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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

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 unassailable 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 Besseler, "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, α.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: Liberia 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'oysel qu'aten hurter des artiglon.
D'aultre ne quier sy donra coulps felon
pour definer, fache qui vuelt 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 èpervier (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. © Comune di Milano, all rights reserved.

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 Barezzani, "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.
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
Que je deüsse 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 ploit;
Je ne scay lequel m'a plus conturbee.
Je croy que Dieux ce mari[r] me devoit
Pour moy pugnir que ne soye dannee.
Ma penitanse ara longue duree,
Amours, tu m'as bien joué d'un faulx tour.
Je ne me vueil plus fier en amour.

(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 discomforted 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 penance[24] 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 *Dictionaire 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. Vaglienti, "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 Historiographical and Biographical Texts*, ed. Patrick Baker, Ronny Kaiser, Maike 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 discomforted 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 di XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe* (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 source[34]

SOURCE	TITLE	GENRE/VOICES	FOLIO	COMMENTS
BU2216[a]				
	Credo 2	Mass ordinary/2	22-23	
	Sanctus	Mass ordinary/3 c/ct/t	87	
	Francorum nobilitati	cantilena/3 c/c/t	58-59	
Q15				
	Gloria	Mass ordinary/3 c/c/t	51v-52r	Mass pair unique to Q15, found in first stage of MS, dated to before 1425[b]
	Credo 1		52v-53r	
	Credo 2	Mass ordinary/3 c/ct/t	46v-48r	Stage 1 of manuscript
	Excelsa civitas Vincentia	cantilena/3	298v-299r	Stage 2, copied after 1430
	Magnificat	3 (fauxbourdon)	338v-339r	Stage 3, copied after 1433
	Lucis creator optime	hymn/3 (fauxbourdon)	319v	Stage 3
Ox213				
	Francorum nobilitati	cantilena/3	11v-12	
	Excelsa civitas Vincentia	cantilena/3	4v-5	Securely dated to 1433
	Ave Maria gratia plena	marian prayer[c]/3	5v-6	
PARMA75				
	De yre et de dueyl	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 Betrandus 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 Dedicatee, 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", *Recercare* 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 ferauuto"; 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 Miscellaneous 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 raucus 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]

