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JOHANNES CICONIA AND HIS POETS: TEXT, IMAGE AND BEYOND IN EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PADUA[1]

The name of Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370-1412) has often resounded in discussions of intertextuality in medieval music. Music historians have directed much of their energy to exploring his extraordinary "Ars Subtilior essay" *Sus une fontayne* and its quotations of not one but three French-texted chansons by Philipoctus de Caserta.[2] Rather than dwelling on *Sus une fontayne*, in this essay I explore instances of intertextuality in some of Ciconia's other songs. I will also broaden the scope of my investigation to Ciconia's engagement with intellectual and visual culture during the final period of his life in Padua, 1401-1412. I begin with a discussion of layers of intertextuality in poetry by vernacular poets Domizio Brocardo (ca. 1380 - ca. 1457) and Leonardo Giustinian (ca. 1384? - ca. 1446) that Ciconia set to music, including textual evidence for their entanglement in a literary and cultural nexus that links their

1. I wish to thank Maria Sofia Lannutti and Maria Caraci Vela for their invitation to present my research at the VIII Seminario internazionale di musicologia «Clemente Terni», Florence, December 14-15, 2015, and its participants for their contributions and encouragement, especially Maria Sofia Lannutti for her comments on the day and for suggested improvements on subsequent versions of this paper. I am also most thankful to Anna Zayaruznaya, Henry Parkes and each of the members of the Yale Song Lab, who are too numerous to name here, for their valuable contributions to an earlier version of the third part of this paper delivered at New Haven, October 30, 2015, and to Thomas Morrissey who generously shared his unpublished research and thoughts on Zabarella with me in several email exchanges.

2. See, for example, Ursula Günther, "Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior", *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 53-68; Anne Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*", *Music & Letters* 83 (2001): 361-90; Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta", in *Johannes Ciconia, musician de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68; Jason Stoessel, "The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Ars subtilior", in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 179-202.

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poetic expression to earlier authors in Padua.[3] I then shift my attention to several anonymous texts set to music by Ciconia that can be linked to politically motivated literature and imagery around the court of the Carrara family in Padua. In the final section I focus on the humanist culture of Padua and discuss an example of Ciconia's participation in it. In this final section, I propose a new dating for Ciconia's motet *O Petre, Christi discipule*.

1. Text: Ciconia's Last Vernacular Poets

In early fifteenth-century Padua, Ciconia seems to have had access to the early vernacular poetry of several young contemporaries, including Brocardo and Giustinian. Ciconia's settings of their ballatas *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*, *Ligiadra donna che 'l mio cor contenti*, *Merçé, o morte, o vaga anima mia* and *O rosa bella, o dolçe anima mia* are distinguished by musical characteristics. These include frequent repetition of text and/or music, as well as figurative gestures that can be linked to broader concerns for new modes of expressiveness evidenced by humanism at Padua.[4] In terms of their musical transmission, this group of songs is not without complications (Table 1). *Con lagreme* and *Merçé, o morte* are found in musical sources that originated in Padua during the last years of Ciconia's life, while *Ligiadra donna* and *O rosa bella* survive in manuscripts compiled one or two decades after his death, some of them in the Veneto. That Ciconia composed each song seems now beyond doubt, especially following the discovery of an ascription to Ciconia on the previously lost leaf transmitting *Merçé, o morte*,[5] although the fact remains that each setting is ascribed to Ciconia in only one source; otherwise they are transmitted anonymously.

3. Giustinian's birth year remains unknown but the will of his father Bernardo indicates three sons, despite the fact that only two sons, Marco and Piero, are named; see Manlio Dazzi, "Documenti su Leonardo Giustinian", *Archivio Veneto*, Ser. 5, vol. 15, no. 12 (1934): 312-9. Given, however, that infants were not normally named in wills, the argument of Giuseppe Billanovich, "Per l'edizione critica della canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 110 (1937): 197-251, 248-9, that Giustinian was born sometime between the birth of his oldest brother in 1381 and 1386 (since Giustinian vouched in a public document dated 1416 that he was not yet thirty years old) still warrants consideration.

4. *O dolçe fortuna* may also belong to this group, although it lacks the same degree of musical or textual repetition that distinguishes the four songs discussed here. The musical characteristics of Ciconia's late songs will be discussed further in my book *Ciconia's Padua*: *Music, Rhetoric and Emotion in Early Humanist Padua*, developing on Jason Stoessel, "*Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*: Mourning and Music in Late Medieval Padua", *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 24 (2015): 71-89.

5. See John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex, Codice Mancini* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), 19.

Table 1: Ciconia's setting of the poetry of Leonardo Giustinian and Domizio Brocardo and their sources

SONG	SOURCES[a]	POET
Con lagreme bagnandome el viso	Q15 (detached fragment); Man ("Ciconia"); Paris4379; Pit; Pad656 (twice); *Il Fiore*; *Paris1069* (after *Il Fiore*); *B22.14*; *Ricc1764*; *Trev43*; *Trev1612*; also *cantasi come* lauda	Leonardo Giustinian?
Ligiadra donna che 'l mio cor contenti	Paris4379; Pz; Parma75 ("Jo. Cyconia") with replacement Ct by Matteo da Perugia; *Paris1084*; *Triv1018*; *Pes*; *Pad541*; *Sie*; *Venice346*	Domizio Brocardo
Merçé, o morte, o vaga anima mia	Man ("Johanes Ciconia"); Pz; Pist; BU2216 (more florid)	Leonardo Giustinian?
O rosa bella, o dolçe anima mia	Paris4379; Vat1411 ("Jo. Ciconia"); *Il Fiore*; *Paris1035*; *Paris1069*; *Magl1298*; also *cantasi come* lauda	Leonardo Giustinian

[a] Textual sources italicised. Manuscript sigla: B22.14 = Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile Filippo Formaglini, filza 22.14; BU2216 = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216; Magl1298 = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII.1298; Man = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 ("Lucca Codex", "Mancini Codex"); Pad656 = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 656; Pad541 = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 541; Paris1035 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1035; Paris1069 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1069; Paris1084 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1084; Paris4379 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4379; Parma75 = Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 (*olim* Armadio B, Busta 75, fasc. 2); Pes = Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, 666; Pist = Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, Bibliotheca musicalis B.3.5; Pit = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; Pz = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917; Q15 = Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15; Ricc1764 = Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1764; Sie = Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, I.VII.15; Trev1612 = Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 1612; Trev43 = Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 43; Triv1018 = Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1018; Vat1411 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1411; Venice346 = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 346 (6323). *Il Fiore* = *Comincia el fiore de le elegantissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Iustiniano*. Incunabula of poetry of Giustinian; see Pini, *Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette*, 419-22.

The degree to which Ciconia had access to Brocardo and Giustinian themselves is uncertain. Brocardo lived most of his life in or around Padua. *Ligiadra donna* is part of Brocardo's *Vulgaria fragmenta*.[6] As its title suggests, Brocardo's style, apart from a touching series of poems on the death of his daughter Rachel, is strongly influenced by Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (hereafter referred to as *Rvf*).[7] Petrarch's last years in Padua had ensured

6. See Davide Esposito, "Edizione critica e commentata del canzoniere di Domizio Brocardo (circa 1380 - circa 1457)" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Cagliari, 2014).

7. See the critical edition of Petrarch's own copy of his *Rvf*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3195 (Vat3195), in Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, ed. Giuseppe Savoca (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2008).

that his legacy there was a strong one, particularly when it came to the collection and cultivation of his works by the next generation, including Brocardo, Giustinian and Pier Paolo Vergerio (1383?-1446). David Fallows has suggested that the Venetian Giustinian studied at Padua in the period 1403-1407,[8] but Remigio Sabbadini and R. G. G. Mercer place him as a student of Giovanni Conversini and then Gasparino Barzizza in Venice until the latter took up a chair of rhetoric at Padua University.[9] Yet, after 1405, Padua's increased political and social ties with nearby Venice are sufficient for understanding how Ciconia might have gained access to Giustinian's poetry, even if evidence for a more direct relationship has not yet emerged.

