

ST. AUGUSTINE, LADY MUSIC, AND THE GITTERN IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Throughout the middle ages and the Renaissance, music, along with arithmetic, astronomy and geometry, had a fixed place in the quadrivium as a part of the system of knowledge contained within the seven liberal arts. Therefore, artists illustrating didactic and other kinds of texts had perforce to invent ways of depicting music, either alone or as one among the several branches of learning. A particularly complex and intriguing iconographical scheme that includes music among the liberal arts seems to have appeared for the first time in Italy during the second quarter of the fourteenth century in a series of works extolling the wisdom and learning of Saint Augustine. The segment of this scheme that deals with music can conveniently be illustrated by the page showing Lady Music (Plate 1) from a manuscript book now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.¹

The main part of the Viennese book contains a panegyric, sometimes attributed to Convevole of Prato, to the learned trecento ruler Robert of Anjou, King of Naples. The author praises Robert for his great learning and invokes in his support both the liberal arts and the nine Muses; Plate 2 shows the arts as depicted in the earliest known copy of Convevole's work, now in the British Library.²

¹ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. S. n. 2639, fol. 4. The manuscript is described in detail in Julius von Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 17 (1896): 13–100; the page with Lady Music is reproduced there as Plate V. For more recent discussions of this page and a summary of the other pictures showing Lady Music in an Augustinian context, see the studies cited in notes 14–28 below.

² London, British Library, MS Royal 6.E.IX, fol. 29. The manuscript is published in facsimile with commentary as Convevole da Prato, *Regia Carmina*, ed. Marco Ciatti and Aldo Petri, 2 vols. (Prato, 1982). On this manuscript, written between about 1334 and 1343, see Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450*, Teil I; *Süd- und Mittelitalien*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 55–58, who believe the manuscript to be Neapolitan. For a list of studies describing the manuscript as either Neapolitan or Tuscan, see Degenhart and Schmitt, *Corpus*, II/2: 274. Robert's tomb in the Chiesa di Santa Chiara in Naples also shows the seven liberal arts. It is discussed and reproduced, among other places, in Stanislaw

This encomium to Robert seems to be completely unrelated to the appendix of the Viennese manuscript, which was presumably prepared by a Tuscan artist, perhaps a Florentine, about 1350, in which a series of miniatures shows the seven cardinal virtues triumphing over famous representatives of their corresponding vices, and also the seven liberal arts, each personified by a lady holding some attribute of her science and accompanied by a classical or Biblical figure distinguished for his achievement in that field of learning. Music in the Viennese manuscript (Plate 1) is represented by a lady tuning a lute and holding a gittern in her lap, an image ultimately derived from Martianus Capella's *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, an event attended by personifications of all the liberal arts, each of whom discourses eloquently on her own branch of knowledge.³ Below Lady Music in the Viennese picture, the Biblical figure Tubal, flanked by two pillars, hammers on an anvil. Extensive commentary above and below the picture helps place the image within a clearly-defined intellectual context.

Lady Music presumably tunes her lute with the help of the six syllables of the hexachord – ut, re, mi, fa, sol, and la – that issue from her mouth in the manner of a comic strip. Above her, a tablet reads “Organica flatu, Armenica voce, Rictmica pulsu” (sic), alluding to the three-fold division of musical sounds into those produced by wind instruments (“organic music”), those produced by the human voice (“harmonic music”), and those produced by percussion and stringed instruments (“rhythmic music”). These categories – more comprehensible than the familiar Boethian division into winds, strings and percussion in an age when bows were unknown – are found for the first time in St. Augustine's writings, not in *De Musica*, his treatise wholly devoted to music, but rather in his discussion of music as a part of his general philosophical system, in his earlier treatise *De*

Fraschetti, “I sarcofagi dei reali angioini in Santa Chiara di Napoli,” *L'Arte* 1 (1898): 412–26. Lady Music, crowned, carries a scroll and appears to be beating time.

³ See William Harris Stahl, Richard Johnson and E. L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols. (New York, 1971–77), and especially 1: 245–49: “Bibliographical Survey of the Seven Liberal Arts in Medieval and Renaissance Iconography.” On Italian representations of the liberal arts, see especially Paolo d'Ancona, “Le rappresentazioni allegoriche dell'arti liberali,” *L'Arte* 5 (1902): 137–55, 211–28, 269–89, and 370–85.

ordine.⁴ Augustine's threefold division of music was then taken over by Isidore of Seville, who much more explicitly than Augustine identified the nature of musical sounds as harmonic, organic, or rhythmic.⁵ And the Augustinian ordering, rather than the more familiar Boethian, served as the basis of the definition of music's parts in such later treatises as Marchetto of Padua's *Lucidarium*, written during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶

Below Lady Music and flanking the figure labeled "Tubal," two pillars appear, each inscribed with one of the fundamental intervals of the musical system, the octave ("dyapason") on the left and the fourth (written "dyatasaron" in the Viennese manuscript) on the right. The pillars are clearly those associated with the Biblical Jubal in the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus Flavius and works by other medieval historians, including Peter Comestor and Rhabanus Maurus.⁷ Jubal wrote down what he knew about music on two pillars so that

⁴ See Augustine, *De ordine* 2.14, in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, 1: *Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844 ff), 32 (1877): 1014.

Augustine's *De musica* is published in *Patrologiae* 32: 1081–1194; in an English translation by R. Catesby Taliaferro, "On Music: De Musica," in *The Fathers of the Church, a New Translation: Writings of Saint Augustine*, vol. 2 (New York, 1947); and in Latin and an Italian translation, in Aurelii Augustini, *De Musica*, ed. Giovanni Marzi (Florence, 1969).

Augustine may have derived his division from the lost writings of Varro, according to Stahl *et al.*, *Capella*, 1: 7, and Heinz Edelstein, *Die Musikanschauung Augustins nach seiner Schrift "De musica"* (Ohlau in Schlesien, 1929), pp. 59–60 and 69–70.

⁵ See Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae de Musica*, in Martin Gerbert, ed., *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra* (St. Blasien, 1784; repr. Milan, 1931), 1: 21, and also Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), 1: 7–14.

The passage from Isidore is quoted in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), p. 95, who recognizes the derivation of the passage from Augustine.

⁶ See Marchetto of Padua, *Lucidarium*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 3: 64–121, and especially 67–69; and also Jan W. Herlinger, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Chicago and London, 1985), p. 89, who mentions the derivation of Marchetto's division from Augustine. Augustine is not cited as the source for Isidore's and Marchetto's classification schemes in Gerhard Pietzsch, *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boetius bis Ugolino von Orvieto* (Halle, 1929), and Ellen Hickman, *Musica instrumentalis. Studien zur Klassifikation des Musikinstrumentariums im Mittelalter* (Baden-Baden, 1971).

⁷ See Judith Cohen, "Jubal in the Middle Ages," *Yuval. Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre* 3 (1974): 83–99, and especially 86 and 89–92.

when Adam's prophecy came true that the world would be destroyed by fire and water, his art would not be lost. What was written on the pillar made of brick would withstand fire, and the writing on the pillar made of stone would withstand water.

Lady Music's companion – the chief representative of the art of music – should of course be labeled "Jubal" rather than „Tubal." But many medieval sources confused Tubal, or even Tubalcain, with the Biblical Jubal, the son of Lamech who is described in the Book of Genesis as the inventor of music and father of those who play upon the harp and the organ. By a typically medieval fusion of traditions, Jubal is often mistaken for his brother Tubalcain, the blacksmith, and the image of Jubal or Tubal or Tubalcain hammering on an anvil as a representative of music was established through another confusion with the story of Pythagoras, the Greek (as opposed to the Biblical) father of musical science, who was said to have discovered the rational proportions of musical intervals when he passed a blacksmith's shop and noted the relationship between the pitches of the smiths' hammers and the size of their anvils.⁸

In addition to the legends and captions within the pictures themselves, each of the images of the seven liberal arts in the Viennese manuscript – and in many of the various other sets of pictures related to it – is supplied with a more detailed explanation of its contents at the foot of each page. A quotation about the art in question from Augustine's own writings is followed in every case by a series of Latin hexameters. In the case of music, the quotation from Augustine himself reads:

De musica dictavit Augustinus libros sex, quam^a sic definit^b libro de Donastas^c [sic]: Ars modulandi deliciis accomodata mortalium^d numerorum ratio est, juvenes^e procul dubio mentis^f, qualem in moribus servet temperancie^g modum, ne discrepando^h dissonet ab ordine rationis.⁹

⁸ On Jubal, Tubal, and Tubalcain, see, in addition to Cohen's article cited above, Paul E. Beichner, *The Medieval Representative of Music, Jubal or Tubalcain?* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1954), and James W. McKinnon, "Jubal vel Pythagoras, Quis sit inventor musicae?," *Musical Quarterly* 64 (1978): 1–28. Beichner mentions the Augustinian complex of pictures on pp. 20–23, and reproduces the page from the Viennese manuscript discussed above (Plate 1), and the pages from the Madrid manuscript and the Paris manuscript discussed below (see Plates 6 and 13).

⁹ The quotation appears in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. S. n. 2639, fol. 4 (Plate 1), and the following other manuscripts: (1) Chantilly,

Augustine wrote six books on music, which he defines in the book on the Donatists: It is the art of measuring, the system of numbers apt for the pleasures of mankind, counseling clearly to the mind how in its behavior it may preserve the way of temperance, lest by jarring it be in dissonance with the order of reason.

