more extensive and very useful discussion of the mechanics of mutation in conjunction with *musica ficta* that I think might be helpful in understanding the contrapuntal core of Piero’s ballata.³⁸ In Book I (chapters 16–18), Ugolino starts by defining *mutatio* as “*vocum variatio*” (a change of a syllable/*vox*) and noting that *mutatio* is twofold, as it operates at the level of *proprietaes* (deductions) and *voces* (syllables).³⁹ He then proposes a more detailed and specific examination of how *mutationes* occur in the diatonic gamut in Book 2, chapters 19, 21, 23, and 24.⁴⁰ Finally, in chapter 34, the notion of *mutatio* is extrapolated to the essentially nondiatonic territory of *musica ficta*. It is here that *musica ficta* and mutation finally cross paths.⁴¹

In this chapter, the concept of *mutatio* is used in relation to (i) syllables, (ii) intervals, and (iii) deductions. The first and the last are self-evident and do not require much explanation. The only difference here with regard to Ugolino’s earlier discussion is that *falsa mutatio*, to use Jacobus’s term, introduces new hexachords that lie outside the diatonic gamut, which are then incorporated into the diagrams that present all available hexachords.⁴²

The second aspect (interval mutation) is new in Ugolino’s discussion, however, and deserves more attention. It is a contrapuntal phenomenon, one directly linked to a *variatio vocum* in a single voice. What Ugolino implies is that, especially in the so-called “directed progression”, the penultimate

fano Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory: Guido of Arezzo between Myth and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 95–8.

37. In *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*, ed. Roger Bragard, Vol. 6 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 183–7. The text is also available online at <http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/JACSP6B> (accessed August 28, 2018).

38. All subsequent references will be to the following edition of Ugolino’s work: *Ugolini Urbevetanis Declaratio musicae disciplinae*, 3 vols., ed. Albert Seay (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1959–1962). This treatise, too, is available at Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum online. As does Bent, I understand *contrapunctus* as a dyadic core (most commonly between cantus and tenor, as is the case here) regulated by “directed progressions”: see her groundbreaking “The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis”, in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998). In the analysis below, the third contratenor voice is neglected. In fact, as I argue below, it tends to obfuscate the contrapuntal development of this piece and makes it more difficult to hear the important differences between the two parts of the ballata.

39. *Ugolini Urbevetanis Declaratio musicae disciplinae*, Vol. 1, 37–46.

40. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 26–9.

41. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 44–53.

42. The diagram is in *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 49–50.

imperfect consonance might be changed (by mutating either the top or the bottom syllable) in order to create greater tension toward its resolution into a perfect consonance.⁴³ In a progression such as G/b leading to the unison a/a, for instance, b-mi in the top voice undergoes mutation into b-fa (= B-flat), thereby transforming the first interval: “a major third is transformed into a minor third”.⁴⁴ A single change in one voice/syllable therefore creates a mutation in the polyphonic (dyadic) whole, changing the form and the name of the affected interval to which that voice/syllable belongs – an important reminder of how pertinent the concept of mutation is not only for single voices of a polyphonic setting, but also to the actual contrapuntal core created by these voices and how one affects the other.

C. *Music and text: Mutationes, musica ficta, and Jupiter's metamorphoses*

With this last observation, I come back to Piero's approach to ficta in the two parts of his ballata *A Febo*. In the three-voice edition prepared by Janke, both sections of the ballata may at first glance appear to utilize essentially the same set of ficta signs, ranging from a regular b-fa (from the soft hexachord on F) to a-fa (from the hexachord on E-flat).⁴⁵ This apparent similarity quickly dissipates when, first, editorial signs are examined separately from the original ones and the validity of both is evaluated on contrapuntal and melodic grounds, and, even more importantly, the dyadic contrapuntal core, rather than the complete three-voice texture, is taken into consideration. I will start with the latter, as it largely determines the editorial decisions with regard to the former.

As is usually the case in fourteenth-century polyphony, cantus and tenor (the top and bottom voices, respectively, in Janke's edition of this ballata) form a self-sufficient duo that constitutes the contrapuntal core of the work and conforms to the rules derived from contrapuntal treatises: a pan-conso-

43. On directed progressions, see Sarah Fuller's contributions, particularly “Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in ‘Ars Nova’ Music”, *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992): 229–58.

44. “Diphthonus mutatus est in semidiphthonum” (*Ugolini Urbevetanis Declaratio musicae disciplinae*, Vol. 2, 51).

45. Apart from the facsimile edition of SL itself, I used two editions of Piero's piece, both by Janke: see Andreas Janke, “Hoc enim in plano cantu raro videtur contingere”: Modus und mehrstimmigkeit im späten Trecento”, in *Das modale System im Spannungsfeld zwischen Theorie und kompositorischer Praxis*, ed. Jochen Brieger (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013), 55–67, at 66–7; and Id., *Die Kompositionen*, 208–9. For A-flats in the ballata, see Ct18, Ct19, Ct24, and Ct28 in the first part and C46, C48, Ct48, C49, Ct61, C61, C63, C67, Ct67, and T68 in the second. Here and elsewhere, C means cantus (the top voice), T refers to the tenor (the bottom voice), and Ct refers to the contratenor (in the middle); bar numbers refer both to Janke's editions and my own Example 2 below.

nant basis, with dissonances occurring only at a surface level, regulated by directed progressions – the resolution of an imperfect consonance into a perfect one that lies closest to it, usually with a semitone approach in one of the two voices and a suspension in the cantus (although the latter is often neglected in the Trecento).⁴⁶ The contratenor voice, on the other hand, is clearly filler and can be literally construed “against the tenor” here (*contra tenorem*), which at times naturally leads to it duplicating the cantus voice in parallel fifths or octaves. With this, I do not mean to say the contratenor is inessential in terms of overall sonic quality of this piece or that this voice is not “interesting” per se in a performance context, only that its grammatical function is secondary.

I therefore propose to look at the two-voice contrapuntal core of the ballata in order to better understand the composer’s decisions with regards to ficta (see Example 2).⁴⁷

One important peculiarity of this piece which must be pointed out is the use of conflicting signatures in its two voices (b-fa in the tenor and no signatures in the cantus). This means that the entire recta system is transposed down a fifth in the lower voice and consists of three transposed recta hexachords on B-flat, F, and C (instead of F, C, and G, respectively). The top voice stays within the untransposed recta system, however. Hence the resulting tension and conflict between the two voices, which is successfully overcome in the first part, but leads to a series of mutations, ficta, and transpositions in the second, particularly as far as the top voice is concerned.

Overall, the *ripresa* consists of three musical phrases that match the three lines of the poetic text. The first outlines three primary contrapuntal centers: F, A, and C, all but the last one solidly supported with directed progressions consisting of major thirds and sixths that resolve outward to fifths and octaves, respectively. The second phrase introduces a new cadential goal in the

46. Apart from Bent’s and Fuller’s articles cited in notes 38 and 43, see also Bent’s “Ciconia, Prosdocimus, and the Workings of Musical Grammar as Exemplified in *O felix templum* and *O Padua*”, in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 65–106, in which Bent extrapolates some of her premises to show how this analysis might work on the early Quattrocento Italian repertory, albeit of a slightly different sort from the one under discussion here.

47. Example 2 presents the cantus and tenor voices of the ballata only. The text appears in snippets at the beginning and end of each phrase. I decided to abandon a full text layout because, I believe, it would have congested the overall visual presentation. All directed progressions are marked by arrows below and the final tone is always indicated by a boxed capital letter. At the end of the first section and the beginning of the second, I use hexachordal syllables to show the switch that occurs after the words “Alcmena” / “converso” at the beginning of the *piedi*. Some other markings are explained below in the main text.

The musical score is for a two-voice setting of 'A Febo' in 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of staves for Contralto (C) and Tenor (T), with figured bass notation below the Tenor staff in each system.

- System 1:** C: (A Febo...) — T: — F — C
- System 2:** C: (...mai) — T: — A — F — A
- System 3:** C: (Poté piacer...) — T: — D — (...ora)
- System 4:** C: (A me questa...) — T: — F — D — F
- System 5:** C: (...onora) — T: ut fa mi re ut sol re ut — G — F

The figured bass notation consists of letters (F, C, A, D, G) in boxes, with arrows indicating the sequence of notes. Some letters have a flat symbol (b) above them, indicating a lowered note.

Example 2. *A Febo*, two-voice contrapuntal core

34
C
(Alcmena... / converso...)
T
re re mi fa/ut la/mi sol/re fa/ut fa-mi fa-mi² or: sol-fa² re² mi² C?

43
C
(...Grove) (Per sua...)
T
fa/ut mi fa sol la sol fa B^b F F^b

51
C
(...cielo) (Condusse...)
T
B^b B^b C

59
C
T
C

66
C
1. (...humana...) 2. (...humana...)
T
1. 2. G F

tenor by rising to *d* at the end of the line. This *d* in the tenor leads to the (minor?) 3-1 cadential progression with the cantus. It is here that *e-fa* (editorial) could be introduced for the first time (in the top voice), thus making a *diphthonus mutatus in semidiphthonus*, in Ugolino's wording, and indeed this interpretation is further supported by the (scribe's) earlier use of *a-fa* in the contratenor (not reproduced here), which creates another directed progression with the tenor (here major 3-5). Nevertheless, in terms of contrapuntal basis, this inflection remains only a momentary slippage that does not affect the core structure. The last line of the *ripresa* closes the circle by returning to *F*, but it also reuses the peculiar cadential stop on *D* at the very beginning of the penultimate melisma (thus creating another case in which adding *e-fa* in the top voice is tempting from the contrapuntal perspective, and indeed the opportunity is taken in the manuscript). This also establishes a sort of cadential rhyme between the two phrases that echoes the actual rhyme between the two lines of the text: "*ora*" / "*onora*" (compare mm. 19-21 [*ora*] and 24-25 [*onora*] in the example). Overall, however, the contrapuntal basis of the first part is clearly diatonic, as it stays, for the most part, within the soft and natural hexachords of the diatonic gamut in the tenor and natural and hard hexachords in the cantus, and stable – much more so, I think, than the contratenor voice (and hence the resulting three-voice texture) seems to imply by resorting several times to *a-fa* in the course of contrapuntal development (I believe a few of these accidentals, even when they appear in the original source, could be safely ignored on contrapuntal and/or melodic grounds).

The second part introduces a new cadential goal from the outset: still staying within the range of the hexachord on *F*, the first three notes of the tenor lead from *g-re* to *b-fa*, and the last note is clearly articulated as a cadential goal by the cantus. Once *b-fa* establishes itself as a new contrapuntal destination, it becomes extremely difficult to avoid moving further toward other *ficta*, namely *e-fa*, which does appear almost immediately (and simultaneously) in both voices (C: mm. 35, 40, 41, and so on; T: mm. 40, 41, and so on). Here is the crucial difference between the two parts: while the first avoids *b-fa* as a contrapuntal center and uses *e* in the tenor sparingly (in mm. 5 and 22, see arrows in Ex. 2) and without any direct relation to *b-fa*, avoiding a potentially dangerous melodic tritone, the second part throws all caution to the wind from its very beginning.

The stop on *b-fa* in m. 36 coincides with the first named victim of Jupiter's love affairs, Almena, and, even more curiously, with "*converso*" in *pie*de 2. Contrapuntally, it becomes indeed a moment of "conversion" or, more specifically, mutation, because after reaching this new goal on *b-fa*, the tenor line does

not safely return to F-ut but moves further upwards, with b-fa eventually becoming b-ut in the course of melodic development (the transitional passage that can be read in both F and B-flat hexachords is boxed in Example 2). This strong sense of hexachordal shift never encountered in the first part is further reinforced by two factors: first, a mensural shift from *senaria perfecta* to *quaternaria* in mm. 37-41 that directly follow the Almena / converso passage (this shift is signaled in the manuscript by void notation in T37-8 and then a full circle before T42); second, the simultaneous introduction of new signatures in the top voice. The latter testifies to the top voice's abandonment of its untransposed recta hexachords and synchronization with the lower voice in its exploration of new tonal territory. While the tenor simply switches here from one recta hexachord to another, the top voice undergoes profound changes in its hexachordal orientation.

The new role assumed by b-fa/ut becomes evident when this note is repeated three times after the cadence under discussion in the tenor's first line (mm. 39, 43, and 45), which eventually ends on that same note (m. 45, here still as b-fa). The second line (mm. 46-53) ends on B-flat as well (here clearly as b-ut), but it goes even further and introduces an anomalous stop on e-fa immediately before the final stop. The ficta sign is in the manuscript, yet its presence there is only precautionary: the melodic passage is structured in such a way as to dispel doubts, if there were any, about the validity of this e-fa. It is precisely within this tenor phrase that a-fa makes its first documented appearance within the contrapuntal core of the ballata: in C46 and C48, where it is implied by the source but seems somewhat unnecessary in contrapuntal terms; and C49, again implied by the source and now essential in the contrapuntal and melodic contexts. While the use of A-flat in the first part (in the Ct) is inessential for the contrapuntal structure of the piece, the situation changes in the second part: its use in the cantus within the second line of the *piedi* is clearly prompted by the e-fa in the tenor in m. 49, and by another e-fa in the cantus itself that creates a melodic relation within one voice in which a-fa becomes unavoidable (all melodic fourths in the second part that include, or should include, ficta are marked by angle brackets in Example 2).

To conclude this part of my analysis, it only remains for me to point out that the final line of the *piedi* completes another circle (and echoes the last line of the *ripresa*) in going back first to G (in *piede* 1) and then to F (*piede* 2). It summarizes and reverses the previous contrapuntal and melodic development that similarly hinges on the ambiguity of b-fa/ut, assuming either of its two hexachordal functions through its melodic relations with e-fa above and F-ut below. The overall direction here is back from the b-ut to b-fa function, how-

ever, and ultimately to F-ut – the main contrapuntal center of the ballata. The whole line is accordingly divided into small units structured around one or another hexachord (see mm. 54-58, 59-61, 62-63, and from 64 to the end of the *piede*).

CONCLUSION

A reduction of the ballata's three-voice texture to its dyadic contrapuntal core makes clearer, I hope, the distinctively different uses of ficta in the two parts of the piece, as well as the indispensability of some of the crucial ficta signs in the second part – whether these signs were original in the manuscript or added later. While both parts of the ballata ultimately end on F, their methods of exploring the tonal space is dramatically different, with the crucial switch from a more diatonic cadential pattern to an idiosyncratic use of ficta occurring precisely at the beginning of the *piedi*, on “Almena” / “*converso*”, and followed by the list of Jupiter's victims (*piede* 1) and transformations (*piede* 2). Whether *A Febo* is analyzed in hexachordal (as here) or modal terms (as in Janke's article cited in note 45 above), it is impossible to ignore this dramatic switch, a *mutatio* that separates the first and second parts.

Seen in this light, Antonio da Tempo's notion that the *mutazioni/piedi* are so called because “*sonus incipit mutari in prima mutatione*” gains new meanings, new semantic echoes conveyed by the verb *mutare*. At the beginning of Piero's *mutazione* 1 mutation does occur, albeit in a more specific and technical sense. While these semantic “echoes” were not necessarily intended by Antonio himself (who, judging from his treatise, was nevertheless quite knowledgeable in musical matters), they might well have been heard and interpreted in their own ways by his readers: by those musicians who were more familiar with Trecento music theory and its discussions of hexachordal *mutationes*. We cannot be sure that Piero Mazzuoli was familiar with a term such as *mutatione* in Antonio's sense, but to seek this relation is to miss the larger point: understanding the second part of the ballata (whatever name one assigns to it) as that bringing change and transformation to the overall structure does not necessarily imply a direct knowledge of Antonio's (or Gidino's) treatise, for such an understanding would naturally follow from a ballata's rhyme scheme and musical structure, in which multiple changes occur at the beginning of the second part. What is more important here perhaps than a rather naïve historical linking of Antonio's definition to this ballata's metapoetic play is the semantic potential of change and transformation itself, whose echoes reverber-

ate in and across this ballata's form and content, poetry and music. Discussions such as Antonio's explanation of *mutationes* in the ballata or Ugolino's lengthy examination of hexachordal mutations and *musica ficta* are useful analytical vehicles not per se, but on account of their hermeneutic potential: notwithstanding whether these specific explanations were known or not by a specific composer such as Piero, they show how certain words and ideas could have been understood in the Trecento or early Quattrocento, what echoes, memories, and associations they might have carried for a Trecento poet or musician.

Turning our focus from this ballata to the manuscript gathering that contains it, it is fascinating to see that *A Febo* frames the complete known collection of Piero's oeuvre and that the opening three-voice version analyzed above itself metamorphoses into a completely different two-voice version at the end of the gathering. Expanding even further, Piero's metapoetic play becomes embedded into the complete Trecento musical tradition so splendidly represented by the SL Palimpsest and related sources, which include Piero's own father, whose madrigal I discussed above. This, in turn, forms part of an even larger musico-poetic discourse of the Trecento and early Quattrocento, whose fascination with wordplays and *equivoci*, with verbal metamorphoses in a wider sense, is well attested to in such poets as Dante and Petrarch, and whose echoes resound elsewhere. This sound is perhaps nowhere more audible than in Trecento song, in which musical and textual elements combine and create multiple opportunities for all manner of interactions. A song therefore is a meeting ground not merely for text and music, visual and sonic, and so on, but more specifically for the ambiguities of language: it is a sonic space in which words and verbal relations are potentially at their most fluid, polyvalent, ambiguous, and able to transfer between the contexts and shift shapes. This is not to say that all of these interactions ultimately result in "contracted marriages" and/or metamorphoses, but one certainly must pursue the matter in order to find out. This is, after all, how metamorphoses are often initiated.

ABSTRACT

This essay forms part of a larger project on music and metapoesis in Trecento song, in which I examine the use of the poetic lexicon that might be understood as referring to the mechanics of the text or its musical setting, if there is any, and acknowledging its formal poetic and musical constitution. In particular, I focus on the semantic field established by some potentially metapoetic concepts, two of

which are explored in the two case studies presented in this article (and drawn from the recent edition of the San Lorenzo palimpsest): “return” and “metamorphosis”.

The first case study, Giovanni Mazzuoli’s madrigal *A piè del monte*, aims at illustrating in a straightforward fashion the basic tenets of the proposed methodology. In the second and central case study, Piero Mazzuoli’s three-voice ballata *A Febo*, I offer a detailed examination of this song’s form and content, arguing that the metapoetic motif of transformation/mutation creates multiple echoes across this song’s amorous content (via Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*); poetic structure (which, I argue, might be viewed as metamorphic); and musical setting (via *mutatio* in its hexachordal structure and extensive use of *musica ficta*).

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SOME NOTES ON THE TWO-VOICE BALLATAS
BY FRANCESCO LANDINI IN THE SAN LORENZO PALIMPSEST

In this chapter I focus on the manuscript tradition of Francesco Landini's two-voice ballatas in the San Lorenzo Palimpsest (Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 [SL]) in preparation for a new critical edition of the composer's works.¹ After a short introduction to the transmission of Landini's works in SL based on recent research carried out by Julia Gehring, Andreas Janke, and John Nádas, I will provide a synoptic transcription of the ballata *De sospirar sovente* B68, which appears in SL in an unpublished redaction, and the first edition of a recently discovered two-voice ballata by Landini in SL, also unpublished. The two ballatas epitomize SL's importance in the transmission of works by the most famous composer of the Italian Trecento, as well as the manuscript's contribution to our understanding of fourteenth-century music.

1. The research presented here is an integral part of the Advanced Grant project "European Ars Nova. Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages". This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 786379).  The edition will follow the methodological approach adopted for the works of Nicolò del Preposto and for the caccia repertory; see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa. Edizione critica commentata dei testi intonati e delle musiche*, La Tradizione Musicale, 18; Studi e testi, 10, ed. Antonio Calvia (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017); Michele Epifani, ed., *La caccia nell'Ars Nova italiana. Edizione critica commentata dei testi e delle intonazioni*, La Tradizione Musicale, 20; Studi e testi, 11 (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019). The catalogue of the works of Francesco degli Organi (Landini) appears in Lucia Marchi, "Catalogo delle opere di Francesco Landini", in *"Col dolce suon che da te piove". Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo. In memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, La Tradizione Musicale, 4; Studi e testi, 2, ed. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani and Antonio Delfino (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 589-617. The authoritative edition is *The Works of Francesco Landini*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (PMFC), Vol. 4, ed. Leo Schrade (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1958; reprinted 1974 and 1982); see also *The Works of Francesco Landini*, ed. Leonard Ellinwood (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939; reprint 1945), second reprint (New York: Kraus, 1970); *Der Squarcialupi-Codex Pal. 87 der Biblioteca*

The corpus of Francesco Landini's ballatas totals 141 works.² This number remained stable from Kurt von Fischer's 1956 catalogue until quite recently, when it increased by one; an unidentified ballata for two voices, both texted, discovered by Janke and Nádas.³ I will refer to this ballata as C[...] (*tempo fugge*) – even though the words “tempo fugge” cannot be considered part of the incipit – because that may help us find new concordances for the text.⁴

There are seventeen of Landini's ballatas in SL, placed in gatherings reconstructed as XI and XIII.⁵ Of these seventeen, nine are for two voices, seven are for three voices, and one, *La dolce vista* B93, exists in both three- and two-voice versions.⁶ In the most recent survey of the manuscript tradition of Landini's works, based on what could then be read of the Palimpsest's *scriptio inferior*, Gehring proposed a new gathering structure for the Landini section of SL and listed fifteen ballatas and one caccia.⁷ Following publication of the mul-

Medicea Laurenziana zu Florenz. Zwei und dreistimmige italienische weltliche Lieder, Ballate, Madrigali und Cacce des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. Johannes Wolf (Lippstadt: Kistner, Siegel & Co., 1955). Throughout this chapter I refer to Landini's ballatas using the first part of the incipit – following Marchi's *Catalogo* – followed by B and the number in the Schrade edition: for example *Donna, s'i' t'bo fallito* B1 (in some lists I will use only the B numbers). An exception is made for B119, here quoted as *O fanciulla giulia* (rather than *giulia*); see Davide Checchi, “Per la datazione delle ballate landin[i]ane ‘Amar sì gli alti’ e ‘O fanciulla giulia’: ricerche su due rubriche d'occasione del ms. Chigiano L.IV.131”, in “*Cara scientia mia, musica*”. *Studi per Maria Caraci Vela*, ed. Angela Romagnoli, Daniele Sabaino, Rodobaldo Tibaldi, and Pietro Zappalà (Pisa: ETS, 2018), 1067–84.

2. In 1956, Kurt von Fischer identified the corpus of Francesco Landini's ballatas as consisting of ninety-two two-voice and forty-nine three-voice ballatas. However, among them he also included the virelai *Adiu*, considering it a ballata with French text; see Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Bern: Haupt, 1956), 86, 38–73, and 79–80.

3. The ballata was copied on f. [c]XXIIIr/89r, at systems 1–6. See Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211*, Vol. 1: *Introductory Study*; Vol. 2: *Multispectral Images*, Ars Nova, n.s. 4 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016), Vol. 1, 72–3, number 130 (unidentified); see also Vol. 1, 24. For “Addenda & Corrigenda” to the volume, see <http://sl2211.lim.it/> (accessed March 9, 2020).

4. The entire incipit is illegible but for the guide letter “c”; “tempo fugge” are the last words of the tenor's second line (only “fugge” is legible in the cantus).

5. See *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 39–41 and 68–74. Gathering XII is assumed to be entirely lost. The caccia *Così pensoso* is transmitted in Gathering XVI.

6. On two- and three-voice versions in Landini's repertory, see Julia Gehring, *Die Überlieferung der Kompositionen Francesco Landinis in Musikhandschriften des späten 14. und frühen 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Musica Mensurabilis*, 5 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), 135–52.

7. *Ibid.*, 53–134, especially 57, 63, and 124–30. The primary difference between Gehring's reconstruction of Gatherings XI–XIII and Janke and Nádas's lies in the fact that Gehring considers f. 89 (arabic numerals) the only survivor of Gathering XII, assuming the roman numeral CXVIII (while f. B is not placed in a gathering); see Gehring, 126–7. In Janke and Nádas's reconstruction, f. 89 is instead part of a bifolio with f. B, within Gathering XIII: the original conjoint bifolio would have consisted of f. [C]XXIII/89 and f. [CXXVII]/B. While the original foliation of f. B is missing, that of f. 89 is legible with some degree of certainty; see *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 41 and 22n10: “Based on the practice of the scribe throughout the manuscript, especially in his treatment of repeated elements in the writing of roman numerals, the images lead us to read the number on

tispectral images of SL the legibility of some of Landini's works increased considerably, permitting a new assessment, in particular for those ballatas entered on folios that are now much more decipherable.⁸ Furthermore, Janke and Nádas identified one new concordance for a ballata by Landini, *La dolce vista* B93, and the newly discovered unicum, C[...] (*tempo fugge*).

As is the norm for composer sections in SL, all of Landini's ballatas are entered beginning at the tops of folios in gatherings which also contain "space fillers".⁹ As can be seen from Table 1, in cases where all voice parts are transmitted, the voicing and *Textierung* in SL correspond to those of Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 (Sq). In instances in which one or more voice parts are missing in SL, the codicological reconstruction provided by Janke and Nádas offers the convincing hypothesis that the distribution of voices and *Textierung* in SL are the same as those of Sq. The only exception is *La dolce vista* B93, transmitted as 2¹ in Sq, for which Janke and Nádas argue that, given its position within a section of three-voice ballatas, a contratenor may be missing.

For the same reason, there is room to doubt that we are dealing with a 3² version of C[...] (*tempo fugge*) for which the contratenor, copied on the verso of the previous folio, now lost, is missing.¹⁰ However, the layout of the parts, with cantus and tenor on the recto and contratenor on the verso of the previous folio, is not found elsewhere in SL for works entered in the principal position.¹¹

f. 89^r as 'cxxxiii' and this results in placing that folio in gathering 13, allowing for a credible distribution of missing voice parts needed to complete what is on these folios".

8. To give just one example of the possibilities opened up by the new multispectral images, *De sospirar sovente* B68 – a ballata that today is completely legible with the exception of a few notes of the tenor and a few syllables or letters in the text – Gehring wrote "Leider ist auch diese Ballata in SL nicht vollständig lesbar, aber an einigen Stellen lassen sich dennoch deutliche Unterschiede erkennen". See Gehring, *Die Überlieferung*, 130.

9. In Gatherings XI and XIII, the space fillers are an anonymous virelai, three unidentified songs, and two ballatas by Antonio Zacara da Teramo: 127, anonymous virelai D[...] *naye*; 129, unidentified rondeau?; 131, unidentified rondeau? [...] *lus*; 134, Zacara, *Dicovi per certança*; 137, Zacara, *Benché lontan me trovi*; 139, unidentified song B[...]. The numbers refer to Janke and Nádas's inventory; see 50-89, esp. 68-75, for Landini's works. On space fillers, see *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 23. By comparing the very useful pseudocolor image in Appendix C, 113, of the SL introductory study with other forms of capital letters taken from the more legible folios of the Palimpsest, I was able to add two more letters to rondeau 131's incipit: "[...]U A[...]". Before "U" only the guide letter is missing. Compare the capital letters "U" and "A" with those that can be read, for example, in f. XXXXIIr/32r: "IA Urate" ("I'aurate", the incipit of Bartolino's *Le aurate chiome*).

10. This possibility is raised by Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 22n10.

11. Indeed, this layout can only be found in two compositions placed at the bottoms of folios, where different layout modalities pertain: nos. 75 (unidentified three-voice virelai, SL, ff. XLIXv-Lr/39v-40r) and 159 (the anonymous three-voice rondeau *Soies lies et menes joie* on a text by Nicole de Margival, SL, ff. CXXXVIIv-CXXXVIIIr/107v-108r). For the modalities of voice layout in SL, I refer to the "Layout" column of the inventory published in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 50-89.

For this reason, it is more “economical”¹² to consider *C[...]* (*tempo fugge*) a complete two-voice ballata.

Table 1: The transmission of Francesco Landini’s ballatas in SL

SL	INCIPIIT	VOICES AND TEXTIERUNG ^a		OTHER WITNESSES ^b
		SL	SQ	
[CIr]/103r	<i>Va' pure, Amor</i> B19	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 171r; Fp, 9r; Pit, 70r; Man, 47r
[CIv]/103v	<i>Se pronto non sarà</i> B26	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 170r; Fp, 12v; Pit, 91v-92r; Lo, 27r; ModA, 14v
CIIf/100r	<i>Vita non è più misera</i> B22	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 167r; Fp, 10v; Pit, 103v; R, 49r
CIIf/100v	<i>S'andra' senza merzé</i> B29	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 167r; Fp, 14r; Pit, 7v-8r
[CVIIIr]/109r	<i>Per servir umiltà</i> B5	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 168v; Fp, 3r; Pit, 88v-89r
[CVIIIv]/109v	<i>S'i' ti son stato</i> B16	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 142v; Fp, 8r; Pit, 89v-90r; R, 48v-49r; Man, 97v; PadA (684), 51v
CXr/106r	<i>Po' che partir convienmi</i> B98	3 ¹	3 ¹	Sq, 165v; Pit, 92v-93r; Fp, 23r; PadA (684), 60v; Pra, 248r (3 ^o)
CXv/106v	<i>Gli occhi che 'n prima</i> B14	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 148v; Fp, 7r; Pit, 68v-69r
CX[X]r/41r	<i>De sospirar sovente</i> B68	2 ²	2 ²	Sq, 149v
CX[X]v/41v	<i>Che pena è questa al cor</i> B123	[3 ³] C only	3 ³	Sq, 130v; Pit, 100v-101r; F.5.5, 138v; Fp, 36v-37r (3 ²); Fa, 79v-80v (intabulation); Pz, 19v-20r (2 ²)
[C]XXIIIr/89r	<i>C(...) (tempo fugge)</i>	2 ²		
[C]XXIIIv/89v	<i>Né 'n ciascun mio pensiero</i> B126	[3 ²] C T only	3 ²	Sq, 139v; Fp, 38v; Pit, 115v-116r
[CXX]VIr/Av	<i>Quanto più caro fai</i> B105	[3 ³] Ct only	3 ³	Sq, 143v; Fp, 26v-27r; Pit, 90v-91r (3 ²); Lo, 48v-49r; R, 50r (3 ¹)
[CXX]VIv/Ar	<i>Nessun ponga speranza</i> B129	[3 ³] C T only	3 ³	Sq, 162v; Fp, 40r; Pit, 116v-117r; Lo, 75v-76r (3 ²)
[CXXVIIIr]/Br	<i>O fanciulla giulia</i> B119	[3 ^{2c}] Ct only	3 ^{2c}	Sq, 159v; Fp, 34v (3 ¹); Pit, 86v-87r (3 ¹)
[CXXVIIIv]/Bv	<i>La dolce vista</i> B93 (two- and three-voice versions)	[3 ¹ ?] ^c C T only	2 ¹	Sq, 150r; Pit, 100r (2 ²); Lo, 79r (2 ^o); R, 47v (3 ²)
[CXXXr]/50r	<i>L'alma mie piange</i> B115	[3 ³] Ct only	3 ³	Sq, 131r; Fp, 31v-32r; Pit, 65v-66r; Lo, 74v-75r (3 ²); Man, 49v-50r

^a Distribution of voices and *Textierung* as proposed in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Inventory, Vol. 1, 68-75, are shown in square brackets; C = cantus; T = tenor; Ct = contratenor.

^b Fa = Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117; Fp = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26; Lo = London, British Library, Add. 29987; Man = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065; ModA = Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24; PadA (684) = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684; Pit = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; Pra = Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, XI.E.9 (2056); Pz = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917; R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771.

^c Janke and Nadas's hypothesis that *La dolce vista* is a ballata 3¹, while in Sq it is 2¹, is based on its placement within a section devoted to three-voice ballatas; see *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 41.

12. In the fields of Italian and Romance philology, the adjective “economico” makes allusion to

The two-voices ballatas therefore total nine, plus one – *La dolce vista* B93 – that, as we have seen, may be what is left of a three-part version. Some overlapping in the order of the songs is worth mentioning (Table 2): *Vita non è più misera* B22 and *S'andra' senza merzé* B29 are copied in a single folio in Sq (167r) and follow one another in SL (CIIr-CIIv/100r-100v). In the same two manuscripts, the adjoining pair *Se pronto non sarà* B26 and *Va' pure, Amor* B19 is copied within close proximity (Sq, ff. 170r and 171r; SL, ff. [CIIr]/103v and [CIIr]/103r). In Pit and SL, *Per servir umiltà* B5 and *S'i' ti son stato* B16 are copied near one another. The proximity of *Va' pure, Amor* B19 and *Vita non è più misera* B22 in both Fp and SL could be easily explained as a trace of pseudo-alphabetical order. Gehring points out that, in the four ballatas that are near one another in SL and Sq, there are minor differences in the readings between the two witnesses.¹³ This is certainly a significant remark but, beyond the similarity of the readings – which could be due to the fact that both witnesses transmit the original text¹⁴ – a careful analysis of the variant readings is indispensable in order to find possible monogenetic errors.¹⁵

Table 2: Order of copying of Landini's ballatas transmitted in SL, with comparisons to Sq and Pit

SL	Sq
[CIIr]/103r <i>Va' pure, Amor</i> B19	167r <i>Vita non è più misera</i> B22
[CIIr]/103v <i>Se pronto non sarà</i> B26	167r <i>S'andra' senza merzé</i> B29
CIIr/100r <i>Vita non è più misera</i> B22	[...]
CIIv/100v <i>S'andra' senza merzé</i> B29	170r <i>Se pronto non sarà</i> B26
[...]	[...]
	171r <i>Va' pure, Amor</i> B19
	PIT
[CVIIIr]/109r <i>Per servir umiltà</i> B5	88v-89r <i>Per servir umiltà</i> B5
[CVIIIv]/109v <i>S'i' ti son stato</i> B16	89v-90r <i>S'i' ti son stato</i> B16

the concept of “ipotesi più economica” repeatedly stated by Gianfranco Contini; see his “Ricordo di Joseph Bédier”, in *Letteratura* 3 (1939): 145-52; repr. in Id., *Esercizi di lettura sopra autori contemporanei con un'appendice su testi non contemporanei. Nuova edizione aumentata di «Un anno di letteratura»* (Turin: Einaudi, 1974), 358-71, at 369.

13. Gehring, *Die Überlieferung*, 130.

14. This crucial principle of textual criticism is often neglected in musical philology; see Maria Caraci Vela, *Musical Philology. Institutions, History, and Critical Approaches*, Vol. 1: *Historical and Methodological Fundaments of Musical Philology* (Pisa: ETS, 2015), Vol. 1, 119.

15. I have discussed the case of *Va' pure, Amor* B19 in “L'edizione critica della polifonia trecentesca: metodi e proposte” (Paper presented at the 1st Seminar of the ArsNova Project “I testi poetici e musicali dell'Ars Nova. Metodi e proposte per l'edizione e l'analisi”, Florence, January 17, 2020).

DE SOSPIRAR SOVENTE B68

SL transmits in their entirety the cantus and tenor parts of the ballata *De sospirar sovente* B68, both with text underlaid; since the *residuum* is missing, the text is limited to vv. 1-6.¹⁶ As can be seen from the following synoptic transcription (see Example 1),¹⁷ we are dealing with two distinct versions of the same ballata which differ in the following ways:

- Transposition: the Sq version has its final pitch on *g* with a signature of one flat in the tenor; the SL version has as its final pitch the *d* a fourth below;¹⁸
- Ornamentation in the cantus; see especially m. 3, notes 3-4; mm. 9-12; m. 14; m. 16; and m. 25;
- Variant readings in the tenor: m. 9, notes 3-4?; m. 13, semibreve rest followed by a semibreve?

In this case, the best option will certainly be to produce two separate editions, possibly comparing the SL version to Sq to fill the very few lacunae resulting from damage in SL.¹⁹

16. Verses 1-12 are copied in Sq. There are also two literary witnesses for the ballata's text, Magl. 1040 and Magl. 1078 (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII.1040; Magl. VII.1078); the former transmits an additional five stanzas. The text copied in SL does not present significant variant readings or errors, merely a few illegible or difficult-to-read passages.

17. In the text, I have used italics to indicate letters or syllables that are difficult to read and "[...]" for illegible letters.

18. The final pitches are those of the cantus; on the preeminence of the cantus and the irrelevance of the modal categories for music of the Italian Trecento, see "L'organizzazione dello spazio sonoro nell'opera di Nicolò del Preposto", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell'"Ars nova"*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015): 237-86, at 283-4. Throughout this chapter, I will use the alphabetical system A-G/a-g/aa- for pitches. Vertical intervals will be shown with a superscript number (e.g., G⁵); intervals in dyadic successions will be separated by a hyphen (-). Arrows will be used to indicate "directed progressions"; see Sarah Fuller, "Tendencies and Resolutions: The Directed Progression in Ars Nova Music", *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992): 229-58, at 231-2. On transposition, see Karol Berger, *Musica ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 58-62 and 141-50; Margaret Bent, "Musica Recta and Musica Ficta", in Ead., *Counterpoint, Composition and Musica ficta* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 61-93: 87-92, and Ead., "Introduction", in *Counterpoint, Composition and Musica ficta*, 1-59: 7-10. Transpositions are very rare in Landini: *Deb, pon quest'amor giù!* B3 (a fifth higher in Sq than in Fp) and *Donna, s'i' t'bo fallito* B1 (the fragment of the tenor part copied in As [Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. 187], f. 108r is notated a fifth higher than other witnesses). The latter does not seem particularly significant due to the adventitiousness of the evidence. On *Deb, pon quest'amor giù!* B3, see Schrade, *Commentary to The Works of Francesco Landini*, 35; on *Donna, s'i' t'bo fallito* B1, see Agostino Ziino, "Un antico Kyrie a due voci per strumento a tastiera", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 15 (1981): 628-33; and Gehring, *Die Überlieferung*, 64-5 and 130.

19. See in particular the tenor, mm. 3, 10-11, 18-19, and 23; and the cantus, m. 18.

■ = ♩

SL. C 8 A 2 E $\sharp\sharp$ 4 \sharp

Di so - spi - rar so - ven - - - - te con - stret - to

Sq. C 8 De so - spi - rar so - ven - te co - stret - to

T. 8 De so - spi - rar so - ven - - - - te con - stret - to

T. 8 Di so - spi - rar so - ven - - - - te [...] - stret - to

SL. C 8 6 2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

son, veg - gen - do per sem - bian - - - - te il

Sq. C 8 son, ve - gen - do per sen - bian - - - - te el

T. 8 son, ve - gen - do per sen - bian - - - - te el

T. 8 son, veg - gen - do per sen - bian - - - - te il

Example 1. *De sospirar sovente* B68, synoptic transcription (SL and Sq)

SL

C

8

cor che rri con - sen - te vol - [...] r glio - chi [...] (A) (A) (A) 10 (C) (A) (A) 12 (E) (A) (E)

Sq

C

8

cor che rri con - sen - te vol - ger gli o - chi tuoi (U)

T

8

cor che rri con - sen - te vol - ger gli o - chi tuoi

T

8

chor che rri con - sen - te vol - ger gli o - chi tuoi 4//5

SL

C

8

[...] ghi [...] [...] [...] [...] (A) (A) 14 (B) 16 (B) 2//3

Sq

C

8

va - ghi ad al - tra - man - te.

T

8

va - ghi ad al - tra - man - te.

T

8

va - ghi ad al - tra - man - te.

Example 1 (continued)

18 20

Sl. C
8 Ri - ce-ver que - sto in - gan - no la

Sq. C
8 Ri - ce-ver que - sto in - gan - no la

T
8 Ri - ce-ver que - sto in - gan - no la

T
8 Ri - ce-ver que - sto in - gan - no la

22 24 (A) (D) 26

Sl. C
8 men-te mia con-vien c'ò - gnor so - spi - ri

Sq. C
8 men-te mie con-vien c'ò - gnor so - spi - ri

T
8 men-te mie con-vien c'ò - gnor so - spi - ri

T
8 men-te mia con-vien c'ò - gnor so - spi - ri

3//6

Example 1 (continued)

The transposition tells us nothing about the directionality of the two versions; in fact, it is very difficult to establish criteria for determining directionality, even though it may seem likelier that a version with less ornamentation will come before a more ornate version. Nevertheless, an account of some of the significant features and recurring patterns in the ornamentation of SL's cantus is of interest (see Example 1 above):

- Differences between the two versions are located almost exclusively in the *ripresa*;²⁰
- There are ten instances in which SL has two notes to Sq's one (mm. 1, 9, 11, 12, 14, and 25; indicated with an Ⓐ in the example), most often two minims rather than one semibreve; the most affected is v. 3 ("el cor che tti consente"), which is completely syllabic in Sq and fairly ornate in SL;
- Twice, in the same cadence at m. 16, SL has the rhythmic equivalent of the syncopation found in Sq, with the same pitch disaggregated into two notes where Sq has a *ligatura cum opposita proprietate* (indicated with a Ⓑ in the example);²¹
- In one instance (m. 10) SL has four minims where Sq has a single breve (indicated with a Ⓒ in the example);
- There is only one instance in which Sq has more notes than SL: m. 25, last two groupings of notes in Sq (indicated with a Ⓓ in the example);
- In a few cases SL and Sq differ only in the "relative" pitch in the cantus ("relative" because of course the transposition must be taken into account): mm. 3 and 12 (indicated with an Ⓔ in the example);
- The only two parallel unisons found in the Sq version are not present in SL, where different ornamentation is found; see the cadences at mm. 12-13 and 25-26, indicated with a Ⓤ in the example.²²

20. Apart from m. 20, where it is not possible to establish whether SL has two or three flags for notes 1-3 (this uncertainty recurs in mm. 7 and 12; see below, footnote 23), the *piedi* section differs only in the last four notes of m. 25.

21. This type of variant ("repeated notes in one source as opposed to a single note in a concordance, equal in pitch and total duration to the single note"), is labelled "RN" by Fellin. This rhythmic variant is less significant when we assess not only a song transmitted with variants in different witnesses but, as in this case, rather different versions of a song. In fact, as pointed out by Fellin, in the selected corpus he analyzed, "exactly two-thirds of the ninety compositions contain at least one example of RN variation among their concordances"; see Eugene Constant Fellin, "A Study of Superius Variants in the Sources of Italian Trecento Music: Madrigals and Cacce" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1970), 51 and 54.

22. It is difficult to determine if some alteration was due to the perception of a cadence with parallel unisons as archaic. On the decreasing use of parallel perfect consonances and the potential implications of this trait for establishing chronology (in association with other markers), see Maria Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche de 'La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba': problemi di contestualizzazione e di esegesi", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 93-141.

- At mm. 7 and 20, it is unclear if SL has semiminim triplets (as in Sq) or two semiminims followed by a minim;²³
- Where the two versions differ, SL has often “relatively” higher pitches than Sq. Since the tenor is nearly identical, this results in greater distance between the two voices in SL.

It is highly likely that SL transmits a version prepared for specific performance purposes: the cantus has a slightly narrower ambitus (the octave *G-g* rather than the ninth *b-cc*), the distance between the two voice parts – where modified – is for the most part widened or left equal (but never reduced) and, most importantly, the cantus has only a few sections that are syllabic.

Another example of a work that has been transposed is *Dicovi per certança* by Antonio Zacara da Teramo, in which the SL version is a fifth higher (with its finalis on *d* and a signature of one flat in the tenor) than that transmitted in Sq (with its finalis on *G* and a flat added before two of the tenor’s three *bs*).²⁴ About *Dicovi per certança*, however, apart from the transposition and the presence of different errors in both witnesses, we are dealing with (substantially) a single version transmitted with variant readings.²⁵ In this instance, too, SL shows a greater frequency of disaggregation of the notes in shorter values (of the type discussed above); see, for example, mm. 2-4, in which SL consistently has two minims on the same pitch instead of the single semibreve present in Sq.

Concerning use of ornamentation in SL, the only other known instance in the transmission of Landini’s works is the three-voice ballata *L’alma mie piange* B115, entered in Lo in a version more ornate than the rest of the witnesses.²⁶ Even in that example, the different version affects only the numerous ornaments in the cantus, where the variants are of the type discussed above (two or four notes rather than one).²⁷ It is well known that this phenomenon is

23. The replacement of ♩♩♩ with ♩♩♩ or vice versa, is a very common adiaphorus rhythmic variant; see Fellin, “A Study of Superius Variants”, 56-7.

24. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, “New Insights into the Florentine Transmission of the Songs of Antonio Zacara da Teramo”, *Studi musicali*, n. s. 2 (2015): 197-214, esp. 203-7.

25. In addition to those already detected in Sq – on which see Janke and Nádas, *New Insights*, 203-7 – there is (at least) one error in SL: the seventh at the beginning of the fourth verse (where Sq correctly has an octave) should be emended to read *dd* instead of *α* in the cantus, m. 15. The edition based on SL can be found in Janke and Nádas, *op. cit.*, 206; for Sq, see W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music. Andrea da Firenze, Andrea Stefani, Antonellus da Caserta [...], PMFC*, Vol. 10 (Monaco: L’Oiseau-Lyre, 1977), 124.

26. This example is thoroughly discussed by Marco Gozzi, “La ballata *L’Alma mie*”, in “*Col dolce suon che da te piove*”, 339-65.

27. The edition of the Lo version is available in Gozzi, “La ballata *L’Alma mie*”, 362-3; a comparison of its ornamental variants with the Sq version is located at 351.

considerably more common in the transmission of music by the first generation of Trecento composers, while it is quite rare in the works of younger composers.²⁸ It should also be pointed out that there is a link between the two manuscripts in which the only known ornamented versions of Landini's works are found: the scribe who copied SL is believed to be the one who copied ff. 82v-85r of Lo.²⁹

C[...] (TEMPO FUGGE)

With the aim of providing an overall picture of this edition, its purposes and underlying methods, my discussion of the ballata C[...] (*tempo fugge*) will consider, in order, the following topics: attribution; transcription criteria and notation; recognition of formal articulations; two hypothetical reconstruction of its form (Hypothesis A and Hypothesis B); detailed commentary on the individual segments of the transcription; and the poetic text.

Attribution

Attribution of the ballata to Francesco Landini is clear from the reconstruction of Gathering XIII offered by Janke and Nádas. The rubric "Idem f", written in red in the folios belonging to Gatherings XI and XIII, is in the upper margin of f. [CXX]IIIr/89r. Since the multispectral images provided by Janke and Nádas do not attempt to recover the red ink,³⁰ the reading of rubrics and foliation numbers must rely on natural light images. The "f" is not entirely legible, but it surely refers to Francesco Landini from the verso of the same folio, where the same rubric ("Idem f") was applied to Landini's three-voice ballata

28. Gozzi, interestingly, argues that "probabilmente la vita artistica delle composizioni degli autori più recenti dell'Ars Nova italiana è stata assai più breve di quella delle composizioni dei primi maestri (Jacopo e Giovanni), così breve da non permettere alla tradizione scritta di essere contaminata in modo significativo dalla prassi"; see Gozzi, "La ballata *L'Alma mie*", 352.

29. See John Louis Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages", (PhD diss., New York University, 1985), 461; John Nádas, "Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some Further Observations", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VI*, Atti del Sesto Congresso Internazionale "L'Europa e la musica del Trecento" (Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 19-21 Luglio 1984), ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Certaldo: Edizioni Polis, [1992]), 145-68, at 146-7; Giuliano Di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (British Library, MS Additional 29987)", *Studi musicali* 20 (1991): 181-234, at 191-5; Marco Gozzi, "Alcune postille sul codice Add. 29987 della British Library", *Studi Musicali* 22 (1993): 249-77, at 251.

30. In this instance, under multispectral imaging, the rubric turns yellow, as do the six lines of the staves. The phenomenon depends on the processing methods (appropriately) intended to enhance the dark ink of the musical *scriptio inferior*, see *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 12.

Né'n ciascun mio pensiero B126. The roman foliation [C]XXii on the upper right margin is only slightly covered by the *scriptio superior* ("Somma di [...]").³¹

Transcription criteria and notation

The following transcription is, in various places, based on hypothetical interpretations of passages that are difficult to read. In some instances it is possible to determine the pitch, but it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty what its mensural value is. It is very likely that rests have been missed because they are more difficult to detect.³² The only rest I have suggested with a minimum of assurance is in the cantus, at m. 4. The editorial addition of rests at mm. 14 and 52 derive from the context but no trace of the rests can be found in the manuscript (for this reason they are not considered in the diplomatic transcription). In other places, I preferred to leave the space blank: see the cantus, mm. 28, 40-42, and 56-57; and the tenor, mm. 49-50 and 54.

It is also very difficult to read the stems of the ligatures. In the very first transcription I made, the tenor, which makes greater use of ligatures, was in fact much longer than the cantus. This difference is evidently due to the difficulty in reading many of the stems that transform ligatures in *cum opposita proprietate*, or stems that modify the *proprietas* of a ligature. In all places where the analysis of the counterpoint supported it, I suggest as the most "economical" hypothesis the addition of a stem; see the tenor, mm. 13, 15, 19, 30, 33, and 35. For all the reasons cited above, it is very useful to compare individual passages with other, similar, musical segments taken from other two-part ballatas by Landini – particularly those using the same mensuration – that buttress my proposed interpretation.

The ballata is notated in *tempus imperfectum* and *prolatio minor*, a mensuration used in twenty-eight of Landini's two-voice ballatas. A *modus* grouping is almost always possible in the other twenty-eight ballatas (rendered by Schrade with transcriptions in $3 \times 1/4$ and $2 \times 1/4$); in a small percentage of this corpus, the *modus* alternates between binary and ternary. In the case of C[...] (*tempo fugge*) – necessarily, because in too many places the transcription is uncertain – I have not proposed a hypothetical *modus*, instead rendering the

31. As explained in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 12, foliation numbers can be more easily read in photographs made under natural light. For this particular number – read by Janke and Nádas as "cxxxiii" – see *Ibid.*, 22n10.

32. In the process of scraping a vellum music manuscript the first elements to disappear are rests and stems; see Andreas Janke, "Challenges in Working with Music Palimpsests", in *New Light on Old Manuscripts: Recent Advances in Palimpsest Studies*, ed. Claudia Rapp, Jana Gruskova, Grigory Kessel, and Giulia Rossetto, forthcoming; and his chapter in this volume.

combination of *tempus* and *prolatio* in modern notation as a free string of 1/4 measures, each corresponding to a breve.

Criteria for the diplomatic transcription:

...	illegible portion of text (usually one syllable)
*	capital letters touched with wash; punctuation marks at the end of section (:-)
<i>italics</i>	hard-to-read text
[]	hard-to-read notes
/	end of the staff
1, 2, etc.	six-line staves
1, 2, etc.	numbers of syllables

Criteria for the transcription in modern notation:

smaller noteheads	notes or portions of notes (e.g., stems and flags) that are unclear
{ }	editorial additions

The image displays two systems of a musical score for a two-voice ballata by Francesco Landini. Each system consists of three staves: a top staff for the voice (treble clef), a middle staff for the lute (treble clef), and a bottom staff for the lute (bass clef). The music is in 4/4 time and G major. The first system covers measures 1 through 7, and the second system covers measures 10 through 11. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the staves.

System 1 (Measures 1-7):

Measures 1-4: *piu piu*
 Measure 5: *piu piu*
 Measure 6: *piu piu*
 Measure 7: *piu piu*

System 2 (Measures 10-11):

Measure 10: *mi*
 Measure 11: *ch tempo fugg*

Example 2. Edition of C[...] (*tempo fugg*)

2 25 30 35 11

a sp... sp...rã... (e...ã... ce :-

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

40 45 11

dur...c... che... f... dun... f...

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Example 2 (continued)



Example 2 (continued)

Recognition of formal articulations

Some elements help identify the work's primary formal articulations. Particularly useful are the capital letters originally given a yellow wash,³³ usually occurring in SL to indicate the beginnings of verses. I have selected a more legible ballata from SL to illustrate formal indications that can be derived from auxiliary signs even without taking the text into account. For this purpose, I will use a diplomatic transcription of the cantus and the *residuum* of *Gli occhi che in prima tanto bel piacer*, transmitted in a very legible folio of SL (CXv), in which I have marked in bold the letters that show traces of color in the manuscript.³⁴

[cantus]

- 1 ^gLio chi chein prima tãto bel pia cere **M**i porsõdẽ tralco re **N**õ se
 2 guitãdoa mor mi fãdole re:— | **U**a na sperã
 3 ça camõchenelpas sa to **t**em po **M**ostrõ**m**i cõ suouaga ui sta

 2 | **M**anelle fõçe
 3 sue tãto legato / **C**he giãmai doña p suo nõ maqui sta

33. See *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 18. Capital letters touched with yellow wash are very common in Trecento music collections and can be found in (to mention only a few) Sq, Lo, Pit, and Man; capital letters with red highlights can be found in Fp and Man.

34. The numbers on the left refer to the six-line staves. The text of the second *pie*de ("M'à nelle forçe sue...") is also entered beneath the music (staves two and three), in a typical "virelai layout".

[Residuum]

Onde piangẽdo lanima satrista

& muor si didolore

Chegliochi conanore nõ puo uedere:—:—

There are at least five auxiliary signs that allow identification of the syntactic and formal units of the ballata *Gli ochi che in prima tanto bel piacere* in SL:

- The small guide letter followed by a capital letter indicates the beginning of the first verse;
- The single line “|” crossing the entire six-line staff indicates the end of a section (a double bar is also used, “||”; see, for example, the tenor of the same ballata);
- The letters touched with wash (in bold) indicate the beginnings of verses. The only verse in which a capital letter is highlighted incorrectly is the fourth. At the cantus the word “*mostrommi*” is in fact touched with color while the first word of the verse is instead “*tempo*”. The error, evidently caused by the enjambement “*passato / tempo*” in verses 4-5 (“*Vana speranza Amor, che nel passato / tempo mostrommi con suo vaga vista*”) is absent from the tenor, as is any indication related to the beginning of this verse;
- The sign “:—” is found at the end of the *ripresa* (after “*dolere*”) and, doubled, at the end of the *residuum*; in other ballatas, it can also be found at the end of a verse (e.g., *Va’ pure, Amor* B19, in SL, f. [C1r]/103r, at the end of the fifth staff, where it signals the end of v. 2).
- The sign / is used at the ends of verses. In this case it occurs only at the end of v. 6 (following “*legato*”).