The survival of Ciconia's setting of Brocardo's *Ligiadra donna* with a replacement contratenor by Matteo Perugia (floruit ca. 1400 - ca. 1418) points to the immediate afterlife of this song. The scribe of a fragment now in Parma (Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 [Parma75]) carefully placed the song's ascription to Ciconia at the top of the folio, also indicating Matteo's authorship of the contratenor with the initials "M.d'P°". The coincidence of this uncontested ascription and unmistakeable stylistic features, which strongly connect *Ligiadra donna* to another three songs, namely *Con lagreme bagnandome*, *O rosa bella* and *Merçe o morte*, provide the basis for accepting it as Ciconia's setting.

Only one musical source copied in the Veneto a decade or so after Ciconia's death, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917 (Pz), transmits the entire stanza of *Ligiadra donna*. Differences in the last line in Pz and Brocardo's *Vulgaria fragmenta* raise questions about whether the variant in question arose from scribal intervention or authorial revision. Whereas the last line in textual sources reads as in Example 1, the musical source has "qualche riposo ormay de mie' lamenti".[10] That both hendecasyllabic lines are acceptable in terms of versification may point to scribal innovation under the influence of the second line of the refrain (pace > riposo; de mie' tormenti > de mie' lamenti) either in the copying of Pz itself or in the exemplar used by Ciconia.[11]

8. David Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song", in *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario: Atti del convegno internazionale (Cremona 4-8 Ottobre 1992)*, Studi e Testi Musicali Nuova Serie 3, ed. Renato Borghi and Pietro Zappalà (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 247-60, at 252.

9. Remigio Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura d'umanista (1343-1408) da documenti inediti* (Como: Tipografia editrice Ostinelli, 1924), 99; and R. G. G. Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza: With Special Reference to his Place in Paduan Humanism* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1979), 27-8.

10. The text at this point in the edition in Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), 138-43, is problematic.

11. For a similar assessment in the case of variants in the troubadour tradition, see Gianluca

Ligiadra donna, che 'l mio cor contenti,
rendime pace omai de' mei tormenti.

Tu sai che onesto amor e pura fede
strinse 'l mio cor di doglia e de martiri,

senza aver mai, per ben amar, mercede,
men pianto agli occhi, al petto men sospiri.

Dimando, a consolare i mei desiri,
qualche conforto ai miseri lamenti.[12]

Example 1. Brocardo, *Ligiadra donna*. *Vulgaria fragmenta*, V

The remainder of Ciconia's late songs listed in Table 1 threatens to embroil this chapter in controversy since Giustinian's authorship of these poems is not beyond question. Two decades ago, David Fallows brought this issue to the attention of the musicological community,[13] drawing on the authority of literary scholarship from the 1930s and earlier,[14] to affirm Giustinian's authorship of several texts set to music in the fifteenth century. Recently, Anna Carocci has questioned Fallows's acceptance of Billanovich's thesis that there existed two manuscripts of Giustinian's *canzoniere*,[15] particularly in light of the subsequent scholarship of Laura Pini on early prints[16] and that of Antonio Enzo Quaglio on manuscript sources of Giustinian's poetry.[17] The issue rests upon: 1) that *Con lagreme* and *O rosa bella* are transmitted in the early printed collections of Giustinian's poetry from the later fifteenth century, yet they are not found in the manuscripts of his *Canzonette*; 2) the view of Billanovich and Fallows that Giustinian wrote two types of *poesia per musica*: one for improvised performance and another for elaborate composed polyphony; and 3) evidence that poems like *Merçé, o morte* seem to circulate in the Veneto and elsewhere earlier than some of the manuscripts of the *Canzonette* and might therefore be attributable to Giustinian.

Valenti, *La liturgia del «trobar»: Assimilazione e riuso di elementi del rito cristiano nelle canzoni occitane medievali* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), at 121.

12. Esposito, "Edizione critica", 103.

13. See Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian", 252-3.

14. See Bertold Wiese, ed., *Poesie edite ed inedite di Lionardo Giustiniani* (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1883); and Billanovich, "Per l'edizione critica".

15. See Anna Carocci, ed., *"Non si odono altri canti": Leonardo Giustinian nella Venezia del Quattrocento, con l'edizione delle canzonette secondo il ms. Marciano It. IX 486* (Rome: Viella, 2014), 86.

16. Laura Pini, *Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960).

17. Antonio Enzo Quaglio, "Leonardo Giustinian tra poeti padovani (e non) in nuovi frammenti veneti del Quattrocento, I. Tre canzonette", *Bollettino della Società Letteraria di Verona* 173/3-4 (1981): 86-115; and "Da Benedetto Biffoli a Leonardo Giustinian", *Filologia e Critica* 13 (1988): 157-83.

Instead of burdening the reader in the current debate about the existence of *un canzoniere originale*,[18] here I accept that Giustinian's poems needed not to have circulated as part of a larger collection during an earlier phase of his career and that some of the techniques observed in the longer poems of his *Canzonette* are also present in short poems. The related issue of the performance of his poetry in the tradition of *viniziane* or *giustiniane* lies outside the chronological scope of this study.[19] Setting aside the issue of extemporised performance also seems warranted since Ciconia himself was responsible for the polyphonic settings of these texts, and his complicity in their poetic authorship remains unknowable. Rather, I offer a way forward by considering how textual analysis might shed light on authorship, while also emphasising how certain textual characteristics, particularly intertextual ones, illustrate connections to a Paduan literary context.

The opening line of *Con lagreme* (see Example 2) draws upon a conventional image of weeping that can be traced back to antiquity, which takes on more recognisable linguistic forms in early Italian translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* VI 684-689, particularly in Andrea Lancia's translation from shortly before 1316.[20] A complaint against Fortune, *Tant'è 'l soperchio dei miei duri affanni* (A34*), which is sometimes attributed to Boccaccio, contains the lines "però di gran tristizia mi sfiguro / **di lagrime bagnando il volto** e il dosso" (vv. 77-78).[21] Yet, the most poignant intertext would seem to reside in a passage on injustice and iniquity in *L'Acerba* by early fourteenth-century poet Cecco d'Ascoli, otherwise known as Francesco Stabili (1257-1327).[22] Although Cecco cannot be connected with Padua, one of the seventeen surviving fourteenth-century manuscripts of his works was copied in Padua in the 1360s and bears annotations that witness its close reading.[23] Despite Cecco's notoriety as a heretic, *L'Acerba* was evidently known in Padua. It is tempting to think that Giustinian had used Lady Justice's warning in *L'Acerba* that "[s]errano iusti oppressi da' tiranni, / **bagnando el viso di lagrime** acerbe, /

18. Carocci, *"Non si odono altri canti"*, 86.

19. This matter is discussed in Carocci, *"Non si odono altri canti"*, 73-94; more generally, see Elena Abramov-Van Rijk, *Parlar cantando: The Practice of Reciting verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009) and Blake Wilson, *Singing to the Lyre in Renaissance Italy: Memory, Performance, and Oral Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

20. See Stoessel, *"Con lagreme"*, 82-3.

21. Branca places this *canzone* among Boccaccio's *opera dubia* (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Rime*, ed. Vittore Branca [Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1992], Vol. 2, no. 34) and it is excluded from the edition of Leporatti (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Rime*, ed. Roberto Leporatti [Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013], CCXXIII-CCXXIV). I thank Sofia Lannutti for this observation.

