

Luchino Visconti, Jacopo da Bologna and Petrarch: Courting a Patron*

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In the musical repertory of the Trecento, no more than four compositions are unequivocally dedicated to a contemporary secular ruler: two madrigals, *Lo lume vostro* and *O in Italia*, and two motets, *Lux purpurata/Diligite iustitiam* and *Laudibus dignis*. The addressee of all four is the Milanese ruler Luchino Visconti (ca. 1292-1349): the madrigal *Lo lume vostro* contains the acrostic LUCHINUS, and the motets have LUCHINUS VICECOMES and LUCHINUS DUX respectively; the madrigal *O in Italia* provides information on the birth of Luchino's twin sons, Luchino Novello and Giovanni, on Friday, August 4, 1346. Whereas the first three

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Abbreviations used:

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| FP | Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26 |
| Pit | Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. it. 568 |
| Reina | Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n. acq. fr. 6771 (Reina Codex) |
| SL | Firenze, San Lorenzo, Archivio Capitolare 2211 |
| Sq | Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex) |

compositions are known to have been written by Jacopo da Bologna, the motet *Laudibus dignis* is transmitted anonymously and fragmentarily: only one voice, apparently a *triplum*, has survived. However, Jacopo's authorship is fairly certain.¹

These compositions have been seen as unquestionable testimony to the presence of Jacopo in Milan. Based on their supposed dating, it is thought that Jacopo worked for Luchino as a court composer from 1342 or 1343 (Nino Pirrotta's suggested dating of the motet *Lux purpurata*)² until Luchino's death on 21 or 27 January 1349, and that the compositions in question were designed for court ceremonies.³

That these works by Jacopo da Bologna represent the unique specimens of musical compositions written in the Trecento explicitly dedicated to a nobleman is extraordinary in itself, and all the more so since, at this time, Luchino was not the only ruler to employ court poets and musicians who could write eulogies in honor of the lord and his family. We might well have expected to see a larger number of musical dithyrambs by other composers for other patrons were the writing of music in honor of rulers a common practice in the Italian courts of this period. But we do not.⁴ The very idea that compositions of this kind by other court musi-

1 This opinion is largely accepted by scholars of Trecento music, as here «...motet fragment *Laudibus dignis*, which is very probably Jacopo's and whose text incorporates an acrostic on the name of 'Luchinus dux'». KURT VON FISCHER, GIANLUCA D'AGOSTINO, *Jacopo da Bologna*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second Edition, ed. by Stanley Sadie, London, Macmillan, 2001, vol. 12, pp. 737-740: 738.

2 NINO PIRROTTA, *Jacopo da Bologna: Introduction*, in *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, ed. by Nino Pirrotta, Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1954 ("Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae", 8), vol. 4, p. 1, proposes that Jacopo's «motet *Lux purpurata*/*Diligite iustitiam*, whose first text is an acrostic on the name Luchinus Vucecomes (sic!), must refer either to the suspension of the papal interdict against the Visconti in 1342, or to the visit of a papal legate in 1343».

3 VON FISCHER, D'AGOSTINO, *Jacopo da Bologna* cit., p. 737: «A further date is established by the madrigal *O in Italia*, whose text refers to the birth of twin sons to the Milanese ruler Luchino Visconti on 4 August 1346. As other of his texts show (e.g. *Lo lume vostro*, which perhaps hints at the conspiracy against Luchino in 1341, and the motet *Lux purpurata*, [...]), Jacopo was at the Visconti court during the reign of Luchino (1339-1349). It was presumably after the death of the prince that he moved to Verona, where he remained until not later than 1352 (the death of Alberto della Scala)». This chronology is accepted by practically all studies concerning Jacopo da Bologna, as, for example, in PIERLUIGI PETROBELLI, '*Un leggiadretto velo*' ed altre cose petrarchesche, «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», x, 1975, pp. 32-45.

4 Other Trecento compositions, discerned by scholars as written for a specific patron, are in fact extremely vague in their references and abound in allegories and symbols that are difficult to deci-

cians for other rulers did once exist but have been lost evidently should be discarded; otherwise it would hardly be likely that four compositions of this kind that have survived at random should be by the same composer and addressed to the same person.⁵ Furthermore, considering Jacopo's presumed sojourn of about six to seven years at the Visconti court, the tally of only four ceremonial compositions, created on Luchino's assumed commission to commemorate current events, might seem too scant for the regular duties of a court musician.

