POLYPHONIC VOICES

POETIC AND MUSICAL DIALOGUES IN THE EUROPEAN ARS NOVA

Maria Caraci Vela

PAVIA VISCONTEA: POWER AND MUSIC[1]

1. Introduction

A persistent historiographic view of the transition from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century – deeply influenced by the historical weight that Florentine intellectuals had in the consolidation of their political ideology – has long depicted a Florence-centric image of a culturally innovative and proto-humanistic Italy that promoted ideals of civic humanism and freedom at the highest levels of thought and, in polar opposition to it, another Italy, mainly represented by the Visconti tyranny, that lingered on in the refined taste of the International Gothic and benefitted from an intellectual class that was an integral part of an absolutistic political project. In broad terms, such a description can certainly be justified, but recent research has brought to light more complex and dynamic aspects of the relationship between political ideologies and culture in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy. Furthermore, it has revealed the originality of the Visconti project, which in the course of a few decades managed to overturn the meaning of the word *tyranny*. Indeed, the term was soon redefined as a synonym of the pathological "fragmentation of the political body"[2] (i.e., the numerous communal regimes of their oppo-

1. The present essay deals (in a necessarily incomplete and provisional way) with a series of subjects that are also being addressed by a large-scale project led by the PIT research group ("Polifonia Italiana del Trecento") with an overriding interest in methodological problems.

2. "Nell'età del conte di Virtù il motivo anti-tirannico appare ormai legato a doppio filo all'ideologia dello stato regionale: non solo i Visconti sono i nemici dei tiranni (cioè dei governanti cattivi o illegittimi), ma lo sono anche della tirannia, che alcuni cominciano a intendere anche come parcellizzazione del corpo politico, secondo una visione olistica i cui prodromi sono nella dottrina di Egidio Romano e che venne ampiamente ripresa […] nell'età di Filippo Maria" (In the age of the Conte di Virtù, the anti-tyrannic motto already appears doubly bound to the ideology of the regional state. Not only are the Viscontis the enemies of tyrants (i.e., of evil and illegitimate rulers), but also they fight tyranny in itself. The concept begins to be understood as a fragmentation of the

Polyphonic Voices. Poetic and Musical Dialogues in the European Ars Nova, ed. A. Alberni, A. Calvia, M. S. Lannutti (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2021), 3-43. (ISBN 978-88-9290-147-6 © SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

nents) against which the government of the "fair lord" would have constituted the only valid alternative.[3] The political dialectic between Florence and Milan at the turn of the century is situated within a very pronounced mosaic of dynamic local realities – either communal or feudal – that were conscious of sharing an illustrious historical and cultural legacy, even though their ideological, linguistic and artistic identities were always in conflict with each other. Throughout the fourteenth century, this political fragmentation gave space to unification utopias. The ancient dream of a *Regno d'Italia* had been clearly outlined by Visconti rulers since Luchino's time – which, according to the anonymous author of the Latin text of the three-voice motet *Lux purpurata radiis* / *Diligite justitiam* (with references to Ovid and Horace),[4] would have marked the beginning of a new Golden Age. The same ambition was then nourished with increasing determination by Bernabò and Gian Galeazzo before the mantle was taken up by King Ladislaus of Naples. Lastly, Filippo Maria Visconti relaunched the project in the period between the annexation of Genua (1421) and the Milanese victory over Zagonara (1424). Whereas, as we know, these utopic ideals were not realised (all hope was lost in 1440 during the Anghiari battle), such attempts elicited major political and cultural consequences that intertwined elaborately with the innovative developments of humanistic thought.[5]

political body according to a holistic view, inspired by the doctrine of Giles of Rome, that will be widely relaunched in Filippo Maria's time). Andrea Gamberini, *Da "orgogliosi tiranni" a "tyrannidis domitores". I Visconti e il motivo anti-tirannico come fondamento ideologico dello stato regionale*, in *Court and Courtly Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe. Models and Languages*, ed. Simone Albonico and Serena Romano (Rome: Viella, 2015), 111-127, at 124.

3. Such a meaning was already perceptible in Petrarch. Cf. Giacomo Ferraù, "Petrarca e la politica signorile", in *Petrarca politico* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio Evo, 2006), 43-80.

4. Cf. Elena Abramov van Rijk, "Luchino Visconti, Jacopo da Bologna and Petrarch: Courting a Patron", *Studi musicali*, n.s. 3, 1 (2012): 7-62 and Maria Caraci Vela, "La polifonia profana a Pavia negli anni di Bernabò e Gian Galeazzo: linee di sviluppo di un progetto culturale europeo", in *Courts and Courtly Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe* (Rome: Viella, 2015), 241-260, at 242-3.

5. Cf. Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance. Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955; repr. 1966). Baron's ample documentation and acute observations are mostly valid today. There is an immense bibliography on the concept of Humanism and its cultural implications that includes a number of foundational texts; the "classics" of the history of culture. Several recent contributions have made the tradition of international studies accessible to the general public. See in particular Ronald Witt, *The two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); It. ed. *L'eccezione italiana. L'intellettuale laico nel Medioevo e l'origine del Rinascimento (800-1300)* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017). An intercultural approach to the subject can be found in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century (Acts of an International Conference Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 9-11, 1999)*, ed. Allen J. Grieco, Michael Rocke and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence: Olschki, 2002). On the paths of Humanism in Visconti Lombardy, cfr. Massimo Zaggia, "Itinerari per una storia della cultura in Lombardia dall'età di Coluccio Salutati a quella del

Despite the highly fractioned and unstable context described above, the persistence and continuous updating of the "Gothic" tradition was a constant element in the field of visual arts. Alongside the regional and local peculiarities such inclinations dialogued with a renewed interest (which had never disappeared entirely in medieval Italy) for the great *exempla* of Classical antiquity accessible through the omnipresent testimonies of the past.

This sort of dialectic, which was vital in early-fifteenth-century Florence ("the spearhead of Italian Humanism") can be easily traced to Viscontean Lombardy as well, through artists such as Giovanni da Milano, Bonino da Campione, Pietro Raverti, Belbello da Pavia, Giovannino de' Grassi, Anovelo da Imbonate, Jacopino da Tradate, Michelino da Besozzo and Pisanello. This list should also include the illustrious Lombard illuminators, such as the Masters of the *Guiron* and the *Lancelot*, Pietro da Pavia, Giovanni de' Grassi and his disciples and the Master of the *Vitae Caesarum.* In particular, the latter stands out as a prominent example of how the recovery of ancient culture was reflected in Luchino Visconti's political propaganda – he conceived of Milan as a *New Rome* – and through the pragmatic and dangerously efficient strategies developed since Gian Galeazzo's tenure. Through such representations, the illusion of a solid and unitary monarchic power reverberated all around the politically mosaicked peninsula as a safeguard of peace and order.

The relationship between the Italian polyphonic repertory and the historico-cultural dynamics of the time has proven difficult for scholars to understand. Yet, how can we link the evolution of musical forms and compositional techniques to contemporary contexts if cultural complexity and historical stratification are not first fully appreciated? Is it legitimate to consider French and Italian compositions by the same author as expressions of a single environment? And above all, the recurring question: to what extent did Humanism's innovative impulse influence music? Unlike literature, philosophy, science, law, the visual arts and architecture, music did not have a surviving classical background in which to recognise the reasons for its renewal, and it may seem divested of this fundamental point of reference. In response to these problems, scholars have often resorted to radical scepticism, which has led to identifying secular polyphony with a pragmatic "craft". This view is evidently not congruent with the cultural reality of the time, where, on the contrary, polyphony was regarded as a refined form of musical art, with high or mid-

Valla", in *Le strade di Ercole. Itinerari umanistici e altri percorsi* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010), 3-124.

dle-high "generic status"[6] that often included political or moral (explicit or allusive) contents. Polyphonic music was primarily produced by highly educated artists for the most distinguished commissioners, among whom were some of the most important and influential figures of the time.

Two distinct trends coexisted in the Italian secular polyphonic repertoire at the turn of the fifteenth century, as demonstrated by both Prosdocimus' theoretical ideas and the music of Bartolino, Paolo, Zacara, Antonello, Ciconia, Matteo and others. There was, on the one hand, a remarkable openness to the active reception of notational and compositional French models, and on the other, a determination to reassess a musical background that was consciously perceived as alternative, peculiar and "Italic".[7]

Concerning the second tendency, the production of the Squarcialupi codex (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 [Sq]) attests to the evidently "humanistic" attitude of a peculiar milieu towards its own musical "classics". The manuscript was produced by a specific political environment, fully oriented towards Italian secular polyphony, and (for this reason) it was different from other, rather "mixed" Florentine collections.[8] In the absence of Greek or Latin ancient models, "musical classics" such as these were considered illustrious exemplars of the recent past.[9] Thus, foreshadowing the

6. The term is a translation of the Italian "statuto di genere", i.e., the rhetorical level pertinent to a composition on the basis of the connotations of its content, form and style. Of this fundamental concept, of classical origin and well alive in medieval culture, Dante gives his own well-known interpretation in *De vulgari eloquentia*, II, IV.

7. As will be explained below, both repertoires were perceived as illustrious traditions and not as an opposition between "art" and "folksy" music.

8. Sixty years ago, Nino Pirrotta, who had a thorough understanding of early-Quattrocento Florentine culture, outlined the instrinsic relationship between the preparation of Sq and the presence of humanistic circles in the Florentine aristocracy. Cf. Nino Pirrotta, "Marchetto da Padova e l'Ars nova italiana", in *Musica fra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 63-79, at 77-8 (an updated edition of "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova", *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955): 57-71) and Id., "Novità e tradizione in Italia dal 1300 al 1600", ibid., 250-69, at 259 (original: Id., "Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600", in *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik. Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lutölf (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1973), 49-63). See also Michael P. Long's important discussion of the contexts surrounding the preparation of Sq, that paved the way for further research: Michael P. Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural élite", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 83-99. On the outdated hypothesis that Sq was produced for the Leoni family, Cf. Bianca Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi e il Codice Mediceo-Palatino 87", in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento I* (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1962), 141-196, at 161-163.

9. The significance of this innovative operation cannot be overstated but the extraordinary impact that Josquin's model had upon the cultivation of polyphony at the beginning of the 1500s – within circles that were permeated by humanistic thought – may be used as an analogy. Josquin's highly favourable contemporary reception, celebrated by the theoretician Glareano, contributed to the establishment of his compositional model as an exceptional standard in later generations. This view necessarily relied upon the belief that the masters of the recent past had already reached a com-

strong argumentations of literati such as Leonardo Bruni or Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, these musical trends show that an operation was underway similar to the one whereby the *volgare illustre* by the *tre corone* was gaining a new status, not inferior to that of Latin, and proved suitable for the creation of new "classics".[10]

In this framework, it is possible to explain why, between the 1390s and the 1420s, madrigals could sometimes be composed using certain stylistic archaisms that were inspired by their "canonised" models.[11] The use of these features, which referred to a particular musical legacy, guaranteed the existence and survival of the genre. The Trecento polyphonic madrigal was continually remodelled during the later stages of its development, and stylistic features of French origin that had been absorbed at an early stage were purposely abandoned in later years. Paolo, for instance, used the *overt/clos* device in some of his madrigals, either aligned with a double ritornello (*Corse per l'onde già di speme piena*, *Se non ti piacque in ingrat'abitare*, *Tra verdi frondi in isol'in sul fonte*, *Un pellegrino uccel gentil e bello*), or with both a double ritornello and two stanzas (*Nell'ora che a segar la bionda spiga*). However, in his earlier work *Una fera gentil più ch'altra fera*[12] and in other two-voice madrigals[13] (striking

positional peak. A similar situation occurred later in the field of figurative arts in relation to Vasari's manneristic view. On Josquin's exceptional emblematic status in the sixteenth century see Miranda Stanyon, "Pervasive Imitation in Senfl's *Ave Maria…Virgo Serena*: Borrowing from Josquin in Sixteenth-Century Augsburg", in *Identity and Locality in Early European Music, 1028-1740*, ed. Jason Stoessel (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 151-71.

10. Dante's conception of *volgare illustre* and its relationship to Latin is discussed in Mirko Tavoni, "Che cosa erano il volgare e il latino per Dante", in *Dante e la lingua italiana*, Letture Classensi 41, ed. Mirko Tavoni (Ravenna: Longo, 2013), 9-27.

11. Archaisms involve unison and unison-octave final cadences with stepwise motion in all voices, more free interval progressions compared to the ballata of the time and a predilection for 2-voice settings. See Zacara's *Plorans ploravi perché la fortuna*, in which these features are juxtaposed with the subtilior mensural language. (Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "La tradizione landiniana: aspetti peculiari e problemi di metodo", in *Col dolce suon che da te piove. Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani [Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999], 15-35).

12. Cf. John Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition", in *In cantu et in sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki-University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 41-64, at 62. I have previously proposed several indicators of chronology in Italian Ars Nova polyphony – 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. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell''Ars nova'*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 93-141, at 96-124.

13. These madrigals are of a later date, but they clearly make use of an earlier compositional style.

cases of "archaising architextuality")[14] such as *Era Venus al termin del suo giorno*, *Fra duri scogli sanz'alcun governo*, *Non più infelice a le sue membra nacque* and *Ventilla con tumulto la gran fama,* he proposed "classical" formal models that evoke the Florentine works of Vincenzo, Gherardello and Lorenzo. The chronological distance between those models is perceivable in the counterpoint, which had by then irreversibly evolved towards a new discipline of voice leading. For instance, in *Godi Firenze, po' che se' sì grande* Paolo uses the well-established typology of the political madrigal – which had acquired a generic status analogous to that of the motet[15] – and renounces the use of devices that had become quite common (and which he had already adopted), such as *ouvert/clos* endings, which would have been well combined with a high level of formal elaboration. At the same time, his rigorous control of voice leading in direct intervals constitutes an eminently "modern" quality in his writing.