Clearly a variant of Augustine's well-known definition of music as the "ars bene modulandi,"¹⁰ this more circumstantial explanation stresses Augustine's insistence on the rationality of music, its basis in the reason of numbers and numerical relationships. Its source is unknown. Certainly it does not appear in Augustine's alphabetical psalm against the Donatists, or in any of the other of his preserved works written against that heretical sect.¹¹

Similarly unknown is the source of the series of Latin hexameters that follow, lines that may well derive from the original book that

Musée Condé, MS 1426 (Plate 4), reproduced in Léon Dorez, *La Canzone delle Virtù e delle Scienze di Bartolomeo di Bartoli da Bologna* (Bergamo, 1904); (2) Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS B. R. 38, fol. 34 (Plate 8); (3) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 418, fol. 106, the notes of Hartmann Schedel, reproduced in von Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken," pp. 92–93; and (4) Rome, Museo nazionale, Gabinetto delle stampe, MS s. n., fol. 15 (Plate 5), reproduced in Adolfo Venturi, "Il libro di Giusto per la Cappella degli Eremitani in Padova," *Le gallerie nazionali italiane* 4 (1898): 345–76, and 5 (1902): 391 ff.

The quotation is given as it appears in the Viennese manuscript; corrections and variants appear in the other manuscripts as follows:

- a) Vienna and Florence read: quos. Schedel, Chantilly, and Rome read: quam.
- b) Schedel, Chantilly, and Rome read: diffinit.
- c) Schedel and Chantilly read: de psalmo contra Donatistas.
- d) Vienna, Florence, and Schedel read: moralium.
- e) Vienna reads: juvenes, or immines; Florence reads: innvens; Schedel reads: et mitiens; and Chantilly and Rome read: inveniens.
- f) Schedel, Chantilly, and Rome read: menti.
- g) Schedel reads: temperantia.
- h) Vienna reads: discependo.

¹⁰ Augustine's concise definition of music appears in his *De musica*, 1.2 (Migne, *Patrologiae*, 32: 1083).

¹¹ The alphabetical psalm against the Donatists, mentioned explicitly as the source for Augustine's definition in some of the sources (see item c in footnote 9 above) does not in fact mention music. It is published in H. Vroom, *Le psaupe abécédaire de saint Augustin et la poésie latine rythmique* (Nijmegen, 1933). Nor does the quotation appear in any of Augustine's works published in *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*, transl. Marcus Dodds, vol. 3: "Writings in Connection with the Donatist Controversy" (Edinburgh, 1872). The quotation may have come from the lost "Contra Epistolam Donati haeretici, liber unus," mentioned in Augustine, *Retractionum*, chap. 21, printed in Migne, *Patrologiae* 32: 617 (with the annotation "Non exstat").

served directly or indirectly as the source for all the other examples of this particular iconographical scheme. The hexameters on music read:

Musica vana [vanis], apta[e] sed pulchra videtur^a
 Que canens^b fides moderat^c cum gaudio liris.^d
 Constat voce^e flatu &^f pulsu, organa^g fingit,
 Obloquitur numeris^h septemⁱ discrimina vocum,
 Instat letasuis metrisque^j tonisque^k canora,
 Quam Tubal^l ut repetat^m sic pariterqueⁿ pagina pandit.¹²

Music seems vain to the vain, but beautiful to a skilled player who, as she sings joyfully makes the lyre conform to her songs. It consists of voice, wind, and percussion; it fashions instruments. It accompanies the intervals with the seven sets of notes and stands there, happy and melodious, with its own meters and tones; the page reveals how Tubal discovered it and wrote it down.

The manuscript is, in short, a condensed summary of Saint Augustine's encyclopedic knowledge. In his definition of music, Augustine emphasizes reason and number, and the hexameters allude to the Church Father's acute awareness of music's sensual attraction, as well as his threefold division of musical sounds and, more obliquely, to his interest in metrics, the subject for which his books on music are most closely studied by music historians today. The words accompanying

¹² The manuscripts in which the hexameters appear are listed in footnote 9 (except that they do not appear in the Chantilly manuscript). The quotation is given as it appears in the Viennese manuscript; corrections and variants occur in the other manuscripts as follows:

- a) The first line in Schedel and Rome reads: *Musica vanis apta pulcra sed vana videtur.*
- b) Schedel reads: *canens*; Vienna reads: *carens*.
- c) Schedel and Rome read: *moderatur*.
- d) Florence and Vienna read: *cum gaudio luctus*; Schedel and Rome read: *in gaudio liris*.
- e) Vienna reads: *vox*.
- f) Schedel reads: *cum*.
- g) Schedel reads: *organica*.
- h) Rome reads: *numerus*.
- i) Schedel reads: *septenariis*.
- j) Schedel reads: *modulisque*; Rome and possibly Florence read: *melisque*.
- k) Schedel reads: *donisque*.
- l) Schedel reads: *Jubal*.
- m) Schedel and Rome read: *reperit*.
- n) Schedel and Rome read: *scripsitque* (and omit "sic").

the Viennese picture offer an accurate if extremely brief characterization of Augustine's particular point of view.¹³

The entire iconographical scheme of the Viennese page – with its images of the virtues, the vices, and the liberal arts, and the explanatory commentary that accompanies them – appeared, with or without significant variants, in a number of other works produced in the fourteenth century in praise of Saint Augustine. Nearly a hundred years ago, Julius von Schlosser was the first to study this complex of images, and various other art historians since that time have discovered new sources, and modified and refined von Schlosser's conclusions about the relationship of the various sets of images to each other.¹⁴ Their attempts to construct a stemma, on the other hand, have not been completely successful.¹⁵ With our present knowledge, it would seem advisable merely to claim that the Triumph of Saint Augustine was devised in Emilia-Romagna, or just possibly in Tuscany, close to the middle of the fourteenth century, that it moved to the Veneto slightly later in the century, and that the precise relationships among the various sets of images remain, and will probably continue to remain, obscure. It may well be that all the images derive ultimately from a manuscript book now lost, possibly a volume in praise of the Church Father written by some member of the Augustinian order.

Between about 1353 and 1355, almost certainly within the same decade that the Viennese manuscript was written and decorated, Bartolomeo de' Bartoli da Bologna prepared his *Canzone delle Virtù*

¹³ The best overview of Augustine's writings on music remains Carl Johann Perl, "Augustine and Music," *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955): 496–510.

For the latest overview of Augustine's writings about musical instruments, with references to recent studies, see Helmut Giesel, *Studien zur Symbolik der Musikinstrumente im Schrifttum der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche* (Regensburg, 1978), pp. 76–82.

¹⁴ See von Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken," and also his "Zur Kenntnis der künstlerischen Überlieferung im späten Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 23 (1903): 327–38.

The entire complex is surveyed and the intervening studies listed and discussed in Sergio Bettini, *Giusto de' Menabuoi e l'arte del trecento* (Padua, 1944), pp. 112–21. My discussion owes much to Bettini's overview of the problem.

¹⁵ The stemma appears in Luigi Coletti, "Un affresco, due miniature e tre problemi," *L'Arte* 37 (1934): 121–22, and is slightly revised in Bettini, *Giusto*, p. 121.

e delle Scienze for presentation to its dedicatee, Bruzio Visconti.¹⁶ The version of the canzone that survives in the Musée Condé in Chantilly as MS 599 (1426) may well be the very copy offered to Visconti. It was illustrated by Bartolomeo's brother, Andrea de' Bartoli da Bologna.¹⁷ Bartolomeo devoted a single page of his little book to each of the virtues and the arts, and he added a dedication depicting the author presenting his manuscript to Visconti, who is shown surrounded by Vigor, Intelligence, and other allegorical figures; an encomium to Saint Augustine, showing the Church Father dominating a group of his peers; and two diagrams, one demonstrating the relationship of the virtues to Theology, and the other (Plate 3) the relationship of the arts to Philosophy (and including an image of Lady Music playing the lute). The page wholly devoted to music in the Chantilly manuscript (Plate 4) has many features in common with the similar scene in the Viennese manuscript: the same Augustinian definition of music, the same division of music into its harmonic, organic, and rhythmic parts, and the same figures of Lady Music and Jubal, here labeled "Tubal chain." Bartolomeo's images are, however, somewhat richer in detail. In place of the single intervals inscribed on Jubal's columns on the Viennese page, the Chantilly manuscript includes a whole battery of technical terms on the left-hand column (*acutus, gravis, thonus, dyesis, unisonus, dyapason, dyapente, dyatassaron, ditonus, tritonus, semitonus, ena[r]monicus, dyatonicus, and cromaticus*), and the six syllables of the hexachord on the right-hand column. And in addition to the lute Lady Music tunes, and the gittern she holds in her lap, she is surrounded by a variety of instruments: a fiddle and bow, a shawm (with pirouette?), and a recorder on the left; a trapezoidal psaltery, a triangle, a portative organ, two trumpets

¹⁶ The manuscript is reproduced and discussed in Dorez, *La Canzone*. See also von Schlosser, "Zur Kenntnis," pp. 332–36; Coletti, "Un affresco," pp. 104–14 (the image of music is reproduced there as fig. 7); and Alessandro Conti, *La miniatura bolognese. Scuole e botteghe, 1270–1340* (Bologna, 1981), pp. 95–96.