22. Contrary to my earlier assertion (Stoessel, *"Con lagreme"*, 83), Cecco did not teach in Padua.

23. See John P. Rice, "Notes on the Oxford Manuscripts of Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*", *Italica* 12/2 (1935): 136-138, at 137.

per la tristicia de l'impii affani"[24] to refer his countrymen's poor treatment of the last lord of Padua, garrotted along with his two sons in a Venetian dungeon in January 1406. The annotation in a textual source, Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1764 (Ricc1764), that *Con lagreme* was "fatta per messer Franciesco signior di padova" has been usually be read "per la morte di Franciesco". It could easily instead mean that the poem was written for Francesco Novello da Carrara in reference to his father's earlier unjust death at the hands of Giangaleazzo Visconti. On the other hand, the general sentiment of *Con lagreme* is not too distant from other poems by Giustinian, especially his *Ohimè dolente, ohimè, che diebo far?* (XXXII).

Con lagreme bagnandome el uiso,
El mio segnor lassay,
ond'io me strugo in guay,
Quando io me penso esser da luy diuiso.

Ay me dolente, ay dura dispartita,
Che may non fay ritorno in questo mondo!

Ay cruda morte, ay despietata uita,
Cho' me partesti dal mio amor iocundo!

[Ay morte][25] ingorda, maluasa, senza fondo,
fuor d'ogni temperança!
sgroppa omay toa balança,
poy' che tolto m'ay ogni giocho e riso.

Example 2. Leonardo Giustinian?, *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*. Source: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 (Man), f. LIVr. Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Ohimè dolente, ohimè, che diebo fare?
Oh rea fortuna, oh morte sconoscente!
Ahi, meschinel servente,
Nasuto al mondo per lacrimare!

Che diebo far, hormai dove chiamare
Deb'io secorso al mio novel tormento,
A le pene ch'io sento?
Chi darà paze a sti mie' azerbi guai?

24. Cecco d'Ascoli, *L'Acerba (Acerba età)*, ed. Marco Albertazzi (Trento: La Finestra, 2005), 79.
25. Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, "Il codice di Lucca II: Testi letterari", *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 111-52, at 121.

Ahi, lasso mi, chi sugerà ormai
Ste lacrime <ch'> ognor li ochi risorze?
Misero mi, chi porze
Qualche sovegno a ste mie nuove pene?

La dona in cui ripossa ogni mio bene
Vedoa è fata, et or in negri pani
Pianze suo' gran affani,
E suo' belleze lacrimando afflize.[26]

Example 3. Giustinian, *Ohimè dolente, ohimè, che diebo fare*, vv. 1-16

Although *Con lagreme* and *Ohimè dolente* (see Example 3) mirror each other in their language and topic, they nonetheless embody opposite perspectives: the first is a personal expression of grief, the second despairs over another's grief. Yet, the lines "Bagnar da pianti sta faza fiorita" (v. 20) and "[e]l bel volto serato / hor de lacrime è bagnato" (vv. 34-35) in *Ohimè dolente* recall the opening imagery in *Con lagreme*, notwithstanding the fact that it is common in fourteenth-century Italian poetry.

Most telling, however, is Petrarch's influence upon the vocabulary and versification of *Con lagreme* and *Ohimè dolente*. The opening line of *Ohimè dolente* seems to reference Petrarch's *Che debb'io far? Che mi consigli amore?* (*Rvf* 266). Thematically, *Rvf 266* provides a bridge from *Ohimè dolente* to *Con lagrime* as the poet's lament for the death of his beloved Laura. More broadly, the emotive exclamation "**Ay cruda morte**, **ay** despietata **vita**" in *Con lagreme* is also a clear nod to "**Ai** dispietata **morte**. **Ai crudel vita**" beginning the second strophe of Petrarch's ballata *Rvf* 324, v. 4. Like *Rvf* 266, *Rvf* 324 laments Laura's death. Although "**Oh crudel morte**, a la mia stanca **vita**" (v. 21) from *Ohimè dolente* similarly reveals Giustinian's debt to Petrarch, it nonetheless shares greater affinity (in terms of versification) with the Petrarchan-inspired line in *Con lagreme*. This affinity might be sufficient for further affirming Giustinian's authorship of *Con lagreme* during his youth under the influence of Petrarch's legacy.

A defence on the basis of distinctive vocabulary can be mounted for Giustinian's authorship of *O rosa bella*, which like *Con lagreme* is found in early incunabula of his poetry. Fallows has already emphasised the repeated use of the word "rosa" in Giustinian's poetry, particularly in the openings of several

26. Carocci, *"Non si odono altri canti"*, 231-2. In this study, I have used Carocci's recent critical edition of Giustinian's *Canzonette* in Venice486 (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 486). Readers may also wish to consult selected *canzoni* edited in Armando Balduino, ed., *Rimatori veneti del quattrocento* (Padua: CLESP, 1980), at 18-68.

other poems from Giustinian's *Canzonette*.[27] Earlier, Don Hárran[28] speculated on the basis of an equally prolific number of references to a *zudea* in Giustinian's *Canzonette*, that Rosa was a Jewish woman with whom the poet was infatuated before he married in 1405. Giustinian clearly favoured the word/name "Rosa/rosa" in his poetry: it appears 52 times in the manuscript version of his *Canzonette*, compared, for example, to five times in Sacchetti's *Rime* and just twice in Petrarch's *Rvf*, and never in Cecco's *L'Acerba* and Brocardo's *Vulgaria fragmenta.* Even if the rose has a long history in poetic symbolic imagery, especially from the French *Roman de la Rose* tradition, Giustinian's predilection for it is undeniable.

Further grounds exist for substantiating Fallows's "guess" that the poem exclusively transmitted in musical sources, *Merçé, o morte* (see Example 4), is Giustinian's.[29] The first line of *Merçé, o morte* is related structurally to the first line of *O rosa bella, o dolçe anima mia*, a formula that is also found in the line "Ahimé, dolze anima mia" in Giustinian's *Amante, a sta fredura* (IX). Petrarch's influence seems likely, since Brocardo writes of "Morte e merzé, ch'io spero e temo equali" (CI. *Dolze parole, efetti aspri e mortali*, v. 8), recalling "Morte o mercé sia fine al mio dolore" (*Rvf* 153, v. 4) and perhaps "Gli occhi suoi da mercé, sì che di morte" (*Rvf* 183, v. 7).[30]

Merçé o morte, o vagha anima mia,
oymè, ch'io moro, o graciosa e pia.

Pascho el cor de sospiri ch'altruy no 'l vede
e de lagrime vivo amaramente.

Aymè, dolent' morirò per la merçede[31]
del dolç' amor che 'l mio cor t'apresente

O Dio, che pena è quest' al mio cor dolente!
Falsa çudea, almen me fai morir via.

27. Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian", 253.

28. Don Harrán, "Nouvelles variations sur *O rosa bella*, cette fois avec un ricercare juif", in *Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes*, ed. Philippe Vendrix, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 365-79.

29. Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian", 253.

30. On further Petrarchisms in the poetry of Trecento composers, see Francesco Facchin, "La recezione del Petrarca nella poesia musicale della sua epoca: alcuni esempi", *Quaderns d'Italia* 11 (2006), 359-80.

31. Maria Sofia Lannutti suggested in a private correspondence, June 6, 2017, that this hypermetric line probably originally read: "Aymè, dolente morrò per mercede". Ciconia's setting of line 3 (avoiding elision between the first two words), which is witnessed in both music sources, nonetheless strengthens an argument for retaining the hypermetric reading of line 5 witnessed by BU2216.