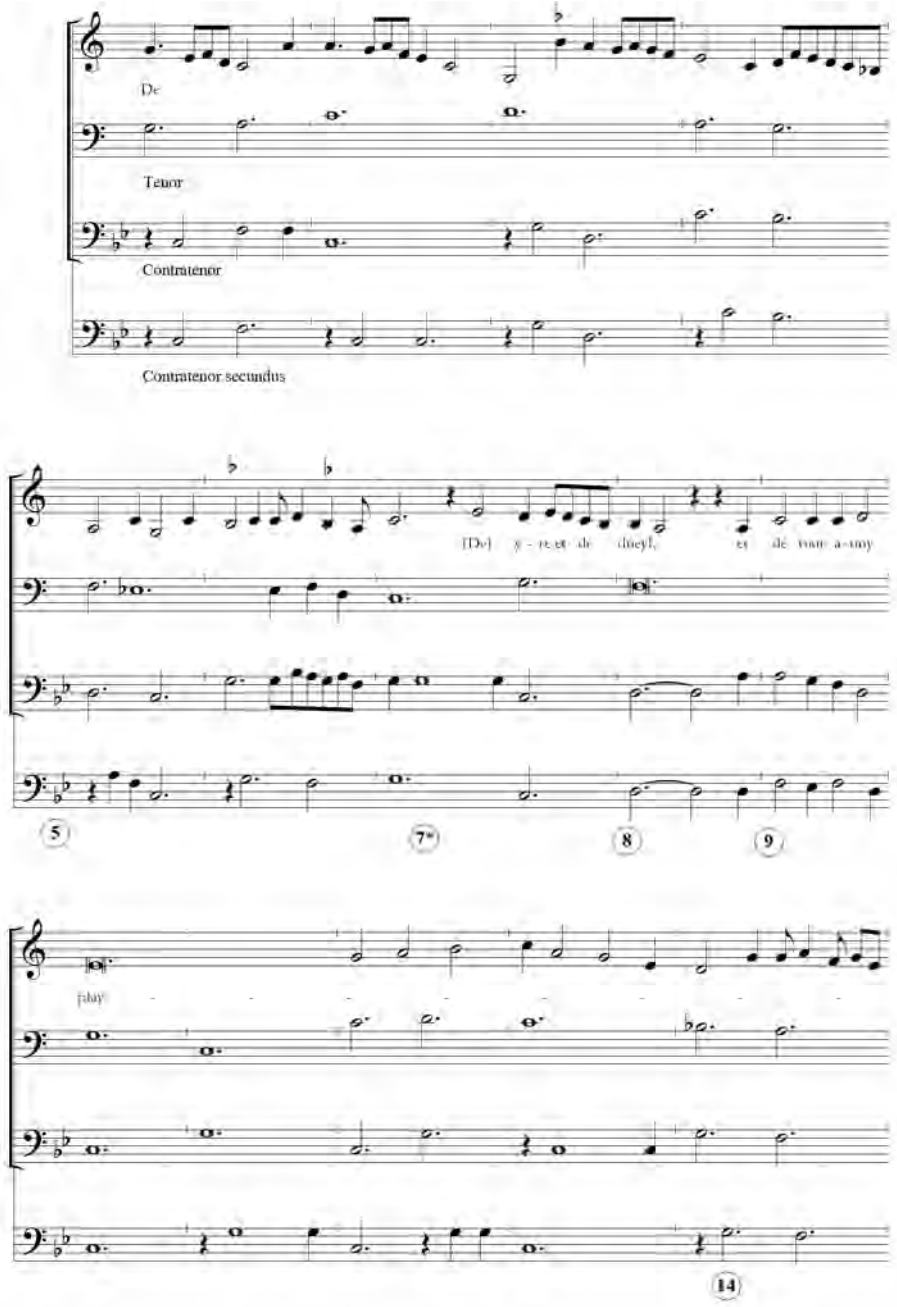
1r	Antonello da Caserta, *Più chiar che 'l sol*	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
1v	Anonymous, *Ayes pitie de moi belle playsant*	
	Pierre Fontaine, *Pour vous tenir*	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
	Nicholas Grenon, *Je ne requier*	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
2r	Johannes Ciconia, *Lizadra donna*	Contratenor by Matteo da Perugia
2v	Beltrame Feragut, *De yre et de dueyl*	Two contratenors
	Anonymous, *Je languis*	[Contratenor only]

