

Music and university culture in late fourteenth-century Pavia

The manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1

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In 1359, Pavia was conquered by the ruler of Milan, Galeazzo II Visconti, whose goal was to make the city not only the seat of his duchy, but also its cultural capital.¹ In 1360 the duke began the construction of a rich and comfortable castle, where he and his court moved in 1366. Life at the Visconti's new residence became famous for its elegance and cultural appeal, especially later under the rule of Galeazzo's son, Giangaleazzo (1385-1402). The court was joined from time to time by Galeazzo's advisor and long-term friend, Francesco Petrararch.² The visit of Eustache Deschamps to the castle around 1390 imparted to the poet a long-lasting sense of comfort and pleasure (material and intellectual), that he expressed in verse: "Il fait très beau démourer / en doulz chastel de Pavie" (It is so nice to live / in the sweet castle of Pavia).³ Galeazzo also started a book collection under the direction of Petrararch that would grow during his son's rule and become one of the glories of the family.⁴

The second step in creating a cultural capital was the founding of a new university, intended to provide the state with a prestigious school dedicated mainly to the study of law, but also open to philosophy, medicine and the liberal arts. In 1361 the university received the official approval of the emperor Charles IV (*diploma*).⁵

The new *Studium generale* enriched an expanding landscape of European universities. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the only active *studia* were Paris, Bologna, Oxford, Salamanca, and Padua, founded in 1222. The fourteenth century saw the creation of many new schools—some thirty-two between 1300 and 1425, among

1. E. R. Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue. Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965), pp. 36-7.
2. Carlo Magenta, *I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia* (Milan: Hoepli, 1883), vol. I, pp. 108-17.
3. Reinhard Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia," in: *In Cantu et in Sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday*, eds. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno, *Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 2 (Florence: Olschki - University of W. Australia Press, 1990), pp. 65-74, at p. 71.
4. The collection is described in Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti and des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XV^e siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1955 and 1969).
5. On the history of the university see Pietro Vaccari, *Storia della Università di Pavia*, 2nd ed. (Pavia: Università di Pavia, 1957).

them Cambridge (1318), Prague (1348), Vienna (1365), Florence and Cracow (1364), with Cologne, Leipzig and Heidelberg between 1385 and 1409.

In the medieval organization of knowledge, music was one of the seven liberal arts, the study of which was preliminary to the higher faculties of law, medicine and theology.⁶ Together with arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, it was part of the mathematical disciplines of the *quadrivium*, a group of subjects also described as *Philosophia naturalis*.⁷ As an academic subject, music had a strong speculative component, but it was often classified as a *scientia media*, an art intermediate between the physicality of its object of investigation (the musical sound) and the mathematical principles that can be applied to such an object.⁸ Moreover, the proximity of many universities to musical institutions (courts or cathedrals) poses the problem of the relationship among theory and daily performance.⁹ In this case, the issue seems particularly significant, given the direct Visconti patronage of the newly founded university.

The *Studium generale* of Pavia was organized around two main institutions: the *Universitas Scolarium Utriusque Iuris* (Law School) and the *Universitas Artium et Medicinæ* (University of Arts and Medicine). This combination of the arts and medicine is typical of Italian universities such as Bologna and Padua—whereas Paris had separate faculties—and goes back to the Greek tradition of medicine as an art, espoused by Galen himself.¹⁰

The first years of the school in Pavia were difficult, due to poor economic conditions in the city after the conquest and the lack of lodging for the students. From the

6. On the place of liberal arts in medieval universities see Craig Wright, "Introduction" to "La musica nella storia delle università," in: *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia. Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale. I, Round Tables*, eds. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi, F. Alberto Gallo (Turin: EdT, 1990), pp. 27-29; André Van Belle, "La faculté des Arts de Louvain: quelques aspects de son organisation au XV^e siècle," in: *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Jozef Ijsewijn and Jacques Paquet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), pp. 42-48.
7. In Paris, the teaching of the arts comprised a broad spectrum of subjects under the three philosophies: rational, natural and moral. Rational philosophy corresponded to the disciplines of the *trivium*, natural philosophy to the *quadrivium* (with specific reference to Boethius's *De Musica* as one of the textbooks), while moral philosophy required the reading of "libri morales" such as Aristotle's *Ethics*. See Pearl Kibre, "Arts and Medicine in the Universities of the Later Middle Ages," in: *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 213-227.
8. On the concept of music as *scientia media* see Elzbieta Witkowska-Zaremba. "Music between *Quadrivium* and *Ars Canendi*: *Musica speculativa* by Johannes de Muris and its Reception in Central and East-Central Europe," in: *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting Pecs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990*, eds. Laszlo Dobszay, Agnes Papp and Ferenc Sebo, (Budapest: 1992), pp. 119-26; Max Haas, "Musik zwischen Mathematik und Physik: Zur Bedeutung der Notation in den *Notitia artis musicae* des Johannes de Muris (1321)," in: *Festschrift für Arno Volk*, eds. Carl Dahlhaus and Hans Oesch, (Köln: Gerig, 1974), pp. 31-46.
9. Wright, "Introduction."
10. Kibre, "Arts and Medicine in the Universities of the Later Middle Ages." Paris had four faculties: Arts, Theology, Law and Medicine, and the faculty of Arts was preliminary to the others.

time of its foundation onwards, Galeazzo had ordered all the students of his territories to attend only the newly created *Studium*, an order reiterated by his son in 1387.¹¹

This situation clearly improved during Giangaleazzo's rule. The *Studium* was officially approved by the Church with three bulls of Pope Boniface IX in 1389, thus becoming an attractive school for the study of theology. The last decade of the fourteenth century saw a rise in prestige of the university and the need for a more definitive organization. The first regulations (*Statuti*) of the two Faculties do indeed date from 1395; they were later expanded in 1409, after another difficult moment in the history of the *Studium*, its relocation to Piacenza from 1398 to 1402, due to an outburst of plague. Because the 1395 *Statuti* of the School of Arts and Medicine are now lost, those of 1409 are the earliest available. The section *Statutum de promotionibus scolarium et examina* (Rules for assessing students and examinations) gives the procedure for the *licentia*, the first academic degree.¹² The students could obtain a *licentia* in arts by attending lectures for three years and passing a final examination either in one of the seven liberal arts, or in all of them.

*Item staturunt, quod Sclaris quilibet promovendum ad examen, sive in Medicina, sive in Artibus, antequam presentetur Cancellario, vel Vice-Cancellario Studii papiensis, presentetur prius per suos Promotores Priori Collegii, in cuius manibus iurent Promotores sui, se examinasse promovendum et in conscientia sua habere eum pro sufficienti ad subeundum examen in scientia in qua vult examinari. [...]. Si vero in Artibus examinari voluerit, sive in una tantum de Liberalibus septem, sive in Dialectica et Naturali Philosophia simul, teneatur fidem facere Priori modo prescripto, se audivisse illam Artem in qua voluerit examinare, tribus annis in Studio generali, intrando et continuando ut supra. Item respondisse de una generale questione et collatione? in dicta Arte. Item legisse in illa Arte de aliquo Libro famoso in illa facultate decem lectiones ut supra; et nisi hoc fecerit, presentari non possit domino Cancellario, seu Vice Cancellario.*¹³

It was decided that the students who wanted to be admitted to the [final] examination, either in Medicine or in the Arts, must first be presented to the Chancellor or the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pavia, and they must also be presented by their sponsors to the Prior of the College; at his hands [of the Prior] the sponsors must swear that [the students] can be admitted to the examination and that the sponsors truly think that the [students] are sufficiently [prepared] to undergo the examination in the science in which they want to be examined. [...] If you indeed want to be examined in

11. Vaccari, *Storia della Università di Pavia*, pp. 15-21.

12. Two academic degrees (*licentia* and *doctoratum*) are mentioned in the regulations of the Faculty of Law from 1395. Because the 1409 *Statuti* of Arts and Medicine do not mention specific academic degrees, we can only assume that the two Faculties were organized in a similar way. See "Statuti del Collegio dei Dottori in entrambe le leggi (anno 1395)" and "Statuti del Collegio dei Dottori in Arti e Medicina (anno 1409)", in: *Statuti e ordinamenti della Università di Pavia dall'anno 1361 all'anno 1859* (Pavia: Tipografia cooperativa, 1925), pp. 93-118 and pp. 119-43.