I have taken the liberty of summarizing some of the paleographic conventions known to scholars because they are useful to show the elements from which I began in order to reconstruct the general form of the ballata under consideration. In the case of C[...] (*tempo fugge*) I have identified some letters touched with color, in both voices, at mm. 1, 22, and 37 (indicated with asterisks in the transcription). Because the folio containing the ballata was more heavily damaged in the scraping process than that on which *Gli ochi che in prima tanto bel piacere* appears, in the multispectral image of C[...] (*tempo fugge*) these letters do not appear in yellow but, rather, as dark spots.³⁵

35. In the multispectral images, traces of small details (such as the yellow wash used for capital letters) can differ from folio to folio; for the general description of the techniques used in processing the images, see *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 9-13.

See, for example, the beginning of the cantus at the second staff, m. 22. It is no longer possible to establish which letter originally had a color wash, but the discoloration confirms that we are at the beginning of a verse (in this case, at the beginning of the *piedi*). The marker “:-” adopted in *Gli occhi che in prima tanto bel piacere* for the end of the section can be read with certainty only once in C[...] (*tempo fugge*), in the tenor, m. 36, where it may indicate the end of the *ripresa*.

One feature contrasts with this reconstruction, namely the bar visible in the palimpsest folio near to the end of the fourth staff (see tenor after m. 21), which leads us to consider that the *ripresa* might end there (Hypothesis A). On the other hand, the hypothesis that the *ripresa* ends at m. 36 (Hypothesis B) is supported by the (very faint) trace of a double bar in the cantus (m. 36) and by the melodic impulse typical of the beginning of a new section (see the cantus, mm. 37-39). In the following paragraphs I will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of both hypotheses.

Hypothesis A

If we accept Hypothesis A, observation of all the signs suggests a formal subdivision resulting in a ballata with a *piedi* section almost twice as long as the *ripresa*: 21 breves in the *ripresa* (mm. 1-21) to 39 for each *piede* (mm. 22-60). Many other examples among Landini's two-voice ballatas have *piedi* longer than the *ripresa*, but the difference between the two sections is almost always small (often only one measure).³⁶

Piedi sections considerably longer than their *ripresa* occur in only three of Landini's two-voice ballatas: *Angelica biltà* B43 (9 measures and 18); *Chi più le vuol sapere* B44 (11 and 23); and *Nella tuo luce* B46 (9 and 17). In all three of these, the ballata's form is peculiar in some ways. Both *Angelica biltà* and *Chi più le vuole sapere* have a one-line *ripresa* and two-line *piedi* (all eleven-syllable lines), therefore the disproportion arises from the fact that the number of syllables set to music in each *piede* doubles that of the *ripresa*. In *Nella tuo luce* a one-line, eleven-syllable *ripresa* is combined with a through-composed section for the two *piedi* (each of which is a one-line *piede*). In the last case, it is clear that the second section's lack of repetition changes its structural weight, as well as its length, in relation to the *ripresa*.

Following Hypothesis A, the form of the ballata could consist of a two-line *ripresa* and two three-line *piedi*. This pattern occurs in twelve ballatas (see

36. This occurs in the following twenty two-voice ballatas: B7, B8, B12, B24, B30, B33, B35, B36, B37, B45, B54, B55, B58, B59, B61, B69, B71, B72, B80, and B81.

Table 3),³⁷ eleven of which were listed by Pagnotta. These texts are primarily by fourteenth-century poets whose works were set by composers active in Florence, with three texts by Niccolò Soldanieri; the music for only five has been preserved, but we cannot ignore the possibility that additional texts may have been set to music.

Table 3: Ballatas with two-line *ripresa* and three-line *piedi*

AUTHOR/COMPOSER	INCIPIT ^a	SCHEME ^b	PAGNOTTA	EDITIONS ^c
Alesso di Guido Donati	<i>Amor, della mia morte</i>	ZZ; ABC, ABC, ZZ	244: 1	Berisso, 116
Anon./Anon.	<i>Altro che sospirar</i> (3 ²)	ZZ; AbA, AbA, ZZ	58: 1	PMFC, 11, 2-4; Corsi, <i>Appendice</i> , ball. 2
Anon./Paolo da Firenze	<i>Dolze mie donna</i> (3 ¹)	YZ; ABC, ABC, ZY	241: 1	PMFC, 11, 56-7; Corsi, 286
Anon./Paolo da Firenze	<i>Amor mi stringe</i> (2 ¹)	ZZ; Abc, Abc, CC	194: 1	PMFC, 11, 9-10; Corsi, 274
Anon./Piero Mazzuoli	<i>Lasso dolente o mea gentil figura</i> (3 ³)	ZZ; AbC, [AbC, CZ]		Janke, 122 and 215-7
Andrea Stefani	<i>Lassa, dolente, abi me! marito mio</i>	ZZ; AbC, AbC, CZ	219: 2	Carducci, 331-3
Franco Sacchetti/Franco Sacchetti	<i>Inamorato pruno</i>	zZ; Abc, Abc, cZ	219: 4	Ageno, 185 (no extant musical setting)
Giovanni Boccaccio	<i>Qual donna canterà</i>	ZZ; Abc, Abc, CZ	219: 1	<i>Decameron</i> , II, X, 174-5
Niccolò Soldanieri	<i>Ch'i' d'altra donna, sia certa sie tu</i>	ZZ; aaB, aaB, BZ	30: 1	Pasquinucci, 108-9
Niccolò Soldanieri	<i>Chi 'l dover fa</i>	ZZ; Abc, Abc, CZ	219: 3	Pasquinucci, 110-1
Niccolò Soldanieri	<i>Se dir potessi, Amor</i>	ZZ; aBc, aBc, CZ	219: 5	Pasquinucci, 152-3
Zacara da Teramo?/Zacara da Teramo	<i>"Gnaffa le guagnele"</i> ^d	YZ; aBC, aBC, YZ	238: 1	PMFC, 10, 108-9

^a Boldface = ballatas with extant musical settings.

^b Uppercase, 11 syllables; lowercase, 7 syllables.

^c Editions: Ageno = Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence – Perth: Olschki – University of the Western Australia Press, 1990); Berisso = Alesso di Guido Donati, *Rime*, ed. Marco Berisso, *Studi di filologia italiana* 51 (1993), 89-131; Carducci = Giosue Carducci, *Canilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Pisa: Nistri, 1871); Corsi = Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970); *Decameron* = Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron. Edizione critica secondo l'autografo babiltoniano*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Accademia Della Crusca, 1976); Janke = Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest* (ASL 2211) (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016); Pasquinucci = Enrico Pasquinucci, "La poesia musicale di Niccolò Soldanieri", *Studi di filologia italiana* 65 (2007): 65-193; PMFC, Vol. 10; PMFC, Vol. 11 (W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music. Anonymous Ballate* [Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1978]).

^d This is the ballata text sung by the contratenor of the polytextual and multilingual three-voice ballata "Je suy navrés tan fort, o dous amy!" / "Gnaff'a le guagnele".

37. Excluded from the list is the ballata *Novella danza* of the *Memoriali bolognesi*, with an unusual *volta* that is two lines longer than the *ripresa*; see Linda Pagnotta, *Repertorio metrico della ballata italiana: secoli XIII e XIV* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1995), LXIII n. 22 and no. 345: 1.

The structure most similar to that suggested for *C*[...] (*tempo fugge*) occurs in *Inamorato pruno* (*Libro delle rime*, CLI) by Franco Sacchetti – the music for which, now lost, was Franco's own:³⁸ a two-line *ripresa* consisting of seven and eleven-syllable lines. The first stanza is as follows:

Inamorato pruno,	7
già mai non vidi, come l'altr'ier uno.	11
Su la verde erba e sotto spine e fronde	11
giovinetta sede	7
lucente più che stella.	7
Quando pigliava il prun le chiome bionde,	11
ella da sé il pignea	7
con bianca mano e bella,	7
spesso tornando a quella,	7
ardito più che mai fosse altro pruno. ³⁹	11

Hypothesis B

If instead we assume as significant the presence of the marker “:–” together with the (very faint) trace of a double bar in the cantus before m. 37, then we are dealing with a *ripresa* consisting of 36 breves (mm. 1–36) and a *piedi* of 24 breves (mm. 37–60). In this case, the *piedi* would be one-third shorter than the *ripresa*, a proportion less exceptional than that seen in Hypothesis A. The distribution of the verses between *ripresa* and *piedi* would also be closer to the norm. Based on estimates of those syllables that are illegible, but of which traces can be discerned below the staves, in this case we would have a three-verse *ripresa* (perhaps a seven-syllable line followed by two eleven-syllable lines) and two-line *piedi* (probably two eleven-syllable lines for each *piede*). This formal scheme is used by Landini himself in fifteen two-part ballatas.⁴⁰ In fact, numerous examples of this scheme can be found throughout the ballata repertory; the most frequently used version is YZZ; AB, AB, BZZ.⁴¹

The ambitus of the two voices (tenor [C?]D-c; cantus F-g) is fairly conventional, with the tenor located approximately a fifth/fourth below the cantus. The two hypotheses discussed above indicate different final pitches for the

38. See the autograph rubric “Francus dedit sonum” in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 (Ash574), f. 25v.

39. Ageno, *Libro delle rime*, 185.

40. This is a very high percentage, considering that there is a total of thirty-four two-voice ballatas with a three-line *ripresa* (“*mezzane*”) set to music by Landini.

41. See Pagnotta, *Repertorio*, 193–5.

end of the *ripresa*: *d* (Hypothesis A) or [*G*] (Hypothesis B); while nothing changes for the end of the *piedi* (*c* in both reconstructions). In both hypotheses, the ballata would fall within the parameters of Landini's typical choices: in fact, 43% of the two-voice ballatas end the *ripresa* on *D* and 26.5% end on *G*.⁴² Following Hypothesis A, the ballata would have terminal pitches (*d/c*) identical to those of three other ballatas by Landini (*De! non fugir* B31, *Ma' non s'andrà'* B40, and *Donna, tu prendi sdegno* B63).⁴³ The two final cadences, moreover, would be comparable to those of *De! non fugir* B31 (see Example 3). The final cadence of the *piedi* of *Ma' non s'andrà'* B40 (mm. 54-55) is almost identical to that of *C[...]* (*tempo fugge*) (see Example 4). *Donna, tu prendi sdegno* B63 has the final cadence of the *ripresa* (mm. 18-19) that is very similar to that of our ballata (see Example 5).



Example 3. *De! non fugir* B31, mm. 18-19 and 33-34 (ed. Schrade)



Example 4. *Ma' non s'andrà'* B40, mm. 54-55 (ed. Schrade)

42. The data are taken from Mangani and Sabaino, "L'organizzazione dello spazio sonoro", 243 (the terminal pitches of the cantus parts of Landini's two-voice ballatas are summarized in Table 3).

43. Ibid.

18

C

8

3x4

T

3x4

-CO.

-CO.

Example 5. *Donna, tu prendi sdegno* B63, mm. 18-19 (ed. Schrade)

Hypothesis B suggests a final cadence on a unison *G*. The only types of terminal cadence in Landini's two-voice ballatas are at unisons or octaves and, in the specific case of those ending on *G*, the cadence is always on the unison, never the octave.⁴⁴ Based on this pattern, the ballata would have final pitches identical to those of twelve of Landini's other two-voice ballatas (*ripresa*: *G*; *piedi*: *c*).⁴⁵ Moreover, the terminal cadence is quite similar to that at the end of the *ripresa* in *Se la vista soave* B53 (mm. 36-37; see Example 6).⁴⁶

The second system of the musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is shown. It continues with the same key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody in the treble clef continues with eighth and quarter notes, and the bass line in the bass clef provides a simple accompaniment. The system concludes with a final note in the treble clef and a whole note in the bass clef, both marked with a sharp sign (#).

Example 6. *Se la vista soave* B53, mm. 36-37 (ed. Schrade)

Commentary on the transcription

In the following section I provide details regarding my editorial choices, and the observations that led to some of them.

Measures 1-8. The notation of the first eight measures can be read quite

44. See B1, B3, B5, B9, B14, B16, B17, B24, B25, B26, B30, B37, B43, B52, B53, B54, B56, B60, B68, B69, B73, B74, B80, and B91.

45. The ballatas are B1, B3, B5, B14, B30, B52, B53, B54, B56, B69, B73, and B80; with the exception of B54, they all have a flat in the key signature in at least one voice part.

46. The terminal cadence in *Da poi che va* B80 (mm. 11-12) is only slightly different.

clearly, especially in the cantus, where only the flags on two semiminims in m. 7 are difficult to read. Thanks to the few barely legible syllables below the notes and the traces of illegible syllables, it seems likely that the first seven-syllable line ends at m. 8, corresponding to the unison cadence on *G*. It is also possible that this first seven-syllable line constitutes the first hemistich of an eleven-syllable line. The opening is comparable to that of *Donna, s'i' t'bo fallito* B1 (mm. 1-3), both of which are characterized by an initial vertical interval of a fifth (*G*⁵) and an ending on a unison *G* (see Example 7).



(a)



(b)

Example 7. (a) *Donna, s'i' t'bo fallito* B1, mm. 1-3 (ed. Schrade)
compared with (b) *C[...]* (*tempo fugge*), mm. 1-8

The basic contrapuntal succession of the first four measures of *C[...]* (*tempo fugge*) – apart from the note in the tenor, m. 3, that is difficult to read – can be summarized as *G*⁵-[...]→*D*⁸. This opening is typical of some other two-voice ballatas by Landini, in which the first two syllables of the first verse are set to a cadential gesture, sometimes emphasized by a rest in one of the voices.⁴⁷

47. See, among others, at least *Nella partita* B39 (mm. 1-2); *Perché virtù* B33 (mm. 1-2); *Se merzé, donna* B30 (mm. 1-3, first four syllables); *S'i' ti son stato* B16 (mm. 1-2, *a*⁵-[...]→*E*⁸); *Donna, se 'l*

The triplet in the cantus at m. 7 – a frequent gesture of Landini's – acts as a cadential rhythmic element. In this case the ornamentation is configured as the succession $a^{2-1-2-1-3} G^1$, in which the dissonance of a second occupies first and third positions (the latter with voice crossings [underlined numbers]). This peculiar contrapuntal configuration with an ornamental triplet (beginning on a ninth) occurs in a limited – but still significant – number of Landini's ballatas in *tempus imperfectum* and *prolatio minor*.⁴⁸ Moreover, the semiminim triplet ornamenting a unison with a momentary voice crossing (second above, unison, second below) occurs elsewhere in Landini's works; see, for example, *Benché la bionda treça* B74, m. 22: c^{2-1-2} . Another consideration corroborating the transcription is that, normally, semiminim triplets constitute a rhythmic element that returns several times within the same song. In our ballata, the gesture returns at m. 38 ornamenting the octave-fifth succession ($G^{8-7-6-5-4-G^5}$).

In the tenor the reading of the breve in m. 3 is supposition in both pitch and rhythmic value. The succession may be $G^{5-4}-D^{R-8}$, characterized by the harmonic interval of a fourth followed by the descending leap of a fourth in the tenor.⁴⁹ Similar patterns – without an interpolated rest – can be found in *L'antica fiamma* B8, mm. 20-21 ($d^{5-4}-a^8$), *Or'è itat l'alma* B17, mm. 9-10 ($c^{5-5}-c^4-G^8$), and *Po' ch'amor ne' begli occhi* B20, m. 2 ($a^{5-4}-E^6$); see Examples 8(a)-(c). In *S'andra' sanza merzé* B29, mm. 4-5, we can find an example in which the tenor leaps an ascending fifth ($C^{12-11}-G^5$); see Example 8(d).⁵⁰ In different mensural and rhythmic configurations – and without an interpolated pause – this pattern can be found in the opening of *Con gli occhi assai* B37 (m. 1: $G^{5-4}-D^8$); see Example 8(e).⁵¹

cor B15 (mm. 1-2); *Deb, pon quest'amor giù!* B3 (mm. 1-3); and *Sempre girò caendo* B90 (mm. 1-3: the passage includes the first two syllables; Schrade anticipates a syllable in the cantus, creating a displacement with respect to the tenor; a similar asynchronous declamation of the text between the two voices – resolved by editorial intervention – can be found in mm. 28-30, where the syllables of the tenor part should shift one note to the left).

48. See, for example, with an octave instead of a unison, *Donna, se 'l cor* B15, m. 2 ($D^{9-8-7-8-6} \rightarrow C^8$); *Benché la bionda treça* B74, mm. 15-16 ($E^{9-8-7-8-6} \rightarrow D^8$); *Viditi, donna* B91, mm. 20-21 ($E^{9-8-7-8-6} \rightarrow D^8$); and *Altri n'arà la pena*, B56, mm. 22-23 ($a^{9-8-7-8-6} \rightarrow G^8$). As in the previous pieces but moving toward, respectively, a third and a fifth, are: *Po' ch'amor ne' begli occhi* B20, mm. 12-13 ($E^{9-8-7-8-6}-G^3$); and *Donna, tu prendi sdegno* B63, mm. 28-29 ($E^{9-8-7-8-6}-G^5$).

49. The superscripted "R" in D^{R-8} indicates a rest.

50. In Schrade's edition the first two pitches of the tenor at m. 5 are eighth notes rather than quarter notes.

51. Schrade transcribed B37 with two time-signatures (3/4 and 6/8) because, although the piece is written in *tempus perfectum*, he hypothesized that the original *divisio* could be *senaria imperfecta*.

20

C

T

-ta più ver- so lo

-ta più ver- so lo

(a)

C

T

non m'a - iu-

m'a - iu-

(b)

C

T

Po' ch'a-mor ne' be-

Po' ch'a-mor ne' be-

(c)

Example 8. (a) *L'antica fiamma* B8, mm. 20-21 ($d^{5-4}-a^8$);

(b) *Or'è ttal l'alma* B17, mm. 9-10 ($c^{5-5}-c^4-G^8$);

(c) *Po' ch'amor ne' begli ochi* B20, m. 2 ($a^{5-4}-E^6$);

(d) *S'andra' sanza merzé* B29, mm. 4-5 ($C^{12-11}-G^{6-5}$);

and (e) *Con gli occhi assai* B37 (m. 1: $G^{5-4}-D^8$)

C

T

-ce di ten-po in ten-

-ce di ten-po in ten-

(d)

C

T

Chol-

(e)

Example 8 (continued)

The syncopated succession moving toward the unison at m. 6 ($F^{6-5}-G^{4-3}$) is quite common; see, for example, *I' vegio ch'a natura* B52 (mm. 11-12, $F^{6-5}-G^{4-3} \rightarrow a^1$ and mm. 23-24, $G^{6-5}-a^{4-3} \rightarrow b^1$), *Dolce signor* B42 (mm. 18-19, $F^{6-5}-G^{4-3} \rightarrow a^1$), and *Benché crudele siate* B48 (mm. 2-3, $D^{6-5}-E^{4-3} \rightarrow F^1$; mm. 7-8, $F^{6-5}-G^{4-3} \rightarrow a^1$).

Measures 9-21. The second part of the ripresa may correspond to the second verse, which is probably an eleven-syllable line. The final words of the text, “tempo fugge”, are almost completely legible in both voices. Only a few remarks will suffice for this section. At m. 13 it is not possible to establish with certainty if the ligatures present in both voices (in unison) are *cum opposita proprietate*. Measures 10-11 and 17-18 in the cantus raise particular problems due to loss. For this reason, the figures are hypothesized here with a considerable margin of doubt. At the end of the staff, there is a very light trace of the head of what could be a *custos* on *a*.

Measures 22-36. Verse 3 – the first of the *piedi* in Hypothesis A and the third of the *ripresa* in Hypothesis B – falls between mm. 22 and 36. At m. 36 in the tenor, we can clearly read the syllable “ce” followed by the end-of-verse

marker “:–”. The sign is confirmed by the fact that it is followed by the capital “A”, originally touched with wash, that indicates the beginning of the following line. If the hypothesis is correct, we are dealing in all likelihood with an eleven-syllable line, the first part of which is set almost syllabically, with ending melisma that begins in m. 30.

Following Hypothesis A, the *piedi* would therefore begin with an imperfect consonance of a third (F^3), a pattern that occurs seven more times in Landini’s two-voice ballatas.⁵² In the tenor, mm. 22-23, some spots are readable as semibreves B, C, and G. Some spots in the cantus, m. 28, could be read as *g f-g* (a semibreve followed by a *ligatura binaria cum opposita proprietate*?). Because there was no way to integrate these notes into the contrapuntal framework, it is likely that they are traces of ink from the folio’s verso. In the cantus, m. 28, it is plausible that an illegible breve *d* is present; that would constitute a medial cadence within the verse. At mm. 33-35, it is assumed that the tenor’s ligatures lack stems. The hypothesis that, in many instances, the stems cannot be read is supported by the fact that the tenor consist of considerably more breves than the cantus.

Measures 37-60. This section is difficult to read, both in terms of the individual pitches and durations and the relationship between the voices. Therefore, my proposed transcription must be considered only a first attempt at reconstruction, to be improved when and if new technical tools become available, or should another witness of this ballata be discovered. I consider it likely that these measures correspond to two verses. Following Hypothesis B this portion contains the complete *piedi*. The traces of the text are difficult to evaluate and the syllables in the cantus (sixteen) do not correspond numerically to those of the tenor (twenty). For this reason, in this portion I did not include the syllable count in the transcription. The setting is fairly syllabic, especially in the tenor, at mm. 37-47. A possible medial cadence may be located at mm. 51-52, from which the final melisma might begin. The *custos* at m. 39 is on *d*, but the first note of the following staff is *c* and there does not seem to be enough space to hypothesize an illegible *d* at the beginning of the staff. In the cantus, mm. 41-42 I have assumed that the illegible notes might occupy the space of two breves. Measures 49-52 and 55-56 of the cantus are difficult to make out.

52. See B6, m. 22 (third); B33, m. 14 (sixth); B38, m. 20 (tenth); B39, m. 22 (third); B42, m. 15 (third); B76, m. 23 (sixth); and B84, m. 21 (sixth).

Poetic Text

Fuga temporis is one of the recurring themes of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (RVF), in which "tempo fugge" is used as a rhyme in two of the poems.⁵³ In Landini's works, the theme is at the center of the three-voice ballata *Nessun ponga speranza*, in which the word "tempo" appears for the first time in v. 6 (in rhyme) and is then repeated four times in vv. 7-10 (as a rhyming word in vv. 8 and 9):⁵⁴

Nessun ponga speranza
 ne la suo giovineza
 ché, s'ell'ha in sé vagheza,
 tosto va vie per natural usanza.
 Vo' ben che ciaschedun l'abbia a sé cara 5
 perché virtù die 'l *tempo*,
 che se nel *tempo* verde non s'impara,
 troppo è grave nel *tempo*.
 Voi, giovani, per *tempo*
 vogliate el *tempo* porre, 10
 che sì veloce corre,
 ne la virtù, ch'oltr'altra cosa avanza.⁵⁵

Therefore, although very few portions of its text can be identified, C[...] (*tempo fugge*) has thematic links with other works set to music by Landini himself that, in turn, can be considered part of a rich and widespread fourteenth-century topos. Since there are very few areas of legible text in our ballata, I have supplied a partial reconstruction that can only be considered conjectural.

1 c ... co . . se(m)pre sono	(7?)
2 las ch . . tempo fugge	(11?)
3 []a sp[e]ran fe . . ace	(11)
4 Adun[q]ue f ... che	(11?)
5	(11?)

53. See RVF 56, v. 3 and RVF 264, v. 75. See especially sonnet 56, vv. 1-4: "Se col cieco desir che 'l cor strugge / contando l'ore no m'inganno io stesso, / ora mentre ch'io parlo il tempo fugge / ch'a me fu insieme et a mercé promesso. [...]" ; see Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 2004), 298, 1053, and 1064. For occurrences of the theme in classical authors – including Ovid and Virgil – and in romance medieval poetry – Guittone and Dante, *Commedia*, Par. XXXIII 139 – refer to the commentary by Santagata.

54. My search for all compositions that contain the rhyme "tempo fugge" has not yielded any literary witness for our ballata, which would certainly have facilitated reconstruction of the music and the correspondence between text and music.

55. Cf. Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 197; italics mine.

At mm. 1-8 one would be tempted to propose the reading “C[on te]co *sem-pre sono*”, which would thus become the incipit of our ballata. The numerous variables in the reading (relating primarily to vowels),⁵⁶ however, urged caution. At the beginning of the cantus the guide letter “c” can be clearly read, and it is placed in the same position as in other, more legible, folios of the Palimpsest.⁵⁷

Following Hypothesis A, the syllables of the ripresa allow us to reconstruct a succession of one seven-syllable line followed by another. It could also be the inverse sequence (an eleven-syllable line plus a seven-syllable line), attested to in a single item in Pagnotta’s *Repertorio*.⁵⁸ A likelier option is the metrical scheme of a 7-11-line *ripresa*, of which there are several known exemplars, but always with two-line *piedi*.⁵⁹ Similarly, in Hypothesis B, we could have a 7-11-11-syllable or 11-7-11-syllable *ripresa*.

In conclusion, this first edition of the ballata C[...] (*tempo fugge*) was produced considering all the data derived from the poetic text and music as fundamental clues. The analysis has been approached starting from the recognition of the graphic elements that allow reconstruction of the work’s formal structure. The transcription of the pitches and durations has been consistently compared, where possible, with Landini’s other two-part ballatas. In support of further analyses by other scholars, I have considered it essential to also provide a diplomatic transcription of the music.

The most insidious risk must also be admitted; namely, that of inadvertently incorporating notation that shows through from the verso of this folio. That said, and considering all the risks, I felt it important to attempt a first transcription of this ballata by Landini, which had been obscured for over six hundred years.

The reestablishment of the poetic text, which would have facilitated the deciphering of the musical sections with greater certainty, has been difficult.

56. See, in particular, the tenor, mm. 6-8: “piu” or “pre”; “so” or “se”; “no” or “ne”.

57. See, for example, the guide letter “q” in the anonymous (and still unpublished) song *Quanto si può si de’ sempre fuggire*, SL, f. CLVIIIv/95v, first staff (number 182).

58. See the ballata *Die, non asconder, dona, quel diletto* by Antonio da Tempo (Pagnotta, *Repertorio*, no. 154: 11). Its scheme is Zz; Ab Ba Az (upper case for eleven-syllable lines, lower case for seven-syllable lines).

59. The most common schemes with two-line *ripreses* of the type z’Z are: zZ; AB AB bZ (no. 111: 186-93, including various ballatas set to music or by poets whose texts were often set to music); zZ; aB aB bZ (no. 111: 209-213; including Landini’s ballata *Fior di dolcezza sei* and others texts by Giovanni Boccaccio, Gidino da Sommacampagna, Antonio da Ferrara, and Franco Sacchetti); zZ; Ab Ab bZ (no. 111: 202; one occurrence). See Pagnotta, *Repertorio*, at the numbers indicated.

Strictly dependent on the devising of the overall metric-formal structure of the ballata, both the hypotheses of reconstruction of the musical sections proposed have some elements of interest. However, Hypothesis B is the one that seems to be most supported by comparison with the rest of the two-voice repertory set to music by Landini.

The analysis of these two pieces shows that SL is a valuable witness to the tradition of Landini's works. The version of *De sospirar sovente* B68 entered in the Palimpsest, reconstructed here for the first time and produced in a synoptic transcription with Sq, shows a considerable degree of autonomy when compared to the previously known version. This, as I have argued, could depend on the needs of a different performance occasion. The fact that two of Landini's seventeen ballatas in SL show aspects of considerable novelty suggests that other folios dedicated to the composer in the Palimpsest, lost forever or not yet found, may offer new insight into the transmission and reception of Landini's works in the first decades of the fifteenth century.

ABSTRACT

Gatherings reconstructed as XI and XIII of the San Lorenzo Palimpsest (Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211) contain seventeen ballatas by Francesco Landini. The legibility of some of these works increased considerably following publication of the multispectral images of SL, permitting a new assessment. My particular focus is the manuscript tradition of Francesco Landini's two-voice ballatas in SL: I provide a synoptic transcription of the ballata *De sospirar sovente* – which appears in SL in an unpublished redaction – and the first edition of *C(...)* (*tempo fugge*), a recently discovered two-voice ballata by Landini, also unpublished. The two case studies epitomize SL's importance in the transmission of works by the most famous composer of the Italian Trecento, as well as the manuscript's contribution to our understanding of fourteenth-century music.

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ON THE TRANSMISSION OF DONATO DA FIRENZE'S MADRIGALS¹

The Trecento composer Donato da Firenze left few traces other than the handful of compositions attributed to him. The scarce references to his life are best summarized by the observation that he belonged to the Benedictine order and that – according to Franco Sacchetti – he was a priest.² Only one document has been tentatively linked to him, mention of a Donato di Bartolo di Camerata who took his vows in Santa Maria degli Angeli on May 25, 1375 and left the monastery on August 31, 1381:³

Frate Donato di Bartolo di Chamerata fece la sua professione a dì 25 di maggio

1. This research was carried out within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg, first at the “Sonderforschungsbereich 950” and then within the scope of my project “Formatting and Erasing Polyphonic Music In Italian Manuscripts from 1350 to 1425” at the Cluster of Excellence “Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures”, project no. 390893796, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft [DFG]).

2. See Paolo Cecchi, s.v. “Donato da Cascia”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 41 (1992), online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/donato-da-cascia_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca d’Agostino, s.v. “Donato da Cascia”, in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy; Dorothea Baumann, s.v. “Donatus de Florentia”, in *MGG Online* (Kassel, Stuttgart, New York: Bärenreiter, J. B. Metzler, Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2016ff.), ed. Laurenz Lütteken, first published 2001, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/11583> (all accessed March 1, 2018). For editions of Donato’s Music see Nino Pirrotta, ed., *Laurentius Masii de Florentia. Donatus de Florentia, Rosso da Collegrano, and Nine Anonymous Pieces, The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, Vol. 3, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 8 ([n.p.]: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), and W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music by Vincenzo da Rimini, Rosso da Chollagrana, Donato da Firenze, Gherardello da Firenze, Lorenzo da Firenze, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. 7 (Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1971).

3. Kurt von Fischer, “Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex [I-Fl 87]”, *Quadrivium* 9 (1968): 5-19, esp. 12-13.

The End of the Ars Nova in Italy. The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories, ed. A. Calvia, S. Campanolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2020), 131-49. (ISBN 978-88-9290-046-2 © SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

1375 in capitolo nelle mani del sopradicto nostro priore et tutti gli altri frati presenti. Partissi qui a dì 31 d'agosto 1381.⁴

This entry is part of a listing of all priors and monks in Santa Maria degli Angeli's *Registro Nuovo*, and it is based on a previous list located in the *Registro Vecchio* that contains the addition of a later reference to the fact that Donato di Bartolo died as a layman. Without more specific evidence, however, it remains difficult – if not impossible – to identify Donato da Camerata and Donato da Firenze as one and the same person:

Frate Donato di Bartolo di Camerata fece la sua professione [a] dì 25 di maggio 1375 in capitolo nelle mani del sopradetto nostro priore e di tutti gli altri frati presente. Obiit secularis.⁵

Donato is thought to have been active from 1350 to 1370. In accordance with this, Elena Abramov-van Rijk recently proposed that Donato's *Sovran' uccello se' fra tutti gli altri* was composed between March and June 1355; based on its text, the madrigal has been repeatedly connected with Charles IV's stay in Italy.⁶ Attempts to connect Donato's music to later events are questioned, as in the case of the madrigal *Dal cielo scese per iscala d'oro*,⁷ which some have associated with the 1378 marriage of Samaritana da Polenta and Antonio della Scala.⁸

In the frame story of his *Novelle*, Giovanni Sercambi mentions three madrigals by Donato (*Come da lupo pecorella presa*, *Un bel girfalco scese alle mie grida*, and *I' fu' già usignolo in tempo verde*), thus situating their performance in the year 1374.⁹ Sercambi wrote his *Novelle* around 1400, considerably later than

4. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 86, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Vol. 96, f. 39r.

5. In the left margin there is an additional note that Donato left the monastery on August 31, 1381. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 86, Santa Maria degli Angeli, Vol. 95, f. 88v. I thank John Nádas for sharing this finding with me.

6. See, for example, Pirrotta, *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, Vol. 2, and especially the recent discussion of this madrigal in Elena Abramov-van Rijk, "The Italian Experience of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV: Musical and Literary Aspects", *Early Music History* 37 (2018): 1-44, esp. 40.

7. All of Donato's madrigals cited in this essay can be found in the Appendix, with details of their transmission in music and text manuscripts. I omit here Donato's three-part canonic piece *Faccia chi de' se 'l po'*.

8. Elena Abramov-van Rijk, "The Raven and the Falcon: Literary Space in a Trecento Musical Aviary", in *Musik – Raum – Bild – Akkord. Festschrift für Dorothea Baumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Antonio Baldassarre (Bern: Lang, 2012), 59-74, esp. 63.

9. See Sercambi's *novelle* LVIII, LXXVI, and LXXIX, in Giovanni Sercambi, *Novelle. Nuovo testo*

the presumed composition of Donato's music, but a date proximal to the compilation and copying of the Florentine music manuscripts – known today – that transmit Donato's two-part madrigals: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26 (Fp); London, British Library, Add. 29987 (Lo); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568 (Pit); Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 ("Squarcialupi Codex") (Sq); and Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL).

While Fp, Lo, and Pit have very few concordances with one another, and each contains only parts of Donato's *oeuvre*, Sq represents an attempt to create as comprehensive a collection of Donato's music as possible, including five madrigals that are not included in any other known collection predating Sq. SL seems to reflect similar efforts,¹⁰ but the fact that seventy-nine of its folios are missing makes it difficult to fully understand the original arrangement of the Donato section and its integration into the manuscript's overall structure. SL is currently the only source in which Donato's works have not yet been studied.

In the following, my focus will therefore be on the transmission of Donato's two-part madrigals, incorporating the evidence found in SL. Possible decision criteria for the inclusion and positioning of Donato's works by the compilers of anthologies at the beginning of the fifteenth century will be examined, in particular for SL and Sq; the latter has had a significant role in shaping our image of the composer. Particular emphasis will be placed on the fragmentary nature of the SL Palimpsest with a hypothetical reconstruction of the composer sections – including that for Donato – in the missing or incomplete Gatherings VI-VIII.

DONATO'S MADRIGALS IN FLORENTINE MANUSCRIPTS

Donato composed primarily two-part madrigals, which have survived in a total of five Florentine manuscripts, but none are included in all five sources

critico con studio introduttivo e note, Filologia Testi e Studi, 5, ed. Giovanni Sinicropi (Florence: Le Lettere, 1995), Vol. 1, 501, 628, and 648.

10. On the collecting interests of the various Florentine collections, see the discussion in John Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practice in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages" (PhD diss., New York University, 1985), and John Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence", in *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale. Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia (Bologna, 27 agosto - 10 settembre 1987)*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi, and F. Alberto Gallo (Turin: EDT, 1991), Vol. 1, 126-35.

under consideration. Table 1 gives an overview of his fourteen madrigals transmitted with music. The list begins with three unica, followed by three pieces that were also considered unica until the discovery of SL in the 1980s¹¹ and, finally, the madrigals, which have survived in at least three and as many as four manuscripts. A further ordering criterion in the Table is the source in which the madrigals are found: with the oldest, Fp, on the left-hand side, and the more recent sources on the right. The fact that SL is listed after Sq does not imply that SL is necessarily younger. Rather, it has been assumed that compilation of both manuscripts began at about the same time.¹² It is impressive how many compositions the compilers of Sq and SL were able to collect, especially those not found in Fp, Lo, Pit, or any other manuscript known to us. While it is conceivable that the compilers of Fp, Lo, and Pit simply did not have access to these pieces, it cannot be ruled out that the selection of music to be copied also followed specific interests, which might be identified to some extent in the contents of the collections. For example, it is striking that Fp contains almost exclusively those madrigals by Donato for which no poet is known. In this context it is particularly interesting that Giuseppe Corsi cast doubt on Soldanieri's authorship of *Lucida pecorella son, scampata*.¹³ Fp perhaps contained madrigals the texts of which could have been written by Donato himself. Lo and Pit, on the other hand, contain Donato's madrigals with texts by well-known poets. Pit demonstrates an even more nuanced interest in texts by Niccolò Soldanieri and in this case it would have to be assumed that *Lucida pecorella son, scampata* may indeed have been written by this poet – after all, there is an attribution in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569 (Ash569).¹⁴

11. Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice San Lorenzo, 2211", *Studi Musicali* 13 (1984): 3-32; John Nádas, "Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some Further Observations", in *L'ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VI*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 145-68; Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest. Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo Ms. 2211. Introductory Study and Multispectral Images*, Ars Nova, Nuova serie, 4, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016).

12. See Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)*, Musica Mensurabilis, 7 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016), 48-9.

13. Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Rimatori del Trecento* (Turin: UTET, 1969), 717-77. *Lucida pecorella* has been omitted from the edition of Soldanieri's *poesie musicali* in Enrico Pasquinnucci, "La poesia musicale di Niccolò Soldanieri", *Studi di filologia italiana* 55 (2007): 65-193. A recent study of Niccolò Soldanieri is that by Antonio Calvia, s.v. "Niccolò Soldanieri", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 93 (2018), available at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-soldanieri_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

14. On the text manuscripts cited here see Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L'area Toscana)", in *Col*

Texts set to music by Donato have survived without music in manuscripts other than Ash569 that are primarily arranged by poet; collections with texts by Soldanieri or Sacchetti are particularly common. All in all, approximately half of the texts that were set to music were penned by a known poet, a relatively high number compared to works set by other Trecento composers. Sacchetti himself is known to have mentioned Donato in his *Libro delle Rime* as the composer of the music for his madrigals *Fortuna adversa, del mio ben nimica* and *Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme*.¹⁵ Even if Donato is not explicitly mentioned in the remaining text collections, it is striking that those texts he set to music were in some cases arranged together; for example, in Ash569, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 184 (Redi184) (three texts by Soldanieri), and *Fortuna adversa, del mio ben nimica* and *Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme*, which appear paired in sections dedicated to Sacchetti as, for example, in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 90 inf. 37 (Plut37). With the exception of Lo, Donato's two-part madrigals are also grouped together in all music manuscripts.

Table 1: Two-part madrigals by Donato in music manuscripts

INCIPIT	TEXT ATTRIB. TO	TRANSM. IN	FP	LO	PIT	SQ	SL
<i>Come 'l potestu far</i>		1 MS	●				
<i>Come da lupo</i>	Niccolò Soldanieri					●	
<i>D'or pomo incominciò</i>						●	
<i>Dal cielo scese</i>		2 MSS				●	●
<i>I' ò perduto l'alber</i>	Arrigo Belondi					●	●
<i>S'i', monacordo</i>						●	●
<i>Sovran' uccello</i>		3 MSS	●			●	●
<i>Un cane, un'oca</i>			●			●	●
<i>I' fu' già bianc' uccel</i>	Antonio degli Alberti			●		●	●
<i>L'aspido sord' e 'l tirello</i>	Arrigo Belondi			●		●	●
<i>I' fu' già usignolo</i>	Niccolò Soldanieri				●	●	●
<i>Un bel girfalco</i>	Niccolò Soldanieri				●	●	●
<i>Lucida pecorella</i>	Niccolò Soldanieri	4 MSS	●		●	●	●
<i>Seguendo 'l canto</i>			●		●	●	●

dolce suon che da te piove": *Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 389-428; and Lauren McGuire Jennings, *Senza Vestimenta: The Literary Tradition of Trecento Song* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

15. Ash574, ff. 9r and 14v.

Oliver Huck has argued for a common hyparchetype s for Sq and SL containing all madrigals by Giovanni da Firenze and Jacopo da Bologna that are transmitted in more than one source.¹⁶ Some of Francesco Landini's works have been reassessed based on different readings/redactions of individual settings in the two manuscripts.¹⁷ But what new insights does SL have to offer with regard to Donato's music? The following three examples¹⁸ may offer a first glimpse into the current source situation for Donato's madrigals and also highlight lacunae that must inevitably be confronted when working with music palimpsests.¹⁹

Example 1 shows the cantus's opening melisma of *L'aspidio sordo e 'l tirello scorzone* as it is handed down in Lo, SL, and Sq. In principle the melodic lines are essentially the same, although a large group of notes was omitted in Sq.²⁰ In the section from SL shown here, neither dots nor rests can be identified (first square bracket), and note stems are not always clearly identifiable (second square bracket). These are typically the first elements lost when a music manuscript is erased and the original page subsequently reused. Firstly, these elements contain less ink than, for example, note heads and, therefore, the ink does not penetrate as deeply into the parchment. Secondly, traces of these faint elements are quickly obscured by overwriting when the folio is reused. Because the first semibreve in SL is followed by two minims, it is very likely that the use of dots and stems in SL was originally closer to that of Sq than of Lo.

Example 2(a) contains an excerpt from the cantus of *I' fu' già usignolo in tempo verde* as copied in Pit, SL, and Sq. At the beginning of the second verse, it is clear that Sq and SL share the use of semiminims with flags pointing to the left, while Pit also contains semiminims, but with flags pointing to the right. In SL, however, the minim and semiminim after the long are notated a major second higher than in Pit or Sq. This is surely an error (compare with the transcription from Pit in example 2[b]) that, for a scribe, would not have been easily correctable *ope ingenii* without considering the tenor as well.

16. See Oliver Huck and Sandra Dieckmann, eds., *Die mehrfach überlieferten Kompositionen des frühen Trecento*, Musica Mensurabilis, 2, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007), esp. Vol. 1, LIV.

17. See Julia Gehring, *Die Überlieferung der Kompositionen Francesco Landinis in Musikhandschriften des späten 14. und frühen 15. Jahrhunderts*, Musica Mensurabilis, 5 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), esp. 131-4, and Antonio Calvia's chapter in this volume.

18. I thank Alexander Schöppl for typesetting Examples 1, 2(a), and 3(a).

19. On the general lack of musicological research into music palimpsests see Andreas Janke, "Challenges in Working with Music Palimpsests", *New Light on Old Manuscripts: Recent Advances in Palimpsest Studies*, ed. Claudia Rapp, Jana Gruskova, Grigory Kessel, and Giulia Rossetto, forthcoming.

20. See Marrocco, *Italian Secular Music*, 179.

Unfortunately, the tenor is exactly the part that we are unable to examine today, as that folio is missing.

Lo
La spi

SL
Las pi

Sq
Las pi

Example 1. Cantus, *L'aspidio sordo e 'l tirello scorzone*, opening

Pit
Et

SL
Con

Sq
Con

Example 2(a). Cantus, second verse of *I' fu' già usignolo in tempo verde*



Example 2(b). *I' fu' già usignolo in tempo verde*, mm. 30-34 (Marrocco edition)

Example 3(a) presents the tenor of the second verse of Donato's *Un cane, un'oca e una vecchia pazza*. Sq and SL share – unlike Fp – an error: the verse begins a third too high (compare with the correct reading in the transcription from Fp, Example 3[b]). Sq, however, does not share the following reading in SL: The fourth breve of the syllabic passage – above the syllable “-scio” – falls a second, rather than repeating the previous pitch, as in Fp and Sq. Unfortunately, in this case also the corresponding voice part is missing from SL. Examples 1-3 make it clear that, despite the challenges, the readings from SL are worthy of closer examination.

Example 3(a): Tenor, *Un cane, un'oca e una vecchia pazza*, second verse

The image shows two systems of a musical score. The top system is a vocal line in treble clef and a bass line in bass clef, both in 2/4 time. The vocal line begins with a 'Guar' and the bass line with a 'Guar' below it. The bottom system continues the vocal line with the lyrics 'dan si l'u scio del - la' and the bass line with a '3' above it.

Example 3(b): *Un cane, un'oca e una vecchia pazza*, mm. 29-43 (Marrocco edition)

THE INCOMPLETE DONATO SECTION IN SL

The chronological ordering of the composer sections in Sq and SL is frequently emphasized, although it is not stringently observed in all cases. Due to the unexpectedly early placement of Paolo's compositions in Sq, Kurt von Fischer suggested he may have been a compiler of the manuscript.²¹ In SL, too, no exact chronological arrangement of the composer sections can be proven. Francesco Landini, who lived from ca. 1335 to September 2, 1397,²² for example, is placed after the much younger Giovanni Mazzuoli, who was born between 1350 and 1361, and died May 13, 1426.²³ Therefore, we must ask if additional criteria for arrangement of the composer sections can be identified; this would allow us to develop a thesis as to which composers were included in SL's missing Gatherings VI and VII. Additionally, this would also allow us to speculate on the original extent of Donato's now-incomplete section in SL.

21. Von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi Kodex", 17.

22. See Alessandra Fiori, s.v. "Francesco Landini", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 63 (2004), available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-landini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

23. In the secondary literature his date of death is often given inaccurately as May 14, 1426, but this was the day of his funeral. On Giovanni's biography see Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 55-67, and Id., s.v. "Mazzuoli", in *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lüttken (Kassel, Stuttgart, New York: Bärenreiter, J. B. Metzler, Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2016ff.), published July 2017, available online at <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/11152>.

Table 2 compares the arrangement of the composer sections in Sq with the earliest manuscript layer in SL (Gatherings I–XVI).²⁴ Composers included in both manuscripts are boldfaced. With the exception of the early Trecento composers Jacopo da Bologna and Giovanni da Cascia, SL's compiler seems at first to have included only those composers who, in addition to madrigals, had also composed polyphonic ballatas. If true, this would explain why Gherardello, Vincenzo, and Lorenzo were not included.²⁵ Composers who wrote only one madrigal, or none at all, include Egidius and Gulielmus de Francia (*La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente*),²⁶ Antonio Zacara da Teramo (*Plorans ploravi perché la Fortuna*),²⁷ and Andrea da Firenze; neither of their madrigals were copied into Sq. If we consider genre as a possible ordering criterion for both Sq and SL, the final section in Sq, prepared for the music of Giovanni Mazzuoli, seems misplaced, as it was originally intended to begin with the three-part madrigal *Chome servi a signor giust'e umile*, on ff. 195v–196r.²⁸ However, following Egidius, Gulielmus, Zacara, and Andrea, one would anticipate a section beginning with a ballata. It would also be more plausible to position Giovanni Mazzuoli immediately after Landini. Therefore, I assert that the composer sections that stand out most as the result of unexpected positioning in Sq are those in which no music was entered, namely those intended for Paolo da Firenze and Giovanni Mazzuoli.

Four ballatas by Zacara were added in SL as space fillers, but why no further composer sections were added at a later date – one, for example, for Andrea da Firenze, such as that for Piero Mazzuoli, which consists entirely of ballatas – remains an open question.²⁹

The reconstruction of SL's gathering structure³⁰ reveals that, in all probability, the tenor of Bartolino da Padova's madrigal *Qual lege move la volubel rota* appeared at the beginning of the now-missing Gathering VI (f. 51r).³¹ The verso of the first (likewise missing) folio of Gathering VIII contained the can-

24. See Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 14–22, esp. Table I.5.

25. There is one caccia by Vincenzo da Rimini in the corresponding section in Gathering XV without, however, a composer attribution.

26. London, British Library, Add. 29987, ff. 45v–46r.

27. Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 184, ff. 61v–62v; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2, f. 11.

28. Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 74–9.

29. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, "New Insights into the Florentine Transmission of the Songs of Antonio Zacara da Teramo", *Studi Musicali*, n. s. 2 (2015): 194–214.

30. Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 29–47.

31. With regard to SL, I refer here and in the following exclusively to the original foliation numbers, consisting of roman numerals.

tus of Donato's *Un cane un'oca e una vecchia pazza*. Together with the missing Gathering VII there are a total of twenty consecutive openings (ff. 51v-71r) for which it is still unclear which composer section (or sections) originally appeared between those of Bartolino and Donato.³² It can be assumed, however, that both the Bartolino and Donato sections required some of the space in Gatherings VI and VII, respectively, so that presumably only one composer section was entered between them.

Table 2: Composer sections in Sq and SL (earliest manuscript layer)

Sq	SL
Giovanni da Cascia	Jacopo da Bologna
Jacopo da Bologna	Giovanni da Cascia
Gherardello da Firenze	
Vincenzo da Rimini	
Lorenzo	
Paolo da Firenze	Bartolino da Padova
Donato da Firenze	[missing composer section]
Nicolò del Preposto	Donato da Firenze
Bartolino da Padova	Giovanni Mazzuoli
Francesco Landini	Francesco Landini
	Paolo da Firenze
Egidius and Gulielmus da Francia	
Antonio Zacara da Teramo	
Andrea da Firenze	
Giovanni Mazzuoli	

I would like to suggest Nicolò del Preposto as the likeliest candidate for this gap,³³ as his music would then be positioned within a group of composers of polyphonic madrigals and ballatas. Moreover, Nicolò would then appear – as in Sq – between Bartolino and Donato; see Table 3 for a hypothetical reconstruction of these composer sections.

32. I am operating under the assumption that both Gatherings VI and VII, like all others in SL, consisted of a quinion.

33. Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 161-2.

Table 3: Hypothetical reconstruction of composer sections in SL: Missing Gatherings VI and VII, and the lost first folio of Gathering VIII

SL, Gathering VI	Foliation (original)	Composer section
Tenor of <i>Qual lege move</i>	51	Bartolino da Padova
	52	⌞
	53	Nicolò del Preposto
	54	
	55	
	56	
	57	
	58	
	59	
	60	
SL, Gathering VII		
	61	
	62	
	63	
	64	
	65	
	66	
	67	
	68	
	69	⌞
	70	Donato da Firenze
SL, Gathering VIII, beginning		
	71	
Cantus of <i>Un cane un oca</i>		

The composer sections in SL (up to that of Paolo da Firenze) were entered across gathering boundaries. Madrigals tended to be written on an opening, while ballatas were placed on a single page when possible. Madrigals were usually grouped at the beginning of a composer section and ballatas, if included, at the end. Only in the section dedicated to Bartolino were at least two more madrigals included after the ballatas: *Quando la terra parturisse, in verde*

and *Qual lege move la volubel rota*.³⁴ Thus, all of Bartolino's madrigals known to us are included in SL but for *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle*; it is highly likely that this otherwise widely transmitted madrigal closed the Bartolino section on ff. 51v-52r.

In SL, the greater part of Donato's section seems to have been preserved, but it is probable that the incomplete *Un cane, un'oca e una vecchia pazza* was not the opening piece. Since ballatas in SL's earliest layer were never positioned at the beginning of a section, it is more plausible to assume that Donato's only known ballata, *Senti tu d'amor, donna*,³⁵ was not included. On the other hand, it is probable that the madrigals *Come da lupo pecorella presa* and *D'or pomo incominciò nell'aer fino*, known only from Sq, were also entered in SL, if one considers the structural similarities of the two sources. In this case the Donato section could have begun on f. 69v (as shown in Table 3).

It is more difficult to make assumptions regarding *Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica* and *Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme*, for which no music is known to date, and for *Come 'l potestu far, dolce signore*, transmitted as an unicum in Fp, which differs stylistically from Donato's other madrigals.³⁶ Because these three madrigals are not found in Sq one might assume that they were not included in SL; however, we must be careful here, as SL certainly also contained music that was not included in Sq: among these there are even compositions by Landini and Paolo that had been considered unica.³⁷ For the Jacopo da Bologna section, in which the entire Gathering II is missing, Oliver Huck offered the plausible hypothesis that it was the most extensive collection of his works.³⁸

Regardless of where exactly Donato's section began, and based on these considerations, Nicolò del Preposto's section probably consisted of fifteen to seventeen openings: Thus, SL could have contained – at least – all fifteen madrigals from Sq, or a smaller number of madrigals and some ballate, though SL probably had a smaller selection of Nicolò's works than does Sq.

34. See Gathering V, ff. 44v-49r, in Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 33.

35. Sq, ff. 72v-73r.

36. Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, Musica Mensurabilis, 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 262.

37. The possible existence of new unica by Francesco Landini and Paolo da Firenze was announced in Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. 1, 2, 72-3, and 76-7, nos. 130 and 161. A transcription of the Landini ballata is provided by Antonio Calvia in his chapter in this volume.

38. Oliver Huck, "The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and the Florentine Tradition of Trecento Song Revisited" (Paper presented at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Prague, July 5, 2017). I thank Oliver Huck for sharing this paper with me.

DONATO'S POSITION IN THE ARRANGEMENT OF COMPOSER SECTIONS IN SQ AND SL

Due to their differing format and decoration there is no question that Sq and SL were conceived for different purposes, however, there are similarities in their makeup and, as already mentioned, they are coeval. The frequently assumed chronological arrangement of the composer sections is unverifiable as the birth and death dates of many Trecento composers are unknown.³⁹ Where relatively reliable information is available, it becomes clear that the compilers did not intend an exact chronological arrangement. Any attempt to deduce the approximate ages of composers such as Donato from the structure of these two manuscripts is likely to fail. If we were to accept composer ordering in Sq as indicating chronology, Donato would be understood as older than Nicolò and Bartolino but, according to the arrangement in SL, he would be considered younger than both of them (here and in the following, operating under the assumption made above that Nicolò's compositions were part of Gatherings VI and VII).

It is therefore appropriate to seek out further ordering criteria that the compilers might have found relevant. As shown above, Donato is grouped in Sq and SL with composers for whom, apart from madrigals, at least one polyphonic ballata is known: Bartolino, Nicolò, Landini, Paolo, and Giovanni Mazzuoli (the latter only in SL); see Table 2. But since Donato's only ballata, *Senti tu d'amor, donna*, was probably not entered in SL, this cannot have been the only criterion. Known connections between the composers mentioned might offer some insight into understanding the present structure. For instance, Nicolò, Giovanni, and Landini were all, at various times, among the abbot's guests at Florence's Vallombrosan monastery of Santa Trinita.⁴⁰ Moreover, similarities can be found in the compositions of Donato and Nicolò,⁴¹ some of which can also be seen in Giovanni's works.⁴² More promising is the fact that four of the composers whose works appear one after the

39. See Margaret Bent's review of "The Lucca Codex (Codice Mancini) by John Nádas, Agostino Ziino; Il Codice Rossi 215 by Nino Pirrotta; Il Codice T.III.2: Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria by Agostino Ziino; Il Codice Squarcialupi, MS Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze by F. Alberto Gallo", *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 251-69, esp. 263.