¹⁷ See Gerhard Schmidt, "'Andreas me pinsit': frühe Miniaturen von Nicolò di Giacomo und Andrea de' Bartoli in dem Bologneser Offiziolo der Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973): 57–73. The first several words of the caption to the diagram showing the relationship of the arts to Philosophy (Plate 3) are not legible. Dorez, *La Canzone*, p. 67, transcribes the legend as: "De voce discorde voi concordanza: / Ve dissono e consono in bella usanza."

(and possibly other instruments as well lashed to a post), and a pipe and tabor (tied together) on the right; and at her feet a bagpipe and a pair of nakers tied together, with their sticks tied to them.

In place of the Latin hexameters that appear in the Viennese manuscript, Bartolomeo composed one stanza of a canzone for each of the subjects he treats. The Chantilly manuscript obscures the poetic form, running together the lines in a way that makes it difficult to see that the poem consists of rhymed couplets (one eleven-syllable line followed by a seven-syllable line), plus an initial eleven-syllable line, and two more at the end. In some of these stanzas Bartolomeo's poem seems in fact to be a free adaptation of the Latin hexameters of the Viennese manuscript, suggesting that Bartolomeo wrote his work after the hexameters had been composed, but his stanza on music does not follow that procedure. Its meaning is independent of the hexameters. In the transcription that follows, the original punctuation has been replaced by modern punctuation that clarifies what I take to be the meaning of the poem; the words in Venetian dialect and the elaborate Latinate construction make both the added punctuation and my English translation conjectural:

Giovene vagha inventa per confundere
 Fo^a questa e per fuçir melanchonia,^b
 Chome per simphonia^c
 In son di boccha per orghano^d e corda
 Appar^e quand'ella acorda^f
 Ciaschuna insemme^g a la nostra memoria;
 Per triumphi e vitoria^h
 In trombe e timpanⁱ talor se ribalta.^j
 Per lei se^k balla e salta
 E sa d'ogne alegreça i chori infundere.^l
 Voce a nota respondere^m
 Fa di canora e de bella armonia
 Si dolce melodia
 Che l'alma e i spirtiⁿ e la mente concorda.
 A quel che la recorda^o
 Si ben consona a l'odito ogni istoria.^p
 Tubal chayn^q la gloria
 In septe voci trovo bassa et^r alta
 De musicha ch'exalta
 In pietra per mensura e sença ruçene^s
 Lave per pexo de malli e danchuçene.^t 18

¹⁸ The canzone appears both in the Chantilly manuscript and the manuscript in

The beautiful young lady invents and practices this [art of music] to confound and dispel melancholy, as appears in the concord of voice with organ and stringed instrument when she tunes each one together in our memory; and in triumphs and victory that echo with trumpets and drum. For her one dances and leaps and knows how to infuse choruses with every joy. The voice responding to the [written] note makes such a sweet melody of the songful and beautiful harmony that the soul and the spirit and the mind are one. To him who recalls it [the melody], it makes every tale agreeable to hear. Tubalcain found in seven tones the glory of music, both soft and loud, that is celebrated in stone by its measurements, and without rancour he works for a time with [his] hammers and anvil.

One other feature of Bartolomeo's image of Lady Music is also new. He offers a Latin description of Tubalcain that reads:

Iste Tubal cantum vocumque simphonie
 Ingeniis artem scripsit posuitque^a columnnis
 Aure Jubal varios ferramenti denotat^b ictus
 Pondera quoque librans consonantia queque facit.^c 19

Rome, Museo nazionale, mentioned in footnote 9 above. The stanza is given as it appears in the Chantilly manuscript; the following variants appear in the Roman manuscript:

- a) Rome reads: fu.
- b) Rome reads: fugir melenconia.
- c) Rome reads: Come per semphonia.
- d) Rome reads: organo.
- e) Rome reads: a par.
- f) Rome reads: qū della accorda.
- g) Rome reads: ciaschuno insieme.
- h) Rome reads: victoria.
- i) Rome reads: timpana.
- j) Rome reads: ribalda.
- k) Rome reads: si.
- l) Rome reads: donne alegreza in chori infondere.
- m) Rome reads: rispondere.
- n) Rome reads: spiriti.
- o) Rome reads: ricorda.
- p) Rome reads: a lo dido omne ystoria. Chantilly reads: a lodito ogni in storia.
- q) Rome reads: cain.
- r) Rome reads: e.
- s) Rome reads: In preda per misura e senza ruzene.
- t) Rome reads: danchuzene.

¹⁹ The Latin inscription appears both in the Chantilly manuscript and that in Rome. The inscription is given as it appears in the Chantilly manuscript; the following variants appear in the Roman manuscript:

- a) Not clearly legible in Chantilly. Rome reads: posintque.
- b) Rome reads: denotet.
- c) In Rome, the quatrain is presented in three lines, the second run on with the first, and the last two marked "versus."

This Tubal wrote [down] with ingenious art and placed on the columns the cantus and vox of the simphonia. Jubal indicates to the ear the beat [ictus] with various metal implements. Consider, too, how in hammering he also makes consonance.

In short, Bartolomeo's canzone, with its commentaries and pictures, offers, like the Viennese page, an introduction to the art and science of music, as one among the seven liberal arts, according to the precepts of Saint Augustine. Bartolomeo's Italian canzone takes the place of the Latin hexameters on the Viennese page, but it is likely that both manuscripts ultimately derive from a common model.

Bartolomeo's poem was recopied late in the fourteenth century into a manuscript now owned by the Gabinetto delle stampe of the Museo nazionale in Rome, in which all the elements of the Chantilly version are present.²⁰ On the page depicting Lady Music (Plate 5), for example, similar images and all the same commentary appear. The Roman manuscript shows a slightly different collection of instruments: there are no nakers, bagpipe or fiddle; a horn replaces the recorder, and the pipe is shown without its tabor. But on the other hand the Latin hexameters are included in addition to Bartolomeo's Italian canzone stanza. The Roman manuscript reflects a conflation of the Viennese page and the Chantilly page.

Yet another group of works on the same Augustinian theme was prepared in the workshop of the Bolognese illuminator, Nicolò di Giacomo, about the same time the Viennese page was being decorated in Florence, and Andrea was drawing the illustrations for the manuscript now in Chantilly. The frontispiece of the manuscript now in the National Library in Madrid of the *Commentary on the Code of Justinian* (*Commentaria super codices*) by the great jurist and professor of civil law Bartolus of Sassoferrato (Plate 6) compresses the entire scheme onto one page.²¹ Within a border illustrating Augustine's

²⁰ The Roman manuscript is described in Venturi, "Il libro di Giusto," and reproduced there complete. For the mid-fifteenth-century drawings of ancient Roman heroes that fill the verso sides of the Roman manuscript – in a hand different from that of Bartolomeo's canzone – see R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963), pp. 202–6, and the bibliography cited there.

²¹ Madrid, National Library, MS D. 2, fol. 1. On Bartolus of Sassoferrato, see Cecil N. Sidney Woolf, *Bartolus of Sassoferrato. His Position in the History of Medieval Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1913).

works (his psalm commentaries, for example, are shown in the left border, with King David playing an incurved trapezoidal psaltery), Saint Augustine, flanked by the other Church Fathers and ancient philosophers, presides over personifications of all the virtues, vices, and liberal arts, crowded together in a single row. It was not possible, therefore, to include as much information as appeared, for example, in the Chantilly or the Viennese manuscripts, but Nicolò (whose signature appears beneath the illumination) did manage to crowd in beside Lady Music and “Tubal caym” (as he is called) the Augustinian divisions, Lady Music’s hexachord syllables, the two closely written columns, and a stand for Jubal’s anvil that carries the same Latin inscription as in Bartolomeo’s canzone. On the other hand, the page of Giovanni Andreae’s law treatise, Book III of his *Novelle in libros decretalium*, now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan,²² that Nicolò di Giacomo illustrated (Plate 7), is less crowded than the Madrid page, mostly because all references to Saint Augustine have been omitted, leaving only two registers of figures, the virtues and vices above, and the liberal arts and their representatives below. Only the captions “Musica” and “Jubalcaim” [sic] identify the two figures that represent the art of music. All the commentary has disappeared, and the two heavily inscribed columns are reduced to one slender column devoid of writing. Nicolò not only signed the Milanese page but also dated it 1354.

Perhaps Nicolò’s simpler Milanese page, which has more the character of a summary condensation than an embryonic idea, was prepared later than the more crowded Madrid page, which may well compress into a small space a whole volume of models that Nicolò knew. In view of the Latin description of Jubal’s activity, it might even be that Nicolò referred back to Bartolomeo de’ Bartoli’s canzone, although they may both have borrowed the caption from some common model. Several art historians have suggested that Nicolò di Giacomo’s miniatures were the source for the anonymous Tuscan painter who illuminated the Viennese manuscript,²³ an idea that

²² Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS B. 42 Inf., fol. 2. On this page, see the studies cited in footnotes 14–17, and especially Schmidt, “‘Andreas me pinsit’.” For a brief summary of Giovanni Andreae’s life and works, see *Enciclopedia italiana* 17 (1933): 225.