13. "Statuti del Collegio dei Dottori in Arti e Medicina (anno 1409). Statutum de promotionibus scolarium et examina," in: *Statuti e ordinamenti della Università di Pavia*, pp. 124-5. The three years of studies required imply that the degree in question is a *licentia*.

the arts, either in only one of the seven liberal [arts], or in dialectic and natural philosophy at the same time [i.e. in all the arts], it is necessary to approach the Prior in the prescribed way; for three years you must hear at the university the Art in which you want to be examined, starting and continuing as noted above [i.e. continuing to hear lectures and participating in discussions]. Then you must answer a general question in the aforementioned art and [discuss it?]. Then you must read ten lectures in that art from a famous book in that faculty as noted above; and if you do not do that, you cannot be presented to the Chancellor, or the vice-Chancellor.

This raises the issue of how much time was devoted to music teaching, and consequently how advanced and specialized such teaching could have been. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most surviving regulations at German universities called for the reading of music for a short period of time, between three weeks and a month. The University of Vienna required a doctoral candidate in medicine to hear only sixteen lectures in music over four weeks. The *Statuti* of Prague (1390) and Leipzig (1409-1410) call for a similar time-frame to be spent on music teaching—from a minimum of three to a maximum of four weeks.¹⁴ The Pavia *Statuti* do not give any specific information about the issue, but the possibility of graduating in one specific art suggests that a more extended curriculum in music was available to the students.

The surviving lists of lecturers at Pavia do not mention a specific chair in music, but this is not particularly surprising, given the lack of specialization typical of medieval culture. Although the first chair of music was founded in Salamanca as early as 1254, Italy did not have one until 1450 (Bologna).¹⁵ We can infer that music was taught in close connection to mathematics, as it was in prestigious institutions like Paris and Padua. In Paris, Johannes de Muris taught music theory along with mathematics and astronomy. At Padua, Marchetto was praised as “doctissimus philosophus, simul et musicus”. Prosdocimo de Beldemandis had received a doctorate both in arts and in medicine from Padua, where he then became professor of music and astronomy.¹⁶ At Pavia, music courses could have been assigned to teachers hired under the title of lecturer of natural philosophy, philosophy or “artes mathematicas”, as for example in the case of Arismino Corti (1388-1395, natural philosophy), Masino Codronchi (1390-91, natural philosophy) or Pietro da Sarzana (1386-87, philosophy and astrology).¹⁷ Given the proximity between the liberal arts and medicine, we cannot dismiss the possibility that lecturers in medicine could teach courses

14. See Gerhard Pietzsch, *Zur Pflege der Musik an den Deutschen Universitäten bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim-New York: Olms, 1971), pp. 18, 27 and 68. Other examples are Ingolstadt (3 weeks) and Erfurt (one month).
15. Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 93 and 128.
16. *Ibidem*, pp. 44 and 64-5.
17. *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia e degli uomini più illustri che v'insegnarono* (Pavia: Bizzoni, 1878), vol. I, p. 153.

in speculative music: Gianino da Sartirana was hired to lecture in medicine in 1374, in philosophy in 1375 and again in medicine the following year.¹⁸

Among late fourteenth-century teachers at Pavia, two names seem to be most likely associated with music, Pietro Filargo and Giovanni da Genova. Filargo was a Franciscan theologian, early humanist, close advisor of Giangaleazzo and later Pope Alexander V. He had studied in Oxford and Paris, and his appointment as lecturer in theology at Pavia possibly started in the 1380s.¹⁹ His musical patronage is documented in the case of Matteo da Perugia, whom Filargo sponsored for an appointment as chapel master at Milan cathedral in 1402; Matteo was in Filargo's personal service from 1407 to 1414. His protégés also included Hymbertus de Salins, Ciconia and possibly Zacara da Teramo. Filargo might have commissioned the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α .M.5.24, whose repertory shows strong ties to the Visconti court.²⁰ His familiarity with speculative music is also attested by the text of a sequence he composed in which he mentions the Greek names of the musical intervals, and the Pythagorean-Platonic theory of earthly music as a reflection of the harmony of the spheres.²¹

Giovanni da Genova (or Johannes de Janua) received his degree in arts at Pavia in 1383 and in 1387 was listed as a lecturer in logic.²² As Stone has suggested, he could

18. *Ibidem*, p. 99.

19. On Filargo see Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α .M.5.24. Commentary* (Lucca: LIM, 2005), pp. 83-90. The beginning of his teaching in Pavia is quite controversial. According to the list of teachers given in *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia* (vol. I, p. 185) he started in 1370, but this date seems too early, given his graduation from Paris in 1381. Vaccari states that Filargo taught at Pavia between 1383 and 1391 (Vaccari, *Storia della Università di Pavia*, p. 25). As mentioned by Stone, he is first documented in Pavia in 1385 as a witness to an academic degree.

20. Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, pp. 87-88.

21. "Ex quibus producitur sonus iubilantis:
Tonus, hemitonium maius atque minus,
Diesis, apotomen sonus nunquam binus,
Diapente thessaron et octavus sinus
Nomine diapason multiplex ut pinus.
Numeris imparibus, paribus et planis
Dicunt quidam melicas voces in humanis
Caeli nasci carmine pulsibus arcanis,
Unde cantus promitur hilaris in fanis."
"The sound of one rejoicing is produced by
The tone, the major and minor semitone,
The diesis, the apotome, a sound never double,
The diapente, diatessaron, and the eighth inflection [i.e. interval]
By the name of diapason, multiple like a pine-cone.
In odd, even and plain numbers
Some say that melodious voices are born in human beings
From the song of heaven by secret pulses,
Whence cheerful song is uttered in churches."
Latin text and translation in Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, p. 89. My translation differs at vv. 1, 4 and 5.

22. *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia*, p. 147.

be the composer represented with two works in Modena $\alpha.M.5.24$.²³ This hypothetical identification raises the problem of whether a graduate in arts and teacher of logic could also be a gifted composer, and how the practice of music could be part of the profile of an educated intellectual. The documentary evidence is silent on Giovanni's musical interest, but the small number of his surviving works suggests a non-professional musical activity, done on the side of a full-time academic career.