Choices of this kind are typical of the late style of madrigal composition by musicians such as Antonello, Zacara[16] and Ciconia. Furthermore, Antonello also employed archaic models in his composition of two-voice ballatas. The five surviving Italian ballatas by Antonello are all for two vocal voices, and they speak a musical language that is deliberately different from that of his four ballades, two rondeaux and one virelai. In a period when the three-voice French model was generally preferred,[17] it is possible to explain the Italian predilection for two-voice textures as a reflection of the same proto-humanistic desire to cultivate a "classical" Italic musical tradition; an alternative to the French polyphonic language, whose international dissemination rendered it variously interpreted according to local perspectives.

Nino Pirrotta – whose important intuitions about the survival of evidence regarding popular performance practice in secular polyphony from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century are still fundamentally valid – perceived a

14. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Intertestualità e arte allusiva", in *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici,* Vol. 2: *Approfondimenti* (Lucca: LIM, 2009), 117-73, at 137-8.

15. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura del madrigale *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* di Jacopo da Bologna", *Philomusica on-line* 13 (2014), 1-58, at 2-20.

16. Zacara's only madrigal *Plorans ploravi perché la fortuna* is an extraordinary example. It combines the mensural complexity of the subtilior language with features clearly influenced by archaic models (absence of *overt/clos*, unison ritornello cadence by stepwise motion, two vocal voices) and a high generic status (*hoquetus*, bilingual text).

17. I have presented elsewhere my hypothesis that certain Italian compositions, which survive in versions for both 2 and 3 voices, may have originated either by adding the contratenor to pre-existing cantus and tenor parts, or by suppressing the contra and rearranging the remaining voices. In the latter case, I see these two-voice reworkings as a response to Italian musical tastes and preferences. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela and Roberto Tagliani, "*Deducto sei*: alcune osservazioni e una nuova proposta di edizione", in *"…Et faciam dolçi canti". Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa Maria Gialdroni and Annunziato Pugliese (Lucca: LIM, 2004), 263-94, at 266.

"semipopolare o pseudopopolare" taste in Antonello's Italian compositions, which he dated later than the French works.[18] Such a perception presumably derived from the evident links between the language of certain polyphonists (Jacopo Pianellaio, Giovanni Mazzuoli and Jacopo da Foligno, among others) and the spirit and style of the *lauda.* In light of more recent scholarship, one may instead assert that musicians such as Antonello properly cultivated a *musical bilingualism* that was constantly updated on the French side and looked, on the Italian side, to the recovery of an "Italic" tradition. The Italian models of the recent past – transcribed and preserved with great reverence in retrospective editorial projects such as the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26 (Fp) and Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL)[19] around the same time – were consciously reworked in a highly learned and sophisticated way, unlike coeval semi-popular secular or devotional repertoires.

In terms of musical notation, the dialectic between the Italian[20] and French traditions does not result in an indistinct *medium*, especially given that the earliest Italian surviving examples do not adhere to a strictly "pure" Italian style of notation. This dialectic – as reflected in the repertoire of compositions inspired by musical controversies – is consciously experienced by musicians and theorists, who explore its possibilities through various options, differently characterised according to places, times, and the training of musicians and copyists. In my opinion, it is problematic to suggest that the distinctive features of Italian and French notations were gradually lost due to a general blending of international notational styles into which the two different cultural realities dissolved. Such an approach risks over-simplifying the complex phenomena of active reception that we are dealing with here.[21]

The scholar who seeks to determine and clarify the characteristic elements and models of a given cultural milieu – e.g. the art historian who studies fifteenth-century Milanese architecture attempting to recognise the Italian and

18. Cf. Nino Pirrotta, "Due composizioni anglo-italiane del Quattrocento", in *Musica tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 185-94, at 193 (original: Id., "Two Anglo-Italian Pieces in the Manuscript Porto 714", in *Speculum Musicae Artis*, ed. Heinz Becker und Reinhard Gerlach [Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970], 253-61).

19. Cf. John Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages" (PhD diss., New York University, 1985).

20. Cf. Tiziana Sucato, ed., "Studio introduttivo", in *Il codice Rossiano 215. Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello*, Diverse voci, 1 (Pisa: ETS, 2003). See in particular 14-6, 37, 45.

21. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela's review of Signe Rotter Broman, *Komponieren in Italien um 1400. Studien zu dreistimmig überlieferten Liedsätzen von Andrea und Paolo da Firenze, Bartolino da Padova, Antonio Zacara da Teramo und Johannes Ciconia*, Musica Mensurabilis, 6 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), *Philomusica on-line* 13, 1 (2014): 113-24, at 119-20.

Transalpine Romanesque and Gothic references that generated it – does not work on a local-centric dimension. Instead, he tries to penetrate in depth the concreteness of peculiarly characterised and dynamic historical realities that he investigates in order to learn as much as possible from the rich and intertwined diversity. Likewise, a musicologist who wishes to conduct a historio-critical analysis of the mobility of the two late-Trecento notational systems must seek to explain and understand their individual, fundamental *rationes* – which are conceptually distinct and have certainly different backgrounds – and the modalities of their interaction in time and space.

The contributions of important Italian centres[22] to *subtilitas* and theoretical reflection on musical notation has often been a topic of scholarly discussion. Italian notation contributed to *subtilior* speculation with an overriding interest for the symbol's power of meaning (rather than for the use of *color* or French mensural signs). Undoubtedly, familiarity with Transalpine notational practice and theoretical thought was essential to such developments, but it should be stressed that this specific interest was already backed by a consistent Florentine tradition,[23] as is demonstrated at an early date by the works of Lorenzo.[24]

Whereas, on the one hand, the reception of French-speaking culture in Italy was multifaceted, continual and widely spread, on the other hand, the reassessment of a "classical" past in order to raise music's cultural prestige became a strongly motivated alternative in the leading intellectual circles of the time. Therefore, Italian art polyphony at the turn of the fifteenth century must not only be explained as an artisanally revered music-making, but also as a living, receptive, dynamic aspect of culture that was profoundly coherent with the impulses, the dialectics of ideas, and the immensely diversified historical reality that surrounded it. In a simplified but useful way, the relationship between the Italian proto-humanistic and the French late-Gothic features of the polyphonic repertory can be compared to contemporary visual arts. As has been

22. Cf. Carla Vivarelli, "'Di una pretesa scuola napoletana': Sowing the Seeds of the Ars Nova at the Court of Robert of Anjou", in *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 272-96; Ead., "'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 quinto convegno internazionale in ricordo di Federico Ghisi (1901-1975): Certaldo, 17-18 dicembre 2005*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2009), 103-42.

23. Jason Stoessel has expressed a different opinion. He asserts that Paolo's notational figures were borrowed from French Ars Nova (cf. Id., "Revisiting *Aÿ mare, amice mi care*: Insights into Late Medieval Music Notation", in *Early Music* 40 [2012]: 455-68. See also "The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration's Signs in the Notation of Ars Subtilior", in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context. New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex [Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms 564]*, ed. Jolanda Plumley and Anne Stone [Turnhout: Brepols, 2009], 179-202 at 201-2)

24. Cf. Michele Epifani, "In margine alla notazione sperimentale del madrigale *Ita se n'era a star* di Lorenzo da Firenze", *Philomusica on-line* 13 (2014): 59-88.

argued above, the cultural reality of the time was complex, pluralistic, and in a constant state of flux, and certain phenomena that we tend to define today as opposing choices could in fact coexist and be consciously practised in a variety of ways, even in the same environments and by the same authors.

2. The Functions of Intertextuality

The intricate game of allusive intertextuality (verbal, musical, figurative, or combined) is frequently deployed in the complex and unstable cultural scenario described above as a means of political and ideological communication. The study of Intertextuality – a constellation of text-centred phenomena – belongs to the domain of Philology. Recent analysis of the allusive intertextuality in medieval poetic and musical texts has offered new interpretative devices that have been useful for recreating the context of the repertoire and its political connotations. Many of these contributions have paved the way for further research.[25]

Gérard Genette proposed a meritorious system of categorisation for different types of intertextuality, which today calls for reconsideration.[26] Alongside Genette's five categories of intertextuality, all related to consciously enacted forms of intertextuality, it is important to take into account the textual incidences of "interdiscoursivity" (as discussed by Cesare Segre) and "physiological intertextuality" (a type of unconscious intertextuality generated by a deeply internalised body of knowledge and visual/aural habits).[27]

Scholarship has not yet produced a consistent methodology or accurate terminology for the analysis of intertextuality in music. Recent medieval

25. For essential bibliographic references, see Caraci Vela, "Intertestualità e arte allusiva", 145, nn. 114 and 118. Yolanda Plumley has produced several important contributions to this topic. Cf. in particular Ead., *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Ead., "Crossing Borderlines: Points of Contact between the Late-Fourteenth Century French Lyric and Chanson Repertoires", in *Acta musicologica* 76 (2004): 3-23, at 15-7; Ead., "An Episode in the South? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes", *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103-68; Ead., "Playing the Citation Game in the Late-Fourteenth Century", *Early Music History* 31 (2003): 20-39; Ead., "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta", in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68. Cfr. also *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco and Stefano Jossa (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), vol. 1: *Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto* (2011); vol. 2: *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Culture* (2013).

26. Cf. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La Littérature au second degré* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1983); Id., *Fiction et diction* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2004).

27. Cf. Cesare Segre, "Intertestuale-discorsivo. Appunti per una fenomenologia delle fonti", in *La parola ritrovata: fonti e analisi letterarie*, ed. Franco Brioschi, Costanzo di Girolamo and Ivano Paccagnella (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 15-28.

musicology has only focused on the most evident and straightforward of Genette's typologies, i.e. "explicit intertextuality" or "quotation", and "hypertextuality" (the elaboration of a text based upon another text, as recognisable in medieval and Renaissance compositional techniques like *contrafacta*, variation and composition on a pre-existing *cantus firmus* or polyphonic model).[28]

In the musicological vulgate, "quotation" and "borrowing" (terms that are often used ambiguously and improperly) deserve closer examination because they reveal a phenomenology that varies according to its context, purpose and function. Borrowing is considered as such when words or music from another text or melody are incorporated into a piece. For instance, at the end of the second part of Gesualdo's madrigal *Da le odorate spoglie* (*Secondo libro dei Madrigali a cinque voci*, 1594) the composer pays artistic and personal tribute to Wert and Luzzaschi, evoking an unforgettable *reservata* performance.[29] However, quotation procedures worked differently in the previous centuries: for example, in Paolo's *Soffrir m'estuet* – one of his richest works in terms of intertextuality – allusive references (to *Espérance*, Bartolino and Filippotto)[30] are the cornerstone of the composition, sometimes placed in a position of emphasis on the cantus line, and sometimes in the instrumental contra part. The citation of a pre-existing musical melody also carries and elicits the memory of the words that it originally accompanied. Similarly, the quotation of a pre-existing textual passage would prompt the recollection of the previous musical setting.

Intertextuality as a vehicle for "high" political messages in this repertoire is very often explicated through "architextuality", a particular typology that still warrants more careful study. Architextuality takes place when a new composition inherits the function and hierarchical position from the model

28. The phenomenon of "quotation" has been widely studied, and poetical and musical occurrences have been identified in *entées* compositions. Nevertheless, it is often difficult to remember that musical fragments of an evident polygenetic nature should not be regarded as "quotations". Consider, for example, all basic formulas of composition and diminution that were part of the broad horizon of listening of a social circle and a historical period. Hypertextuality in polyphonic repertoires at the turn of the fifteenth century has been significantly less investigated, probably because it gained more prominence later in the century. However, emblematic examples of hypertextual types exist at an earlier stage: see the relationship between the ballades *Phyton, le merveilleus serpent* (Machaut) and *Phiton Phiton, beste très venimeuse* (Franciscus), as well as later mass movements based on secular models by Zacara, Bartolomeo da Bologna and others.

29. Gesualdo's *Da le odorate spoglie* alludes to Luzzaschi's homonymous setting (*Libro terzo dei madrigali a cinque voci*, 1582). The latter, in turn, was written with Wert's famous *Cara la vita mia* in mind (*Libro primo dei madrigali a cinque voci*, 1558). Cf. Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), Vol. I, 126-8.

30. Cf. Caraci Vela, "La polifonia profana a Pavia", 257-9; Ead., "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 136-9.

from which it derives, through the adoption of formal schemes, compositional techniques, voice settings, linguistic conventions and other features that determine its generic status.[31]

The three rhetorical levels that shape the creation and reception of formalised thought in the Late Middle Ages,[32] can be applied to secular polyphony as well. As mentioned above, the madrigal – a genre that embraces all three levels – fulfilled certain functions typical of the motet when carrying elevated messages and references. In such cases, musical architextuality is normally enriched by garish citations of Dante or Petrarch, or quotations and transliterations of classical and biblical sources or other elevated texts. Although musicologists have not yet examined a great number of the extant examples, a considerable portion of Italian Trecento polyphony is built upon Dantesque intertextuality,[33] with later references to Petrarch and Boccaccio. The intertextual, paratextual and architextual use of allusion implies the coexistence of two contrasting compositional impulses: the allusive content is hidden and, at the same time, is expected to be unveiled. In any case, the poetic and musical material that transmits it must be entirely comprehensible to the reader and listener, even when the intertext is lost.[34]

In some cases, an intertextual reference can result in a shift or a reversal of meaning[35] that can intentionally or unconsciously lead to a distortion of the model for the allusion.[36] Most importantly, an intertextual allusion to a spe-

31. See Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura".

32. *De vulgari eloquentia*, II, iv.