Therefore, taking into account the reasoning above, I suggest an alternative explanation of the uniqueness of the Luchino series: these four musical pieces represent a set, conceived and created together under exceptional circumstances. In the present essay I propose to unfold this idea in two parts: the first part attempts, through the analysis of these compositions, to uncover their background and their peculiarities, mainly textual; the second part explores the possible circumstances of their creation.

Part I. *Four musical compositions for Luchino Visconti*

1.1 *The madrigal Lo lume vostro, dolce mio signore*⁶

This madrigal presents an unreserved glorification of Luchino and his wife:

Lo lume vostro, dolce mio signore,
Virtute sic perfecte est ornatum,
 Ch'a' rei non luce, a' boni sempr'è chiaro.

Your light, my sweet Lord,
 is so perfectly adorned with virtue
 that it does not shine for offenders,
 but is always shining for the righteous.

pher with certainty. Similar instances of musico-poetical productions written for a patron, whose name would have been inserted in the poetic text, are known mostly from later periods or/and by composers of non-Italian origin such as Ciconia's motets for church authorities.

5 MICHAEL CUTHBERT, *Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism*, «Musica Disciplina», LIV, 2009, pp. 39-74: 40, has proposed a method of estimating the presumably missing repertory of the Trecento music. Based on the overlap of the repertory in all available manuscripts, both complete and fragmentary, he concludes that not all that much Trecento music has been totally lost and that the main corpus, especially the secular repertory, has survived complete or fragmentarily: «Instead of the thinnest edge of a vast repertory of missing pieces, the surviving body of Italian music from the period of the Great Papal Schism represents a large portion of its original written extent».

6 Found in the following sources: Sq, fols. 15v-16r; FP, fol. 67v; SL, fol. 48 and Reina, fol. 1.

Hoc est notum et satis [est] probatum
 In quegli c'han sentito il gusto amaro
 Nascosamente per comporre errore.

This is known and satisfactorily proven
 to those who have tasted bitterness
 because they tried furtively to make errors.

Una donna vi regge, ch'è sì bella:
 Sul ciel no è posta più lucente stella.⁷

A woman rules here, who is so beautiful;
 there's no brighter star in heaven.

It is not easy to determine the exact meaning of this text in terms of performance, which could have been devised for a specific occasion. Even though it contains allusions to certain events, they sound somewhat remote from the time of its composition. Giuseppe Corsi assumes that the words «nascosamente per comporre errore» hint at the conspiracy against the Visconti family, led by a Milanese nobleman, Francesco Pusterla, in 1340-1341 and violently suppressed by Luchino.⁸ Perhaps the intention was to refer to more than one event, since Jacopo's words «satis est probatum» – «enough is proven» suggests a continuous or repeated situation. Whatever the case, the main idea is clear: Luchino had proved himself, already for some time, to be a governor who was generous toward his supporters but merciless toward his enemies, and who does not shine «his light» on offenders.

This eight-line madrigal with the rhyme-scheme ABC BCA DD, the shortest among the four compositions, contains several literary devices: an acrostic on the ruler's name (LUCHINUS), the coded name of Luchino's wife Isabella-Elisabetta Fieschi (*senhal è si bella*) in the ritornello, and two verse-lines in Latin (lines 2 and 4) alternating with Italian lines. This aspect deserves our attention.

The technique of using such devices in poetry is described in the treatise *Summa artis rhythmici vulgaris dictaminis*, written by the Paduan judge Antonio da Tempo in 1332.⁹ These devices served to render the versification more learned and refined, as, for example, the combination of Latin and Italian verses, described in the section on sonnets, *De sonetis semiliteratis et eorum forma*.¹⁰

7 Cfr. GIUSEPPE CORSI, *Poesie musicali del Trecento*, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970, p. 37.

8 CORSI, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* cit., pp. xxx-xxx1.

9 ANTONIO DA TEMPO, *Summa artis ritmici vulgaris dictaminis*, ed. by Robert Andrews, Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1977 ("Collezione di opere inedite o rare", 136).

10 Ivi, p. 34: «Dicitur autem sonetus semiliteratus eo quia unus versus compilatur vulgariter et alius literariter et sic de ceteris usque in finem soneti» (the sonnet is called *semiliteratus* since one verse-line is composed in the vernacular and another in Latin, and so on up to the end of the sonnet).