We do not know if Pietro Filargo or Giovanni da Genova ever taught music classes—their official academic title does not reveal any association with natural philosophy or liberal arts lectures—but their cultural background and interests make them likely candidates to have done so. Another figure with musical associations—although much weaker—is Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio (1330-1388), a poet, physician and astrologer, who was professor of medicine in Pavia from 1380 onward.²⁴ Musical settings survive for two of his texts, *Omay çascun se doglia* and *La sacrosanta carità d'amore*, with music by Bartolino da Padova.

Among students, an *alumnus* of Pavia was the Viennese Hermannus Poll. He studied in the city during the 1390s and was remembered after his death in 1401 as a doctor of medicine, master of arts and excellent musician on the organ and other instruments, and most notably, as the inventor of the harpsichord.²⁵ Even more telling is the presence of Giorgio Anselmi (before 1386-ca 1430-3) as a student in Pavia. Anselmi was born to a noble family in Parma, which was under Visconti rule from 1385 to 1404. During this time Giangaleazzo temporarily closed the *Studium parmense* and forced students to attend classes at Pavia.²⁶ After having graduated, probably around 1400, Anselmi practiced medicine in Ferrara and Parma and wrote works on astronomy, astrology and a treatise on music.

Anselmi's teacher was probably Biagio Pelacani da Parma, one of the most important Italian philosophers in the transition from scholasticism to humanism.²⁷ Pelacani also taught in Bologna, Florence and Padua; among his disciples in Padua were Prodocimo de Beldemandis and Giovanni Gherardi da Prato. In his *Paradiso degli Alberti* (a novel set in 1389 that recounts the musical pastimes and philosophical disputes of a group of high-class Florentines in the Alberti's villa in the Tuscan countryside), Gherardi describes his studies in Padua, depicting his teacher Pelacani as a mathematician and

23. Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, pp. 80-1.

24. Vaccari, *Storia della Università di Pavia*, pp. 25-6.

25. Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993³), pp. 92-3.

26. *Georgii Anselmi Parmensis De Musica Introduzione, testo e commento a cura di Giuseppe Massera* (Florence: Olschki, 1961), pp. 10-2.

27. On Pelacani see Graziella Federici Vescovini, *Astrologia e Scienza. La crisi dell'aristotelismo sul cadere del Trecento e Biagio Pelacani da Parma* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1979).

theologian, learned in natural and moral philosophy.²⁸ Biagio da Parma is also one of the participants of the refined entertainments at the villa, as are the humanist Coluccio Salutati and the composer Francesco Landini, whose musical performances accompany many moments of the narrative. Gherardi's description of this music largely highlights an overall sweetness of the playing and/or of the musical composition, along with the ecstatic pleasure of the listeners.²⁹

When writing about Landini's musical talents, however, Gherardi switches to a quite different intellectual level:

[...] [era] musico teorico e pratico, mirabil cosa a ridire: il quale cieco quasi a natività si mostrò di tanto intelletto divino, che in ogni parte più astratta mirava le sottilissime proporzioni de' suoi musicabili numeri, e quelle con tanta dolcezza col suo organo praticava ch'è cosa non credibile pure a udilla. E non istante questo elli con ogni artista e filosofo ciò disputando non tanto della sua musica, ma in tutte l'arti liberali, perché di tutte quelle in buona parte erudito si n'era.³⁰

[...] [he was] a speculative and practical musician, a wonderful thing: blind almost from birth, he showed such a divine intellect, **that he considered the most abstract features of the very subtle proportions of his musical numbers, and he put them into practice on his organ with great sweetness, something not to be believed even if heard.** And despite all that, he could discuss, not only his music, but rather all the liberal arts with every artist and philosopher, because he was learned in a great part of all of them [arts].

In this description, the effect of sweetness is directly related to its cause, the use of consonances based on simple mathematical proportions. This concept, ultimately derived from Pythagorean teaching transmitted to medieval music theory via Boethius, is clearly stated, for example, in Marchetto's *Lucidarium*:

[...] hoc dicebat Boetius: Sicut non sufficit in visu conspici colores et formas nisi etiam investigetur que sit eorum proprietates, sic non sufficit tantum cantilenis delectari nisi

28. "E' il maestro Biagio uomo di mirabil scienza e dottrina, come in parte di sopra udito avete, e non solamente in filosofia naturale e morale, ma in ogni parte di matematica arguto dimostrativo e più ch'altro reale, e sofista secondo che la astuzia nell'argumentazioni richiede. Oltre a questo è sommo teologo, di memoria tenacissima e grande, ch'è maraviglia a pensalla." Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti, ritrovi e ragionamenti del 1389*, ed. Alessandro Wesselofsky, Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XIX, 86-88 (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1867), vol. III, pp. 18-9.
29. A good example is the performance described on p. 11: "Posto a sedere i valenti uomini, Francesco, che lietissimo era, chiese il suo organetto e cominciò sì dolcemente a sonare suoi amorosi canti, che nessuno quivi si era che per dolcezza della dolcissima ermonia nolli paresse, che 'l cuore per soprabondante letizia del petto uscire gli volese." (Having seated the valorous men, Francesco, who was very happy, asked for his organ and started to play his amorous songs with such sweetness that there was nobody who— because of the sweetness of the very sweet harmony—did not feel his heart coming out of his breast, due to the overwhelming happiness.) See Gherardi da Parato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, vol. III, p. 11.
30. Gherardi da Parato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, vol. III, pp. 3-4. The emphasis is mine.

etiam investigetur qualiter proportiones vocum inter se disiuncte sint. Iudicium igitur et proprietas musice est ratio numerorum, que in ipsa cuncta dispensat et quasi domina imperat [...]

[...] For this reason Boethius said: “Just as it does not suffice, where sight is concerned, for colors and forms to be perceived unless the nature of their properties is also investigated, so it does not suffice to enjoy songs unless likewise the various proportions among their notes are investigated.” The judgment, then, and property of music [lie in] the relation of numbers, which governs everything in it and rules it like a mistress [...]”³¹

Did Gherardi learn this speculative approach to music from his teacher Pelacani? References to music are not very frequent in Pelacani’s work, and the *Quaestiones de Musica* preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 7372—once attributed to him—are most likely not authentic.³² However, in his *Iudicium*, a horoscope for the year 1386 written in Pavia, music is described as the second of the liberal arts in order of importance, preceded only by astrology.³³ As a mathematician and expert in natural philosophy, Pelacani could have very well taught classes on music at the *Studium papiense*, where he returned in 1389, after a year in Florence, “ad legendum artes mathematicas et utramque philosophiam”.³⁴

This speculative approach to music, typical of academic teaching, is evident in the organization of Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1, a collection of fourteenth-century music treatises. The codex was acquired by the library in 1955, having been in private hands in Vienna during the nineteenth century.³⁵ The following table summarizes the structure of the manuscript, with the most significant and longest treatises in bold.