40. See Frank D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinita, 1360-1363", *Quadrivium* 12 (1971): 131-51; and Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 60. The relevant sources regarding Santa Trinita are housed in the Archivio di Stato (Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, no. 89, Vols. 45 and 46). Volume 45 has been transcribed in Roberta Zazzeri, ed., *Ci desinò l'abate. Ospiti e cucina nel monastero di Santa Trinita. Firenze 1360-1363*, Media aetas, 2 (Florence: Societa Editrice Fiorentina, 2003).

41. Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, 257-61.

42. Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 161-2.

other in SL not only set to music texts by Franco Sacchetti, but most also seem likely to have produced works on commission. One explicitly named commissioner is Lionardo Sassetti, identified in the paratext to Landini's Ballata *Amar sì gli alti tuo gentil costumi* in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131 (Chigi131): "Ballata per Mona Marselia di Manetto davanziati / fecela fare Lionardo Sassetti".⁴³ Davide Checchi was recently able to shed light on the biographies of the individuals mentioned in the paratext and could thus narrow down the commission date of this ballata at least to the period between 1380 and September 2, 1397, the date of Landini's death; he also demonstrated the possibility of limiting this period even further to between May 5, 1384 and June 1387.⁴⁴

Franco Sacchetti states that fifteen of his poems – including four madrigals and nine ballatas – were "written for others" (*fatto per altrui*). From the context of his *Libro delle Rime* (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 [Ash574]), it seems possible that he is referring to commissioners. However, he does not name these individuals but, instead, anonymizes them; it was apparently important to him to single out these works. Among the fifteen are two texts set to music by Nicolò: *Una augelletta, Amor, di penna nera* ("Madriale di Franco Sachetti, fatto per altrui ... magister Nicolaus presbiter sonum dedit") and *Lasso, s'io fu' già preso* ("Ballata di Franco, fatta per altrui ... magister Nicolaus sonum dedit"). Also included is Donato's madrigal *Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica* ("Madriale di Franco detto per altrui ... magister Donatus presbiter de Cascia sonum dedit"). It is noteworthy that, to this day, not a single musical setting has been identified for any of these fifteen texts.

For the ballata *Splendor da ciel vaga fioretta Allisa*, set by Giovanni Mazzuoli, Sacchetti is slightly more precise with regard to the commissioner, but once again does not reveal his name: "Ballatella di Franco, fatta per uno giovine che amava Lisa".⁴⁵

Taking into account all of these connections, it is possible to understand Nicolò del Preposto, Donato da Firenze, Giovanni Mazzuoli, and Francesco Landini, who are arranged one after the other in SL, as members of the same musical circles. This very connection might have led the compiler to arrange the works of these four composers consecutively. Such a retrospective outlook

43. See Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 145-9.

44. See Davide Checchi, "Per la datazione delle ballate Landiane *Amar sì gli alti e O fanciulla Giulia*: Ricerche su due rubriche d'occasione del ms. chigiano L.IV.131", in "*Cara Scientia Mia, Musica*". *Studi per Maria Caraci Vela*, *Diversi Voci*, 14, ed. Angela Romagnoli, Daniele Sabaino, Robobaldo Tibaldi, and Pietro Zappala (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2018), Vol. 1, 1067-84.

45. See Janke, *Die Kompositionen*, 145-9.

would certainly not be unusual for a compiler at the beginning of the fifteenth century and is perhaps comparable with that found in Sercambi's *Novelle* or the portrait initials in Sq.

It is to be hoped that in the future some of SL's missing folios will be discovered – in the Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo in Florence or elsewhere – and, ideally, include music that is unknown today, such as Donato's *Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica*.

APPENDIX: MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION OF DONATO DA FIRENZE'S MADRIGALS⁴⁶

Come da lupo pecorella presa

(text attributed to Niccolò Soldanieri)

Sq, ff. 77v-78r

Redi184, f. 110v

Magl1041, f. 49v

Triv193, f. 89r

Come 'l potestu far, dolce signore

Fp, f. 80v

Dal cielo scese per iscala d'oro

Sq, ff. 78v-79r

SL, ff. 81v-82r (original foliation)⁴⁷

D'or pomo incominciò ne l'aer fino

Sq, ff. 74v-75r

Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica

(text attributed to Franco Sacchetti)

Ash574, f. 9r

46. Chigi79 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.IV.79; Chigi142 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.VII.142; Chigi300 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.300; Magl1041 = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1041; Pal204 = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204; Paris554 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 554; Patetta352 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352; Ricc1118 = Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118; Triv193 = Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 193; Vat3213 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vaticano latino 3213.

47. No. 96 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

Plut37, f. 111r
 Chigi300, p. 26
 Chigi142, f. 73v; f. 133v
 Pal204, ff. 150v-151r
 Vat3213, f. 327r

I' fu' già bianc' uccel con piuma d'oro

(text attributed to Antonio degli Alberti)

Lo, ff. 35v-36r
 Sq, ff. 78v-79r
 SL, ff. [80v]-81r (original foliation)⁴⁸
 Ash569, f. 27r
 Chigi79, f. 135r

I' fu' già usignolo in tempo verde

(text attributed to Niccolò Soldaneri)

Pit, ff. 17v-18r
 Sq, ff. 73v-74r
 SL, ff. 79v-[80r] (original foliation)⁴⁹
 Redi184, f. 111r
 Triv193, f. 118r

I' ho perduto l'albero e 'l timone

(text attributed to Arrigo Belondi)

Sq, ff. 76v-77r
 SL, ff. 56v-57r (original foliation)⁵⁰
 Ash569, f. 27r

L'aspido sordo e 'l tirello scorzone

(text attributed to Arrigo Belondi)

Lo, ff. 25v-26r
 Sq, ff. 77v-78r
 SL, ff. 57v-58r (original foliation)⁵¹
 Ash569, f. 27r

Lucida pecorella son, scampata

(text attributed to Niccolò Soldanieri)

Fp, ff. 83v-84r

48. No. 94 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

49. No. 93 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

50. No. 87 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

51. No. 89 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

Pit, ff. 14v-15r
 Sq, ff. 73v-74r
 SL, ff. 74v-75r (original foliation)⁵²
 Ash569, f. 27v

Seguendo 'l canto d'un uccel selvaggio

Fp, ff. 81v-82r
 Pit, ff. 16v-17r
 Sq, ff. 72v-73r
 SL, ff. 75v-76r (original foliation)⁵³

S'i', monacordo gentile stormento

Sq, ff. 76v-77r
 SL, ff. 78v-79r (original foliation)⁵⁴

Sovran' uccello se' fra tutti gli altri

Fp, ff. 82v-83r
 Sq, ff. 75v-76r
 SL, ff. 73v-74r (original foliation)⁵⁵

Un bel girfalco scese alle mie grida

(text attributed to Niccolò Soldanieri)

Pit, ff. 15v-16r
 Sq, ff. 71v-72r
 SL, ff. 72v-73r (original foliation)⁵⁶
 Redi184, f. 111v
 Triv193, f. 113v

Un cane, un'oca e una vecchia pazza

Fp, f. 81r
 Sq, ff. 74v-75r
 SL, ff. [71v]-72r (original foliation)⁵⁷

Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme

(text attributed to Franco Sacchetti)

Ash574, f. 14v

52. No. 83 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

53. No. 85 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

54. No. 91 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

55. No. 81 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

56. No. 79 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

57. No. 77 in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*.

Plut37, f. 111v
 Chigi300, pp. 42-3
 Pal204, ff. 151v-152r
 Ricci1118, f. 108r
 Paris554, f. 112r-v
 Vat3213, f. 328r
 Patetta352, f. 26r

ABSTRACT

Two late Trecento manuscripts – the Squarcialupi Codex (Sq) and the San Lorenzo Palimpsest (SL) – serve as witnesses to the fact that Donato da Firenze was a composer whose music was considered worthy of collecting in the first decades of the fifteenth century, a time long after the compositions' creation. Beyond what we may glean from his surviving songs, we know very little about Donato and the musical circles to which he belonged. In this chapter, to better contextualize Donato, I will explore the different works of his selected by the compilers of five manuscripts.

My central thesis challenges the notion of the often described – but never unequivocally proven – chronological arrangement of composer sections within manuscripts and I argue that additional considerations obtained. In preparation for situating Donato within a group of composers involved in the production of compositions commissioned by Florentines, I undertake a hypothetical reconstruction of the missing leaves of the now-incomplete Donato section in SL. In the process, I suggest that SL originally contained a section devoted to compositions by Nicolò del Preposto.

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Michael Scott Cuthbert

MELODIC SEARCHING
AND THE ANONYMOUS UNICA OF SAN LORENZO 2211

With so much already having been written and discovered about the remarkable palimpsest Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL), it may come as little surprise that what I have to contribute to the discourse must be brief.¹ In fact, if I were to use this space to present only what was newly found, this paper would nearly be over already. This essay is an example of negative research: that is, of reporting what has not been found and perhaps what cannot be found, rather than what has been discovered for the first time. I offer this paper to the editors of the facsimile edition, Andreas Janke and my mentor John Nádas, hoping that they will take as a compliment to the exhaustive nature of their research my inability to go much beyond what they have done with their magisterial study of the San Lorenzo Palimpsest.

From the moment of Frank D'Accone's discovery of SL up to the publication of the multispectral facsimile and beyond, the race was on to decipher what compositions lay hidden on these treasured pages.² D'Accone's initial study uncovered, by my count, fifty-four compositions known from other sources and, on the other hand, twelve of which were sufficiently identifiable to be reasonably sure that they were new pieces. Nádas's presentation at Certaldo in 1984 (published in 1992),³ brought the number of identifiable pieces

1. I am grateful to Margaret Bent and Elina G. Hamilton for helpful comments on this paper.

2. Frank A. D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211", *Studi musicali* 13 (1984): 3-31.

3. John Nádas, "Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some Further Observations", in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento VI*, Atti del Sesto Congresso Internazionale (Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 19-21 Luglio 1984), ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Certaldo: Edizioni Polis, 1992), 145-68.

up to ninety-seven, with many more that one could be sure had no concordances. His work, however, also drew attention to a second layer of pieces at the bottoms of pages, many of them apparently French-texted, leaving far more compositions to be identified. Those scholars who were fortunate enough to be at the 1989 conference of the American Musicological Society in Austin, Texas, or those even luckier to be in the possession of a copy of this most rare handout – now included with the talk itself in the volume of Nádas's collected essays⁴ – had access to Nádas's findings in the intervening half decade, and found 111 pieces identified through concordances, including works by Machaut, along with many more unidentifiable works and works by composers, such as Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli and Ugolino da Orvieto, that we knew did not have other surviving copies. While a few more identifications came out over the following years, made by many of the scholars present in this volume, it was not until the publication of the facsimile edition in 2016 that the present state of knowledge on the extent of the source became apparent.⁵ Janke and Nádas identified 216 separate compositions, of which, by my count, 121 are known from concordances in other sources (or 120 depending on the status of one composition by Zacara⁶ to be discussed below). Forty-eight other pieces, principally the works of the Mazzuolis and Ugolino, anonymous *cacce*, and works with clearly visible text incipits, can be classified with a high degree of certainty as unique and otherwise unknown. The attributed works cast light on an otherwise little-known period of Italian song composition, and the transcriptions of many of these pieces by Janke will yield stylistic insights on early Quattrocento music for a long time to come.⁷

My contribution here concerns the pieces that I have not mentioned: the forty-seven that survive in such illegible or incomplete forms that they have resisted identification over the course of thirty-five years of scholarship on the Palimpsest. Many of these works have only a few legible passages containing

4. John Nádas, "The Lucca Codex and MS San Lorenzo 2211: Native and Foreign Songs in Early Quattrocento Florence", in *Arte psallentes. John Nádas: Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento*, ed. Andreas Janke and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2017), 105-43.

5. *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo Ms. 2211: Introductory Study and Multispectral Images*, ed. Andreas Janke and John Nádas (Lucca: LIM, 2016).

6. I am spelling the sobriquet of Antonio da Teramo as "Zacara" here for consistency with other authors in this volume. I have argued elsewhere that "Zachara" is a more appropriate spelling given the surviving sources. See Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006), 495.

7. Andreas Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)*, Musica Mensurabilis, 7 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016).

only a handful of notes each. Texts are often incomprehensible, and even the normally simple task of identifying where any given voice begins was a gargantuan undertaking for the editors of the facsimile. Some of the most difficult-to-read pieces found at bottoms of folios or on well-scraped pages have been identified recently by Janke and Nádas, such as Machaut's rondeau *Cinc, un, trese* or the anonymous *Marticius qui fu de Rome* (a space-filler whose attribution to Paolo da Firenze in the source may refer only to the space's intended use for more works by the composer).⁸

The question I wish to raise is this: are the forty-seven pieces that remain unidentified merely elusive concordances that will eventually be revealed? Or, after three decades of searching, have Janke and Nádas identified all that is not unique? To put it another way, are these difficult pieces known works with concordances that these scholars have missed due to the difficulty of reading them, or does the San Lorenzo Palimpsest contain a high number of unica at the bottoms of pages?

COMPUTATIONAL INTERVAL SEARCHING

Computer technology allows a way of comprehensively searching a known repertory for connections, similarities, and concordances. Given specialized software that can find exact and inexact matches among various works, along with a complete encoding of the known works of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, it is possible to identify the legible but unidentified fragments from the San Lorenzo codex if they exist in any other source, or at least to say with some certainty that no concordance exists in the known (and published) literature.

My recent work has been devoted to creating such a combination of these tools and encoded repertory. The tools are an outgrowth of my music21 project, which is a Python-language computer library for analyzing and manipulating musical scores.⁹ The repertory comes from the Electronic Medieval Music Score Archive Project (EMMSAP), a project I have been running since

8. Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, 23. The case of *Marticius* is different from the other French space-fillers mentioned by Janke and Nádas (26) in that it is one of only two works found at the top of a page (Grimace's *Des que*, *Buisson* being the other) and is the only one with a clear attribution. The position of the piece in Gathering XIV and not in the gap between gatherings also argues that the scribe intended the work to be connected with the attribution.

9. Michael Scott Cuthbert and Christopher T. Ariza, "music21: A Toolkit for Computer-Aided Musicology and Symbolic Music Data", *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Music Information Retrieval* 11 (2010): 637-42.

2011. I have spoken about the project and its results elsewhere,¹⁰ and hope soon to publish the results which include approximately thirty newly identified concordances and quotations that had escaped notice until now.¹¹ I will describe here a mode of using EMMSAP that I have not presented elsewhere, which is particularly useful for searching the contents of palimpsests and other damaged sources.

Searching the EMMSAP database can be done in a number of ways, the most powerful being a comparison of each thirty-note segment of fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century music against every other segment. One of the discoveries made in this way indirectly concerns SL: a new identification of Hubertus de Salinis's motet *Psallat chorus in novo carmine*, previously known from Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.15 (Q15) and SL, in the fragments, Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 6 E 37 (Cat. 1846) (Utrecht37.1), section I, folio V.¹²

Any method of working that depends on thirty-note contiguous segments cannot, however, suffice for working with SL. For most of the unidentified pieces, only a few notes can be read at a time, and often the exact pitch levels of these notes are impossible to discern; only relative intervals can suffice. In searching for concordances with SL, I generally worked directly with the database and constructed searches based on interval patterns using "regular expressions".¹³ For instance, to match a pattern of an ascending fourth, followed by two descending seconds, the regular expression "4-2-2" is used. Note that only the generic interval and not specific intervals, such as perfect fourth or minor second, is part of the search, since the precise size of intervals cannot be determined in the absence of clear clefs or key signatures. Regular

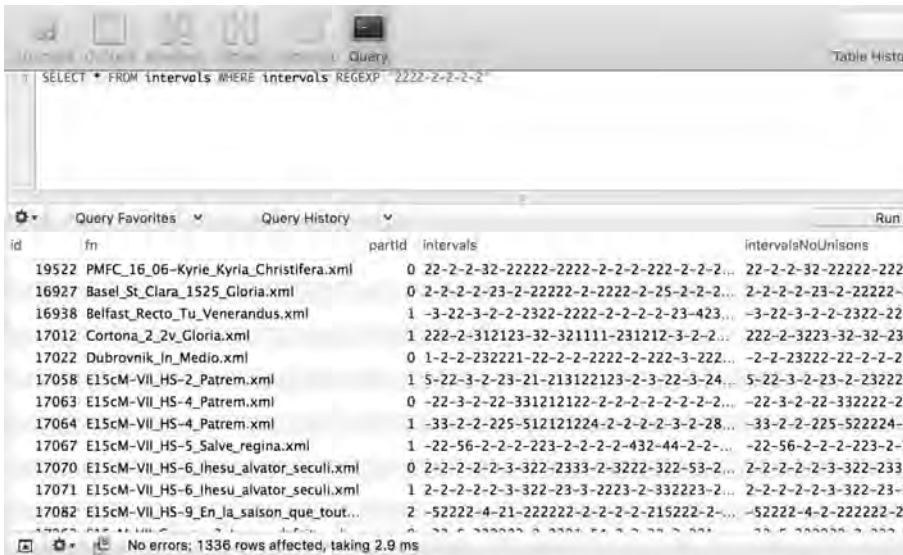
10. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Hidden in our Publications: New Concordances, Quotations, and Citations in Fourteenth-Century Music" (Paper presented at the 82nd Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Vancouver, November 3-6, 2016).

11. Two of the identifications have already been published: new sources for *Esperance, qui en mon cuer*, in Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore (Museo), Graduale without call number in the Sala dei Papi [Roma, Archivio Liberiano di Santa Maria Maggiore, Manoscritti s.n. "Graduale-Kyriale-Sequenzario"], and *Io son un pelligrin* in Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 187 (As), in which the context gives further evidence for an attribution of the piece to Francesco da Firenze. See Michael Scott Cuthbert and Nicola Tangari, "Identificazioni di composizioni vocali italiane e internazionali in alcuni manoscritti liturgici del tardo Trecento", *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 37 (2016): 219-27.

12. Eliane Andrea Fankhauser has discussed these fragments in detail, including this new identification, in *Recycling Reversed: Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries Around 1400* (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2018), esp. 57-8. Available online at <https://www.ris.uu.nl/ws/files/45638566/Fankhauser.pdf>. Margaret Bent discusses Hubertus de Salinis's connection with SL in her contribution to this volume, "The Motet Collection of San Lorenzo 2211 (SL) and the Composer Hubertus de Salinis".

13. An explanation of regular expressions with tutorial can be found online at <https://regexone.com/>.

expressions include powerful search tools such as the dot (“.”) operator which represents any number or other character. A regular expression such as “222-.” could be used to model a passage of three ascending seconds ending with a descending ligature of indeterminate size. If we were able to see that the ligature is likely to be a fifth or sixth, then the regular expression “222-[56]” could be used, where the numbers in square brackets represent a choice of one (but not both) of those intervals. The number of matches for a passage is generally determined by the rarity of the interval pattern along with its length. For instance the eight-interval expression “2222-2-2-2-2” (that is, four ascending seconds followed by four descending seconds) appears in at least 1336 voice parts (see Figure 1), while the much shorter but also much rarer pattern “5-68” appears in exactly one piece (the contratenor by Matteo da Perugia to Nicholas Grenon’s *Je ne requier* in Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α .M.5.24 [ModA]). Thus, finding legible sections involving large leaps was important to being able to find potential matches.



The screenshot shows a database query interface with a query bar containing the SQL statement: `SELECT * FROM intervals WHERE intervals REGEXP "2222-2-2-2-2"`. Below the query bar is a table with the following columns: `id`, `fn`, `partid`, `intervals`, and `intervalsNoUnisons`. The table displays 10 rows of results, each representing a match for the specified interval pattern. At the bottom of the window, a status bar indicates: "No errors; 1336 rows affected, taking 2.9 ms".

id	fn	partid	intervals	intervalsNoUnisons
19522	PMFC_16_06-Kyrie_Kyria_Christifera.xml	0	22-2-2-32-22222-2222-2-2-2-222-2-2-2...	22-2-2-32-22222-2222-
16927	Basel_St_Clara_1525_Gloria.xml	0	2-2-2-2-23-2-22222-2-2222-2-25-2-2-2...	2-2-2-2-23-2-22222-
16938	Belfast_Recto_Tu_Venerandus.xml	1	-3-22-3-2-2-2322-2222-2-2-2-23-423...	-3-22-3-2-2-2322-22-
17012	Cortona_2_2v_Gloria.xml	1	222-2-312123-32-321111-231212-3-2-2...	222-2-3223-32-32-23-
17022	Dubrovnik_In_Medio.xml	0	1-2-2-232221-22-2-2-2222-2-222-3-222...	-2-2-23222-22-2-2-2-
17058	E15cM-VII_HS-2_Patrem.xml	1	5-22-3-2-23-21-213122123-2-3-22-3-24...	5-22-3-2-23-2-23222-
17063	E15cM-VII_HS-4_Patrem.xml	0	-22-3-2-22-331212122-2-2-2-2-2-2-2...	-22-3-2-22-332222-2-
17064	E15cM-VII_HS-4_Patrem.xml	1	-33-2-2-225-512121224-2-2-2-3-2-28...	-33-2-2-225-522224-
17067	E15cM-VII_HS-5_Salve_regina.xml	1	-22-56-2-2-2-223-2-2-2-2-432-44-2-2...	-22-56-2-2-2-223-2-
17070	E15cM-VII_HS-6_Ihesu_alvator_seculi.xml	0	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-2333-2-3222-322-53-2...	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-233-
17071	E15cM-VII_HS-6_Ihesu_alvator_seculi.xml	1	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-23-3-2223-2-332223-2...	2-2-2-2-2-3-322-23-
17082	E15cM-VII_HS-9_En_la_saison_que_tout...	2	-52222-4-21-222222-2-2-2-2-215222-2...	-52222-4-2-222222-2-

Figure 1. Example of search results for a common interval pattern

“FRACTIO MODI”: IGNORING UNISONS IN TWO SEARCH RESULTS

Among the most common variants among copies of the same piece is the breaking up or splicing together of notes, which thereby changes the intervallic pattern of the work. Such variants are especially common when the text and/or language of a piece is changed or when one form of notation substitutes for another. For this reason, an index that omits all unisons (called “intervalsNoUnisons” in the database) has been one of the most valuable tools in EMMSAP. In this index, two passages that read “C D D E E F” and “C D E F” would have the same representation as “222” in “intervalsNoUnisons”.

This index has recently allowed me to identify two new concordances. The Gloria “*Splendor Patris*” found in the Barcelona Mass cycle, has long been known to have once had its cantus in the burnt Strasbourg codex (Bibliothèque Municipale [*olim* Bibliothèque de la Ville], 222 C.22 [Strasbourg]), but it was not known that a prior copy of the piece, written in stroke notation, once appeared on f. 11v as Coussemaker’s no. 14 (see Table 1). Coussemaker writes that “cette pièce est notée par des semibrèves seulment”, and he also notes that two such semibreves are equal to a breve of two tempora and three equal a breve of three tempora.¹⁴ He also records that only a single voice of the piece was copied (the only amount that could fit on a single folio, unless the subsequent chansons were in fact only bottom-of-folio space fillers and the Gloria continued on the following pages).¹⁵

Table 1: Sources of the Gloria “*Splendor Patris*”

Apt, ff. 22r-23v

BarcC, ff. 1v-4r

Barc2, ff. 1v-3r

Strasbourg, f. 11v

Strasbourg, ff. 52v-54r

Apt = Apt, Basilique Sainte-Anne, Trésor, 16bis; BarcC = Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* Biblioteca Central de la Diputación Provincial de Barcelona), 971 (*olim* 946) (ff. 1-12); Barc2 = Barcelona, Biblioteca i Arxiu de l’Orfeó Català, 2.

14. Edmond de Coussemaker in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 56286, 5. Reprinted in Charles Van den Borren, *Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XVe siècle) brûlé en 1870, et reconstitué d’après une copie partielle d’Edmond de Coussemaker* (Antwerp: Imprimerie E. Secelle, 1924).

15. A second possible identification in the same Strasbourg manuscript is no. 153 on f. 88r, *Byen plorer doi*, which may be a variant version of the tenor of *Bonté de corps*, with a few rhythmic changes. That ballade, also found with the contrafact text “Beata es virgo”, is found as no. 121 on f. 74r.



Figure 2. Gloria "*Splendor Patris*": (a) Coussemaker's index entry and (b) modern transcription from other sources

A second identification that was aided by removing unisons brought together two previously unconnected pieces from long-known Veneto manuscripts written just after the end of the Ars Nova. In the secular song manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213 (Ox213), at the bottom of ff. 114v-115r is a unique rondeau, *Pour deleissier tristresse et joye avoir*.¹⁶ Unknown until now, the unedited, three-voice Magnificat antiphon for the first Vespers of the feast of Corpus Christi, *O quam suavis*, in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (*olim* S. Salvatore 727) (BU2216), ff. 25v-26r, is the same piece with a different text.¹⁷ Although it would be a mistake to always assume that the Latin, sacred version of a piece is a contrafact of a vernacular, secular original, in this case, the assumption seems confirmed by the better syllabic placement of words after minim rests in *Pour deleissier* as well as the somewhat superfluous "Alleluia" of *O quam suavis*. Although the cantus parts of the two pieces are nearly identical except for their texts and the contrast of black and void notation, the identification of the pieces was done through their tenors. The tenors' intervals differ greatly due to the presence of many unisons in *O quam suavis*, which are necessary to accommodate a 3³ text setting. (As noted above, in general voices with more leaps are better for making identifications through interval searches, making lower voices more suitable than upper voices. Variability in contratenors, including their presence, absence, and substitution, however, compels me to search tenors first. This focus on the tenor has also allowed for the identification of connections with both instrumental and chant repertoires. In the case of *O quam* / *Pour*

16. Images via DIAMM at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/716/#/images?p=115>. See also facsimile and commentary, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213*, ed. David Fallows (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

17. Images via DIAMM at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/119/#/images?p=25v>. See also the facsimile, commentary, and partial edition, *Il codice musicale 2216 della biblioteca universitaria di Bologna*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, 2 vols. (Bologna: Forni, 1968-1970).

deleissier, however, a search on the cantus voice would have yielded a match even using the index that includes unisons).

Ralph Corrigan, who has written the most recent study of BU2216, suggests, on the basis of similarity of musical style and of a parallel of scribal practice with a previous *Ave verum corpus*, that *O quam suavis* should be attributed to Arnold de Lantins.¹⁸ Gilbert Reaney, however, in his edition of *Pour deleissier* and other anonymous songs in Ox213, declines to make an attribution.¹⁹ A search using EMMSAP's similarity measure finds the most similar work to be by Carmen (*Pontifici decori*). The complete works of all of the people named Lantins, however, have not yet been encoded in EMMSAP, so the attribution must remain an open question, perhaps aided by this new source.²⁰

THE NON-IDENTIFICATION OF SAN LORENZO CONCORDANCES

More-sophisticated queries allowed me to specify the position of rests, to narrow the repertory (excluding Mass Ordinary movements, for instance), or to specify rhythmic patterns. When I built the EMMSAP system in 2014, I was able to identify five pieces in SL that at the time had not been noted in any published inventory (for instance, *Marticius qui fu de Rome* and Machaut's *Cinc, un, tresp* cited above). All five, however, were independently (and presumably already) identified by Janke and Nádas and appear in the inventory. Focused searches I have performed over the intervening four years have found no other new concordances.

None. Nada. Zip.

My system is not foolproof – it is possible that a few pieces are in readings too varied from potential concordances to find matches, or that I made errors in transcription (though the system allows me to skip notes or passages about which I am uncertain), so there may yet be a piece or two that can be identified. Nonetheless, the computer model suggests that all – or nearly all – of

18. Ralph Patrick Corrigan, "The Music Manuscript 2216 in the Bologna University Library: The Copying and Context of a Fifteenth-Century Choirbook" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011), 100. Available online at <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/documents/28/Corrigan-thesis.pdf>.

19. Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 4, *Anonymous Chansons from the Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 11 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1969), Rondeau 15, XXI and 16-7. Composer identifications are on XVII-XVIII.

20. On a computer-aided basis for attributing ambiguously identified works to one or the other of the Lantins, see Michael W. Beauvois, "A Statistical Analysis of the Chansons of Arnold and Hugo de Lantins", *Early Music* 45 (2017): 527-43.

the remaining pieces, primarily works found at the bottoms of folios, are unique and not merely unidentified because of their poor states of preservation. It is a testimony to the intelligence and hard work of both the editors of the facsimile that no other pieces can be found.

The added works at the bottom of San Lorenzo leaves can take their place as a repertory, such as that of the Mazzuolis and Ugolino and the cacce, that testifies to an otherwise unknown and – prior to the discovery of the Palimpsest – largely unhinted-at flurry of compositional activity in Italy at the end of the long *Ars Nova*. With a concordance rate of only about fifty-six percent overall, the late repertory of San Lorenzo stands apart from the conclusions of statistical analysis on the repertory from 1370-1410 that I conducted in my *Tipping the Iceberg* article, which suggested that a good proportion of the secular music of the classic Italian Trecento survived.²¹ For this repertory the numbers suggest that many further new works await discovery if they are fortunate enough to survive somewhere in some other manuscript that is still hidden from view.

For what does survive, a new task awaits us: the transcription and stylistic analysis of the remains of the works at the bottoms of pages. Based on my computational work, I believe that we cannot wait for concordances to appear to unravel the mysteries of these works, but instead each must be taken as its own testimony to musical creativity and be studied, perhaps even reconstructed and performed.

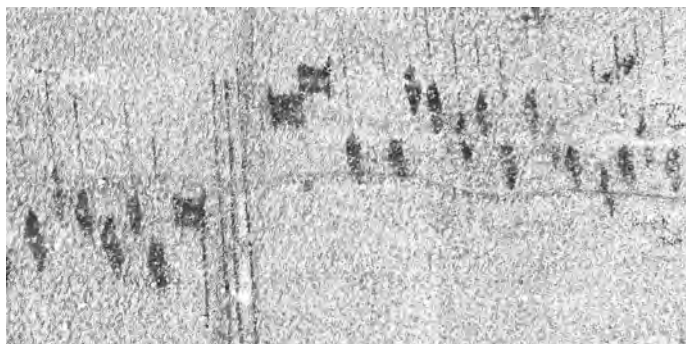
Having said all this, I do have one piece of positive research to report – one small kernel of musical citation that EMMSAP discovered and which has not yet made its way into print. In their 2015 article on the Florentine tradition of Zacara's songs in the San Lorenzo Palimpsest, Nádas and Janke discovered an oddity – even in the context of Zacara's very odd output. They noted that the ballata with the incipit *Benché lontan mi trovi* in the San Lorenzo Palimpsest is *not* the same work as the piece with the same name in Squarcialupi.²² Perhaps this was something Zacara did with his songs: reused their texts in the creation of other works. If that were indeed the case, then a similar form of reuse may have occurred with the text *Ad ogne vento*, and a lost, reused

21. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism", in *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009): 39-74. The article has often been misquoted as arguing that only a small percentage of Medieval (or even Renaissance) music from all repertories has been lost. I want to emphasize that in the paper I argue primarily for a method of estimating this number and that this method requires careful inventorying of all the surviving sources of that repertory. The conclusions from one repertory cannot be applied to another without this necessary step.

22. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, "New Insights into the Florentine Transmission of the Songs of Antonio Zacara da Teramo", *Studi musicali*, n.s. 6, 2 (2015): 197-214, at 211-2.

version, rather than a careless scribe, could explain the bizarre title Gloria “*Ad ogne vento*” in Q15, despite the Mass movement having no connection to the surviving secular piece.

There is also another form of reuse in the version of *Benché lontan* in SL. At the transition between the A and B sections, Zacara quotes another of his works, *Rosetta che non cambi mai colore*, the ballata he reused in another form to make his Gloria “*Rosetta*” (see Figure 3).



(a)



(b)

Figure 3. (a) *Benché lontan* in SL²³ compared with (b) *Rosetta che non cambi*

This quotation cannot be attributed to coincidence: no other work by Zacara or anyone else has the same interval pattern as this section, to say nothing of the same rhythm or pitch level. When we look carefully at the close relationship of this passage to the original, we see that Zacara’s little rose was indeed one that could change its color. And I believe that, as we are able to look more carefully at the San Lorenzo Palimpsest, thanks to the many changes of color applied to the recent facsimile, we will continue to find much that is hidden and that will amaze.

23. Reproduced with permission from Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest*, Vol. II, no. 137.

ABSTRACT


Will continued searching ever find concordances for the unidentified works in the San Lorenzo Palimpsest? Computer-assisted melodic searching suggests the answer is no, and that the remaining works in SL are unica. This article describes methods for writing queries of fragmentary pieces using the author's EMMSAP database. These methods find new identifications of works (including Salinis's motet *Psallat chorus*, the Gloria "Splendor Patris", and the rondeau *Pour deleissier tristresse*) in other manuscripts. However, except for a Zacara self-quotation, these techniques find no further identifications in SL beyond those already published. The repertory of works at the bottoms of folios is thus largely one of unica that awaits further study and reconstruction.

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REMARKS ON SOME REALISTIC VIRELAIS OF THE REINA CODEX¹

The Italian manuscript tradition of fourteenth-century secular polyphony constitutes an essential source for our knowledge of the French repertory as well. Most of the extant Tuscan anthologies transmit French-texted songs as space-fillers (Fp) or even collected in dedicated gatherings (Pit, SL), despite the not-infrequent omission of the poetic texts (reduced to their incipit). In this respect, the picture presented by North Italian manuscripts is perhaps even more relevant. In the Padua fragments,² for example, Italian and French songs, and even sacred polyphony, appear together without any particular distinction, while the Reina codex (R) is organized in two large sections dedicated, respectively, to Italian and French repertories.³ The presence – to varying

1. The research presented here is an integral part of the Advanced Grant project “European Ars Nova. Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages”. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 786379). The work is the result of collaboration between the two authors; specifically, the Introduction, §1, and §4 are contributed by Michele Epifani; §2 and §3 by Davide Checchi. 

2. See for instance Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1475 (PadA); 684 (PadA); 1115 (PadB); 658 (PadC); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. patr. lat. 229 (Ox229). See Michael Cuthbert, “Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2006), 87-220.

3. An inventory and codicological description of R can be found in Kurt von Fischer, “The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 6771 (Codex Reina = PR)”, *Musica Disciplina* 11 (1957): 38-78; Nigel Wilkins, “The Codex Reina: A Revised Description (Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. n.a.fr. 6771)”, *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963): 57-73; Kurt von Fischer, “A Reply to N. E. Wilkins’ Article on the Codex Reina”, *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963): 75-7; John Nádas, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986), 118-215 (chapter reprinted in Id., “The Reina Codex Revisited” in *Essays in Paper Analysis*, ed. Stephen Spector [Washington (DC): Folger Shakespeare Library, 1987], 69-114; reprinted in Id., *Arte psallentes. Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento*, ed. Andreas Janke and Francesco Zimei, *Studi e Saggi*, 9 [Lucca: LIM, 2017], 17-54). Disagreement among the three scholars centers on the number of scribes and their contributions to the codex.

degrees – of French songs within Italian collections points to a strong interest in the French repertory, which is further confirmed by musical settings of French texts by Italian composers whereas this interest does not appear to be reciprocal.⁴ The present study focuses on one of the three French *formes fixes*, the *virelai*, and in particular on a small group of *virelais* belonging to the sub-genre of the “realistic *virelai*”, to apply the name coined by Willi Apel,⁵ who also identified its geo-chronological coordinates: Northern France/Flanders, from about 1370 onward.⁶ What distinguishes these *virelais* is essentially the liveliness and tendency to dramatization that characterize their poetic texts, which present onomatopoeias and cries that are, in turn, reflected in the musical settings. As observed by Margaret Hasselman, all these features allow us to situate the realistic *virelai* in the tradition of the earlier *chace*⁷ and – we may add – close to the Italian *caccia*.

The Reina codex transmits eighty anonymous French-texted songs, three of which are ascribed to Italian composers in other manuscripts: the madrigal *La douce çere d'un fier animal* by Bartolino da Padova, and the ballades *Beauté parfaite, bonté souverayne* and *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse* by Antonello da Caserta. Most of the remaining seventy-seven songs are collected within the French section of R, which begins with the second half of Gathering V and continues to the end of Gathering VII. All the *virelais* are collected in this section, with the exception of *S'en vous por moy pitie ne truis*, ascribed to Johannes Alanus in the codex Strasbourg (destroyed), where it has been added as a space filler

4. Italian songs are not collected in surviving French manuscripts, but the question is complicated by the fact that the French manuscript tradition, leaving aside the particular case of Guillaume de Machaut, has primarily come down to us as fragments.

5. See Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Music of the late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1950), 3, 16, 20. Apel's label has found favor with scholars; see Margaret P. Hasselman, “The French Chanson of the Mid-Fourteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1970), vol. 1, 144-56; Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007); Virginia Newes, “Patterns of Mimesis and Imitation in French Songs”, in *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-century Music*, ed. Karl Kügle and Lorenz Welker (Münster: American Institute of Musicology, 2009), 131-55.

6. “Flemish or, at least, northern French influence has been observed in a well-characterized body of the literary texts, that is, in the ‘realistic *virelais*’. It seems to us that their music as well points to northern derivation. Instead of lavishness and extravagance we find here an unsophisticated charm, an almost folk-like lyricism, a sense of earthly humor, a naive delight in the calls of the birds”. After having observed the presence of *Or sus vous dormez trop* within the Ivrea codex (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115 [Iv]), Apel concludes that “since this is one of the realistic *virelais*, this genre probably flourished at about the time of Machaut's death” (Apel, *French Secular Music*, 20).

7. “The two main characteristics of the *chace* are mimesis and imitative texture. Both these elements were taken over to a considerable extent by a type of chanson known to modern scholars as the ‘realistic *virelai*’”; Hasselman, “The French Chanson”, vol. 1, 144.

Table 1: The virelai repertory in the Reina Codex (* = unicum)

NO.	INCIPIT	COMPOSER	TEXTIER.	F.	SCRIBE ^a
GATHERING V					
1 (106)	<i>Ma tre dol rosignol goly / Aluette cyante / Rosignolin del bos</i>	[Borlet]	3 ¹⁺¹⁺¹	53r	W = D (Fischer 1957), II (Wilkins 1963)
2 (111)	<i>Tres doube plasant bergiere / Reconforte toy, Robin</i> [*]		3 ¹⁺¹	55v	W
3 (115)	<i>Contra le temps et la sason / Hé, mari, mari</i> [*]		3 ¹⁺¹	57r	W
4 (117)	<i>Rescoes, rescoes, borible feu / Rescoes, le feu de loyal servant</i> [*]		3 ¹⁺¹	58r	W
5 (118)	<i>En ce gracieux tamps joly</i>	[Senleches]	3 ¹	58v	W
6 (119)	<i>La grant biauté et la douchour</i>		3 ¹	58v-59r	W (s.f.)
7 (123)	<i>Pour l'amour du tamps gracieux</i> [*]		3 ¹	60r	W
8 (129)	<i>Or tost, a eux, vous assemblez</i>	[Pykini]	4 ²	62v	W
GATHERING VI					
9 (131)	<i>Soit tart tempre</i>		4 ¹	63v	Y = E (Fischer), II (Wilkins)
10 (133)	<i>C'estoit ma doube nou[ri]riture</i>		3 ¹	64r	Y
11 (140)	<i>Je voy le bons tens venir</i> [*] + intabulation at f. 85v		3 ²	67r	Y
12 (141)	<i>Onques ne fu si dure partie</i>		3 ¹	67r-68r	Y
13 (144)	<i>A l'arme, a l'arme!</i>	[Grimace]	3 ¹	69r	Y
14 (147)	<i>Je languis d'amere mort</i>		3 ¹⁺¹	70v	Y
GATHERING VII					
15 (153)	<i>En ties, en latin, en romans</i> [*]		3 ¹	72v-73r	W (s.f.)
16 (155)	<i>Combien que j'aie</i> [*]		3 ¹	74r	Y(?)
17 (156)	<i>Tren dolz et loyauls amis</i> [*]		2 ¹	74v	Y(?)
18 (157)	<i>Dame, per le dolz plaisir d'amore</i>		3 ¹	74v-75r	Y(?) (s.f.)
19 (158)	<i>Puisqu'autrement ne puis avoir</i> [*]		3 ¹	75r	Y(?)
20 (163)	<i>Mais qu'il vous (vi)le(r)ge</i>		2 ¹	77r	Y
21 (168)	<i>Jet fort qu'en amour se lie cuer</i> [*]		2 ⁰	78r	Y (s.f.; only text incipit)
22 (169)	<i>Or sus, vous dormes trop</i>		3 ¹	78v-79r	Y
23 (171)	<i>Ge la remiray</i>		3 ¹	80r	? (E / III)
24 (174)	<i>La cornailhe t'quilbat l saige</i> ^{†b} [*]		3 ¹	81r	T(?) (E / III)
25 (175)	<i>Adeu mon cuer</i> [*]		2 ¹	81v	T(?) (s.f.)
26 (177)	<i>Va t'en, mon cuer, je t'emprie</i> [*]		3 ¹	82r	T
27 (180)	<i>Plus que l'aloie ne fine de canter</i> [*]		3 ¹	83v	T
28 (181)	<i>E, Dieu, comant j'ay grant desir</i> [*]		2 ²	83v	T (s.f.)
VIRELAIS IN THE ITALIAN SECTION					
29 (25)	<i>S'en vous por moy pitie</i>	[Alanus]	3 ¹	13r-12v	W (s.f.)

^a After Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony", 118-215; s.f. = space filler.^b The first line of this virelai is corrupted: Rosenberg reads "La cornailhe qui l'hat le saige" (Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century III. Anonymous Virelais, Rondeaux, Chansons, Canons*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae [CMM], Vol. 53/3 [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972], XXXVI), which Greene amends to "La cornailhe guilhat et saige" (Gordon Greene, ed., *French Secular Music. Virelais*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century [PMFC], Vol. 21 [Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987], no. 40).

across the opening 12v-13r. Out of a total of seventy-seven songs, the twenty-nine virelais of R represent a considerable percentage (nearly 38% of the entire corpus of French-texted songs in the codex). In absolute terms, R is today the genre's most representative anthology, followed by SL⁸ and CaB₂,⁹ with twenty-five and twenty-one items respectively, most of which are unica, thus belonging to a tradition other than R (see Table 1 above).

Today's corpus of nine realistic virelais¹⁰ has been split into two subgroups characterized by the presence of ornithological onomatopoeias, on one hand, and by the sounds of instruments and cries on the other. As we can see from the following Table 2, all these virelais are transmitted in Italian manuscripts as well, and, with the sole exception of Jean Vaillant's *Par maintes foys*, specifically in R. Among the other manuscripts, it should be noted that the origins of Ch, which transmits four realistic virelais, are still unclear, although several aspects point to an Italian environment: the note of possession of Florentine merchant and poet Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti (before 1461),¹¹ the use of the typically Italian six-line staves, and the presence of mistakes and trivializations incompatible with a French scribe.¹² Moreover, it should be noted

8. See the inventory in the facsimile edition of SL, Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest. Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo Ms. 2211*, 2 vols., Vol. 1: *Introductory Study*; Vol. 2: *Multispectral Images*, Ars Nova - Nuova serie, 4 (Lucca: LIM, 2016), Vol. 1, 29-89. The virelais are, for the most part, illegible, especially with respect to their poetic texts.

9. The siglum indicates ff. 8-15 of a manuscript obtained by joining together several fragments. See Hasselman, "The French Chanson", Vol. 1, 23-30; see also David Fallows, "L'origine du Ms. 1328 de Cambrai", *Revue de Musicologie* 62 (1976): 275-80.

10. Because the two versions of Borlet's *Hé, tres douz roussignol* are considered autonomous compositions in Hasselman, "The French Chanson", Vol. 1, 145-6, the corpus amounts to ten realistic virelais. Two more are listed in Karen Fox Hehrer, "A History of the Virelai from Its Origin to the Mid-Fifteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1975), 83-6: *Contra le temps / Hé, mari, mari* and *Tres douche plasant bergiere / Reconforte toy, Robin*, which are "realistic" only insofar as they recall the *pastourelle* genre.

11. See Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti, *Rime*, ed. Alessio Decaria, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 165 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2008).

12. On the unresolved question of Ch's origin, see Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly. Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564*, 2 vols., Vol. 1: *Introduction*; Vol. 2: *Facsimile*, Collection Epitome musical (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), I, 113-5; and Francesca Manzari, "The International Context of Boniface IX's Court and the Marginal Drawings in the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château, Ms. 564)", *Recercare* 22 (2010): 11-33. Terence Scully claimed an Aragonese origin on the basis of Catalan linguistic traits (see Terence Scully, "French Songs in Aragon: The Place of Origin of the Chansonnier Chantilly, Musée Condé 564", in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context. Selected Papers from the 5th Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9-16 August, 1986*, ed. Kate Busby and Erik Kooper [Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1990], 509-21). This proposal has been challenged by María Carmen Gómez Muntané, "French Songs in Aragon de Terence Scully revise", in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context. New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 245-62, but see also Fabio Zinelli, "Il Roman de Cardenois, Guillaume de Machaut e Oton de Grandson tra Francia del sud e Catalogna", *Romania* 130 (2012): 294-354, at 351n195.

that the realistic virelais, even if transmitted for the most part as contrafacta, were well represented in Strasbourg (six of the nine).

Since an exhaustive investigation is impossible here, we have chosen two case studies among the virelais copied by scribe W,¹³ *Hé, tres doulz roussignol* and *Rescoes rescoes*.

Table 2: The tradition of realistic virelais^a

BIRD CALLS			
INCIPIIT	ITALIAN MSS.		OTHER MSS. ^b
<i>En ce gracieux tamps</i> [Senleches]	R 57v	ModA, PadB	Strasbourg
<i>Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly</i> [Borlet]	R 53r	Gr	Ch, Strasbourg
<i>La cornailbe</i>	R 81v		
<i>Onque ne fu si dure partie</i>	R 67v		Strasbourg (ctf. <i>O benigna</i>)
<i>Or tost, a eux, vous assemblez</i> [Pykini]	R 62v		Ch, CaB ₂ , Leclercq
<i>Par maintes foyz</i> [Vaillant]		Gr224, Man	Ch BrG ₁ +Leclercq (4 vv.), ^c Strasbourg (ctf. <i>Ave virgo gloriosa</i> ; attr. Wilhelmi de Maschaudio), MuEm (2 vv.; ctf. <i>Per montes foyz ad bonorem</i>), WoA WoB (2 vv.; ctf. <i>Der may mit lieber zal</i> [Oswald von Wolkenstein])
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS / CRIES			
<i>A l'arme, a l'arme!</i> [Grimace]	R 69r		Ch (4 vv.), Strasbourg (text incipit <i>Ortost</i>)
<i>Or sus vous dormez trop</i>	R 78v	Pit, Lo, Pad658, Fa (intab.)	Iv, Strasbourg (ctf. <i>Ave stella</i>), Gent3360 (frag.), Cop17a (frag.), Vienna3917 (2 vv.) ^d
<i>Rescoes, rescoes! / Rescoes le feu</i>	R 58r		

^a Manuscript sigla used in Tables 2 and 3: Bern = Bern, Burgerbibl., Cod. A 471 (flyleaves of A 421); Bo596 = Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, 596, busta HH2.1; BrG₁ = Bruxelles, Bibl. du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, St. Gudule fragment 1; CaB₂ = Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, B 132 [ff. 8-15]; Cop17a = Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibl., Fragm. 17a, inv. 2400-2409; Fa = Faenza, Bibl. Comunale, 117; Gent3360 = Gent, Rijksarchief, Varia D.3360; Gr = Grottaferrata, Bibl. del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 219; Gr224 = Grottaferrata, Bibl. del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224; Iv = Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare, 115; Leclercq = Mons, Private Collection of Fernand Leclercq, s. n.; Lo = London, British Library, Add. 29987; Man = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 184 + Perugia, Bibl. Comunale Augusta, 3065; ModA = Modena, Bibl. Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24; MuEm = München, Bayerischen Staatsbibl., Clm 14274 ("St. Emmeram Codex"); PadB = Padova, Bibl. Universitaria, 1115; Pad658 = Padova, Bibl. Universitaria, 658; Pit = Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, it. 568; Vienna3917 = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl., Cod. 3917; WoA = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl., Cod. 2777; WoB = Innsbruck, Universitätsbibl., s. n.

^b Ctf. = contrafactum.

^c See Fernand Leclercq, "Questions à propos d'un fragment récemment découvert d'une chanson du XIV^e siècle: une autre version de *Par maintes foyz ai oui* de Johannes Vaillant", in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 197-228.

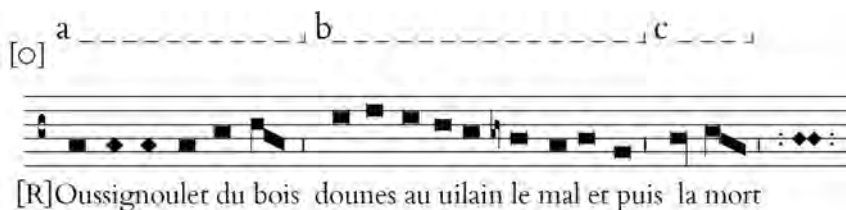
^d It is a sheet still pasted to the binding of the manuscript Vienna3917, partially legible thanks to the ink bleeding through. The fragment transmits the cantus and tenor parts; see Jason Stoessel, "French-Texted Songs at the Council of Constance: Influences, Paths of Transmission, and Trends", in *Europäische Musikkultur im Kontext des Konstanzer Konzils*, ed. Stefan Morent, Silke Leopold, and Joachim Steinheuer (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2017), 205-22, at 219.

13. Scribe W also copied *Omay gascun se doglia* and *Miracolosa toa sembianza apare* by Bartolino at ff. 44v-45r (however, according to Fischer, another scribe, identified as C, copied only these leaves);

1. «HÉ, TRES DOULZ ROUSSIGNOL JOLY»: MUSICAL TEXT

Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly, a well-known and frequently performed piece,¹⁴ is a case of particular interest philologically. In Ch the composition is attributed to Borlet, about whom unfortunately we know virtually nothing. The hypothesis that Borlet and Trebor, to whom Ch ascribes an astonishing six ballades for three voices, has no rationale other than the fact that Borlet is an anagram of Trebol which is, in turn, a formal variant of Trebor.¹⁵

On a formal level, the main feature of the composition is the presence of a tenor (*Rousignolet du bois*, perhaps a popular song) organized in two identical cursus for the refrain and as many for the *vers*; the structure of the virelai (refrain | *vers* | *terce* | refrain) therefore allows for eight repetitions.¹⁶ There are two internal caesuras that produce three phrases (a, b, c), of eight, ten, and six breves respectively, or four, five, and three longs (Example 1).



Example 1. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, tenor (Ch)

Biauté parfaite and *Du val perilleux* by Antonello at ff. 46v-47v; and the anonymous rondeau *En tes doulz flans* at f. 77v.

14. A selective list of recordings includes the following: Thomas Binkley, director, *Frühe Musik in Italien, Frankreich und Burgund*, Studio der Frühen Musik, Telefunken "Das Alte Werk" SAWT 9466-B, 1963, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm; David Munrow, director, *The Art of Courtly Love*, The Early Music Consort of London, EMI (His Master's Voice) SLS 863 / OC 191 05410-2, three 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm set (reprinted as Virgin Veritas, VED 5 61284 2, 7243 5 61284 2 2, 1996, two-compact disc set); Philip Pickett, director, *Ars Subtilior*, New London Consort, Linn Records CKD 039, 1995, compact disc; Gerarde Lésne, director, *D'amours loial servant*, Alla Francesca, Virgin Veritas 7243 5 45357 2 7, 1998, compact disc; *Santenay Live*, Olive Music 5425008376271, 2008, compact disc; Laurence Brisset, director, *Codex Chantilly: En l'amoureux vergier*, Ensemble de Caelis, Aeon 1099, 2010, compact disc.

15. See Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047", *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954): 59-113, esp. 67 and 78; María Carmen Gómez, "La Musique a la Maison Royale de Navarre a la fin du Moyen-âge et le Chantre Johan Robert", *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 109-51, esp. 133-5; Gilbert Reaney (2001), s.v. "Borlet" and Yolanda Plumley (2001), s.v. "Trebor", *Grove Music Online* (<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/> [accessed June 11, 2019]). The small group of compositions ascribed to Trebor, other than constituting among the most successful representatives of the *Ars Subtilior*, appears as a corpus endowed with remarkable coherence, which differs considerably from our virelai on stylistic grounds.

16. According to Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 21, X and 170, the tenors of *Contra le temps* (on which see below), *Adeu mon cuer*, *Je voy le bon tans venir*, and *Tant qu'en mon cuer* were also derived from popular songs.

The reference editions by Apel and Greene provide two distinct versions: one based on Ch (f. 54v), the other on R (f. 53r).¹⁷ In this case, the choice of manuscript is mandatory, as they are the only ones to transmit the composition in its entirety. However, there are two other witnesses: Strasbourg, of which we only have the incipit transcribed by Coussemaker, and the fragment Gr, which, because of the way in the parchment was trimmed, transmits all the parts with lacunae. We will return to these witnesses; for now, it should be noted that the differences between Ch and R are remarkable and fully justify a separate edition of the two versions. They can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Number of voices: four in Ch (Tr, C, T, Ct), three in R (C1, C2, T, and the cantus secundus has its own text);¹⁸
- 2) Pitch: R transposes the virelai down a fourth;
- 3) Notation: Ch notates the song in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minore* and in *modus imperfectus*, R in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiore*;¹⁹
- 4) Substantial variant readings in the two common voices (C and T).

Before drawing conclusions, it will be good to summarize what has emerged from previous studies on the relationship between these two versions. Apel considered the question insoluble, stating that arguments could be put forward in favor of both the precedence of R, according to its notational system, or the precedence of Ch, on stylistic grounds.²⁰ Ursula Günther,²¹ a few years before the discovery of the Grottaferrata fragment (Gr),²² argued

17. The composition was first edited by Apel, *French Secular Music*, nos. 67 and 68; then in Id., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century I. Ascribed Compositions*, CMM, Vol. 53/1 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970), nos. 12 and 12a; and, finally, in Gordon Greene, ed., *French Secular Music. Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564. Second Part: nn. 51-100*, PMFC, Vol. 19, nos. 89 and 89a.