1 Merçé] Merçe *Man* Merce *BU2216* vagha] vaga *BU2216* 2 ch'io] chi *BU2216* 3 sospiri *BU2216* ch'altruy no 'l] che altrui no(n) uede *BU2216 vede* 5-8 *desunt Man* 6 tapresent *BU2216* 8 almen] alme no(n) *BU2216*

Example 4. *Merçé, o morte, o vagha anima mia*. Sources: Man, f. LIIv (copied Padua and Florence, ca. 1410); Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (BU2216), p. 101.

Finally, I take the opportunity to include a restored reading of *Poy che morir mi convien per to amore* (see Example 5), whose musical setting Ciconia's editors reluctantly consign to his *opera dubia*.[32]

Poy che morir mi conuien per to amore,
Lasso te, donna, el mio dolente chore.

Ay, lasso me, con pianti e con sospiri
Serà mia vita ormay e con dolore.

Aymè, i' moro *d'angosciosi* martiri
Veço l'alma mia fenir d'ore in hore.[33]

Merçé per Dio, o caro mio thesore,
Abi pietà de mi to servitore.

2 lasso te] Lassote *Pirrotta-Li Gotti* 3 con sospiri] *tenor*; cum suspiri *cantus residuum* 5 d'angosciosi] *deest, conj.* 6 Veço l'alma mia] *desunt, conj.* 5-8

Example 5. *Poy che morir mi convien per to' amore*. Unique source: Man, f. LXXXVv. Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Vocabulary and idiom situate this poem in the context of love poetry from the late fourteenth century, particularly that of Petrarch and his followers, although some words – not particularly significant ones since they are common to this style's lexicon – like *sospiri* and *angoscioso* are rare or non-existent in Giustinian's *Canzonette*. Parallels with *Ligiadra donna* (see Example 1) are not sufficient to attribute this poem to Brocardo, though the poet of *Poy che morir* seems to have been working in a similar, post-Petrarch milieu as Brocardo. The parallel *sospiri/martiri* rhyme shared by Exx. 1 and 5 can be nothing more than coincidence.

Some of the uncertainties around anonymously transmitted texts in musical settings are not a disadvantage. Rather they offer the opportunity for

32. Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*.

33. My reading of line 5 after the fourth syllable and line 6 before the sixth syllable is partly conjectural and is based on barely legible remnants of letters in this source. It nonetheless provides a viable restoration of this line for use in future musical performances.

expanding this study into the realm of cultural hypertexts, images and some of the historical conditions that motivated their composition. In the remainder of this study, my emphasis shifts from text critical matters to philological, cultural and political readings of anonymous or attributable texts that Ciconia set to music in early fifteenth-century Padua.

2. Image: The Cultivation of Carrara Heraldry

The ruling Carrara family of Padua, especially during the time of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara and his son Francesco Novello da Carrara, intensely cultivated heraldic imagery as a potent tool of what we in the modern world would call political propaganda. Although the family emblem of the red oxcart was central to this program, images of individual and shared heraldic crests, devices and mottos formed part of this program of hegemonic self-promotion. Various crests and devices were painted in Carrara manuscripts not merely as signs of ownership, but to demonstrate the family's patronage of literature and learning.[34] The winged *saracen* and oxcart were stamped onto coins and medallions which referenced ancient Roman coins bearing the effigies of emperors.[35] Last but not least, Paduan authors and poets cultivated the same heraldic imagery in surprising ways that saw it connected with astrological lore, mythology and even sacred imagery.

One of the earliest examples of a literary treatment of Carrara imagery appears in Francesco Caronelli's moral treatise on the Carrara red oxcart, *De carru carrariensi*, completed in 1376.[36] The Franciscan recounts several forms of biblical *carri* in his prologue and dedicates his treatise to Francesco il Vecchio. Caronelli compares Francesco to the rays of the sun using Apollonian metaphors and credits him with a soul that shines likes a glittering constellation.[37] In the following *Somnium*, the author sees three chariots illuminated by the rays of the sun, shining like the stars. The first is the biblical chariot

34. See Sarah R. Kyle, "A New Heraldry. Vision and Rhetoric in the Carrara Herbal", in *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts*, ed. Walter Melion, Bret Rothstein and Michel Weemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 231-50.

35. See Catherine King, "The Arts of Carving and Casting", in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, ed. Diana Norman, 2 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University in association with The Open University, 1995), Vol. 1, 97-121; and Giovanni Gorini, "Le medaglie carraresi: genesi e fortuna", in *Padova Carrarese: Atti del Convengo, Padova, Reggia dei Carraresi, 11-12 Decembre 2003*, ed. Oddone Longo (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2005), 259-67.

36. Part of Caronelli's *De carru carrariensis* is published in Caterina Griffante, ed., *Il trattato de Curru Carrariensi di Francesco de Caronellis* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1983).

37. Griffante, *Il trattato de Curru Carrariensi*, 63: *Tu, similis illi qui igneas Phebo prestat habenas quibus celum et elementa refulgent, in te solo creatus animus ut sidus splendidum elucescit*.

of Elijah (Elias in Latin) that ascended to heaven (2 *Kings* 2.11). The second is the *carrus* envisioned by Saint Francis of Assisi as a metaphor for the church. The third and final chariot carries a prince, the embodiment of moral behaviour and virtue, accompanied by a handsome youth (Francesco Il Novello), and followed, most importantly, by a throng of powerful men, famous wives and beautiful children.

Giovanni Conversini's *Familie carrariensis natio* also demonstrates the cultivation of this type of imagery during the subsequent rule of Francesco Novello.[38] Although Conversini had begun the *Natio* between 1379 and 1382 during his period of service in the court of Francesco il Vecchio, he only published it in the early 1390s at the behest of Conte da Carrara while still a school master at Udine before he returned to the Carrara court in 1393. Benjamin Kohl has observed that Conversini's efforts to portray the Carrara family as descended from ancient stock probably relied upon anecdotes and lore circulating in the Carrara court during the rule of Francesco il Vecchio.[39] In Conversini's account, the family originated from a certain Landolfo who elopes with the emperor's daughter, Elisabetta.

Conversini's imagery is partly indebted to Carronelli's. The most colourful episode in Conversini's *Natio* is a description of yet another dream, Landolfo's prophetic vision after a long day's work. Landolfo imagines himself transported to the stars in a fiery oxcart "as Elijah testifies in the scripture that he was lifted up for contemplating the world", whereupon he is set before a being who is described only as an "ancient king in whom there was much sanctity and majesty". After this God figure counsels Landolfo that he and his descendants will rule the Euganean hills and Patavan plains, he bids Landolfo to take the red oxcart (this time described as a *rubens plaustrum*) that had carried him to heaven as his emblem and symbol of his virtuous character, to use in battle, triumphal processions, civic displays, so that the whole world might recognise the oxcart-bearing family.

Quo uero archanorum plenior certiorque animos erigas uidens hoc rubens plaustrum quo uectatus in celum, omnem terre molis conglobacionem oramque et hanc olim tuam conspicaris inuictissime glorie presagium est, cuiuis quidem auspicijs uelut [fol. 103v] cuncta ignis absumit sic hostes indefecta uirtute conminues. hoc

38. Source: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6494 (Paris6494). A critical edition of the *Natio*, ed. Letizia Leoncini, has been signalled to be published in Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *Le prose narrative*, ed. Gabriella Albanese and Letizia Leoncini, forthcoming.