33. Jacopo's famous madrigal *Aquila altera* / *Creatura gentile* / *Uccel di Dio* contains at least thirty intertextual references to Dante's *Commedia*. Such references, which have not received significant scholarly attention, are densely charged with allusive meanings. Among these are a quotation of the "uccel di Dio", a clear and direct link to Dante that has been alternatively misinterpreted as a reference to the Holy Spirit's dove, Isabella of Valois' emblem of the turtle dove, an image taken from *tacuinum sanitatis*, a hunting symbol, and so on. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura", 24-35.

34. See also Jason Stoessel, "The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Notation of Ars Subtilior", in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 180.

35. A typical case of meaning manipulation as a consequence of quotation is discussed in Jacques Boogaart, "*Folie convient avoir*. Citation and Transformation in Machaut's Musical Works: Gender Change and Transgression", 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), 2-40. A departure from the original meaning was often intentional and served a provocative or alienating function. This is not the same as the concept of misreading, which Harold Bloom explains in the context of the history of literature. Cf. Id., *A Map of Misreading* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). See also my brief discussion in Caraci Vela, "Intertestualità e arte allusiva", 127-8.

36. If this sense of reversal generates in turn a new chain of textual tradition and/or intertextual links, it is defined as an "energetic inversion". Cf. Monica Centanni, "L'originale assente", in *L'originale assente. Introduzione allo studio della tradizione classica*, ed. Monica Centanni (Milan: Mondadori, 2006), 3-41, at 38.

cific event or context can be redirected to a new situation in which it will acquire new meaning. Such is the case for the group of compositions that, throughout the fourteenth century, make use of Bernabo Visconti's personal motto *Souffrir m'estuet* in their textual settings, a motto that was subsequently adopted by Gian Galeazzo together with other heraldic *devises* inherited from his father and his uncle. In Bartolino's madrigal *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*, the motto alludes to Bernabò and to precise historical circumstances, whereas in Niccolò's setting of the same text the words refer to a later event (either during Bernabo's or Gian Galeazzo's rule). The same allusion is found again, with a new meaning, in the *Esperance* cycle. The inclusion in Sq of both settings of *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba* must have been in response to the compiler's desire to preserve an important musical heritage but also to update the "old" anti-Visconti message to one reflective of the current political situation: the new rulers of Milan now represented an even greater danger to the Florentine republic.[37]

Allusive intertextuality is not an exclusive feature of Machaut,[38] of the post-Machaut era, or of the Ars Subtilior.[39] It is present in Italian Ars Nova compositions, and it assumes various functions and modes during the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, in order to identify intertextuality, it is essential to master a rich and complex network of contextual, historical, political, literary and visual references. Such references link to a corpus of ancient, recent and coeval *auctoritates* that were deeply internalised and shared within the social circles that cultivated secular polyphony. Last, Italian and French secular polyphony should also be observed in light of the relationship between Machaut and Petrarch – an important aspect that has been generally neglected by musicologists, with only a few exceptions.[40]

Notation can also work as a vehicle for intertextuality in musical texts; for instance, when it makes use of *color* or other particular groups of signs that are intended to allude to a notational model assumed to be known by the reader. It

37. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 138-41.

38. Indeed, the whole history of music could be read through an intertextual lens, as Peter Burkholder argues in his extensive entry in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrel (London-New York: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 4, 5-41. Needless to say, musical intertextuality goes far beyond European art music. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Intertestualità e arte allusiva".

39. Musical intertextuality before and after Machaut is discussed in Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*.

40. Cf. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani, "Dalla 'pastorella' di Francesco Petrarca al *Cerf blanc* di Guillaume de Machaut. Alcune brevi annotazioni", *Civiltà Bresciana* 19, 3-4 (2010): 7-61. In the most recent literature on Machaut, Petrarch appears cited only *en passant*. Cf. Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY: Cornel University Press, 2011), and Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*.

is worth noting that musical notation is materially shaped by the contextual horizons of handwriting and the visual arts.

In illuminated or decorated manuscripts, the iconographic display can play a paratextual role, almost as a gloss or commentary to the textual concepts and symbols that the music transmits, amplifies and fixes in the listener's mind. A well-known example is the dialogue between miniatures, words, music and iconography found on the illuminated pages of Sq, which includes composers' portraits with their qualifying attributes at the opening of each section,[41] and page decorations in the side and bottom margins that refer to the poetic contents of the composition. The images accompanying the "complex text"[42] of secular polyphonic works intensify and confirm the allusive functions of verbal/musical intertextuality. Finally, it should be reminded that the symbolic and highly formalised language of heraldry plays a similar role when it alludes to specific ideas, events, relationships and messages.

3. Cultural Context

Ever since Galeazzo II conquered Pavia,[43] it (and not Milan) became the most prestigious cultural centre in Lombardy. The city had a rich history. It had been a kingdom capital several times and for the Visconti became a place of excellence[44] in which the princes' intellectual ambitions were shaped, in contrast to their political activities, which were mainly concentrated in Milan.

Gian Galeazzo made his beloved Pavia his permanent residence, and transformed it into the main hub for the cultural,[45] political and diplomatic activities of the Visconti territory – and later of the dukedom, within which it took the form of an autonomous county. The city continued to enjoy a privileged status even after the tragic events of Giovanni Maria's princedom and the turbulent occupation by Facino Cane (1411-1412), who held the city as a

41. These images include details such as the composers' garments (either lay or religious), professional symbols such as music instruments (e.g. Lorenzo's and Landini's organs), their posture and attitude and physical features (see the unflatteringly realistic portrait of Zacara).

42. Cf. Caraci Vela, *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2, 68-9.

43. In 1365, Galeazzo II made the Pavese castle his residence. From then onwards, his visits to Milan were only motivated by government issues and his relationship with Bernabò. Instead, he frequently visited his other residences (Belgioioso, Melegnano, Abbiategrasso, etc.).

44. From the sixth to the ninth century, Pavia was a Longobard, Carolingian and Ottonian capital.

45. Gian Galeazzo certainly followed the progress of the works at the Milan Duomo for institutional and image reasons, but he was particularly motivated to supervise those of the Certosa of Pavia, the actual family church (Cf. Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Saggi di storia e storiografia visconteo-sforzesca* [Bologna: Cappelli, 1984] 56).

personal endowment. Filippo Maria, the last Visconti ruler, who inherited the title of *Conte di Pavia* from his father, spent his lonely youth in Pavia Castle, but after his ascent to power, established his residence in the Milanese fort of Porta Giovia, which was a point of departure for his revengeful attack against Bernabò's heirs, and a strategic point of defence, control and official diplomatic representation.[46] Whereas Bernabò's Milan was in every respect a capital of great international renown and had therefore been continuously enriched with palaces and churches, Galeazzo II's Pavia, famous for its *scriptorium*, library, archive and historic monasteries,[47] soon became home to two cultural realities of great prestige: the university and the castle library.

The foundation of the university, which ran two courses (*Utriusque iuris* and *Artium et Medicinae*), was authorised by Emperor Charles VI in 1361 and approved by Boniface IX in 1387.[48] Gian Galeazzo strongly and constantly supported the institution. In 1392, he confirmed the rule enacted by his father in 1375, according to which no Visconti subjects were allowed to attend universities other than Pavia, which benefitted from papal privileges granted by Boniface IX.[49] In the last years of his government, the duke took important measures and engaged illustrious scholars to teach there.[50]

Lucia Marchi has formulated convincing hypotheses, based on the extant documentation, regarding the university's links to musical culture in Pavia at the turn of the fifteenth century.[51] Although the official quadrivial lectors of Music remain unknown, there is significant evidence of the presence of Johannes de Janua, a lector of Logic and polyphonist (and the composer of two surviving compositions in Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24

46. In his Italian-Latin poem, *De Magno Schismate*, Antonio Baldana recounts that Martin V, while travelling to Rome after his election, was received at Pavia by the "buon Filippo Maria" with "gloriosos cultos", and subsequently taken to the "potissimam / urbem [Milan] per consecrar quella opra pia / di chiesa [the Cathedral's major altar, 1418] che se funda sub auspiciis / huius [Filippo Maria] qui patrem [Gian Galeazzo] sequitur vestigiis". Cf. Renata Pieragostini, "Unexpected Contexts: Views of Music in a Narrative of the Great Schism", *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 169-207, at 206.

47. Among these are S. Pietro in ciel d'oro, San Felice, Santa Maria and Sant'Aureliano and Santa Maria della Pusterla.

48. An updated bibliography on the history of Pavia University exists, and the archival documentation has been published. Cf. Rodolfo Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico dell'Università di Pavia*, 3 vols. (Pavia: Società pavese di storia patria, 1905-1915), Vol. I (1361-1400) and Vol. II (1401-1440).

49. Ibid., Vol. I, docs. 316 and 317.

50. Cf. Daniel Meredith Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan (1351-1402). A Study in the Political Career of an Italian Despot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941; repr. 2011), 183-4.

51. Cf. Lucia Marchi, "Music and University Culture in Late Fourteenth-Century Pavia. The manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1", *Acta musicologica* 80 (2008) :143-64.

[ModA]),[52] and of Pietro Filargo, lector of Theology and the future Pope Alexander V.[53] Filargo was a famous diplomat and jurist. He cultivated and promoted humanistic interests within and beyond the context of his typical French late medieval education. He was in contact with Coluccio Salutati, Umberto Decembrio (whose son Pier Candido was Filippo Maria Visconti's biographer) and Leonardo Bruni (who worked as his secretary). Filargo's library can be inductively reconstructed from the surviving items now stored at the Ambrosian Library of Milan. He was a notable Greek scholar and a patron of culture and music, which he also studied as a quadrivial discipline.[54] He was Matteo da Perugia's only known patron and his name can be connected to Hymbertus de Salinis, Zacara (who quoted Filargo in *Dime Fortuna, poi che tu parlasti*) and Ciconia (who alluded to him in *O Petre, Christi discipule*).[55]

As mentioned above, the other cultural pole that Galeazzo II gave to the city was the castle's library, where historically important books belonging to previous Visconti generations had been incorporated, and which over time acquired real bibliographic treasures.[56] At the end of 1388, following the conquest of Padua, a significant part of Francesco il Novello's library – including some of Petrarch's personal books – was brought to Pavia. Chancellor Pasquino Capelli's book collection was added to the library the following year, after his

52. Cf. Marchi, "Music and University Culture", 147-8; Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24: Commentary* (Lucca: LIM, 2005), 78-81.

53. A Franciscan educated at Oxford and Paris, Filargo was appointed bishop of Piacenza (1386), Vicenza (1388) and Novara (1389). He then became Gian Galeazzo's advisor, the godfather to his two sons, and his ambassador at Wenceslaus IV's court in Prague, where he stayed for a long period of time negotiating the Visconti's ducal title. He was then made archbishop of Milan in 1402, and cardinal and papal legate in Lombardy three years later. He took part in the Council of Pisa, where he was elected pope (26 June 1409, crowned 7 July 1410) under the name of Alexander V. During his brief papacy, he was forced to move between Prato, Pistoia and Bologna, where he finally died (3 May 1410), but he was unable to enter Rome due to Ladislaus of Naples' occupation. (Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 83-90 for bibliographic references).

54. He wrote a speculative sequenza on the harmony of the spheres. See Stone, *The Manuscript*, 88-90.

55. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 88. The attribution of *Dime Fortuna, poi che tu parlasti* to Zacara has been convincingly proposed by Agostino Ziino in Id., *Il Codice T.III.2, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile/Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: LIM, 1994) 11-65 and 69-119, at 47-9 and 103-5.

56. Cf. Elisabeth Pellégrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XV siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1955). Concerning the library's history, historical inventories, reconstruction hypotheses, etc. see Edoardo Fumagalli, "Appunti sulla biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza nel castello di Pavia", *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s. 7 (1990): 93-211; Simonetta Cerrini, "Libri dei Visconti-Sforza. Schede per una nuova edizione degli inventari", *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s. 8 (1991): 239-81; Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi, "La biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza: gli inventari del 1488 e del 1490", ibid., 1-238; Ead., "Note sulla Biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza nel castello di Pavia", *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria* 113 (2013): 35-68.

life was brought to a tragic end having fallen out of the duke's favour.[57] Two fifteenth-century library catalogues survive: the first ordered by Filippo Maria (1426) and the last by Louis XII as he intended to transfer the castle's library from Pavia to Blois (1499).[58] Both documents reflect a persistent interest in French culture.[59]

Literary culture in the Visconti's Pavia was essentially trilingual (Latin, Italian and French)[60] and included ample development of vernacular genres. Among the most splendid testimonies to this culture are two manuscripts prepared for Bernabò and illuminated by Lombard artists: the *Lancelot du lac* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 343 [Paris343]) and the *Guiron le courtois* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 5243 [Paris5243]).[61] These two precious items were originally kept at the castle's library in Pavia and not in Milan, where, instead, the prince and his family seem to have preferred a "lower" register of expression in everyday activities – the *Novelle* written by members of Bernabò's circle provide a good example.[62]

Consequently, it is not surprising that Bernabò's illegitimate children were named after fictional characters of the French *romans* and the Breton cycle: Astorre, Isotta, Lancillotto, Galeotto, Ginevra, Palamede (not the Greek hero killed by Ulysses but the Arthurian Knight), Riccarda and Sagramoro. The Visconti's interest in subjects and personages of the epic and narrative French tradition was evident and continuative. Even Filippo Maria had a predilection for this genre, as Decembrio disapprovingly remembers.[63] Such a penchant is widely attested in the visual arts as well. As noted by Strohm,[64] the cycle of frescos in the Torre di Frugarolo composed during Gian Galeazzo's time

57. Cf. Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi e di ispirazione francese nella biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza nel castello di Pavia", in *La cultura dell'Italia padana e la presenza francese nei secoli XIII-XV.* Atti del convegno (settembre 1994) (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001), 282-99, at 293.