²³ See, for example, Coletti, “Un affresco,” pp. 102–21, and Bettini, *Giusto*, pp. 112–21.

seems improbable to me. Whatever the sequence of events, though, it is clear that the three groups of pictures – the Tuscan anthology now in Vienna, the canzone by Bartolomeo da Bologna in its two versions, and the miniatures by the Bolognese Nicolò di Giacomo – all derive from a common model that extolled the wisdom and learning of Saint Augustine. And it is equally clear that the similar scene (Plate 8) that appears in Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magl. II.I.27 (Banco rari 38),²⁴ dating from about the same time as Vienna 2639, is an almost exact copy of the Viennese page. That one was copied from the other (or both from a common model) is proven beyond a doubt by the fact that both include as well the panegyric to King Robert of Naples attributed to Convenevole of Prato.

Similar questions of precedence and model can be raised about the detached fresco now in the Pinacoteca nazionale in Ferrara (Plate 9) that shows Augustine presiding over the virtues in much the same way he does in Nicolò di Giacomo's Madrid page.²⁵ The frescoes were originally painted for the Augustinian church of S. Andrea in Ferrara, in a chapel dedicated in 1378. Luigi Coletti makes a convincing case that the anonymous painter of these frescoes copied Nicolò di Giacomo's miniatures, and Coletti points out that the original scheme included as well a lowest register with personifications of the liberal arts.²⁶ Only a few isolated fragments of this series survive, including a part of Lady Music playing the lute (Plate 10) that shows her unmistakable kinship with the earlier image.

Even more fragmentary are the remains of the frescoes painted by Giusto de' Menabuoi for the chapel dedicated to Saint Augustine in the Church of the Eremitani in Padua, a church of the same order of Augustinian hermits as occupied the monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence and who were such an important cultural and specifically musical influence in that city.²⁷ Giusto was commissioned to paint

²⁴ Lady Music appears on fol. 34 of the manuscript.

²⁵ Coletti, "Un affresco," pp. 101–7.

²⁶ Coletti, "Un affresco," p. 102. Some of the fragments are discussed and reproduced in Ranieri Varese, *Trecento ferrarese* (Milan, 1976), pl. 18.

²⁷ See Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances," Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981, pp. 190–206.

For the frescoes celebrating Saint Augustine painted by the Paduan artist,

the frescoes in 1367 by Tebaldo Cortellieri but they were mostly destroyed or covered up in the seventeenth century, and only in the present century have a few fragments come to light again. We know many details about the way the frescoes looked before their destruction from the copious notes taken on them by a young German studying medicine in Italy in the fifteenth century, Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg, whom musicians know in another context as the copyist and first owner of the Schedel Liederbuch in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.²⁸ Schedel's descriptions are detailed enough so that we can be quite certain that the lost Paduan frescoes were very close indeed to the manuscript illuminations in Florence and Vienna, and also to the other versions of the Triumph of Saint Augustine.

This group of images had as well a more general and widespread influence in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy. It is clear, for example, that the personifications of the liberal arts painted by Andrea Bonaiuti da Firenze for the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence are related in some way to the Augustinian scheme (Plate 11).²⁹ But Andrea's fresco, commissioned in the late 1360's for a Dominican church places the liberal arts in an encyclopedic context, as Julius von Schlosser so well pointed out.³⁰ Andrea attempts to place music within a much more comprehensive system of knowledge than that depicted by the Augustinians. In Andrea's

Guariento di Arpo, for the same Church of the Eremitani in Padua, see Jeanne Courcelle and Pierre Courcelle, *Iconographie de Saint Augustin. Les Cycles du XIVe Siècle* (Paris, 1965), pp. 49–51 and pls. XLVI A-E. Guariento's cycle shows the life of Saint Augustine, and is therefore unrelated to the images discussed here.

²⁸ Schedel's notes on the Paduan frescoes are reproduced and discussed in von Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken"; see also the summary of later studies in Bettini, *Giusto*, pp. 112–21. Some of the surviving fragments of the Paduan frescoes are reproduced in von Schlosser, "Zur Kenntnis", as pl. XXIX (opp. p. 326). The Schedel Liederbuch (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS germ. 810, olim Mus. 3232) is published in facsimile, ed. Bettina Wackernagel, in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. 84 (Cassel 1978); a modern edition of the collection will be published in the same series as vols. 74–75.

²⁹ On Andrea's frescoes, see Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1951), pp. 94–105, and the studies cited there.

³⁰ von Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken," pp. 31–48.

Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas, moreover, all the Augustinian commentary has been omitted, and Lady Music plays a portative organ rather than a lute.

When Bartolomeo di Fruosino illuminated a copy of the *Divine Comedy* about 1420 (Plate 11),³¹ he probably alluded to Andrea's fresco rather than to the earlier Augustinian complex directly. Dante sits writing in his study in the initial letter, whereas the personifications and representatives of the liberal arts painted by Bartolomeo appear within medallions in the borders. Obviously these figures relate in some way to one of the earlier schemes, even though all connection with either Saint Augustine or Saint Thomas Aquinas has here been broken.

Plate 12 shows the frontispiece to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds it. 568, the well-known anthology of trecento music, presumably a Florentine manuscript compiled in the first decade of the fifteenth century.³² It combines elements derived both from the fresco in the Spanish Chapel and from the earlier Augustinian scheme. On the one hand, Lady Music plays the portative organ rather than the lute, and she sits before a gothic arch of a design reminiscent of that in the Spanish Chapel. But on the other hand, Jubal is flanked by two heavily written columns typical, as we have seen, of many of the earlier examples of the Triumph of Saint Augustine, but absent from the Spanish Chapel.

Whatever the precise route, the transmission from the lost exemplar presumably written during the first half of the fourteenth century to the watered down images of the fifteenth century shows how the original meaning of an image — in this case music as one of

³¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS ital. 74, fol. 3, described in Peter Brieger, Millard Meiss and Charles S. Singleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy*, 2 vols. (London, 1970), 1:314–16; the illuminated frontispiece is reproduced there, 2:pl. 10.

³² On the date and provenance of the Paris manuscript, see Ursula Günther, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals *Godi, Firenze* und der Handschrift Paris, B. N., fonds it. 568 (*Pit*)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967): 99–119. She associates the frontispiece with Andrea's fresco for Santa Maria Novella on p. 110, and reproduces the frontispiece as pl. 1.

For yet another fifteenth-century cycle of vices, virtues, liberal arts, and their representatives, again without apparent connection with Saint Augustine, see the cassone panels by the workshop of Francesco di Antonio Banchi, reproduced in Bernard Berenson, *Homeless Paintings of the Renaissance*, ed. Hanna Kiel (Bloomington, Indiana and London, 1970), p. 167 (figs. 293–94).

the liberal arts celebrating Saint Augustine's learning and knowledge – gradually faded and was replaced by a much less specific picture that conjures up in a general way the place of the liberal arts in a systematic overview of the world (in the case of Andrea's fresco), thoughts vaguely appropriate to an anthology of music (in the case of Paris 568), or to the work of a man renowned for his command of all knowledge (in the case of the frontispiece to the *Divine Comedy*).

In order to appreciate fully the special qualities of the Triumph of Saint Augustine, we should recall the much older tradition of depicting music as a liberal art, exemplified by the well-known illumination from a Neapolitan copy of Boethius's *De musica* (Plate 14), prepared for the Neapolitan court in the years after King Robert's death.³³ In the first place, this page helps to remind us that Lady Music and Jubal with the Augustinian divisions of their art into organic, harmonic, and rhythmic types was not the only image of music prevalent in fourteenth-century Italy. Indeed, the Neapolitan illustration harkens back to a much older and different pictorial tradition of portraying music derived directly from Boethius, for we see here – in contrast with the Augustinian miniatures – a quite different division of *musica*, or to be more specific *musica instrumentalis*, into three types: sounds produced by the tension of strings (namely the fiddle, the lute, and the psaltery played by the higher classes, not only King David looking down from his medallion as from a wall plaque, but also the literally bigger and higher people on the page); sounds produced by wind instruments, including the noble organ played by Lady Music herself as well as the shawm and bagpipe and the trumpets played apparently by rustics (or courtly minstrels) on the one hand and court musicians on the other; and finally, sounds produced by beating (percussion instruments), the tambourine, clappers, and nakers or kettledrums played by minstrels. This division is made manifest by the composition of the picture, the string players spread across the top, the percussion players arranged in a V beside and below the central figure, with the wind players in an interlocked, inverted V with Lady Music at its apex. The Neapolitan

³³ Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS V.A.14, fol. 47^v. For a brief description of all the illuminated pages in the manuscript, see Angela Daneu Lattanzi and Marguerite Debae, *Italiaanse Miniaturen van de 10de tot de 16de eeuw* (Brussels, 1969), no. 39, pp. 38–39.

Boethius is a trecento adaptation of an old theme: a picture that reinterprets earlier medieval imagery for the contemporary world. It is a complex image consisting of the Boethian categories modified by Biblical and late classical imagery (King David and the personification of music derived from Martianus Capella) that at the same time offers a conspectus of contemporary practice, a representative rather than an exhaustive sample of the trecento instrumentarium, doubtless to help the noble students who first read their Boethius from this elegant manuscript to interpret this ancient authority in terms they could understand and indeed in terms of the instruments they themselves saw around them in the real world.