31. Marchetto da Padova, *Lucidarium*, chapter 4.4 and 4.5. Text and translation in Jan W. Herlinger, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua. A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press), pp. 82-85.
32. The *Questiones* and their attribution are discussed in Cecilia Panti, “Una fonte della ‘Declaratio Musicae Discipline’ di Ugolino da Orvieto: Quattro anonime questiones della tarda scolastica,” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 24/1 (1989), pp. 3-47.
33. Federici Vescovini, *Astrologia e Scienza*, p. 54.
34. *Ibidem*, p. 33.
35. Kurt von Fischer, “Eine wiederaufgefundene Theoretikerhandschrift des späten 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1972), pp. 23-33. See also RISM B IV/4, pp. 1169-70, RISM B III/4, pp. 152-5 and RISM B III/6, p. 725.

gathering 1 (8 bifolios)		first folio cut out
	ff. 1-6v	Johannes de Muris, <i>Notitia artis musicae</i> in the version attributed to Petrus de Sancto Dionisio
	ff. 6v-7r	Contrapunctum Magistri Phillipoti Andree artis nove (<i>Post octavam quintam</i>)
	ff. 7v-9r	Tractatus figurarum (<i>Tractatus Magistri Phillipoti Andree Artis Nove</i>)
	f. 9v	Tabula magistri Alberti super proportionibus
	f. 10r	<i>La harpe de melodie</i> [Senleches]
	ff. 10v-15v	Marchetto da Padova, <i>Lucidarium</i>
gathering 2 (8 bifolios)	ff. 16r-31v	Marchetto da Padova, <i>Lucidarium</i> (continues)
gathering 3 (4 bifolios)	ff. 32r-32v	Marchetto da Padova, <i>Lucidarium</i> (continues)
	ff. 33r-39v	Marchetto da Padova, <i>Pomerium</i>
gathering 4 (3 bifolios)	ff. 40r-42r	Marchetto da Padova, <i>Pomerium</i> (continues) – not finished
	f. 42v	blank + 3 folios cut out
gathering 5 (8 bifolios)		2 folios cut out
	ff. 43r-49r	Johannes de Muris, <i>Libellus cantus mensurabilis</i> (<i>Tractatus venerabilis magistri Johannes de Muris qualiter in arte practica mensurabilis cantus erudiri mediocriter affectans</i>)
	ff. 49r-50r	Haec sunt regulae contrapuncti eiusdem magistri (<i>Sex sunt species speciales discantus</i>)
	ff. 50v-52v	letters and numbers in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, etc....
	ff. 52v-53r	Incipiunt optime regule contrapuncti (<i>Septem sunt species consonanciarum</i>)
	ff. 53r-56v	Philippe de Vitry (?), <i>Ars perfecta</i> (<i>Tractatus iste super musicam composuit venerabilis magister Philippus de Vitriaco</i>)
gathering 6 (3 bifolios)	f. 57r	blank
	f. 57v	letters and numbers
	ff. 57v-58v	brief explanation of mensural notation (<i>Sicut se habent brevis et longa</i>)
	f. 58v	numbers
	f. 59	blank
		3 folios cut out

The Newberry manuscript consists today of 59 folios of parchment measuring 253 x 180 mm, bound in a sixteenth-century leather binding.³⁶ A modern foliation is on the upper right margin of the pages. The codex is comprised of six gatherings, three of

36. Von Fischer, "Eine wiederaufgefundene Theoretikerhandschrift des späten 14. Jahrhunderts," p. 23. My thanks to Paul Gehl (Newberry Library) for confirming the dating of the binding.

them originally of eight bifolios, one of four and two of three. For different reasons, several folios were cut out before binding. The first page, containing the first two chapters of de Muris' *Notitia artis musicae*, was damaged while circulating unbound, or was cut because of a particularly beautiful decorated capital. Other cuts follow Marchetto's *Pomerium*, for which the scribe had planned space in the third and fourth gatherings. The copying was interrupted for unknown reasons, and the blank pages cut out. A similar trimming of unused pages happened at the end of the last gathering. The first page of the fourth gathering is marked 'iiii' on the upper right margin; thus the manuscript has maintained its original layout.

The Newberry codex is written in a small Italian gothic with some cursive elements by the same hand throughout, and equally consistent are the style and the colors (red and blue) used for the decorated capitals. The two pages containing high-quality drawings—at f. 10r there is a representation of a harp and at f. 43v the four prolations of de Muris' *Libellus* are depicted in a Gothic clerestory window (see Fig. 1 and 2)—are of similar style and utilize a characteristic brown ink. That the major treatises do not start at the beginning of a gathering demonstrates that the manuscript was produced in a single effort, and rules out an assemblage of fascicles of different provenance.

The manuscript contains two treatises by de Muris, the *Notitia artis musicae* and the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*. In the *Notitia* (1321) the knowledge of the principles of mensural notation (*Musica practica*) is introduced by a speculative section (*Musica theorica*) on the Greek theory of harmonic proportions. The *Libellus* is a later and more practically-oriented treatise, written probably around 1340, that describes the fully developed *Ars Nova* notational system. It is also one of the most popular musical works of the Middle Ages, transmitted by at least forty-seven manuscripts.³⁷ In this large *corpus*, Christian Berktold has distinguished at least two major traditions of the text—the *recensio minor* and the *recensio maior*—and established the Newberry codex as the earliest dated source of the latter. The *recensio maior* is the more frequent version of the *Libellus*, geographically limited to southern and central Europe, notably Italy.³⁸

De Muris, a music theorist, astronomer and mathematician, was considered an authority for academic teaching up to the 16th century. His *Musica speculativa* and *Aritmetica speculativa*—conceived as a didactic summary of the Boethian *De institutione*

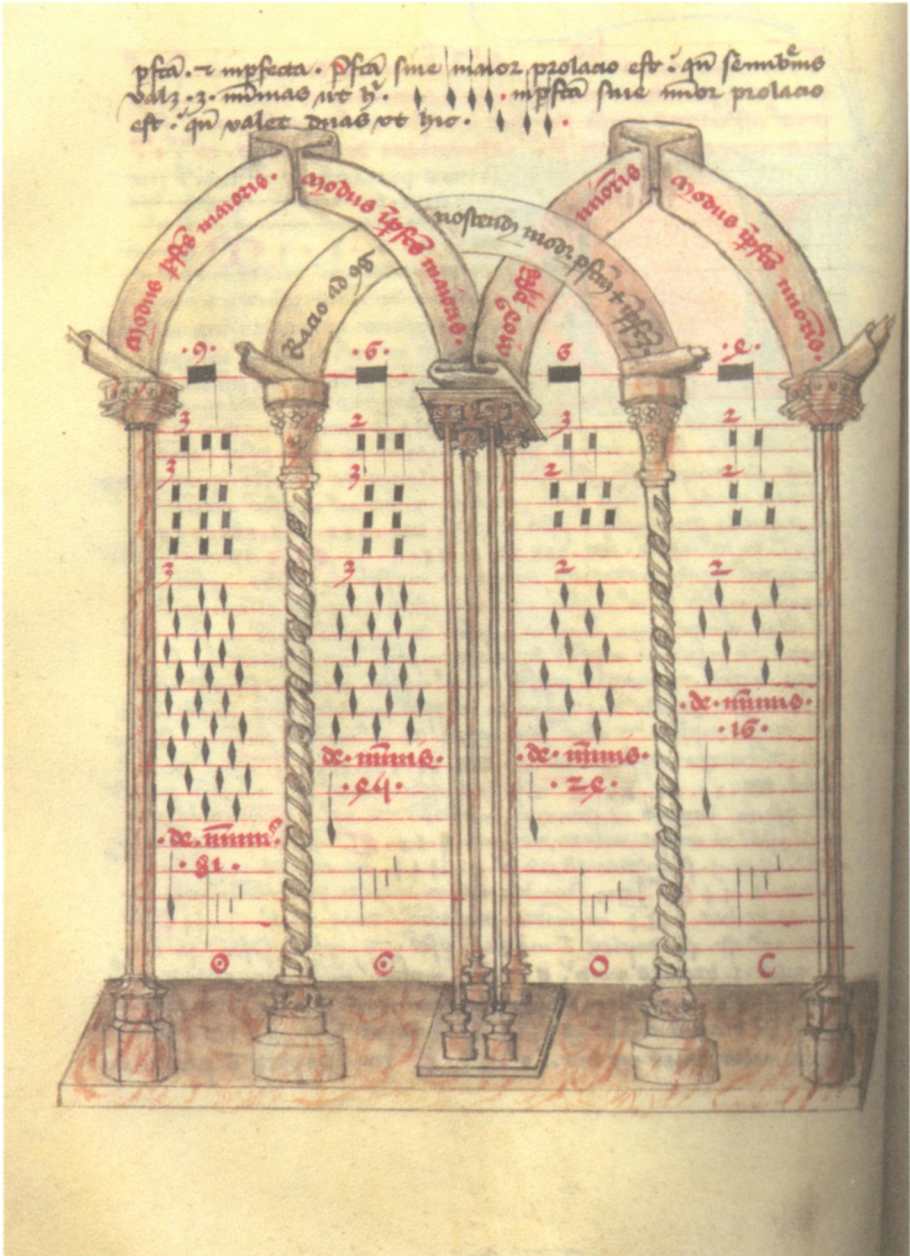
37. Ulrich Michels, *Die Musiktractate des Johannes de Muris*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 8 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970), pp. 27-29.