Da Tempo's precepts for incorporating the names of dedicatees, placed at the very end of his treatise, reveal the specific reasons that governed this custom.¹¹ The names within the poem, for which we now use the Provençal term *senhal*, should only be feminine ones, whereas acrostics can contain names both of men and women, and sometimes even important sentences:

De compositione nominis in capiversibus

Potest etiam fieri alia compositio, ut ponere nomen vel sententiam in capiversibus, aut per litteras aut per sillabas... Nota quod in praedictis nominum compositionibus sic posset componi nomen hominis quaemadmodum et mulieris... et etiam alia sententia possit componi per modum supra proxime scriptum.¹²

On composition with a name at beginnings of verses [acrostics]

There is also another way of composition, when the name or phrase is placed at the beginnings of the lines, either by letters or by syllables. Note that in these compositions with names, a man's name may be put as well as a woman's ... and another expression too can be composed in the way described above.

If feminine names had also a general meaning, they could be inserted in the poem in that form, as described in the paragraph *De compositione nominis in una dictione* [On composition with a name in one word]:

... in rithimo, et maxime in ballatis, apponitur nomen unius dominae. Et potest fieri pluribus modis, quod patebit inferius in exemplis quae significata sunt de rubro. Nam potest uno modo poni nomen integrum, idest in una dictione integra; et hoc procedit ex proprietate nominis, quod erit valde generale vel equivocum...:

[Sometimes] in a rhythmus, and especially in ballatas, the name of a woman is inserted. It can be done in many ways, as will be shown below in the examples marked in red. One way is to put a complete name, that is, as a complete word; it depends on the type of name, which can have a general meaning or be ambiguous:

Perché la *fiore* el verde fa parere,
non è più bella cosa da vedere.¹³

11 The main form to use this device, according to da Tempo, was the ballata and especially its ripresa: «maxime in ballatis [...] quod potest poni in repilogatione sive represa unius ballatuzae» (especially in ballatas [...] that can be placed in the refrain or ripresa of the ballata) (Ivi, p. 96), even though the other poetic forms, for example the sonnet, were also possible.

12 Ivi, p. 97.

13 Ivi, p. 96.

Long and explicit women's names should be split into syllables and placed as consecutive words. The objective was that the larger public would not understand the author's intent, namely to identify the person to whom the poem was addressed.

De compositione divisa per sillabas plurium dictionum

Hoc fit propter prolixitatem nominis, et ne forte omnes intelligant voluntatem eius qui rithimaverit, vel ad cuius instantiam rithimatum erit. Ut hoc nomine Catarina, quod nomen non posset in una dictione poni, quin statim intelligeretur; sed bene potest dividi per sillabas aliarum dictionum consecutive...

Convienmi d'*acatar in amor* luoco,
ove possa fuzir da grave fuoco.¹⁴

On composition divided into the syllables of several words

This happens because of the length of the name, and lest everyone should understand the poet's intention or that of the person who commissioned the poem, as is the case with the name Catarina, which cannot be used as a single word without being immediately understood. But it may be divided into the syllables of several consecutive words.

Da Tempo noted that he marked these coded words with red color («significata sunt de rubro»). It is indeed logical that such hidden devices should have been emphasized in the examples, as here, in order to make the word clear. This, in turn, implies that such poems must have been conveyed to the intended addressee in written form, with the coded words marked.

In his treatise, da Tempo presented these techniques in three separate chapters, providing three different examples. Thus, in the case of the madrigal *Lo lume vostro*, the concentration of these devices within a relatively short composition seems quite exaggerated for a routine work of a court poet. There is no other composition in the entire musical repertory of the Trecento with a similar concentration of literary devices, suggesting that the author, namely Jacopo da Bologna, had particular reasons to demonstrate his full command of the most *recherché* poetic means.

¹⁴ Ivi, pp. 96-97. Interestingly, the verse «Convienmi d'*acatar in amor* luoco» is almost literally reproduced in the ritornello of the madrigal *Le aurate chiome* by Bartolino da Padova: «El me conven catar in alcun loco», whereas the second line, «ché pur me sento da' sospiri en foco», has the identical rhyme. It may suggest that da Tempo's treatise was popular among musicians and (novice) poets.

The music of this two-voice madrigal is typical of Jacopo's style, with some interesting details: the entire composition is in *tempus perfectum* without changing the meter in the *ritornello* (Example 1, bars 43-44); in the second line the initial melisma is absent; instead it is placed on the semantically important word «perfecta» (bars 17-20); in the *ritornello*, the *senhal* word «Esibella» [È sì bella], which falls at the end of the line, has no final melisma, perhaps in order not to blur it in singing (bars 50-52); the hocket in the final melisma of the last line (bar 60) is quite frequent in Jacopo's works.

1.2 *The Madrigal O, in Italia, felice Liguria*¹⁵

Unlike *Lo lume vostro*, the madrigal *O in Italia* clearly refers to an event: the birth of Luchino's twin sons on 4 August 1346:

O in Italia felice Liguria,
e proprio tu, Milan! Dio lauda e gloria
de' duo nati signor, che 'l ciel t'aguria.