From the musician's point of view, the most significant difference between the Augustinian images of music, with their elaborate titles and written commentaries that allow us to construct a secure intellectual context for them, and the Neapolitan Boethius and the later pictures of Musica with Jubal is that in the manuscripts from Naples and Paris, and the fresco in Florence, Lady Music is shown playing a portative organ rather than a lute. I presume that the choice of instrument for Lady Music was determined either by earlier medieval images or directly from the Bible, where Jubal, son of Lamech, is called the father of those who play the harp and organ: the "cithara et organo" in the words of the Vulgate.³⁴ There is little need to offer any elaborate explanation of the choice of organ for Lady Music, since the organ was the instrument traditionally associated with music in medieval images, and especially those aspects of music that concern measurement.³⁵ Lady Music plays the organ in the later trecento pictures because it is one of the oldest instruments, because the measurements of its pipes was the subject of intensive investigation in the middle ages, perhaps, too, because it is the only instrument allowed in church, and because expert and famous musicians of the fourteenth century, men like Francesco Landini, learned in music as well as the other liberal arts, had mastered the technique of performing upon it.

Some slightly more elaborate explanation is surely necessary to

³⁴ Genesis 4, 21.

³⁵ For a brief but useful overview of medieval treatises on organs and especially those works dealing with the measurements of pipes (for the most part not of practical value), see Peter Williams, "Organ," 4:5, in *The New Grove*, 13:729–30.

explain the lute in Lady Music's hands. It is just possible that the trecento artists intended merely to depict the *lira* mentioned in the Latin hexameters. More probably, though, this picture, too, hearkens back to the Biblical text. As the daughter, as it were, of Jubal, Lady Music can appropriately be shown playing the "cithara." But what was a "cithara" to a trecento artist or musician? Not surely a fiddle — demonstrably the most common of all trecento instruments in the hands of noble amateurs and learned intellectuals as well as professionals — for that would surely have been called a "viola." Nor equally clearly not the psaltery, surely normally translated as "psalterio," with close connections with King David, the psalmist and author of the psalms. The standard translation of cithara in medieval and early Renaissance France is "harp," but the harp was a relatively new instrument in Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and an instrument associated with the world of French romances.³⁶ It would scarcely be suitable for so serious an image as that of music as one of the liberal arts. Cithara, of course, had a more general meaning as well, as so many ancient terms translated into the vernaculars of the later middle ages and the Renaissance. Lute, albeit also an instrument with a relatively short history of use in fourteenth-century Italy, was a good alternative, especially in view of its rounded back and seven strings that associated it in the minds of later writers with the ancient lyre.³⁷ But then, in a sense "lyre" was merely a kithara by another name. It seems altogether reasonable that "cithara" should be translated into a pictorial image as a lute, and that either it or the organ should be shown as the representative instrument of the sounding art.

It is less easy to explain why Lady Music in all the images derived from the Triumph of Saint Augustine should be shown tuning the lute

³⁶ See Howard Mayer Brown, "The Trecento Harp" in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 35–73. "Cithara" as the instrument of King David as psalmist is usually interpreted to be a psaltery in trecento pictures; see Brown, "Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter I," *Imago Musicae* 1 (1984): 189–243.

³⁷ See, for example, the much later description of the "lyra populariter leutum dicta" in Johannes Tinctoris *De inventione et usu musicae*, published in Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445–1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat "De inventione et usu musicae"* (Tutzing, 1961), pp. 40–46, and the partial English translation in Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*," *Galpin Society Journal* 3 (1950): 21–25.

and holding a gittern in her lap. That she tunes the instrument instead of playing it should cause us no problems, since the act of tuning involves measuring intervals, that aspect of musical science stressed in the commentaries. Two explanations spring to mind to account for the combination of lute and gittern. In the first place, it may be sufficient to suggest that the trecento artists were being slightly more comprehensive in their translation of the word "cithara." The lute was appropriate because of its alleged resemblance to the ancient kithara. But, the artist might have said, we do have an instrument called a "chitarra," and clearly the two words are related. To illustrate the Biblical cithara, in other words, they depicted the lute, an instrument related by tradition to the ancient kithara, and the chitarra, an instrument related linguistically to the term they wished to depict.

It may also be that the two instruments are shown together simply because they belonged together by common trecento usage. That is, the chitarra or gittern and the lute may well have been a standard combination of instruments, and the artists naturally included the one when they painted the other. In favor of that interpretation is the fact that almost all other personifications of the liberal arts in the Triumph of Saint Augustine are shown engaged in everyday activities common to their disciplines: Grammar teaches two boys their alphabet, Arithmetic writes numbers in a book, Geometry holds a compass, Astronomy an astrolabe, and so on.

The strongest argument against the notion that in fourteenth-century Italy the gittern and lute were a standard combination of instruments comes from the fact that I can find little corroborating evidence among the relatively few trecento paintings that seem to depict scenes that can be related more or less directly to social reality. More often we find gittern players performing alone to accompany Salome's dance; a professional musician, Orpheus, accompanying himself on the gittern when he plays before the court of Hell; a gittern accompanied by a portative organ playing for a courtly dance, surely to represent vainglorious courtly entertainment, when Saint Catherine of Alexandria appears before the Emperor Maxentius; or a gittern accompanied by a double recorder to play at a courtly ceremonial when Saint Martin was knighted by the emperor.³⁸ But the combi-

³⁸ All of the scenes, illustrated by trecento pictures, are reproduced and discussed at greater length in Howard Mayer Brown, "Ambivalent Trecento

nation of gittern and lute is singled out by Laurence Wright in his impressive article on the gittern and the citole as a standard combination,³⁹ and it would easily be possible to demonstrate a close connection between the two instruments if we broadened our perspective to include illuminations from France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, if we included the rather suggestive groupings of some fourteenth-century Italian angel musicians playing lute and gittern together, and if we pursued our investigation forwards in time to include fifteenth-century Italy. If, for example, we were to accept the frescoes in Schloss Runkelstein (Plate 15)⁴⁰ as evidence of trecento conventions, even though they were painted at the very end of the century in the Tyrol, or if we could accept the angelic duo accompanying the dedication of the Oratorio of Mocchirolo by Count Porro and his family (Plate 16),⁴¹ or that playing over the bier of St. Nicholas in the basilica of Saint Nicholas in Tolentino (Plate 17)⁴² as examples of social reality in fourteenth-century Italy, then we could easily establish through pictures alone the likelihood that the combination of lute and gittern was a commonplace of the time.

Lewis Lockwood has shown us that the great instrumental virtuoso of the mid-fifteenth century, Pietrobono, documented at the court of Ferrara as early as the 1440s, was called a “citharoedi” or “citharista.”⁴³ Those terms were perhaps no more than fancy classicizing names for a player (or singer, or more probably both) who performed on lute,

Attitudes Towards Music” in *Music and Context, Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 79–107.

³⁹ Laurence Wright, “The Medieval Gittern and Citole: A Case of Mistaken Identity,” *Galpin Society Journal* 30 (1977): 8–42.

⁴⁰ A reproduction of the whole fresco showing the two musicians accompanying eight elegant dancers is given in Antonio Morassi, *Storia della pittura nella venezia tridentina dalle origini alla fine del quattrocento* (Rome, 1935), p. 296, fig. 180.

⁴¹ The fresco is reproduced and discussed in Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del quattrocento* (Milan, 1912), p. 253 (fig. 190); and in Luigi Coletti, *I primitivi*, vol. 3: *I Padani* (Novara, 1947), p. l xiii and pl. 120.

⁴² The fresco is discussed and reproduced in Carlo Volpe, *La pittura riminese del trecento* (Milan, 1965), pp. 45–48 and 85 (figs. 268–69).

⁴³ Lewis Lockwood, “Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975) 115–33. See also Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* (Oxford, 1984). esp. pp. 96–108. Lockwood refers to Pietrobono as a lutenist.

fiddle, lira da braccio, or even possibly harp. But Lockwood points out that Pietrobono during the early years of his career was invariably called "Pietrobono del chitarino," and he included in his study of the great improviser a letter in which Pietrobono is explicitly described as a player of fast soprano lines.⁴⁴ Only later in his career was Pietrobono regularly associated with the lute.

More important, Lockwood makes the point that Pietrobono was often accompanied by his "tenorista." It is clear that the tenorista was an instrumentalist, but it is not clear what instrument he played, most probably, though, lute or fiddle, or both at various times. In short, Pietrobono probably played both lute and gittern, one of his specialties was playing fast-moving soprano lines, and he often needed an accompanist to play his tenors. The evidence suggests a musical texture consisting of a prominent and fast-moving soprano line accompanied by a lower line that probably moved more slowly. This, of course, is just the texture of the duets in the Spinacino and Dalza lute books of the early sixteenth century, a repertory already connected in various scholarly articles with an earlier fifteenth-century tradition.⁴⁵ It is also one possible texture suggested by the dance treatises of the mid-fifteenth century, which include the music for the tenors and imply that faster-moving lines were improvised above or around them.⁴⁶ The clearest written-out example of such a dance is that in the Faenza Codex, where in fact we find a fast-moving top line accompanied by a slower-moving tenor.⁴⁷ The Faenza Codex exists

⁴⁴ See Lockwood, "Pietrobono," p. 121.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Howard Mayer Brown, "Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson," in *Current Thoughts in Musicology*, ed. John W. Grubbs (Austin, Texas and London, 1976), pp. 106–7.