38. *Ars practica mensurabilis cantus secundum Iohannem de Muris. Die Recensio maior des sogenannten "Libellus practice cantus mensurabilis"*, ed. Christian Berktold, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission. Band 14 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. x and xiv.

Fig. 1: Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1, f. 10r
(Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago)



Fig. 2: Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1, f. 43v
(Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago)



musica and *De institutione aritmetica*—were often required readings in medieval and early Renaissance universities.³⁹

Although not explicitly mentioned in academic curricula, the suitability of the *Libellus* for teaching is supported by the widespread nature of its textual transmission, which includes commentaries, glosses and even translations into the vernacular made by lecturers and students.⁴⁰ Due to the theoretical nature of its first part—from which the *Musica speculativa* also draws some material—the *Notitia* is clearly meant for an academic audience. The Newberry manuscript presents it in a somewhat different version that reuses the material with some freedom. This version is attributed here and in other sources to Petrus de Sancto Dionisio.⁴¹

The Newberry codex represents also the earliest known source for the work following the *Notitia*, the *Tractatus figurarum*. This latter is probably the text temporally closest to the compilation of the manuscript, having been written in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.⁴² Here the *Tractatus* is attributed to “Magister Philippottus Andree” (Filippotto da Caserta?), but other sources differ greatly regarding its authorship. Its subject is the new note-shapes that allow the subdivision of the *brevis* into a number of different parts, in accord with the latest developments in rhythmic style. In between the *Notitia* and the *Tractatus figurarum*, possibly copied later in a space originally left blank, we find a series of versified rules on counterpoint attributed to the same Philippottus Andree, a short work meant to be memorized by students.⁴³

Folios 10v-42r are occupied by the *Lucidarium* and the *Pomerium* by Marchetto da Padova, one of the most original theorists of fourteenth-century Italy. The *Lucidarium* (1317-18) is mainly dedicated to chant, but it also presents the well-known innovative divi-

39. Michels, *Die Musiktractate des Johannes de Muris*, pp. 8-9; Michel Huglo, “L’enseignement de la musique dans les universités médiévales,” and Christian Meyer, “L’enseignement de la musique dans les universités allemandes au Moyen-Âge,” in: *L’enseignement de la musique au Moyen-Âge et à la Renaissance. Colloque organisé par la Fondation Royaumont en coproduction avec l’ARIMM et le CNRS* (n. p.: Editions Royaumont, 1987), pp. 87-95.

40. See the elaboration by Goscalcus and the commentary by Prosdocimo de Beldemandis (*Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis Johannis de Muris*). For example, a translation into French is in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Publique, ms. 920.

41. Johannes de Muris, *Notitia Artis Musicae*, ed. Ulrich Michels, CSM, 17 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), pp. 38-39 and 147-166 (edition of the treatise). The ascription to Petrus de Sancto Dionisio in the Newberry manuscript comes from the distich:

*F[r]ons atrox eria pedalis truncus usya
Primi dant nomen bine factoris et omen.*

Taking the first two letters of the first verse—according to the instructions given in the second—we have the name ‘ff[r]ater petrus’. See Philip E. Schreur, *Tractatus Figurarum. Treatise on Noteshapes* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 33, n. 68.

42. Schreur, *Tractatus Figurarum*, p. 9.

43. On the text and its tradition see Giuliano Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri. Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto* (Lucca: LIM, 2001), pp. 351-2.

sion of the tone in five parts, aimed at a better theoretical understanding of chromaticism in polyphonic music.⁴⁴ The *Pomerium* is the most authoritative treatise on the notational system of the Italian *Ars Nova*. Both works are strongly influenced by scholastic philosophy and its method of exposition. Although more a practical musician than a speculative intellectual—in the *Lucidarium* he admitted to having been helped with the structure and the philosophical arguments by a “Frate Sifante da Ferrara”—Marchetto clearly wished his works to be accepted by the academic community. The Newberry manuscript represents a good source for the text of the *Lucidarium*.⁴⁵ As noted, the copying of the second work remained largely incomplete.

The last major work in the manuscript is the *Ars perfecta*, a practical compilation on the principles of mensural notation. Despite the attribution to Vitry in the Chicago source (“Tractatus iste super musicam composuit venerabilis magister Philippus de Vitriaco”), the treatise is not to be considered authentic, although it is probably close to the teaching of the French theorist.⁴⁶

A few smaller insertions reinforce both the mathematical and the practically-oriented content of the collection, such as the two compilations on counterpoint: the *Sex sunt species speciales discantus* (which follows de Muris’ *Libellus* directly, and is attributed to the same author), and the *Septem sunt species consonanciarum*.⁴⁷ At f. 9v we find the *Tabula magistri Alberti super proportionibus*, a table on proportions by Albert of Saxony, a fourteenth-century philosopher and mathematician.⁴⁸ As noted, f. 10r is the most beautiful (and famous) of the entire manuscript and contains the only composition in the codex, *La harpe de melodie* by Jacob de Senleches, notated in the shape of a harp with the notes lined up on the strings (see Fig. 1).

If we look at the codex as a whole, it is clear that its copying was planned around three significant works, each with a strong speculative component: the *Notitia artis musicae* and the two treatises by Marchetto. If this aspect played an important role in the choices of the compiler, he was also quite interested in performance, as demonstrated by the inclusion of *La harpe de melodie* as well as of more practical treatises: the *Tractatus figurarum*, the *Libellus* and the *Ars perfecta*.

44. *Lucidarium. Pomerium. Testo latino e italiano. Introduzione, traduzione e commento a cura di Marco Della Sciucca, Tiziana Sucato, Carla Vivarelli* (Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), pp. 5-6.

45. Herlinger, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua*, p. 37 and *Lucidarium. Pomerium*, pp. 13-14.

46. Sarah Fuller, “A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*.” *The Journal of Musicology*, 4/1 (1985-1986), pp. 23-50; esp. p. 27 and 44-45.

47. On the two and other related texts see Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, *Der Contrapunctus im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zum Terminus, zur Lehre und zu den Quellen*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 13 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974), pp. 68-9 and 85.