[a] Parma75 = Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26

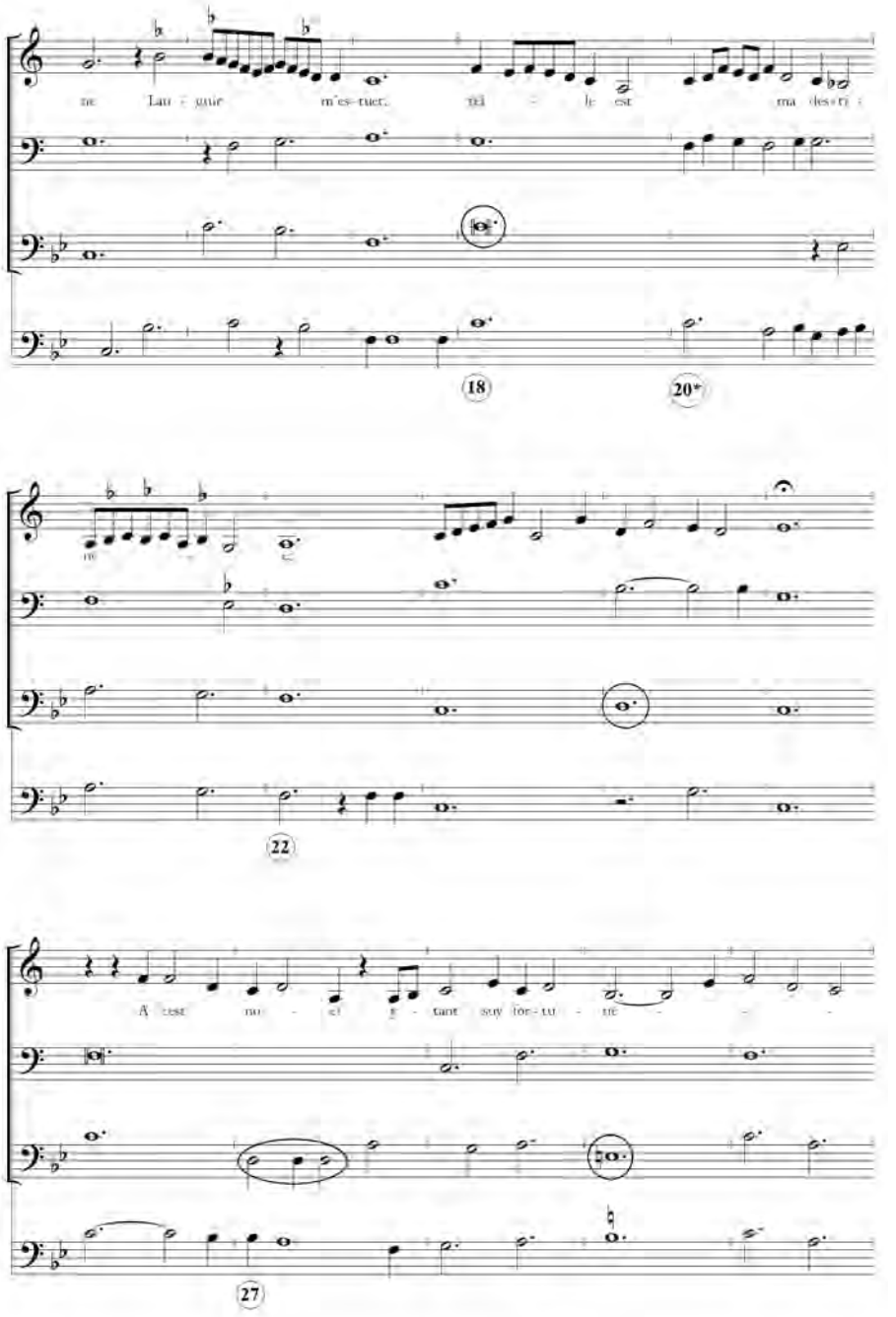
Unlike the other songs in the Parma fragment, *De yre et de dueyl* is transmitted with two contratenors, labeled in the source "contratenor" and "contratenor secundus" (see Example 1).[45] This is reminiscent of the transmission of the ballade *Ore Pandulfum* in the early layer of ModA, with two contratenors 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.