⁴⁶ All the Italian dance tenors of the fifteenth century are given in Otto Kinkeldey, "Dance Tunes of the Fifteenth Century," in *Instrumental Music*, ed. David G. Hughes (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 89–152. See there for earlier studies of Italian dance treatises, and see also Beatrice Pescerelli, "Una sconosciuta redazione del trattato di danza di Guglielmo Ebreo," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 9 (1974): 48–55.

⁴⁷ "Bel fiore dança," in Faenza, Biblioteca comunale, Cod. 117, fols. 80^v–81, reproduced in facsimile in *An Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Source of Keyboard Music*, ed. Armen Carapetyan (American Institute of Musicology, 1961), pp. 86–87, and in a modern edition in *Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117*, ed. Dragan Plamenac (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), p. 102. Several other pieces in the manuscript may be dances.

If I am correct in assuming that the combination of gittern and lute reflects

because some keyboard player needed to write out his entire part. Presumably other musicians, including virtuoso gittern players, could have made up their parts just from looking at tenors like that in the Faenza Codex.

One volume of tenors possibly appropriate for a *tenorista* may actually survive. Hans Schoop has pointed out the relationship of the collection of tenors in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.f. 4379, to the polyphony of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici misc. 213, and it may be that Paris 4379 is therefore a special kind of part book, prepared for a *tenorista* whose job it was to accompany the singers who in such a case would fulfill the same musical function as the gittern player in instrumental duets.⁴⁸ The texture of fast-moving top line and slower-moving tenor may also have been what Simone Prudenzani referred to in his description of the well-born musician, Il Sollazzo, who entertained the guests at the house party given by the mythical Ser Pierbaldo in his castle of Buongoverno.⁴⁹ One night, Il Sollazzo played the lute and then began a series of dance tunes which he played on the *chitarra* “a tenore.” Perhaps Il Sollazzo played the tenors as well as the top lines, or perhaps an unnamed assistant joined him for his set of dance pieces. Prudenzani was one of those very rare literary commentators on music who gave unusually precise details, and it is comforting to know that the tradition of playing the gittern with a tenor can be related back to the very beginning of the fifteenth century, and even earlier, since the repertory played by Il Sollazzo consists largely of *trecento* pieces.

real *trecento* musical practice, and that in such a combination the lute played tenor and the gittern the top line, then it follows that the other possibly real combinations shown in pictures (gittern and portative organ, and gittern and double recorder) may also have involved similar dispositions of forces, with the gittern taking the top line, even though the portative organ must have played in “four-foot range” and the double recorder might then have played some sort of accompanying pattern involving two pitches, one on each pipe.

⁴⁸ Hans Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213* (Bern and Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 79–85. I am grateful to Professor Lewis Lockwood for pointing this passage out to me.

⁴⁹ In Santore Debenedetti, *Il “Sollazzo”: Contributi alla storia della Novella, della Poesie musicale e del Costume nel Trecento* (Turin, 1922), p. 174, the passage reads:

“Con la chitarra fe’ suoni a tenore
Con tanta melodia che a ciascuno
Per la dolcezza gli alegrava ‘l core.”

Is there any evidence of the combination of lute and gittern, or even of dance tenors, in the musical manuscripts of the fourteenth century? I would suggest that in fact there is, in the form of the four “canzone” or “canzonette tedesche” in London, British Library, MS Add. 29987, a set of pieces marked as “tenores.”⁵⁰ These four pieces may be the only preserved examples of a standard fourteenth-century genre: dances (and also possibly songs) in which an expert gittern player improvised a fast-moving soprano line (or decorated a given melodic line) over the fundamental voice given in the manuscript. It is doubtless significant that the form of the Faenza dance – in two sections, the second of which is much shorter than the first – is exactly the same as the form of all four of the canzonette tedesche. The association of the tenors with Germany suggests, of course, a different instrumentarium. The German musicians most often documented in Italy at the time were shawm players,⁵¹ and it might well be, then, that the tenors of London 29987 really preserve a fragment of the repertory of the trecento shawm bands, improvising one or two parts above the given tenor. But just as the Faenza Codex dance can be imagined re-written for a different combination of instruments, so the German tenors might reflect the music played by the combination of gittern and lute, or even gittern with some other instrument playing the tenor, possibly portative organ, fiddle, psaltery, or even double recorder, if the iconographical evidence can be trusted.

Close study of a single picture and its context thus leads us to conclusions not only about the view held at a particular time and place about the nature of music itself and its role in the general scheme of knowledge, but also about the instruments commonly used, and, with a leap of the imagination, to the repertories they played. Gittern alone, as at the Feast of Herod, or with organetto as at the court of Maxentius, played for dances. The image of Lady Music suggests that the combination of gittern with lute was commonplace and a sufficient number of archival and literary documents

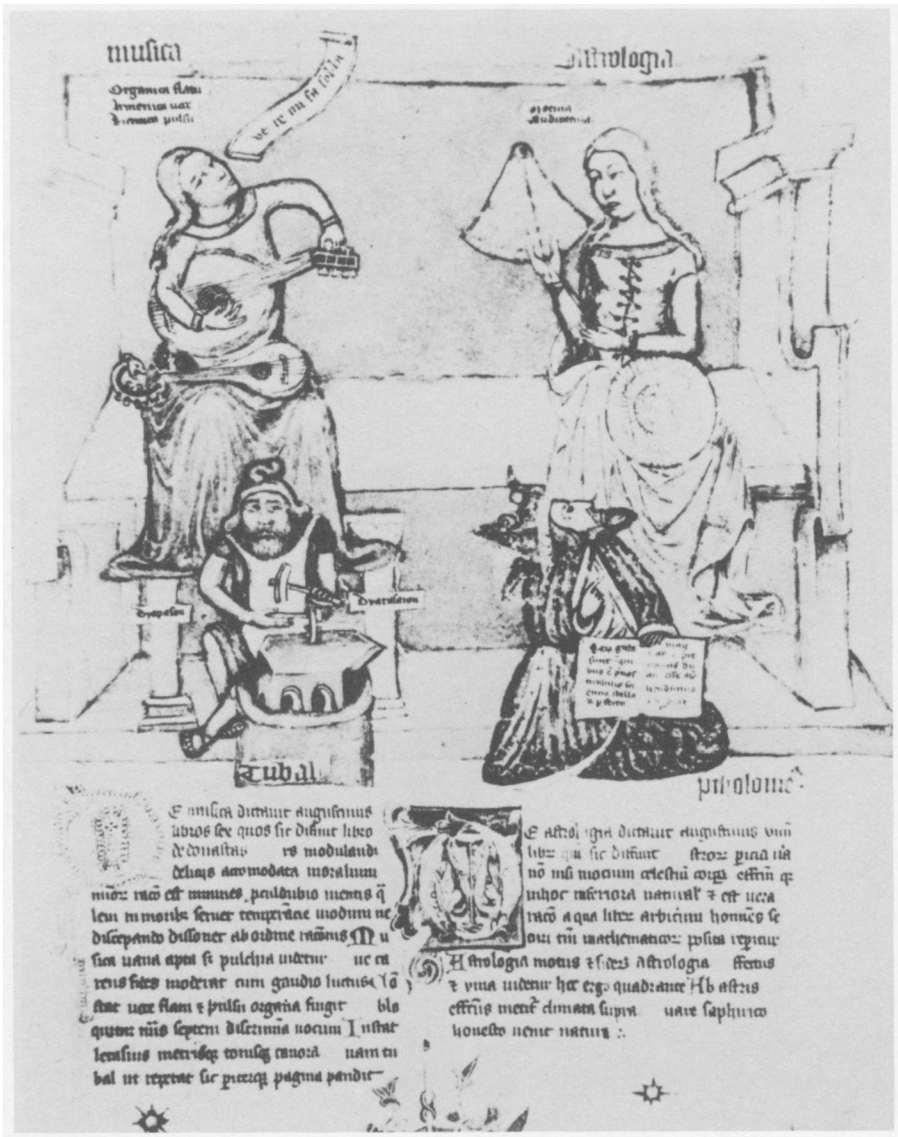
⁵⁰ See the facsimile edition, *The Manuscript London, British Museum, Additional 29987*, ed. Gilbert Reaney (American Institute of Musicology, 1965), fol. 74.

⁵¹ On German shawm players in fourteenth-century Italy, see, for example, Luigia Cellesi, *Storia della più antica banda musicale senese* (Siena, 1906), and Cellesi, *Documenti per la storia musicale di Firenze* (Turin, 1927), pp. 21–23.

demonstrates the possibility or even probability that that or a similar combination of instruments actually did play for dances and other kinds of music at a slightly later date. Some fragments of music – the dance treatises, the single early fifteenth-century dance arranged for keyboard and the set of German tenors in London 29987 – can be explained in relation to this standard instrumental combination, and we can therefore come a bit closer to imagining what some trecento music sounded like, even though most of it is irretrievably lost. We could go further and suggest that this texture of melody plus accompaniment is not, after all, so very different from the texture of many of the polyphonic ballate of the late fourteenth century, in origin at least dancing songs. A number of scholars, among them Kurt von Fischer and Marie Louise Martinez-Göllner,⁵² have suggested that the origin of the polyphonic ballata came about when musicians began to add instrumental (or even vocal) accompaniments to a single line of melody. That hypothesis, of course, turns upside down my argument that some instrumental music was built up from a tenor. It does, however, make one important point about the near identity of monophonic and polyphonic music in fourteenth-century Italy, unlike France. But a more detailed investigation of these conjectures and hypotheses must wait for another essay, when the nature and purpose of the gittern can be explored at greater length.