39. Benjamin G. Kohl, "Chronicles into Legends and Lives: Two Humanist Accounts of the Carrara Dynasty in Padua", in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin and Duane J. Osheim (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 223-48.

triumphalium ducum summa ad capitolia uehiculum indicium. hoc ratione perpetualium felicitatis indicium. hoc reges ducesque cum populus romanus premisit ad pompam. hoc magnificentie splendore clarorum animos uirorum remque ciuilem auxit et erexit, huius itaque simulacrum moneo successuris insigne nepotibus sacrum stet. hoc umbo, hoc uexilla uostra regantur, quo felicitatem successus admirantibus adque metuentibus populis ubiuis gentium plaustriferam orbis familiam personabit et colet. Ista tibi haud uanus assertor pacis euganee ac felicitatis solicitus cano vite limus euganidum hactenus princeps ego.[40]

Despite being cast in the guise of prophesy, Conversini's vivid description of the use of the Carrara arms resembles the reality of Carrara Padua. The chronicle of Galeazzo and Bartolomeo Gatari[41] contains many references to the use of the Carrara emblems in processions, marriages and other civic events centred on the family. The funeral procession of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara on 20 November 1393, for example, not only illustrates the centrality of heraldic display in medieval ceremony, it also resonates with Carronelli's vision of a triumphal procession. Led by the clergy, there followed first 100 mounted pages carrying the Carrara arms ("*il cimiro dal saraxino con l'ale d'oro*"), next patricians carrying the banners of the church and empire, and then a parade of knights, most, except the captain of the *populo*, bearing Carrara arms and crests. After them came the men of the household, the coffin under a *baldacchino* bearing an image of the Carrara oxcart and finally Francesco Novello, his family and ambassadors of other Italian states. As Christoph Weber has recently observed:

> In this spectacular funeral cortège, representatives of the deceased paraded with all the arms and insignia which defined his place in his capital and in Italy's political order. [...] The signorial family acted together with different groups: the members of their household, noble citizens, the clergy, members of the university, and the ambassadors of Venice, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, and other minor states. Their presence shows that the ceremony was intended not only for the people of Padua, but also for a wider public.[42]

Such displays of heraldic imagery occurred relatively frequently in the Carrara Padua. Take, for example, the triumphal entry ("*trionfo*") and reception of

40. Paris6494, f. 103r-v.

41. Galeazzo Gatari and Bartolomeo Gatari, *Cronaca carrarese, confrontata con la redazione di Andrea Gatari (aa. 1318-1407)*, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., Vol. 17, part 1, ed. Antonio Medin and Guido Tolomei (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1909), 442.

42. Christoph Friedrich Weber, "Formation of Identity and Appearance of North Italian Signoral Families in the Fourteenth Century", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850 - c. 1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 53-77, at 74.

Rupert of Bavaria into Padua in 1401, or the wedding of Giacomo da Carrara and Bellafiore da le Marche in 1402, for which the bride wore a white wedding dress encrusted with pearls and coral with the Carrara arms.[43]

Music also played a central role in the sonic politics of Carrara power, and served as a vehicle for intertextual and paratextual references to its heraldic imagery. *Inperiale sedendo*'s descriptions of an imperial lord, sitting on an oxcart descended from the heavens, guided by the four cardinal virtues and guarded by a winged *saracen* securely connect this song to the Carrara heraldic and moral program (see Example 6). Whether Petrobelli's dating of 1401[44] or Carleton's more recent dating of 1376[45] for the composition of *Inperiale* is accepted, is a matter of debate. The matter cannot be solved, in my estimation, by using contrapuntal behaviours to date the song. The presence of archaic elements such as parallel perfect consonances and consonant fourths in Ciconia's Italian texted songs, including his setting of the Carrara heraldry text *Per quella strada lactea* (see Examples 6 and 7 respectively) surely precludes such conclusions. For this reason alone, I have been ambivalent in my recent examination of *Inperiale sedendo*'s text, not siding with either dating.[46] Although music historians are always trying – for very good reasons – to date compositions, such precision is not crucial to my argument here since the Carrara imagery is pervasive in Padua and its surrounding territories right up to and even beyond the end of the family's rule in late 1405.

Per quella strada lactea.
Man, ff. LXXXIVv-LXXXVr.
Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Per quella strada lactea del cielo
Da belle stelle ou'è 'l seren fermato,
Vedeuą vn carro andar tuttǫ abrasato.

Copertǫ a drappi rossi de fin'oro,
Tendeą el timon uersǫ ançoli cantando,
El charro triumphal vien su montando.

Inperiale sedendo.
Man, ff. XCv-XCIv.
Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Inperiale sedendo fra più stelle,
Dal ciel descesę un carro d'onor degno
Sottǫ un segnor d'ogn'altro ma' benegno.

Le rote soe guidauan quattro done
Iustitią e Temperantia con Forteççą
Et anz' Prudentia con cotantą alteççą.

43. Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca carrarese*, 475 and 498.

44. Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova", in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton University, 1968), 85-112, at 94-100.

45. Sarah M. Carleton, "Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 273-304.

46. Jason Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo fra più stelle*: The Illuminator of Mod A", *Journal of Musicology* 31 (2014): 1-42, at 20-3.

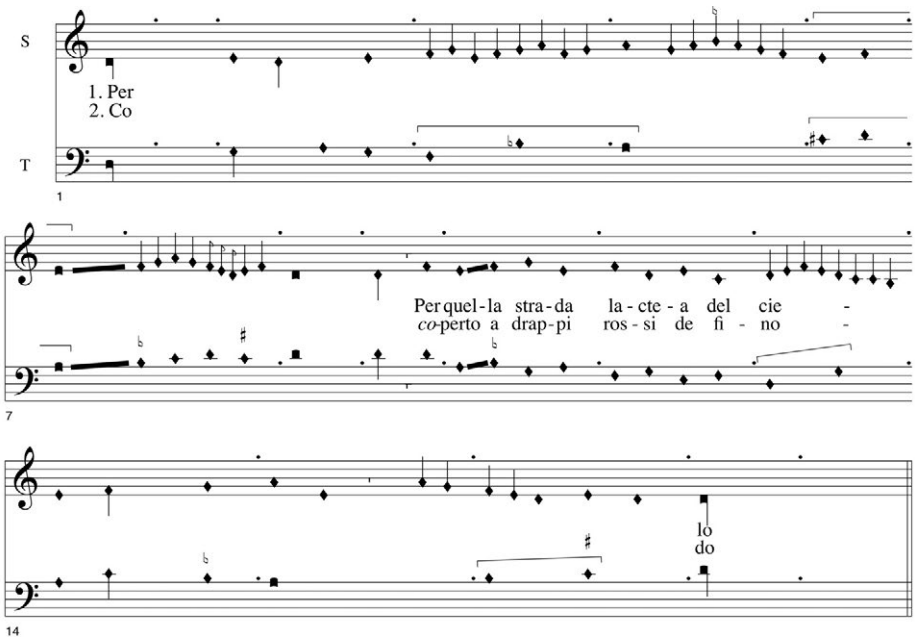
De uerdi lauri corone menaua
Che d'alegreçça el mondo uerdeçaua.

Nel meço un saracin con l'ale d'oro
Tene 'l fabricator de so thesoro.

NB. Dots below letters reproduce dots of elision found in Man.