18. Because of its main characteristics – the ambitus and presence of text – it seemed more appropriate to designate this part *cantus secundus*, unlike some scholars (Apel, Günther), who consider it an alternate *contratenor*.

19. According to Ursula Günther, “Der Gebrauch des tempus perfectum diminutum in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1960): 277-97, at 287-9. Ch’s version would be in *tempus perfectum diminutum*, but on the basis of what fourteenth-century and early-fifteenth-century theory tells us about the concept of *diminutio*, this statement has been convincingly questioned by Margaret Bent, “The Myth of *tempus perfectum diminutum* in the Chantilly Manuscript”, in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 203-43: 221. As an aside, we note that in the apparatus of his edition Greene states: “French notation written in augmented values in all parts in CH 564 [Ch], regular in Pn 6771 [R]”, PMFC, Vol. 19, 192.

20. Apel, *French Secular Music*, 32; the same position is retained in Id., CMM, Vol. 53/1, xxxiv.

21. Günther, “Der Gebrauch des tempus perfectum diminutum”.

22. See Giuseppe Corsi, “Frammenti di un codice musicale dell’Ars Nova rimasti sconosciuti”, *Belfagor* 20 (1965): 210-5; and Kurt von Fischer, “Ein neues Trecentofragment”, in *Festschrift für*

that the text and musical readings of R (detectable in the common parts, i.e., cantus and tenor) were inferior or inclined to trivialization. In support of this thesis, she adduced the simplification of the melodic contour (mm. 1-2 and 15-16) and the rhythmic figurations of the “onomatopoeic” phrases (mm. 4 and 17-18), where the trochaic figuration of Ch (♠♠♠♠) is not rendered as one would expect in R (♠♠♠♠) but in *notes aequales* obtained via proportional *color* (Example 2).

Example 2. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, C 1-2; 15-16; 4; 17-18

It should also be noted that this figuration is not rendered systematically; the scribe has resorted to two different figurations: ♠♠♠♠, with the three empty minims in *proportio sesquialtera* (3:2), and ♠♠♠♠, in *proportio sesquitercia* (4:3). The notational inconsistency is further accentuated by the fact that at m. 19 the two cantus parts, proceeding in parallel fourths, create the superimposition of the two figurations ♠♠♠♠/♠♠♠♠.

According to Günther, therefore, Ch belongs to a line of transmission closer to the original than does R,²³ even though she considers the contratenor

Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph Helmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 264-8.

23. All the evidence collected led her to conclude that “die melodisch wie rhythmisch differen-

part a later addition because it creates various contrapuntal problems with the other parts, in particular with the triplum. In this regard, doubts have also been expressed by Greene, who in the apparatus of his edition argues that triplum and contratenor should be considered as alternatives to one another.²⁴

More recently, Elizabeth Eva Leach dealt with Borlet's virelai, affirming that "the kinds of variation between the sources for this song suggest that a widely varied oral transmission history preceded its writing down".²⁵ Whatever the case, this remark does not change the overall picture because, on philological grounds, we can only operate in accordance with information provided by the written tradition.²⁶ Concerning the use of R's coloration against the trochaic figuration of Ch, Leach argues that R may more faithfully represent the singers' actual performance.²⁷ This is a very interesting hypothesis because, if well-founded, it would indicate that the tempo was rapid enough to make a performance with equal note values more natural than Ch's trochaic figuration.²⁸ However, the notational inconsistency of R remains; as we have seen, the proportion implied by the void minims is not systematic (3:2 and 4:3).²⁹ Finally, in the most recent study on realistic virelais, Virginia Newes briefly mentions *Hé, tres doulz roussignol*, describing it – perhaps with excessive severity – as an "uncomplicated spring song set over a popular song tenor".³⁰

ziertere vierstimmige Version aus Ch die ursprüngliche Konzeption wiedergibt" (Günther, "Der Gebrauch des tempus perfectum diminutum", 288).

24. "Because of dissonant clashes between Tr and Ct, it is doubtful that these two parts were intended to be performed together. In order to accommodate a four-part performance, many editorial ficta have been added on the assumption that the Ct signature is operating in other parts as well"; Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 19, 192.

25. Leach, *Sung Birds*, 149.

26. We would like to stress that the *varia lectio* of *Hé, tres doulz roussignol* can be explained as the product of innovations developed within the specific context in which individual manuscripts were produced, without bringing the oral tradition into play. Moreover, either the addition or the omission (and possible substitution with a triplum) of the cantus secundus, and therefore of a further poetic text, can only originate from a conscious creative act, aimed at the innovation of a preexisting musical text, according to a *modus operandi* quite similar to the numerous cases of addition or substitution of contratenors.

27. "The singing of four equal notes in place of the three smallest, and three equal notes in place of two of the smallest, probably best represents what singers were actually doing"; Leach, *Sung Birds*, 151.

28. In fact, it is evident that the possibility of distinguishing the rhythmic figurations of Ch and R is inversely proportional to the tempo: the faster that is, the less perceptible the rhythmic distinctions will be.

29. Even assuming that the void minims in 4:3 proportion should have been written in red ink and those in 3:2 in black, a basic idiosyncrasy remains that cannot be explained except as uncertainty or, worse, carelessness on the part of the scribe.

30. Newes, "Patterns of Mimesis", 140-1.

Strasbourg and Gr are the two remaining witnesses. Obviously, very little can be said of Strasbourg, as the manuscript was lost in 1870. However, some conclusions may be drawn from the list of incipits compiled by Coussemaker.³¹ He copied the first four *tempora* of the cantus, which are sufficient to establish that Strasbourg agreed with Ch both on notation (*tempus perfectum*) and pitch (Example 3).



Example 3. *Hé, très doulz roussignol joly*, Strasbourg, C 1-4

As Margaret Bent observed, we cannot know whether the paratext “per diminutionem” reported by Coussemaker refers only to cantus part, in which case the other parts presumably had a notational appearance similar to R’s, or if it should be extended to the entire composition, and therefore be understood as a generic tempo indication.³² Nevertheless, there is another interesting aspect: in the inventory, Coussemaker indicates the composition as monodic. It is frankly difficult to imagine Coussemaker committing such an error if the piece had been transmitted in three or four voices. At the same time, we also consider it unlikely that the Strasbourg version was monodic. A plausible explanation for this strange situation is that Strasbourg transmitted the virelai in two voices, cantus and tenor; the presence of the tenor’s underlaid text resulted in the absence of the usual paratext “tenor”. This could have deceived Coussemaker, especially remembering that, due to its primary formal feature (its “cyclic” structure), the tenor required very little space on the staff. In support of this hypothesis one can refer to the case of *Salve mater Jehsu Christi*, the *contrafactum* of Zacara da Teramo *Caciando per gustar*, which Coussemaker identified as a monodic composition. At first sight Zacara’s caccia appears as a polytextual two-voice composition, to such an extent that Carducci considered the tenor’s text a

31. Facsimile edition of the Coussemaker manuscript in Albert Vander Linden, ed., *Le Manuscrit musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, XV^e siècle*, Thesaurus Musicus, 2 (Brussels: Office international de librairie, 1975). On the codex, see also Martin Staehelin, “Bemerkungen zum verbrannten Manuskript Straßburg M. 222 C. 22”, *Die Musikforschung* 42 (1989): 2-20; Lorenz Welker, “Musik am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter. Die Handschrift Strasbourg, olim Bibliothèque de la Ville, C.22” (Habilitationsschrift, University of Basel, 1993).

32. Bent, “The Myth of *tempus perfectum diminutum* in the Chantilly Manuscript”, 221.

separate poem.³³ Even if an omission is always theoretically possible, it is fair to assume that, in this case, Coussemaker made a mistake. In his monograph on Philippe de Vitry, published in 1850, Prosper Tarbé, who had been able to consult Strasbourg directly, reports the text incipits of the first leaves of the manuscript's music section. Between the *contrafactum* of Zacara's caccia (f. 2) and a Credo by Prunet (f. 3), Tarbé inserted what he considered to be an autonomous composition, *In hac valle profunda*.³⁴ This incipit, which Coussemaker does not record, can only refer to the tenor of *Salve mater*, which, as in Zacara's caccia, was provided with its text.³⁵ In all likelihood, as happens in Sq, f. 177r – and is the case for our virelai both in Ch and R – the presence of the poetic text induced the scribe to omit the paratext “tenor”. The most likely hypothesis is, therefore, that Strasbourg derives from the same line of transmission as Ch, but omits both triplum and contratenor.

Even more relevant is the information that can be obtained from Gr. Despite the numerous lacunae produced by the trimming of the leaves, it is immediately apparent that the fragment is very closely related to R: it transmits the second cantus instead of the triplum, and uses the same mensuration (*tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiore*). At the same time, however, there are strong links between Gr and Ch, which can be summarized as follows:

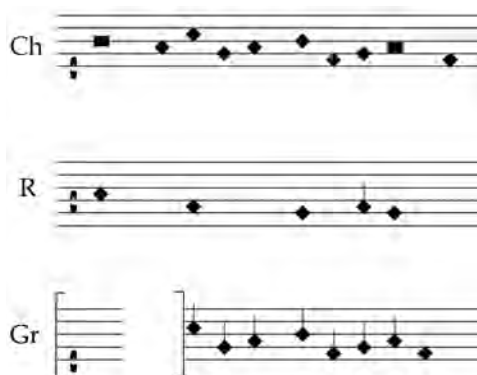
- 1) Unlike R, the composition is not transposed down a fourth;
- 2) The song is set for four voices, transmitting the same contratenor as Ch;
- 3) In those “onomatopoeic” passages where R uses coloration, Gr contains the trochaic figurations seen in Ch, introducing the semiminims (♠♠♠♠);³⁶
- 4) Those places which in R appeared simplified when compared with Ch are not so in Gr where verification is possible (Example 4).

33. See Giosuè Carducci, ed., *Cacce in rima dei secoli XIV e XV*, per nozze Morpurgo-Franchetti (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1896), 51-5.

34. Prosper Tarbé, *Les œuvres de Philippe de Vitry* (Reims: Impr. de P. Regnier, 1850), 157.

35. On this topic see Michele Epifani, *La caccia nell'Ars Nova italiana. Edizione critica commentata dei testi e delle intonazioni*, La Tradizione Musicale, 20; Studi e testi, 111 (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019), CLIX-CLXVIII.

36. This characteristic is unfortunately not verifiable for the cantus primus because of the lacunae, but is for the cantus secundus.



Example 4. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, Ch, R, Gr, C 15-16

Consequently, the most important point to make regarding Gr is undoubtedly the fact that many of the inferior readings singled out by Günther are in fact *singulares* of R, thus bringing further elements in favor of her thesis, which sees R as far removed from the original. Additionally, the presence of the contratenor part in Gr should not be underestimated: not only does it link Gr and Ch, but it strongly suggests that the contratenor was omitted in R. Because of the macroscopic variants observed thus far – notation, transposition, and the voice setting – we may conclude that the witnesses unequivocally form two pairs: Ch and Strasbourg on one side, R and Gr on the other. The tradition of *Hé, tres doulz roussignol* thus also acquires a geographical connotation, as R and Gr attest to the dissemination of the two-cantus version in the Veneto region. This is relevant as the primary clue into the history of our virelai's tradition focuses on the cantus secundus, which is the principal discrepancy between the two versions.

A close look at the voice leading reveals that in several places the second cantus ends up overlapping with both the contratenor (mm. 13-17 and 19) and the triplum (mm. 13-15).

The image displays two systems of a medieval musical score. The first system, labeled '13', consists of five staves: Tr [Ch] (Treble clef, C major), C1 [Ch] (Treble clef, C major), C2 [R] (Treble clef, C major), Ct (Bass clef, C major), and T (Bass clef, C major). A dashed box encloses the first two measures of the C2 and Ct staves, indicating an overlap. The second system, labeled '18', also consists of five staves with the same clefs and key signature. A solid box encloses the first two measures of the C2 and Ct staves, indicating another overlap. The C2 staff in the second system features triplets, marked with a '3' and a bracket.

Example 5. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, mm. 13-20 (C2 transposed up a fourth)

Additional overlaps between cantus secundus and triplum (mm. 30-34) or contratenor (m. 33-34) may be found in the B section as well (Example 6).

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Tr [Ch], C1 [Ch], C2 [R], Ct, and T. The score is for measures 30-34. A dashed box highlights measures 30-33, and a solid box highlights measures 33-34. The parts are: Tr [Ch] (Tenor, Contratenor), C1 [Ch] (Cantus, Contratenor), C2 [R] (Cantus, Triplum), Ct (Contratenor), and T (Tenor).

Example 6. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, mm. 30-34
(C2 transposed up a fourth, as in Gr)

Excluding the cantus-tenor dyad, therefore, the other parts offer a range of possibilities that cannot be reduced to the three attested to in Ch (Tr-C-T-Ct), R (C1-C2-T), and Gr (C1-C2-T-Ct), because the setting of a given exemplar can implicitly offer alternative solutions (this applies in particular to the contratenor part).³⁷ On the other hand, the three most unstable parts (C2 Tr, and Ct) exhibit unequivocal links, for the overlaps described above surely were not intended. An economical explanation for this phenomenon is to imply a relationship of derivation that, however, lends itself to different interpretations: the parts were either drawn, perhaps at different times, from cantus secundus, triplum, and contratenor, or the cantus secundus derives from the triplum-contratenor pair. If we begin from the concrete data offered by the manuscript tradition and consider that the coexistence of triplum and contratenor parts has been considered problematic by all scholars who have dealt with it, there are two plausible explanations (presupposing the cantus and tenor as stable parts):

- 1) the original setting is for two voices (C-T), or three voices, including the Tr;
- 2) the Ct is added, perhaps as an alternative to the Tr (Ch);

37. Different performance possibilities are recognized for Machaut's songs as well; see Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Machaut's Balades with Four Voices", *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001): 47-79.

- 3) the change from 20 to € and the replacement of Tr with C2, maintaining the Ct (Gr);
- 4) the omission of the Ct and transposition down a fourth (R).

Or, conversely:

- 1) the original settings is for C1, C2, T (R);
- 2) addition of the Ct and transposition up a fourth (Gr);
- 3) the change from € to 20 and replacement of C2 with Tr, maintaining the Ct (Ch)

The first route of transmission (from Ch to R) appears much more plausible, if only because beginning with R to arrive at Ch implies an improvement of the variant readings (in particular those relating to the poetic text, which will be discussed below). Moreover, if it is true that the addition or replacement of a contratenor or triplum is a quite common practice,³⁸ it seems less likely that a cantus secundus with its poetic text was discarded and eventually replaced by the contratenor and triplum transmitted in Ch.

A final remark on *Hé, tres doulz roussignol* concerns the tenor part. The integral repetition of the tenor, not to be confused with isorhythmic technique,³⁹ has been identified by Lawrence Earp as a residual feature of the virelai's pre-history as a dance song.⁴⁰ It is a suggestive and plausible hypothesis but, at the same time, a connection to the motet seems undeniable, if not on the formal level, at least as far as the compositional process is concerned. In fact, the point of departure for the composer was undoubtedly the tenor and, despite its simplicity, this situation gives rise to the same sort of predetermination of the musical material that is typical of the motet. What is more relevant, how-

38. Even the addition or omission – it is difficult to establish with certainty – of a second cantus is not a new occurrence. In order to stay within the confines of the realistic virelai subgenre, we could point out the cases of Grimace's *A l'arme, a l'arme* (two cantus parts in Ch, one in R and Str) and *Par maintes foyz* by Jean Vaillant (two cantus parts in a single witness, BrG1 and Leclercq, edited in Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 21, Appendix 1, and Leclercq, "Questions à propos d'un fragment"). However, it should be noted that, unlike *Hé, tres doulz roussignol*, in the aforementioned cases the same text is underlaid for both cantus parts.

39. See Margaret Bent, "What is Isorhythm?", in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Mueller, and John Louis Nádas (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008), 121-43, at 128.

40. Lawrence Earp, "Genre in the Fourteenth-Century French Chanson: The Virelai and the Dance Song", *Musica Disciplina* 43 (1991): 123-41, esp. 139. For similar considerations regarding some monodic virelais of Machaut see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Well-Formed Virelai", in *Trent'anni di ricerche musicologiche. Studi in onore di F. A. Gallo*, ed. Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restani (Roma: Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), 125-41.

ever, is that the cyclic repetition of the tenor in a virelai is in itself an important formal constraint. Not only is it more difficult to generally characterize the two musical sections (refrain/*tierce* and *vers*), but the distinction between *ouvert* and *clos* cadences, on different degrees of the scale (usually a second or a third apart), will be unattainable. Borlet, in order to create an effect of suspension in the *ouvert* cadence, resorted to counterpoint, ending with an imperfect consonance between tenor and cantus (Example 7).



Example 7. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, C T 22-24; 34-36; 34*-36*

The counterpoint treatise *Cum notum sit*, attributed to Johannes de Muris, immediately comes to mind:

Nona conclusio est quod sicut incipit contrapunctus per perfectam, sic debet finire. Causa et ratio potest esse quia, *si finiretur cantus per imperfectam, remaneret animus suspensus, nec adhuc quiesceret cum non audiret perfectum sonum; nec per consequens indicatur ibi finem esse cantus*, sed ad hoc evitandum datur ultima perfecta, ut apparet in omnibus exemplis.⁴¹

Table 3 lists the virelais that include an imperfect consonance in the *ouvert* cadence's final sonority, as well cases in which *ouvert* and *clos* cadences terminate on the same degree of the scale (not necessarily the same sonority). Machaut's nine virelais that do not include *ouvert/clos* cadences have been excluded.⁴²

41. Giuliano Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri: sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto* (Lucca: LIM, 2001), 303.

42. Virelais nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 24, 25, and 33, all monodic except no. 24 (*En mon cuer a un descort*); see Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, PMFC, Vols. 2-3. Virelai no. 13

Table 3: Imperfect consonances in the *ouvert/clos* sonorities^a

INCIPIIT	MS.	OUVERT (: FIRST VER SONORITY)/CLOS SONORITY (T-CT-C)
IMPERFECT CONSONANCE IN <i>OUVERT</i> SONORITIES + <i>CLOS</i> ON DIFFERENT PITCH		
<i>Fist on, dame, vostre figure</i>	Bern	<i>C-c-a</i> (: <i>G-b-b-d</i>)/ <i>B-b-F-b</i>
<i>Ma (dame), voies soulas</i>	CaB ₂	<i>b-d</i> (: <i>a-e</i>)/ <i>C-c</i>
<i>Or m'assaut paour</i>	Bo596	<i>G-d-bb</i> (: <i>d-G-g</i>)/ <i>F-c-f</i>
<i>Puis q'autrement ne puis avoir</i>	R	<i>D-d-b</i> (: <i>c-G-e</i>)/ <i>C-G-c</i>
<i>Sans mal penser</i>	ModA	<i>a-f</i> # (: <i>G-g</i>)/ <i>G-g</i>
<i>A l'arme, a l'arme</i> (Grimace)	Ch [4 vv.], R [3 vv.]	<i>E-b-e-g</i> # (: <i>c-C-g-e</i>)/ <i>C-G-c-g</i> [R <i>E-b-e</i> / <i>C-G-c</i>]
<i>Mors sui, se je ne vou voy</i> (Machaut)	(Machaut mss.)	<i>F#-a</i> (: <i>G-b-b</i>)/ <i>G-G</i>
<i>Plus dur que un dyamant</i> (Machaut)	(Machaut mss.)	<i>c#-e</i> (: <i>d-aa</i>)/ <i>D-d</i>
<i>Se je souspir</i> (Machaut)	(Machaut mss.)	<i>E-G</i> (: <i>F-f</i>)/ <i>F-F</i>
<i>Moult sui de bonne heure nee</i> (Machaut)	(Machaut mss.)	<i>F#-a</i> (: <i>G-g</i>)/ <i>G-G</i>
IMPERFECT CONSONANCE IN <i>OUVERT</i> SONORITIES + <i>CLOS</i> ON THE SAME PITCH		
<i>Hé, tre doulz roussignol joly / Roussignolet du bois</i> (Borlet)	Ch, R, Gr	<i>G-d-bb-dd</i> (: <i>G-d-g-bb</i>)/ <i>G-g-gg-dd</i> [R <i>D-a-f</i> / <i>D-a-d</i>]
<i>Contra le temps / Hé, mari, mari</i>	R	<i>F-c-a</i> (: <i>c-g-c</i>)/ <i>F-c-f</i>
<i>Que puet faire / Ce n'est mie merveilles</i>	CaB ₂	<i>G-g-bb</i> (: <i>a-aa-c</i>)/ <i>G-d-g</i>
OUVERT AND CLOS ON THE SAME PITCH		
<i>Donne moy de ton pain bis / Alons commenchie la fest / J'oy le clés</i>	CaB ₂ , Bern	<i>a-a-e</i> (: <i>a-a-e</i>)/ <i>a-a-aa</i>
<i>Un crible plein / A Dieu vos comant</i> ^b	Ch	<i>a-[c#]-e</i> (: <i>d-[D]-f</i>)/ <i>a-[D]-aa</i>
IMPERFECT CONSONANCE IN <i>CLOS</i> SONORITY ^c		
<i>Combien que j'aie</i>	R	<i>E-b-e</i> (: <i>c-a-e</i>)/ <i>D-a-f</i> (<i>D-a-d</i> ?)

^a For manuscript sigla, see Table 2.

^b Ch reads *Un orible* (*horrible* in the index); we accept the conjecture first proposed by Hehrer, "A History of the Virelai", 91-2, and later adopted in Gordon Greene, ed., *French Secular Music. Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564. First Part: nn. 1-50*, PMFC, Vol. 18, no. 4.

^c This questionable case is likely to have resulted from a typical pitch-displacement error by one staff line (a third above). Greene (PMFC, Vol. 21, no. 23) amended the last notes in the cantus down a third, whereas Apel and Wilkins accepted the manuscript reading (see Apel, CMM, Vol. 53/3, no. 187; Nigel Wilkins, ed., *A 14th-Century Repertory from the Codex Reina* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6771), CMM, Vol. 36, no. 32).

(*Quant je sui mis au retour*) has been excluded as well due to its formal peculiarities, of which Schrade states in the *Commentary*, 140, "Although included in the Virelai-section of the Machaut Mss. (but not in E), the structure is not that of the Virelai; nor is it a ballade as the text-Ms. M names the composition".

From a purely statistical point of view, it is evident that the virelai's norm is to have *ouvert* and *clos* endings on different degrees of the scale and to present only perfect consonances in the final sonorities. If the ten virelais that present an imperfect consonance in the final *ouvert* sonority constitute a rather small group,⁴³ the three with *ouvert* and *clos* cadences on the same degree are merely exceptional cases. We can conclude that, on the one hand, the use of counterpoint to create the effect of a cadential suspension, already used by Machaut in four of his polyphonic virelais, reflects the technical vocabulary of the composers. On the other hand, basing *ouvert* and *clos* cadences on the same degree, which in itself is almost a contradiction in terms, seems to have only one explanation: the choice of a preexisting tenor, endowed with an autonomous formal structure that is not perfectly superimposable on that of the virelai.⁴⁴

Obviously, the relationship between the structure of the tenor and that of the virelai is not necessarily contrastive. For instance, *Tant qu'en mon cuer / Sur l'erbette*, for two voices and transmitted only in Iv (f. 11r), is composed over a tenor with the form AA b_o b_c AA; the tenor of *Venés a nueches / Vechi l'ermitte*, an unicum in CaB₃, has the structure A b_o b_c A, where A is internally tripartite (aba).⁴⁵ In both cases, the text of the tenor (not that of the cantus) lacks the *tierce*; in order to adapt to the proper virelai form, two statements of the refrain must follow one another after the *vers*. Whether this situation stems from a lacuna, or the original melody had a simplified structure, is an open question. In any case, the absence of the *tierce* is quite frequent in the tenor parts; it occurs, for instance, in *Un crible plein / A Dieu vos comant*.⁴⁶ This virelai is listed above among those with *ouvert* and *clos* endings on the same degree since both the *c*-sharp in the *ouvert* and the *D* in the *clos* are due to a contratenor that seems to be a later addition, being rhythmically much more complex than the outer parts.⁴⁷ The differentiation of the endings relies on the use of two per-

43. As a general rule, we have taken into consideration first the structural sonorities produced by the cantus-tenor dyad. For three- and four-voice virelais some issues may arise if different versions of the same work exist.

44. We may add that the virelai was the only one of the *formes fixes* to use preexisting tenors, the forms of which may be unrelated to the composition's overall structure. See Hasselman, "The French Chanson", Vol. 1, 111-22, esp. 119.

45. Edition in Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, no. 233; Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 21, no. 67.

46. Edition in Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, no. 231; Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 18, no. 4.

47. According to Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 18, 147, "Three distinctly different styles appear in the three parts perhaps programmatically illustrating the scene described in the text. The parties in an unhappy marriage seem to be in dialogue in the C and T, the wife singing her lament in curiously static, syllabic fashion in the T. ... The husband's complaint in C is more active and includes three short passages of red notes. A third party, the Ct, is no mediator; on the contrary this untexted part has such rhythmic angularity in relation to the other two parts that it has difficulty accompanying the dialogue in several places where hollow-red notes create a duplet figuration".

fect consonances: the fifth for the *ouvert*, and the octave for the *clos*. The tenor is made up of two sections, which are in turn bipartite. The presence of *ouvert* and *clos* endings in the first section is remarkable, as is the *vers* structure, which consists of a single phrase repeated unchanged (Example 8).



Example 8. *Un crible plein / A Dieu vos comant*, tenor (Ch)

Among the French-texted tenors of some of the motets collected in the last two gatherings of the Montpellier Codex (MS Montpellier) one can find both simplified and traditional virelai structures. The former suggest that the missing *tierce* might be structural; for example, *Li savours de mon desir / Li grant desirs / Non veul mari* (Montpellier, 323; $A_0A_c b b A_0A_c$) and *L'autre jour me chevauchioie / L'autrier, joiant et joli / Vilain, lieve sus* (Montpellier, 313; $A_0A_c b A_0A_c$). Examples of tenor structures entirely similar to the virelai form, although always with *ouvert* and *clos* cadences in the refrain,⁴⁸ are *Toute voies / Trop ai de grieté / Je la truis asperete* (Montpellier, 295), *Amours m'a pris / Bien me maine / Riens ne vous vaut* (Montpellier, 333), and *Nouvele amour m'a saisi / Haute amor m'a assalli / Hé, dame jolie* (Montpellier, 290).⁴⁹

The observations on *Un crible plein* can be extended to *Que puet faire un cuer dolent / Ce n'est mie merveilles*;⁵⁰ even if the tenor has no text and might have been composed with the upper voices, it nevertheless exhibits a formal structure that is quite similar to that of *Un crible plein*. We therefore suspect that this tenor is a reworking of a preexisting melody: it presents an A section, bipartite internally with *ouvert* and *clos* cadences, and a B section, which instead closes on the same degree of the scale. The composer differentiated the final sonorities of the *vers* through an imperfect consonance (Example 9).

48. This is by no means an extraordinary feature, as some of Machaut's virelais confirm (nos. 7, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 27, all of them monodic and, with the exception of nos. 18 and 20, with *ouvert* and *clos* endings for the *vers* as well).

49. The tenors of these motets are considered structurally analogous to the virelai in Hehrer, "A History of the Virelai", 63-4. For the numbering and text incipits of the motets we refer to Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, 4 vols., Recent Research in the Music of the Middle Ages, 2-8 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978-1985).

50. Edition in Apel, *CMM*. Vol. 53/3, no. 221; Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 21, no. 56; compared to the previous edition, this presents improvements as far as the reading of the musical text is concerned, but for some reason the poetic text of the cantus secundus (*Ce n'est mie merveilles*) is missing.

Example 9. *Que puet faire / Ce n'est mie merveille*, tenor and cantus primus (CaB₂)

Donne moy / Alons commenchie / J'oy le cle is a different case from those examined previously. The texted tenor, which lacks the *tierce*, terminates both *vers* on *a*; the composer solves the problem exactly as in *Un crible plein*, even opting for the same sonorities (*a-e/a-aa*). However, the tenor's melodic structure deserves mention. The refrain has an internal *abb* form, while in the *vers* the first phrase of the first section is repeated (Example 10 at next page). From a strictly musical point of view, considering the repetition of the *b* phrase as a single unit, it follows that the form ends up coinciding with that of the *rondeau* (*ab a a ab ab > AB aA ab AB*). This explains why CaB₂ bears the paratext "Tenor d(icitu)r s(e)c(un)d(u)m d(ic)tamen rondelli".⁵¹

51. The tenor of the motet *Biauté parée / Trop plus est bele / Je ne suis mie certains* (M20) has an ABAAABAB structure and, in all witnesses is notated in the most economical way (only A and B sections), followed by the paratext "dicitur ad modum rondelli" (MachA) and "Rondel" (MachB, MachC, MachG, MachVg; in MachE no indications are given). MachA = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1584; MachB = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1585; MachC = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1586; MachE = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9221; MachG = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22546; MachVg = Kansas City, Private Collection of James E. and Elizabeth J. Ferrell ("Ferrell-Vogüé Machaut manuscript").



Example 10. *Donne moy / Alons commenchie / J'oy le des*, tenor (CaB₂)

As one might expect, there are tenors with almost identical structures among the Montpellier Codex's final motets: *Dame bele et avenant / Fi, mari, de vostre amour / Nus n'iert ja jolis* (Montpellier 271; Ab a a ab Ab); and *En mai, quant rosier sont flouri / L'autre jour, par un matin / Hé, resveille toi, Robin* (Montpellier 269; ab₀b_c a a ab₀b_c ab₀b_c), which differs from the tenor of *Donne moy* only in the presence of *ouvert* and *clos* endings.

We come now to the only case identical to *Hé, tres doulz roussignol*, another unicum in R, still copied by scribe W: *Contra le temps et la sason jolye / Hé, mari, mari*.⁵² The tenor melody of *Contra le temps* consisted of four phrases (a b c c d), each of 3 *tempora*, repeated cyclically in the same manner as those of *Hé, tres doulz roussignol*.⁵³



Example 11. *Contra le temps / Hé, mari, mari*, tenor (R)

It should be noted that, in this case as well, the composer has resorted to counterpoint to differentiate *ouvert* and *clos* endings.⁵⁴

52. Ed. in Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 21, no. 24; Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, no. 188; Wilkins, *CMM*, Vol. 36, no. 26.

53. This tenor as well probably had a "prehistoric" phase as a popular or dance tune, though the evidence is lacking. The identification of *Rosignolet du bois* in Günther, "Der Gebrauch des tempus perfectum diminutum", 287n6, has been challenged by Leach, *Sung Birds*, 147n74. See also below, note 63.

54. In fact, the scribe closes the refrain with an *aa* in the cantus – as it happens, with the *ouvert* ending – but this situation can be easily explained as an error of assimilation, presumably treated as such by all editors (Wilkins, Apel, and Greene have emended *aa* to *f*).



Example 12. *Contra le temps et la sason jolye*, C T 22-24; 34-36; 34*-36* (R)

In conclusion, if it is entirely legitimate to include *Hé, tres doulz roussignol* among the realistic virelai subgenre, it is equally important to point out that it belongs to the small group of virelais on preexisting tenors, which are in contrast, on a formal level, to the overall structure of the virelai (*Un crible plein*, *Que puet faire*, *Donne moy*, and *Contra le temps*). We are therefore dealing with a group of works that reflect both a link to the tradition of a dance-related genre (which probably led to the survival of popular melodies used as tenors) and an attempt to raise the genre's status through compositional techniques that mimic the motet. Such a procedure was surely carried out beyond Machaut's sphere of influence, as seven of his eight polyphonic virelais are for two voices with textless tenors that are clearly subordinate to the upper parts.

2. «HÉ, TRES DOULZ ROUSSIGNOL JOLY»: POETIC TEXT

The manuscript tradition of *Hé, tres doulz roussignol* contains many text variants. Ch transmits two texts, one underlaid to the cantus and another very

short one attached to the cyclic tenor, whereas R and the Gr fragment add a third text underlaid to the cantus secundus. Before going into the analysis of the *varia lectio*, it is necessary to focus on the cantus text, transmitted by all witnesses. Here follows a critical edition of the text accompanied by a translation. The edition is based solely on Ch since, as we shall see, the text of R is irreparably corrupted, and Gr contains several lacunae.⁵⁵

Hé, tres doulz roussignol joli

Ch, f. 54v, C (lines 1-21), Tr, Ct, T (line 1), *resid.* (lines 22-31): Borlet
R, f. 53r, C (lines 1-21), C2 (lines 1-14), T (line 1)
Gr, ff. 1v-2r, C (*fragm.*), C2 (*fragm.*), Ct (*fragm.*)

Cantus

Metric scheme: 8a 8a 4b' 4a 8b' 8b' 7a 8a 8b'; 8c 8c 4d 7e' 8d 4c, 8c 8c 4d 7e' 8d 4c, 8a 8a 4b' 4a 8b' 8b' 7a 8a 8b'.

Hé, tres doulz roussignol joli,
qui dit «occy occy occy»,
je te deprie
que sans detry
voisses à ma dame jolie 5
et dy, de par moy, et affye
que ocy ocy ocy
ocy ocy ocy ocy
m'a, se son dur cuer n'amoulie.
Alouete – que vas voulant 10
si tres haut et si cler chantant
douce chançon:
«lire lire lire lire
lire lire lire liron» –,

1-5. *l.m.* Gr 1. Hé tres doulz] ma tre dol R 3-4. gie vuus en preie sensa dotri R 5. voisses a ma dame] voces a moy dama R 6. le dia par mo fe fye R; [...]s de part moy que fie Gr 7. que ocy] si le R; si le Gr ♦ ocy²] moci Gr ♦ ocy³ ocy] *l.m.* Gr 8. *l.m.* Gr 9. e da mon cuer puret yre da mamie R; [...]li il est de mamye Gr 10. vas voulant] va v. R; *l.m.* Gr 11. *l.m.* Gr ♦ tres haut et si cler chantant] trops alte sy clere cantando R 12. douce] se R 13. liry liry liry liry R 14. liry liry liry R ♦ lire² ... liron] *l.m.* Gr

55. The abbreviations are expanded as usual; a distinction is made between *u* and *v* and between *i* and *j*; punctuation and capital letters are introduced as in modern usage. The critical apparatus is negative and recordings refused lessons of Ch and other witnesses. Previous critical edition in Apel, *French Secular Music*, XLVII-XLVIII (two separate editions from Ch and R).

tout voletant 15
 à ma dame seras errant.
 [Si] or li va tantost disant,
 par ma chançon,
 l'ire l'ire l'ire l'ire
 l'ire l'ire l'ire que mon 20
 cuer va sentant.
 Hé, dame, puis qu'il est ainsy,
 qu'[en] vo merci merci merci
 ay mis ma vie,
 je vous supli, 25
 de mon povre cuer que mendie,
 que vous tenes en vo baillie,
 que merci merci merci
 [merci merci merci] mercy
 ayes, mercy, ma vraie aÿe. 30
 Hé, tres doulz [roussignol] ...

Tenor Roussignoulet du bois, dounes au vilain le mal et puis la mort.

15. *l.m.* Gr; tu va volant R 16. dame] dama Gr ♦ seras errant] gyraie ratt R; *l.m.* Gr 17. or li va tantost disant Ch; a ley va da par moy dicant R; *l.m.* Gr 18. par ma] dolsa R; douce Gr 19. liri liri liri liri R 20. l'ire] liri R ♦ l'ire² l'ire] liri R ♦ *l.m.* Gr; que mon] liron que mon Ch; liri che ver mon R; [...]ue mon Gr 21. sentant] saltant R; sautant Gr 22-31. *om.* R; *om./l.m.* Gr 23. qu'en] q̄i 30. vraie] v̄re **Tenor** rosignolin del bos golin dones al vilan la mal mytin e poy la mort R; [...]es au vilans le ma matin e puis [...] Gr 31. roussignol] sossenyolet Ch **Triplum rubric** (only in Ch): Triplum he tres doulz rossenyollet

17. The editorial addition, required by the meter, is in Greene (*PMFC*, Vol. 19, 134); it would also be possible to integrate [en] *disant*, but in this case *tantost* would have an unusual musical accentuation (for the gerund without *en* see Philippe Ménard, *Syntaxe de l'ancien français* [Bordeaux: Bière, 1994], § 177) 19-20. In Ch the series of onomatopoeias, from the first *lire* to *liron*, is transcribed only once for the first and second *vers*, after which the text of the first *ver* continues with *tout voletant* (quadrisyllabe), while the text of the second *ver* continues with *que mon cuer va sentant* (hexasyllabe); this aspect will be discussed below 21. The inferior readings of Gr and R, *sautant* and *saltant* (both forms of the present participle of *sauter*), are likely due either to the scribe's lack of familiarity with the noun *ire* and/or from a paleographic misinterpretation of *n* for *u* (R's reading is probably an Italianism).

Translation: *cantus* Oh, sweetest, joyful nightingale, who says: «ocì ocì ocì», I pray you that you go without delay to my beautiful lady, and say, on my behalf, that she has killed ... killed me, if she does not soften her hard heart. // Skylark, you usually

fly so high and so clearly sing a sweet song: «lire ... lire liron», continuing to flutter // you will be with my lady immediately. You must go quickly to her saying, with my song, the suffering ... the suffering that my heart continues to feel. // Oh, lady, because it is so, and because I have entrusted my life to your mercy, mercy, mercy, I beg you, from my the bottom of my heart that you holding in your power, that you have mercy ... mercy, mercy, my true help.

Tenor Little nightingale of the forest, give the villain disease and then death.

The virelai is characterized by the reiteration of three different words: two onomatopoeias representing the twittering of the nightingale and the lark, *ocy* and *lire* respectively, and the noun *merci*. The repetition by accumulation provides not only a representative mimetic purpose (as happens, for example, in Italian caccias or other realistic virelais),⁵⁶ but it also functions as wordplay based on the *aequivocatio*. Each series is repeated at a short interval and with the same melody, assuming, however, a different meaning. In the first statement, the two onomatopoeias serve to connote the calls of the two birds, while the second statement, playing on the homophony between the calls and other words, acquires a functional semantic value as the poet-lover's message that the birds carry to his ladylove.⁵⁷ In the refrain the nightingale's call, *qui dit 'occy occy occy'* (line 2), is repeated at lines 7-8 within the declarative *que ocycy ... m'a*, thus assuming the meaning of the past participle of *ocire*. Similarly, the onomatopoeias *lire lire ... liron* describe in the first *ver* the lark's call (lines 13-14), while in the second *ver* the same sound signifies the article *li* and the noun *ire* conjoined. So the poet-lover reuses the lark's call in his *chanson* (line 18) to communicate to the beloved the suffering (*l'ire*)⁵⁸ that his heart is feeling (lines 19-21). In the *tierce*, finally, the repetition revolves around the noun *merci* and is functional in representing the cry of the lover, who begs his beloved for mercy.⁵⁹ Since this is a word with concrete meaning, it is not possible to employ the type of wordplay seen in previous lines. Nevertheless, the noun *merci* is not repeated with the same meaning; rather, it is the subject of two different actions. In the first statement (line 23), *merci* relates to the sentiment to which the lover entrusts his life (*ay mis ma vie* → *en vo merci*), while

56. See Epifani, *La caccia nell'ars Nova italiana*, XXIII, LXI-LXXIX e LXXXVIII.

57. This double function of onomatopoeia has already been observed (with some imprecision, as we shall see) by Leach, *Sung Birds*, 147-50.

58. See *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500) version 2015*, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf> (= DMF), accessed June 11, 2019, s.v. *ire* B.2 "Sentiment de celui qui est fortement perturbé par la souffrance, le chagrin; souffrance, chagrin".

59. Since the two reiterations of *merci* are sung to the same music as the onomatopoeia *oci*, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the composer considered the cry *merci* to be the lover's onomatopoeia.

in the second, it evokes the feeling of love he requires from his beloved (*je vous suppli* ← *que ayes merci [de moi]*).

Günther associated the tenor's short text with the popular song *Rossignolet du bois joli*, although she noted that the texts are not identical.⁶⁰ As already observed for the music, there are no links between these two pieces but for the first three words of the *incipit*, which in any case are very similar to that of other popular songs with entirely different lyrics.⁶¹ Although there is no documentary basis, the hypothesis of a popular derivation is plausible, especially considering the analogies with the tenor of some of the motets mentioned above.

On one hand, the wordplay based on the homophony between the nightingale's call and the past participle of *ocire* is easily understood and occurs in many other texts;⁶² on the other hand, the use of the onomatopoeic word *lire* with a double meaning seems to be exclusive to our *virelai*.⁶³ In the case of *lire*, it is also necessary to distinguish two different words, *l'* and *ire*, producing a wordplay less easily recognizable, as misunderstandings in the manuscript tradition (and on the part of some scholars) confirm.⁶⁴ The proposal of Elisabeth Eva Leach, who in the second *ver* interprets *lire* as an infinitive form of *lire* (to read) or as the first/third singular person of the present tense of *lyrer* (to play the lyre), cannot be accepted,⁶⁵ because in both cases these interpretations produce texts that are ungrammatical and nonsensical. Greene's proposal to replace *lire* ... *que mon* in the second *ver* with a repetition of *que mon* should also be discarded, because the resulting sentence, *si or li va tantost dis-*

60. Günther, "Der Gebrauch des tempus perfectum diminutum", 287n6, referring to Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1889), 99-100.

61. See Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson*, 73-4 and 467. See also the popular song *Rossignolet du bois, Rossignolet sauvage* included by Luciano Berio in his anthology *Folk Songs*. To corroborate the identification of Borlet in Trebol (see above, note 57), Reaney argues that the presence of the *u* in *rous-signoret* in the tenor's text "clearly demonstrates that this piece comes from Bearn, the country of Gaston Phebus" (Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly", 67). This linguistic observation, entirely unhelpful in locating the origin of the text, has never been contradicted and has been taken up by Gómez, "La Musique a la Maison Royale", 135.

62. See the texts cited by Newes, "Patterns of Mimesis".

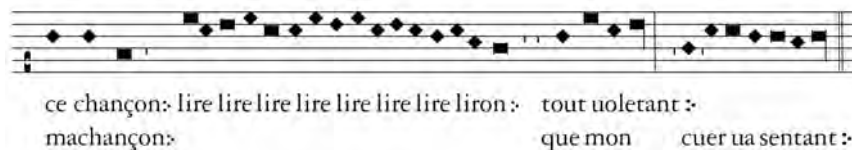
63. The same call, associated with the lark and employed only as onomatopoeia, also occurs in Jean Vaillant's *virelai Par maintes fois* (ed. in Apel, *French Secular Music*, LXXIV-LXXV and in Leach, *Sung Birds*, 130-1) and its contrafactum, *Par maintes fois ad honorem* (ed. in Leclercq, "Questions à propos d'un fragment", 203-4); in the tenor of the anonymous *virelai Or sus vous dormez trop* the onomatopoeia *lire* instead represents the sound of the bagpipes (ed. in Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, XXXVII-XXXVIII).

64. Gilles Dulong and Agathe Sultan, "Nouvelles lectures des *chansons notées* dans le Codex Chantilly", in Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, 95-114, at 110-1) don't recognize the metric structure and the wordplay that involves *lire*, and consequently they do not fully understand the meaning of the text.

65. Leach affirms that "*lire liron* can be interpreted both as a 'reading' of the poem itself (from *lire*, to read), or its instrumental performance (from *lyrer*, to play the lyre; a 'lirot' is a lyre player)". See Leach, *Sung Birds*, 148.

ant / par ma chanson / que mon ... / cuer va sentant,⁶⁶ lacks the object complement needed to saturate the valence of *va sentant*.

Greene's interpretation appears to depend on a mistake in the text underlay, which is common to all witnesses. As often happens in the virelai manuscript tradition, apart from the *ouvert* and *clos* endings, the texts of the *vers* are copied one under the other, beneath the notated voice parts (Example 13).



Example 13. *Hé, tres doulz roussinol joly*, C (30)-36; 33*-36* [Ch]

In copying the text of the second *ver*, Ch's scribe left a blank space, in all likelihood assuming that the performer would have repeated all the first *ver*'s onomatopoeias. The scribe then proceeded to copy the text of the second *ver* after the last onomatopoeia of the first (*liron*).⁶⁷ It is clear at first glance that there is a problem: a portion of the second *ver*'s text (*que mon*) is misplaced under the *ouvert* ending, which is a section that must be skipped the second time. Moreover, if we consider *que mon* as belonging to the last line of the second *ver*, as previous editors have, the result is an exasyllable (*que mon cuer va sentant*) corresponding to the quadrisyllable of the first *ver*. This is obviously inadmissible in a virelai, in which the two *vers* are expected to present the same metrical scheme. In fact, *que mon* does not belong to line 21, but to the previous line, replacing *liron* (without homophonic correspondents in French) in the repetition of the onomatopoeias. In the original reading, *que mon* was split into the syllables *que* (below the semibreve *f*) and *mon* (below the semibreve *e* that begins the *clos* ending).⁶⁸ In any case, the Ch scribe (or the scribe of his exemplar) did not fully understand the wordplay, because he assumed that in the second *ver* all the first *ver*'s onomatopoeias, including *liron*, would be repeated. This error has therefore caused the displacement of *que mon* to the next line, the resulting hypermetry, and the erroneous underlay at the *ouvert* ending.

66. Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 19, 134.

67. This is often the case when the virelai contains text repetitions of the refrain in the *tierce*, or of the first *ver* in the second. In addition to the case of *Rescoes*, *Rescoes / Rescoes le feu*, analyzed below, see also *Dame souveraine* (Matheus de Perusio) in *ModA*, f. 38r, on which see Hehrer, "A History of the Virelai", 100-1.

68. In the *clos* ending, the rest preceding the *e* semibreve is erroneous; what actually precedes it is the *g a f* semibreve group immediately before the *e* breve.

R presents the same error: here, scribe W also repeats the lark's calls in the second *ver*,⁶⁹ but the line under the *clos* ending (*cbe ver mon cuer va saltant*) has three additional syllables, becoming an eptasyllable. As can be seen in Example 14, the displacement of *que (ver) mon* from the end of line 20 to the next line is again due to the erroneous assumption that the onomatopoeias from the first *ver* should be repeated without variation in the second. However, in R the wordplay is ruined both by the innovation of *lire* in *liri*, a sound without homophonic equivalents in French, and the trivialization of line 18 (*dolsa ciançon*), the latter perhaps due to the influence of the first *ver*'s line 12. In point of fact, in the correct text, the partial correspondence between lines 12 (*douce chanson*) and 18 (*par ma chanson*) emphasizes the poet's appropriation of the lark's song in communicating to the beloved the pain he is suffering.



Example 14. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, C (30)-36; 33*-36* (R)

In the Gr fragment, to the best of our understanding, the situation appears very similar to that of R. The scribe seems to have interrupted the copying of the second *ver* after *dicant* (not visible because of the trimming), thus leaving a blank space under the first *ver*'s text (*douce chanson | lire lire lire lire | lire [...]*)⁷⁰, perhaps assuming that the performer had to repeat verbatim the text of lines 12-14 (therefore sharing with R the reading *douce chanson* instead of *par ma chanson*). The scribe then continued to copy the text of the second *ver* under the *clos* ending, again starting from *que mon*,⁷¹ thus committing the error already seen in Ch and R.

Focusing on the cantus text of R, it is evident that the variant readings are generally worse and, in some cases, even meaningless. For instance, at line 3 Ch presents the quadrisyllable *je te deprie*, rhyming with *jolie* (5), *affye* (6) and *amoulie* (9). The text of R *gie vuus en preie* spoils the rhyme, unless we assume a reader entirely unaware of the correct pronunciation. At lines 11-12 we find the

69. In the musical section B, R presents a less embellished part than that seen in Ch; the onomatopoeias are consequently repeated only seven times instead of eight.

70. The end of line 14 is not visible due to the trimming but, because the ornamentation is identical to that of Ch, in this manuscript the onomatopoeia was probably repeated eight times.

71. The trimming removed the *q* of *que*.

Italianized reading *cantando se ciançon*, probably due to an erroneous *distinctio* in the exemplar **chantant / dou ce chansons*. At line 16, R's reading appears to be the result of two successive innovations: the correct reading *a ma dame seras errant* must have first been changed to *a ma dame g'iraie errant* and then to a not-so-clear *a ma dame g'iraie ratt*. The list of R's errors could continue, but it would not be fair to place all of them on the shoulders of scribe W, as other French texts copied by him appear to be much less problematic.⁷²

The cantus secundus text, transmitted only in R and Gr, is certainly a later addition not attributable to the poet.⁷³

R		GR
1	Aluette cyante appres 8a	1 Aloete cyartes apreus
2	li rysignol oçi oçi oçi 10b	2 le rossignol [...]
3	che vos en preye 4c'	3 ...
4	por far un bon acor 6d	4 ...] acort
5	entre moy e ma dame golie 10e'	5 entre moy et ma dama iolie
6	e si lui prie da par le rosignol 10f	6 et s[...]
7	che la da moy merce merce 8g	7 ...] moy merci merci
8	per dy merce merce merce merce 10g	8 merci merci merci pour d[...]
9	gil fara per ma fe ma dame mye 10e'	9 ...]
10	ma tre dol rosignoly goly 8b	10 He tres rossignolet ioli
11	aluecte che va volant e dicant 11h	11 aloete qui uas [...]
12	tantiny tantiny tantinj tan 10i	12 ...
13	liry liry lyry lyry lyry 10b(?)	13 ...] lire lire lire liron
14	venis a moy a parlier 7l	14 uenes a moy parler

As we can see, the second *ver* and *tierce* are missing and the text presents several unrelated rhymes, recycling much of the cantus primus text (including the *tierce*, missing in R) in a corrupted form very similar to that offered by R's cantus primus. We should note in particular the cantus secundus's lines 3 and 9, which take up respectively lines 3 and 6 of the cantus primus, according to the erroneous readings of R's *gie vuus en preie* and *le dia par mo fe fye* (in these places Gr is unfortunately illegible). Because all the repetitions of the onomatopoeias and the invocation of *merci* in the cantus secundus perfectly overlap or simply repeat those of cantus primus, the interpolator possibly intended to amplify the mimetic effect by adding another voice. This opera-

72. See for example the polytextual virelai *Rescoes, rescoes / Rescoes le feu*, discussed below.

73. We provide a semi-interpretative transcription of R and Gr, expanding the abbreviations as usual. We abstain from any corrective intervention.

tion, however, appears to be unsuccessful, as the interpolated part simply replicates the rhythmic and melodic profile of the *cantus primus*.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: C1 (Cantus Primus), C2 (Cantus Secundus), and T (Tenor). The lyrics are in French. The C1 staff has the lyrics: "si le o - ci o - ci o - ci / o - ci o - ci o - ci o - ci /". The C2 staff has the lyrics: "moy mer-ce mer-ce / per dy mer-ce mer-ce mer-ce mer-ce /". The T staff has the lyrics: "mer-ce mer-ce / per dy mer-ce mer-ce mer-ce mer-ce /". The score includes rhythmic markings such as 4:3 and 7, and a 'ms.' marking with diamond symbols.

Example 15. *Hé, tres doulz roussignol*, mm. 17-20 (R)

The composer of this added part probably created the *cantus secundus* text starting with the lines containing these repetitions, then filling out the remaining parts with text segments taken from the *cantus primus*, or other highly formalized syntactic units. The absence of the second *ver* and *tierce* could be either accidental (i.e., due to an omission) or deliberate.⁷⁴

3. «RESCOES, RESCOES / RESCOES LE FEU»: POETIC TEXTS

Rescoes, rescoes / Rescoes le feu is an anonymous polytextual *virelai* transmitted only in R. The text is considerably more correct than *Hé, tres doulz roussignol*, copied by the same scribe, though it requires some revision.⁷⁵

74. Other *virelais* also lack the second *ver* and the *tierce*. This is likely because these text sections are usually copied in the *residuum*, as is done for the second *piede* and the *volta* in Italian ballatas (see Antonio Calvia, "Presunte anomalie e intertestualità verbale e musicale nell'opera di Nicolò del Preposto", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell'«Ars Nova»*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti [Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015], 143-88). Pirrotta ("On Text Form from Ciconia to Dufay", in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jean La Rue [New York: Norton, 1966], 673-82, at 674) does not exclude that, in some cases, the omission may be intentional, so that the authors/composers themselves would have provided the text for the refrain and the first *ver* only (see also Hehrer, "A History of the *Virelai*", 96-7).

75. The abbreviations are expanded as usual, a distinction is made between *u* and *v* and between *i* and *j*, punctuation and capital letters are introduced as in modern usage. The critical apparatus is negative and includes rejected readings. Previous edition in Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, XL-XLI (by Samuel Rosenberg).

*Rescoes, Rescoes / Rescoes le feu*R, f. 58r, C (lines 1-19), C2 (lines 1-26), *resid.* C (lines 20-25)**Cantus primus**

Metrical scheme: 6a 8b 8'c 8b 8'c; 8d 8e 8e 8a 8f 4a 8g, 8d 8e 8e 8a 8f 4a 8g, 6a 8b 8'c 8b 8'c.