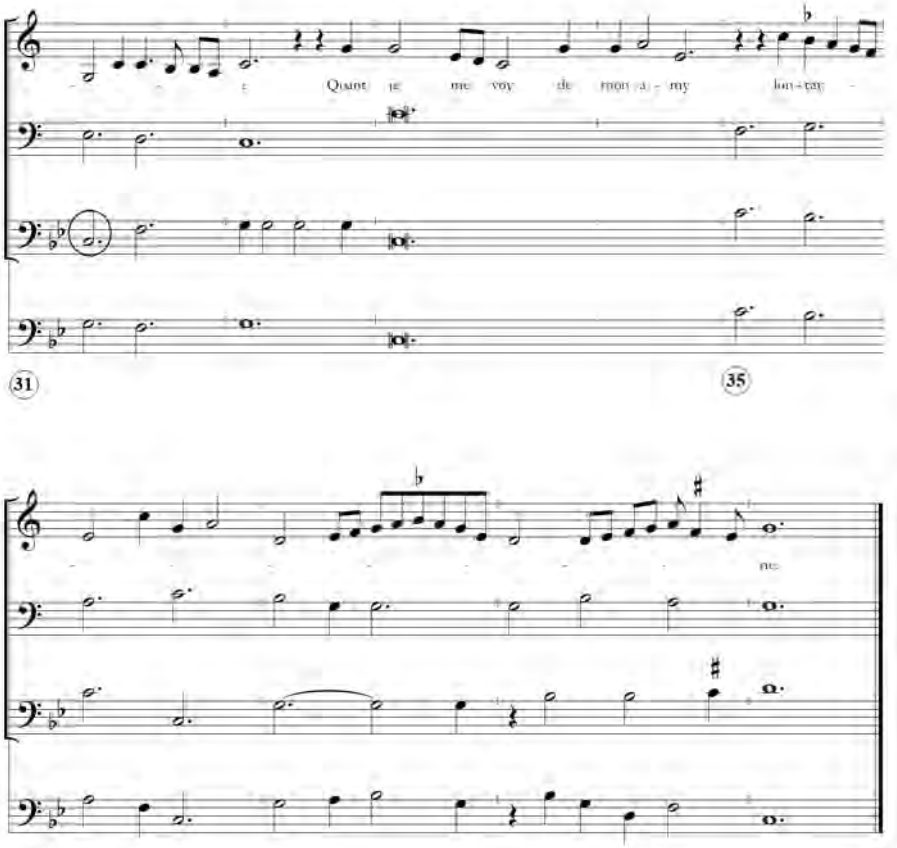
46. Pedro Memelsdorff, "*Ore Pandulfum*. Il *contratenor* come glossa strutturale", in *Musica e liturgie nel medioevo bresciano (secoli XI-XV)*, ed. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani and Rodobaldo Tibaldi (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2009), 381-420. This is one of a series of articles by Memelsdorff 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 chiar che 'l sol*: Luce su un contratenor di Antonello da Caserta", *Recercare* 4 (1992): 5-22; Id., "*Je ne sçay lequel 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.



Example 1. Feragut, *De yre et de dueyl*, modern transcription



Example 1 (continued)



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 imperfected (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. Besseler claimed that he saw a page numbering in the 200s, but my own examination did not confirm this; what Besseler 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': Humanistiche 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 praeveniendo 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 permaneas, deo dante,
Tronos ut videas[51] 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).

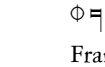
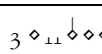
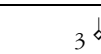
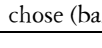
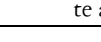
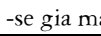
I share Lockwood's hesitation about this text's suitability for a secular ruler. The dedicatee is praised repeatedly, almost to the point of hyperbole, in the first two couplets for preventing and fighting against sin, wickedness, evil, diabolical forces (*mala*, *scelera*, *militia*, *diabolica*), and 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-○, 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, *VERGENE BELLA* (OX213, F. 133V)	FERAGUT, *FRANCORUM NOBILITATI* (OX213, FF. 11V-12)
[ϕ]	 Vergene bella ... (bar 1)	 Fran[corum] (bar 1)
○	 Invoco lei che ... (bar 78)	 Manifestans (bar 37)
3	 chose (bar 98)	 te associante (bar 80)
○	 -se gia mai (bar 102)	 A-[men] (bar 84)
ϕ	 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 soundworld, 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-Discantus 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 treatise 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]