48. On Albert of Saxony see “*Avant-Propos*,” in: *Itinéraires d’Albert de Saxe. Paris-Vienne au XIV^e Siècle*, ed. Joël Biard, Études de Philosophie Médiévale, 69 (Paris: Vrin, 1991).

On folio 6v, after the end of the de Muris' treatise, the scribe signed and dated his work: "Papie sc[ri]pt[um] 2 octobr[is] 1391 p[er] F[ratrem] G. de Anglia" (written in Pavia, on October 2nd 1391, by an English friar of whom we only know the initial, "G."). Although the date is written towards the beginning, the palaeographical features mentioned above suggest that the entire codex was completed in a relatively short time around 1391. That the collection was created in Pavia only thirty years after the foundation of the university, at a time when the new school was trying to organize itself and develop, is suggestive in terms of the centrality of music to the institution's curriculum.

Kurt von Fischer identified our scribe with the English theorist Willelmus (Guglielmus) author of a *Breviarium regulare musicae*, not only on account of the coincidence of the name, but also because of a triangular-shaped representation of note values that appears both at f. 9r of the Newberry manuscript and in the *Breviarium*.⁴⁹ This figure comes ultimately from the *Trianguli et scuti declaratio* by Johannes de Torkesey, an influential English treatise of the early fourteenth century. Because of the wide diffusion of Torkesey's work, this coincidence does not seem particularly meaningful, and the inclusion of his figure could simply be an outgrowth of the scribe's English origins.

More important than the secure identification of the scribe are his possible links with the *Studium*, a connection also suggested by Reinhard Strohm.⁵⁰ His title *frater* identifies him as a member of one of the mendicant orders (Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans). Not only were all three present with houses in Pavia, but they were also closely linked to the university. The Dominican foundation of San Tommaso hosted the first lectures, and the church became the site of the most solemn academic ceremonies.⁵¹ Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans were well represented among professors of theology, philosophy and physics. Besides Filargo, who might have given his lectures in the monastery of San Francesco,⁵² other theology teachers include the Franciscans Alberto Sangiorgio (from 1378), Filippo Barzi (from 1393), Beltramino da Pomate (from 1403), Pietro Torti (from 1416), and the Dominicans Bartolomeo Caccia (from 1404), Giorgio Cani (from 1415) and Matteo Cajrani (from 1418), just to list professors up to the early fifteenth century.⁵³ The Dominican Alberto da Vercelli taught philosophy and physics starting in 1412 and the Franciscan Giovanni da Serravalle lectured in moral philosophy from 1387 onwards.

49. Von Fischer, "Eine wiederaufgefundene Theoretikerhandschrift des späten 14. Jahrhunderts," pp. 29-30. Willelmus' treatise is edited in *Breviarium Regulare Musicae*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, CSM, 12 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1966).

50. Strohm, *Filippotto da Caserta*, p. 72.

51. Maria Pia Andreolli Panzarasa, "Il convento di San Tommaso, la comunità domenicana e l'Università dal Tre al Cinquecento," *Annali di storia pavese*, 18-19 (1989), pp. 29-47.

52. See Vaccari, *Storia della Università di Pavia*, p. 25 and P. Rodolfo Maiocchi, *Le Chiese di Pavia. Notizie* (reprint Pavia: EMI, 1997), vol. II, p. 48.

53. *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia*, vol. I, pp. 185-7.

The Augustinians officiated at the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, where two of the most influential writers on music are buried, St. Augustine and Boethius (making the church a kind of pantheon for music theorists). Bonifacio Bottigella was prior of the monastery of S. Pietro; in 1362 he commissioned the splendid Gothic monument that preserves the relics of St. Augustine, but he was also lecturer of theology in various academic years from at least 1373 to 1391. Many other Augustinians are mentioned as teacher of theology, among them Marco Gallina, Pietro da Castelletto (another prior of S. Pietro), Paolo Cambiagio, Giacomo da Pomario, Manfredo Serra and Francesco da Casale, all active from 1396 to 1432.⁵⁴ Yet theology was not the only interest of the friars, as demonstrated by the activity of the Augustinian Giovanni Marliani as a lecturer in natural philosophy in 1418-19.⁵⁵ The monastery of S. Pietro hosted also an active scriptorium, where in 1389 Frater Petrus de Papia illuminated a splendid folio copy of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, now preserved at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, which also contains illuminations with musical instruments.⁵⁶ The presence of a scriptorium and the interest in the natural sciences at S. Pietro make the monastery a likely candidate for the creation of the Newberry manuscript.

Beside its links to the religious life of the city—all the academic degrees were given by the bishop—the university must have maintained a close relationship with the Visconti court. After the death of Galeazzo II in 1378, the duchy was divided between his brother Barnabò and his son Giangaleazzo, who later killed his uncle in an ambush and came to absolute power in 1385. Giangaleazzo's court at Pavia had strong political and cultural connections to the French monarchy, as his wife Isabella was the daughter of Charles V of France, and their daughter Valentina—an accomplished harpist—would later be the mother of the poet and musician Charles d'Orléans.

Musical activity at the court has been underlined by John Nádas, Agostino Ziino and Alberto Gallo.⁵⁷ Instrumental music and dance were routinely practiced, as evident from payments to instrumentalists and representations in book illumination.⁵⁸

54. *Ibidem*.

55. *Ibidem*, p. 155.

56. Ms. E. 24. inf. See Rodolfo Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico artistico di Pavia dall'anno 1330 all'anno 1550* (Pavia: Tipografia già Cooperativa di B. Bianchi, 1937-49), vol. I, N. 39. A description of the codex and a reproduction of an illuminated initial with a woman playing the lute are given in Renata Cipriani, *Codici miniati dell'Ambrosiana. Contributo a un catalogo*, Fontes Ambrosianae, 40 ([Vicenza]: Neri Pozza, 1968), pp. 232-3 and tav. xiv.

57. *The Lucca codex. Codice Mancini. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition by John Nádas and Agostino Ziino*, Ars Nova, 1 (Lucca: LIM, 1990), pp. 35-45; F. Alberto Gallo, "La biblioteca dei Visconti," in: *Musica nel castello. Trovatori, libri e oratori nelle corti italiane dal XIII al XV secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992), pp. 59-94.

58. See Maria Carmen Gómez, "La Musique à la maison royale de Navarre à la fin du Moyen Âge et le chantre Johan Robert," *Musica Disciplina*, 41 (1987), pp. 109-51; esp. p. 114 and 122; and Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, Musica Mensurabilis, 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), pp. 293-4.

A document from 1388 transcribed by Rodolfo Maiocchi (and not previously noted in the musicological literature) records the sale of a house in Pavia to Gualtrechino de Alamania, son of the late Gualtiero, viol (or vielle) player of the duke:

Nel Castello di Pavia in quadam Camera ubi dormiunt medici prefati D. Comitis Virtutum etc. Iorius de Losbergher de Alamania filius quondam Iohannis familiaris prefati Domini etc. per 200 fiorini d'oro vende a Gualtrechino de Alamania filio quondam Gualterii pulsatori a viola prefati domini nostri, una casa in Pavia in Porta Laudense in Parrochia di S. Maria in Pertica.⁵⁹

In the castle of Pavia in the room where the doctors of the aforementioned Lord Count of Virtues sleep etc. Iorius de Losbergher of Germany, son of the late Johannes servant of the aforementioned Lord etc., sells for 200 golden florins to Gualtrechino de Alamania, son of the late Gualterius viola player of our aforementioned Lord, a house in Pavia in the neighborhood of Porta Laudense, parish of S. Maria in Pertica.