R: *T* only (=*R*1), *C* & *T* (=*R*2) 1 Inperiale] Inperial *ModA Sq* Inperialle 2 Dal] Del *Sq* | descese un] deseseun *ModA Sq* | degno] digno *ModA* 3 Sotto un] Socto *ModA* Sotto R1 Soto soto *R*2 Sotto in C & Sottun in T *Sq* | segnor] signor *ModA R Sq* | ma benegno] ma beningno *ModA* piu *Pit* piu benigno Sq 4-6 *desunt Sq* 4 soe] sue *ModA* soy R2 6 *deest ModA* | anz'] am *ModA* 7 meço un] meçun *ModA Sq* meço *R* | saracin] sara yn *ModA* | con] cum *T of R*2 | l'ale] lalle *R* 8 thesoro] thexoro *C of ModA* tesoro *Sq R*

Example 6. Texts of *Per quella strada lactea* and *Inperial sedendo*



Example 7. Johannes Ciconia, *Per quella stada lactea*, mm. 1-17
(pseudo-diplomatic transcription)

Even if *Inperiale sedendo* had been composed for Francesco il Vecchio, the program of decoration in Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (ModA) witnesses the ongoing valency of this song beyond the demise of the last lords of Padua. As late as 1410 and in Bologna, the illuminator of the

inner gatherings of ModA, who was possibly the Olivetan monk Giacomo da Padova, chose to accompany this song with an initial depicting the constellation of Ursa minor as an astrological allusion to the Carrara emblem.[47] His reference to Paduan culture cannot be inconsequential to our understanding of this song and the contributors to ModA. Johannes Ciconia adopts the same astrological imagery in the text of his *O Padua, sidus preclarum*. Boötes, as the caretaker of the celestial bears, which are also known in vernacular astrology as the wains or oxcarts, symbolises a figure of support for the Carrara, possibly in the form of emperor-elect Rupert of Bavaria during his visit to Padua in November 1402.[48] Simply put, if *Inperiale sedendo* was set to music shortly after 1376, its transmission, which extends to seven sources, indicates that it remained part of the musical repertoire, reused in Carrara Padua and conserved by musicians in the subsequent years.

Ciconia's *Per quella strada lactea* (see Example 6) also refers to Carrara heraldry. Silvia Lombardi[49] has presented a detailed reading of *Per quella* that attempts to cast this madrigal in the context of broader Platonic and Biblical imagery and the history of ideas. She concludes that the imagery of an oxcart travelling along the Milky Way was a Platonic metaphor for the heavenwards ascent of the deceased Francesco il Vecchio's soul. Furthermore, it must therefore be connected to either the funeral obsequies of the old lord in 1393 or the transfer of his remains to a new marble casket in the Baptistry of Padua cathedral on Easter Day 1398.

Lombardi is seemingly unaware of the close parallels between Landolfo's dream in Conversini's *Natio* and *Per quella strada lactea*. Both describe a blazing and red oxcart in the heavens. Ciconia's oxcart travels (*andar*) *da belle stelle* through the Milky Way to its proper place, that is as Ursa minor near the northern celestial pole. The reference to *la strada lactea* (i.e. *la via lattea*) throws the imagery of this text into relief against a network of astrological allusions that corresponded to Carrara heraldry.

Lombardi's argument instead seems to rest on a loose synecdoche (*pars pro toto*) in which the oxcart, rather than the *plaustigerus*, becomes a metaphor for the ascent of the soul to the heavens. The reference in *Per quella strada lactea* to the laurel crown and the *allegrezza* it brings to the world when bestowed on virtuous men, has more in common with the tradition of early triumphs.

47. Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo*".

48. See Jason Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy in Early Fifteenth-Century Padua", in *Identity and Locality in Early European Music 1028-1740*, ed. Jason Stoessel (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 107-27.

49. Silvia Lombardi, "«Per quella strada lactea del cielo»: Un madrigale per le esequie nella Padova carrarese", *Revista internazionale di musica sacra* 30/2 (2009): 137-64.

On this basis alone, it is difficult to see any need to go beyond the descriptions of triumphs found in Petrarch, either in his *Africa* (especially for Scipio Africanus), *De viris illustribus* or indeed *Triumphi*.[50] *Per quella* also draws on a long-standing parallel between the Carrara heraldic oxcart and the constellation of Ursa minor. Further, that the text states the oxcart is accompanied by angels does not necessarily indicate it is being spirited off to paradise. Rather the described scene is in the heavens and, like the four cardinal virtues in *Inperiale sedendo* that guide the oxcart after it has descended to earth, angels guide the oxcart (that is, the constellation of *Ursa minor*) of *Per quella* upwards (*vien su montando*) along the Milky Way in the night sky towards its proper place near the northern celestial pole.

Finally, I am not persuaded that the elaborate layers of proposed allusions to late antique texts on astronomy or from the Platonic tradition reflect any of the rituals around the obsequies or reinterment of Francesco il Vecchio. Rather contemporary Paduan culture must be kept in mind. I cannot discern overt references to Platonic concepts in the oratories that Pier Paolo Vergerio, Giovanni Lodovico Lambertazi and Francesco Zabarella delivered during the funeral rites or commemorations for the old lord.[51] Had such Platonic concepts been present, we might have expected references to the Christian Neoplatonic tradition, especially through the mediation of its most influential figure, Augustine of Hippo. Read against Conversini's *Natio*, Ciconia's *Per quella strada lactea* instead assumes a generic but nonetheless potent nature: it would have been suitable for reuse on various occasions celebrating the Carrara hegemony.[52] *Per quella*'s limited circulation suggests that it was a song kept close to the composer and only accessible to a small circle of musicians at Padua, as several other unica in the Lucca Codex similarly indicate. The same musicians seem to have been responsible for collecting Ciconia's motets – including those dedicated to the Carrara family – together in a large manuscript (Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15 [Q15]) that was completed more than a decade after his

50. An indication of the influence of Petrarch's classicising literature can be found in Bartolomeo Gatari's conclusion to the *Cronaca Carrarese* in which he compares Jacopo da Carrara to Scipio Africanus (Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, 581-2).

51. See Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 16 (Milan: Societas Palatinae, 1730), cols. 194-8; the sermon of Giovanni Lodovico Lambertazi (Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, 443, note 3); and Francesco Zabarella, *Ad invictum principem dominum Franciscum Carrariensem ducem Patavii Oratio in obitu inclyti domini Francisci eius genetoris obnixe plorans*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 16 (Milan: Societas Palatinae, 1730), cols. 243-8.

52. Lombardi's second dating of 1398 is untenable since Philippe D'Alençon, whom she proposes commissioned the work, died in the preceding year.

death.[53] These musicians also seem to have been chiefly canons and singers associated with Padua and then Vicenza cathedrals, some of whom might have plausibly sung *Per quella* with the composer.

3. And Beyond: Oratory and Music in Ciconia's Padua

For the final section of this essay, I wish to illustrate the existence of hypertexts linking Ciconia's motet, *O Petre, Christi discipule* with its probable model, a short piece of oratory by Francesco Zabarella. This reading provides new evidence for a revised dating of *O Petre, Christi discipule*. On March 6, 1406, Petros Philargos of Candia entered Padua as cardinal and papal nuncio. Just as Zabarella had spoken on behalf of Paduans on earlier occasions, including the recent surrender of Padua into Venetian hands, he once again stood before his fellow citizens to welcome Philargos, a *de facto* Venetian.[54] Charged with this onerous duty, Zabarella fears that in such a short address he might not be able to describe the "inestimable loftiness" and "incomparable character" of the addressee. He bids his audience to recognise Philargos' angelic countenance, for as a papal nuncio he might rightly be called in Greek an *angelos* (*aggelos*) or messenger. Zabarella then compares Philargos to the Apostle Peter: Just as the Redeemer had sent out St Peter, the first of the apostles, to convert and to save the Gentiles, so Pope Innocent VII (1404-1406) sends out his Peter, the foremost of his cardinals, to protect the faithful.[55] Philargos, as an apostolic messenger of the pope, was effectively an *alter Petrus*.

Sicuti vero in **ecclesie primordiis redemptor noster Petrum apostolorum principem** misit **ad convertendas et salvandas gentes**, sic et nunc in ipsius ecclesie successoribus variis ipsius nostri redemptoris vicarius dominus noster summus pontifex **te alterum Petrum summum inter sacrosancte Romane ecclesie cardinales** tanquam angelum nuncium et legatum fecit in has et in alias plurimas regiones ad catholicos heu nimium iam labentes instituendos et conservandos in fide. Nos itaque pars populi tibi crediti **salutem** nostram commendamus tue clementie

53. See Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale italiana, 2008); and "Some Singers of Polyphony in Padua and Vicenza around Pietro Emiliani and Francesco Malipiero", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VIII. Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo 1959-2009*, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 287-303.