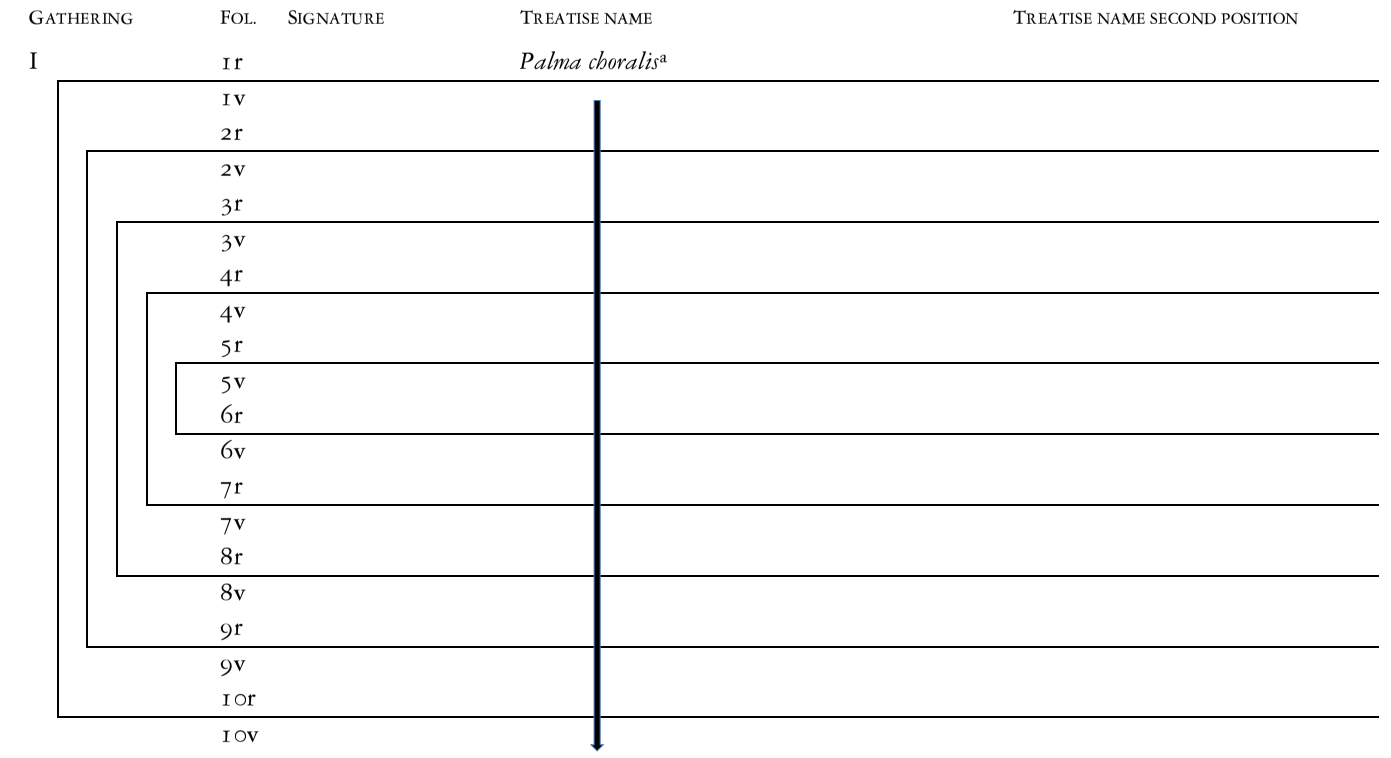
59. The chant books are two antiphoners, Castiglione Olona, Archivio Ss. Stefano e Lorenzo, Mss. A and B; see Giacomo Baroffio, "Iter Liturgicum Ambrosianum: Inventario sommario di libri liturgichi ambrosiani", *Aevum* 74 (2000): 583-603, at 585.

60. Oliver Ellsworth has transcribed this collection of short treatises under the title "Collectio tractatuum diversae originis", http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/15th/ANOCOL_MMBAI20I (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 Choralis* (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Press, 1977).