Another testimony to the Visconti's musical interests (also absent from the literature) is the fictional tale (*novella*) that Biagio Sernelli, another guest of the Alberti's villa in Gherardi's *Paradiso*, tells to entertain his noble company. The *novella* features a young, handsome and talented poet, player and composer by the name of *messer Dolcibene*, who put his art at the service of the court with great success:

Fu adunque uno nostro cittadino [un Fiorentino] d'assai virtù e astuzia, il quale infino da tenera età si diletto di seguitare le corti, il cui nome fu messere Dolcibene [...]. Il quale essendo bello di corpo, gagliardo e convenevole musico e ottimo sonatore d'organetti, di leuto e d'altri stromenti, udito la fama e la felicità di messer Bernabò e messer Galeazzo Visconti di Milano e della loro molto onorata e magnifica corte, diliberò andarne per civanzare [sic] sua vita là; e così fe'. Dove e' fu bene accetto e veduto per le sue virtù, facendo sue canzonette in ritmi con parole molto piacevoli e intonandole con dolcissimi canti; per la qual cosa molti doni ricevea da molti gentili uomini e signori, che in quelli tempi nella detta corte trovarsi.⁶⁰

There was a townsman of ours [a Florentine] of great skills and cleverness, who from an early age took pleasure in following the courts; his name was messer Dolcibene [...]. Since he was handsome, [a] spirited and sociable musician and great player of organs, lute and other instruments, having heard of the fame and magnificence of messer Bernabò and messer Galeazzo Visconti of Milan and of their much honored and magnificent court, he decided to go live there; and that he did. There he was very well received because of his abilities, writing his songs in rhythmic verses with very pleasant words and setting them into very sweet music; for that reason he received numerous gifts from many noble men and lords, who were at the aforementioned court at that time.

59. Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico artistico di Pavia*, vol. I, N. 34 (Archivio Notarile, Atti di Oliari Antonio, pacco 1388). The mix of Italian and Latin is probably due to Maiocchi's transcription, which abbreviates the original document.
60. Gherardi da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, vol. III, pp. 61-2.

Quite apart from this mention in narrative fiction, an analysis of the surviving repertory connected with the Visconti reveals a strongly Francophile bent in language and musical style. According to Strohm, the court was the major center of cultivation of the Italian *Ars subtilior*, where the latest French tendencies would have met the Italian tradition.⁶¹ The Pavia repertory is preserved in some important collections of the time, such as the already mentioned Modena α .M.5.24 and the Lucca Codex (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, ms 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, ms 3065). References to the Visconti can be found in French and Italian compositions by Antonello and Filippotto da Caserta, Bartolino da Padova and Johannes Ciconia.⁶²

La harpe de melodie by Senleches can be also linked to the Pavia court by virtue of its placement in the Newberry manuscript. It is a three-voice composition, built on two canonic voices over a relatively simple tenor (see Example 1).

Example 1: Jacob de Senleches, *La harpe de melodie*, mm. 1-5

The upper voices use a series of rhythmic proportions—*dupla*, *sesquialtera*, *sesquitercia*—notated with different note shapes and colors. As noted, the piece is written in the shape of a harp, with the pitches arranged on the eight strings (not using the spaces in between). On one of the longer sides of the instrument, a scroll contains the instructions to solve the canon between the upper voices. The notation is clearly meant as part of the original conception of the work, and for this reason Strohm had suggested a close link between Senleches and Pavia around the date of the compilation of the manu-

61. Strohm, *Filippotto da Caserta*, pp. 65-74.

62. For instance, Antonello da Caserta's *Del glorioso titol d'esto duce honors Giangaleazzo's coronation as Duke of Milan* (*The Lucca Codex*, p. 39). Filippotto da Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* mentions the motto of Barnabò Visconti (Strohm, *Filippotto da Caserta*, pp. 71-3), while Bartolino da Padova's *Le aurate chiome* could have been written to celebrate Caterina, second wife of Giangaleazzo and daughter of Barnabò (*The Lucca Codex*, p. 40). The fountain (fontayne)—the poetic and musical emblem of the Visconti court—appears both in Filippotto's *En attendant* and Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* (Strohm, *Filippotto da Caserta*, pp. 71-3). Ciconia's *Le ray au soleil* could refer to the Visconti arms, and *Una pantera in compagnia di Marte* to a visit of the lord of Lucca, Paolo Guinigi, to the Pavia court (*The Lucca Codex*, pp. 42-4).

script.⁶³ Such a composition might well have pleased the harpist Valentina, Giangaleazzo's daughter.⁶⁴

Yet the possible dedication to a member of the Visconti family does not exhaust the reasons for the inclusion of the piece. *La harpe de melodie* could have carried both value in itself as well as a meaning in line with the aesthetic conceptions of the manuscript. As the following text and translation show, the piece is self-referential and praises the pleasure of music-making as a noble entertainment.⁶⁵

La harpe de melodie		The harp of melody,
fayte sans merancolie		created without melancholy,
par plaisir,		out of pleasure,
doit bien chascun résjoir		must well please all
pour l'armonie ouir	5	who hear, play
sonner et veir;		and see its harmony;
et pour ce je suy d'acort		and so I agree,
pour le gracioux deport		for the nice pleasure
de son douz son.		of its sweet sound,
de faire sans nul discort	10	to make upon it [the harp]
dedans li, de bon acort,		a good song, with good agreement,
bonne chanson,		without discord,
pour plaie bonne companie,		to please a fine company,
pour avoir plaisanche lie de merir,		for to have happy and deserved pleasure,
pour desplaysance fuir,	15	for to abandon discontent
qui trop anuie		which is too annoying
a ceulz qui plaist a oir		to those who like to listen
la harpe de melodie ...		the harp of melody ...

The purpose of the piece is pure pleasure; the perfection of its harmony can be enjoyed by playing, listening or by looking at the song, a clear reference to its clever notational artifice (see vv. 5-6 “Pour l'armonie ouir, sonner et veir”). Like Gherardi's description of Landini's music, the text establishes a clear connection between the harmony of the piece and the concept of “acort” (agreement). The word (and its negation, “discort”) figure quite prominently as the rhyme of three verses (vv. 7, 10, 11), and it appears again in the explanation of the canon:⁶⁶

<i>Si tu me veuls proprement pronuncier sus la tenur, pour mieux estre d'acort, diapenthe te convien comenchier, ou autrement tu seras en discort [...]</i>	<i>If you want to perform me properly you must begin—in order to be in harmony— a fifth above the tenor, otherwise you will make a discord. [...]</i>
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63. Strohm, *Filippotto da Caserta*, p. 71. On the piece see also Reinhard Strohm, “‘La Harpe de Melodie,’ oder das Kunstwerk als Akt der Zueignung,” in: *Das musikalische Kunstwerk: Geschichte, Ästhetik, Theorie: Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Hermann Danuser et al. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), pp. 305-16.
64. Oliver Huck suggests the visit of Louis d'Orléans, Valentina's husband, to Milan in 1391 as an occasion for the composition of the piece. See Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, p. 300.
65. The translation is partially based—but with some significant differences—on the one provided by Crawford Young in the booklet to the CD *En douz chastel de Pavie. Chansons à la cour des Visconti* (Harmonia Mundi, 1998).
66. Translation based on *French Secular Music. Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condée 564*, ed. Gordon K. Greene, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 18 (Monaco: L'Oiseau Lyre, 1981), p. 186.