Rescoes, rescoes
 l'orrible feu d'ardant desir,
 que mon cuer bruïst pour la belle;
 dont j'aroie, pour mort gesir,
 asses d'[un]e seulle estincelle. 5
 Or sus, Pitié, esveillies vous!
 Secores moy sans atargier!
 Et se ma dame fait dangier,
 thires à li, tires, tires!
 Sachies, sachies! Tires le hors! 10
 Et m'apportes
 de la douche yawe de Merchi,
 si que cil feus soit tous rescous
 qui ne fait que multiplier.
 Et vous confort veul supplier 15
 thires à li, tires, tires!
 Sachies, sachies! Tires le hors!
 Moy confortes.
 Par m'arme, en dolour meur chi.
 Rescoes, rescoes! 20
 Po[r]tes à ce [tres] grant martir
 au[cun]e joyeuse nouvelle,
 pour le torment faire partir
 que [nu]it et jor se renouvelle.
 Rescoes etc 25

2. d'orrible] lorrille ♦ d'ardant] dardanc ♦ desir] desire 4. gesir] gessir 5. d'une] dame 21. a ce grant
 martir pontes 22. aucune] auame 24. nuit] imit

1. For the meaning of *rescoes* see below 5. The correction is by Rosenberg 9. *thires à li* see DMF, s.v. *tirer*, § II. A.3.a, *Tirer à qqc.*: “Viser à qqc., aspirer à qqc., tâcher d'atteindre, rechercher qqc.”; the pronoun *li* probably refers, as below, to the “cuer” that “bruïst” (v. 3) 10. For the meaning of *sachies* and *tires*, see below ♦ *tires le hors* ‘pull it out’ (implied ‘cuer’, v. 3) 19. *Chi*, that is *ci*, ‘here’: *ch* is Picard graphy for the voiceless palatal affricate (see Charles Théodore Gossen, *Grammaire de l'ancien picard* [Paris: Klincksieck, 1976], § 38) 21-22. The corrections are by Rosenberg 24. Rosenberg reads *nuit*, but the paleographic error is clear (*n* and *u* are quite distinct from one another).

Translation: Extinguish, extinguish the horrible fire of burning desire, because my heart burns for the beautiful lady, and one spark would suffice to destroy [me]. // Hurry, Piety, wake up! Help me immediately! If my lady objects, go in search of it [the heart], go, go! Extract, extract! Pull out, pull it out [of the fire]! And bring me / Mercy's sweet water, // so that this fire, that continuously increases, may be completely tamed. I implore your solace, go in search of it, go, go! Extract, extract! Pull it out [of the fire]! Comfort me. I swear to you, in pain here I die. // Extinguish, extinguish! Bring to this great torture any news of joy, to keep away the suffering that always renews itself.

Cantus secundus

Metrical scheme: 9a 8b 8c 8d 8d 6b 6e 6e; 7'f 7'f 4g 7g 7f 10h 8h 7h 7'i, 7'f 7'f 4g 7g 7f 10h 8h 7h 7'i [*terce* missing].

Rescoes le feu, le feu, [le feu]

le feu de mon loyal servant!

Pitié, rescues, rescues!

Si qu'il soit respitié de mort.

Rescoes, rescues le fort!

5

Pour ce qu'en moy servant,

pour durté ne dolor,

il ne pense folour.

À li pour ce vous envoie,

ne faites sejour en voie,

10

je vous en pri,

car j'os, par son pitieux cri,

qu'ardant desir le desvoye.

Ales si ke tires à li, tires!

[Tires], sa[chies! Sa]chies, tires!

15

Aveuc vous Merci menes,

que li estaindra l'ardure.

Et li dites toutevoie

qu'il apartient que je voye

1. le feu] *om.* 9. envoie] *ennoye* 15. tires sachies 20. servi] *serui* (*second line of u strikethrough*)

1. The editorial addition is suggested by the musical setting 9. Rosenberg reads *envoye*, but the third letter is an *n* 15. The editorial additions are suggested by the musical setting. The repetitions of the cries are integrated considering both the overlap with the text of C1 and the omission of the note corresponding to the first *sachies*'s second syllable (see below). We assume that the first *tires* was omitted as an inadvertent error on the part of the scribe (eye-skip)

conment servi 20
 ma amours et deservi
 mes d[o]ns [qui à li] j'avoye.
 Mais [vous] pri[s] que tires à li, tires!
 [Tires], sa[chies! Sa]chies, tires!
 Que si est, et demenes 25
 cele flam[e] qui [p]ardure.

[*tierce missing*]

Rescoes le feu, etc.

22. mes dñs jauoie (d *obtained from an o*) 23. vous] *om.* ♦ pris] pri 24. tires sachies 26. flame] flama
 ♦ pardure] lardure

20-21. Rosenberg transcribes this as “conment servi m’a amours” (love has served me), but the context makes the reading meaningless. It is also possible that the *m* of *ma* is part of a palaeographic misrepresentation of the last two letters of *servi*, in which case it is possible to correct it as “servi a Amours” (he has served Love). 22. The manuscript has an incorrect reading, “mes dñs jauoie”. Rosenberg offers “mes onours [que] j’avoie”, perhaps meaning ‘the honors that I had’, referring to the woman’s virginity, but the line is hypometric and *honneur* (virginity) is usually singular (see DMF, s.v. 2.b). It is preferable to interpret *avoie* as the first person present tense of *avoyer*, “mettre en route, faire partir” or “conduire” (see DMF, s.v. I.A.2 and *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue Française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle et complements*, ed. Frédéric Godefroy, 10 vols. [Paris: 1881-1902] = Godefroy, s.v. *avoier* 1, Vol. 1, 537-8), and then to correct *dns* in *d[o]ns* (that are *Merci* and *Pitié*) integrating “qui à li” 23. The correction is required by the meter 24. See line 15 25. *Que si est* (that’s what happens) is not a fully satisfactory reading 26. *lardure* is a meaningless reading due to the echo of the last word of the first *ver*.

Translation: Extinguish the fire ... the fire of my loyal servant! Piety, extinguish it, extinguish it! so that he may be saved from death. Extinguish it, extinguish it quickly! So that he does not change his behavior due to suffering or pain while he serves me. // I send you to him for this reason, do not delay along the way, I beg you, because I hear from his pitiful cry that an ardent desire leads him into error. Go in search of it, go, go! Extract, pull [it] out! Extract, pull [it] out! With you bring Mercy, who will extinguish his heat. // However, tell him that I must see how he served my love and deserved my gifts that I bring to him. But I beg you that you go in search of it, go, go! Pull [it] out, extract! Extract, pull [it] out! That’s what happens, and take care of that flame that persists.

Tenor

Rescoes, rescoes! Rescoes, rescoes! Rescoes, rescoes! Tires à [li]!

li] *om.*

As with *Hè, tres doulz roussignol joly*, the text is characterized by the repetition of certain sounds with mimetic functions. The metaphor of the lover who burns with passion is here developed in a representative way, inserting into the virelai some cries probably related to the operations of extinguishing a fire. Unfortunately, there is a considerable lack of documentation on this topic,⁷⁶ but surely the verb *resco(u)rre/resco(u)er* (< EXCUTERE, with the double infinitive typical of the third conjugation) with the object *le feu* assumes the precise meaning of “repousser, combattre”,⁷⁷ translated by Rosenberg as ‘extinguish’.⁷⁸ The other cries, repeated several times in the *vers* of both voices, are the imperatives *sachies* and *tires*. They are synonyms (‘extract’, ‘pull out’)⁷⁹ and often occur in together,⁸⁰ but the lexicons do not indicate a particular meaning related to an fire extinguishing context.⁸¹

In *Hé, tres doulz roussignol joly*, the repetition of onomatopoeias was functional in wordplays based on homophony, in which the same sound was repeated with a different meaning. The repetitions of *Rescoes*, *Rescoes* / *Rescoes le feu* are also differently nuanced, but the differences are in the relationship between the texts of *cantus primus* and *secundus*. In the *cantus primus* the cries are placed in the mouth of the man who burns for love and asks for solace from the flames of desire, while in the *cantus secundus* they occur within the

76. “[Les incendies] n’ont pas suscité de traces écrites (chroniques, dédommagements, enquêtes, procès)”; Christine Felicelli, “Le feu, la ville et le roi: l’incendie de la ville de Bourges en 1252”, *Histoire urbaine* 5 (2002): 105-34: 105.

77. See for example the two lines interpolated in Ba (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1571) and Be (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, L.III.22) of the *Roman de la Rose* by Jean de Meun, after line 21,255: “N’est nus qui le feu rescossist / se bien rescorre le vossist” (ed. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le roman de la Rose*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 5 vols. [Paris: Champion pour la Société des anciens textes français, 1914-1924], Vol. 5, 77), where the fire, set by Venus at the castle in which Bel Accueil is kept prisoner, can be interpreted as a translation of the passion for love, as in our virelai. For other examples of a similar use of the verb *rescorre* see Godefroy s.v., vol. 7, 90. A more explicit connection with the *Roman de la Rose* can be found in the virelai *Or tost a eux vous assemblez*, set to music by Pykini, in which the positive personifications of the *Roman de la Rose* are invited to enjoy the pleasures of spring (text in Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/1, LXV-LXVI).

78. Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, LXII.

79. See *DMF*, s.v. *tirer* I.A.2.b.

80. See Jean Bodel, *Des deus chevaus* (*The French Fabliau* B. N. MS. 837, edited and translated by Raymond Eichmann and John DuVal, 2 tt. [New York: Garland, 1984-1985]), lines 172-4 “Les neus font serrer et estraindre, / Mes, por tirer ne por sachier, / Ne les porent desatachier” and the *Roman de Renart* (*Le roman de Renart. Édité d’après le manuscrit O* [f. fr. 12583], ed. Aurélie Barre, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 356 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010]), lines 1768-1769 “Tant ont et tiré et sachié / Que traîné l’ont sor le suel”.

81. The same cries also occur in the contratenor of the four-voice version of Jean Vaillant’s virelai *Par maintes fois*, “Ho tyres, saches, tyres, suives” (see Leclercq, “Questions à propos d’un fragment”, 201 and 218), but in a completely different context and integrated into a series of ornithological onomatopoeias.

request the woman addresses to Piety, to mitigate the man's suffering with the water of Mercy. The repetition of the same cries by man and woman has its perfect realization in the musical performance, where the overlapping of the two voices generates a chaotic effect, amplified by the tenor's repetition of the initial cry for help, *rescoes*, and the cry *tires à li*. Finally, it is important to emphasize that the *virelai* is not strictly dialogic, first because the two voices are sung at the same time, and secondly because, in fact, there is no dialogue, as the two cantus parts simply offer two different points of view on the relationship between the lovers.⁸²

4. «RESCOES, RESCOES / RESCOES LE FEU»: MUSICAL TEXT

As far as the musical text is concerned, very little remains to be added other than brief notes on three aspects: the notation, the presence of text fragments underlaid to the otherwise textless tenor, and some hypotheses regarding the *restitutio textus*. Regarding the first, it is interesting to note that while, on the one hand, there is no doubt that R presents the song in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiore*,⁸³ on the other hand, it is also evident that several passages suggest ternary groupings of semibreves. In both his editions, Apel transcribed the entire composition in $\frac{6}{8}$ except for the last measure in $\frac{6}{8} + \frac{3}{8}$,⁸⁴ this is because, up to the final long, the second section consists of forty-three semibreves, indivisible by both two and three. Greene, on the other hand, opted for a free alternation of $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{9}{8}$ measures, noting in the apparatus that this is not due to actual mensural changes, but instead to the fact that the piece is organized in semibreves instead of breves.⁸⁵ The advantage, therefore, is essentially practical and related to the modern notational appearance: it allows one to avoid transcribing the breves into two dotted quarters tied across the barlines. In general, we feel that Greene's solution is preferable to Apel's. Greene's solution is further confirmed by the fact that both the harmonic progressions and the prosodic accentuation suggest binary and ternary groupings and it is not possible to detect a recursive scheme. It is evident that, as Marco Gozzi states concerning some Zacara da Teramo works, from

82. The same situation can be seen in the polytextual virelai *Tres douce plasant bergiere / Reconforte toy Robin* (ed. in Apel, *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, XLIII-XLIV; see also Hehrer, "A History of the Virelai", 116).

83. It would be enough to consider that the breve rest with which the cantus primus begins must necessarily have the value of two semibreves to integrate with the tenor and cantus secundus.

84. Apel, *French Secular Music*, no. 73; Id., *CMM*, Vol. 53/3, no. 222.

85. "The music is organized in SB rather than B units placing B in irregular position; 6/8 and 9/8 bars used in transcr[iption] though t[empus] remains imperf[ectum]"; Greene, *PMFC*, Vol. 21, 178.

the performer's point of view, binary and ternary groupings do not create any problems.⁸⁶ We would like to add, however, that a "mensural" function of the *tempus* (*Imodus*) must be kept quite distinct from a "metrical" function that can be fully expressed only through systematic use of imperfect *tempus* or *modus*, that is, avoiding both the *imperfectio* and *alteratio* rules. Therefore, rather than an alternation of $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{9}{8}$, we might indicate $2\sim 3\times\frac{3}{8}$, to be intended as a free alternation of binary and ternary groups of semibreves.

A feature of this virelai, not at all extraneous to the realistic subgenre, is the use of imitation, which in this case is extended to the tenor as well, albeit limited to some motives. What is remarkable, however, is that the imitation of these motives also involves the poetic text: fragments of text appear in this way underlaid to the tenor, which coincide with the keywords *rescoes*, in the first section, and *tires à li*, in the second. Apel and Hasselman argued that the addition of text fragments underlaid in an otherwise textless part may indicate that a mixture of voices and instruments were used in performance. Apel further hypothesized that an instrumentalist-singer may have sung the texted portions as a sort of musical surprise, or to amplify the text's drama.⁸⁷ Apart from issues of performance practice, which are beyond the scope of this study, this possibility has validity based on the relationship between text and music. As far as we know, in fact, in French secular polyphony, text fragments sporadically underlaid to the lower voices appear to be an exclusive trait of the realistic virelai.⁸⁸ The manuscript tradition, however, is not consistent in this regard. For example, only one of the witnesses to Jean Vaillant's *Par maintes foyes* (BrG₁+Leclercq) presents some text

86. The performer, in fact, "batte la semibreve e non gli importa se una sezione è composta da un numero pari o dispari di semibrevi, ma nel pensiero ritmico dell'autore è evidente che la strutturazione del *tempus* non è lasciata al caso"; Marco Gozzi, "Zacara nel *Codex Mancini*: considerazioni sulla notazione e nuove attribuzioni", in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2004), 135-67, at 155-6.

87. See Apel, *French Secular Music*, 15; Hasselman, "The French Chanson", Vol. 1, 113.

88. Instances of partial texting can be found in two ballades, both involving musical imitation: the anonymous *J'ay grant desespoir de ma vie* (transmitted in R, SL, Trém [lost], and as an intabulation in Fa) and Matheus de Sancto Johanne's *Science n'a nul annemi* (unicum in Ch); see Virginia Newes, "The Relationship of Text to Imitative Techniques in 14th-Century Polyphony", in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 121-54, at 132. The recently identified SL version of *J'ay grant desespoir* (f. 82v = 151v) does not change the overall picture, as it is untexted apart from the incipit in the cantus part ([I]Ay grant desespoyr). If we broaden our scope to include Italian repertory, it is no coincidence that the same phenomenon occurs in a caccia, the genre that shows the greatest affinity to the realistic virelai, precisely with regard to the text-music relationship. Specifically, I refer to the anonymous *Nella foresta*, where in two passages the onomatopoeia *bauff* (a dog bark) appears in the tenor, synchronously with the cantus primus (m. 15) and cantus secundus (m. 20). Ed. in Epifani, *La caccia nell'Ars Nova italiana*, 20 (text), 143 (music).

fragments (mostly onomatopoeias) underlaid to the contratenor.⁸⁹ As far as R is concerned, it is worth mentioning Senleches's *En ce gracieux tamps*, in which the phenomenon occurs in the triplum (Example 16).⁹⁰ Curiously, in the index (ff. 126v-127r) the song is not listed under the letter E (*En ce...*), but under the T: "Triplum cocu cocu cocu".

Tr
8
cô - cu, cô - cu, cô - cu, cô -

C
8
hau - te, vois:/, co - cu, co - cu, co - cu, co - cu, /
dens le, bois:/, co - co, co - co, co - co - cu, co - cu, /

T
8
cu

1.
2.

sa - liant de bui - son, en bui - son.
et ne di - soit au - tre, can - son.

Example 16. Jacob de Senleches, *En ce gracieux tamps joly*, mm. 39-50; 49*-50* (R)

Another similar case is that of *La cornailhe*, another unicum in R, where the fragment "le cucu" appears underlaid in both the tenor and contratenor parts (Example 17).

89. The edition of this version is in Leclercq, "Questions à propos d'un fragment", 222-7 (cantus primus from Man). Greene's edition (*PMFC*, Vol. 21, Appendix no.1; cantus primus form Ch) omits some text fragments in the contratenor part.

90. The situation in the other witnesses is as follows: PadB – in which the part bears the paratext "[C]ont(ra)tenor de ence siue t(ri)plum", – agrees with R; ModA does not include any text fragments. Unfortunately, we cannot know what pertained in Strasbourg. See Virginia Newes, "The Relationship of Text to Imitative Techniques", 130-1.

Example 17. *La cornaille*, mm. 15-16

Example 17. *La cornaille*, mm. 15-16

More interesting is what occurs in Grimace's *A l'arme, a l'arme*; here the presence of the text fragments figures among the several different readings exhibited by Ch and R, which transmit the virelai in four and three voices, respectively (C₁, C₂, T, Ct/C, T, Ct, where the cantus of R corresponds to the cantus secundus of Ch).⁹¹ In R, whenever tenor and contratenor imitate the cantus's cry of *A l'arme, a l'arme* their parts include the text; in Ch this never occurs, but the onomatopoeia "tru" appears in the tenor's first two *tempora*, perhaps serving as an acoustic signal (Example 18).⁹²

91. See Ursula Günther, "Bemerkungen zum älteren französischen Repertoire des Codex Reina (PR)", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967): 237-52, at 247-9, where she argues for the authority of Ch's version. The question, however, deserves to be reopened and more thoroughly probed, as it seems to us that, on the contrapuntal level, the three-voice version is more convincing.

92. Greene interprets it differently: "The word 'tru' or 'trou' means 'opening' or 'keyhole'. The lover is thus likened to a well-fortified castle which has suddenly been broken into; he shouts for help as a watchman would do" (*PMFC*, Vol. 19, 197).

R

C A l'arme, [a] l'ar-me, sens de-mours et sens se-jour car mon las cuer si est en plour

Cs A l'arme, [a] l'ar-me, ms. 1.

T A l'arme, [a] l'ar-me,

Ch

C A l'ar-me a l'ar-me sans se-jor et sans de-mor car mon las cuer si est en

Cs A l'ar-me a l'ar-me sans de-mor et sans se-jor car mon las cuer si est en plor

Ct

T Tru tru tru

Example 18. Grimace, *A l'arme, a l'arme*, mm. 1-7

Rescoes, rescoes is, in this respect, very close to Grimace's virelai: both emphasize a cry for help and exploit imitation technique between the two cantus parts and the lower voices. If it is fair to assume that the presence of a passage in imitation led to the underlaying of the corresponding portion of text, as in *A l'arme, a l'arme*, *Rescoes, rescoes*, and *En ce gracieux tamps*, musical reasons to do so for *La corneille* are less obvious, though perhaps the double meaning of the word *cucu* (the bird and the call) played a role.

We come now to a final and purely editorial issue regarding *Rescoes rescoes*: R, the sole witness to this virelai, presents some problematic areas that must be fixed. The first lacuna appears in the cantus secundus at m. 2, but this is an obvious case of *saut du même au même* that can be easily corrected. The situation at mm. 28-30, however, is much less clear. While both tenor and cantus secundus undoubtedly lack a semibreve, determining precisely where it was located is far from obvious.⁹³ The solutions proposed by Greene and

93. It is fair to assume that the cantus primus does not contain an extra semibreves. A dittography would have presumably have repeated a semibreve, duplicating the entire word *tires* or *sachies*.

Apel, identical but for details regarding the cantus secundus, deserves discussion (Example 19).

Example 19. *Rescoes, rescoes*, ed. Greene, mm. 28-31 (= mm. 33-38 ed. Apel)

First, while the cantus secundus lacuna is reported in the apparatus, Apel and Greene do not mention that of the tenor: for some reason both editors considered the final breve of the ligature *a-G-C* to be ternary. This led to their acceptance of the fourth *a-d* produced at m. 28 between the cantus primus and tenor. While it is true that fourths do occur between outer voices in a few passages (mm. 6 and 26), these result from momentarily incomplete 3-6 sonorities, and thus are completely incidental and due to the rhythmic profile of the tenor (Example 20). We may infer that the composer did not consider the fourth a structural interval.

Example 20. *Rescoes, rescoes*, mm. 6-7; 26-27

In light of the lacuna in the tenor part and of the fourth *a-d* that results when

following Apel's and Greene's solution, we propose an alternative reading. The lacuna of the tenor part can be placed before the ligature *a-G-C*, assuming a semibreve rest or a *punctus perfectionis* missing after *D* at m. 28. Consequently, we emend the cantus secundus at m. 29 $d \text{ 11} \blacklozenge$ in $c \text{ 11} \blacklozenge \blacklozenge$ (Example 21).

Example 21. *Rescoes, rescoes*, mm. 27-31

For similar reasons, a further improvement can be made at m. 26, where the dissonant sonority *D-aa-b* clearly indicates that one of the two cantus parts contains an error. Apel and Greene corrected the cantus secundus's *aa* to *g*, implying the fourth *D-g*; in order to avoid the fourth, the cantus primus could be corrected, emending *b* to *d* (Example 22). This error, moreover, could have been easily caused by the previous phrase (mm. 23-24), which presents the sequence *aa g f e d* $\blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacksquare$ that a scribe could have replicated unchanged at the lower third (*f e d c b* $\blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge$).

Example 22. *Rescoes, rescoes*, mm. 26-27;
(a) Apel and Greene; (b) alternative emendement

APPENDIX I

«HÉ, TRES DOULZ ROUSSIGNOUL JOLY» / «ROUSSIGNOULET DU BOIS»

Editorial criteria

The music has been transcribed in modern notation. Ligatures are indicated by horizontal brackets; *color* passages by half-brackets above the staff. Accidentals are valid only for the note that follows and its immediate repetitions. Editorial accidentals are placed above the staves; they should be considered prescriptive (except for those in parentheses, which are merely suggested). In *clos* endings, small notes indicate the portion of the music taken from the repeated section and not notated twice in the manuscript. Editorial additions are enclosed in square brackets. The apparatus records all rejected readings, indicating **bar/s** number; **voice**; **note/s** (numbered according to their position within the measure), **pitch**, and **duration** (based on the actual note shape).

General remarks

The edition follows Ch only; a diplomatic-interpretative edition of the R version is provided. Triplum and contratenor are presented in reduced staves since they are regarded as parts of dubious authenticity (see, for instance, mm. 17-18, where Tr and Ct involve different and incompatible harmonic progressions, $e3/6 \rightarrow d5/8$ and $a5/10 \rightarrow d\sim/8$ respectively). The Tr, however, may be part of the original conception. A two-voice (cantus-tenor) performance poses no problems; three- and four-voice performances are possible, but they require adequate ficta. We hesitantly provide an edition that allows for a performance for four voices. In this regard, explicit accidentals in the C or T have took priority over implicit or explicit accidentals in other parts. For instance, the $\alpha\sharp$ in the cantus at m. 27 was rejected by Apel and Greene evidently because of clashes with the other parts, but $\alpha\sharp$ makes perfect sense without the Tr and Ct. Thus, it cannot be considered an error and the manuscript reading must be retained.

Repetitions of the Tr (mm. 13-24; 25-36*) are written out in full; the final semi-breve rest has been integrated at the end of the two musical sections (mm. 24, 36 and 36*). For the text edition see above, § 2.

Notation

The mensuration is *modus imperfectus, tempus perfectum cum prolatione minore*. All witnesses lack mensuration signs. Black mensural notation, conforming to Ars Nova principles. Occasionally, red mensural notation occurs in the Ct; only one passage is given in void notation, at m. 26, with the same meaning as the red notation. Original note values are reduced by 1:8. Both the paratext “per diminutionem” in Strasbourg and the “translated” version of R and Gr led us to conclude that a 1:8 ratio better

reflects the original conception than a 1:4 ratio. In all likelihood, the choice of notating the work in 20 instead of 6 is related to the minims in the cantus part and might originate from a reluctance to use semiminims (during the fourteenth century, the legitimacy of note values smaller than a minim was a subject of much theoretical discussion). Rhythmic figurations such as $\downarrow\blacklozenge$ or $\blacklozenge\downarrow$ are stemmed together ($\overline{\downarrow\blacklozenge}/\overline{\blacklozenge\downarrow}$) in order to reveal the resulting binary pattern within the ternary meter.

4	Ct	2, <i>a</i> Ch (corrected according to Gr)
7	T	\flat placed immediately after <i>b</i> (it is assumed to affect the following <i>b</i> as well)
11-13	C	imprecise text underlay
17	C	$\alpha\sharp$ appropriate for two- or three-voice performances
	Tr	$bb\sharp$, $g\sharp$ and $f\sharp$ suitable without Ct (but with $\alpha\sharp$ in the cantus part)
17-19	C	imprecise text underlay
18-19	Ct	3- -1, <i>d e</i> Ch (probably the result of the scribe's skipping to the following <i>d e</i> $\blacklozenge\blacklozenge$; it should be noted that Gr has the same reading as Ch but the values are halved)
20	Tr	\sharp on α
31*-34*	C	3- -3, text omitted (it is assumed to be phonetically and graphically identical to the first <i>ver</i>)
34*	C	3-4, the correct syllables, "que mon", are misplaced at the <i>ouvert</i> ending; 4, preceded by a semibreve rest
35*	Tr	\sharp placed between the two α s

Hé, tres doulz roussignol joli / Roussignoulet du bois

(Ch. 6. 34r) Borlet

Triphon

Cantus

Tenor

Contratenor

5

Tr

C

T

Ct

10

Tr

C

T

Ct

1. 5. Hé, tres doulz rous - si - gnol jo - li, / qui dit «oc - cy - oc - cy - oc - cy» /
 4. Hé, da - me, puis qu'il est ain - sy, / qu[en] vo mer - ci mer - ci mer - ci /

Rous - si - gnou - let du bois

je te de - pri - e / que sans de - try / vois - ses à ma
 ay mis ma vi - e, / je vous su - pli, / de mon po - vre

dou - nes au vi - lain le mal et puis

da - me jo - li - e / er dy, de par
 cuer que men - di - e / que vous te - nes

la mort Rous - si - gnou - let du bois

16

Tr

C

T

Co

moy, et af-fy - e/ que o - cy o - cy n - cy/ a - cy n - cy a - cy n -
 en yo bai-lli - e/ que mer - ci mer - ci mer - ci/ [mer-ci mer-ci mer-ci] mer -

dou - nes att vi - lain le

20

Tr

C

T

Co

cy/ m'a, se son dur cuer n'a - mou - li . e./
 cy/ ay - es, mer - cy, ma vrale a . e./

mal et puis la mort

25

Tr

C

T

Co

2. A - lou - e - re que vas vou - lant/ si tres lain et si cler chan -
 3. à ma da - me se - ras er - rant/ [Si] or li va tan - tost di -

Rous - si - gnou - let du bois dou - nes

30

Tr

C

T

Cr

tant/ dou - ce chan - çon:/ «li - re li - re li - re li - re/ li - re li - re li - re
sant./ par - ma chan - çon:/ l'i - re l'i - re l'i - re l'i - re/ l'i - re l'i - re l'i - re

au - vi - laîn le mal er puis

34

Tr

C

T

Cr

li - re li - ron/ tout vo - le - tant/ l'i - re que mon/cœur va sen - tant./
la mort la mort

Ma tre dol rosignol goly / Aluette cyante / Rosignolin del bos golin

[R E 3 3 r]

Cantus 1

1. 5. Ma tre dol ro-si - gnol go - ly;/ que dyt o - çï o-çï o-çï/ gie vous en
4. [-]

Cantus 2

1. 5. A - lu - et - te cy-an-te_ap-pres/ li ry - si - gnol o-çï o-çï o - çï/ che
4. [-]

Tenor

Ro - si-gno - lin del bos go - lin du - nes

6

C1

prei - e/ sen - sa do - tri/ vo-cex a moy da - ma go - ly-e/

C2

vos en pre-ye/ por far un bon a - cor/ en - tre moy e ma da - me

T

al vi - lan le mal may - tin e poy la

12

C1

le di - a par mo fe fy - e/ si le o-çy o-çy v

C2

go-li-e/ e si lui pri-e da par le ro-si - gnol/ che la da moy mer-ce mer-ce/ per

T

mort Ro - si-gno - lin del bos go - lin do - nes al vi -

19

C1
 8/8
 5/ - 0 - 5/ 0 - 5/ 0 - 5/ 0 - 5/ e da mon cuer pu - ret y - re da m'a-mi - e/

C2
 8/8
 dy mer-ce mer-ce mer-ce mer - ce/ gil fa - ra per ma fe ma da-me my - e/

T
 8/8
 lan le mal may - tin e poy la mort

25

C1
 8/8
 2. A - lu - e - re che va vo - lant/ sy tropz alt - e sy cle - re can -
 3. a ma da-me g'y - ai e rati/ a le - y va da par moy di -

C2
 8/8
 2. ma tre dol ro - si - gno-ly go-ly/ a - lu - ec - re che va vo - lant e di-cant/
 3. [...]

T
 8/8
 Ró - si - gno - lin del bos go - lin do - oes

30

C1
 8/8
 tan - do/ se cian - çon/ li - ry li - ry li - ry li - ry/ li - ry
 cant/ dol - sa cian - çon/ li - ri li - ri li - ri li - ri/ li - ri

C2
 8/8
 tan - ti - ny tan - ti - ny tan - ti - nj tan/ li - ry li - ry ly - ry ly - ry ly -

T
 8/8
 al vi - lan le mal may - tin

34

C1 li-ry li-ry/ tu va vo-lant li-ri li-ri/ che ver mon cuer va sal-rant/

C2 ry/ ve-nis a moy a par-lier/

T e poy la mort e poy la mort

APPENDIX II

«RESCOES, RESCOES» / «RESCOES LE FEU»

For editorial criteria see Appendix I.

Notation

The mensuration is *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiore*. No mensural signs. Black mensural notation, conforming to *Ars Nova* principles. As already observed (see above, §4), the work appears to be organized in semibreve units, resulting in a fluctuating *tempus* expressed by groups of binary and ternary semibreves. Original note values are reduced by 1:4. For the text edition see above, § 3.

2	C2	4-6, omitted, probably a scribal error; it is noticeable that <i>le feu</i> completes all the T and C1 exhortations (<i>rescoes</i>)
10	C2	2, <i>b</i> (emended to <i>a</i> , after Apel and Greene)
26	C1	1, <i>b</i> (see above, §4)
27-28	T	♩ (a missing final dot is assumed; see above, §4)
27-30	C2	1- 1, text underlaid imprecisely and only once for both <i>vers</i>
29	C2	3-4, <i>d</i> ♯ (see above, §4)

Rescoes, rescoes / Rescoes le feu

[R 6, 58v]

Cantus 1

1. 5. Res-co-es, res-co-es/ l'or - ri - ble feu d'ar -
4. Res-co-es, res-co-es! Po(r) - res à ce [tres]

Cantus 2

1. 5. Res-co-es le feu. le feu, [le feu]/ le feu de mon loy-al ser -
4. ...

Tenor

Res-co-es!

Ct

4
8
dant de - sir./ que mon cuer bru - ist pour la bel - le;/
grant mar - tir/ au - [cu - o]e jo - yent - se no - vel - le;/

Cs

8
vant/ Pi-tié, res-co-es, res-co-es! Si qu'il soit res-pi - tié de mort./ Res-co-es, res-co-es

T

8
Res-co-es, res-co-es!

Ct

9
8
dont j'a - roi - e, pour mort ge - sir./ as - ses d'u - n]e
pour le tor - ment fai - re par - tir/ que [ou]it et

Cs

8
le fort!/ Pour ce qu'en moy ser - vant,/ pour dur - té ne do -

T

8
Res-co-es, res-co-es!

14

C1

8

au - lle es - rin - cel - le./ 2. Or sus Pi - tié es - ve - illies
 jor se re - no - vel - le./ 1. si que cil feus soit tous res -

C2

8

lor./ il ne pen - se fo - lour./ 2. À li pour ce vous en - voy - e./
 3. Et li di - tes tou - te - voi - e/

T

8

19

C1

8

vous! Se - co - res moy sans a - tar - gier! Et se ma
 vous/ qui ne fait que mul - ti - pli - ier./ Et vous con -

C2

8

ne fai - tes se - jor en voi - e./ je vous en pri./ car j'os, par son pi - tieux cri./ qu'ar -
 qu'il a - par - tient que je voy - e/ con - ment ser - vi/ ma a - mours et de - ser - vi/ mes

T

8

24

C1

8

da - me fait dan - gier./ thi-res à li, ti - res, ti - res!/
 fort veul sup - pli - ier/ thi-res à li, ti - res, ti - res!/
 dant de - sir le des - voy - e./ A - les si ké ti-res à li, ti - res! [Ti-res,]
 d[o]ns [qui à li] j'a - voy - e./ Mais [vous] pri[s] que ti-res à li, ti - res! [Ti-res,]

C2

8

T

8

Ti-res à [li]

29

C1

8

Sa-chies, sa-chies! Ti-res le hors! Et m'ap-por-tes/ de la dou-che
 Sa-chies, sa-chies! Ti-res le hors! Moy con-for

C2

8

sa-[chies! Sa]-chies, ti-res! A-veuc vous Mer-ci me-nes/ que li es-tain-
 sa-[chies! Sa]-chies, ti-res! Que si est, et de-me

T

8

34

C1

8

ya-we de Mer-chi,/
 tes./ Par m'ar-me, en do-lour meur chi,/
 tes./

C2

8

dra l'ar-du-rè/
 nes/ ce-le fla-m[e] qui [p]ar-du-re./

T

8

ABSTRACT

In his edition *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*, Willi Apel labeled a small group of virelais “realistic” due to their expressive modules (descriptive texts, extensive use of onomatopoeias), and suggested a common origin in Northern France or perhaps Flanders. The most comprehensive source for the realistic virelais is, however, Italian; the Reina Codex, which is not only the largest surviving multilingual anthology, but also the source containing the largest number of virelais (29). We focus on the realistic virelais copied by Scribe W, and provide detailed analyses and a critical edition of two works, *Hé tres doulz roussignol joly / Roussignolet du bois*, attributed to Borlet in the Chantilly Codex, and the anonymous *Rescoes, rescoes / Rescoes, le feu*, unique to the Reina Codex. Our research has raised questions about the texts, their traditions, and their implications for performance. The results highlight the problematic status of the realistic virelai as a subgenre. While the intertextual links are evident, our analysis of the music, the variety of structural solutions and stylistic divergences point to a geographically circumscribed production over a relatively long period of time.

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LOMBARD PATRONAGE AT THE END OF THE ARS NOVA: A PRELIMINARY PANORAMA

When musicologists picture the Italian Ars Nova, Florence usually provides the scenic backdrop. It was home to Italy's most famous Ars Nova composer, Francesco Landini, and its most spectacular notated codex, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87, the "Squarcialupi Codex" (Sq), and beyond these superstars a richly documented musical scene is attested to by many other composers and several other important manuscripts. Even "the end of the Ars Nova" in Florence is represented by its own manuscript, the palimpsest Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL), whose digital reconstruction and publication provided the occasion for the essays collected in this volume.¹ It is important to recognize that it is the manuscripts themselves that conjure up for us the idea of a musical tradition: the Florentine sources, following the model of troubadour manuscripts that were in great vogue in Trecento Italy, present a chronological, author-ordered repertory whose history is latent in the presentation. But if we look outside Florence at the musical activity of its important neighbors in the early decades of the fifteenth century, there is much less to report.² The evidence is fragmentary both figuratively and literally: there is no evidence of a continuous tradition of musical activity because so many of the manuscript sources

1. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, eds., *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211: Introductory Study and Multispectral Images* (Lucca: Libreria Italiana Musicale, 2016).

2. The Veneto is a well-studied exception to this rule; three major sources and a number of fragments copied there in the 1420s-1430s offer a relative wealth of information about composers, compositions, and patronage. See most recently Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Italiana Musicale, 2008). Other pertinent work by Bent is cited in footnotes below.

The End of the Ars Nova in Italy. The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories, ed. A. Calvia, S. Campagnolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2020), 217-52. (ISBN 978-88-9290-046-2 © SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

were destroyed in subsequent centuries, surviving only in fragments recovered from the bindings of other books. As is well known, the important musical centers of the later fifteenth century – Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Naples – hardly registered in the early part of the century. “We begin on barren ground”, wrote Lewis Lockwood about Ferrara ca. 1400, and that bleak view could with little effort be taken to apply to the topic of the current essay, Milan and its environs, in the first decades of the fifteenth century.³

Yet the fragmentary evidence that does exist has not been systematically examined, and this essay constitutes a first attempt to gather and assess what I am calling a “preliminary panorama” of musical patronage in Lombardy during the early Quattrocento. In the process, I will engage with three of the four areas that the organizers of this conference proposed: anthologizing Italian Ars Nova music and texts; the transmission of *oltramontane* chansons and motets; and the question of compositional style in the early Quattrocento.

This panorama begins with the only two composers who can be, with unsailable certainty, linked to Lombard patronage in first decades of the fifteenth century: Matteo da Perugia and Beltrame Feragut de Avignone, “i due primi maestri di cappella del duomo di Milano” (the two first *maestri di cappella* of the Duomo of Milan), in the formulation of Claudio Sartori.⁴ I follow Sartori’s model and probe what is known of the careers and works of each in turn, expanding the narrative to people, places, and objects with whom and which they intersected. Along the way I propose a new context for a song by Matteo, new doubt regarding the subject of a dedicatory motet, and introduce an understudied patron of music in early Quattrocento Milan. In the end I present not a cohesive story but a suggestive mosaic of fragments; squint at them and a narrative appears, but one whose outlines must be understood to be figmentary. I share the cautious sentiments expressed by a recent study of Lombard art of the period:

In un panorama così depauperato è rischioso ricucire una storia troppo serratamente concatenante, col pericolo di enfatizzare ciò che se è salvato integro per puro caso e di sottovalutare ciò che siamo costretti a soppesare per frammenti o sulla base delle sole testimonianze scritte.⁵

3. Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara: The Creation of a Musical Center* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 7.

4. Claudio Sartori, “Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut: i due primi Maestri di Cappella del Duomo di Milano”, *Acta Musicologica* 28 (1956): 12–27.

5. “In a panorama that has been so impoverished it is risky to stitch together a history that is too closely linked, with the danger of emphasizing too much the objects that by chance remain intact, and devaluing those things that we must assess through fragments or through mere written

In the musicological treatment of early Quattrocento Lombardy, both these tendencies have been in evidence. The composer whose works survive most amply in the written record, Matteo da Perugia, was – in earlier scholarship – hailed as the harbinger of a new style in song composition around 1400, then later removed from that important position because of the lack of circulation of his songs.⁶ He is currently regarded as a historical dead end because of the limited distribution of his works in surviving sources, and because there is a perception that, by the end of his life, a new style dominated by northern composers of the Du Fay generation had displaced the “late Trecento” style of Italian composers.⁷ Yet surely the truth lies somewhere in between these two extremes. Matteo was likely one of a large number of musicians working in the employ of Lombard courts or churches in the early decades of the fifteenth century, and very likely not the only composer to have preserved his music in writing. The fragmentary evidence already points to his interaction with one northern composer, Beltrame Feragut, and we must imagine this relationship to be a kind of synecdoche for multiple similar stories of mutual influence between Italian and northern musicians in the period.

MATTEO DA PERUGIA

The few certain facts that we possess about Matteo’s career have been well-known to scholars since Claudio Sartori’s work in the archives of the Milan Duomo in the 1950s.⁸ Matteo was hired to serve as *maestro di cappella* of the duomo in 1402, most likely at the behest of Pietro Filargo who, in 1402, was the trusted advisor to Giangaleazzo Visconti and newly appointed archbishop of Milan. By 1406 Matteo was no longer performing his duties at the cathedral because, as noted by the cathedral’s deputies, he had moved to Pavia with the household of Filargo, who was by then a cardinal. Matteo’s name is absent

description”. Laura Cavazzini, “Trecento lombardo e visconteo”, in *Arte Lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza*, ed. Mauro Natale and Serena Romano (Milan: Skira, 2015), 47.

6. For Matteo as the “main representative of the modern style” ca. 1400, see Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1950), 13.

7. On Matteo da Perugia as a stylistic dead end, see Heinrich Bessler, “Hat Matheus de Perusio Epoche gemacht?”, *Die Musikforschung* 8 (1955): 19–23.

8. This information was most recently reported in Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M. 5.24: Commentary* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005). The principal documentary source of musical activity at the Milan Duomo is the *Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall’origine fino al presente, pubblicati a cura della sua amministrazione*, 9 vols. (Milan: Brigola, 1877–1885).

from the registers of the Milan Duomo until 1414, when he resumed his duties for two years after which his name disappears again. The final appearance of his name in the duomo account books is a brief mention in 1418, when another musician asks for an increase in salary because Matteo had been paid more than he.

It is generally assumed that Matteo traveled with his patron Filargo when he went to Pisa in 1407 in preparation for the great church council, was elected Pope Alexander V in 1409, and then died in 1410. However, Matteo's name does not appear on the fragmentary chapel lists of the Pisan Popes Alexander V or his successor John XXIII, and no works survive by him that can be securely connected to Filargo or the Council of Pisa, as opposed to those by composers such as Hubertus de Salinis and Johannes Ciconia.⁹ So it is possible that he spent the years between 1407 and 1414 elsewhere – perhaps, in fact, he may have remained in the Milan area. Certainly, the limited circulation of his music suggests he did not stray far from Lombardy. All of Matteo's surviving works are collected uniquely in two sources with strong ties to Lombardy: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (ModA) (both the early layer thought to date to ca. 1410–1415 and the later layer, which I date to the mid-1420s); and the fragmentary bifolio from a songbook now in the Archivio di Stato of Parma that also likely dates to the 1420s, Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 (Parma75).¹⁰ And beyond the payments made to Matteo in 1402–1406 and 1414–1416 by the Milan Cathedral, the only evidence of his whereabouts comes from a song text that again links him to Milan: some years ago I suggested that his ballade *Pres du soleil* was a Visconti tribute; specifically, that it

9. These chapel lists are presented within a thoughtful discussion of music at the Council of Constance in Alejandro Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), Vol. 1, 56–8. Salinis was a familiar of Filargo and served in his chapel when he became pope. Salinis's troped Gloria *Suscipe trinitas* celebrates the end of the Papal Schism and the most recent hypothesis suggests that it was written in 1409 when he thought the election of Alexander V signaled the Schism's end. See Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets", in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 29, and her contribution in the present volume; Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism", in *Papal Music and Musicians*, 71. Ciconia wrote a number of occasional motets including *O Petri Christi discipulis*, likely for Filargo; see Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège", in *Collectanea I* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 7–74; Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 24–5.

10. For a facsimile of the former, see *Il codice α.M.5.24 (ModA)* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2003). Parma75 images may be consulted on the Digital Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) website, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/161/#/> (accessed March 12, 2019).

was composed for Duke Filippo Maria Visconti (ruled 1412-1447) in the mid-1420s.¹¹ The ballade is found as part of the later layer of ModA, whose copying had previously been dated to before 1418. This dating, though, was based on a presumed death date for Matteo da Perugia of 1418 that has no documentary source, and that must now be disregarded.¹²

This identification pushes the compilation date of the manuscript's later layer to after 1420, perhaps as late as 1425-1430, and perhaps because of this it has not been embraced in subsequent literature; in fact, I was recently praised for the caution with which I initially proposed it.¹³ I now think I was *too* cautious in making this suggestion and I would like to revisit it briefly here, before building upon this identification to propose a second song by Matteo that can be linked to Filippo Maria Visconti.

Pres du soloil deduissant s'esbanoye
d'eulx ententis un redouté fauchon
sur la riviere plus riche que soye
de maint osiaux d'une et d'aultre façon.
Close est d'un beaux rosier de par viron,

11. Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense*, α.M.5.24, 102-4.

12. Ibid., 102. Briefly, a hasty reading of the records of the Milan Duomo caused Ambrogio Nava to assert that Matteo had died in 1418 when in fact all that was recorded in the minutes of the deputies' meeting was that he no longer worked for the Duomo; see Ambrogio Nava, *Memorie e documenti storici intorno all'origine, alle vicende ed ai riti del Duomo di Milano* (Milan: Borroni e Scotti, 1854), 190.

13. In a recent article Jason Stoessel described the dating of *Pres du soleil* as "fraught" and kindly praised me for the caution with which I presented my hypothesis: "Stone rightly shows some reserve in reaching this conclusion. Falcons in Trecento poetry are not uncommon, especially in erotic poetry...". See Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle for the Kingdom of Naples (c. 1378-1411) and The Politics of Repertoire in Mod A: A New Hypothesis", *Journal of Music Research Online* 5 (2014), 3. But even a cursory reading of this text makes clear that it is not an example of erotic poetry, but rather heraldic poetry that invokes a ruler. There is a long and well-attested tradition of heraldic poetry set to music at the Visconti court in the fourteenth century; see, among many studies, Genevieve Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du Trecento", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento III*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Bologna: Forni, 1970), 131-60; Reinhard Strohm, "Filippotto de Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia", in *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki, 1989), 65-74; John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), 35-45; Oliver Huck, "Music for Luchino, Bernabo and Giangaleazzo Visconti", in *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, ed. Sandra Dieckmann et al. (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007), 247-58; Sarah Carleton, "Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009), especially chaps. 4 and 5, 122-72; Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali in un madrigale araldico trilingue attribuito e attribuibile a Petrarca: 'La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba'", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell'"Ars Nova"*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 45-92.

dont s'il ne sont bien preux, jeune et veglarde,
meschant cely que le fauchon regarde.

Chescun se doubte et ne scet que fer' doye
fors que d'esmay trayre de la sayson.
Sans plus, tout prest en l'eure si s'employe:
pluseurs aultres aylent ver les buisson,
aucun demeure, aucun y torne en ron,
simple de cuer sans chault de faire garde:
meschant cely que le fauchon regarde.

Quar noblesse et vigour si le convoye,
desir, espoir, sagacitié et rayson
a son porpois tout brief qu'il se voloye
l'oyssel qu'aten hurter des artiglon.
D'aultre ne quier sy donra coulp felon
pour definer, fache qui vult sa garde:
meschant cely que le fauchon regarde.

(In the pleasant sunlight a fearsome falcon
Enjoyed himself, watched by other birds,
Above a river richer than any other
With birds of all kinds.
The river is bordered by a rose bush.
If the birds aren't brave, young, and vigilant,
Woe to him upon whom the falcon gazes.

Everyone is afraid and knows not what to do
Except to pass the time fearfully
And then to act as quickly as possible:
Some flee into the woods
Others stand firm or turn around in circles
Innocently and without defense:
Woe to him upon whom the falcon gazes.

Nobility and strength, desire, hope,
Wisdom and reason accompany him in his plans,
When he quickly tries to catch
With his talons a fleeing bird.
He wants nothing else than to kill the bird
With evil blows. Be careful:
Woe to him upon whom the falcon gazes).

Two reliable sources from the Visconti orbit tell us that Filippo Maria Visconti adopted an emblem consisting of a falcon flying near the sun, menacing a group of waterbirds. The first is the biography of the duke written just after his death in 1447 by his secretary, Pier Candido Decembrio (1399-1477), who served Filippo Maria for almost his entire career, beginning in 1419. According to Decembrio, Filippo Maria had the noble rooms of his palace decorated with

an impresa formed by a crown, a palm branch, and a laurel. On this he quartered a falcon, in the act of menacing a group of waterbirds, surrounded by the sun; and he arrived at this invention with the fury of someone well supplied with arms and soldiers, when he launched the first war against Florence.¹⁴

Although Decembrio does not give a date, the adoption of the emblem seems likely to have occurred in the years after 1421, when the wars with Florence began anew.¹⁵

This remarkably precise verbal description is corroborated by an equally precise representation of the emblem in the so-called Stemmario Trivulziano (Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1390), a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript prepared for the noble Milanese Trivulziano family that depicts two thousand stemmas used by families in Lombardy. Three pages are devoted to a chronological display of Visconti heraldry, from the early fourteenth century through the mid-fifteenth. Figure 1 shows a detail from the full page of emblems devoted to Filippo Maria Visconti: we see, together with the typical Visconti *biscia*, a falcon framed by the sun, hovering over birds in the water.¹⁶ The only thing missing from this representation is

14. Pier Candido Decembrio, *Vita di Filippo Maria Visconti*, ed. Elio Bartolini (Milan: Adelphi, 1983), 70. In her study of the Visconti library, Elisabeth Pellegrin reports two manuscripts commissioned by Filippo Maria that contain the emblem, which she describes as “une sorte d’étang où nagent des canards menaces par un épervier (Paris, BnF, it. 131; Oxford, Bodl., Digby 224)”. She describes this emblem as rarer than the others she finds in his books (Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle* [Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1955; Florence: Olschki, 1969], 53). Unfortunately neither manuscript is digitized, so I have not yet been able to compare the images with that of the Stemmario Trivulziano. The Paris manuscript is an Italian copy of the *Vitae imperatorum* (for a description see Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque*, 388-9) and the Oxford manuscript is an Italian translation of the first ten years of the Roman history of Tito Livy, illuminated by the same “Master of the *Vitae imperatorum*” (see description in Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque*, 386).

15. For a succinct account of the progression of the Florentine wars under Filippo Maria Visconti, see Antonio Lanza, *Firenze contro Milano: Gli intellettuali fiorentini nelle guerre con i Visconti (1390-1440)* (Rome: De Rubeis, 1991), 97-118.

16. It is worth pointing out that in the Stemmario’s considerable catalogue of Visconti emblems, from the early Trecento to the mid-Quattrocento, this is the only iteration of this emblem, supporting Decembrio’s account that Filippo Maria was the first member of his family to

the rose bush mentioned in the ballade text. However, the rose was yet another emblem of Filippo Maria Visconti, appearing on copper coins issued by him, worth one *denaro*.¹⁷



Figure 1. Stemma of Filippo Maria Visconti from “Stemmario Trivulziano”, Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1390, f. 2v, detail.
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Between the verbal description by a source very close to the duke and the visual confirmation of the falcon / sun / waterbird emblem associated with

adopt it (Decembrio, *Vita di Filippo Maria Visconti*). The Stemmario has been digitized and the full page can be seen at <http://graficheincomune.comune.milano.it/GraficheInComune/immagine/Cod.+Triv.+1390,+p.+4> (accessed January 13, 2019).

17. Confirmed on the website Numismatica Italiana, which shows a coin of one *denaro* with a rose with six petals: <https://numismatica-italiana.lamoneta.it/moneta/W-FMVSC/12> (accessed October 5, 2018).

him, there is no reason to doubt that the ballade describes the emblem and should be understood as a song written in honor of the Duke of Milan around the time he went to war with Florence in the mid-1420s. The song's explicit tie to Filippo Maria Visconti makes it clear that Matteo did not die in 1418, but rather remained in the duke's orbit long enough to mark the adoption of the falcon emblem, and therefore the war with Florence. Matteo's precise relationship to the duke is not presently known, but if we believe Decembrio's assertion that the duke did not keep musicians in his household, Matteo must have been employed elsewhere in noble Milanese circles.¹⁸

Although at present this is the only musical work by Matteo that can be linked to Filippo Maria with certainty, there may well be more waiting to be discovered in the repertory of ModA, which contains twenty-four other songs, two motets, and nine Mass Ordinary movements by Matteo. Among the considerable number of Matteo's songs whose texts seem conventional in their themes and language, three stand out. The ballade *Le greygnour bien*, found in the earlier layer of ModA, is one of the most notationally complicated of Matteo's songs and as such has garnered him a mention in music history textbooks as a practitioner of the Ars subtilior.¹⁹ The piece has a cryptic, moralizing text in French (slightly unusual; there are many more moralizing lyrics in Italian) and is in the very unusual form of a sonnet, an Italian form that was only habitually used for French texts much later.²⁰ It is the only one of Matteo's songs in the moralizing rather than courtly love tradition, and its message is approximately the following: The greatest good given to mankind in this "foolish world" (*ce fol monde*) is the gift of "sens" and "mesure", but it is a great pity that some think themselves in their "fumea" (cloudiness) to be more than they appear. The text would not be out of place as a kind of didactic literature suitable for the education of princes, such as the young Visconti princes Giovanni Maria and Filippo Maria after Giangaleazzo's death in 1402. Both the sonnet form and the moralizing content lead one to wonder if the text was possibly translated from an Italian original.

Two ballades by Matteo in the later layer of ModA refer to a noble woman in distress, and they stand out for their exceptionally personal tone. The first, *Puis que la mort as cruelement pris* (f. 7) laments the death of a noblewoman

18. Decembrio, *Vita di Filippo Maria Visconti*, chap. 61.

19. For an analysis of its notation, see Maria Teresa Rosa Barezani, "Una rilettura di *Le greygnour bien*", *Philomusica Online* 1 (2001), <http://riviste.paviauniversitypress.it/index.php/phi/article/view/01-01-SG01/85> (accessed October 10, 2018).

20. I am grateful to Professor Nancy Regalado for discussing this text with me. She circulated it some years ago to a number of colleagues, asking if they knew of other French sonnets from the early fifteenth century and received a reply in the negative.

whose name might be Isabella, as in line 7, “Car partie est la Belle” the adjective “belle” is capitalized; if not intentionally invoking a proper name this capitalization would represent a carelessness that is not characteristic of this scribe.²¹ The second, *Se je me plaing De fortune* (ModA, f. 42v) cites two ballades by Guillaume de Machaut (*Se je me plaing*, B15, and *De fortune*, B23) and it quotes the cantus and tenor of the latter’s opening.²² Its text takes its cue from that of B23, which is in the voice of a woman lamenting over Fortune; in Matteo’s version the lament takes on an oddly precise character. The female speaker has lost the man who truly loved her (line 3; due to his death, implied in line 8), and tried to comfort herself with another man (lines 11–12), but this did not turn out well. In the third stanza she says she is punished by God and will have a long penance to avoid damnation:

Se je me plaing De fortune, j’ay droit,
 Car par li sui griefment enfortunee.
 Quant j’ay perdu celui que tant m’amoit,
 Ce fuit pour moy moult dure destine.
 Or sui je bien de petite heure nee. 5
 Car je ne treuve amisté ne douchour.
 Je ne me vueil plus fier en amour.