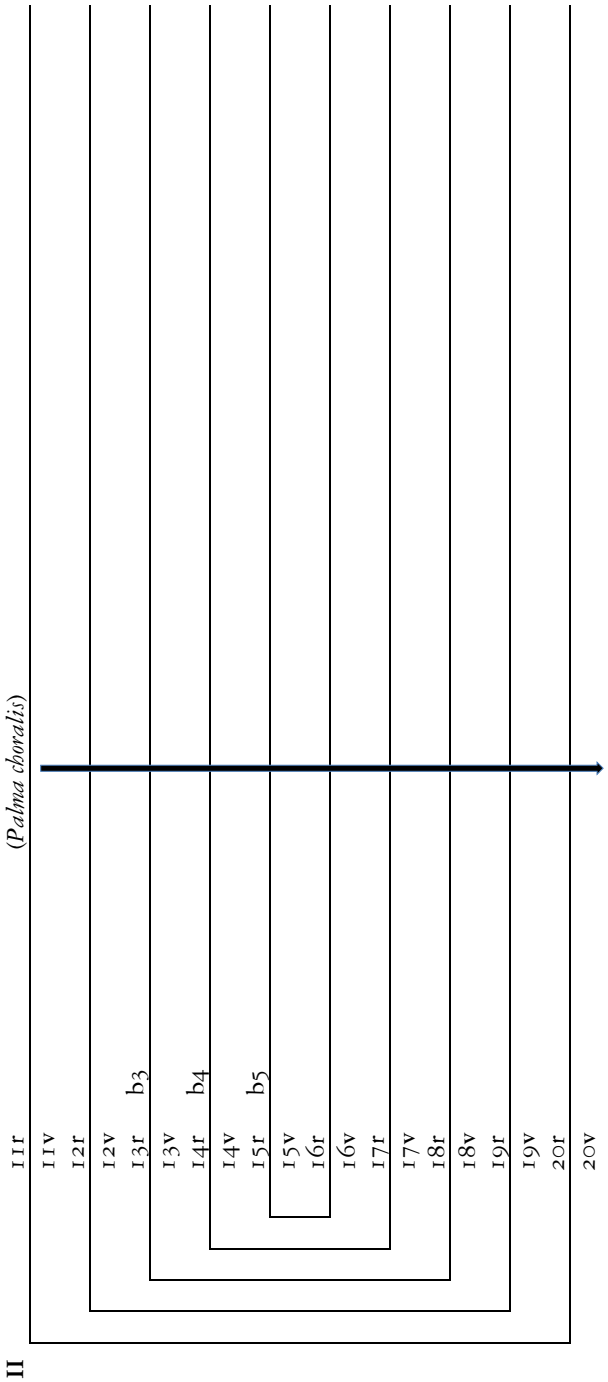
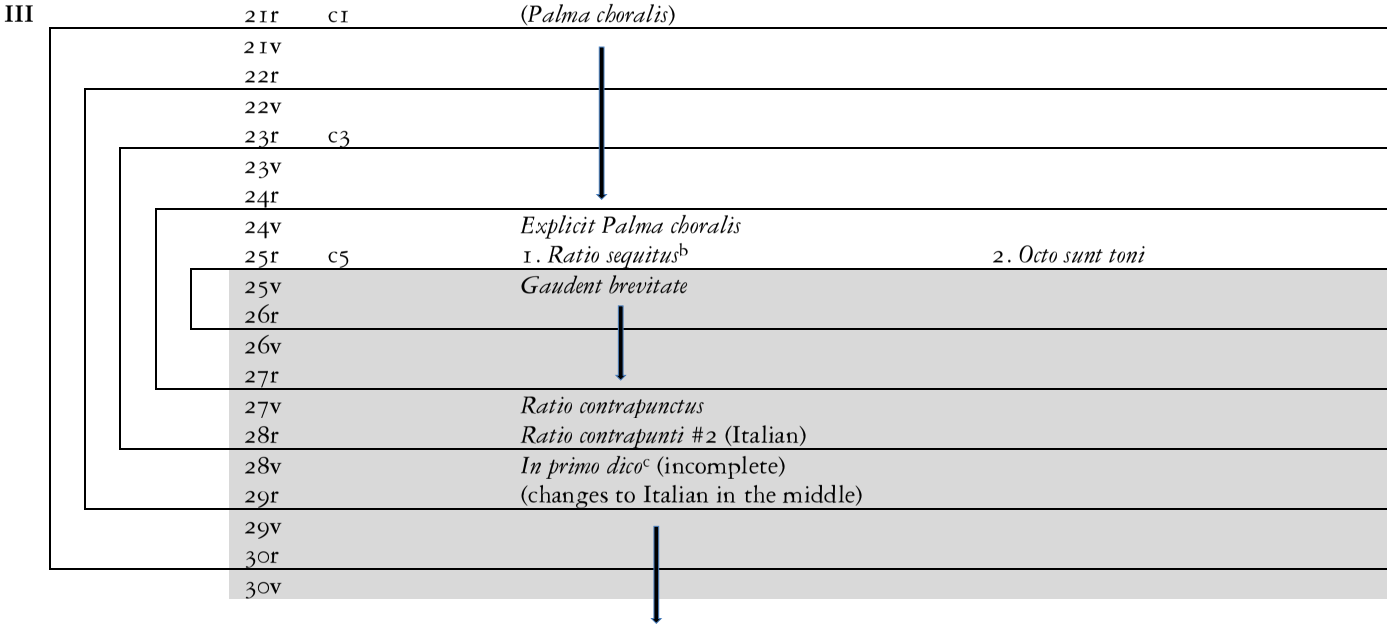