University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

⁵² See Kurt von Fischer, "On the Technique, Origin and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music," *Musical Quarterly* 47 (1951): 41–57; and Marie Louise Martinez, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Tutzing, 1963), especially pp. 117–36.



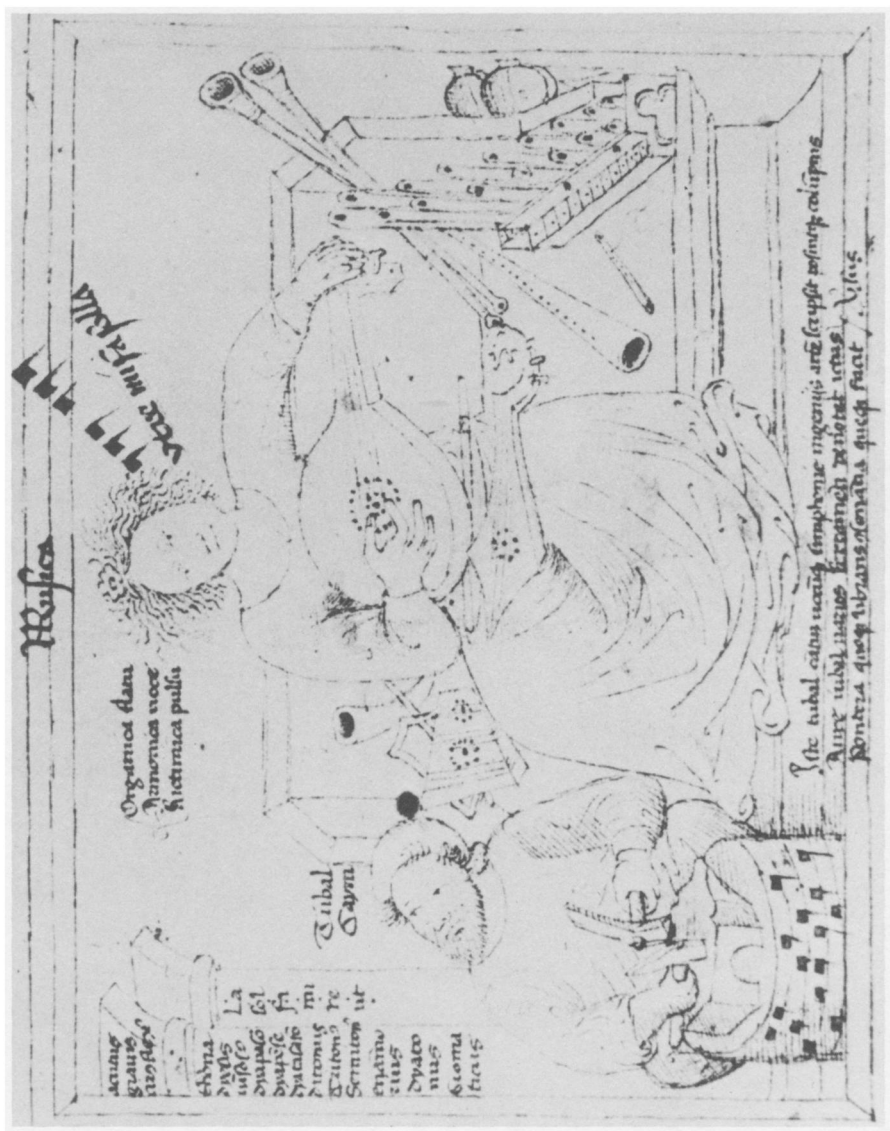
1. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. S. n. 2639, fol. 4



2. London, British Library, MS Royal 6.E.IX, fol. 29



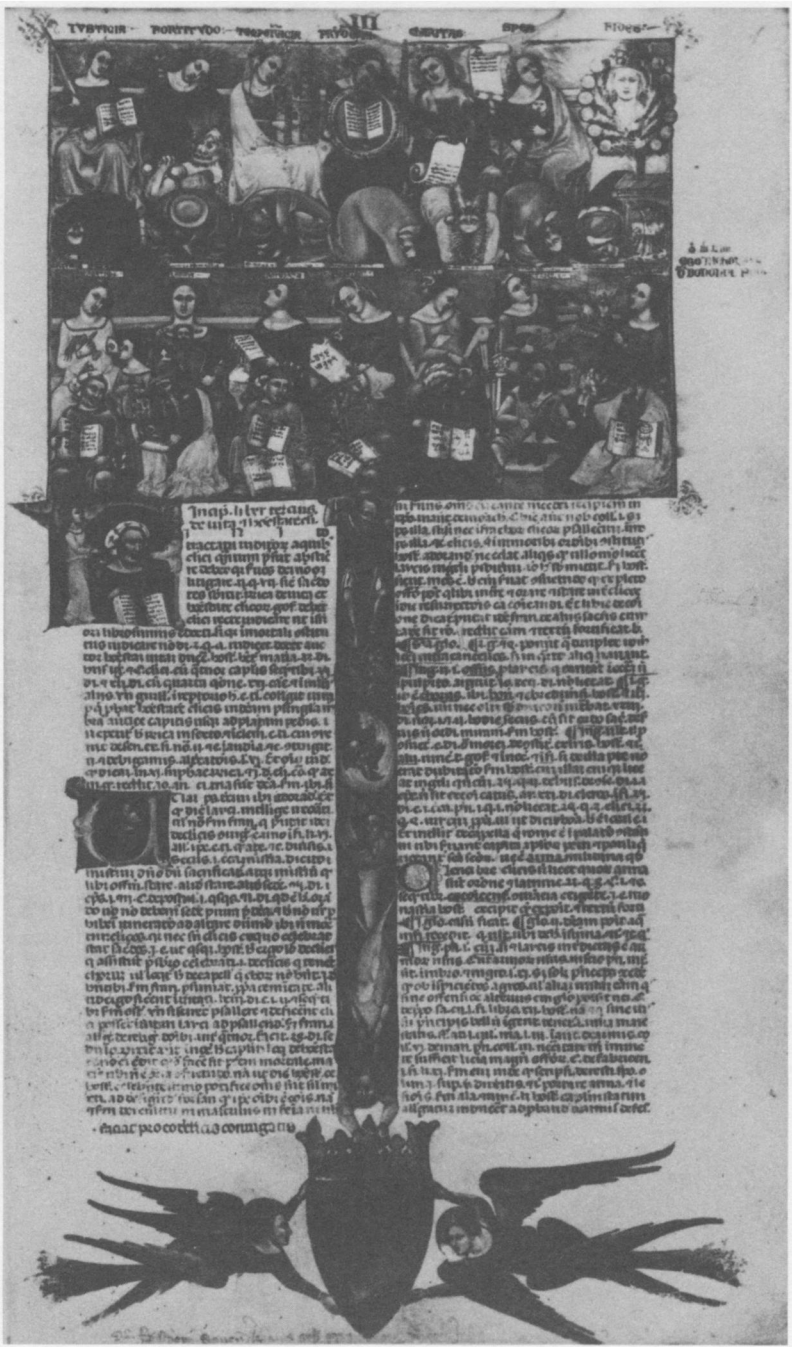
3. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1426, fol. 10^v



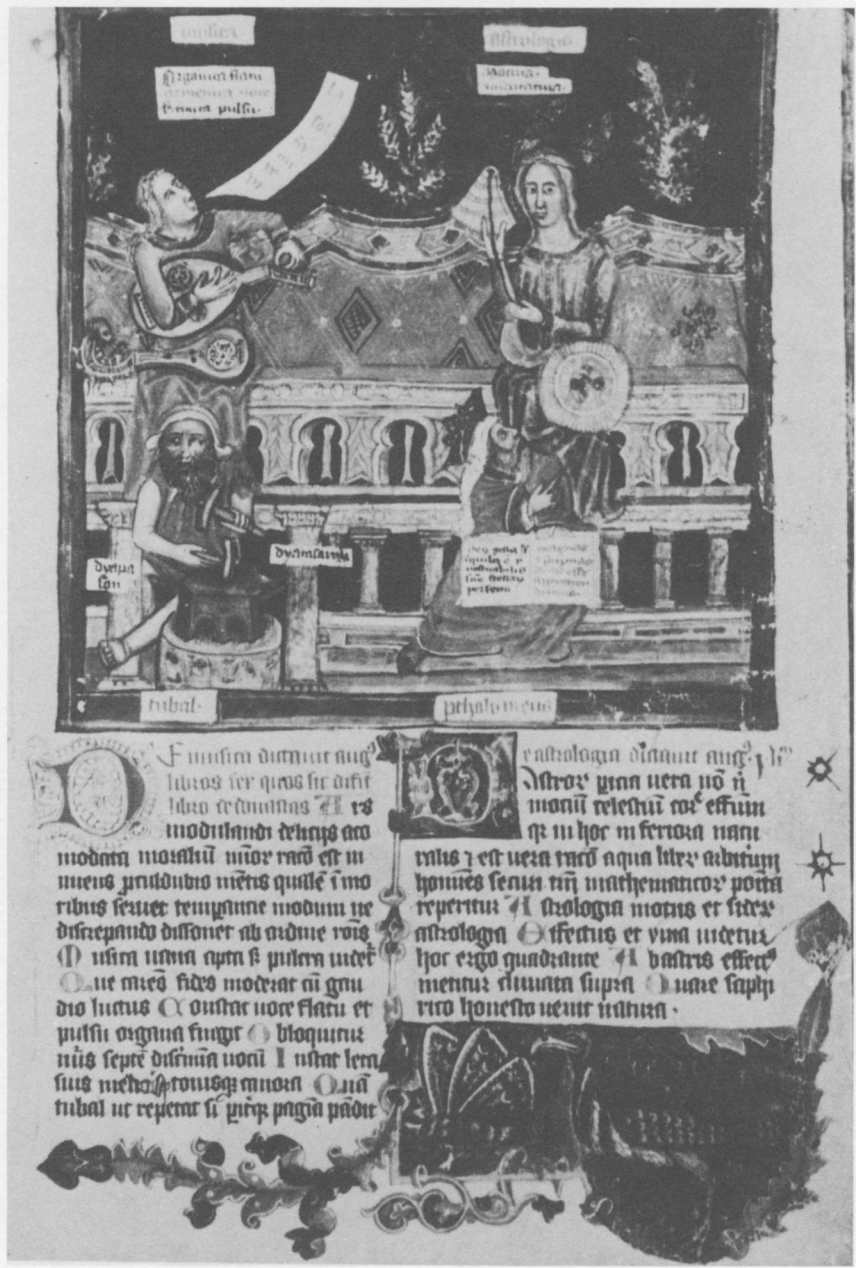
5. Rome, Museo nazionale, Gabinetto delle stampe, MS s. n.