A tous jours mais le mort mauldite soit
 Car je sui trop par li desconfortee,
 Et d’autre part mon povre cuer quidoit 10
 Que je deüsses ester reconfortee
 Par un autre, mes mal sui asenee.
 Je ne treuve que tristesse et dolour.
 Je ne me vueil plus fier en amour.

21. Indeed, in another instance the scribe is extremely attentive to proper capitalization: in Ciconia’s *Sus une fontayne* (ff. 26v–27r), whose text quotes three songs by Philipoctus de Caserta; each of the three quoted incipits is capitalized in ModA.

22. For modern editions of the Machaut ballades, see Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 3 (Monaco: L’Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), 86 (B15), and 101 (B23). On the borrowing of Machaut’s texts and melody, see Yolanda Plumley, “Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Song”, *Music & Letters* 84 (2003): 355–77, and Anne Stone, “Machaut Sighted in Modena”, in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco, and Stefano Jossa (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2011), 170–89. Significantly, while *De fortune* was one of a handful of songs that had relatively wide circulation outside the Machaut complete works manuscripts, appearing in five lyric anthology manuscripts of Italian and Netherlandish provenance, *Se je me plaing* was not, and this may be why the music of *De fortune* was quoted but not that of *Se je me plaing*. It is worth noting that the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library contained a Machaut manuscript that is now apparently lost; see Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut, A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland Press, 1995), 109.

Mort et amour m'ont mise en povre ploït; 15
 Je ne scay le quel m'a plus conturbée.
 Je croy que Dieux ce mari[r] me devoit
 Pour moy pugnir que ne soye dannee.
 Ma penitance ara longue duree,
 Amours, tu m'as bien joué d'un faulx tour.
 Je ne me vueil plus fier en amour. 20

(If I lament over Fortune, I'm entitled,
 For now I have been seriously de-fortuned by it.
 When I lost the man who loved me so much,
 That was for me a very hard destiny.
 Now I was truly born in an evil hour,
 For I do not find love or sweetness.
 I do not want to trust any more in Love.

May death be cursed even more every day
 For I have been too much discomfited by it,
 And furthermore my poor heart believed
 That I might be comforted
 By another, but I was unlucky in love.²³
 I find nothing but sadness and grief.
 I do not want to trust any more in Love.

Death and love have put me in a bad way
 I don't know which has disturbed me more.
 I believe that God troubled me
 To punish me so that I would not be damned.
 My penance²⁴ will be long.
 Love, you have played me a false hand.
 I do not want to trust any more in Love).²⁵

23. According to the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Française* (<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>, henceforth DMF), "mal assenée" has a number of valences, each of which could work here. It can mean unlucky in general, and so be a synonym for "defortunée". It can also mean badly married or, more generally, unlucky in affairs of the heart. The difference between those two readings would have considerable repercussions for my interpretation of the context: if she is understood to be badly married, this is a slight against Filippo Maria Visconti; if she is understood to be unlucky in love more generally, this contributes to the sense that she made a mistake by falling in love with a man outside her marriage. I do believe that the rest of the text supports the reading "unlucky in love" more generally, and this is also supported by considering the intertext, Machaut's *De Fortune*, whose refrain is "Dame qui fust si bien assenée" (A woman who is so well positioned [in love]).

24. According to the DMF, "penitance" can mean both spiritual penance and also mortification of the flesh for penitential purposes.

25. My thanks to Maria Sofia Lannutti for help in establishing the French text, and to Nadine Berenguier and Terrence Cullen for advice on the translation.

The details in this song text point to a suggestive real-life protagonist: Beatrice Cane (ca. 1372-1418), the widow of Facino Cane, a *condottiere* in the Visconti court who, after Giangaleazzo Visconti's death in 1402, became the powerful de facto ruler of his territories. Beatrice, the daughter and wife of military leaders, was a powerful and resourceful figure in her own right, one of the "capostipite delle donne di ventura".²⁶ Cane died of illness in 1412, just hours after Giovanni Maria Visconti, newly elevated to the Dukedom of Milan, was murdered, leaving the Lombard territories suddenly without a leader. Filippo Maria saw the opportunity Beatrice presented, and he married her very soon thereafter; she had much more money than he and controlled, by virtue of her first husband, several Lombard towns. Historians unanimously report that this marriage allowed Filippo Maria to consolidate his power in a fractured Lombardy in the most effective way possible. But by 1418 Filippo Maria, in full possession of the territories and money that Beatrice brought to the marriage, apparently fabricated a charge of adultery against her, claiming an affair with one Michele Orombelli; she was imprisoned in August, tortured, and executed in September of that year. Her story was reported by the contemporary historian Andrea Biglia (ca. 1395-1435) in extraordinary detail; it takes up two full columns in the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* edition, of which most of one is devoted to Beatrice's impassioned speech at the end of her life proclaiming her innocence.²⁷

The meaning of this song text is hardly transparent. In an earlier article I

26. "Progenitors of the 'gentlewoman of fortune'"; See Francesca M. Vaglianti, "Gentildonne di ventura da Beatrice Cane a Caterina Sforza", in *Facino Cane: Predone, condottiero, e politico*, ed. Beatrice del Bo and Aldo A. Settia (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2014), 92-104. This is reported in a number of secondary accounts, but I have not found a contemporary source; see, for example, Isaia Ghiron's normally well-documented *Della vita e delle militari imprese di Facino Cane* (Milan: Bernardoni, 1877), 50. It may well be spurious (Andrea Billia does not report it), but whether true or not it speaks to a monumentalizing of her character that began shortly after her death.

27. Andrea Biglia, *Rerum mediolanensium historia*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 19 (Milan: Palatine Society, 1731), cols. 50-2. Biglia makes it clear that he does not believe the charge of adultery; he repeatedly refers to Orombelli as "adolescens" and "juvenis", and describes Beatrice in glowing terms ("docta", "honesta"). Biglia does not mention, but Decembrio does, Filippo Maria's passion for boys (chap. 46), and the fact that he kept his second wife imprisoned for years; see Gary Ianziti, "Pier Candido Decembrio and the Suetonian Path to Princely Biography", in *Portraying the Prince in the Renaissance: The Humanist Depiction of Rulers in Historical and Biographical Texts*, ed. Patrick Baker, Ronny Kaiser, Maïke Priesterjahn, and Johannes Helmrath (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 244. On the other hand, Decembrio describes Beatrice as having a "greedy and arrogant nature" (*Vita di Filippo Maria Visconti*, chap. 39) and does not seem to doubt her guilt. Both writers, of course, must be read in the context of their political positions and rhetorical agendas: Decembrio's is thoroughly explored in Ianziti, "Pier Candido Decembrio". What cannot be doubted is the impact of this event on the Italian imagination; Beatrice's story was repeated by historians of Milan, from Biglia to the present, and was dramatized in the Bellini opera "Beatrice da Tenda" of 1833.

suggested, and then dismissed, the idea that this text could refer to Beatrice because the sentiment of the text's author seemed to be sympathetic to the speaker, and I did not see how such an attitude could be reconciled with a laudatory stance toward Filippo Maria.²⁸ But I now believe that a more careful reading can provide such a reconciliation. The speaker of the text has lost a beloved man to death (implied because she lost “celui que tant m'amoie” in line 3 and then curses death in line 8 for having discomfited her), who on my reading is Facino Cane, and then tried to find comfort with another man, in my reading Orombelli (lines 10–11). Finally, in stanza 3, she acknowledges having done wrong and rather extraordinarily suggests that God visited these trials upon her as a punishment that would save her from eternal damnation. She will suffer a long period of penance, but ultimately will be saved. On this reading, the text manages to paint Beatrice as the victim of a trio of personified powers – Fortune, Love, and Death – and as the recipient of divine punishment.²⁹ Thus it manages simultaneously to be sympathetic to its unhappy protagonist and also to present her as a sinner in need of penance, an attitude that would presumably have gratified the Duke.

Clearly more work needs to be done to assess the rest of Matteo's works in light of their dating into the 1420s, and the near certainty that he remained near the Visconti court in Lombardy. Other songs may turn out to be linked to political events of his day (one more will be mentioned below). Furthermore, if Matteo was alive and active in Milan in the 1420s, this allows us to assume that he had a personal relationship with the second *maestro di cappella*

28. Stone, “Machaut Sighted in Modena”.

29. One further speculative thought: I am struck by the way the speaker is presented as the victim not only of Fortune, which is an extremely common trope, but also Love and Death, who are elevated to the status of Fortune in their power to wreak havoc on her life. There is a contemporary context in which these three protagonists appear linked, and that is in the emergent game of cards with *trionfi*, a game that later would be known as *tarocco*. The *trionfi* are a set of twenty-one personifications that are added to the regular four-suit deck; among these personifications are Love, Death, and Fortune. It is well known that Filippo Maria Visconti was a passionate devotee of card playing, and that he paid an enormous sum for what might be the first-ever set of *trionfi* (Decembrio, *Vita di Filippo Maria Visconti*, chap. 61). Although these cards do not survive, several later Lombard decks do. In an analysis of the earliest surviving tarocco cards, commissioned likely for Carlo Maria Sforza and Bianca Visconti's wedding in 1440 (if not their betrothal in 1432), James Edward Frost notes that Fortune, Love, and Death are united by the fact that they are all portrayed blindfolded: “It is fitting that Love, Fortune and Death should be iconographically connected. All three allegorical personifications strike without warning, in a seemingly arbitrary manner” (“The concept of Fortune in the birth of the tarot”, unpublished paper, Othello's Island: The 4th International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Centre for Visual Arts and Research, Nicosia, Cyprus, 2016, 2). I do not suggest that *tarocco* cards are at the root of the imagery in the song, but rather that both might be products of the same worldview that held these personifications responsible for disasters that befall mankind.

of the Milan Duomo, Beltrame Feragut, whose Lombard career I will revisit in the second part of this chapter.

BELTRAME FERAGUT

At the time Claudio Sartori wrote “Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut”, virtually nothing was known of Feragut’s career beyond the five years he spent in the employ of the Milan Cathedral; he was otherwise known only by the attributions of his works in four manuscripts (see Table 1). One of these works, the motet *Excelsa civitas Vincentia*, seemed to provide some early biographical information, for it named as its dedicatee Francesco Malipiero, Bishop of Vicenza beginning in 1433; but since this name was written over the name of the previous Bishop of Vicenza, Pietro Emiliani (1409–1433), Sartori assumed that Ferragut was in Vicenza by 1409 and then returned there in 1433 to rededicate his motet. Recent work by Margaret Bent has disproved this, however, revealing that Malipiero, not Emiliani, was the true dedicatee of the motet.³⁰

Since publication of Sartori’s article, more biographical information has come to light, though its fragmentary and sometimes contradictory nature leaves some doubt as to whether all the data refer to the same person.³¹ Archival research carried out by Allan Atlas in the 1980s revealed that a “Bertrandus de Francia, cantor” was in Lombardy by 1415, in the chapel of Pandolfo III Malatesta in Brescia;³² some scholars have followed Atlas in assuming that this is the composer.³³ The chapel that Pandolfo assembled

30. André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1940), cited in Sartori, “Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut”, 27. Most recently, however, Margaret Bent has discovered that beneath the erased name Emiliani there is yet another, clearly original, iteration of Malipiero’s name and she has a convincing explanation of the politics that permitted the motet’s actual and sole dedicatee, Malipiero, to have been erased and replaced with the name of a long-dead prelate; see Margaret Bent, “Pietro Emiliani’s Chaplain Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi and the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadris in Vicenza”, *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 2 (1995): 5–16. Thus *Excelsa civitas Vincentia* is firmly dated to 1433, and Feragut’s biography must shed its early Vicenza connection.

31. Fabio Fano raised the fundamental question of Feragut’s country of origin, pointing to the Medieval presence of the family name “Feragu” and its variant “Ferraguti” in Ferrara and Vicenza. Fabio Fano, “Beltrame Feragut, Maestro di Cappella nel Duomo di Milano (1426–1430)”, *Arte Lombarda* 14 (1969): 53–70, at 53, and n4 and 5.

32. Allan Atlas, “Pandolfo III Malatesta mecenate musicale: musica e musicisti presso una signoria del primo Quattrocento”, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 23 (1988): 38–92. Pandolfo was the Visconti condottiere who took control of Brescia in the chaotic years after the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti. He was the dedicatee of a Latin ballade preserved in ModA, *Ore Pandulfum*, referring to a pilgrimage he made to Jerusalem in 1399; it was likely copied around 1410.

33. Robert Nosow, s.v. “Feragut”, in *Die Musik im Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008) points out that the Brescian references lack a surname or specific toponym other than “from France”.

Table 1: Beltrame Feragut's works by source³⁴

SOURCE	TITLE	GENRE/VOICES	FOLIO	COMMENTS
BU2216 ^a				
	Credo 2	Mass ordinary/2	22-23	
	Sanctus	Mass ordinary/3 c/c/t	87	
	<i>Francorum nobilitati</i>	cantilena/3 c/c/t	58-59	
Q15				
	Gloria	Mass ordinary/3	51v-52r	Mass pair unique to Q15, found in first stage of MS, dated to before 1425 ^b
	Credo 1	c/c/t	52v-53r	
	Credo 2	Mass ordinary/3 c/c/t	46v-48r	Stage 1 of manuscript
	<i>Excelsa civitas Vincentia</i>	cantilena/3	298v- 299r	Stage 2, copied after 1430
	Magnificat	3 (fauxbourdon)	338v- 339r	Stage 3, copied after 1433
	<i>Lucis creator optime</i>	hymn/3 (fauxbourdon)	319v	Stage 3
OX213				
	<i>Francorum nobilitati</i>	cantilena/3	11v-12	
	<i>Excelsa civitas Vincentia</i>	cantilena/3	4v-5	Securely dated to 1433
	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>	marian prayer ^c /3	5v-6	
PARMA75				
	<i>De yre et de dueyl</i>	rondeau/3	2v	Two alternate contratenors
TRENT90				
	Magnificat	3 (fauxbourdon)	377v- 378r	Anonymously transmitted

^a BU2216 = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (*olim* S. Salvatore 727); Q15 = Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15; OX213 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213; Parma75 = Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26; Trent90 = Trento, Biblioteca del Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo Provinciale d'Arte), 1377 ("Tr 90").

^b Bent, "Bologna Q15", Vol. 1, 21-3, describes the three copying layers of the manuscript.

^c Reaney calls this a "troped version of the usual antiphon", but in fact it shares only the first line with the traditional prayer; the remainder of the text is unique to this composition.

34. Modern edition in Gilbert Reaney, ed., *Early 15th-Century Music*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 11/7 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler/American Institute of Musicology, 1983).

during what Atlas refers to as the “golden years” of 1414–1416 employed five singers, and was notable for its inclusion of a number of French singers recruited for Pandolfo by Bertoldus Dance from Beauvais, who went on to become the *maestro di cappella* of the chapel of Pope Martin V starting in 1419. During this “golden age”, therefore, there were ample forces in Brescia for singing polyphony, an unusual circumstance for the “barren ground” of Northern Italy. But by 1416 Pandolfo’s fortunes were waning, his chapel foundered, and Bertrandus de Francia disappeared from the payment records of Brescia after July of that year.

According to a papal document of 1430 reported by Alejandro Planchart, a “Bertrandus Feraguti...clericus” was a monk in the Benedictine Monastery of S. Michele di Medicina, outside of Bologna, who had previously been an Augustinian in Ferrara, and Lockwood reports a “dominus Bertrandus” named among Niccolò d’Este’s singers in 1431.³⁵ In 1438 a “Frater Beltramus of the Augustinian order” was hired from Ferrara to sing at the church of San Giovanni in Florence.³⁶ John Nádas and James Haar found a “Frater Beltrandus de Avinione biblicus” living in the Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito in Florence in May of 1436, and reported that he received a baccalaureate and then a master’s degree in theology at the University of Florence in 1440 and 1441 respectively.³⁷ At some point after the conferral of these degrees, Feragut appears to have left Italy for his native southern France; between May and July of 1449 “Bertran Feragut” was paid as a member of the chapel of René of Anjou in Aix, and “Bertrand Feraguti, maître en théologie” was involved in the purchase of property by an Augustinian house in Avignon.³⁸

Assuming for the moment that these various indications of Frater Beltrandus / Beltrame / Bertrandus Feraguti de Francia / de Avignone / of the Augus-

35. For the reference to the document from the Register of Supplications of 1430, see Margaret Bent, “Ciconia’s Dedicatée, Bologna Q15, Brassart, and the Council of Basel”, in *Manoscritti di polifonia nel Quattrocento europeo: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 18-19 ottobre 2002*, ed. Marco Gozzi (Trent: Provincia autonoma di Trento, Soprintendenza per i Beni librari e archivistici, 2004), 41n22. For “Dominus Bertrandus” see Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 35n8.

36. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 37–8, citing Frank A. D’Accone, “The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the Fifteenth Century”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961): 310.

37. James Haar and John Nádas, “The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope: Sacred Polyphony in Florence, 1432–1448”, *Ricerche* 20 (2008): 25–93, at 46, reprinted in *Arte Psallentes. John Nádas: Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento Collected on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. Andreas Janke and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017), 395–450. The authors also raise the fascinating possibility that “Feragut” may be a sobriquet rather than a surname, based on his identification in a Florentine pay record as “Frate Beltrame detto ferauto”; *ibid.*, 46–8.

38. This last piece of information was first reported by Haar and Nádas, “The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope”, 48.

tinian and Benedictine order all refer to the same person, one wonders where he was in the years preceding his appointment to the Milan Duomo in 1425. Feragut was clearly moving in very high circles of patronage in order to obtain this position, which had been vacant for nearly ten years in 1425; according to the register of payments transcribed by Sartori, the assumption of Feragut by the duomo was made at the express desire of Filippo Maria Visconti: “Et hoc [the payment] quia prefatus Philippus rex d.d. dux Mediolani sic vult”.³⁹ The circumstances of his hiring seem similar to Matteo da Perugia’s appointment in 1402, likely as the result of his patronage by then-Bishop and Visconti familiar Pietro Filargo. One possibility is that Feragut left Brescia and made his way to the Council of Constance, which had been convened in 1414 and was to end with the election of Martin V in 1418. We know that the Council presented a major networking opportunity for musicians, and it is possible that Feragut arrived there in the retinue of one of the numerous prelates from Lombardy who were in attendance and made connections that later bore fruit in the appointment at the duomo.

What can we say about Feragut’s surviving compositions and their possible relationship to Lombard patronage? Ten works survive with ascriptions to him, mostly in the large early fifteenth-century collections from the Veneto: Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Q.15 (37) (Q15); Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (*olim* S. Salvatore 727) (BU2216); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Miscellaneus 213 (Ox213) (see Table 1). Of the works collected there, of particular interest are three Mass movements in the earliest layer of Q15 that, according to Margaret Bent’s study of that manuscript, was completed by 1424, before Feragut started his position in Milan.⁴⁰ The style of these movements, many scored for two cantus voices and a tenor, is simple and largely homorhythmic, with mostly syllabic declamation, extremely dissimilar in both voicing and texture to the Mass movements of Matteo da Perugia. A dateable Mass movement whose style is similar is the Gloria *Jubilatio* of Hubertus de Salinis, suggesting that Feragut’s Mass movements fit stylistically in the second decade of the fifteenth century.⁴¹ A cluster of other Mass movements in Q15 in the vicinity

39. Sartori, “Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut”, 25n36. Haar and Nádas (45) express doubts that Feragut was in Ferrara in the years before 1425 because it seems an unlikely springboard into the position in Milan.

40. Bent, *Bologna Q15*. Sartori, without the benefit of Bent’s research, had speculated that these Mass movements dated to 1425–1430 and were written for the Milan Cathedral; see “Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut”, 27.

41. As previously mentioned (see note 7 above), Salinis’ Gloria *Jubilatio* celebrates the end of the Schism and has been dated to 1409 or 1417.

of Feragut's, by Arnold de Lantins, Guillaume Legrant, and Lovanio share these and other features: a length of around 200 breves; homorhythmic texture; and unus-chorus sections demarcated with mensural changes.⁴² It is very possible that these works were composed for performance in the chapel of Pandolfo III Malatesta, or for another chapel, as yet undiscovered, with which Feragut was associated before he took the position in Milan.

Feragut's one surviving song, the rondeau *De yre et de dueyl*, is transmitted uniquely in the fragment Parma75, a source that, as mentioned above, is closely tied to Milan; we can safely assume that that song was composed during his tenure in Lombardy.⁴³ Parma75 was dated to before 1418 by Ursula Günther based on her assumption that Matteo da Perugia was personally involved in its compilation, and that he died in 1418; it now feels more reasonable to date the fragment to the mid-1420s at the earliest. It shows an intersection between locally employed musicians (Matteo, Feragut) and newly arrived international figures such as Fontaine and Grenon, neither of whom were documented in Italy before 1420.⁴⁴ Parma75 is also notable for the number of newly composed contratenors by Matteo da Perugia for songs by other composers; as shown in Table 2, of the six complete songs that survive in the fragment, four have contratenors ascribed to Matteo. A fifth, *Ayes pitie*, does not attribute its contratenor to Matteo and since it is an unicum it is impossible to tell whether Parma75's contratenor was newly composed for the source.

42. Nos. 45, 46, 53, 54, 55, and 56.

43. This assumption is bolstered by work in progress by Andrés Locatelli (to whom I am most grateful for sharing his work prepublication), who has discovered that *De yre et de dueyl* is a poetic response to Matteo da Perugia's *A qui fortune*. The latter has an acrostic spelling the name AMBROSINA, and Locatelli proposes the two songs were written as late as the early 1430s, in response to a tragedy that befell a noble woman named Ambrosina Corio. See Locatelli "Sources of Allusive Compositions in ModA", in *Polyphonic Voices: Poetic and Musical Dialogues in the European Ars Nova*, ed. Anna Alberni, Antonio Calvia, and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, forthcoming). Intriguingly, the humanist poet Antonio Beccadelli ("detto il Panormita"), resident at the court of Filippo Maria Visconti between 1429 and 1433, includes a poem titled "Laus Ambrosinae" together with a "Responsio Ambrosinae" in his collection of poems written during his residence in Milan and Pavia; this Ambrosina is praised for the beauty of her voice ("quae modulans flectensque facillima vocem" [she who moves and bends her voice with great facility]), which by comparison makes birds sound raucous and tames wild beasts. See *Poeti Latini del Quattrocento*, ed. Francesco Arnaldi, Lucia Gualdo Rosa, and Liliana Monti Sabia (Milan: Ricciardi, 1964), 20-2.

44. Both Fontaine and Grenon were in the chapel of the Burgundian Duke John the Fearless, who died in 1419, and both subsequently traveled to Italy; Fontaine joined the chapel of Pope Martin V in 1420, Grenon in 1425.

Table 2: Inventory of Parma75^a

1r	Antonello da Caserta, <i>Più ch'iar che 'l sol</i>	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
	Anonymous, <i>Ayes pitie de moi belle playsant</i>	
1v	Pierre Fontaine, <i>Pour vous tenir</i>	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
	Nicholas Grenon, <i>Je ne requier</i>	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
2r	Johannes Ciconia, <i>Lizadra donna</i>	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
	Beltrame Feragut, <i>De yre et de dueyl</i>	Two contratenors
2v	Anonymous, <i>Je languis</i>	[Contratenor only]

^a Parma75 = Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26

Unlike the other songs in the Parma fragment, *De yre et de dueyl* is transmitted with two contratenors, labeled in the source “contratenor” and “contratenor secundus” (see Example 1).⁴⁵ This is reminiscent of the transmission of the ballade *Ore Pandulfum* in the early layer of ModA, with two contratenors labeled “contratenor” and “contratenor alius”. Pedro Memelsdorff has persuasively argued that in the case of *Ore Pandulfum* the “alius contratenor” is in fact the first to be written and the “contratenor” was a later contribution almost certainly by Matteo da Perugia, although it is unsigned.⁴⁶ This contratenor shares key features with those attributed to Matteo, most strikingly a tessitura that lies mostly below the tenor and thereby “modernizes” the sound of the song compared to the original contratenor, which lies above the tenor in range. We might assume that the same situation obtains in *De yre et de dueyl*, and that the “contratenor” is a modernization by Matteo da Perugia of the “contratenor secundus”.

45. Notes on this transcription of *De yre*: the mensuration feels like “tempus perfectum diminutum” in which the perfect breve of minor prolation takes the implied tactus and the imperfect long the mensura. The numbers below the contratenor secundus mark imperfect long spans, except in a few instances in which the harmonic rhythm of the song seems to organize itself around a perfect long, such as in longs 7 and 20, marked with asterisks.

46. Pedro Memelsdorff, “*Ore Pandulfum*. Il contratenor come glossa strutturale”, in *Musica e liturgia nel medioevo bresciano (secoli XI-XV)*, ed. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani and Rodobaldo Tibaldi (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2009), 381–420. This is one of a series of articles by Memelsdorff on the subject of Matteo’s contratenors that have influenced my consideration here. See also Id., “*Lizadra donna*: Ciconia, Matteo da Perugia, and the Late Medieval *Ars Contratenor*”, in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 233–78; Id., “*Più ch'iar che 'l sol*: Luce su un contratenor di Antonello da Caserta”, *Recercare* 4 (1992): 5–22; Id., “*Je ne sçay le quel m'a plus conturbée*: A Classification of Late Medieval Contratenors with a ‘New’ Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia and a Reflection on His *Se je me plaing*”, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 34 (2010): 29–60.

De

Tenor

Contratenor

Contratenor secundus

(De) y - re et de dueyl, et de vau a-uy

[duy]

5 7* 8 9 14

Example 1. Feragut, *De yre et de dueyl*, modern transcription

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef, and the bottom three staves are instrumental lines in bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are in French and are written below the vocal staff.

System 1:

Vocal line: *me Lau - gne m'es-tuet. tel le est ma des - ri :*

Instrumental lines: The second staff has a circled measure at measure 18. The third staff has a circled measure at measure 20.

System 2:

Vocal line: *me Lau - gne m'es-tuet. tel le est ma des - ri :*

Instrumental lines: The second staff has a circled measure at measure 22.

System 3:

Vocal line: *A cest nu - et e - tait seoy for - tu - tie*

Instrumental lines: The second staff has a circled measure at measure 27.

Example 1 (continued)

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system, spanning measures 31 to 35, features a vocal line in the upper staff with lyrics: "Quant je me voy de mort a - my lon-tay". Below the vocal line are three staves for instruments: a lute (circled in measure 31), a contratenor secundus, and a contratenor. The second system continues the music from measure 35. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and accidentals, typical of a medieval manuscript.

Example 1 (continued)

But the relationship between the two contratenors of *De yre et de dueyl* is not at all like that of *Ore pandulfum*. There is no change in the overall tessitura between the two parts; I have circled the very few places where the contratenor dips below the contratenor secundus to form the lowest note of the sonority, and they do not result in the same kind of modernizing strategy seen in *Ore Pandulfum* or the contratenors securely attributed to Matteo. The two contratenors are almost identical in many measures, though there are places where the “contratenor” ornaments the rhythm of “contratenor secundus” in a manner similar to other added contratenors by Matteo. Strikingly, the most significant differences that appear between the two are corrections made by the “contratenor” to what seem like mensuration errors in the “contratenor

secundus". This leads me to assume that, as in the case of *Ore Pandulfum*, the "contratenor secundus" was the first to be composed, despite the suggestion to the contrary inherent in its name (although the reverse relationship is of course possible, and the "contratenor secundus" could be the attempt of a less-competent composer to ornament the existing "contratenor"). In bar 14, the "contratenor secundus" places a semibreve rest in front of a series of four breves, and because of the *similis ante similem* rule the breves must all be perfect, displaced across the perfection in a way that makes odd counterpoint. The "contratenor" has a more contrapuntally satisfying reading in which the breves and longs in bars 14-16 are placed at the start of the perfections. Although the reading of the "contratenor secundus" is mensurally plausible, it causes some awkward counterpoint, and I think it most likely that its composer intended the first breve to be imperfect (as happens in numerous other places in the song) and the others all to be at the start of perfections.

The other substantial difference between the two versions is at the final cadence and here, contrary to expectation, it is the "contratenor secundus" that descends below the tenor to cadence on C, a fifth below the octave cadence on G in cantus and tenor. The contratenor, by contrast, stays above the tenor to cadence on the fifth. This makes much more sense tonally, and makes me wonder if whoever composed the "contratenor secundus" ended on C in order to match the medial cadence, neglecting to notice that at the medial cadence the cantus and tenor make a sixth, not an octave.

There may be an interesting story lurking here in the relationship between the competent and less-competent versions of essentially the same contratenor. Does this represent some kind of pedagogical initiative in contratenor writing? Was Feragut, who presumably was a relatively young man around 1420, still struggling to master Ars Nova notation, and did Matteo help him by smoothing out the counterpoint? Or did Feragut compose the "contratenor" and did another aspiring composer, semi-competently, try to update it? These queries lead quickly to more general questions about the origins of Parma75. It was once a reasonably large manuscript and, as we have seen, it was one in which Matteo da Perugia was deeply involved.⁴⁷ Was it a songbook that originally contained dozens of songs, each with contratenors newly composed by him or by his less-adept colleagues? Or was it a collection more like the later layer of ModA, with mixed songs and Mass compositions? From what we can see, it was not a luxury manuscript but

47. Bessler claimed that he saw a page numbering in the 200s, but my own examination did not confirm this; what Bessler saw as "232" Stefano Campagnolo and I saw as 32. I am grateful to Dr. Campagnolo for his expert consultation on many aspects of this fragment.

seemingly a musician's collection similar to Ox213, with which it seems to be largely contemporary. Did it belong to Matteo, for use in a context whose musical life has otherwise disappeared? The fragment gives us a tantalizing glimpse of a rich musical scene in Milan in the years around 1420-1430, showing the cross-fertilization of northern Italian composers with newly arrived French ones and, quite possibly, evidence of a personal working relationship between Matteo and Feragut.⁴⁸ If the whole codex had survived, it might well have the importance for our understanding of music in Lombardy that Ox213 does for the Veneto.

Among Feragut's remaining surviving compositions, in addition to a handful of liturgical polyphonic settings, there are two occasional motets, of which one is the already-mentioned *Excelsa civitas Vincentia* in honor of Francesco Malipiero. The second, *Francorum nobilitati*, is considerably more coy about its dedicatee.⁴⁹ Its text praises a "princeps" whose goodness has linked him to the nobility of the French, and it is laden throughout with religious and moral imagery: the dedicatee leads his flock; he prevents people from falling into evil ways; he interprets God's mysteries; and shares divine fountains. This imagery led its first editor, Charles Van den Borren, to assume that the dedicatee was a religious figure; André Pirro later proposed that it might have been written for Niccolò III d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, where Feragut was employed starting in 1431. Niccolò received in 1431 the right to quarter the French *fleur de lis* in his arms, which seems like a fitting occasion for the motet. Lockwood accepted Pirro's hypothesis, but equivocated, suggesting that the motet might have been composed for a prelate and then reused for Niccolò d'Este.⁵⁰

48. Although there is no time to pursue this here, the question of the provenance of ModA and Parma75 in the decades after the 1420s is important. If Feragut went from Milan to Ferrara in 1430-1431, might he have carried with him ModA, and might he have been the conduit for its arrival in the Biblioteca Estense? Parma75 was disbound some time before the beginning of the sixteenth century, when it was used to line the binding of its host volume, a register from the priory of San Bartolomeo Vecchio in Piacenza copied by the Milanese notary Pietro filio di Antonio di San Gallo, active from 1499 to 1505 (my thanks to Michael Cuthbert for sharing this information and a photo of the title page of the host volume, and to Stefano Campagnolo for facilitating a search [to date unsuccessful] for other folios from the original manuscript in the Archivio di Stato in Parma).

49. Many thanks to Sasha Zamler-Carhart for his help rescuing my very rudimentary translation and for his insights into the text's interpretation. Its poetic structure is odd and unlike any other laudatory motet of the period known to me; as Thomas Schmidt points out, its eight lines are composed of rhyming couplets but are extremely long and heterogeneous and follow no metrical pattern other than an identical ending (dactyl, spondee, spondee), while the majority of other contemporaneous laudatory motets are hexameters. See Schmidt, "'Carmina Gratulatoria': Humanistische Dichtung in der Staatsmotette des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 51 (1994): 83-109, at 94n52.

50. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 37.

Francorum nobilitati te tua bonitas associavit, princeps,
 Cissuras malorum muniens scelera puniendo et praeveniando deinceps,
 custos vere ovilis, cadentisque populi tua industria vigil
 destruendo malitiam et diabolica confundens, optime pugil,
 Manifestans tuis archana dei que ut sol splendent,
 Limphatis sacro fonte tribuens divina que perlucent.
 Petimus igitur ut in hoc statu permanear, deo dante,
 Tronos ut videas⁵¹ societate hac B. Feragut te associante. Amen.

(Your excellence made you a member of the nobility of the French [Franks?], prince,
 Averting the divisions of evil [men], (first) by punishing crimes, and then by preventing
 them,
 True guardian of the flock, preventing the fall of the people by your diligence,
 Confounding even diabolical (forces) by destroying malice, O noble warrior,
 Manifesting God's mysteries, which shine like the sun, to your [people],
 Conferring divine things that shine forth through the sacred fountain of water.
 Therefore we beg that you remain in this position, God willing,
 So that you may see [study] the thrones in that society, in the company of B. Feragut.
 Amen).

I share Lockwood's hesitation about this text's suitability for a secular ruler. The dedicatee is praised repeatedly, almost to the point of hyperbole, in the first two couplets for preventing and fighting against sin, wickedness, evil, diabolical forces (*mala, scelera, militia, diabolica*), and saving his people from a "fall", which in the context reads more convincingly as moral rather than material or political ruin. The dedicatee is a warrior, but his enemy is evil in the abstract, not a material, human foe. In the third couplet the dedicatee reveals God's mysteries to his people and bestows divine things, and in the fourth he is urged to remain in his position so that he can see the "thronos", for which Du Cange gives the translation "sedes Episcopus"; an alternative reading is that of one of the angelic orders. Thus religious imagery pervades the text and, while its precise meaning is not entirely clear, it seems to be directed at a high-level prelate (a bishop or cardinal) whose deeds fighting evil have rendered him a member of the nobility of the "Francorum". Hitherto it has been assumed that "Francorum" referred to the kingdom of France, but that is only one of several possible meanings of the word that appear in a medieval Latin dictionary search.⁵² Lewis and Short and a few others give "the Franks, a Germanic confederacy on the Rhine", while Du Cange

51. BU gives "studeas".

52. I am grateful to Henry Parks for suggesting this line of inquiry.

lists the adjective “franci” to mean both “fierce” and “free”, and Maigne d’Arnis gives “a man of the nobility” in addition.⁵³ Thus it is not impossible that a more broadly poetic meaning might be intended by “francorum nobilitati”, something along the lines of “the nobility of free men”, or else a specific meaning associated with Frankish, or German, nobility rather than French.

Having cast doubt upon Niccolò d’Este as the dedicatee, we can also question the dating of the motet to the 1430s. I note that its style and especially mensural structure is nearly identical to that of Du Fay’s *Vergene bella*, which Margaret Bent has dated convincingly to 1424.⁵⁴ *Vergene bella* is divided into sections based on changing mensuration between Φ and tempus perfectum. In addition, the number three is used in one place to produce quick semiminim-like triplet figuration. Virtually the same mensural building blocks are found in *Francorum nobilitati*: a two-part structure Φ - O , with a single use of the number three to create cascading semiminims (see Table 3).

Table 3: Mensural structures of *Francorum nobilitati* and *Vergene bella* compared

SIGN	DU FAY, <i>VERGENE BELLA</i> (OX2 I 3, F. 133V)	FERAGUT, <i>FRANCORUM NOBILITATI</i> (OX2 I 3, FF. 1 IV-12)
[Φ]	$\diamond \diamond \diamond = \diamond$	$\Phi = \diamond \cdot \swarrow \searrow \diamond \diamond =$
	Vergene bella ... (bar 1)	Fran[corum] (bar 1)
O	$\text{O} \diamond \diamond \diamond = \diamond$	$\text{O} = \diamond \diamond \cdot \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
	Invoco lei che ... (bar 78)	Manifestans (bar 37)
3	3 $\diamond_{11} \downarrow \diamond \downarrow \diamond \downarrow \diamond \downarrow \diamond$	3 $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
	chose (bar 98)	te associante (bar 80)
O	$\text{O} \diamond_{11} \diamond$	$\text{O} \diamond_{11} \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
	-se gia mai (bar 102)	A-[men] (bar 84)
Φ	$\Phi = \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \swarrow \downarrow \downarrow = \diamond \cdot \diamond =$	
	Ben chi sia (bar 113)	

53. W.-H. Maigne d’Arnis, *Recueil de mots de la basse latinité* (Paris: Migne, 1866), 975. Albert Blaise, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevii: praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*=*dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen-Âge, Corpus christianorum. Continuatio medievalis* 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), gives *Francigena* as well as *franci* for “French people”.

54. Margaret Bent, “Petrarch, Padua, the Malatestas, Du Fay, and Vergene Bella”, in *Essays on Renaissance Music in Honor of David Fallows: Bon jour, bon moit, et bonne estrenne*, ed. Fabrice Fitch and Jacobijn Kiel (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 86-96.

In addition, a triadic cast to the melodies and a similarity in their texting habits – syllabic starts to phrases followed by melismatic, textless ones – give the two works a similar sound.⁵⁵ These similarities make it plausible, even likely, that they were composed within a similar orbit temporally and geographically. They both belong, of course, to the much larger motet subgenre labeled by Julie Cumming as the “cut circle motet”, and also those recently described by Alejandro Planchart as “cantilena” motets; certain of these features resemble the style of song that Yolanda Plumley and I have argued was cultivated in the second decade of the fifteenth century among composers active in the courts of the French princes, many of which were copied into the earliest layer of Ox213.⁵⁶ Another representative of Cumming’s “cut circle motet”, of course, is Feragut’s *Excelsa civitas Vincentia*, whose date of 1433 cannot be contested. While the two ceremonial motets share a similar sound-world, and a very similar text structure of eight lines of rhythmic couplets but no meter, *Excelsa civitas*’s contratenor is decidedly more modern, lying below the tenor most of the time and usually leaping to the cadence by octave or fifth. *Francorum nobilitati*’s contratenor lies above the tenor and in the majority of its cadences it moves by step to the fifth in the older way. More work needs to be done to sort out the history of musical style in the teens and ’20s, but even with what we know at present, *Francorum nobilitati* could date to any point in the earlier period of Feragut’s career.

The 1420s were turbulent years for the church, and there were plenty of occasions for a warrior-prelate to be honored with a motet. Martin V had to work hard to establish his legitimacy after decades of papal schism and over a century of the papacy’s absence from Rome. In addition, the serious challenge to papal authority by the followers of Jan Hus led to the Hussite wars (1420–1434) and numerous “crusades” into Bohemia launched by the pope; the “cissuras malorum” could describe divisions in the church caused by the Hussite rebellion, though it could also perfectly well evoke more generally the struggle between good and evil that characterized a Christian outlook. It may be that in the future an identification of the dedicatee of this motet

55. See Robert Nosow, “The Florid and Equal-Discant Motet Styles of Fifteenth-Century Italy” (PhD diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992), chap. 6.

56. On the “cut circle motet” see Julie Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Dufay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 99–124. On the cantilena motet, see Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works*, Vol. 2, 395–403. On the early French songs in Ox213 see Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, “Cordier’s Picture-Songs and the Relationship between the Song Repertories of the Chantilly Codex and Oxford 213”, in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 303–28.

could help clarify some of the murky aspects of Feragut's biography as currently understood.

BRANDA CASTIGLIONE, A LOMBARD PATRON OF MUSIC AT THE END OF THE «ARS NOVA»

Art historians of early Quattrocento Lombardy have long been aware of the patronage of the distinguished theologian and diplomat of Milanese origin, Branda Castiglione (ca. 1360-1443).⁵⁷ Castiglione was educated at Pavia, received the doctorate, and taught law there in the 1380s (likely overlapping with Matteo's patron, Filargo). He was a high-ranking church official and diplomat, close colleague with a succession of popes and with Emperor Sigismund; he was a humanist book hunter whom Poggio Bracciolini regarded as a father surrogate; and he was a patron of art and architecture on a grand scale. He was appointed Bishop of Piacenza in 1404 by Pope Boniface IX, Papal Legate in Lombardy by Pope Alexander V, Cardinal in 1411 by Pope John XXIII, played a leading role in the Council of Constance, and emerged from that council as a trusted advisor to Martin V. As Papal Legate in Hungary he spent years combatting Hussitism on behalf of the pope and along the way became a good friend and advisor to the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund. He was also a close advisor to Filippo Maria Visconti, serving him on a number of ambassadorial missions.

In 1422 Branda began to rebuild his hometown of Castiglione Olona, about 40 kilometers northwest of Milan, on a massive scale: he commissioned the building of a collegiata and baptistery on the ruins of the old Castiglione castle and hired Masolino da Panicale to fresco them; he also built a second church and two palazzi for himself and his family.⁵⁸ The dramatic result was, according to Carol Pulin, that he "transformed his town into a Renaissance

57. He is the first well-known fifteenth-century prelate of that name; the second, Branda Castiglione (1415-1487), was bishop of Como from 1466.

58. Carol Pulin's dissertation, "Early Renaissance Sculpture and Architecture at Castiglione Olona in Northern Italy and the Patronage of a Humanist" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1984), is the most extensive documentary study of Branda's building project at Castiglione Olona, and contains a detailed biography, as well as a transcription and translation of the biography of Branda written by his longtime chaplain Johannes de Olomons and discovered in Branda's tomb. See Pio Bondioli, "La ricognizione della salma del card. Branda Castiglioni e la scoperta di una sua biografia", *Aevum* 9 (1935), 474-8. Further biographical information, including a detailed account of Branda's influence with Pope Martin V and his actions as an agent of the English in the papal court, are found in Susannah Saygin, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) and the Italian Humanists*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 105 (Boston: Brill, 2002), 145-65.

city". His plans for the town included the establishment of a school where eight boys would be trained in grammar and music, and he hired a music and grammar master to teach them, Johannes Olomons. Surviving manuscripts that provide evidence of the musical life of Castiglione Olona include two books of Ambrosian chant and a music theory compendium that was copied around 1440 (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I.20.inf).⁵⁹

We get a glimpse of the pedagogical priorities of the music school at Castiglione Olona by considering the makeup of this manuscript in greater detail. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it gives pride of place to the treatise on Ambrosian chant by Johannes Olomons, the music and grammar master at Castiglione Olona and copyist of the manuscript (see Figure 2). This treatise, an *unicum*, is beautifully copied, complete with detailed musical examples and elegant rubrics, onto the first two and a half gatherings of the manuscript. The remainder of Gathering III is filled in with an assortment of short treatises on counterpoint, lacking their musical examples (I have shaded these on the example to reflect my view of their secondary status).⁶⁰

The fourth gathering contains in its principal location a series of three treatises clearly considered by the scribe to be a single work, framed by the incipit "*Ad sit principio virgo maria meo*", and explicit "*Et sic est finis Deo gratias amen*" (indicated in Figure 2 with a dotted line). These treatises are the so-called *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* attributed to Johannes de Muris, the "*Tractatus figurarum*", and a short counterpoint treatise sometimes attributed to Philipoctus Andrea.⁶¹ The remainder of this gathering is partially filled in with the beginning of the *Lucidarium* of Marchetto da Padova, but breaks off mid-sentence at the end of folio 39, leaving three folios blank. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the manuscript was designed for a bipartite pedagogical initiative: instruction first in Ambrosian plainchant, then in mensural polyphony and counterpoint.⁶²

59. The chant books are two antiphoners, Castiglione Olona, Archivio Ss. Stefano e Lorenzo, Mss. A and B; see Giacomo Baroffio, "Iter Liturgicum Ambrosianum: Inventario sommario di libri liturgici ambrosiani", *Aevum* 74 (2000): 583-603, at 585.

60. Oliver Ellsworth has transcribed this collection of short treatises under the title "Collectio tractatum diversae originis", http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/ANOCOL_MMBAl20I (accessed March 4, 2019).

61. Giuliano Di Bacco has noted that these three treatises often traveled together as a unit; see "Original and Borrowed, Authorship and Authority. Remarks on the Circulation of Philipoctus de Caserta's Theoretical Legacy", in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 329-64.

62. A fifth gathering, a binion containing a series of melodic exercises to teach mode, is in a different hand and on paper with a different watermark. While it may well originate from the same educational context as do the theory treatises, it was not part of that collection's original design.

Figure 2: Gathering structure of manuscript Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 20 inf.



^a English translation by Albert Seay, ed., *Palma Chordalis* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Press, 1977).

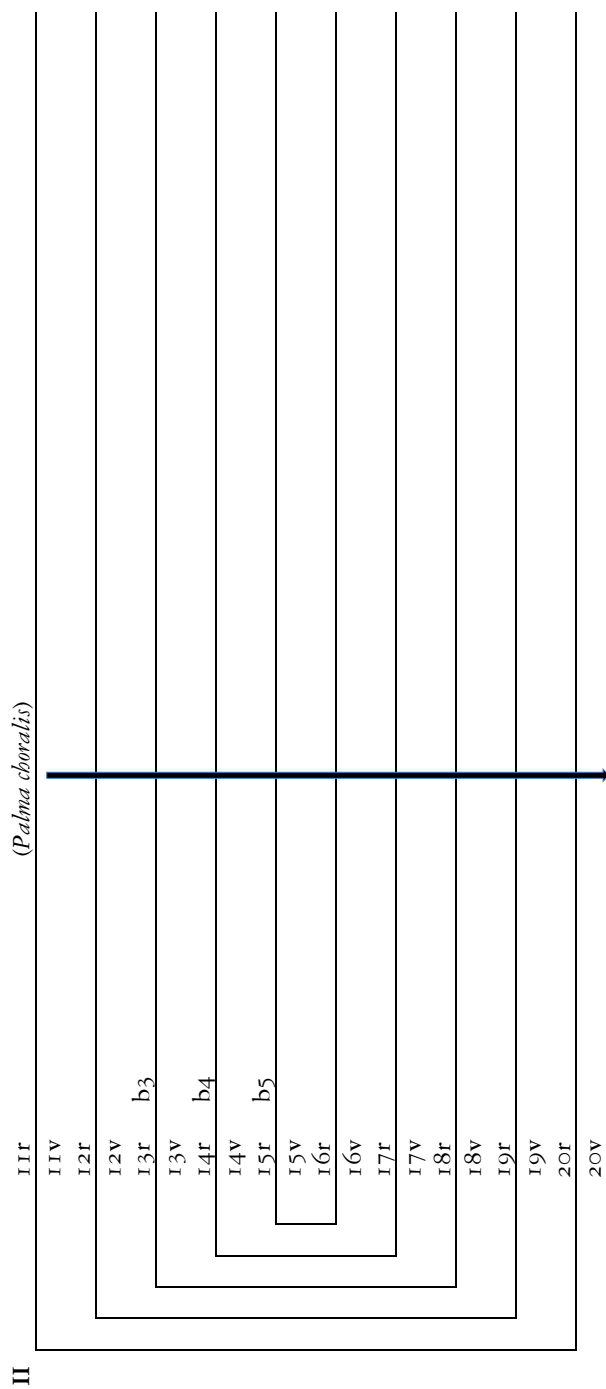


Figure 2 (continued)

III		21r	CI	(Palma choralis)
		21v		
		22r		
		22v		
		23r	C3	
		23v		
		24r		
		24v		<i>Explicit Palma choralis</i>
		25r	C5	1. <i>Ratio sequitur</i> ^b
		25v		2. <i>Octo sunt toni</i>
		26r		<i>Gaudet brevitate</i>
		26v		
		27r		
		27v		<i>Ratio contrapunctus</i>
		28r		<i>Ratio contrapuncti</i> #2 (Italian)
		28v		<i>In primo dico</i> ^c (incomplete)
		29r		(changes to Italian in the middle)
		29v		
		30r		
		30v		

^b Transcribed and discussed by Jacques Handschin, "Aus der alten Musiktheorie III. Zur Ambrosianischen Mehrstimmigkeit", *Acta musicologica* 15 (1943): 2-23 (corrections 93-4).

^c Attributed to Hothby in some discussions of this manuscript, but deattributed by Bonnie Blackburn; see Bonnie J. Blackburn, s.v. "John Hothby", in *Grove Music Online* (accessed March 4, 2019); <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/>.

Figure 2 (continued)

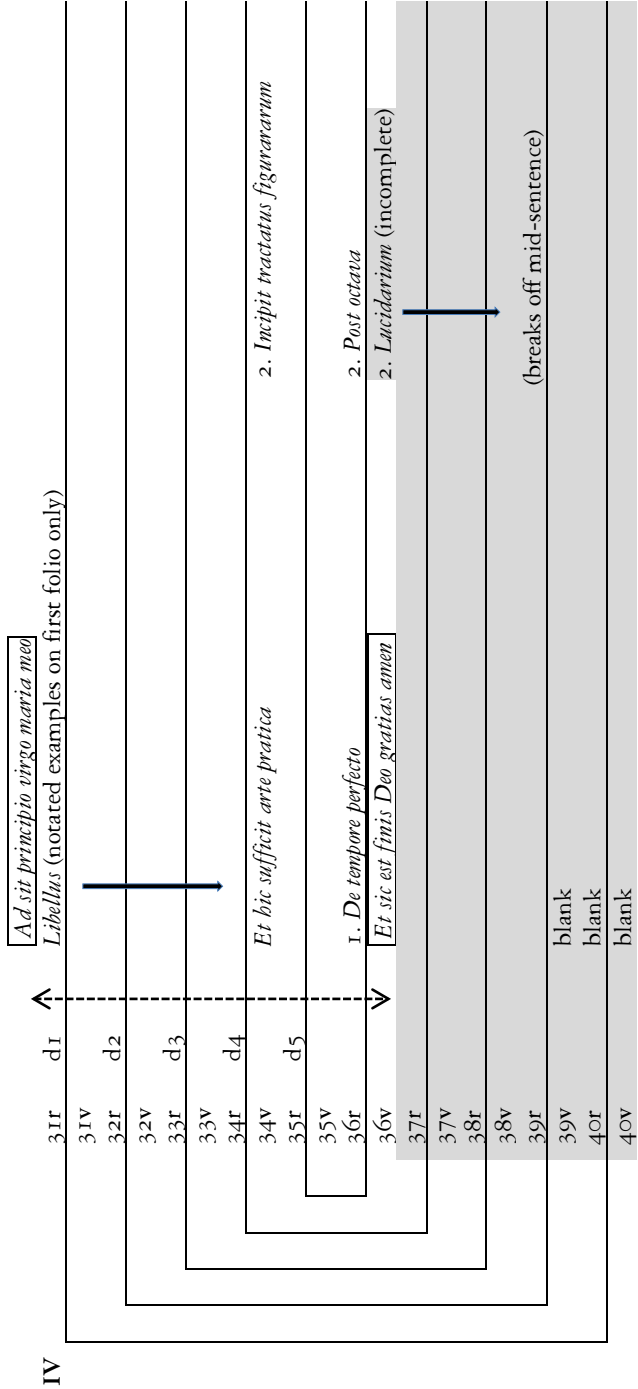


Figure 2 (continued)

It is intriguing that the idiosyncratic *Tractatus figurarum* is found in a manuscript destined for choirboys, and one can only wonder how far their training in elaborate rhythmic notation was taken. But it points to another avenue of research for the musical life of early Quattrocento Lombardy, namely the question of the Lombard circulation of the *Tractatus figurarum* and of the practice of Ars subtilior notation more generally.⁶³ The earliest surviving copy of this treatise is Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS 54.1, copied in Pavia in 1391, and all of the other earliest sources whose provenance is known originate in either Lombardy or the Veneto.⁶⁴ Beyond the presence of these early manuscripts, the Lombard influence of the treatise is witnessed by Giorgio Anselmi's adoption of some of its figures for his own idiosyncratic mensural theory articulated in his *De musica* of 1434.⁶⁵ Lombardy was seen as a place of cultivation of adventurous rhythmic notation by at least one contemporary writer; in a fifteenth-century Italian copy of the treatise of Johannes Boen, the exotic note shapes such as those found in the *Tractatus figurarum* are said to have been used with particular inventiveness by "a Lombard named Gwilgon".⁶⁶ In short: Lombardy as a center of Ars subtilior theory and practice well into the fifteenth century is a topic for further exploration.

63. On the sources of the *Tractatus figurarum*, see Philip Schreur, *Treatise on Noteshapes* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), who provides a stemma, and Giuliano Di Bacco, "Original and Borrowed". The idea that Milan was an important center of Ars subtilior composition was first posed by Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta". On Ars subtilior practice, see most recently Anne Stone, "Ars subtilior", in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), Vol. 2, 1125-46.

64. These include a fragmentary treatise in the miscellany Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 5.2.25 copied in Verona; Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, 606 (dated 1429); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5321; Pal. lat. 1377. For dating and provenance of these treatises see Di Bacco, "Original and Borrowed"; and Id., *De Muris e gli altri: Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto* (Lucca; Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2001); on Seville see more recently Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Palimpsests, Sketches, and Extracts: The Organization and Compositions of Seville 5-2-25", in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento VII. Dolce e Nuove Note: Atti del quinto convegno internazionale in ricordo di Federico Ghisi (1901-1975)*, Certaldo, 17-18 Dicembre 2005, ed. Agostino Ziino (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2009), 57-78.

65. On the Newberry library manuscript, see most recently Renata Pieragostini, "Augustinian Networks and the Chicago Music Theory Manuscript", *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 22 (2013): 65-85. On Anselmi's mensuration system, see Giuseppe Massera, "Un sistema teorico di notazione mensurale nella esercitazione di un musico del '400", *Quadrivium* 1 (1956): 273-300; his treatise is edited in Giuseppe Massera, ed., *Georgii Anselmi Parmensis De musica. Dieta prima de celesti harmonia, Dieta secunda de instrumento harmonia, Dieta tertia de cantabili harmonia* (Florence: Olschki, 1961). The one surviving manuscript copy of his treatise, Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 233 Inf., was owned and copiously annotated by Gaffurio; see Jacques Handschin, "Anselmi's Treatise on Music Annotated by Gaffori", *Musica Disciplina* 2 (1948): 123-40.