54. Zabarella's oration is critically edited and published in Thomas E. Morrissey, "Peter of Candia at Padua and Venice in March 1406", in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, S.J.*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 96, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 155-73, at 169-73.

55. Innocent VII (Cosimo Migliorati) is not named in Zabarella's speech.

dicentes cum egiptiis ad Ioseph illud quod est in genesi '**salus nostra** in manu tua est', simul et allud Maronis in xii 'in te suprema **salus**'.[56]

Besides a passing reference to his fluency in Greek in the *angelos-nuncio* conceit, Zabarella acknowledges Philargos' character and learning by first quoting a passage from the Book of Genesis in which the Israelites in Egypt acknowledge that their salvation lies in Joseph's hands. He finishes with a quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* (XII, 653) in which Saces, wounded by an arrow in the face and rushing forth into the fray on a foaming horse, turns to Turnus and states "Our last hope is in you". Yet, that Zabarella truncates the quote from Virgil, which continues "have mercy on your people", and that Turnus was the tragic leader of the indigenous Latins whom Aeneas kills in the final battle, offers a potential hypertext to recent events. Just as Turnus' life had to be sacrificed so that Rome one day might be great, Zabarella seems to intimate that Philargos' sacrifice, perhaps in terms of service to the church, might similarly restore the greatness of a fragmented, schismatic church. Certainly, such matters must have been weighing heavily on Zabarella's mind at this time when he was writing his influential manifesto for ending the Great Schism, *De schismate.*

Zabarella rounds out his address by expressing his "joys" at the arrival of Philargos. He uses the plural *gaudia* perhaps to express the collective emotion of Padua's citizens. Zabarella asks what scholar or student has not heard Philargos' most distinguish name intoned (*insonuerit*) in schools, or how Philargos left teaching to take on the burden of advising princes in public matters of government, and now was the most outstanding beacon for his brother cardinals. Zabarella ends apologetically by noting that if his lords and fellow clerks and citizens seem more subdued than they should be at Filargo's "most pleasing arrival" (*iocundissima adventu*) it is because they are awed by Philargos' lofty character, and that he nonetheless should hold them in good stead. Again, a subtext pervades Zabarella's statement: Padua had been roundly defeated by the Venetians only months before, and its citizens were still coming to terms with their new Venetian lords.[57] All ranks of Padua would have been wearied by the events of the previous year. The siege of Padua, an outbreak of the plague, the near collapse of their university and the failure of their former lord, in whom they had invested so much of their identity and who had contributed substantially to art, culture and learning in ways that would never be seen again, had left them collectively traumatised.

56. Morrissey, "Peter of Candia", 170-1.

57. See Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318-1405* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Pointedly, Zabarella acknowledges the diverse nature of his audience that includes citizens of Padua and officials appointed or sent by Padua's new Venetian overlords. He also alludes to the different intellectual strata in the audience, including the addressee Philargos, by employing Biblical and classical references. The Biblical quote is uncomplicated in inviting a comparison between Paduans and the exiled Israelites, and Philargos and Joseph. This quote and its meaning would have appealed to a wide and not necessarily learned audience. Yet, Zabarella's quote from Virgil has a sting in the tail for anyone who knows their *Aeneid* sufficiently well enough to recognise Zabarella's allusion to the sense of impending doom among Paduans, the uncertainty of their livelihoods and station that might disappear in an instant if the Venetians decided to proceed down a more pernicious path of reprisals and aggrandisement of their patriciate.

Zabarella's speech and Ciconia's motet contain sufficient parallels to conclude that they operate hypertextually, and that they therefore must have been heard on the very same occasion. Several dates and associations have been proposed for *O Petre*. Ciconia's first biographer, Suzanne Clercx, held that it celebrated the inauguration of Benedict XIII.[58] Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark proposed that it was instead a votive piece for St Peter that also honoured Pietro Marcello, bishop of Padua, 1409-1428.[59] Robert Nosow, Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas then proposed that it instead referenced Pietro Philargos (but only after he had been elected Alexander V at Pisa in 1409), a protector of bishop Peter (again Pietro Marcello), and St Peter.[60] Next, Bent proposed that since Marcello was appointed by the Roman pope, the text referenced St Peter, Philargos *and* Pietro Emiliani, whom Philargos appointed Bishop of Vicenza shortly after becoming pope in 1409.[61]

58. Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps (vers 1335-1411)*, Académie Royale de Belgique: Classe de Beaux-Arts: Memoires X (Brussels: Palais des Academies, 1960), vol. 1, 88.

59. Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, 209.

60. Robert Michael Nosow, "The Florid and Equal-Discantus Motet Styles of Fifteenth-Century Italy" (PhD diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992), 191-4; Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417)", in *Collectanea I*, Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta 3, ed. Adalbert Roth (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 7-74, at 33, note 63.

61. Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets", in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 5-43, at 25. I warmly thank Margaret Bent for sharing (private communication, February 16, 2016) her thoughts and draft writings on my revival of her "two Peters" reading of *O Petre* and my new dating based upon evidence presented here, first outlined in my blog post "Ciconia's motet for Pietro Filargos" on *Jason Stoessel's Research Blog*, posted August 12, 2015 (https://jjstoessel.blog/, last accessed January 27, 2021).

A close reading of the motet's text reveals some of its pitfalls (see Example 8). The first quatrain beseeches St Peter to pray for another Peter, who is described as a *presul*. Ciconia's text editor and translator, Holford-Strevens,[62] and others before him have understandably translated *presul* as "bishop". Yet the generic Latin term can indicate a number of elevated positions within the medieval church including bishops, archbishops, abbots and cardinals.[63] Referring to Philargos as "our prelate" is completely apt for a cardinal-nuncio and politic for a *de facto* representative of Padua's new masters in Venice.

O Petre, Christi discipule,	O Peter, Christ's disciple,
prime pastor ecclesie,	shepherd of the *early* church,
funde preces quotidie	pour forth *daily* prayers
pro Petro nostro presule.	for Peter our *prelate*.
O princeps apostolice,	O prince of the apostles,
turbe Cephas dominice,	Cephas (= Peter, rock) of the Lord's multitude,
pastorem nostrum dirige,	guide our shepherd,
quem omni malo protege.	protect him from all ill.
Da sit in cunttis providus,	Grant that he be foresighted in all things,
corpus et mentem candidus,	*pure* in body and mind,
omni virtute splendidus,	resplendent in every virtue,
in bono semper fervidus.	ever eager in what is good.
O Christi ductor ouium,	O leader of Christ's *flock*,
perempne presta gaudium;	grant eternal joy;
pastorem, clerum, populum	save thy shepherd, clergy, and people
salva per omne seculum.	throughout all ages.

Example 8. Text and translation of *O Petre, Christi discipule*, ed. and trans. Holford-Strevens[64] with minor changes to translation (indicated by italicised text)

The second verse exhorts St Peter, "the prince of the apostles", to guide "our shepherd", a term that need only mean any ecclesiastic charged with the spiritual guidance of their flock, used interchangeably to refer to parish priests, bishops and popes. It seems fair to accept the existing proposal that "candidus" in the third verse served as a reference to the origin of Philargos

62. Leofranc Holford-Strevens,"The Latin Poetry of Johannes Ciconia and 'Guilhermus'", in *"Qui musicam in se habet": Essays in Honor of Alejandro Planchart*, ed. Stanley Boorman and Anna Zayaruznaya (Middleton, CT: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 437-69.

63. See Charles Dufresne Du Cange, s.v. "Praesul", in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinatis*, Vol. 6 (Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887), col. 473b.