The insistence on the idea of “acort” as source of beauty—and consequently musical pleasure—is also underlined by the presence, in the depiction of the harp, of a hand holding a key to tune the instrument. Only a well-tuned harp and the use of proper musical intervals will produce a “bonne chanson” (v. 12), a piece with the necessary sweetness of sound. Although the idea of “agreement” seems to be referring mainly to the need for good vertical consonances, we should also consider the subtle rhythm of the piece as an expression of mathematical perfection, especially at a time when the doctrine of mathematical proportions began to be applied not only to the division of the monochord, but also to the discussion of mensural notation. Following a growing musical practice, theorists started including considerations of rhythmic proportions around the beginning of the fifteenth century. Among the first are Prosdócimo de Beldemandis in his *Tractatus practice de cantus mensurabilis* and Ugolino da Orvieto in the *Declaratio musicae disciplinae*, who started a tradition that would culminate in the extended treatment by Tinctoris (*Proportionale musices*) and Gaffurio (*Practica musicae*).⁶⁷ Such a ‘learned’ piece like *La harpe de melodie* might well have been included in the manuscript to underline the link between theory and practice, especially one responding to compatible principles of musical aesthetics.

The combination of speculative theory and references to musical practice in the Newberry manuscript clearly represents the two musical institutions of the city of Pavia: the court and the university. Since it is a theory collection, the codex seems to be mainly intended for the second of these, and can be interpreted as an attempt to provide an authoritative curriculum for the music lectures at the university. Yet the compilation was not conceived as a textbook for the direct use of the students. Such manuscripts are normally characterized by the mix of works on different disciplines of the *quadrivium*, as for examples numerous copies of Muris’ *Musica speculativa*, where the treatise appears together with other writings on astronomy and mathematics.⁶⁸ Instead, the Newberry collection was probably generated by the interests of a lecturer or a patron of the university (Giangaleazzo himself? Pietro Filargo?) in an attempt to make the best of fourteenth-century theory available to colleagues and students.

Such a choice was certainly stimulated by the advanced musical practice at Giangaleazzo’s court, and resulted in the inclusion of the *Tractatus figurarum* in its earliest existing copy. Although a copy of Boethius’ *De institutione musica* is mentioned in

67. Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs. Origins and Evolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 164-8. We can see a beginning of this tendency in the work by de Muris, whose ideas on rhythm are influenced—according to Dorit Tanay—by the contemporary ‘Oxford Calculators’, a school of philosophers and scientists who applied the new mathematical tools to natural sciences. Thus, concepts such as speed, acceleration and—obviously—musical sound became commensurable with each other through clear mathematical relations. See Dorit E. Tanay, “Jehan de Meur’s Musical Theory and the Mathematics of the Fourteenth Century,” *Tractrix*, 5 (1993), pp. 17-43.

68. Tom R. Ward, “Music and Music Theory in the Universities of Central Europe during the Fifteenth Century,” in: *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia*, pp. 49-57, at p. 52.

the 1426 inventory of Giangaleazzo's library at Pavia,⁶⁹ the Newberry manuscript follows newer pedagogical trends, based on the treatises by de Muris. The cultural models for the compiler were not only the prestigious university of Paris (a logical choice for a Francophile court like Giangaleazzo's), but also Padua, the Italian academic institution most famous for music.⁷⁰ The result was a mix of the most authoritative French and Italian traditions in the manuscript (de Muris, Vitry and Marchetto), a combination that mirrors, on a theoretical level, the kind of Italian *Ars subtilior* practiced at the court.

It is not easy to establish what kind of relationship the academic world of Pavia had to musical practice. Like the Newberry codex, other manuscripts clearly meant for academic use reveal traces of such links. A collection of music theory from the library of the University of Erfurt (ms. O. 93) preserves five *organa* from the repertory of the city's cathedral. The glosses to the *Musica Enchiradis* by a fifteenth-century teacher in the Cracow Faculty of Arts testify to the interest in plainchant among academic circles.⁷¹

This kind of interest—which also generated the inclusion of the *Lucidarium* in the Newberry manuscript—could have been personal or might have reflected liturgical practice in the churches and monasteries of the city.

Universities closely related to music schools were obviously more prone to develop a practice-oriented curriculum. A notable example is Cologne, which grew from various institutions, among them a music school. Its statutes explicitly mention a “*musica quod duas partes*”, a study of music that includes the theoretical and the practical aspect.⁷² Tom Ward has suggested that central European universities tended to deal more with practical matters, as is evident in works combining the speculative knowledge with information on notation or counterpoint.⁷³

If the integration of the two realms of music was attempted in some cases, still the long-lasting historical division between *musicus* and *cantor*, the speculative and the practical musician, should not be forgotten. Calling on the authority of Aristotle, de Muris starts his *Notitia* with the statement that “in every art only the speculative artists can teach, the practical ones cannot” (*in qualibet autem arte teoretici docere possunt, practici vero non*).⁷⁴ The idea paraphrases the introduction to the *Metaphysics*: although based on experience, science should transcend it and aim for an understanding of universal phenomena. From this perspective, it is no surprise that the musicians associated

69. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, p. 196.

70. This renown was due mainly to the teaching of Marchetto and Prosdócimo de Beldemandis. Interestingly, Padua had been under Visconti rule for eighteen months in 1389-90. See Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue*, p. 137.

71. Meyer, *L'enseignement de la musique au Moyen Âge*, pp. 90-91.

72. Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, p. 112.

73. Ward, *Music and Music Theory in the Universities of Central Europe*.

74. De Muris, *Notitia Artis Musicae*, p. 47. On the interpretation of this passage see Haas, “Musik zwischen Mathematik und Physik”, p. 35.

with the Pavia court—Filippotto, Bartolino, Senleches, Ciconia, Matteo da Perugia—never directly taught at the university. If the identification is correct, a notable exception would be Giovanni da Genova, although he seems to have been mostly an academic with an interest in composition, and not a professional musician.

Another indirect proof of musical culture at the University of Pavia is the work of Giorgio Anselmi, the most important *alumnus* with significant writings on music. His treatise *De Musica* (1434) survives in only one copy, with commentary in the hand of Franchino Gaffurio, and shows a well-rounded musical knowledge including both classical and recent traditions.⁷⁵ Anselmi's classification of the intervals follows the Pythagorean-Boethian tradition also represented by de Muris, and his description of the ecclesiastical modes is based on Marchetto.

In the final section of his work, dedicated to mensural notation, Anselmi is concerned largely with the proliferation of note-shapes to express complex rhythmic proportions, and he comes up with a system to simplify it (although it never came into use). His shapes are remarkably similar to those of the *Tractatus figurarum*. Perhaps his obsession with the incoherent notation of the time actually started during his years in Pavia. As a member of a patrician family from a city of the duchy, he could well have had easy access to the repertory practiced at court. Certainly his later work on music had its seeds in a good musical education at the Lombard university, where a rich practice and an advanced theoretical background provided a stimulating environment for its most gifted students.

75. Edition by Giuseppe Massera in *Georgii Anselmi Parmensis De Musica*.