66. See Johannes Boen, *Ars [Musicae]*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 19 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 42: "Aliquotiens inveniuntur figure mirabiliter ordinate ab uno lombardo nomine Gwilgon habente modum pronuntiandi secundum proportionem et tamen

Despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence, there is much more to be said about the musical culture of early Quattrocento Lombardy than I have been able to describe in a short essay, and a number of avenues for future research have emerged. It seems likely to me that Matteo da Perugia was supported by the patronage of a person or institution within the orbit of Filippo Maria Visconti, if not the duke himself, during the 1420s, and it is to be hoped that future research might reveal more about his activities and colleagues during that decade. Feragut's missing nine years between his employment in Brescia and Milan are an intriguing puzzle, but it seems likely that he had important connections to Lombard patronage in this period in order to secure the appointment as *maestro di cappella* at the Milan Duomo. Branda Castiglione's importance to the church politics of his day, his extensive travels, and his connections to early humanism, make him an attractive candidate as a music patron, and more research is needed to discover the full extent of his patronage. Still to be discovered is how works by Grenon and Fontaine made their way to Milan, and what personal connection those composers might have had to Matteo da Perugia. Finally, there is a mystery surrounding the absence of Matteo's songs outside a restricted Milanese orbit.⁶⁷ It would seem from the surviving sources that, while he had access to a repertory of songs that spanned both a geographical and temporal spread (witnessed by the contratenor voices he composed for a number of diverse songs), his own music did not travel. At least it did not travel with his name attached to it; it is possible that among the unattributed songs in early fifteenth-century sources from the Veneto and elsewhere lurk unidentified songs by Matteo. It is to be hoped that more fragments of musical manuscripts will continue to surface in the libraries and archives of Northern Italy so that our narratives built out of these fragments will become increasingly textured and continuous.

subiectum musicę ignorante" (at various times figures were invented, admirably ordered by a Lombard named Gwilgon, having a manner of performing according to proportions and nevertheless afterward placed in unknown music [?]). The source of this copy of the treatise is Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VIII. 24.

67. The fragment Bern827, whose discovery was reported in 1994, contains a song by Matteo and seemed to point to the possibility of a more widespread circulation of his songs than had previously been thought. But although the provenance of the fragment is not known, it was purchased at a flea market in Lugano, Switzerland, only forty kilometers north of Castiglione Olona, and therefore extremely proximate to the Lombard territories where Matteo's music was already known to circulate. Thus it might represent the remains of yet another Lombard songbook from Matteo's orbit. See Christian Berger, "Pour Doulez Regard...: Ein neu entdecktes Handschriftenblatt mit französischen Chansons aus dem Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 51 (1994): 51-77.

ABSTRACT

This paper constitutes an attempt to gather and reassess surviving fragmentary evidence of musical patronage in Lombardy during the early Quattrocento. I depart from the careers of the only two composers who can be linked with unassailable certainty to Lombard patronage in first decades of the fifteenth century: Matteo da Perugia and Beltrame Feragut. I follow the model of Claudio Sartori's essay on the two composers, now over a half-century old, and probe what is known of the careers and works of each in turn, expanding the narrative to people, places, and objects with whom and which they intersected. Along the way I propose a new context for a song by Matteo, a new doubt regarding the subject of a dedicatory motet by Feragut, and explore an understudied patron of music in early quattrocento Milan, Cardinal Branda Castiglione.

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MUSIC, TEXTS, AND MUSICAL IMAGES
AT THE COURT OF ANGEVIN NAPLES,
BEFORE AND DURING THE SCHISM¹

MUSIC AT ANGEVIN NAPLES: CHASING GHOSTS?

Any study on the subject of Angevin Naples and Music is made extremely difficult by no fewer than three main factors:

- 1) The lack of polyphonic sources from that geographical area: the only surviving source now nearest Naples is the Frosinone fragment, discovered by Giuliana Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino,² which may have originated at the baronial court of Onorato Caetani, Count of Fondi (in lower Lazio, between Rome and Naples), someone very close to the events of the Schism;
- 2) The severe political instability of the region between 1343 and 1443, which may have affected cultural and musical patronage (see Appendix 1 for a list of rulers of the houses of Anjou and Anjou-Durazzo);
- 3) The total loss of Neapolitan archival sources, tragically burnt on 30 September 1943 by the occupying German troops as retaliation against the “Quattro Giornate” uprising earlier that month.³

1. I am grateful to the many readers who have helped me in several ways (language, content, and bibliography) with this chapter: Bonnie Blackburn, Anthony M. Cummings, Mario Gaglione, Andrea Improta, Francesca Manzari, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Yolanda Plumley and Paola Vitolo.

2. Giuliana Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, “Due nuovi frammenti di musica profana del primo Quattrocento nell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone”, *Studi musicali* 24 (1995): 185-208.

3. Had they survived, the registers most relevant for our purposes would have been those of the *Rationes Thesaurariorum*, the Treasury, where notices on the expenses of the *magister capellae* were detailed, and the *Quaderni*, referring to *De Curialatu* and to personnel (including musicians)

Many late-Angevin documents had been removed or destroyed well before the 1943 burning, perhaps when Charles of Durazzo took power in Naples (July 1381), or during the troubled years of the struggle between the Anjous and the Durazzos at the end of the fourteenth century and, soon thereafter, between René of Anjou and the new Aragonese conquerors during the 1420s-1430s.⁴ It is possible that, under Alfonso the Magnanimous, who rose to power in 1443 (his *Triunfo all'antica* is featured in the superb marble arch of the Castel Nuovo in Naples), many late Angevin sources (perhaps including musical sources) were moved from Naples to Sicily, then to Aragon and, eventually, destroyed as a type of *damnatio memoriae*. Indeed, a mid-sixteenth-century inventory of the Registers reveals an early gap from 1353 to 1381, that is, from the most important part of the reign of Joanna I (r. 1343-1382). Additional losses occurred in the five successive centuries from 1443 to 1943 (see Appendix 2, for a comparison between two lists of archival registers).

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The common consensus, possibly stimulated by the aura of myth surrounding the “wise and learned” King Robert (r. 1309-1343),⁵ is that his rich

attached to the *Hospitio Regis*, i.e., the court. The reference-work is Bartolommeo Capasso, *Inventario cronologico sistematico dei registri angioini conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* (Naples: Rinaldo e Sellitto, 1894); the whole history of this archive is detailed in Stefano Palmieri, “L'Archivio della regia zecca. Formazione, perdite documentarie e ricostruzione”, in *L'État Angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle: Actes du colloque international (Rome-Naples, 7-11 November 1995)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 245 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1998), 417-445; Id., *Degli archivi napolitani. Storia e tradizione* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 2002); Andreas Kiesewetter, “La cancelleria angioina”, in *L'État Angevin*, 361-415.

4. See Nunzio Federigo Faraglia, *Storia della lotta tra Alfonso V. d'Aragona e Renato d'Angiò* (Lanciano: Carabba, 1908); Georges Peyronnet, “I Durazzo e Renato d'Angiò”, in *Storia di Napoli*, Vol. 3 (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1969), 335-435; Christian de Méridol, *Le roi René et la seconde maison d'Anjou* (Paris: Le Leopard d'Or, 1987); Oren Margolis, *The Politics of Culture in Quattrocento Europe: René of Anjou in Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

5. See at least Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence: Bemporad, 1922-1931); Alessandro Cutolo, *Gli Angioini* (Florence: Nemi, 1934); Émile G. Léonard, *Gli Angioini di Napoli*, trans. Renato Liguori (Milan: Dall'Oglio, 1967); more recently Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); also useful is the historical outline by David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500. The Struggle for Dominion* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997). On Angevin art patronage, see at least Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples: Church Buildings in Angevin Italy, 1266-1343* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004); *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713. New Approaches*, ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Andreas Bräm, *Neapolitanische Bilderbibeln des Trecento. Anjou-Buchmalerei von Robert dem Weisen bis zu Johanna I*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007); Cathleen A. Fleck, *The Clement Bible at the Medieval Court of Naples and Avignon* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Paola Vitolo, “Immagini religiose e rappresentazione del potere nell'arte

patronage of the arts, including music, was unmatched in later periods, at least until the time of Alfonso of Aragon (who may have been as pious and curious as Robert, but less personally involved with music).⁶ There would be no more compositions by the king himself (“*magnus cantor et inventor cantus*”),⁷ such as the *Credo Regis* in *cantus fractus*;⁸ no more dedications of music writings such as Marchetto da Padova’s *Pomerium* (with his splendid, biblical allusion to the “*ministrorum caterva canentium*” surrounding the king and raising their musical voices to heaven);⁹ no isorhythmic motets by Vitry and colleagues for him;¹⁰ no double chapel of singers within the Angevin castle (whose list of members has been tentatively reconstructed by Anna Maria Voci and which, according to Samantha Kelly, was “comparable to those of the fifteenth-century courts of Burgundy and France”);¹¹ no longer a household with *hystriones* (performers), or organists, or writers (such as Convenevo-

napoletana durante il regno di Giovanna I d’Angiò”, *Annali di Storia moderna e contemporanea* 16 (2010): 249–70; on the literary context Francesco Sabatini, “La cultura a Napoli nell’età angioina”, in *Storia di Napoli*, Vol. 4.2, 1–315 (then as *Napoli angioina*, Naples: 1975); Nicola De Blasi and Alberto Varvaro, “Napoli e l’Italia meridionale”, in *Letteratura italiana*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, Vol. 7.2, *Storia e Geografia: L’età moderna* (Turin: Einaudi, 1988), 235–325.

6. The standard reference on this is Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). On Alfonso’s cultural patronage see most recently Fulvio Delle Donne, *Alfonso il Magnanimo e l’invenzione dell’umanesimo monarchico: Ideologia e strategie di legittimazione alla corte aragonese di Napoli* (Rome: Isime, 2015).

7. This comment comes from Gabrio de’ Zamorei, a Parmesan lawyer who followed the Angevins.

8. Marco Gozzi, “Italy to 1300” and “The Trecento”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 121–35 and 136–60; Marco Gozzi, “Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy”, in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 55–78; Marco Gozzi, “I Prototipi del canto fratto: Credo regis e Credo cardinalis”, in *Cantus fractus italiano: Un’antologia*, Musica Mensurabilis, 4, ed. Marco Gozzi (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), 137–54.

9. See Marchetto da Padova, *Lucidarium. Pomerium*, La Tradizione Musicale, 12; Le regole della musica, 3, ed. Marco Della Sciuca, Tiziana Sucato, and Carla Vivarelli (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007).

10. Two such pieces survive; *O canenda / Rex quem metrorum*, on a tenor for St. Louis, and *Flos ortus inter lilia / Celsa cedrus*, for Robert’s saintly brother, Louis of Toulouse. On these see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, “The Emergence of Ars nova”, *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 285–317; Margaret Bent, “Early Papal Motets”, in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 5–43; more recently Francesco Zimei, “Musiche per san Ludovico: Roberto d’Angiò, autore e committente, tra Marchetto da Padova e Philippe de Vitry”, in *Da Ludovico d’Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa: I testi e le immagini. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Napoli – S. Maria Capua Vetere, 3–5 Nov. 2016)*, ed. Teresa D’Urso, Alessandra Periccioli Saggese, and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2017), 367–83.

11. Anna Maria Voci, “La cappella di corte dei primi sovrani angioini di Napoli”, *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* (hereafter ASPN) 113 (1995): 69–126; Kelly, *The New Solomon*, 69.

da Prato, Gabrio Zamorei and others)¹² praising the king's uncommon musical talent and the important role played by music at his court.¹³

It would be tempting to conclude, therefore, that after 1343 the importance of Naples as a center for music, including cultivation of the so-called *Ars Nova*, or even *Ars Subtilior* polyphony, declined. Why, then, turn to the topic? Because, as often is the case in Naples, traces of continuity in artistic and musical practices can be seen later in time, albeit with difficulty (concealed as they are under the weight of such a troubled history). And the “vasto e infermo regno” of Robert's granddaughter Joanna,¹⁴ turbulent and marked by struggle as it was,¹⁵ was nonetheless important for artistic patronage¹⁶ and possibly also for music, as first suggested by Nino Pirrotta in his famous hypothesis regarding the supposed “*scuola napoletana*”, developed by others.¹⁷

12. Beatrice Pescerelli, “Un omaggio musicale a Roberto d'Angiò”, *Studi musicali* 20 (1991): 175-9; Alessandro Tomei, “I Regia carmina dedicati a Roberto d'Angiò nella British Library di Londra: Un Manoscritto tra Italia e Provenza”, *Arte Medievale* 6 (2016): 201-12.

13. Carla Vivarelli, “Di una pretesa scuola napoletana”: Sowing the Seeds of the *Ars Nova* at the Court of Robert of Anjou”, *The Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 272-96.

14. The most comprehensive study is Émile G. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne 1^{ère}, reine de Naples*, 3 vols. (Monaco: Imprimerie de Monaco, 1932-1937) (a fourth volume was left incomplete and unpublished); Andreas Kiesewetter, s.v. “Giovanna I d'Angiò, Regina di Sicilia”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 55 (Rome: Treccani, 2000), 456-78; Mario Gaglione, *Donne e potere a Napoli: Le sovrane angioine: Consorti, vicarie e regnanti (1266-1442)* (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2009); Elizabeth Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr: The Reign and Disputed Reputation of Johanna I of Naples* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

15. Remember, in this context, the blame Petrarch cast on Naples in his *Familiars* – V.6 and XV.7,9 – after the death, in January 1343, of King Robert: “Morte regis, mutata regni facies”. See Andreas Kiesewetter, “Francesco Petrarca e Roberto d'Angiò”, *ASPN* 123 (2005): 145-76; Rodney J. Lokaj, “La Cleopatra napoletana: Giovanna d'Angiò nelle “*Familiars*” di Petrarca”, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 177 (2000): 481-521.

16. On Angevin art patronage I limit myself to naming some of the major scholars: Caroline Bruzelius, Tania Michalsky, Nicolas Bock, Cordelia Warr, Janis Elliott, Cathleen A. Fleck, Robert Musto, Samantha Kelly, Andreas Bräm, Corrado Bologna, Francesco Aceto, Pierluigi Leone de Castris, Francesco Abbate, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Mario Gaglione, Bianca De Divitiis, Paola Vitolo, Francesca Manzari, Andrea Improta, and Vinni Lucherini.

17. The existence of an early musical *scuola napoletana* before the well-known one of the eighteenth-century is currently a disputed topic. After the pioneering contribution by Nino Pirrotta, “*Scuole polifoniche italiane durante il secolo XIV: Di una pretesa scuola napoletana*”, *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 1 (1953): 11-18, see: Reinhard Strohm, “Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia”, in *In cantu et in sermone. Festschrift for Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Francesco Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki, 1989), 65-74; Vivarelli, “Di una pretesa scuola napoletana”; Carla Vivarelli, “‘*Ars cantus mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris*.’ Un trattato napoletano di *Ars subtilior*?”, in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VII. “Dolci e nuove note”*. Atti del Convegno (Certaldo, December 2005), ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2009), 103-42; Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, “The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism”, in *Papal Music and Musicians*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 44-92; Jason Stoessel, “The Angevin Struggle for the Kingdom of Naples (c. 1378-1411) and the Politics of Repertoire in Mod A: New Hypotheses”, *Journal of Music Research*

It is my primary goal to demonstrate the truth of this theory. In order to compensate for the lack of direct documentation I will carefully reexamine the existing secondary literature, taking into account what can be drawn from other types of sources, such as miniatures, poetry, and literary documents. In closing, I will discuss a few polyphonic songs associated with the Angevin court that were composed at the time of the Schism.

THE REIGN OF JOANNA AND HER MUSICAL PATRONAGE: AN OVERVIEW

The basic problem is to determine if the troubled reign of Joanna – usually termed the “tragic” or “sorrowful” queen – afforded her sufficient scope for musical patronage. The first nine years after her coronation in August of 1344 were indeed tumultuous, with the dreadful murder in Aversa of her first husband, Andrew of Hungary (September 1345) – in which the queen was allegedly involved¹⁸ – followed by the collapse of her popularity, the successive revenge of her husband’s family, and Joanna’s remarriage and subsequent exile to Provence in 1348, hosted by Pope Clement VI, Pierre Roger, at his splendid court in Avignon.¹⁹ She repaired there to escape the military campaigns of Louis the Great of Hungary (r. 1347–1352), but also in order to save her reputation with the pontiff and deny any association with the plot against her first husband.

The following fifteen years or more – from the death of Clement VI in 1352 until ca. 1368 – were similarly troubled for Joanna, dominated by the tyranny of her second and unloved husband Louis of Taranto and a new power struggle begun after his death (May 1362),²⁰ and also by the powerful lead-

Online. A Journal of the Music Council of Australia 5 (2014): <http://www.jmro.org.au/index.php/mca2/article/view/95> (accessed June 22, 2019).

18. See the remarks by the chronicler Matteo Villani (in Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giovanni Porta [Parma: Guanda, 1995], XIII, 52): “Scellerata et crudele morte del re Andreas [...] Per la morte del detto re Andreas si scompigliò tutto il regno di Puglia”. Another Tuscan writer, Giannozzo Sacchetti, brother of the more famous poet, Franco, wrote a canzone excoriating the queen, accusing her of colluding in the murder: “Giovanna, femminella e non reina / non donna ma fancella sconoscente, / ingrata e frodolente, / albergo di lossuria e di resia [...] / Non ti rimorde ancor la gran follia / per te commessa ne’ passati mali / che puoser fine al viver d’Andreasso?”. See Giannozzo Sacchetti, *Rime*, ed. Tiziana Arvigo (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2005), IV.

19. See the classic volume by Guillaume Mollat, *Les papes d’Avignon (1305-1378)* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1912); Bernard Guillemain, *Les papes d’Avignon (1309-1376)* (Paris: Édition du Cerf, 2000); Francesco Cerasoli, “Clemente VI e Giovanna I di Napoli. Documenti inediti dell’Archivio Vaticano (1343-1352)”, *ASPN* 21 (1896): 3-41, 227-64, 427-75, and 667-704; and 22 (1897): 3-46.

20. Her third (and penultimate) marriage, to James IV of Majorca (1363-1375), was equally unhappy.

ership of the Florentine Niccolò Acciaiuoli (a former banker and a bibliophile, correspondent of writers such as Petrarch and Boccaccio), who was appointed grand seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples in 1348 (a notable position that he held until his death in 1365).²¹ Joanna's reign was also marked by, among other troubles, the continuous threats and intrigues of her enemies (from both the Durazzo and Taranto factions), the rebellions of the barons, the uprising of provinces such as Apulia, the perpetual scarcity of funds, and her ambitious but never-achieved plan of reconquering Sicily.

The queen enjoyed a period of relatively peaceful and independent power from 1368 until 1380, chiefly thanks to her alliance with the Avignonese popes during the Schism. The difficulties she faced at other times notwithstanding, the kingdom was ever abandoned or left without culture. Since King Robert's time the study of law continued to flourish within the local *Studio*, as did those of medicine, science, and theology,²² though the latter was cultivated primarily within local Dominican, Augustinian, and Franciscan houses.²³ The Franciscan Paupers (the *Fraticelli*) in particular, the most radical subsidiary branch of the order, had been persecuted by the Roman curia during the papacy of John XXII and found safe haven in Naples, where they thrived.

What Naples most lacked, in spite of the efforts made by people like the Acciaiuolis, was the presence of an urban cultural elite similar to that of Florence, grounded in the mercantile wealth, which has proved to be so essential for the cultivation of vernacular poetry and Ars Nova repertory.²⁴ On the other hand, Queen Joanna's aesthetic interests must have been strongly influenced by French culture.²⁵ She and her sister (and then rival) Maria of Cal-

21. On Acciaiuoli see Leopoldo Tanfani, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli. Studi storici fatti principalmente sui documenti dell'Archivio fiorentino* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1863); Francesco Paolo Tocco, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli: Vita e politica in Italia alla metà del XIV secolo* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo, 2001); Luciano Gargan, "I libri di Niccolò Acciaiuoli e la biblioteca della Certosa di Firenze", *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 53 (2012), 37-116.

22. The local university lacked a fully articulated system of teaching based on the seven liberal arts. The familiar testimony of Boethius's treatise *De institutione musica* (Napoli: Biblioteca Nazionale, V.A.14), with its gorgeous musical miniatures, suggests a rather different conclusion, as do other writings on music theory from the Neapolitan kingdom, a topic to which I will return.

23. See Monti, "L'Età angioina", in *Storia della Università di Napoli* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1924), 19-150; Domenico Ambrasi, "La vita religiosa", in *Storia di Napoli*, Vol. 3, 439-573.

24. On this see Michael P. Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 83-99; John Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence", in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia* (Bologna, 27 August - 1 September 1987), ed. Angelo Pompilio, 3 vols. (Turin: EDT, 1991), 126-35.

25. She surely took advantage of the presence of the renowned royal library founded by her grandfather Robert (though many books were lost soon after his death). See Luigi Chiappelli, "Una notevole libreria napoletana del '300", *Studi Medievali* 1 (1928): 456-70; Cornelia C. Coulter, "The

abria were raised and educated by their grandmother, the pious Sancia of Majorca (1285-1345), queen consort and a prominent patron in the sacred sphere.²⁶ The two sisters were also influenced, in a far more mundane sense, by two noblewomen and their acquired relatives, both influential and ambiguous figures at court, Agnese of Périgord (a sister of the famous Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord) and Catherine of Valois-Courtenay, Empress of Constantinople.²⁷

Joanna is described as learned in some chronicles,²⁸ but, more frequently, writers underlined her fondness (especially in her youth) for courtly pastimes and civic entertainments, such as public dancing, feasts with music, horseback riding, and tournaments. Such a relaxed and festive climate is also echoed in several well-known passages from Giovanni Boccaccio's early writings, compiled in 1327-1341:²⁹ several *sonetti* from his *Rime*, the *Teseida*, the *Filostrato*, the slightly later *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, and *Ninfale d'Ameto* all abound with references to love poems, sweet tunes, and beautiful dances ("di varie feste, di nuovi giuochi, di bellissime danze, d'infiniti strumenti, d'amorose

Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 75 (1944): 141-55; Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 74-5.

26. See Ronald G. Musto, "Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans", in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, ed. Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 179-214.

27. There is an intriguing reference to the pervasiveness (and frivolity) of French culture in Naples in the *Llibre de les dones* by the Catalan Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1388), in which one reads that all noble women at the time "used to warble French songs, as much as the French noble ladies did" ("[...] e abassar e a basar los homens devant tot hom tot jorn e de cantar frances, guarguolaient, axi com fan les dones generoses en França, e de parlar de amors"): see Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 85. I thank Mario Gaglione for drawing my attention to this.

28. See for instance Angelo di Costanzo, *Istoria del Regno di Napoli* (Milan: Società tipografica dei classici italiani, 1805), Vol. 1.7, 53: "fu amatissima da tutti i buoni, e massime nella città di Napoli, ove, mentre ella regnò, fiorirono le armi e le lettere d'ogni disciplina, fu nel vivere modestissima e di bellezza più tosto rappresentava maestà [...] ebbe gran pensiero di tenere Napoli abbondante non solo di cose necessarie al vitto, ma allo splendore ed ornamento della città". For a survey of the historical sources see Bartolommeo Capasso, *Le Fonti della Storia delle Provincie Napoletane dal 568 al 1500* (Naples: Marghieri, 1902), 118-68; and, more recently, Chiara De Caprio, *Scrivere la Storia a Napoli tra Medioevo e Prima Età Moderna* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2013).

29. See Francesco Torraca, "Giovanni Boccaccio a Napoli (1326-1339)", *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 39 (1914): 25-80, 229-67, 409-55, 605-96; Fausto Nicolini, "Figure e Aspetti della Napoli Tre-quattrocentesca: La Madonna di Piedigrotta e Giovanni Boccaccio", *Bollettino dell'Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli* 9-12 (1955-1956), 321-323; Gennaro Maria Monti, "Intorno alla lettera napoletana", in *Nuovi studi angioini* (Trani: Vecchi, 1937), 501-20; Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 79-83 and 103-15; more recently the two volumes of collected essays *Boccaccio Angioino. Materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*, ed. Giancarlo Alfano, Teresa D'Urso and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2012), and *Boccaccio e Napoli. Nuovi materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*. Atti del Convegno "Boccaccio Angioino. Per il settimo centenario della nascita di Giovanni Boccaccio", ed. Giancarlo Alfano, Emma Grimaldi, Sebastiano Martelli, Andrea Mazzucchi, Matteo Palumbo, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Carlo Vecce (Florence: Cesati, 2015).

canzoni": *Fiammetta*, Book V), heard throughout the Neapolitan court and other agreeable locations such as the thermal baths. Some years later, Boccaccio would recall the city (now showing to him its darker sides) in his masterwork, the *Decameron*, some of whose tales are set in Naples and Sicily.³⁰

Writing about the ceremonies at Joanna's first wedding, the chronicler Domenico da Gravina describes the following:

The two young, the Duke and the Queen, got across the beautiful town of Naples, always immersed in youthful plays and delights [...] sometimes walking, sometimes riding, cheerful and caring about nothing [...] In the same city the Queen was immersed in her plays, i.e. dance, horse riding or tournaments, joyfully wasting her time and being seduced by her vain youthfulness.³¹

Similarly her second wedding, to Louis, followed by their joint coronation on Pentecost, 27 May 1352, was another major event in Naples, and may be the subject of a famous musical scene ("The Marriage") among the frescoes of the Neapolitan church of Santa Maria Incoronata, painted years later (ca. 1370), in a beautiful post-Giottesque style, by the leading court painter, Roberto d'Oderisio / Odorisio (see Figure 1).³²

The pervasiveness of French culture in Naples is also attested to by the popularity of chivalric ideals and related literature at court.³³ A telling example is the *Guiron le Courtois* (or *Roman du roi Meliadus*) by Rustichello da Pisa (now London, British Library, Add. 12228, between 1352-1362), illuminated for the court perhaps by Cristoforo Orimina: it bears several drawings of musical interest, including accompanied singing by a minstrel (a *cithara*-

30. The most famous are, respectively, those of Andreuccio da Perugia, II.5, and Lisabetta da Messina, IV.5: See Vittore Branca, *Boccaccio medievale e nuovi studi sul "Decamerone"* (Florence: Sansoni, [1956] 1986⁶); *Boccaccio e la Sicilia*, ed. Giuseppe Manitta (Castiglione di Sicilia: Il Convivio, 2015), and see also below.

31. "Hi juvenes Dux et Regina juvenilibus ludis et solatiis insistentes [...] alternatim prodeuntes, alternatim equitantes per splendendam Urbem Neapolitanam, jucundi, de nullo curantes, semper incedebant [...] dicta regina Johanna juvenilibus inducta colludiis semper chorizando, semper equitando, semper in hastiludiis vacando tota facta est laeta, vana juventute seducta", after Domenico da Gravina, *Chronicon de rebus in Apulia usque ad annum 1350*, ed. Ludovico A. Muratori (Naples: 1890), 14-15; see also Marino Zabbia, "Il 'Chronicon' di Domenico da Gravina. Aspetti e problemi della produzione storiografica notarile nel Mezzogiorno angioino", *Annali dell'Istituto italiano per gli studi storici* 13 (1995-1996): 285-360.

32. See Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, s.v. "Oderisi di Guidone da Gubbio", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 79 (Rome: Treccani, 2013), <http://www.treccani.it/biografico/index.html>; accessed June 22, 2019; on the Incoronata church see below.

33. See Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, *I romanzi cavallereschi miniati a Napoli* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979).

player, f. 222v) and other musicians before the royal listeners and courtiers (see Figure 2).



Figure 1. Roberto d'Oderisio, *Il Matrimonio*, frescoes from the Chiesa dell'Incoronata, Naples (public domain image)



Figure 2. *Singers and players before the royal couple*.
London, British Library, Add. 12228 (ff. 222v-223r) (reproduced by permission)
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The artistic ties between Naples and Florence, two centers linked by trade and bank loans, may have strengthened the influence, on the court of Naples, of both French and Italian elements.³⁴ We should bear in mind that when Niccolò Acciaiuoli moved to Naples, he brought with him dozens of Florentines, among them colleagues and relatives, arranging marriages and other affairs with Neapolitans.³⁵ In one of his letters, Acciaiuoli mention several

34. Georges Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale au XIII et au XIV siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1903); David Abulafia, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy", *Economic History Review* II ser., 33 (1981): 377-388. With regard to music, the French orientation of Florentine music is the subject of the highly influential essay by Michael Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 83-99.

35. Especially his cousin Angelo I – chancellor at Naples from 1349 – and his sister Lapa Acciaiuoli, in Buondelmonti. The latter appears in a detail of Andrea Bonaiuti's fresco in the Span-

lesser people as their familiars, some of whom may have been clerics, possibly entrusted with musical responsibilities.³⁶ Moreover, Niccolò's frequent missions and travels abroad (often to Greece and Sicily, or to Avignon in 1360) represent possible avenues of exchange for music personnel and repertory (one immediately think of dance music, as the Queen was so eager of it);³⁷ and conceivably, other members of this renowned Tuscan family (e.g., Cardinal Angelo) may have had contacts with composers, or in general with artists and writers.³⁸ It is thus possible that some musicians, minstrels, or instrumentalists from Tuscany found their way to Naples, and that the Acciaiuoli acted as intermediary for those wishing to travel South. Such was certainly the case, for instance, with Giovanni da Firenze, renamed "Malizia Barattone". A Neapolitan document of December 1360 (written by Niccolò Alunno d'Alife, another learned official at the court),³⁹ labelled him "huomo buffone" and the queen awarded him a small island in recognition of his talents: namely, pleasing the audience with amusing stories and reciting sonnets transformed into songs, that is, improvised singing such as that shown in the previous figure.⁴⁰

ish Chapel of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1366-1367), next to three other female figures: Queen Joanna, the mystic Bridget of Sweden, and Bridget's daughter St. Catherine of Vadstena. Lapa Acciaiuoli was also the recipient of some interesting letters in the mixed-vernacular language sent from and to Naples: see above footnote 40.

36. Here we find "Don Roberto", "mastro Tolmo", "Francischiello", "Antuono de lo Doçe", "frate Filippo et frate Luca", "Ser Piero", and "misser Francisco"; Ser Piero, for instance, is said to be in need of payment "per ligare lo Missale": see Sabatini, "Vulgare 'civile' e volgare cancelleresco", 123.

37. According to Randall Rosenfeld, many *estampie* titles from the very well-known manuscript Lo (London, British Library, Add. 29987) "can be accounted for by Acciaiuoli connections of one sort or another". See "Possible Origins of the *Lo* Dances and their Performance Implications", in *The Sounds and Sight of Performance in Early Music: Essays in Honor of Timothy J. McGee*, ed. Maureen Epp and Brian E. Power (London: Routledge, 2009), 155-84, esp. 179. The famous *Lamento di Tristano* bears strong French influence starting from its title.

38. Angelo II Acciaiuoli (1340-1408) was a major patron of the arts. Cardinal from 1384 and Legate of Naples in 1390 on behalf of Pope Boniface IX, he resided mostly in Rome after becoming Chancellor of the Holy See in 1387, especially after he was appointed Archpriest of St. Peter's at the Vatican in 1404 and Dean of the College of Cardinals in 1405. From 1385 until his death Acciaiuoli was also the commendatory abbot of the Badia in Florence, a Benedictine monastery with an active scriptorium. In fact, he was the owner of a wonderfully notated Missal (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30), illuminated by Bartolomeo di Fruosino and others in 1404-1405. In a much-discussed hypothesis, Nino Pirrotta proposed to identify the Ars nova composer Paolo da Firenze with an "abbas Pozzoli aretine diocesis" (S. Andrea del Pozzo near Arezzo), named in a notarial document signed in Rome in 1404 by Cardinal Acciaiuoli himself; see Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino extra moenia", in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. 3 (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1952), 577-606, esp. 580; Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence", *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 203-46.

39. Dante Marrocco, *Gli "Arcani storici" di Nicolò di Alife: Contributo alla storia angioina* (Naples: Ariello, 1965).

40. Pasquale Stoppelli, "Malizia Barattone (Giovanni di Firenze) autore del 'Pecorone'", *Filolo-*

Further records of payments⁴¹ to minstrels and performers (some of them dating back to the service of King Robert) are scattered throughout the decades of the 1340s-1360s.⁴²

Traveling in the opposite direction, from Southern Italy to the north, we see that the second half of the fourteenth century is precisely the time when the tradition of popular singing of Neapolitan and Sicilian love poems spread to northern centers, where they were much appreciated by noble listeners,⁴³ attracted to such exotic style of singing, and already accustomed to the similar genre of the so-called *veneziane*.⁴⁴ This is widely testified to both by writers such as Boccac-

gia e Critica 2 (1977): 1-34; Elena Abramov-van Rijk, "Corresponding Through Music: Three Examples from the Trecento", *Acta Musicologica* 83, no. 1 (2011): 3-37; and Ead., *Parlar cantando. The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), in which the whole question of the minstrels' repertory is carefully analyzed. I thank Elena Abramov-van Rijk for bringing this case to my attention.

41. We must only rely for this on the prewar research carried out by local scholars such as Bartolommeo Capasso, Nicola Barone and others, but the following are worthy of detailed mention: Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Studi storici fatti sopra 84 registri angioini dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* (Naples: Rinaldi e Sellitto, 1876); C. Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche tratte da 62 registri angioini dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* (Naples: Rinaldi e Sellitto, 1877); C. Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli [...]*, Vol. 2.1 (1286-1434) (Naples: Furcheim, 1879); Matteo Camera, *Elucubrazioni Storico-Diplomatiche su Giovanna I^a Regina di Napoli e Carlo III di Durazzo* (Salerno: Tipografia Nazionale, 1889); Matteo Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie, dall'origine e fondazione della monarchia fino a tutto il regno dell'augusto sovrano Carlo III*, 2 vols. (Naples: Stamperie e cartiere del Fibreno, 1841-1860); Salvatore De Crescenzo, "Notizie storiche tratte dai documenti angioini conosciuti col nome di Arche", *ASPN* 21 (1896): 95-118, 382-96, 476-93; and Émile Léonard, "Comtes de l'hôtel de Jeanne I^{ère}, de 1352 à 1369", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 38 (1920): 215-78.

42. Two *hystiones* (theatrical performers), Bernardo and Ganselmo of Montpellier, are listed as *familiarum nostrorum* of the Queen in 1343 (possibly at her first wedding), along with a Goffrido de Melfi *naccarario*, the latter also cited with his wife Alsissime, *eius uxori, familiaribus*, in 1344-45 (Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 26; Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 256; also quoted by Vivarelli, "Di una pretesa scuola napoletana", 254); two shawm players (*zaramellatoribus duobus*), Mastro Andrea and Simone di Montefusco (near Avellino), are paid in 1352-53, along with a *naccarino* (possibly the same Goffrido de Melfi) (Léonard, "Comtes", 242), and they seem to have formed the typical ensemble for outdoor music, known as *coblas* on the Iberian Peninsula (Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001), 221; in March 1354, a certain Antonella di Ceccio da Nocera, a native female singer (*cantatrix*) in the service of the royal couple, is paid in place of Ciccarello di Montefiascone detto Cieco (De Crescenzo, *Notizie storiche*, 483); in 1345-46 there are payment records to the *tubette* (heralds) Petro Ioannis de Rosa de Sancto Germano and Thomasius de Oppido (Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 51-3), while in 1366 some *menestrelli* di Giannotto Stendardo and, in 1368, a group of the late King Robert's heralds of, are rewarded (respectively, De Crescenzo, *Notizie storiche*, 488, and Léonard, "Comtes", 266).

43. One such nobleman may be Zaninus de Peraga de Padua, best known as a knight and a warlord in Padua under the Carraresi (d.1375), who wrote a three-voice ballata, *Se le lagrime antiche*, which survives in the northern Italian fragment Stresa14: see Anne Hallmark, "French influence in northern Italy, c. 1400", in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 193-225: 201.

44. See Nino Pirrotta, "Echi di arie veneziane del primo Quattrocento", in *Poesia e musica e altri*

cio, Sacchetti, Gherardi, Simone Prodenzani da Orvieto, Francesco di Vannozzo or Giannozzo Manetti,⁴⁵ and by the physical appearance of such poems in literary anthologies often belonging to Florentine merchants.⁴⁶

More important, a few polyphonic settings of these *siciliane*, recast as Ars Nova ballatas but with specifically south-Italian features (such as binary mensuration, contrapuntal parallelisms, repetition of fragmented texts and syllables, insertion of supernumerary vowel at the beginning of a phrase, and a mournful tone due to the theme of departure or separation), survive anonymously in music sources from the Veneto (R, Man, Pad553, and possibly also PadB and Stresa14),⁴⁷ and (possibly) from central-Italy (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1067, a palimpsest source).⁴⁸ This was first identified by Nino Pir-

saggi, ed. Nino Pirrotta (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1994), 47-64; Reinhart Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1350-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 103ff.

45. See Ezio Levi D'Ancona, *Francesco di Vannozzo e la lirica nelle corti lombarde durante la metà del secolo XIV* (Florence: Galletti e Cocci, 1908), 320-34; Santorre Debenedetti, *Il Sollazzo. Contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel Trecento* (Turin: Bocca, 1922); on Boccaccio's *siciliana*, see also Gianluca D'Agostino, "Le ballate del Decameron. Note integrative di analisi metrica e stilistica", *Studi sul Boccaccio* 24 (1996): 123-80; Rosario Coluccia, "Tradizioni auliche e popolari nella poesia del Regno di Napoli in età angioina", *Medioevo romanzo* 2 (1975): 44-153; Rosario Coluccia and Riccardo Gualdo, "Sondaggi sull'eredità del Notaro", *Studi linguistici italiani* 26 (2000): 3-51; and more recently Rosario Coluccia, "Boccaccio angioino tra centro e periferia del Regno", in *Boccaccio e Napoli. Nuovi materiali*, 45-70.

46. There is a lengthy bibliography on this topic, partly summarized by Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*; *Mostra di codici romanzi delle biblioteche fiorentine* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957); see also the following surveys: F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music", in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 55-76; F. Alberto Gallo, "Dal Duecento al Quattrocento", in *Letteratura italiana*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, Vol. 6: *Teatro, musica, tradizione dei classici* (Turin: Einaudi, 1986), 245-63; Agostino Ziino, "Rime per musica e per danza", in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, Vol. 2: *Il Trecento* (Rome: Salerno, 1993), 455-529; Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento. Una revisione per dati e problemi", in *Col dolce suon che da te piove. Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo, in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani (Florence: SISMELE-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 389-428; the literary tradition of Trecento and Ars nova songs (including the sources of the *siciliane*) has been taken up and studied by Lauren McGuire Jennings, *Senza vestimenta: The Literary Tradition of Trecento Song* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), especially 109-59, where she proved, for instance, the provenance of some sections of the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII. 1040 (a "zibaldone" belonged to the merchant Amelio Bonaguisi), containing a small collection of Italian lyrics (*siciliane*, *ballate*, *sonetti* and *strambotti*) and French ones (*virelais*, *balletes*, *pastourelles* and other short songs with refrain), from a single original collection of Italian and French lyric poetry, presumably set to music.

47. Man = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065; Pad553 = Padova, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni soppresse, Santa Giustina 553; PadB = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1115; Stresa14 = Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte, 14. See Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Groups and Projects among the Paduan Polyphonic Sources" in *I frammenti musicali padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa*, ed. Franco Facchin and Pietro Gnan (Padua: Abbazia Santa Giustina – Biblioteca Universitaria, 2006), 183-214.

48. Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, "Una fonte trecentesca della ballata 'Deh, no me fare lan-

rotta and later confirmed by other scholars.⁴⁹ The following is a finding list of such pieces scattered in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771, “Codex Reina” (R):⁵⁰

- | | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| f. 3: | <i>De, no me fare languire</i> | (also in Angelica 1067, and Bologna Covers 36, dated 1369) |
| ... | | |
| [f. 25v: | <i>El capo biondo e li capilli d'oro</i> | (“henrici”; also in Pit: “Arrigo”)] |
| [ff. 25v-26: | <i>Cbi ama ne la lengua</i> | (“Jacobelus Bianchi”)] |
| f. 26: | <i>Fenir mia vita me conviene con guay</i> | (also in Pad553 after <i>E par che la vita mia</i> , which in turn is labelled “cieciliana” in Mag1040; also cited by Prodenzani, Sonnet 48: “de Cicilia”; also in Mag1078) |
| [c. 26v: | <i>L’ochi mie piangne</i> | (“Jacobelus Bianchi”)] |
| ... | | |
| f. 27v: | <i>Con lagreme sospiro per grave dolya</i> | (also in Mag1078) |
| ... | | |
| ff. 28v-29: | <i>Troveraço mercè</i> | |
| [f. 29: | <i>Dona, se ’l cor m’aperçi]</i> | |
| f. 29v: | <i>Dolce lo mio drudo</i> | (as a canzone attributed to “re Federigho” in Vat.lat. 3793) |
| ... | | |
| f. 37v: | <i>Ochi, piançete et tu, cor tribulato</i> | (also in Mag1078) |
| f. 38: | <i>Amore a lo to aspetto</i> | |
| f. 38v: | <i>E vantènde, signor mio, e vatène amore</i> | |
| f. 39: | <i>Strençi li labri, c’ànò d’amor melle</i> | (also in Treviso 43, and cited by Prodenzani, Sonnet 34) |
| f. 39v: | <i>Donna fallante, mira lo to aspeto</i> | |

guire”, *Studi medievali*, serie 3, 23 (1982): 303-9; Michael Scott Cuthbert, “‘Esperance’ and the French Song in Foreign Sources”, *Studi musicali* 36 (2007): 3-20. Against the identification of the piece in this source as a *siciliana*, see Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 125. To these sources one must add the Archivio Covers of Bologna, on which see most recently Armando Antonelli, “Tracce di ballate e madrigali a Bologna tra XIV e XV secolo”, in *L’Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VII*, 19-44: at 22-3.

49. Nino Pirrotta, “Musica polifonica per un testo attribuito a Federico II”, in *L’Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento II* (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull’Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1968), 97-108 (reprinted in Id., *Musica tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* [Turin: Einaudi, 1984], 142-53); Id., “New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition”, in *Words and Music: The Scholar’s View A Medley Of Problems And Solutions Compiled In Honor Of A. Tillman Merritt By Sundry Hands*, ed. Laurence Berman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1972), 271-91; Id., “Rhapsodic Elements in North-Italian Polyphony of the 14th Century”, *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983): 83-99; Id., “Echi di arie veneziane”; F. Alberto Gallo, “Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all’inizio del Quattrocento: Due “siciliane” del Trecento”, *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1977): 43-50; Giuseppe Donato, “Contributo alla storia delle siciliane”, in *L’Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento IV* (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull’Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1978), 183-203.

50. On which see John Nádas, “The Reina Codex Revisited”, lastly in Id., *Arte psallentes. Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento*, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale italiana, 2017), 17-54. The scholar noted that two specific scribes (labelled U and S) proved to be particularly involved with the copying of the *siciliana*-genre.

Some lesser composers (such as “Henricus/Arrigo”, or “Jacobello Bianco”) may have paid attention to this genre because of its appealing popularizing traits, come out from the realm of unwritten music. One more important than others, namely the enigmatic Antonellus / Anthonello (Marot) da Caserta – certainly Southern Italian in origin, although he made his career in the North (most likely at Visconti Pavia) as a distinguished “Ars subtilior” composer and possibly as Abbot –, provided three or four examples of such *siciliane* (all two-part, simple ballatas and all mainly from the Mancini codex).⁵¹

Following Pirrotta’s theory, Pedro Memelsdorff has drawn special attention to one ballata from the above-listed group, *Ochi piangete*, whose text contains a reference to a *donna real*, who he suggests may just be the late Queen Joanna (implying that the song was composed upon or soon after her death in 1382).⁵²

Clearly, the whole topic of the Trecento *siciliane* would need more investigation than is possible to do here. It is certain that a tradition of popularizing songs aimed at being sung was well rooted in Trecento Naples, varying from mournful love songs, to more political poems,⁵³ through to the gay serenades, here also called “mattinate”.⁵⁴

51. These are: *A pianger l’occhi mey* (also in PadB and in the fragment Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, Biblioteca musicalis, B.3.5), *Or tolta pur me sey*, and *Madonna io me ramento*, to which Pirrotta also tentatively added *Con dogliosi martire* (which is copied in the literary source Magl1078 in the same section of the other two *siciliane*). From the same source Pirrotta added to the list also *Poy che morir mi convien* by Johannes Ciconia. On Antonello in the Mancini codex see Nino Pirrotta, “Il codice di Lucca. III: Il repertorio musicale”, *Musica Disciplina* 5 (1951): 115-42; John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex, Codice Mancini* (Lucca: LIM, 1990); John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, “Two Newly Discovered Leaves from the Lucca Codex”, *Studi musicali* 34 (2005): 3-23; Ursula Günther and Anne Stone, s.v. “Antonello da Caserta”, in *New Grove*² online. Coincidentally, one “Antonello” is listed among the *valets de chambre* of Queen Joanna from 1356 to 1368 (Léonard, “Comtes”, 240).

52. Pedro Memelsdorff, “‘Occhi piangete’. Note sull’Ars nova a Napoli”, in *Boccaccio Angioino*, 369-86. The whole lines read as follows: “da poi che ‘l mi conviene / et con dolorosa pene / da la donna real esser privato. / Oi me, privato”. It comes to my mind that the word “reale” was also used by Simone Prodenzani (*Saporetto*, sonnet 47) just in conjunction with the singing of a Sicilian repertory: “Quella sera cantaro ei madriale, / Canzon del Cieco, a modo peruscino, / Rondel franceschi de fra Bartolino, / Strambotti de Cicilia a la reale”. See John Nádas, “A Cautious reading of Simone Prodenzani’s ‘Il Saporetto’”, *Ricerche* 10 (1998): 23-38.

53. See for instance those cited by Rosario Coluccia, “Tradizioni auliche e popolari nella poesia del Regno di Napoli in età angioina”, 114-115.

54. An early literary reference to such popular singing (from a petition in the Neapolitan court registry addressed to the “Reggente e giudici della Curia Vicaria di Napoli”, of 22 June 1335, after Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie*, Vol. 2, 413, and Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 194), says (only the English translation is given here): “The Neapolitan notary Jacovello Fusco is fined because he harasses a married woman, Giovannella di Gennaro, at all times, by singing, or having others sing outside her house, explicit and outrageous songs, also called in the vernacular mattinate, in the street”. As Antonio Calvia pointed out during the conference, this particular meaning of “mattinata” is explained in the *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* (ed. Salvatore Battaglia), as “omaggio reso all’amata al mattino [...] intonando canti d’amore”, with many examples from writers of the

Despite the scant information regarding secular music, more can be said in the realm of liturgical music at the court, where in fact, personnel in the sacred sphere are more frequently cited, though often referred to as a body, instead of identifying individuals by any specific names or tasks: in 1356 a *fra* Pietro and in 1368 a *fra* Ugo are cited, possibly as chapel singers, but without further details;⁵⁵ in 1352, “*fra* Antonio da Pettorano *ordinis minoris Cappellano Domini nostri Pape*”, is appointed to the chapel dedicated to the soul of King Robert within the Cathedral;⁵⁶ in 1353 “*fra* Nicola e *fra* Corrado di Calabria *dell'ordine dei Minori*” are paid for purchasing a Breviary;⁵⁷ and in 1346 the “*presbiter* Sergio Gayto de Amalfi” had been similarly appointed to preside over religious services in the chapel for the late Andrew of Hungary (“*ad celebrandum divina in cappella Sancti Ludovici intus Maiorem Ecclesiam*”).⁵⁸

Soon after, and even during, her most troubled period, Queen Joanna made many endeavors, in the name of charity and devotion, to enrich several institutions, especially the Franciscan Paupers. This was surely to fulfill her personal vows, but also perfectly in line with her ancestors’ customs, as the Anjou family boasted two revered Franciscan saints among its members, St. Louis (the French King Louis IX, r. 1214-1270)⁵⁹ and Bishop Louis of Toulouse (1274-1297, canonized April 7 1317).⁶⁰ Consequently, three of the city’s

Due- and Trecento. With regard to the *serenate*, many famous such “*serenate col calascione*”, referring to the plucked instrument typical of the Baroque Neapolitan tradition, begin with the word *fenesta* (window, *finestra* in Italian) – *Fenesta vascia*, *Fenesta ca lucivi*, *Fenesta cu’ sta nova gelusia*, etc. – hinting at the beloved leaning out of the window to listen to the songs performed for her in the street. It appears that they became a kind of well-defined genre of accompanied love songs, within the tradition of the much later *canzone napoletana*, in great vogue at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

55. Léonard, “Comtes”, 239.

56. Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 156; Vinni Lucherini, *La Cattedrale di Napoli. Storia, architettura, storiografia di un monumento medievale* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2009).

57. De Crescenzo, *Notizie storiche*, 483.

58. Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 31; and Vinni Lucherini, “Celebrare e cancellare la memoria dinastica nella Napoli angioina: Le tombe del principe Andrea d’Ungheria e della regina Giovanna I”, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 21 (2015): 76-91.

59. Jacques Le Goff, *San Luigi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996); Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis. Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: 2008). A Neapolitan edict of 1406 by King Ladislaus decrees that his calendar feast will take place in August and be celebrated throughout the kingdom. The rhymed office *Ludovicus decus regnantium* was composed by the Dominican Arnaut du Prat: for the institution of this feast on 11 August 1279 see Marcy J. Epstein, “‘Ludovicus Decus Regnantium’: Perspectives on the Rhymed Office”, *Speculum* 32 (1978): 283-334. Some scholars, however, believe that Ladislaus’s edict referred to Louis (Ludovico) of Toulouse due to the fact that some Angevin documents confuse the two names.

60. The famous altarpiece commissioned from Simone Martini – now at the Capodimonte Museum – and a chapel within the Neapolitan Duomo were dedicated to him. See Edith Pasztor, *Per la Storia di San Ludovico d’Angiò* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1955); Julian Gardner, “St Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*

main churches were Franciscan: Santa Chiara, Santa Maria la Nova, and San Lorenzo Maggiore.⁶¹

She favored the Dominicans too: one immediately thinks of the famous *scriptorium* of San Domenico maggiore, where music was also highly appreciated;⁶² but there were also the convent of San Pietro a Castello, near the Castel dell'Ovo, and the venerable institution of San Gregorio Armeno (still in existence today), whose musical activity – well-attested to since the seventeenth century – surely began well before that time.⁶³

The Queen also endorsed the Benedictine convent of SS. Severino and Sossio,⁶⁴ as well as the Augustinians, whose *magistri* were notoriously associated with the Parisian *Studium* (one of them was the music theorist Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, active in Naples at about the same time as Marchetto).⁶⁵ Of the Augustinian order was the grand church and monastery (with library) of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, founded in 1343, outside of which a wide avenue (*Largo Carbonara*) hosted the most spectacular tournaments (the same which had horrified such a witness as Petrarch). In addition, the city hosted the Carthusians at San Martino, the Celestines,⁶⁶ the church and hospital of *Santa Casa dell'Annunziata*⁶⁷ and even

39 (1976): 12-33; Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414, e un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1969), 161-7; Vinni Lucherini, "La cappella di San Ludovico nella cattedrale di Napoli", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 20, 1 (2007): 1-22; *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa: I testi e le immagini: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio cit.*

61. Only the former and the latter still retain their original early Trecento style: Santa Chiara was founded by King Robert and Queen Consort Sancia with a complex of two monasteries, libraries, and buildings all around it, like a self-contained *insula*; while San Lorenzo was erected, in the purest French Gothic style, in the same place where the local parliament (formed by the representatives of the so-called *Sedili* or *Seggi*) normally gathered. See *La chiesa e il convento di Santa Chiara*, ed. Francesco Aceto, Stefano d'Ovidio, and Elisabetta Scirocco (Salerno: Laveglia and Carlone, 2014); *Le chiese di San Lorenzo e San Domenico. Gli Ordini mendicanti a Napoli*, ed. Serena Romano and Nicolas Bock (Naples: Electa, 2005); Mario Gaglione, "Sancia di Maiorca e la dotazione del monastero di S. Chiara in Napoli nel 1342", *Rassegna storica salernitana* 27 (2010): 149-87; Rosalba Di Meglio, *Il convento francescano di S. Lorenzo di Napoli* (Salerno: Carlone, 2003).

62. As the Dominican friar had normally to be "bonus cantor, pulcerrime miniator et scriptor" in one and the same person. See Andrea Improta, "Arma nostra sunt libri". *Manoscritti e incunabili miniati dalla biblioteca di San Domenico Maggiore di Napoli* (Florence: Nerbini, 2015); Andrea Improta, "Da Cristoforo Orimina alla bottega del Maestro della Crocifissione del messale di Avignone: Il Breviario 407 della Biblioteca Casanatense", *Napoli nobilissima* 5 (2014): 81-8.

63. Nicola Spinosa, Aldo Pinto, and Adriana Valerio, *San Gregorio Armeno: storia, architettura, arte e tradizioni* (Naples: Fridericiana Editrice Universitaria, 2013); Carla Vetere, *Le pergamene di S. Gregorio Armeno di Napoli (1267-1306)* (Salerno: Laveglia and Carlone, 2006).

64. See another important *scriptorium*, see Rosaria Pilone, *Antico inventario delle pergamene del Monastero dei SS. Severino e Sossio*, 4 vols. (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1999).

65. See Vivarelli, "'Di una pretesa scuola napoletana'".

66. Church and monastery of San Pietro a Majella – founded by Pietro Angelerio/Pope Celestine V, and currently housing the Neapolitan *Conservatorio di musica* – plus the church of Ascensione a Chiaia.