58. Two more inventories (respectively dated 1488 and 1490) were recently rediscovered. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "La biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza".

59. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi".

60. See *Valorosa vipera gentile. Poesia e letteratura in volgare attorno ai Visconti fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, ed. Simone Albonico, Marco Limongelli and Barbara Pagliari (Rome: Viella, 2014). This recent work was published in the context of a well-structured project hosted at the Lausanne University and directed by Simone Albonico.

61. Both were taken to France during Louis XII's occupation of Lombardy. On *Guiron le courtois*' renown in Italy see Fabrizio Cigni, "Per la storia del Guiron le Courtois in Italia", in *Critica del testo* 7, 1 (2004) 295-316.

62. Cf. *Novelle inedite intorno a Bernabò Visconti pubblicate da Pietro Ginori da un manoscritto quattrocentesco della sua raccolta* (Florence: Fondazione Ginori Conti, 1940). See also Marco Limongelli, "Poeti e istrioni tra Bernabò e Gian Galeazzo", in *Valorosa vipera gentile*, 85-119.

63. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi", 284.

64. Cf. Reinhard Strohm, "Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale?", in *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 239.

describes the adventures of *Lancelot du Lac* organised in fifteen big scenes with French captions.[65] The prominent place given to Galiot in this cycle suggests an intentional allusion to the duke by his *fedelissimo*, Andreino Trotti (the tower's owner and commissioner of the work).[66] Even though the name *Galiot* is properly translated into Italian as *Galeotto* and not as *Galeazzo,* both names share the same etymological root – *galea* (i.e., "helmet") – and were broadly used at the time. Moreover, the Tramater dictionary recalls that *Galeotto* was often used as a diminutive form of *Galeazzo.*[67] Strohm's suggestion that the musician's name "Jo. Galiot", whose only two attributable compositions use Visconti mottos and symbology, may be a Frenchified diminutive of Gian Galeazzo is still enticing.[68] It is in fact possible that, due to his high rank, Gian Galeazzo was not supposed to be identified as a dilettante composer or poet. Galiot's ballade *Le sault perilleux a l'aventure prins*, possibly his most famous composition, is cited in a Hebrew musical treatise copied in Paris in the second half of the fourteenth century which praises Jehan Vailliant's teachings as its fundamental reference. This evidence may be seen as a confirmation, rather than a rebuttal, of Strohm's hypothesis,[69] since Gian Galeazzo's relations with Paris, mediated by his diplomats, remained strong and constant throughout his government.[70]

65. Cf. *Le stanze di Artù: gli affreschi di Frugarolo e l'immaginario cavalleresco nell'autunno del Medioevo*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo (Milan: Electa, 2009). See in particular Maria Luisa Meneghetti, "Figure dipinte e prose di romanzi. Prime indagini su soggetto e fonti del ciclo arturiano di Frugarolo", ibid., 75-84.

66. Andreino Trotti received Valentina Visconti with honours in Alessandria in 1389 during her trip to France to rejoin Louis of Valois (Duke of Touraine and later Duke of Orléans), to whom she was married by proxy. Furthermore, Gian Galeazzo was the godfather to one of Trotti's children, named after the duke.

67. Cf. *Vocabolario universale italiano*, 7 vols. (Naples: Tramater, 1829-40), Vol. II, 412, s.v.: "Galeotto": "N.[ome] pr.[oprio] m.[aschile] dim. [inutivo] di Galeazzo".

68. Cf. Reinhard Strohm, "Filippotto da 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: Olshki, 1989), 65-74, at 70; Id., "Diplomatic Relationships", 239.

69. Cf. Anne Stone, "The Ars subtilior in Paris", *Musica e Storia* 10/2 (2002): 373-404, at 385-91 and 399. The use of a *proportio sexquioctava* mensural sign in the ballade *Le sault perilleux* (a symbol known to Prosdocimus and Ciconia) can also be read as further evidence to support – and not to confute – this hypothesis, given that musical relationships existed between Pauda and Pavia during Gian Galeazzo's time. Cf. Anne Stone, "The Ars subtilior in Paris", 389-90, and John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex. Codice Mancini.* (Lucca: LIM, 1990), 1-49.

70. The Visconti's diplomatic and political connections, which included a carefully designed marriage policy, explain the central position of French culture in Gian Galeazzo's Pavian and Milanese circles. Galeazzo II married Blanca of Savoy. Of Bernabo's children, Valentina married Pierre II of Cyprus (born and raised in a French environment) in 1378; Carlo, the lord of Parma, married Beatrice of Armagnac (the Count's daughter); Lucia was betrothed to Louis II of Anjou (although Bernabo's death interrupted this negotiation). Bernabò's granddaughter Isabeau of Bavaria (daughter of Taddea Visconti and Duke Stephan III of Bavaria-Ingolstadt) married King Charles VI of France in 1385. Gian Galeazzo himself, whose mother was a Savoyard, married Isabella of France (1361), daughter of King

4. Music and Musicians

In a pioneering essay published in the 1950s, Claudio Sartori described Viscontean Pavia as a centre of French-taste musical culture.[71] Sartori was in turn followed by Reinhard Strohm, who made further contributions to Sartori's study.[72] However, due to the scarcity of archival documents, scholars dealing with French art polyphony of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tend to explain the predominance of French-style compositions by Italian musicians through their supposed visitation to or residence in Paris or Avignon – which, in some instances, is likely to have been the case. Notwithstanding, the reception of French models in fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italy – not only with regard to music – is a widespread phenomenon found in numerous cultural centres, either long-established or politically and artistically emerging. Therefore, it was not necessary to live in Avignon or in Paris in order to be intimately familiar with French language and music, to set French texts to music or to admire and emulate compositions by French authors. These cultural centres were always open to contact with international *stimuli* and Francophone cultural references. The diffusion of stylistic and compositional models over broad geographic areas is not always a result of direct contact between the musicians

John II of France. Her siblings were Charles V (later king of France) and John Duke of Berry (the celebrated patron of the arts). Gian Galeazzo and Isabella's daughter Valentina Visconti married Louis I of Orléans (Charles V's brother) in 1389. Filippo Maria Visconti's second wife was Marie of Savoy.

It is worth recalling some other major events that attest to this political and cultural continuity between the Visconti and French princes or diplomats:

– In 1382, during his stay in Stradella, Louis of Anjou was visited several times by Gian Galeazzo and Valentina. In the same year, the negotiations for Lucia Visconti's betrothal to Louis II took place.

– In 1390, Eustache Deschamps visited the Pavia castle and immortalised his impressions in his ballade 1037.

– In 1393, a French delegation was sent to Pavia in the context of the ambitious (but eventually unsuccessful) *Regno d'Adria* project that Gian Galeazzo had planned for Louis of Orleans, his son-in-law. The project also involved a Visconti mission to Paris.

– In 1394, a new mission to Paris took place to draft another French-Lombard alliance.

For seventeen years, Gian Galeazzo was the most patient, redoubtable, and wary player in the European political draughtboard. He functioned as an implicitly obliged point of reference for the birth and dissolution of small and large-scale alliances, peace treaties, wars and truces between Italian, French and Imperial powers. Italian and European sources of the time confirm that relations with the Anjou and the French royal family constituted a central issue for Gian Galeazzo throughout his rule (Cf. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan*).

71. Claudio Sartori, "Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut: i due primi maestri di Cappella del Duomo di Milano", *Acta Musicologica* 28 (1956): 12-27, at 19-20. This essay was a starting point for the recent contribution of Anne Stone, "Lombard Patronage at the End of the Ars Nova: A Preliminary Panorama", in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories*, ed. Antonio Calvia, Stefano Campagnolo, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti, and John Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020), 217-52.

72. Cf. Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta"; Id., "Diplomatic Relationships".

involved: manuscripts travelled as well, often with the singers and composers who were part of the retinue of their patrons and commissioners. The music contained in such sources could be read, copied, spread, studied, imitated and alluded to inside new works in the course of the journey.

Many elements available to us are useful for recreating the musical profile of the Visconti court: direct and indirect documentation, music and music theory sources, indications provided by the poetic texts set to music and intertextual phenomena (whose directionality of influence is often hard to study and to understand).

The few extant documents regarding music and musicians in Pavia between Galeazzo II's enthronement and Filippo Maria's rule have been published in the *Codice diplomatico dell'università di Pavia*, mentioned earlier.[73] Moreover, a register dated 1402, written by the Pavese notary Alberto Griffi, mentions a proxy power on behalf of *Frater* Antonello (*Antoniellus*, according to the Campanian pronunciation of the name).[74] It is generally accepted that *Frater Antoniellus* and *A. Marotus abbas de Caserta* – as noted in the "Mancini Codex" (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 [Man]) and in Parma75 (Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26) – were, in fact, the same person. Navarrese documents attest that Jaquet de Noyon "juglar de la viola et de la rota del conde de Vertus" was in the service of Gian Galeazzo.[75] As Sartori has noted, the *Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano* contains notes related to Matteo da Perugia's work and career. Such evidence has enabled scholars to formulate reliable hypotheses about Matteo's relationship with cardinal Filargo and his frequent presence in Pavia, which the Milanese canons considered a nuisance.[76]

Further indirect evidence of musical life at the court of Pavia in the last quarter of the fourteenth century can be drawn from Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, as Lucia Marchi indicated in a recent publication.[77] Johannes Ciconia was likely in the duchy during the 1390s.[78] His presence is suggested in at least two of his allegorical-political compositions: the madrigal *Una panthera in compagnia di Marte* that celebrates Gian Galeazzo's meeting in Pavia with Lazzaro Guinigi (1399), and the canon *Le*

73. Cf. Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico*, Vol. I, docc. 49, at 37; 195, at 95; 252, at 117-9; 279, at 136; 293, at 144; 296, at 145-6; 297, at 146-7.

74. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 79.

75. Cf. Maria Carmen Gomez, "La Musique à la Maison Royale de Navarre à la fin du Moyen-Age et le Chantre Johan Robert", *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 109-152, at 114 and 122.

76. Cf. Sartori, "Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut", 12-20 and Stone, *The Manuscript*, 66-9.

77. Cf. Marchi, "Music and University Culture".

78. Cf. Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 41-5.

ray au soleil that contains verbal and musical mottos related to Visconti *devises.*[79]

However, the most important observations often come from examining the surviving musical manuscripts and considering their possible geneses and functions.

Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1 (Chic)

Codex Chic,[80] preserved today at Chicago's Newberry Library, was copied in Pavia in 1391 by G. de Anglia, as can be read on c. 6.[81] This manuscript, famous for its splendid full-page illustration of Senlèches' *La harpe de mélodie,* combines texts from the Italian theoretical tradition (mainly Marchetto) with the works of French theorists (Muris and Vitry), and contains the *Tractatus figurarum* attributed to "Magister Philippoctus Andreae" (who has been reasonably identified as Filippotto da Caserta).[82] Moreover, Chic is one of eight extant witnesses to the *Post octavam quintam,* a *versus* also attributed to Filippotto.[83] Theoretical writings dealing with counterpoint and mensural notation are ascribed to Filippotto in various other sources: the *Tractatus figurarum,* the *Regule contrapuncti* and the *Contrapunctus.*[84] Therefore, a legitimate comparison can be made between Filippotto – the author of a complex speculative theoretical work (*Tractatus figurarum*), a compendium on two-voice counterpoint (present in various sources) and also an elementary didactic *versus* – and Zacara, a master of *subtilitas* who wrote a small treatise in prose teaching the rudiments of music.[85] The relationship between Filippotto and

79. Cf. Caraci Vela, "La polifonia profana a Pavia".

80. Cf. Giuliano Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri. Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto* (Lucca: LIM, 1996), 351-2; Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta", 65; Marchi, "Music and university culture", 150-7.

81. Giuliano di Bacco (Id., *De Muris e gli altri*, 348), has suggested that Chic's reading *G. de Anglia* may refer to the famous theoretician Johannes Hotby; an attractive yet unascertained hypothesis, for the letter "G." may not be compatible with the Latin name Johannes.

82. Cf. Giuliano Di Bacco, "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*, 363-4.

83. Ff. 6v-7r. The other witnesses (mentioned in Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri,* 344, prior to the discovery of the Vercelli treatise) are: Einsiedeln, Stiftbibliothek, 689 (Ein), f. 45v; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.48 (Plut), ff. 88v-89r; Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I.20.inf (AmbI20), ff. 36r-36v; Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B.83 (Val), f. 13r; Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional Cofre, 18 (Rio), ff. 619r-619v; Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Bibliothek und Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes, 135/5 (SPL), ff. 23v-24r; VA, ff. 182v-183r.

84. Cf. Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri*, 351-2.

85. Cf. Agostino Ziino, "'Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo': alcune date e molte ipotesi", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 14, 2 (1979): 331-48, at 344-8; Anna Cornagliotti and Maria Caraci Vela, eds., *Un inedito trattato musicale del Medioevo (Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana, cod. 11)* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 31.

Pavia is currently subject to considerable debate. In any case, although the composer's actual presence at the Pavese court cannot be proved, his archetypal status among the musicians close to the Visconti *milieu* is clear and difficult to deny, as will be further discussed below.

Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana, cod. 11 (VA)

The Biblioteca Agnesiana in Vercelli holds a miscellaneous manuscript compiled between 1447 and 1451[86] containing the *Trattato*, a group of three small, incomplete music treatises. Two of these *trattatelli* are written in Paduan-Veneto vernacular and one in Latin. Copied together by the same hand (at cc. 161v-194), the *Trattato* constitutes a collection of note fragments taken for didactic purposes. The exemplars can be dated to ca. 1390-1420, since, at the end of the first treatise, the author discusses the possibility of singing *falsa musicha* "come se fusse in la mano", and gives the following example: "Lo exemplo appare in multi canti; mo al presente appare in 'Deduto sey et cetera', de Zachara".[87] These dates are further confirmed by the description in the third treatise of the musical forms still in use at the time of writing.[88] These include the Italian ballata using *overt/clos* endings – which has "le chiuse de rieto", in contrast to the French ballade, which has them "de anante" – and the "new" madrigal that revives and exhibits traditional features such as the unison final cadence and the change of *divisio* between stanza and "*volta*" (which means "*ritornello*").

VA is also one of eight surviving manuscripts to transmit the *versus Post octavam quintam* ascribed to Filippotto in Chic.[89] A reliable critical edition of the *versus* is still necessary in order to shed new light on the dissemination of Filippotto's theoretical works.[90]

Since two of the *trattatelli* are written in Paduan-Veneto vernacular, it is unlikely that they were produced in Vercelli[91] – where an ancient musical tradition existed, especially in terms of the liturgical monody practised in the

86. Cf. Caraci Vela, *Un inedito trattato*. The preparation date can be inferred from the *Computus*, cf. ibid., 45-8.

87. F. 178v. Cf. *Un inedito trattato*, 76-7.

88. Ibid., 89-90.

89. Also, Giuliano di Bacco accepts that Philipoctus Andreae and Filippotto da Caserta are the same person. Id., "Original and Borrowed", 362.

90. Philip E. Schreuer's stemma (Id., ed., *The Tractatus figurarum: Treatise on Noteshapes* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989], 43), endorsed by Giuliano di Bacco (Id., "Original and Borrowed", 343), does not follow the basic principles and operative procedures for the construction of a stemma. The addition of superfluous *interpositi* and subarchetypes is unjustifiable from the point of view of the stemmatic method.

91. Cf. Caraci Vela, *Un inedito trattato*, 43.

cathedral. The manuscript's reference to Zacara (quite hard to pinpoint in early-Quattrocento Vercelli) suggests that he may have had links to the Visconti circle; perhaps he either followed Gregorio XII on the way to Cividale (1409) or hopelessly attempted to find a secure appointment.[92] It is very likely, therefore, that the treatise's antigraphs were brought to Vercelli before 1427,[93] perhaps by a music teacher who used them as notes for the musical education of choirboys. The three incomplete fragments that constitute the *Trattato* must have been kept, together or separate, at the Vercelli episcopal library long before the compilation of VA.

Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (ModA)

The Modena manuscript is the most important musical codex with regard to the Pavian French-oriented musical culture under the Viscontis. It is a source that has attracted a good deal of musicological attention, especially since the 1940s. Jason Stoessel has provided a thorough examination of this source,[94] and Anne Stone produced a facsimile edition that is accompanied by a helpful commentary outlining the current state of research on the Modena manuscript at the time of writing, in 2005. The circumstances surrounding ModA's production is still a matter of conjecture, but two alternative theories are generally accepted: on the one hand, ModA's repertoire may be related to Filargo's/Alexander V's (i.e., to the Visconti court at Pavia, where Filargo held ecclesiastic, diplomatic, political and teaching roles); on the other, it is possible that the manuscript's compilation began during the brief sojourn of Alexander V's court in Bologna (6 January-3 May 1410) and continued during John XXIII's stay in the same city (May 1410-March 1411).

Jason Stoessel has recently argued that the manuscript was prepared for Louis II d'Anjou, and that the central gatherings were illuminated by Giacomo da Padova at San Michele in Bosco (near Bologna) during Pope Giovanni's residence.[95]

92. Cf. Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 46, and Agostino Ziino, "'Magister Antonius dictus Zacharia de Teramo': 1950-2000", in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2004), 4-32, at 7-8.

93. Vercelli was under the Visconti's rule from 1335 until 1427, when it came under the rule of the Duchy of Savoy.

94. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the Ars Subtilior", 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of New England, 2002), s, 94-183.

95. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo fra più stelle*: The illuminator of Mod A", *Journal of Musicology* 31 (2014): 1-42, and Id., "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 Online* 5 (2014): 1-28. The idea that Giacomo da Padova was an illuminator is undoubtedly attrac-

At this point, a methodological problem emerges. Several potential provenance hypotheses have been formulated for ModA, as in the case with other miscellaneous musical manuscripts, because their repertoire can be linked to more than one cultural environment.[96] Allan Atlas already alerted musicologists, more than forty years ago, to the methodological risks involved in making such assumptions.[97] The works preserved within a source may certainly reflect a peculiar aesthetic choice, but they do not necessarily prove a direct relationship between a *scriptorium* and the circumstances for which the compositions were written. The transmission and circulation of well-known pieces could occur in many ways, and their presence in an anthology only attests to the fact that such works were well-known and appreciated. Furthermore, texts could be updated or reworked in order to adopt new allusive functions.[98] Conversely, the presence in a manuscript of *unica* or compositions that appear not to have been well disseminated is significant, because it may indicate that the source was compiled according to a specific local aesthetic or to particular musicians and their works. This becomes more relevant when there is direct or indirect documentary evidence to link a composer to a specific environment.

Another fundamental methodological principle stressed by Atlas is the distinct value of *unica* and plural attestations. Whereas, as stated above, *unica* are

tive, although it lacks supporting evidence. The figurative elements that Stoessel identifies as evidential had a relatively wide circulation. On the contrary, Stoessel's hypothesis that the copying initiative for ModA's central gatherings may have been planned and executed in the first two weeks of September 1410 sounds rather hasty and difficult to sustain. (cf. Id., "The Angevin Struggle", p. 4).

96. For instance, the provenance of Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 (Ch) has been subject to speculation many times in the last 50 years. Musicologists, based on indications drawn from the repertoire, have alternately suggested that the manuscript was copied either in Avignon, at Gaston de Foix's court, inside the Duke of Berry's circle, in Paris, or in Aragon. For a brief summary of this subject cf. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564; Introduction* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 24-7 and 112-5. A similar point of view emerges in Elizabeth Randell Upton, "The Creation of the Chantilly Codex (Ms. 564)", *Studi musicali*, n.s. 3/2 (2012): 287-352. The risks and problems in dating and identifying the provenance of a manuscript on the basis of its repertoire are also clear to Stoessel (cf. Id., "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo*", 3n10).

97. Cf. Allan W. Atlas, "The Methodology of Relating Sources", in *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C. G. XIII. 27)*, 2 vols. (Brooklyn: Institute of Medieval Music, 1975-6), Vol. 1, 39-48; Rosa Cafiero's Italian version can be found in Maria Caraci Vela, *La critica del testo musicale* (Lucca: LIM, 1995), 141-53.

98. Allusive references in a musical work can certainly provide useful information about the occasion, motivation, commission, place and moment of its composition, but they do not explain the reasons why such a piece ended up in a given collection. We know, for example, the occasions for which Dufay's motets *Vassilisa ergo gaude*, *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* and *Nuper rosarum flores* were written. Each of them makes sense only in the specific circumstances of its composition; nevertheless, the pieces were later copied in several manuscripts that are in no way linked to the context of each piece's creation. These manuscripts only show that the repertoire was particularly appreciated and/or could be reused on a different occasion.

important indicators *per se*, plural attestations are valuable only when reconstructing links between surviving exemplars – i.e., the existence of shared variants and monogenetic (or significant) errors in the course of the textual transmission – which help us to understand the paths of transmission and the geographical and chronological ways in which a work is copied into a miscellaneous source.[99]

With these two principles in mind, we can make a few useful observations about ModA:

(1) 63 of the 104 compositions copied in ModA are *unica.* It is well known that ModA constitutes an edition of the works of Matteo da Perugia; a musician who may have arrived in Lombardy after the conquest of Perugia (1400), and whose activity in the years of Gian Galeazzo's and Filippo Maria's rules is well documented.[100] In ModA, 31 pieces are attributed to Matteo bearing his name in the rubric, or the indication "*Idem*" written at the top of the cantus voice, after other works ascribed to him;[101] however, it cannot be excluded that other pieces, anonymously transmitted, may be ascribed to him too. Matteo's secular works are almost all unique to ModA, except for one rondeau (*Pour bel accueil suy je las deceu*)[102] and one virelai (*Ne me chaut vostre mauparler).*[103] Whereas *Pour bel accueil suy je las deceu* partially survives in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 827 (fragment) (Bern827)[104] the verses of *Ne me chaut vostre mauparler* are found in two Visconti manuscripts, one in a private collection[105] and the other at the British Library (London, British Library, Add. 15224 [Lo15224]).[106] Both poetic sources are copies of a French chansonnier prepared for a member of the Visconti family, probably Gian Galeazzo. In many of the 194 texts contained in Lo15224, the word *chantee* (or *chantes*) is added

99. The term "significant/significative" has as a specific philological meaning, although it is often misused by musicologists. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Glossario", in *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*, Vol. 1: *Fondamenti storici e metodologici della Filologia musicale* (Lucca: LIM, 2015), s.v.; English ed.: Ead., *Musical Philology. Institutions, History, and Critical Approaches*, Vol. 1: *Historical and Methodological Fundaments of Musical Philology* (Pisa: ETS, 2015).

100. Cf. Stone, The Manuscript, 67, and Ead., "Lombard Patronage", 219-30.

101. Attribution is a complicated matter that cannot be sufficiently discussed here. An attribution hypothesis needs to be methodologically reliable (see for instance how it is dealt with in the study of visual arts). Even the intuitions of experienced scholars require rigorous critical evaluation in order to be regarded as plausible. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Valutazione dell'autenticità e attribuzionismo", in *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2, 175-210.

102. ModA, f. 44v.

103. ModA, f. 48r.

104. Bern827, f. Ar (only tenor and contratenor).

105. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 15.

106. Lo15224 was published by Norbert Hardy Wallis, ed., *Anonymous French Verse: An Anthology of Fifteenth Century Poems Collected from Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: University of London Press, 1929).

to the formal rubric at the top, undoubtedly indicating the existence of a musical setting. *Ne me chaut vostre mauparler* – a violent defensive-offensive attack in response to a defamatory accusation – bears the indication *bergerete chantee* in manuscript Lo15224.[107] The atmosphere of courtly intrigue and envy in the text of *Ne me chaut vostre mauparler* recalls the anonymous ballade *Langue puens, envénimée*,[108] attributable to Antonello according to Greene and Leech-Wilkinson.[109] Whereas ModA transmits all of Antonellos extant French *unica* (with only two exceptions),[110] none of his Italian settings appear there. The absence of Antonello's "French" notational peculiarities in *Langue puens, envénimée*, together with the unusual topic of the ballade, has led Anne Stone[111] to reject the attribution hypothesis mentioned earlier.[112] Antonello's few surviving polyphonic pieces are of great interest. They consist of: 8 French-texted compositions (5 ballades, 2 rondeaux, 1 virelai), all in ModA, and 7 settings of Italian texts (6 ballatas, 1 madrigal). The French-texted compositions, showing the typical three-voice structure (vocal cantus, instrumental contratenor and tenor), constitute a fairly solid group:

ModA, f. 12v: *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse* (Anthonellus de Caserta) $B3^{1}$;
ModA, f. 13: *Biauté parfaite, bonté souveraine* $B3^{1}$;[113]
ModA, f. 13v: *Notés pour moi ceste ballade* $B3^{1}$;
ModA, f. 19v: *Dame d'onour, c'on ne puet esprixier* $R3^{1}$;
ModA, f. 28v: *Très nouble dame souveraine* $V3^{1}$;
ModA, f. 32v-33r: *Amour m'a le cueur mis en tel martyre* $B3^{1}$;

107. Andrés Locatelli has pointed out that the reading *nostre mauparler* in Wallis' edition is not present in the manuscript. Cf. Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, 51 and Andrés Locatelli, *Fenomenologia metrico-musicale nelle composizioni francesi di Matteo da Perugia* (forthcoming).

108. ModA, f. 14r.

109. Cf. Gordon Greene and Terence Scully, ed., *French Secular Music*, Polyphonic Music of Fourteenth Century, 20 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982), 258, and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Articulating Ars Subtilior Song", *Early Music* 31 (2003): 6-18, at 7-9.

110. The ballade *Beauté parfaite bonté sovraine* (a setting of Machaut's *Louange des dames*) is in the "Codex Reina", Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 (R), f. 46v, next to the ballade *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse*. The latter is also present in the "Codex Boverio", Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2 (T.III.2), ff. 4v-5r.

111. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 100.

112. In my opinion, the second argument should be reconsidered. No musician was obliged to exclusively set a given type of text, nor can we make this assumption on the sole basis of his surviving works.

113. The rondeau *Hors suis ye bien de tre toute ma ioye*, whose two-voice setting adheres to Italian stylistic preferences, is squeezed into a very limited space at the bottom of ff. 12v-13r, between Antonello's *Du val prilleus ou puor pris de jeunesse* and *Beauté parfaite, bonté souveraine.* Such a position may lead us to the conclusion that this piece can also be attributed to Antonello, but the considerable stylistic gap between the rondeau and the rest of Antonello's French works suggests that this is not the case. The rondeau lacks all the typical mensural and notational features that are homogenously present throughout the rest of the composer's French pieces.

ModA, f. 38v: *Dame zentil, en qui est ma sperance* R3[1];
ModA, f. 40v: *Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cueur maynt* B3[1].