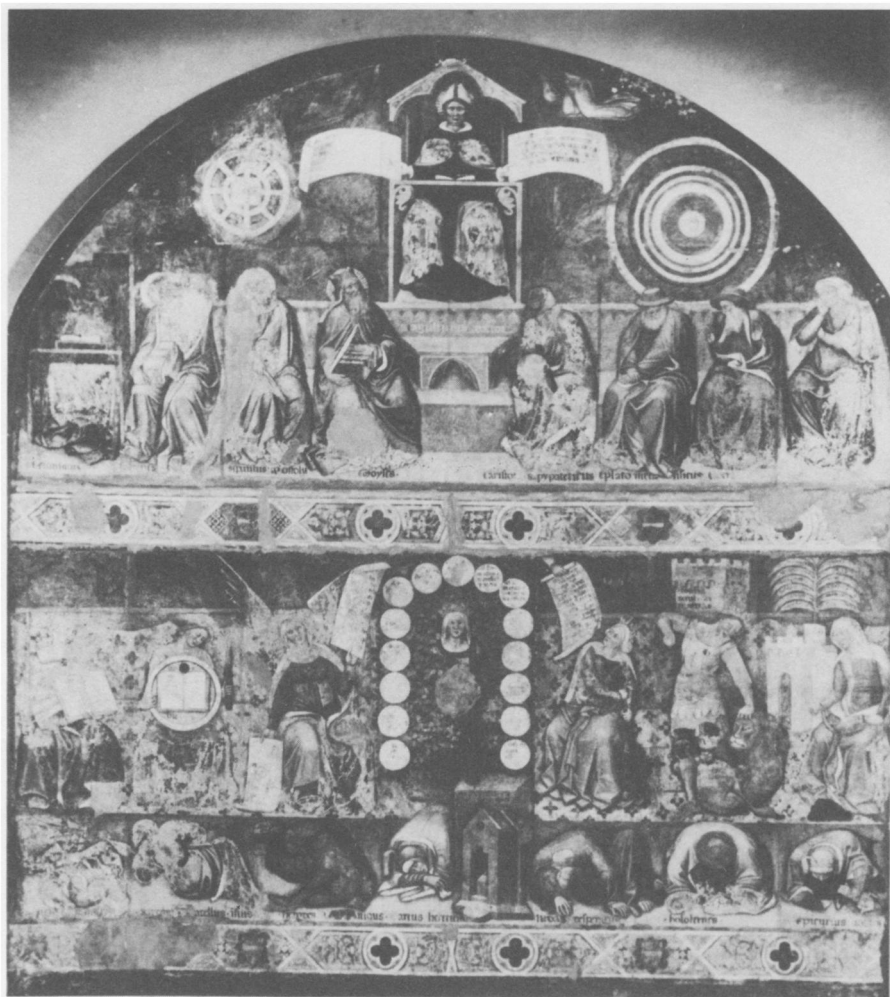
6. Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS D. 2. fol. 1



7. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS B. 42 Inf. fol. 2



8. Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, MS Magl. II.I.27 (Banco rari 38), fol. 34



9. Triumph of Saint Augustine, Ferrara, Pinacoteca nazionale



10. Lady Music, detail from the Triumph of Saint Augustine, Ferrara, Pinacoteca nazionale



11. Andrea Bonaiuti da Firenze, Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas, Florence, Santa Maria Novella



12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS ital. 74, fol. 3



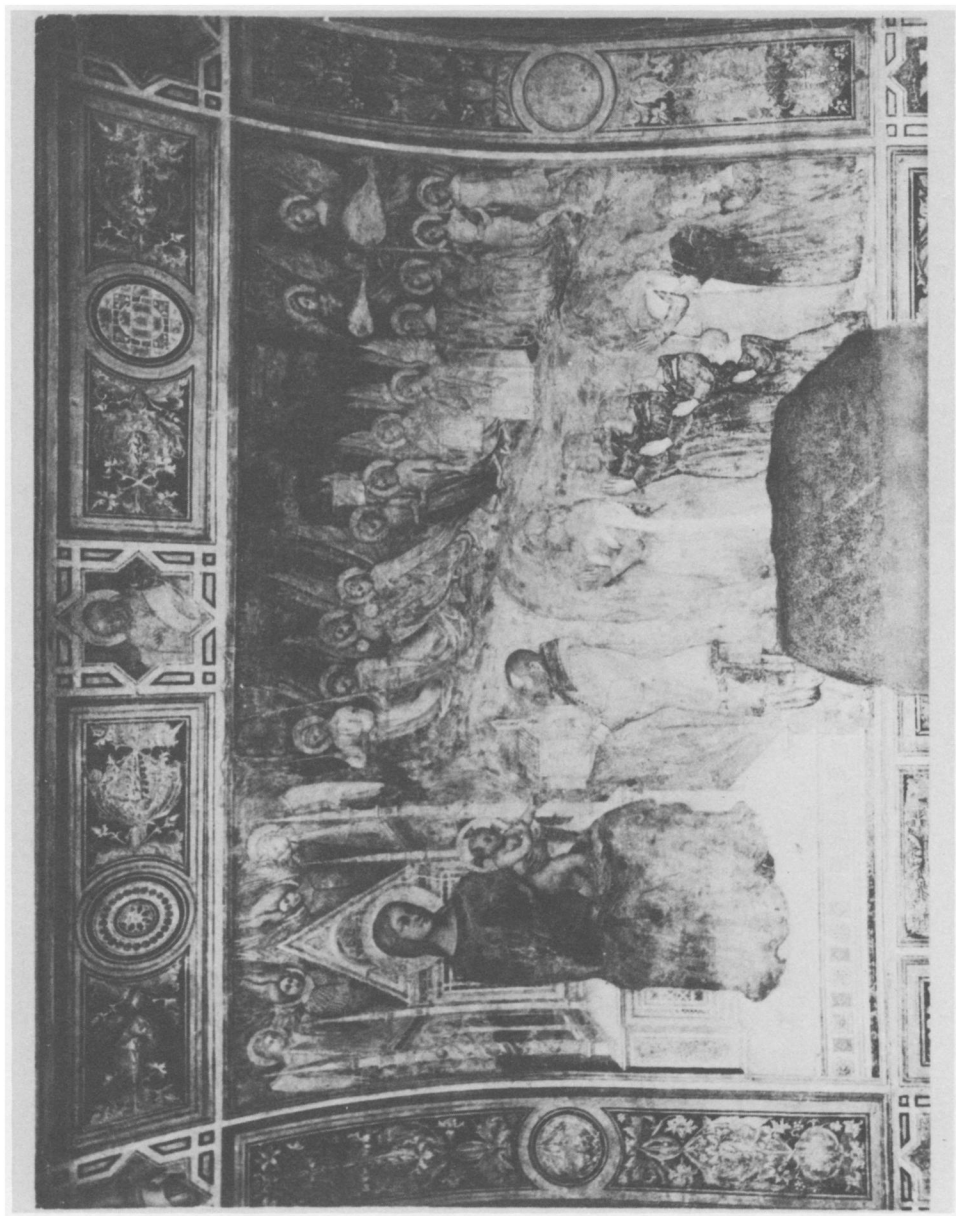
13. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS ital. 568, fol. 1



14. Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS V. A. 14, fol. 47^v



15. Minstrels accompanying courtly dance, Fresco, Schloss Runkelstein



16. Count Porro and his family offering a model of the Oratorio at Mocchirolo to the Virgin Mary, Milan, Pinacoteca Brera, no. 971



17. Death and Apotheosis of Saint Nicholas, Tolentino, Basilica di San Nicola, Cappella di San Nicola