67. A "refugium pauperum et receptaculum infirmorum", and a major Neapolitan institution, to become an important musical center in the Renaissance: see Giambattista D'Addosio, *Ori-*

lesser Orders, such as the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony of Vienne, who founded the church of Sant'Antonio Abate a Foria.⁶⁸

Outside the city walls, towards the marina of *Mergellina*, there was the church of *Santa Maria de Pedegripta* or *Piererotta* (today Piedigrotta), then governed by the family Brancaccio, loyal to the queen and known throughout the centuries for a very popular musical feast, the “festa di Piedigrotta” of 7-8 September. From 1313 this church hosted a special ceremony for the feast of the Annunciation, and documents from 1343 report that Joanna and her husband Andrew rode there to attend Vespers (“equitavit ad ecclesiam S. Marie de Pedegripta, in qua Vesperas audivit”), and to worship the wooden statue of the Virgin Mary, still in existence and much revered today.⁶⁹

These devotional efforts are also reflected in a remarkable production of books, including choir books. There are several such witnesses from the local Franciscan institutions, dating from the thirteenth through the fourteenth centuries, and the same is true for the Dominicans. As for the court, during the first half of the century several expenditures are recorded for religious books and miniatures,⁷⁰ and such practice was retained by Joanna, who had a special interest in illuminated bibles, particularly those embellished by the court artist Cristoforo Orimina.⁷¹ His masterpiece is the Anjou Bible, also

gine, vicende storiche e progressi della R. santa Casa dell'Annunziata di Napoli (Ospizio dei Trovatelli) (Naples: Antonio Cons, 1883); Maria Adele Ambrosio, *Itinerari storico-musicali a Napoli tra i secoli XVI e XVII: Girolamini, Tesoro di San Gennaro, Annunziata, Real Cappella di Palazzo* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 75-96; Salvatore Marino, *L'Archivio dell'Annunziata di Napoli. Inventari e documenti (secoli XII-XIX)* (Salerno: Laveglia & Carlone), 2015.

68. Mario Gaglione, “Sulla fondazione della chiesa e dell'ospedale di S. Antonio Abate in Napoli”, *Scrinia. Rivista di archivistica, paleografia, diplomatica e scienze storiche* 4 (2007): 89-104. A once-massive antiphony in four volumes and a gradual were copied for that church, whose fragments are now housed at Udine, Archivio Capitolare (MSS 20, 24, 28, 30, and 26); Andrea Improta, “Aggiunte alla miniatura napoletana del Trecento: i corali dell'Archivio Capitolare di Udine”, *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 17 (2013): 113-21.

69. Extensive bibliography on that: see most recently Stefano D'Ovidio, “La Madonna di Piedigrotta tra storia e leggenda”, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 74 (2006-2007): 47-91; and Stefano D'Ovidio, “Boccaccio, Virgilio e la Madonna di Piedigrotta”, in *Boccaccio Angioino*, 329-46. Other much-venerated Marian icons were (and still are) those in the Benedictine monastery of Montevergine (the so-called “Madonna Schiavona”, with the Anjou *fleur-de-lys* as background, ca. 1310), the Black Madonna of the Carmelite sanctuary of Santa Maria del Carmine Maggiore, and that in the monastery of Santa Maria della Neve at Casaluce (near Aversa), founded in 1360 by the noble Raimondo del Balzo (“gran Camerario”), then entrusted to the Celestines. Nanà Corsicato, *Santuari, luoghi di culto, religiosità popolare: Il culto mariano nella Napoli d'oggi* (Naples: Liguori, 2006).

70. On this topic see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, “Quelques réflexions autour de la cour angevine comme milieu culturel au XIV^e siècle”, in *L'État Angevin*, 173-91.

71. Bologna, *I pittori della corte angioina di Napoli*, 27off.; Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, “Cristophoro Orimina: An Illuminator at the Angevin Court of Naples”, in *The Anjou Bible: A Royal Manuscript Revealed: Naples 1340*, Corpus van Verluchte Handschriften, 18; Low Countries Series,

known as the Leuven Bible (or Andrew of Hungary's Bible, and the Alife Bible, after its last owner, Niccolò d'Alife, a secretary to the queen and possible patron of the arts and music).⁷²

Orimina's *studiolo* was responsible for many other beautifully illuminated books, such as the so-called "Psalter of Genève" (Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, *olim* Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Comites Latentes 15, copied in Naples, 1335-1350), particularly replete with delightful images of people making music and dancing, monks singing, and in general demonstrating the joy of life at the court of Naples even during that stormy period, as told by Boccaccio (see Figure 3):

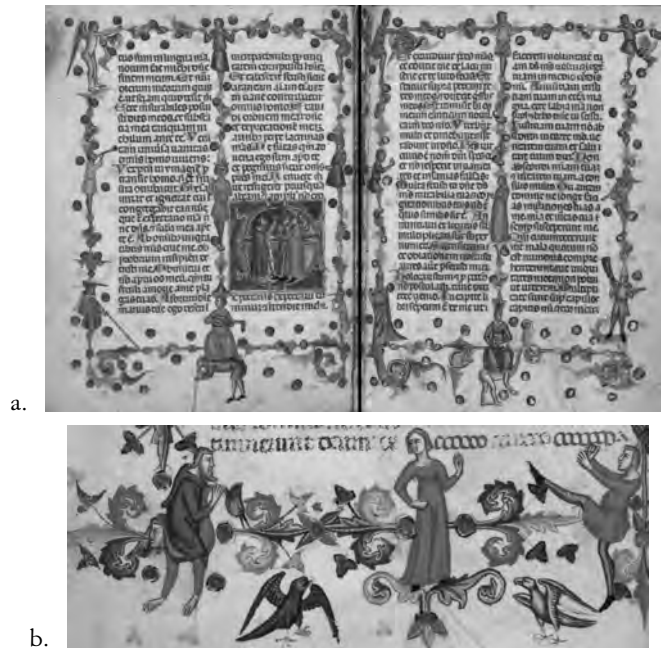


Figure 3. a) Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, *olim* Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Comites Latentes 15, ff. 29v-30r; b) f. 69r, monks singing (reproduced by permission)

13, ed. Lieve Watteuw and Jan Van Der Stock (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 113-26; Bräm, *Neapolitane Bilderbibeln des Trecento*; Francesca Manzari, "Un nuovo foglio smembrato della bottega Orimina", in *Storie di artisti storie di libri: L'Editore che inseguiva la bellezza. Scritti in onore di Franco Cosimo Panini* (Rome: Donzelli, 2008), 293-312.

72. King Robert originally gave this precious book to Joanna and Andrew as an engagement gift ca. 1340; its extraordinarily decorations were created by the Orimina workshop. It has been recently published in a luxurious facsimile edition (*The Anjou Bible*) and discussed at the international conference "Miniatures and Music at the Court of Anjou Naples ca. 1340", Leuven, 1-2 November 2010.

THE QUEEN'S CHAPEL AND CHAPLAINS

Since King Robert's time, the highest-ranked officers (especially the great seneschal and the *maestri razionali*)⁷³ were charged with oversight of the household. They carried out this task very closely with the three figures leading the chapel's clerks (at times called the *Oratorio*), namely: the royal confessor (a bishop, often a teacher of theology), the master chaplain, who was also head of the royal library and treasurer, and the royal almoner, who administered, along with Franciscan friars or nuns, the "libéralités du roi" for poor people.⁷⁴ These men were usually supported by substitutes (*cappellani maggiori*, *protocappellani*, and so on), and this explains why the surviving documents often record some paired appointees (the same situation still holds true under the Aragonese). For example, Petrus de Morech/Moreriis, "regalis magister capellae" and treasurer of the Royal Cathedral of Saint Nicholas of Bari, and Petrus de Baudet, "magister capelle elemosinarius et librorum custos", both Frenchmen, kept their place through the reign of Robert and the beginning of that of Joanna during the 1340s. In 1352-53 Baudet was followed in his role by fra Riccardo de Archis (that is from Rocca d'Arce near Cassino), a faithful man of Queen Joanna. Their authority also extended over all the kingdom's chapels called "regie", first that of S. Nicholas of Bari, which housed the royal treasure and many relics.

Thorough Ecclesiastical studies and surviving writings of local historians⁷⁵ have left us fairly well-informed regarding the names of Joanna's *magistri capelle*, confessors, and religious advisors, usually bishops and Franciscans.⁷⁶

73. Andreas Kiesewetter, "I grandi ufficiali e le periferie del regno", in *Les grands officiers dans les territoires angevins. I grandi ufficiali nei territori angioini*, ed. Riccardo Rao (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2016), 123-52.

74. Giuseppe Carafa, *De Capella regis utriusque Siciliae et aliorum principum, libero unus* (Rome: De Rubéis, 1749): "Et saepe Magistri Regalis Capellae erant et Regum Confessarii"; and "tria haec officia praestantissima, Confessarii, Consilarii et Magistri regalis Capellae, saepe coniuncta simul fuisse".

75. A list of such studies includes Bartolomeo Chioccarello, *Antistutum praeclarissimae Neapolitanae Ecclesiae catalogus* (Naples: 1643); Carafa, *De Capella regis*; Nicola Capece Galeota, *Cenni storici sul clero della Real Cappella Palatina di Napoli* (Naples: tip. v. Donnaromita 13, 1854), along with other titles listed by Domenico Mallardo, *Storia Antica della Chiesa di Napoli. Le Ponti* (Naples: D'Auria, 1987). See also Nicola Barone, "Notizie storiche tratte dai Registri di Cancelleria di Carlo III di Durazzo", *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 12 (1897): 195; Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 32; and Vivarelli, "Di una pretesa scuola napoletana", 278n16.

76. Andrea of Valleregia or "Regali valle" (1344-1365); magister Matteo Guiliand from Provence, alias "de Aquaputida" (the sulphureous, mephitic baths near the present Mirabella Eclano, one of his feudal possessions), also bishop of Teleso (1346) and "confessor and consiliarius Reginae" (along with his brothers, Filippo and Tuerulo Guiliand, who were also said to be close to the queen); "fra Petrus de Aquila"; "fra Giovanni da Gallinaro" OFM, "magistrum Cappelle nostre secrete" in 1348, also bishop of Gravina in Apulia and among the longest serving advisors of Joan-

However, their mention here, though useful from the standpoint of local history, offers no new information on music or musicians employed by the queen. Other chaplains and familiars of the queen (without implying they were also singers) are listed by Léonard.⁷⁷ Only in May 1383 – that is, after the queen's death – do we have a clear reference to a “chaplain-singer of the royal chapel”.⁷⁸

Also interesting – although only partly related to the main subject of this paper – are the sources in which local religious ceremonies and services are detailed. This is the case, for example, of the so-called *Costituzioni Orsiniane*, named after the Neapolitan Archbishop Giovanni Orsini⁷⁹ who, in 1337, had codified the rituals for Easter and the patronal feast of S. Gennaro, including the chants to be sung during the processions.⁸⁰

To return to the subject of Joanna's devotion – which intersects with that of the ecclesiastical institutions – the Church of the Incoronata (also *Spina corona* or *Coronespinae*), was one of her great personal achievements.⁸¹ She founded it around 1352-1368 to hold a precious relic, a thorn from Christ's

na; a Guglielmo (but other sources give “Pietro”) bishop Marsicano, “cappellano maggiore” in 1348; the bishop of Vico Equense (perhaps Cesario Pianola or Giacomo da Sora OFM, 1348); Giacomo Sersale OP (1352), bishop of Scala; in 1370 the “Venerabilis vir Frater Nicolaus Cicci Tange de Adria, Ordinis Fratrum minorum, Magister Cappelle Reginalis” is said to have deceased; and in March 1383 a “Marco di Montefalcone, dell'ordine dei Minori, Professore in sacra pagina” is paid by the new King Charles III of Durazzo as chapel master.

77. A “Messer Niccolò / Cola di Porta” in 1353; *Presbitero* Corrado as *Diaconus capelle*, and a Benedetto in 1356; “Francesco de Surrento” in 1366. See Léonard, “Comtes”, 253. A Cistercian monk, “Mathieu de monastère Saint Jehan, who enjoyed preferments from the queen in 1363, is also cited by Andrew Wathey, “The Peace of 1360-1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations”, *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 129-74, esp. 148. That this is monk is the same person as the composer Matheus de Sancto Johanne is hotly disputed.

78. This is the priest “Bertrando de Tommaso di Napoli”; see Barone, *Notizie storiche*, 197.

79. He died in 1357; his career is recounted by Chioccarello, *Antistutum*, 221ff.

80. Interestingly enough, such *Costituzioni* will be reused in 1443 by Bishop Gaspare di Diano, in order to greet the arrival of Alfonso of Aragon in the city. A Spanish document similar to the Neapolitan source is the *Liber processionarius* (Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, 118), discussed by Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, 86-7. In a related document titled *Comitus liber qui continet praescriptiones Caeremoniarum in Choro et in aliis functionibus*, from a late-fourteenth-century manuscript housed in the Archivio Capitolare of Naples (perhaps from a confraternal service?), we find instructions on how a processional litany should be sung and divided between the *schola cantorum* and the rest of the clerics; just after that (f. 37), we find a troped Kyrie *eleyson Qui precioso sanguine mundum eripuisti de maledicti fauce draconis* which appears to be written in black mensural notation, suggesting that some form of counterpoint may have been improvised on it. Description in Ambrasi, “La vita religiosa”, 548 (I have been unable to trace the original).

81. The church was entrusted to the Carthusians. See most recently Paola Vitolo, *La chiesa della Regina. Giovanna I d'Angiò, l'Incoronata di Napoli e Roberto di Oderisio* (Rome: Viella, 2008); Ead., “Familiaris domesticus et magister noster. Roberto d'Oderisio e l'istituto della familiaritas nella Napoli angioina”, *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 45 (2007): 13-34; Mario Gaglione, “Giovanna I d'Angiò e l'Incoronata”, *Nuova rivista storica* 93 (2009), 271-82.

crown of thorns, which she had been given between 1364 and 1367 by her relative Charles V, King of France – also the owner of a renowned library⁸² – and formerly held in the royal reliquary in Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. The bearer of the donation was the French Pierre de Viellers, Cistercian Abbot of Santa Maria di Realvalle near Scafati, another institution much favored by the Anjou.⁸³ It is likely that the same rhymed Offices composed by St. Louis to honor the relics (those for the feast on 11 August *in translatione coronae Domini*, or the *Suscepio coronae*, 1239)⁸⁴ were adopted and performed at the *Incoronata* church. This too was entirely in line with the usages of the Anjou, as the “liturgy of the thorn” or “the spine” appears to have been imported from France by Charles II of Anjou around 1296-1303, who gave another such relic to the Basilica of S. Nicholas of Bari.⁸⁵

It is also possible that the story of King Charles’s present to Joanna is the subject of a miniature from another well-known, but recently re-evaluated book, the Psalter and Book of Hours of Joanna (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1921, f. 218), compiled around 1365-1368.⁸⁶ another French artefact, considered one of the earliest examples of this genre of book, where we find – in addition to the usual images of the two Angevin St. Louis – several items of musical interest, and possibly even some portraits of Joanna’s private (Franciscan?) chaplains, though admittedly this type of representation is stereotypical (see Figure 4):

82. Joanna’s mother, Mary of Valois, was the sister of Charles’ grandfather, King Philip VI, hence Joanna called Charles of Valois *frater*.

83. See Maria Letizia De Sanctis, “L’Abbazia di Santa Maria di Realvalle: una fondazione cistercense di Carlo I d’Angiò”, *Arte medievale* 7, 1 (1993): 153-96.

84. See Epstein, “Ludovicus decus regnantium”; Cecilia Gaposchkin, “Philip the Fair, the Dominicans, and the Liturgical Office for Louis IX”, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13 (2004): 33-61.

85. Chiara Mercuri, *Corona di Cristo, corona di re. La monarchia francese e la corona di spine nel Medioevo* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2004); P. Gerardo Gioffari, “La Sacra spina. Il dono di Carlo II e la liturgia parigina in San Nicola”, *Nicolaus. Studi Storici* 15, no. 2 (2004-2005): 5-128. Interesting remarks on Charles II Anjou and music can be found in Pietro Giannone, *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli*, Vol. 3 (Haya: Gosse, 1753), 136: “Avea ciò il re Carlo appreso da’ Francesi e massimamente da’ suoi Angioni e conforme nella recitazione dell’ufficio, e nelle altre cose concernenti il culto di detta chiesa, così in questa volle imitare l’usanza della Francia [...] si diletta ancor egli di cantare con gli altri nel Coro”.

86. See on this Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, “L’Offiziolo di Giovanna I d’Angiò e un’inedita immagine di Brigida”, in *Santa Brigida, Napoli, l’Italia. Atti del convegno di studi italo-svedese (Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 10-11 maggio 2006)* (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 2009), 221-40; Francesca Manzari, “Le Psautier et Livre d’Heures de Jeanne I d’Anjou. Pratiques Françaises de dévotion et exaltation dynastique à la cour de Naples”, *Art de l’Enluminure* 32 (2010): 2-73; Vitolo, “Immagini religiose”.

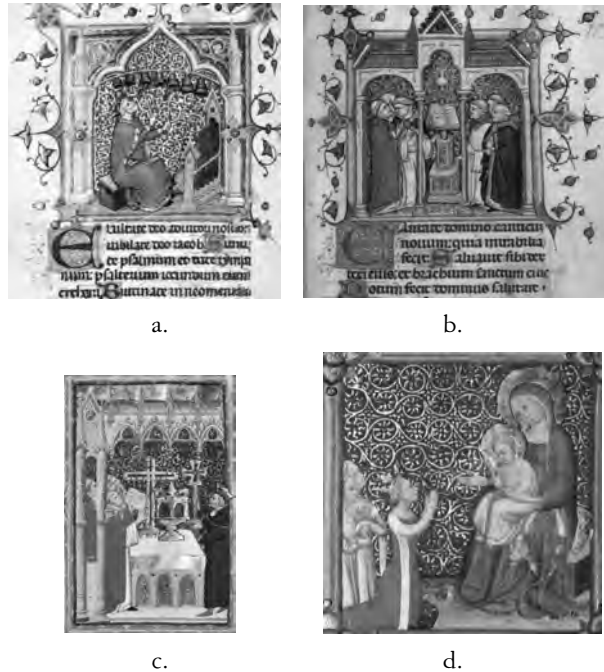


Figure 4. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1921 ("Psaltery and Book of Hours of Joanna"), reproduced by permission. a) f. 96v, King David tuning bells and a positive organ, Psalm 80; b) f. 113r, Chaplains (Franciscans?) singing plainchant, Psalm 97; c) f. 218r: The King of France, Charles V in Sainte Chapelle, Paris, during a special liturgy in the presence of the Great Reliquary; d) f. 237v, Ora nona: the Queen and her ladies attending the service

The presence of King David tuning the bells (Figure 4a) is also a musical and figurative *topos*, but in the eyes of the French it had immediate resonance, as King Louis was thought of as the new David.⁸⁷

The church of the *Incoronata*, thereafter, held a special importance for Joanna and was thought of as a second "Palatine chapel", after that of Castel Nuovo (still another was that in Castel dell'Ovo); it remained the main location for coronations, royal weddings, tournaments, feasts with music, and banquets, throughout the Aragonese period as well. Music must have often sounded in and out of its walls, as can be guessed by looking at some more remains of its early-fifteenth-century frescoes (see Figure 5):

87. See Edward H. Roesner, "Labouring in the Midst of Wolves: Reading a Group of *Fauvel* Motets", *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 169-244, esp. 209.



Figure 5. Detail from the frescoes in the nave of the church of Santa Maria Incoronata, Naples, “Saint Ladislaus going to the church to be crowned”: polyphonic singing upon the book (public domain image)

A FRENCH ‘LEGION’

During the late 1360s Joanna’s already strong devotion was strengthened even more after her meetings with the mystic Bridget of Sweden, who came to Naples in 1365-1367 and again in the early 1370s. I have already mentioned that a visual testimony of their meetings is a scene from the famous fresco by Andrea Bonaiuti in Santa Maria Novella in Florence.⁸⁸ The saintly nun also visited the most important places of worship (with holy relics) spread throughout the kingdom⁸⁹ and, while in Naples, she carried on a strong action of convert others that deeply influenced the queen.⁹⁰

This fact, as well as her new friendship with the French popes Urban V (Guillaume de Grimoard, r. 1362-1370)⁹¹ and Gregory XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort, r. 1370-1378),⁹² prompted Joanna to make further donations to local churches and monasteries, among which, as mentioned above, were Carthusians houses. In fact, the Certosa of San Martino (which had been given several *Privilegi* during the 1350s) was solemnly blessed on 26 February 1368, in the presence of the most illustrious prelates, among them the Archbishop

88. On this see Claudia Vultaggio, “I ‘sodalizi napoletani’ di Santa Brigida di Svezia”, in *Santa Brigida, Napoli, l’Italia*, 105-30.

89. Places visited included Monte Sant’Angelo in Apulia, and shrines of St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Thomas at Ortona, St. Andrew at Amalfi, and St. Matthew at Salerno.

90. Chioccarello, *Antistutum*, 236ff.

91. Francesco Cerasoli, “Urbano V e Giovanna I di Napoli. Documenti inediti dell’Archivio segreto Vaticano”, *ASPN* 20 (1895): 72-94, 171-205, 359-94, 558-645.

92. F. Cerasoli, “Gregorio XI e Giovanna I di Napoli. Documenti inediti dell’Archivio Vaticano”, *ASPN* 23 (1898): 471-501, 671-701; 24 (1899): 3-24, 307-28, 403-27; 25 (1900): 3-26.

of Naples, Bernard du Bosquet / Bosqueto; the Prior Giovanni Grilli; and Cardinal Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille I, then Papal Legate in Naples and charged with important missions in Southern Italy. The presence of so many dignitaries may have solicited a similarly solemn musical performance.⁹³ An interesting and still little-known illuminated Gradual (fragments of which are housed at the Biblioteca Giovardiana of Veroli, near Frosinone), may have been used for that Carthusian ceremony of 1368.⁹⁴ The appearance in it of the liturgy for St. Martin and its many visual references to his legends (especially that of the saint cutting his cloak in half to share with the beggar, also found in the Leuven Bible), hints once again at transalpine culture.

The presence of this sort of French legion of prelates in Angevin Naples needs no explanation or particular comment here, but to note that they were little loved by the Neapolitans. Such a subject may be relevant for music patronage, as it certainly is for art patronage, although further investigation is required. We know, for instance, that Cardinal Aigrefeuille had at least four singers among his *familiars*⁹⁵ and, as he was the new Papal Legate in Naples, he may have brought them there. Four subsequent archbishops of Naples were French: Bertrand de Meissenier, alias 'Inardo' (1358-1362), also an inquisitor; Pierre Ameilh (1363-1365), who was involved with the affair of the failed wedding between Joanna, Duchess of Durazzo, and the soldier and crusader Aimon of Geneva (brother of Cardinal Robert, a cousin of the king of France, and the future antipope);⁹⁶ the above-mentioned Bernard du Bosquet/

93. An old chronicle of the Carthusians (*Storia critico-cronologica diplomatica del patriarca S. Brunone* [Naples: Orsino, 1777], Vol. 6, 322) recalls "solennissima la sacra cerimonia [...] per la maestà delle funzioni riuscir non poteva meglio né meglio sontuosa né più divota".

94. See Francesca Manzari, "Miniatori napoletani e dell'Italia centrale del Trecento nei frammenti di corali certosini raccolti da Vittorio Giovardi", *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 14 (2010): 116-38. I wish to thank Professors Perriccioli Saggese and Manzari for drawing my attention to this and other iconographic sources mentioned in this chapter.

95. See Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417)", in *Collectanea I Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta*, ed. Adalbert Roth (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 7-74, esp. 42; Giuliano Di Bacco, "Documenti Vaticani per la storia della musica durante il grande scisma (1378-1417)", *Quaderni Storici* 32 (1997): 361-86; John Nádas, "The Internationalization of the Italian Papal Chapels in the Early Quattrocento", in *Cappelle musicali fra corte, stato e chiesa nell'Italia del Rinascimento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Camaione, 21-23 Ottobre 2005)*, ed. Franco Piperno, Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, and Andrea Chegai (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 247-69.

96. As told, the duchess eventually married (in 1366) the other suitor, Louis of Navarre; once widowed in April 1378, she remarried to Robert IV of Artois (they are both buried in a beautiful tomb inside the church of San Lorenzo, Naples): see Eustachio Rogadeo, "Il primo matrimonio di Giovanna duchessa di Durazzo", in *Rassegna pugliese di scienze, lettere ed arti* 19 (1902): 98-106, 134-41, and 179-87; Kenneth M. Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples and the Affair of Aimon III of Geneva (1363-1364)", *Speculum* 28, 4 (1953): 643-91; Domenico Ambrasi, "Tre arci-

Bosqueto (1365-1368), who resigned after being elected cardinal; and after him Bernard de Rodes/de Rutena (1368-1379), recipient of the so-called *Revelations* by the mystic Bridget, later communicated to Joanna.

Bosqueto, *doctor in utroque iure*, had himself been a singer in Bordeaux, and once in Naples he supervised the above-mentioned ceremony of San Martino, in which music may have had a major role. He must have been a bibliophile as well; on his way back to Avignon as cardinal, in 1368, he is credited with bringing with him still another Neapolitan liturgical book, the Missal 138 of the Bibliotheque Municipale at Avignon, which shares features with the above-mentioned Book of Hours of Joanna. Once in France, this Missal received additional entries reflecting the new Avignonese climate, so to speak, among which is an interesting text of a *Missa pro tempore scismatis*.⁹⁷

This climate of reconciliation with the popes surely had an impact on music. In March 1368 there was a splendid ceremony at Rome – at which Peter I of Lusignan, King of Cyprus (1328-1369, r. 1358-1369), was also present, surely with his famous retinue of musicians and possibly with his secretary Philippe de Mézières⁹⁸ – at which Joanna was awarded the famous golden rose, as a sign of gratitude by Pope Urban V, who had just made the first attempt to restore the curia to Rome (16 October 1367 - 5 September 1370).⁹⁹ The bestowal of the golden rose was always a grand public event, and this particular one was the first bestowal on a woman.

On the other hand, we do not know how friendly the learned but austere Benedictine Pope Grimoard was toward Ars Nova polyphony. He had a chapel of singers, and possibly founded schools of music; but he also reduced the size of the papal household (breeding resentment among the wealthiest clerics), and there are witnesses to his musical tastes that deserve a closer look.

vescovi napoletani di nazionalità francese: Ayglier, Pierre Amiel, Guillaume de' Guasconi", *Campania Sacra* 1 (1970): 7-30; Henri Bresc, *La correspondance de Pierre Ameilh, Archevêque de Naples puis d'Embrun* (1363-1369) (Paris: CNRS, 1972).

97. See Francesca Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei Papi. 1310-1410* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini ed., 2006); Cathleen A. Fleck, "Seeking Legitimacy: Art and Manuscripts for the Popes in Avignon from 1378 to 1417", in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Kostner and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 239-302; on Avignon and Music see Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309-1403*, UMI Studies in Musicology, 75 (Ann Arbor, MI: 1983); on the cultural context, the classic Alfred Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435* (Paris: Droz, 1941).

98. Mézières is known as the author (and possibly the composer) of the Feast of the Presentation of our Lady, sanctioned by Pope Gregory XI in 1371-1372: see Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, 34; Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 19.

99. The pope left the uninhabitable Vatican palace and went back to the safety of Avignon, despite a prophecy by Bridget of Sweden, who had foreseen his death (which occurred shortly thereafter, on 19 December 1370).

For instance, there are two long letters to him from Petrarch,¹⁰⁰ in which the poet asserts the superiority of Italian culture over French, condemning the French cardinals for their frivolity, their obsession with Beaune wines, and for their *transalpine melodiae*. This letter was well received by the pope, but obviously it displeased the French party. Furthermore, Petrarch's allusion to music would be repeated in an interesting passage from a letter to him from Coluccio Salutati (2 January 1369), in which he warns the poet of an imminent counterattack by the French, who had totally rejected his reasoning and "Speaking of music, do not doubt their superiority, since, as they say, Italians cannot sing but, rather, they bleat".¹⁰¹

Joanna's reign – a full decade, from 1368 to 1378 – can be seen as a period of relatively peaceful and independent power, if not her true apogee. This was thanks to her strong alliance with the new Pope Gregory XI, her friendship with St. Catherine of Siena,¹⁰² the good offices of Archbishop Bernard de Rodes and other prelates. But her success was also the result of the loyalty of a local political establishment: Chancellor Niccolò Spinelli di Giovinazzo (ca. 1320–1396), also a seneschal of Provence and papal nuncio;¹⁰³ the *Conte camerlengo* Jacopo Arcucci, Lord of Capri and a queen's secretary in 1374–1381; the *maestro razionale* (a tax officer) Marino di Diano; and Antonio della Ratta, Count of Caserta, another traveler between Naples and Avignon (and one with a key role in the events soon after the Schism), thought by some to have been patron of the other mysterious composer Philipoctus / Philippus / Philippot / Filippotto de Caserta.¹⁰⁴

100. *Sen.* VII.1 "Nihil omnino sub astris Italie comparandum", June 1366, and *Sen.* IX.1 "In exitu Israel de Aegypto", January 1368, that is, before and after the time in Avignon.

101. See Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. Francesco Novati, 4 vols. (Rome: 1891–1911), Vol. 1, 74: "iam in musicis se indubium palmam arbitrantur habere, qui italos non canere, sed, ut eorum verbis utar, *capricare* confirmant".

102. Joanna encouraged Pope Gregory XI not only to return to Rome (he finally entered the city on 17 January 1377), but also to call for a crusade to the Holy Land, possibly with the help of the Anjou rulers (who were, after all, "kings of Jerusalem"). The hope for a Crusade must be the context for the motet *Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta / Rosa vernans caritatis*, in which the pope is directly named, and the tenor of which is taken from a chant for St. Louis of Toulouse; *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly*, Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568), *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 39, ed. Ursula Günther (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965); *Motets of French Provenance*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 5, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1965). See also Bent, "Early Papal Motets".

103. As such, he had a large number of French (and German) familiars; eventually he entered the Pavian-Milanese court of Giangaleazzo Visconti: see Giacinto Romano, *Niccolò Spinelli di Giovinazzo*, *Diplomatico del Secolo XIV* (Naples: Piero e Veraldi, 1902).

104. On Philipoctus de Caserta see Nigel Wilkins, "Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 8 (1964): 82–99; Strohm, *Filippotto da Caserta*; Id., *The Rise of European Music*, 58–60. Ursula Günther ("Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars Subtilior", *Archiv für*

Meanwhile, the circulation of this transalpine repertory (and some Italian *Ars Nova* songs as well) must have increased throughout the kingdom, chiefly among the local theorists. One witness to this is fra Nicholaus de Aversa of the Celestines (possibly Niccolò d'Adenulfo, prior of the monastery of S. Pietro a Majella in Aversa), who was – according to the anonymous *Ars cantus mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris* (1375–1397?)¹⁰⁵ – the author of a Credo and some lost “cantilenis [...] sic et omnes generaliter artem gallorum imitantes”.¹⁰⁶

Likewise, Philipoctus de Caserta's *Tractatus figurarum* (Treatise on note-shapes) – one of the two music treatises attributed to him – was meant for Italian musicians already trained in the French style and wishing to practice its notational novelties, much as the (few) Italian poets of the Anjou court, already accustomed to reading writing and French, wished to compete with their French counterparts.¹⁰⁷

THE SCHISM AND THE LAST YEARS OF JOANNA'S REIGN

One Neapolitan writer wishing to compete with the French opposition party was Giovanni Moccia, a secretary of Cardinal Jacopo Orsini at Avignon from 1367 to 1378 and later chancellor of the kingdom. He served as one of the queen's counselors in 1378–1380, that is, when she was already fully

Musikwissenschaft 21 [1964]: 182), has suggested that he might be identified with the papal chaplain “Philippus Roberti”, listed as chaplain in the service of Robert of Geneva from 1373 to 1384 (also in Fondi in September 1379), whereas one source of his treatises (Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS 54.1: Pavia 1391) ascribes the writings to “Magistri Phillipoti Andree”. Most recently see Carla Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi di Filippotto e Antonello da Caserta tradite nel codice Estense α.M. 5.24*, *Diverse voci*, 6 (Pisa: ETS, 2005); Yolanda Plumley, “Citation and Allusion in the Late *Ars Nova*: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs”, *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 287–363; Yolanda Plumley, “Playing the Citation Game in the Late 14th-Century Chanson”, *Early Music* 31 (2003): 20–39; Giuliano Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri. Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto* (Lucca: LIM, 1996), esp. 137ff.; Giuliano Di Bacco, “Original and Borrowed, Authorship and Authority. Remarks on the Circulation of Philipoctus de Caserta's Theoretical Legacy”, in *A Late Medieval Song-Book and its Context. Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 329–64.

¹⁰⁵. See the edition by C. Matthew Balensuela, *Greek and Latin Music Theory*, 10 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

¹⁰⁶. Vivarelli, “*Ars cantus mensurabilis*”, esp. 122–34. Another candidate is “magistro Nicolao de Aversa” reimbursed, in 1353, for his purchase of cloths for twelve poor men (Léonard, “Comtes”, 268; De Crescenzo, “Notizie storiche”, 482), who must be one and the same as the Augustinian friar “Nicolaus de Aversa” cited by Vivarelli, “*Ars cantus mensurabilis*”, 129.

¹⁰⁷. See the edition by Philippe E. Schreier, *Greek and Latin Music Theory*, 6 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

involved with the matter of the Schism.¹⁰⁸ Joanna endorsed the 1378 counter-election of Clement VII – and took sides against the previously and legitimately elected¹⁰⁹ Bartolomeo Prignano (Urban VI), a Neapolitan (former dean of the local university and then archbishop of Bari), hence a subject of Queen Joanna. She was thus perhaps under the influence of her French-oriented advisors,¹¹⁰ namely the chancellor Spinelli, the Count della Ratta, Cardinal Orsini, and his secretary Moccia, who appears to have been one of Urban's sharpest detractors.

Choosing a side was a fatal decision that eventually cost the queen her power as well as her life.¹¹¹ Robert of Geneva (Clement VII) was elected in Fondi – where Count Onorato Caetani had offered protection to the Sacred College – on 20 September 1378, and Joanna ratified this appointment two months later in Naples, then again in an elaborate ceremony at the Castel dell'Ovo on 28 May 1379. In June, the Roman Pope Urban removed Bernard de Rodés and installed the arrogant Ludovico Bozzuto as the new Archbishop of Naples and, shortly thereafter, excommunicated the queen (April 1380). At the end of June 1380, she adopted the French Prince Louis, Duke of Anjou, as her heir, through the mediation of Antipope Clement.¹¹² However,

108. In 1382 Moccia became pontifical secretary at Avignon. A pioneering study on him by Benedetto Croce, then Coville, *La vie intellectuelle*; Id., *Gontier et Pierre Col et l'humanisme en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Droz, 1934); most recently Angelo Piacentini, "Un letterato napoletano alla curia di Avignone: G. Moccia", in *Renaissance bourguignonne et Renaissance italienne: modèles, concurrences*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: 2015), 23-40. His Latin odes, epigrams and epistles are found in Paris, BnF, lat. 8410.

109. Urban VI was legitimately elected despite the facts that six cardinals had remained in Avignon and did not participate, and that the election was under external pressure from a huge crowd of Romans surrounding the Vatican and demanding a Roman – or at least Italian pope – ("Romano lo volemo, o al manco Italiano"). However, the same 13 cardinals out of 16, almost all French (plus one Englishman, three Italians and one Catalan, that is Pedro de Luna), who elected him, then had defected and repudiated him at Anagni, early in August: the fiercest among them were the French Jean de la Grange, Gérard du Puy, Pierre Flandrin and Robert of Geneva himself, while the three Italians (Jacopo Orsini, Pietro Corsini and Simone da Borsano) were more oriented toward a Council.

110. Cardinal Orsini, along with the Count of Fondi, and surely also the head of the Franciscan Leonardo de Rossi da Giffoni. See the chronicle *Giornale* [or *Diurnale*] *dell'Istorie [...] del Duca di Monteleone* (ed. Naples: 1770, 17): "Alli 23 di Maggio 1379 [recte 1378] Messer Nicola Spinello di Giovenazzo [...] convitò la Regina alla sua casa a Nido ed in quel giorno fu fatto consiglio di fare un altro Papa [...] Alli 23 di giugno venne il conte di Fondi in Napoli con messer Nicola e si concertò farsi il papa a Fondi e per questo effetto mandarono Messer Nicola e il conte di Caserta per condurre il cardinale di Ginevra". The *Chronicon Siculum incerti auctori ab anno 340 ad annum 1396*, ed. G. de Blasiis (Naples: 1887) states that Cardinal Orsini came to Naples on July 30-31 to talk with the queen and to persuade her the election of Prignano had been a fraud.

111. Émile Léonard, "La captivité et la mort de Jeanne I^{ère} de Naples", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 41 (1924): 43-77.

112. See Alice V. Clark, "Music for Louis of Anjou", in *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Karl Kügel and Lorenz Welker (Münster: American Institute of Musicol-

by mid-June 1381 Urban had crowned her rival Charles of Durazzo ruler of Naples; Charles entered the city in July and shortly thereafter imprisoned the queen. Before her submission, she had appealed for rescue to the new French king, Charles VI, who had guaranteed a military campaign that would be led by Louis of Anjou. Unfortunately, Louis delayed the start of his campaign, and by the time he and his troops eventually left the Milanese court on their way south in June of 1382, Joanna had already died in captivity.

A NEAPOLITAN BALLADE?

Table 1 is an attempt to arrange nine “Franco-Neapolitan” compositions temporally surrounding the outbreak of the Schism, to form a web of compositions – all in praise of patrons – with political and propagandistic intent.¹¹³ Of these, only those in the first and last column can be tentatively said to be “Neapolitan”, that is, presumably composed or performed in the city: the former in favor of the French party (pro-Pope Clement), the latter in support of the Neapolitan party (pro-Pope Urban). The two central columns list songs of the “Avignon repertory”, music from the orbit of the papal and French princely courts during the late 1370s-early 1380s.

Reasons of space compel me to focus only on the first piece in the Table, the ballade *Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson délivré* by Philippot.¹¹⁴ This lyrical and sophisticated song – based on a text that, in broad (scriptural) terms, as with several others, deplores the Schism and hints at vices such as anger, prejudice, and arrogance as its main causes, while paying homage to the “vray pape” Clement VII – was almost certainly first heard in southern Italy: either in Fondi, where Clement was in fact elected, or in Naples, at Castel dell’Ovo, in May 1379, at the ceremony of his recognition, before an audience that included the entire royal family and other noble guests.

ogy, 2009), 15-32; Yolanda Plumley, “An ‘Episode in the South’? Ars Subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes”, *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103-68.

113. This subject is touched on in a chapter from Elizabeth Randell Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 77-96; see also Stoessel, *The Angevin Struggle*, and of course the landmark study by Di Bacco and Nádas, “The Papal Chapels”.

114. The primary editions are: Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth-Century*, Vol. 1, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 53 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 154-7; Gordon Greene, ed., *French Secular Music. Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564. Second Part*, Vol. 2, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 19 (Monaco: L’Oiseau-Lyre, 1982), 70-3. A comparison of the two transcriptions has been made by Marina Toffetti, “La ballade ‘Par les bon Gedeon’ di Filippotto da Caserta nelle edizioni di Willi Apel e di Gordon K. Greene”, in *Edizioni moderne di musica antica. Sei letture critiche*, ed. Marina Toffetti (Lucca: LIM, 1997), 121-57; the ballade has been edited more recently by Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 120-2.

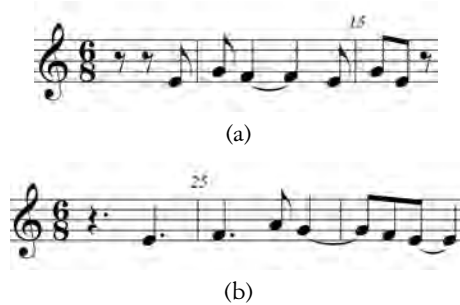
Table 1

INCIPIIT, SOURCES, ^a DATING AND REMARKS	CONTEXT
<p>1) <i>Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson delivré</i>, ballade, Philippot de Caserta Ch, 45v; ModA, 31r; T.III.2, 5v ("antipape")</p> <p>In honor of Clement VII, possibly at his election in Fondi (20 September 1378), or at Naples soon after (20 November), or on 10 May 1379 at the ceremony of recognition of the pope ("et qua fo la gran festa") in the Castel dell'Ovo. The text celebrates the pontificate of Clement and deplores the Schism ("Ire, deision et partialité [...] sunt cause de la sisme [...]"). Pirrotta: "the oldest of his ballades and Italian in style and mensuration (temp. imp. prol. min = quaternaria), with simple, short-range syncopations"; Strohm: "belongs to the group in minor prolation with angular melodies, like the very similar <i>Il est nulz boms</i>".</p>	<p>Election of the Antipope Clement VII (1378) and Joanna's recognition at Naples (1378-1379, until her imprisonment and death, 1382)</p>
<p>2) <i>Leonarde pater inclite</i>, Anon. motet (motet-voice)</p> <p>Egidi (fragment), iv, only C1</p> <p>For election as cardinal (16 December 1378) of Leonardo Rossi da Giffoni, formerly minister general of the Franciscans since 1373 (replaced by Angelo da Spoleto). His election was strongly supported by Joanna, with lavish banquet and festivities; Leonardo had been Joanna's counselor since 1374. Summonte: "Clemente fu con suoi cardinali realmente alloggiato <u>con continui conviti e feste</u> e, a richiesta della Regina, creò Cardinale Leonardo di Gifoni, Generale dei frati minori". Leonardo was publicly humiliated and arrested at the behest of Pope Urban in Naples 1381, then released.</p> <p>See Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet", 108; Di Bacco and Nádas, <i>The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources</i>, 67.</p>	
<p>3) <i>Gaudeat et exultet / Papam querentes</i>, Anon. motet</p> <p>Basel71 (fragment)</p> <p>Election of Clement. Avignon, 1379?</p>	<p>The "Avignon repertory" for Clement</p>
<p>4) <i>Inclite flos orti Gebennensis</i>, Latin ballade, Matheus de Sancto Johanne</p> <p>ModA, 15r; Ch, 41r: "Mayhuet de Joan"</p> <p>1378? 1381-1382? Text praises Robert of Geneva (tenor: "pro papa Clemente"), but possibly also refers to Amadeus VI Count of Savoy. The composer was in the service of Robert of Geneva from 1371-1378, then in the chapel of Louis of Anjou in 1378, and papal chaplain at Avignon 1382-1391. Some Italian stylistic traits.</p>	
<p>5) <i>Courtois et sages</i>, ballata, Mag. Egidius</p> <p>[ModA, 35r; R, 54r]</p> <p>Possibly the Augustinian Egidius de Aurelian text honors Clement and names him in an acrostic.</p>	

^a Basel71 = Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F.IX.71 (fragment); Ch = Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564; Egidi = Montefiore dell'Aso, Biblioteca-Archivio di Francesco Egidi, s.n. (lost); Fountains = London, British Library, Add. 40011 B (fragments); Gr224 = Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224 (*olim* Collocazione provvisoria 197); ModA = Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24; Pit = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina"); T.III.2 = Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2.

INCIPIT, SOURCES, DATING AND REMARKS	CONTEXT
<p>6) <i>Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage</i>, ballade, Philippot de Caserta Ch, 37v; Pit, 125v-126</p> <p>Naples, Avignon, or Milan: a) for election of Louis as Joanna's heir (Naples, 28-29 June 1380); b) after Joanna's imprisonment (2 September 1381) and naming Louis as her rescuer; or c) for his coronation as king of Naples (Avignon, 3 March 1382); d) in summer 1382, when he visited the Milanese court.</p> <p>("lis" = "Lois", against "Theseus" = Carlo Durazzo; "Adriane" = Joanna)</p>	
<p>7) <i>En attendant souffrir m'estuet</i>, ballade, Philippot de Caserta ModA, 20; Ch, 33v: "Jo Galiot"; R, 84v; Gr224/Dartmouth, 3v</p> <p>It belongs to the trio of interrelated <i>En attendant</i> songs (also by Galiot and Senlechès); it cites the motto of Bernabò Visconti and it is cited in Ciconia's virelai <i>Sus une fontayne</i>. Perhaps composed after the 1382 meeting in Milan of Louis of Anjou and Bernabò Visconti.</p>	<p>Neapolitan campaign of Louis I of Anjou: adopted as heir by Joanna (1380), elected king of Naples (1382-1384), then rescuer of the Queen</p>
<p>8) <i>Los, pris, boneur et avis</i>, Anon. ballade (Matheus de S. Johanne?) R, 60v</p> <p>Acrostic "Loys de France et de Valois", and describes Louis' escutcheon when invested with the title duke of Calabria, 1382.</p>	
<p>9) <i>Alme pater, pastor vere</i>, Fragmentary motet, 2 vv., Anon. (perhaps H. Dezier?) Fountains (fragments), 14v</p> <p>For Urban VI, during the siege of his castle at Nocera ("Luceria Christianorum") by the king's troops, January-June 1385. The text contains "captivates", "neapolitani nobiles non fuerunt nobiles", "ingrata tua patria", "intra suos muros casus duros flebiles diu pati". It refers to Urban's quarrels with the court of Naples in 1385; he brought five cardinals with him as prisoners because they had plotted against him. Poem possibly written by the English Benedictine Cardinal Adam Easton, who was one of the captives, and the only one freed, and then involved with the rhymed text of a newly instituted Office of the Visitation of the B.V.M. in 1389, set to music by "Henricus desiderii – Dezier – de Latunna": perhaps Dezier had been in Naples too as a familiar of Easton, and he may have composed the motet <i>Alme pater</i> as well.</p>	<p>Coronation of Charles III of Durazzo (1381) – endorsement of pope Urban VI and his arrival at Naples (1383) – then strained relationship between the two, initially when the Pope is in Aversa, then when in Nocera</p>
<p>a) Unspecified ceremonial Music ("con grande festa") for Charles' coronation in Naples and then for his wife Margherita and son Ladislaus (11 September and 25 November 1381) [no source]</p> <p>b) Unspecified liturgical Music for Christmas 1383 devised by the pope when in Naples [no source]</p> <p>Summonte, IV, 484: "Nella vigilia di Natale 1383, il Papa calò con suoi cardinali nell'Arcivescovado, e fur cantate le Vespere della solennità; e nella seguente mattina, cantò la Messa nella Cappella maggiore [...] E perché li progressi che faceva Luigi in Puglia richiedeano che Carlo andasse a resisterli, per ciò il Papa nel primo di gennaro del 1384 cantò la messa in presenza del re e della Regina dove concorse tuta la città".</p>	

We are still groping in the dark as to the identity, career, and whereabouts of its composer Philippot (Philippus Roberti? Phillipoti Andree?), as no documentary evidence concerning him (including evidence for the very seductive hypothesis of his employment at the Francophile court of Giangaleazzo Visconti)¹¹⁵ has yet come to light, despite the research done.¹¹⁶ And the chronology of his songs is disputed, too. The commonly held opinion (Pirrota, Reinhard Strohm, Vivarelli) is that *Par les bons Gédéon* belongs to a slightly earlier group of his chansons with elements of Italian style and mensuration (pieces in minor prolation = *quaternaria*, with simple, short-range syncopations). There is also no evidence that this song is in intertextual dialogue with other songs of his or those of other composers (*En attendant* and its legacy).¹¹⁷ Reinhard Strohm found that its “angular melodies” recall “the very similar *Il est nulz homs*” (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 [Ch], f. 38v). Admittedly, it stands far from the smoother counterpoint of *De ma douleur* (Ch, f. 32; ModA, f. 26v), and, in my opinion, it has no trace of some of Philippot’s more distinctive hallmarks as shown in Example 1(a) and (b).



Example 1. a) Philippot de Caserta, *De ma douleur*, cantus, mm. 14-15;
b) *En attendant souffrir*, cantus, mm. 24-26

Finally, it seems to me that its conventional text does not reach the same degree of literariness (in terms of precise allusions and allegories) of both *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* (= Queen Joanna) and *En attendant*. As for its author, anyone in the circle of the “*premier humanism français*”¹¹⁸ – Muret, Col, Montreil, Moccia himself, or others – could have been the poet.

115. This is in addition, of course, to the presence of Bernabò Visconti’s motto in *En attendant*. The entire issue has been reconsidered by Plumley, “Citation and Allusion”, and Yolanda Plumley, “Ciconia’s *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta”, in *Johannes Ciconia, musician de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68.

116. A summary of bibliographical sources is also given by Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*.

117. Plumley, “Citation and Allusion”; Plumley, “An ‘Episode in the South’”.

118. Coville, *Gontier et Pierre Col*.

Given all that, I am inclined to reject the counter-reasoning of Plumley, who believes that Philippotus' ballades *Par les bons Gédéon*, *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*, and *En attendant* may date from the same period, as all appear to evoke the alliance formed between Clement VII, Louis d'Anjou, Bernabò Visconti, and Count Amadeus of Savoy (a close friend of both the brothers Aimon and Robert of Geneva)¹¹⁹ in early 1382 to rescue the Neapolitan kingdom (on that, see the songs listed in Table 1's third column).

Finally, I propose this possible scenario for the performance of *Par les bons Gédéon*. The Castel dell'Ovo's solemn ceremony of acknowledgment of Pope Clement on 28 May 1379 ("et qua fo la gran festa")¹²⁰ was suddenly interrupted by the shouts of the enraged Neapolitans. The populace had in fact risen up against Clement (calling him "Papa di Carnevale") and in favor of Urban ("Viva, viva Papa Urbano"), this furious and vengeful Neapolitan who, in the meantime, had already sent his trusted men to suppress the uprising. They then attacked Bernard de Rodes's archiepiscopal palace and, after that, all the nearby palaces and churches in which the *oltremontani* gathered and lived.

At this point Clement himself and his curia were forced to flee and to leave *Partenope* behind them, possibly along with their familiars and musicians: Philippot, but maybe also Matheus de Sancto Johanne, if his Latin ballade *Inclite flos orti* was really composed – as believed by Di Bacco and Nádas and as confirmed by some Italian traits of its style (above all, the lyricism of its cantus line) – before Robert of Geneva's departure.¹²¹

I believe that this attack on the *oltremontani* can be taken as the real "end of the Ars nova" in late-medieval Naples. Admittedly, there would be later

119. Some Italian music has been recently linked to this count; see Marco Gozzi and Michele Manganelli, "Un nuovo frammento italiano del Trecento: Il Manoscritto M 50 della Biblioteca Michele Manganelli", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VIII. Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo (1959-2009)*, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 183-216.

120. The description can also be found in the *Diurnale* [...] *del Duca di Monteleone*, 18: "Alli 28 di Maggio venne Papa Clemente a Napoli al Castello dell'Uovo con tutto il Collegio, e discese con le galere sotto l'arco del Castello, dove era realmente parato e coverto sotto e sopra di drappi, e da canto il talamo ad alto colla seggia trionfale, dove il Papa sedeva, e là era M. Odo e la Regina, M. Roberto d'Artois e la Duchessa sua Moglie e due sorelle, Madama Margherita e Madama Agnesa, e Donne e Cavalieri assai, e tutti baciorono il piede al Papa [...]"

121. Existing editions are: Ursula Günther, *Zehn datierbare Kompositionen der Ars Nova* (Hamburg: University of Hamburg, 1959; Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. 3, *Corpus Mensuralis Musicae*, 53 (Rome-Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 200; *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly*, *Musée Condé* 564, nos. 51-100. Yolanda Plumley believes it unlikely that Matheus was with Clement in Italy at the time of the latter's election, given that in November 1378 the musician belonged to Louis of Anjou's household; see also Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels".

opportunities for revivals of French culture in the city, as can be seen in Appendix I.¹²²

It is possible that, through systematic research on these periods, searching French archives as well, new information on a disputed “Neapolitan” *Ars Nova* will finally come to light.

APPENDIX I

THE ANJOU AND ANJOU-DURAZZO RULERS

- Robert the Wise (r. 1309-1343)
- Joanna I of Naples (r. 1343-1382: in exile 1348-1352 and imprisoned 1381-1382)
- Charles III of Durazzo (r. 1381-1386)
- Louis I of Anjou, rival claimant and adopted as heir by Joanna (r. 1382-1384)
- Ladislaus of Durazzo, son of Charles III (child king from 1386 with his mother as regent, coronation in 1390, r. until 1414)
- Louis II of Anjou, son of Louis I, rival claimant (r. 1389-1399)
- Joanna II, second daughter of Charles III (r. 1414-1435)
- Louis III of Anjou, rival claimant, adopted as heir by Joanna II (r. 1417-1426)
- René of Anjou (r. 1435-1442, effective 1438-1442, until his defeat by Alfonso V of Aragon)

APPENDIX 2

A COMPARISON OF TWO LISTS OF REGISTERS FROM CAPASSO, [«INVENTARIO CRONOLOGICO SISTEMATICO DEI REGISTRI ANGIOINI»]

A 1568 inventory listing 436 volumes of Registers includes:

- 51 for the reign of Charles I
- 151 for the reign of Charles II

122. Most significantly during the decade 1390-1399 during the reign of Louis II of Anjou; then from 1417 to 1426, when Louis III of Anjou was adopted as heir by Queen Joanna II; and, finally, from 1435 to 1442, during the reign René of Anjou and his wife Isabella of Lorraine.

- 182 for the reigns of Robert the Wise and Charles the Illustrious, Duke of Calabria
- 32 for the reign of Joanna I (only for the years 1343-1352)
- 3 for the reign of Charles III of Durazzo
- 9 for the reign of Ladislaus
- 4 for the reign of Joanna II

A 1854 inventory lists 378 volumes, distributed thusly:

- 49 for the reign of Charles I
- 136 for the reign of Charles II
- 147 for the reigns of Robert the Wise and Charles the Illustrious, Duke of Calabria
- 25 for the reign of Joanna I (only for the years 1343-1352)
- 3 for the reign of Charles III of Durazzo
- 11 for the reign of Ladislaus
- 7 for the reign of Joanna II

ABSTRACT

A survey on music at the time of Joanna I, Queen of Naples (1343-1382), is offered here (probably for the first time), relying mainly on miniatures, poetry and documents from secondary literature, in an attempt to compensate for the lack of direct documentation, due to the well-known loss of archival sources. Special attention is given to the liturgy and the continuity of the local liturgical practice since the time of King Robert and during the troubled reign of her niece Joanna, up to the outbreak of the Schism, an event in which she – and her entourage including musicians – were fatally involved.

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by Lorenzo Giustozzi

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