The texts of Antonello's French compositions are of a very high and refined literary standard, and, in some cases, they seem to mirror particular aspects of courtly life.[114] *Notés pour moi ceste ballade* is a private missive written by a female character. The lady addresses her lover and he sets a poem to music according to the conventions of the art of courtly love. The rondeau *Très nouble dame souveraine* works as the perfect complement to this ballade. There, the lover writes a letter accompanying a virelai that he composed for the lady. The ballade *Amour m'a le cuer mis en tel martyre,* which also exploits the concept of courtly love, is imbued with the intense feelings and "physical" symptoms of lovesickness.

Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cueur maynt is a peculiar example. According to Stone,[115] the ballade's refrain contains poetic and musical intertextual links to Vaillant's virelai *Par maintes fois ay oy recorder* and mensural similarities to Goscalco's B3[1] *En nul estat n'a si grant fermeté.* The poetic text of *Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cueur mayn*, which conforms to the generic principles of the polyphonic ballade, constitutes a male character's peremptory request for availability and obedience to his beloved lady, and he feels entitled to exercise his right. According to Carla Vivarelli, "Potrebbe dunque essere lo stesso signore del castello che si rivolge ad una dama della corte nella speranza di ottenerne i favori. Per questo il tema sembra essere una missiva privata, composta per diletto dello stesso signore" ("*It may be the castle's* signore *himself who addresses the lady hoping to obtain her favours. For this reason, the letter appears to be composed for the lord's delight*").[116] But rather than a hopeful request, the text seems like an order issued by a sort of *ante litteram* Sun King. Ironically enough, the Christological symbol of the radiate sun – probably borrowed from Gaston Fébus' heraldic repertoire – was also present in the Visconti's *razza*, one of Gian Galeazzo and his sons' most important emblems.[117]

As discussed earlier, all of Antonello's Italian works are present in Man:

Man, ff. LXVIv-LXVIIr: *Del glorioso titol d'esto duce* (Anthonellus Marot de Caserta) M2[2];

114. Antonello's poetic and musical texts have been published in a critical edition by Carla Vivarelli, ed., *Le composizioni francesi di Filippotto e Antonello da Caserta tràdite nel codice estense α.M.5. 24, edizione critica e studio introduttivo*, Diverse voci, 6 (Lucca: ETS, 2005), 91-9.
115. Cf. Stone, The Manuscript, 79.
116. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 99.
117. Caraci Vela, "La polifonia profana a Pavia", 253-6.

Man, ff. LVIIv-LXVIIIr: *A pianger l'ochi mey pur mo' commença* B2[2];
Man, ff. LXVIIIv-LIXr:*Più chiar ch'el sol in lo mio cor Lucia* B2[2];
Man, f. LXIXv: *Con dogliosi martire* B2[2];
Man, f. LXXr: *Or tolta pur me sy da li ochi mey* B2[2];
Man, f. LXXv: *Madonna, io me rammento* M2[2].

Only *A pianger l'ochi mey pur mo' commença* and *Più chiar ch'el sol in lo mio cor Lucia* are transmitted in other manuscripts as well (all of northern provenance). The former is found in Pist and PadB (1115), and the latter in Parma75 (with a contratenor added by Matteo da Perugia).[118]

Anne Stone has summarised the surviving biographic information regarding Antonello,[119] and Agostino Ziino and John Nádas have made an important scholarly contribution in the form of the commentary to the facsimile edition of Man.[120] As Carla Vivarelli has noted,[121] Ziino and Nádas have successfully determined that the composer's Italian and French works are coeval – i.e., that they must be understood as expressions of a "musical bilingualism" that is characteristic of Trecento polyphony.[122]

Musical "bilingualism" establishes a relationship between two distinct compositional practices. In his interpretation of *Più chiar ch'el sol in lo mio cor*

118. Pedro Memelsdorff has worked extensively on Matteo's contratenors in a series of important publications that have shed new light on their history and analysis. Cf. Pedro Memelsdorff, "'Lizadra donna': Note on the Contratenors of Matteo da Perugia and the Musical Text", in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, 233-78; Id., "'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; Id., "'Ars non inveniendi': riflessioni su una straw-man fallacy e sul contratenor quale paratesto", *Acta Musicologica* 81 (2009): 1-21. The topic was then revisited in Signe Rotter-Broman, *Komponieren in Italien um 1400*, 138-53; 419-25. I have analysed the methodological problems that emerged from such an approach in Caraci Vela, review of Rotter-Broman, *Komponieren in Italien um 1400*, 118-9. It is illogical to deny the contratenor's textual status. The concept of text is not that of an obscure and bulky galaxy, but simply that of "a thought formalised in writing". This is exactly what the integrative and substitutive contratenors found in ModA and elsewhere comprise. The integrative/substitutive contratenors attributed to Matteo are options that reflect different textual phases. They are born from an evident desire to adapt a composition to new requirements, musical effects and contrapuntal conceptions. Since such adaptation strategies have great cognitive value for us, they constitute an important facet in the history of the works' textual tradition. They define a particular idea of counterpoint and compositional theory, and contribute significantly to our understanding of text mobility in time, revealing the updating processes that enriched and extended the reception of a given work.

119. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 78-80.

120. Cf. Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 13-49. This is the first comprehensive study, based on all the primary and secondary sources available, that addresses secular polyphony in Pavia during Gian Galeazzo's time. With regard to Antonello, Cf. ibid., 38-9.

121. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 15-6.

122. See the first pages of this essay. Antonello's Italian compositions (all in Man) and his French works (all in ModA) can be seen as two sides of the same coin, as they are of reciprocal help in the current analysis. All of these compositions reveal intertextual references to Filippotto's works, and this opens promising perspectives for the future.

Lucia, Pedro Memelsdorff has highlighted certain stylistic peculiarities that call for further consideration.[123] In my opinion, his most important observation is that archaic "Italic" features coexist with more modern, *subtilior* refinements following a perspicuous rhetorical strategy that appears to be consciously implemented by the composer. Also, the idea inherited from Strohm[124] that a hypothetical direct relationship between Antonello and Matteo may have existed is enticing, but the evidence in favour of this position deserves special treatment that cannot be exhausted here.[125]

ModA contains the only two surviving works by Johannes de Janua, who was apparently present in Pavia between 1375 and 1388, first as a student, then as a doctor of philosophy, and finally as a university lector:

ModA, f. 27v: *Ma douce amour et ma sperance* $V3^{1}$;
ModA, f. 12r: *Une dame requis l'autrier d'amer* $B3^{1}$.

The lyrics of Johannes' virelai *Ma douce amour et ma sperance* are present in the two Visconti manuscripts containing French poetry, already mentioned above.[126] Johannes de Janua was an Italian: Janua is the medieval Latin diction for Genoa. The city had always been central to Visconti politics, and relations between them had been continuous and intense. Johannes, who was a

123. Cf. Pedro Memelsdorff, "'Più chiar che 'l sol': luce su un contratenor di Antonello da Caserta", *Recercare* 4 (1999): 5-22. Memelsdorff's essay inspired Sebastien Jean's master's thesis: Id., "'Più chiar che 'l sol': Reconsidering a Ballata by Anthonello da Caserta" (Brandeis University, 2010).

124. Cf. Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta".

125. According to Ziino and Nádas, the ballata should have been written for the marriage of Lucia (Bernabo's daughter) to Frederick of Thuringia in 1399. Gian Galeazzo forced the marriage, a pompous celebration whose witnesses included Pietro Filargo, which was later invalidated (Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 39). In 1399, Lucia was about 30 years old, an advanced age for a bride at the time. A new marriage was stipulated in 1406 but lasted only eight months due to the accidental death of the spouse, Edmund of Kent. For both the occasions (1399 and 1406) the same question emerges: who would commission a celebratory ballata for an unfortunate and rather old princess who, once destined for the royal throne, had instead lived humiliated and probably scorned by the court? In any event, the principal reason why I think that Lucia Visconti was not the ballata's dedicatee is the middle-high rhetorical level of the text. A passionate love appeal (with language that seems to anticipate that of *O rosa bella*), is totally incompatible with an official religious event and, especially, unacceptable for a high-rank addressee. Lucia, despite everything, was still a Visconti. We may therefore expect a text with elevated allusions, and allegorical images accompanied by heraldic imagery belonging to her birth or her spouse's family. Realistic appreciations and direct, vibrant expressions of love are extraneous to this genre. A composition's generic status reflected the distance between social ranks, making the borders between musicians and the highest sphere of power impassable. Thus, the Lucia mentioned in Antonello's *Più chiar ch'el sol in lo mio cor Lucia* may refer to someone else that has not yet been identified. After all, the name was reasonably not rare at the time.

126. Cf. Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, 18.

foreigner, moved to Pavia to undertake his university studies and then settled there, at least during the period for which archival evidence survives. We cannot exclude that more than one Genoese musician called Giovanni may have passed through Pavia in the same years, but, if we suppose that the surviving evidence refers to the same person, his presence can also be traced in Genoa, Avignon and Florence.[127] Apparently, then, Johannes had the same contacts and travel opportunities as other highly regarded musicians.

Ma douce amour et ma sperance is a lover's declaration of devotion in the typical courtly love style. It is intertextually related to the poetical incipit of Hasprois' ballade *Ma doulce amour, je me doy bien complaindre,*[128] copied on the adjacent page of ModA.[129] Hasprois' song is in turn intertextually woven with other compositions in a curious way: the verse "quant je ne voy vo gente portraiture" recalls Filippotto's *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*, copied immediately after in ModA (f. 35v). Both ballades include intertextual links to other works, and a deep and structured comprehensive analysis may lead to further discoveries.

Une dame requis l'autrier d'amer contains intertextual links to Filippotto's *De ma dolour ne puis trover confort* but its subject is not as elevated, with a subtly ironic ending.[130]

Leaving aside several well-known *unica* (that refer either to the Bolognese papal court, to the council of Pisa or to an assembly of prelates in Filargo-Alexander V's entourage) and the *Gloria* and *Credo* set by Matteo and other anonymous composers,[131] a number of other compositions exclusively transmitted in ModA warrant further analysis. Jason Stoessel considers that Egidius' ballade *Franchois sunt nobles* is a plead to French honour, recently shaken by the staggering murder of Louis d'Orléans (1407).[132] In my opinion, the

127. Cf. Stoessel, "Revisiting *Ayȝ mare*", 468n35.

128. On Hasprois' tradition, Cf. Yolanda Plumley, "Crossing Borderlines", 15-7. New perspectives on the relationship between Hasprois and the Italian musicians of the Visconti circle are being studied by Andrés Locatelli.

129. f. 28r.

130. This ballade is recalled in a much later chanson: Ockeghem's rondeau *L'autre d'antan l'autrier passa*. The rondeau is written in the same mid-low rhetorical level, with expressions derived from spoken language and not from the aulic tradition, and it deals with the topic of disillusionment in love. It is a strange coincidence that Ockeghem's piece also contains generic temporal reference to the past – "*l'autrier*" – and quotes the city of Milan (in reference to the famous Milanese arms factory).

131. For example, *Sumite karissimi* by Zacara; *Veri almi pastoris* by Corrado da Pistoia; *Furnos reliquisti/Equum est* by Egardus; *Artes psallentes anexa dulcori* by Bartolomeo da Bologna.

132. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle", 9 and 14. Such an event was certainly important to Louis II of Anjou, who had offered immunity to John the Fearless after obtaining the latter's

piece could refer to many different circumstances and places since the textual subject matter is vague and there is strong use of irony, and the political references could apply to any situation or location in which the relationship with France was an everyday concern and a key aspect of politics.

The anonymous ballade *Ore Pandulfum modulari dulci* explicitly alludes to an episode in the life of the great condottiere Pandolfo III Malatesta. Pandolfo was continuously and intimately involved with Visconti politics, first through Gian Galeazzo and the widowed duchess, Caterina, and then to Giovanni Maria and Filippo Maria, who defeated him in the battlefield more than once between 1420 and 1424.

The anonymous ballade *En un vergier clos par mensure* (f. 18v),[133] musically and poetically linked to the anonymous virelai *Je la remire sans mensure* (f. 34r, textless in ModA but not an *unicum*), constitutes an interesting example among the *unica* that explore the common allegorical/love subject matter. In both ballades, the concept of *mensura* generates frequent changes of mensural signs and underlines the similarity of certain melodic fragments between the two pieces that are visually easier to recognise. Moreover, *Je la remire sans mensure* is intertextually related to Filippotto's ballade *En remirant vo douche portraiture* (ff. 34v-35r)[134] – one of the pieces quoted by Ciconia in *Sus une fontaine en remirant* (f. 27r). Ciconia's work, in turn, shows an alternation of mensural signs that recalls *En un vergier clos par mensure.* Further analysis may unearth an even more complex intertextual chain.

(2) In the absence of a modern and rigorous critical edition of ModA's plurally attested works that traces the textual mobility of every piece according to today's philological standards, it is only possible to hypothesise (with the benefit of the doubt) in which directions the interpretative work on the collation data might point. In this sense, Machaut constitutes an exception: his compositions in ModA are those with the highest number of concordant wit-

confession that he was the mastermind behind the murder. However, this episode was even more important to the Visconti, because it translated into great political and private uncertainty. For example, there was some question as to Valentina's security, as a widow in a hostile environment dominated by her cousin and implacable nemesis Isabeau of Bavaria – Isabeau was Bernabo's granddaughter and queen of France.

133. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle", 7-9. Stoessel reveals intertextual links to Filippotto's *Par le grant sens d'Adriane la sage*, which is, in turn, related to the anonymous ballade *En la maison Dedalus enfermée* (splendidly copied in Berkeley, University of California Library, 744 [Berk744], f. 31v), etc.