Figure 2 (continued)



[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)

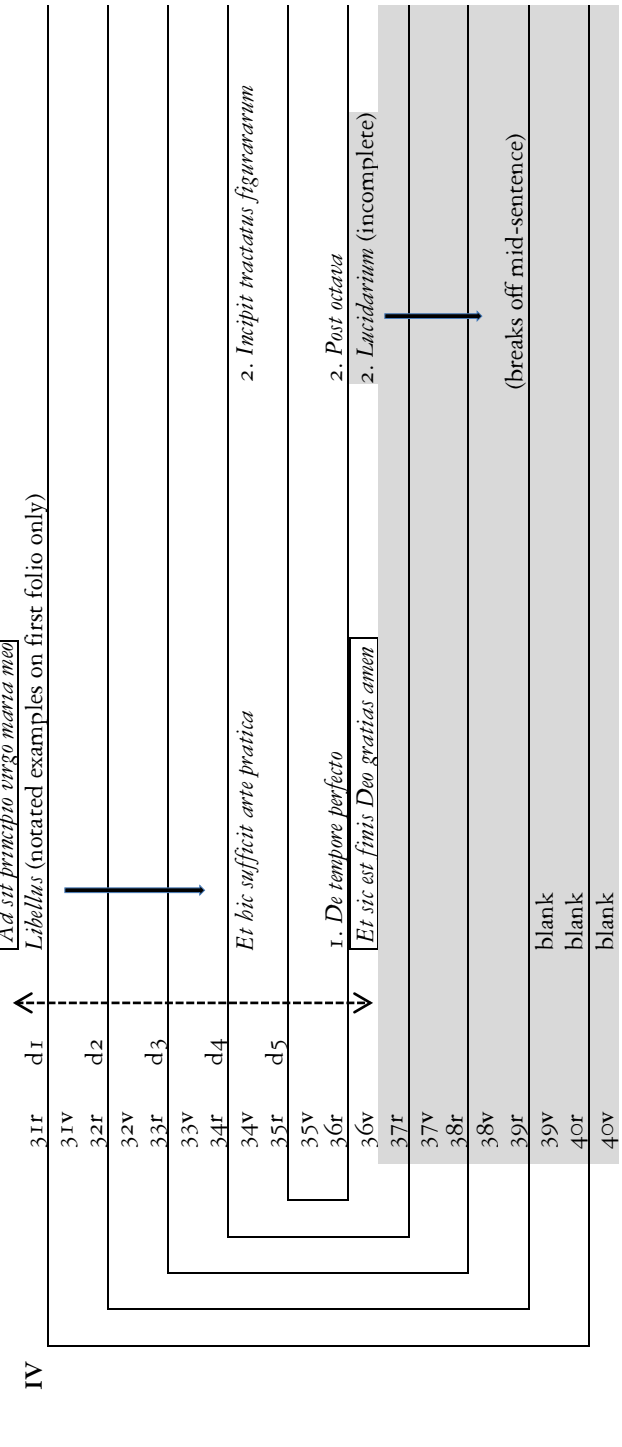


Figure 2 (continued)

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 Capitular 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'Ars 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 Gafori", *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 proportiones 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 musice 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 Doulz 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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