64. Holford-Strevens, "The Latin Poetry", 452.

from the island of Candia, otherwise known as Crete.[65] The fourth verse continues to implore St Peter, not another Peter, to look over his servants and congregation. The motet text is concerned with not three Peters, but only two: Saint Peter and another Peter, a prelate of the church. No one else is named.

The parallels between Zabarella's address and Ciconia's motet are clear. Zabarella calls St Peter "the prince of the apostles" in the "primordial church", and Philargos "foremost among the cardinals of the sacrosanct church of Rome". These turns of phrase are modified for the octosyllabic verse of *O Petre, Christi discipule*: St Peter is the "apostolic prince", "shepherd of the early church" and "leader of Christ's flock"; Philargos becomes "Peter our prelate", and "our shepherd". There is a similar conceit of Greek and Latin: Ciconia replaces Zabarella's *angelus/nuncio* pun with the biblical pun on Peter's Greek name, Cephas (*John* 1.42). Just as Zabarella expressed his "joys", the final quatrain of *O Petre* also bids St Peter to grant eternal joy to Philargos. Zabarella's references to salvation, punctuated by quotes from the Book of Genesis and Virgil, are similarly emphasised by the final line of Ciconia's motet, although St Peter, not Philargos, is the agent of salvation. Indeed, there is a subtle shift in emphasis between Zabarella's encomium and Ciconia's sung prayer. Whereas Zabarella portrays Philargos as an "angelus" of lofty and impeccable character, Ciconia is more modest in beseeching that Saint Peter pray for and guide their Peter, cardinal and papal nuncio. Finally, while Zabarella makes an oblique reference to Pope Innocent VII without naming him, it is difficult to discern any reference to a pope in Ciconia's text. Rather, Ciconia's prayerful text is addressed to St Peter on Philargos' behalf.

Holford-Strevens remarks that *O Petre* is more accomplished in its Latin versification than the texts in which Ciconia names himself, of which he was more than likely the author.[66] This raises the possibility that Zabarella himself might have penned the text of *O Petre* to complement his speech. It is amply clear that Zabarella's speech and the votive motet by Ciconia mark a notable but as to now neglected event in the history of Padua that brought together two of the most prominent early humanists from the post-Petrarch generation. Moreover, both men loved music and patronised leading composer-musicians of their day. Whether Ciconia had the opportunity to meet Philargos' singer, Matteo da Perugia, is unclear. March 1406 falls in the first period when Matteo is securely documented at Milan cathedral.[67] If Ciconia

65. Nosow, "The Florid and Equal-Discantus Motet Styles", 192-4; Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 25.

66. Holford-Strevens, "The Latin Poetry", 451-2.

67. See Fabio Fano and Gaetano Cesari, *La capella musicale del duomo di Milano: Le origini e il primo maestro di capella: Matteo da Perugia* (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

had met Matteo, no musical evidence of this encounter survives unless musicologists have gravely misunderstood the nature of the outer gatherings of ModA that contain Matteo's complete works.[68]

Plausibly, Ciconia's motet could have been recycled to honour Bishops Marcello or Emiliani, especially since it occurs in Q15, which was started in the vicinity of the second Venetian bishop of Padua and possibly finished in Vicenza. Yet, in the context of its newly proposed origin alongside Zabarella's speech, *O Petre* represents a subtle reaching out from one humanist to another. Philargos could have scarcely been insensitive to this gesture, and indeed his welcome to Padua may represent one of the key moments in cementing a friendship and mutual respect between these two great minds. Although Zabarella paints a graver picture of Padua's circumstances to his fellow humanists of Padua, both he and Ciconia appeal to Filargo's character for support. This gesture was to prove beneficial for Zabarella in the years after his disputed and subsequently denied election by the cathedral chapter as bishop of Padua. Philargos, now Pope Alexander V, and his right-hand man Baldassarre Cossa, intervened so as to preserve Zabarella's reputation with a compromise that eventually resulted in Zabarella's departure from the Venetian sphere of influence as he embarked on the final phase of his distinguished career as a cardinal fully committed to healing the fractured church.

4. Conclusions

Through the lenses of text, image and culture, I have attempted to demonstrate Ciconia's place in early fifteenth-century Padua. His complicity in a vernacular literary culture is passive in the sense that he set texts by poets like Brocardo and Giustinian, but active in the ways that he responded to these texts in his musical settings. What might be inferred from his choice of texts is that Ciconia understood how his poets were part of a nexus of style, convention and allusion that looked to figures like Petrarch, whose legacy remained central to Paduan literary culture. While some of these songs, like *Con lagreme*, touch upon broader issues of politics of state, Ciconia also endorses a type of cultural politics with the texts that he chooses. A gauge of his sensitivity to these politics might be measured posthumously: the poets he set

68. Further support for the dating of the outer gatherings of ModA and Parma75 to the 1420s appears in Anne Stone, "Lombard Patronage at the End of the Ars Nova: A Preliminary Panorama", in *The End of the Ars Nova in Italy: The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertoires*, La Tradizione Musicale 21, ed. Antonio Calvia, Stefano Campagnolo, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti and John Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020), 217-52.

enjoyed long careers and afterlives in the Veneto, even after his music had been forgotten.

Ciconia's versatility as a participant in the social politics of early fifteenth-century Italy, like Zabarella, is best exemplified by the way that he was able to shift effortlessly as a composer who produced music to do the political work of first the Carrara then Venice, while also negotiating the shifting sands of factional loyalties during the Great Schism. His sensitivity to the special breed of humanism at Padua possibly lies behind the transformation of his musical style in his ceremonial motets and in several of the remarkable polyphonic song settings from this period. Adaptability might indeed be the story of Ciconia's life: there is a world of difference between the musical quotations in his *Sus une fontayne* and the more rhetorical approaches to musical composition in his other songs, including *Per quella*, especially settings of Giustinian's lyric poetry that are replete with musical repetition. This textual and melodic repetition is not symptomatic of a type of musical popularism, but enacts musically humanists' interest in classically inspired, rhetorical modes of expression. The pairing of his *O Petre, Christi discipule* and other motets with Zabarella's ceremonial speeches delivered at Padua and Venice, as well as his obsessive self-naming in motet texts probably penned by his own hand,[69] situates Ciconia within the early humanist culture of Padua where public expression of civic values was highly valued. Ciconia collaborated with Zabarella but was also inspired by the more accomplished oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio. Far removed from the courtly allusions of *Sus une fontayne* and even *Per quella*, but closer to the expressiveness of the vernacular poetry of Brocardo and Giustinian, Ciconia found his own place among these new men, participating in his own way in their exploration of new modes of expression, in which intertexts, paratexts and hypertexts nonetheless assumed an even greater importance under the pressure of the distant past so admired by these men.

69. Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy", 118-26.

ABSTRACT

This essay examines the interplay of text, image and music in early fifteenth-century Padua for selected songs and a motet of Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370-1412). An analysis of the texts that Ciconia set to music late in his career reveals the ongoing influence of leading humanist, Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) on subsequent poets active at Padua, particularly for Domizio Brocardo (ca. 1380 - ca. 1457) and Leonardo Giustinian (ca. 1384? - ca. 1446). It also affords several opportunities for affirming or questioning attributions of poetic texts set by Ciconia. More broadly, politically motivated literature and related imagery around the court of the Carrara family in Padua provide further historical insights into the heraldic texts *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada lactea*. The final section draws the reader's attention to a hitherto neglected historical event in early fifteenth-century Padua and proposes a new, earlier dating for Ciconia's votive motet *O Petre, Christi discipule*. Together, these pieces of evidence further point to Ciconia's participation in, and contribution to, early humanist culture at Padua.

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