134. The intertextual network connected to this *virelai* is discussed in Pedro Memelsdorff, "'Le grant desir'. Verschlüsselte Chromatik bei Matteo da Perugia", in *Provokation und Tradition, Erfahrungen mit der Alten Musik*, ed. Hans Martin Linde and Regula Rapp (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzel, 2000), 55-83.

nesses, and there is a vast body of critical and philological literature to assist in their interpretation. After Machaut, the composers with plural attestations in ModA are Zacara, Bartolino, Senlèches, Landini (with only one title in the manuscript) and others. A hypothesis of visualisation of each of their compositions' traditions may be a good point of departure for the observation of textual innovation phenomena, understood here as strong indicators of the formation of one of ModA's significative nuclei.

Provisional scrutiny shows that the paths of transmission and the textual quality of ModA's plurally attested works are heterogeneous. For instance, in Antonello's ballade *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse*,[135] Carla Vivarelli has readily identified intertextual allusions to Dante's *Inferno* (*Canto* V).[136] Such a discovery places the work in an Italian cultural milieu in which knowledge of Dante's *Commedia* was widespread and deeply internalised.[137] The ballade is also copied in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina") (R) and Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2 (T.III.2), with slightly fewer correct readings than those in ModA.[138] This suggests that ModA's antigraph (accurately copied therein) may have been closer to the starting point of the work's transmission. Conversely, Filippotto's four compositions in ModA (all with concordant sources), raise interesting questions about tradition. They must have arrived in ModA through significantly mediated paths. Maria Sofia Lannutti has shown that the lyrics of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* in Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 (Ch), R and Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della badia greca di S. Nilo, 197 (Gr197) derive from an already corrupt antigraph.[139] The analysis of the musical text of this ballade confirms an innovative tradition marked by scribal interpretative strategies that involve the application of different notational criteria (particularly evident when comparing R to Ch), sometimes with the purpose of underlining intertextual references.[140]

The application of the principles described above to a new critical assessment of the manuscript may usefully enrich recent scholarly work. Hopefully, future

135. For a critical edition of this piece, including apparatus and facsimile, see Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 90-1; 128-31; 157-8; 168.

136. Ibid., 92.

137. On the widespread presence of Dantesque intertextuality in the lyrics of Trecento polyphonic music as a generator of images and vocabulary, and on the extreme difficulty in recognising the phenomenon for those who do not have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the *Commedia* in its proper Italian form (and not in questionable translations), see Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura".

138. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 157-8.

139. See her contribution to this volume.

140. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 153-7.

investigations will re-examine the paths of tradition in ModA's plurally attested works while also embarking upon interdisciplinary research that makes room for a rigorous study of liguistic phenomena (fundamental characteristics of the *usus scribendi* of a particular scribe or compiler) and to new approaches to palaeographic-codicological, notational, compositional and paratextual aspects. This research should be conducted systematically, rather than for specific cases alone. The creation of a new modern critical edition of this corpus must be a priority. In my opinion, if we take into consideration the state of today's comprehensive research, it is difficult to deny that the Frenchifying repertoire of ModA testifies to the existence of a coherent and characteristic compositional taste, whose points of reference are recognisable in the theoretico-musical, literary and iconographic context of Visconti culture between the age of Galeazzo II and the first years of Filippo Maria. This musical-poetic repertoire must have been appreciated and enjoyed, for it was then selected and carefully collected into the central body of a large and complex manuscript. This codex was not rapidly prepared for a specific historical event, but rather was more likely produced as a result of a process of "physiological sedimentation" within an environment permeated with French-oriented culture and complex international relations.

I would like to add a corollary to the reminded two criteria formulated by Atlas. It is fundamental to find reasonable methods to date the single compositions in a collection, and not to make them float throughout the decades as though style, compositional techniques, counterpoint, and formal elaborations remained unchanged over time. Seeking for objective and logical data may serve this purpose better than recurring to the subterfuge of twisting textual allusions in favour of a more or less appealing dating hypothesis.

This point may seem obvious, but it is not if we consider the emblematic case of Bartolino's *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle.* Bartolino's compositional career can be comfortably followed in time through its contrapuntal and technical-compositional evolution, and chronological indicators are perspicuous. Of these indicators, the regulation of perfect parallel consonances of the same species (= ppcss) is the most reliable. Notwithstanding, the scholarly dating of his works continues to vary from decade to decade. Bartolino (like Niccolò, Paolo and others) uses fifths, octaves and unisons, sometimes even in series of 3 or 4 in certain works (as Piero, Giovanni da Cascia and Gherardello), whereas other pieces contain anything from zero to only one or two ppcss, mirroring the situation for the entire post-1370 repertoire. This phenomenon takes place in (not only) an Italian context in which the norm is widely shared and respected with perfect coherence.[141] The madrigal *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle*

141. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche".

is present in six manuscript witnesses with prevailing Italian features (alternating *octonaria* and *senaria perfecta* and a markedly melismatic cantus line) and a high number of ppcss (more than ten occurrences, plus two cases of parallel unison). Four of these manuscripts (including ModA) preserve the two-voice version, one further manuscript preserves a tablature version, and the remaining source a three-voice version.[142] Nicole Goldine reasonably dates the madrigal to the years 1364-1367, interpreting it as a celebratory piece for Francesco Carrara il Vecchio,[143] but a subsequent study by Petrobelli suggests that the piece should be dated to a period between 1388 and 1402.[144] His hypothesis, written more than fifty years ago, has since been regarded as indisputable and has never been subject to critical evaluation. However, as I have argued elsewhere,[145] there is no proof that Bartolino was alive and active after the 1390s: Petrobelli's belief originates from some debatable interpretations made regarding some of the texts Bartolino set, and from a vague and quite improbable documentary reference.[146]

I have previously discussed the reasons why *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle* cannot be dated to 1401: the madrigal's style and counterpoint are in fact characteristic of compositional styles four decades earlier.[147] Also, I believe that the piece's text refers to Francesco il Vecchio and not to his son, Francesco il Novello. Jason Stoessel[148] recently provided a very thorough description of the Carrarese symbolic iconography alluded to in the text (interpreted by him as a reference to Il Novello), and has situated the madrigal in the context of Il Novello's relations with Niccolò III, whose previous connections with the Carraras are well documented, and with Louis of Anjou. But in this case it was not necessary to write a madrigal anew: as noted above, it was enough that a piece was appreciated and capable of transmitting a message for its meaning to be updated, renewed and redirected to a new situation. Francesco Caronelli's treatise *De curru carrariensi*,[149] which is extremely useful for decoding the madrigal's sym-

142. R, ff. 13r, only tenor, and 22v-23r: in both cases inside Bartolino's section; Sq, ff. 109v-110r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568 (Pit), ff. 47v-48r; Man, ff. 90v-92r, correctly attributed; ModA, ff. 30v-31r.

143. Cf. Nicole Goldine, "Fra Bartolino de Padova, musicien de court", *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962): 142-55: 150-1.

144. Cf. Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova", in *Studies in Music History. Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Westpoint: Princeton University Press-Greenwood Press, 1968), 85-112, at 94-8.

145. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura", 14-8.

146. Cf. Petrobelli, "Some Dates", 110-1.

147. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 96-124.

148. Cf. Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle".

149. Cf. Francesco Caronelli, *De curru carrariensi*, ed. Caterina Griffante (Venice: Istituto Veneto

bology, was written in the time of Francesco I Il Vecchio (1376). Thus, the madrigal can be linked to Bartolino's early period, no later than the early 1370s. *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle* was undoubtedly one of the composer's most famous works, since it opens Bartolino's section in Sq (together with the miniature that depicts Bartolino). Such a privileged position is generally reserved for an author's most representative or celebrated composition.[150]

Another example of how important it is to date compositions according to reliable criteria is offered by Antonello's famous madrigal *Del glorioso titol d'esto duce*. Here again, various dates have been suggested for this piece, from 1347[151] to 1415 or 1423.[152] This composition imitates the stylistic models of fifty years earlier: two vocal voices, rich melismatic writing, a *divisio* change in the ritornello, and an absence of *overt/clos* endings. But, next to traits of a "recreated ancestry", the madrigal shows signs of a more recent composition. See, for instance, the ppcss that become "allowed" using typical late-Trecento contrapuntal strategies,[153] the audacious *alla quinta* imitation at the opening of the second verse, and the peculiar Italian notation (with letters and *pontelli*) in Man, an all "Italic" kind of *subtilitas* that speculates on the shape of signs. The most convincing hypothesis is that this madrigal was composed for the ducal title bestowed on Gian Galeazzo by Emperor Wenceslao IV (11 May 1395). The text and its allusions illustrate this sufficiently.[154]

di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1983). If the misprint "*Carrariensis*" in Stoessel's article was a genitive singular, it would in fact form an explicit reference to Francesco I il Vecchio. According to contemporary sources, and in later years too (i.e., in the memory of his contemporaries and beyond), "il Carrarese" *par excellence* is the noble figure of Il Vecchio, and not Il Novello.

150. Since this piece has proved problematic to modern scholars, it seems appropriate to clarify the attribution rubric in ModA f. 30*r*: "Dactalus de padua fecit" (see Jason Stoesel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo*"). The mysterious name *Dactalus* is attested in Trecento Italian vernacular texts as a diminutive of *dattero* (the fruit of the date palm, rare and exotic at the same time), and in rabbinic texts in Norcia (see Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria: 1245-1435* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 166 and 185). This said, ModA's *Dactalus* is easily explainable as an error made by the scribe, whose exemplar must have had a *Bartolus* in a heavy Gothic cursive script. Thus, he must have mistaken the bellied initial *B* with a curled *D*, the *c* with an *r*, and the *o* attached to the previous letter with an *a*. It is absolutely impossible that the madrigal chosen as the opening of Bartolino's section in Sq was instead composed by another, obscure composer. Furthermore, Bartolino was very well-known in Florence, and Sq contains an almost complete edition of his works.

151. Cf. Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia, un musicien liegeois et son temps*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1960), Vol. 1, 66. Antonello was probably not even born in 1347.

152. Cf. Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca. 3. Il repertorio musicale", *Musica Disciplina* 5 (1951): 115-142 at 135 and Id., *Scuole polifoniche italiane del sec. XV*, *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 1 (1953): 11-8, at 17. Whereas Clercx's dating is unsubstantiated, Pirrotta's suggestions that the work either referred to the marriage of Joanna II of Naples to Jacques Bourbon, or to the queen's adoption of Louis III of Anjou, are much more reasonable given the stylistic elements.

153. In the coeval compositional praxis, the ppcss are consciously and systematically rescued via the use of rests, passing notes, syncopations: such strategies were felt effective to interrupt the interval chain.

154. "Ciascun fa festa omai ch'ha in sé vertute [...] Ma questo è quel che per vertù celeste" are

Filippotto, a crucial point

Filippotto is a key figure within and beyond the context of Viscontean musical culture, regardless of the possibility that he was actually continuously present in Pavia. Giuliano di Bacco has thoroughly analysed the scarce biographical data that can be objectively used to understand and contextualise the role of the composer's mensural and contrapuntal theoretical speculation.[155] Moreover, recent musicology has given substantial attention to the quotation of Filippotto's music by his contemporaries and successors,[156] a widespread phenomenon in early fifteenth-century Italy. Thus, it is possible to outline a provisional picture of his (close or distant) connections with the other composers that were variously associated with the Visconti circle. Manuscript Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 5.2.25 (Se) mentions a *Philipoctum de Caserta* as the author of the *Regule contrapuncti*, and a similar attribution appears in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1114 (Ash1114). As mentioned above, Chic ascribes both the *Tractatus figurarum* and the *Post octavam quintam* to Magister Philippoctus Andreae,[157] and further mentions his father's name and details of his university degree. But where did Filippotto complete such a degree? Naples, Pavia, Paris? No documentary evidence survives, but it is clear that Filippotto was well acquainted with French culture, including Machaut's poetry and music. Such a cultural background is consistent with his Neapolitan provenance and suggests likely transalpine connections. Unlike other musicians that wrote "Italian" and "French" compositions, no Italian settings by Filippotto survive, and the geographical location of his artistic activity has been subject to much conjecture.

The hypothesis that Filipotto was active in an Avignonese context, which would have provided an ideal milieu for musical debate and exchange, is based on the following observations:

– Filippotto participates in an intertextual network with different generations of French composers (Machaut, Senlèches and others). But it is impor-

two persistent references to Gian Galeazzo's title of *conte di Vertù*, reinforced by repetition. "Chè novo re si nasce per salute [...] Fia novo Augusto cum triumfi e feste": Gian Galeazzo was at the peak of power and his *Regno di Adria* dream had not yet shattered. He was still likely to succeed in his tenacious plan of expansion across the peninsula, and his project was accompanied, as stated above, by strong ideological motivations.

155. Cf. Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri*; Id., "Original and Borrowed".

156. Cf. Plumley, "An Episode in the South?"; Ead., "Playing the Citation Game"; Ead., "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*"; Ead., "Crossing Borderlines". Carla Vivarelli devoted special attention to Filippotto and Antonello da Caserta, outlining the character of musical culture in the Kingdom of Naples, where both of them must have come from. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 3-27; Ead., "'Ars cantus mensurabilis per modo iuris'".

157. Cf. Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri*, 351-2.

tant to remember that intertextuality does not necessarily imply a literal closeness in terms of the geographical location of the composition of the respective texts. Musicians often travelled in the retinues of their patrons or commissioners, and manuscripts circulated even more than they do.

– The great political ballade *Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson delivré*, also present in Ch[158] and T.III.2,[159] is an explicit profession of obedience to Pope Clement VII. However, Strohm has observed that Filippotto may have written it while still in a Campanian context as a commission close to Queen Joanna I, perhaps in the aftermath of the Council of Fondi (1378). In my opinion, this date seems a little too early for this ballade. Conversely, it is not impossible that Filippotto composed it while part of a Visconti circle, maybe in the last years of Bernabò's rule, who was optimistic about a change of obedience during the negotiations for Lucia's marriage to Louis II of Anjou. Alternatively, it may have been composed between 1385 and the early 1390s, in line with Gian Galeazzo's political opportunism. Bueno de Mesquita quotes a document that attests verbal promises made by Gian Galeazzo while arranging Valentina's marriage (1385-6) in which he openly endorsed the French pope. Also, in 1386, the cardinals were granted asylum in Pavia after escaping Urbano VI's rage. In March 1391, Gian Galeazzo received the French diplomatic mission (guided by Louis de Touraine and the Duke of Burgundy) as part of an agreement in which he promised to give official support to Clement VII. Between 1393 and 1395, Gian Galeazzo (with Charles VI and Clement VII) pushed the tightly-woven political and diplomatic agenda of his ambitious *Regno di Adria* scheme, but the events following the death of the Avignonese Pope brought the project to failure.[160] Furthermore, I believe that it does not make sense to place the commission of *Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson delivré* in Avignon, where an official recognition of Clement VII would have been redundant. Instead, if produced in the Visconti circle, the tribute would have been politically meaningful and full of future promise. In those years, such a gesture would have prompted the pope to invest his political endorsement on the Visconti's side.

In any event, the ballade reflects the political stance of a highly positioned commissioner. It is inconceivable to think of it as a reflection of Filippotto's

158. F. 45v.

159. F. 5v. It contains the variant "antipapa" instead of "papa" alluding to Clement VII, who must have long been dead at the time of the manuscript's preparation. According to Agostino Ziino, T.III.2 may have been copied in a Northern Italian monastery of Pisan-Bolognese rule between 1409 and 1417. Cf. Agostino Ziino, ed., *Il codice T.III.2. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* (Lucca: LIM, 1994), 54-5 (and 110-1).

160. Cf. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan*, 64, 65, 66, 125, 155-9.

personal beliefs: this idea is anachronistic, contrary to social conventions and irreconcilable with a musican's social status, regardless of his renown. Not even Dufay or Ockeghem – two prominent personalities with proven diplomatic careers and direct relationships with the high spheres of power[161] – would have expressed their own opinions in their political motets. In a political composition of a high generic status, a musician does not have a direct dialogue with power. The composer is at the service of an aristocratic patron, whose ideas and beliefs are set to music.[162]

All of Fillippotto's ballades share the same melodic incipit on the cantus line, a syncopated descending motive, variedly elaborated in each of the pieces, where it functions as a sort of musical signature. In particular, *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* and *De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*,[163] both present in ModA, contain unmistakably similar incipits. This motive, always identifiable, is then reused by other musicians in compositions of the *Espérance/Soffrir m'estuet* cycle and elsewhere,[164] and even in later works in which Filippotto was evidently still held as a prestigious referent. *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* contains the verses "Telle vertu li a Dieu dounee / qu'el puet souvir chascun a souffisance / par dignité et tres noble puissance",[165] whose literal sense is, as usual, complete, but, on the allegorical level, it is a clear reference to Gian Galeazzo, the Count of Vertu. Gian Galeazzo's attributes of dignity, power and nobility are always present and variously combined in the compositions that celebrate him.

Emblematic examples in liturgical and devotional music can be found in Matteo da Perugia's *Gloria*[166] and in two works by the young Dufay (the three-voice motet *Ave virgo quae de coelis* and the four-voice sequence *Gaude virgo, mater Christi*). Matteo must have had immediate access to the repertoire

161. Ockeghem was, after all, a feudal lord with a small-scale court of his own. Cf. Agostino Magro, "'Premierement ma Baronnie de Chasteauneuf': Jean d'Ockeghem, Treasurer of St. Martin in Tours", *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 165-258.

162. In other cases, the music may adopt a less elevated generic status, as seen in Zacara. Indeed, Zacara loved exploring rather informal and low rhetorical registers (for example, when he quotes pope names in a familiar tone), and venting with sarcasm his own frustration for the political events that affected his life. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Dall'arte allusiva all'intertestualità 'fisiologica': aspetti del processo compositivo in Zacara da Teramo", in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, 187-211.

163. The lyrics' *incipit* derives from the *Duplum* of Machaut's motet 14 (*Maugré mon cueur* / *De ma dolour* / *Quia amore langueo*).

164. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche"; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Esperance and the French Song in the Foreign Sources", *Studi Musicali* 36 (2007): 3-19; Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game"; Ead., "Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson", *Music and Letters* 84/3 (2003): 355-77.

165. Cf. Maria Sofia Lannutti's essay in this book.

166. The first *Et in terra* by Matteo in ModA, ff. 1v-2r.

that ended up on the Modena codex together with his own complete works. Dufay may have had contact with Filippotto's and/or Matteo's works through the musicians present at the Council of Basel or in Bologna in 1426, where copies of the music belonging to Alexander V's or John XXIII's entourage were probably still circulated or preserved.

Filippotto's stylistic echoes are even more present in the secular polyphonic repertoire, and they can be found in the various compositions that constitute the *Espérance/Soffrir m'estuet* group: for example, in Galiot's isorhythmic rondeau *En attendant d'amer la douce vie*, in Senlèches' ballade *En attendant Espérance conforte* (both in ModA and Ch, two of the four manuscripts that preserve Filippotto's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*), in Paolo's virelai *Soffrir m'estuet*, in the anonymous ballade *En mon cueur est un blanc cine pourtrait* (three times), and in Matteo's *Trouver ne puis aucunement confort* (five times). Filippotto's stylistic influence can also be found in Ciconia's *Sous une fontaine*, as well as in his splendid three-voice madrigal *Una panthera in compagnia di Marte* on the cantus I line in an marked position (end of the inital melisma of "Marte"); other notable intertextual traces present in Ciconia's madrigal deserve greater scholarly attention.

The network of compositions belonging to the *Espérance / Souffrir m'estuet* group was widely circulated in Europe,[167] and contains, through mottos and heraldic symbology, clear allusions to the Visconti family. The framework of allusive intertextuality in these works must be enriched and reconsidered in the light of new perspectives[168] and systematic analyses of intertextual occur-

167. Cf. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Esperance and the French Song".

168. Cf. Maria Sofia Lannutti's proposals for this conference. Based on these new observations, and on previous research carried out by Lannutti and me, I believe that a chronology of the compositions built upon Bernabo's motto *Souffir m'estuet* could be as follows (cf. in particular Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali", 45-92, and Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche"):

Between Bernabò's time and the first years of Gian Galeazzo's rule:

– Bartolino, *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*;

– Niccolò, *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*.

Gian Galeazzo's age:

– Filippotto, *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* (although Yolanda Plumley dates it in the 1380s);

– *Esperance* cycle sequel: Senlèches, *En attendant Esperance conforte*; Galiot, *En attendant d'amer la douce vie*; *Le sault périlleux* (which presents the image of the fountain). However, the directionality of such quotations calls for supplementary research. Then, Ciconia, *Sous une fontayne en remirant*; (Filippotto's motive returns on *Una panthera in compagnia di Marte*); Paolo, *Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puis durer* (where Bernabò's mottos and Esperance are combined).

Filippo Maria's age:

– Matteo, first *Et in terra* di ModA; *Trouver ne puis aucunement confort*;

– Dufay, motet *Ave virgo quae de coelis*, and sequence *Gaude virgo, mater Christi*.

The rest of the compositions belonging to the same intertextual network may be situated within this grid.

rences. It is generally assumed that *Espérance* is a musical motive linked to the Valois, and that it derives from the very famous anonymous rondeau *Espérance qui en mon cueur*, in turn related to Machaut.[169] Nevertheless, the verbal/musical presence of the *Esperance* motive next to *Souffrir m'estuet* is a clear indicator that the Viscontis were the addressees and maybe the commissioners of the compositions containing both references. Gian Galeazzo apparently took possession of Bernabo's personal motto, as he did with other devices that belonged to his uncle and to Galeazzo II.

The presence of Visconti emblems and mottos in French compositions is usually associated with Valentina, who presumably took his family's heraldic heritage to France. It should be remembered, however, that, given Valentina's status (as a married woman), her family's symbology was expected to merge with her husband's heraldry to create a combined coats of arms and *devises*.[170]

A substantial risk of twisting the facts derives from the assumption that all works written in French or in imitation of the French style were written in France, despite the presence of elements that indicate a different provenance. Although this topic is too substantial and complex to be treated here, it is worth mentioning at least one example: the motto *A bon droit*. The motto *A bon droit*, which thanks to Francesco di Vannozzo's *Canzone morale fatta per la divisa del conte di Virtù*, can be ascribed to Petrarca as a gift to the young Gian Galeazzo, appears in the three-voice anonymous ballade *Bonté de corps en armes eprouvée.*[171] The ballade's acrostic denotes that it is a eulogy for Bertrand du Guesclin II.[172] In the absence of other indicators, it would be tenuous to link the song to Valentina Visconti. *A bon droit* also appears in Solage's virelai *Joieux de cueur en seumellant* (intertextually rich) and in the anonymous ballade *Dolour me tient, par ma foye, a bon droit*.[173] However, we cannot automatically assume that these three compositions were written in France. An adequate musical and poetical

169. Cf. Maria Sofia Lannutti's contribution to this volume.

170. Cf. Laurent Hablot, "La mémoire héraldique des Visconti dans la France du XV siècle", in *L'arme segreta. Araldica e storia dell'arte nel Medioevo (secoli XIII-XV)*, ed. Matteo Ferrari (Florence: Le Lettere, 2015), 267-83. Heraldry is a visual communication system that follows a rigorous code. Any changes – either political, familial or social – must be accurately registered so that the system's communicative function subsists. Cf. D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, "Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350 - c. 1500", in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy*, 1250-1500, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame-London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 103-27.

171. Cf. Francesco Novati, "Il Petrarca e i Visconti", in *Francesco Petrarca e la Lombardia. Miscellanea di studi e ricerche critico bibliografiche raccolte per cura della Società storica lombarda ricorrendo il sesto centenario della nascita del poeta* (Milan: Hoepli, 1904), 9-84, at 55.

172. Cf. Ursula Günther, "Zwei Balladen auf Bertrand und Olivier du Guesclin", *Musica disciplina* 22 (1968): 15-45. The figure of Bertrand du Guesclin II should be studied in depth.

173. In Ch, f. 58v and Fp, f. 82v.

philological analysis of the witnesses' *usus scribendi* may shed new light on the song's provenance and provide a more convincing explanation for the presence of such a characteristic Visconti motto in these works. *A bon droit* was one of Gian Galeazzo's most important mottos, and he employed it from 1385 in order to justify Bernabò's murder. It is difficult to believe that such a significant message could be employed casually.

Solage was active in the Duke of Berry's circle, the king of France's brother and Gian Galeazzo's brother-in-law. Moreover, Solage's ballade *Plusieurs gens voy qui leur pense* is intertextually related to *Trop bien me plet ma iaquete* in Lon,[174] the collection of French poetry written for the private use of a Visconti (perhaps Gian Galeazzo). In any case, the relationship between the Visconti and Jean de Berry was familiar and amiable. In a letter sent by Giovanni Maria in 1403 to accompany a precious codex from his library,[175] he cordially calls Jean "zio" (i.e., "uncle"), even though the latter was in fact the brother of Gian Galeazzo's first wife.

Dolour me tient, par ma foye, a bon droit is also copied in R,[176] and represents a very simplified subgenre of the ballade (two voices, with a tenor as simple instrumental support, and a smooth and melodious cantus; in black notation with no signs of *subtilitas*), and tells the story of a lover's abandonment and betrayal. It has not yet been possible to identify any allusive messages in the text, although it is likely that there are hidden references, since the ballade includes Gian Galeazzo's motto in its opening incipit. It is possible that the figure of the unfaithful lady represents a personification of France, whose crisis with the Visconti took place in 1395-6, but this hypothesis requires further consideration.

Several topics have been left unmentioned and many questions remain of course unsolved; but forthcoming research will not delay in giving us unexpected answers and increasingly refined exegesis tools.

174. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 84n144 and 84n145.
175. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi", 282.
176. F. 84v.

ABSTRACT

This paper draws attention to the interrelationships – in the decades of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries – between the intense processes of active reception of French secular polyphony and the reprise of formal models belonging to the earliest phase of Italian Ars Nova. This reprise was a conscious and cultured choice, and the only viable option for music in the proto-humanistic perspective aimed at the recovery of a strong cultural identity, namely of a "classic" and Italic tradition. The fruit of such relationships was an authentic musical bilingualism, modulated with a wide variety of solutions depending on the cultural environment, the different committents and the solicitations of the historical context. The analysis of intertextual phenomena (especially architextuality, poorly studied as of today) and the study of the transmission routes of single musical texts may provide a wealth of information on this subject, but they still require rigorous methods supported by the necessary argumentations. The privileged point of observation proposed is the city of Pavia during the rule of Gian Galeazzo and Filippo Maria Visconti, with its cultural sites (the University and the Library) and characterised by direct or mediated contacts with French ambassadors and courtiers – particularly intense in connection with the great project (bound to fail) of the Kingdom of Adria. An interesting role in this complex environment is possibly played by the Modena codex, subject of many valuable studies, but not yet of a systematic and modern critical edition of all the repertoire that it preserves.

Maria Caraci Vela
Università di Pavia
maria.caraci@unipv.it