Happy are you, Liguria, in Italy
and especially you, Milan! Praise and glorify God
for the two newborn lords with whom Heaven
blesses you.

Segno fo ben, che fo di gran vittoria.
ch'un'aquila li trasse al cristianesimo
e Parma lor donò dopo 'l battesimo.

It was a propitious omen, marked by a great victory,
that an eagle brought them to Christianity
and awarded them with Parma after the baptism.

Un venere tra sesta [e] terza nacquero
Luca e Giovanni a chi lor nome piaquero.

On a Friday, between sext and terce,
Luke and John were born, who liked their names.

Quaranta sei un emme con tre ci
correa e fu d'agosto il quarto dì.¹⁶

The year was running 1346,
and it was the fourth day of August.

The little Luchino Novello and Giovanni were the long-expected heirs, Luchino's only legitimate male children. In the *ritornello*, the date of birth is coded by means of Latin letters: «quaranta sei un M con tre C/ Correa et fu d'agosto quattro di» (forty-six, one M with three Cs was underway, and it was August, day four). Consequently, the date, August 4, 1346, is commonly held to indicate when Jacopo was

¹⁵ The madrigal is found in Sq, fols. 17v-18r; FP, fol. 64r; SL, fol. 47r and Reina, fol. 6v.

¹⁶ Cfr. CORSI, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* cit., pp. 41-42.

in the official service of Luchino Visconti. Nevertheless, the content of *O in Italia* evokes certain doubts concerning a date of composition close to August 4, 1346.

O in Italia, instead, describes a series of events sometime after the twins' birth: Luchino granted his sons the city of Parma following their baptism. Luchino had purchased Parma for 60 thousand gold florins from Obizzo III d'Este, marquis of Ferrara, in order to put an end to a lengthy war. The famous Trecento chronicler Giovanni Villani (ca. 1280-1348) narrates this episode in his *Nova Cronica* (book 13, chapter 74) as follows:

Come messer Luchino Visconti signore di Melano ebbe la città di Parma

Tegnendo la città di Parma i marchesi da Esti da Ferrara, che ll'avieno comperata da meser Ghiberto da Coreggia ... messer Luchino signore di Melano al continovo la guerreggia-va colle sue forze e coll'aiuto di quelli da Gonzago signori di Mantova e di Reggio ... si cercarono loro accordo con meser Luchino, al quale si diede compimento all'uscita del mese di settembre MCCCXLVI, che ssi feciono compari di meser Luchino d'un suo figliuolo, e renderli Parma, ed ebbono da llui LXm fiorini d'oro ... e con grande festa n'andarono con meser Luchino a Milano affare il suo figliuolo cristiano, e fermarono lega e compagnia insieme.¹⁷

How messer Luchino Visconti, the lord of Milan, obtained the city of Parma

When the city of Parma was held by the marquesses d'Este, who had bought it from messer Ghiberto da Correggio... messer Luchino, the lord of Milan, waged continuous war for it with his forces, helped by the Gonzaga, the lords of Mantua and Reggio... They [d'Este] endeavoured to make peace with messer Luchino, and succeeded towards the end of September 1346, becoming the godfathers of one of messer Luchino's sons, and they transferred Parma to him for 60,000 golden florins. ... Then they proceeded to Milan with messer Luchino in great pomp in order to make his son Christian, and they formed an alliance and friendship together.

In all likelihood, this is what the poem alludes to as a «great victory». According to Giosuè Carducci, the eagle that brought the twins to Christianity signified Obizzo in person, because he was the twins' godfather and the d'Este family bore a white eagle on their shields.¹⁸

17 GIOVANNI VILLANI, *Nuova cronica*, a c. di Giuseppe Porta, Parma, Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1991, vol. 3, pp. 472-473. One of the twins, the little Giovanni, died in infancy, apparently before his father's death, but the exact date is not known. It is strange that Villani refers to only one of the sons, whereas other sources mention both of them.

18 GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI, *Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante del secolo XIV*, Bologna, Edizione nazionale delle opere, 1943, vol. 9, p. 386: «L'aquila che trasse al battesimo i due novelli nati fu il

The exact date of the baptism is not certain: according to Angelo Pezzana, the historian of the beginning of the Ottocento, it ranges between the 22nd of September and the 10th of October 1346.¹⁹ The *Chronicon estense*, however, gives a detailed report of the journey of Obizzo and his immense retinue, which departed from Ferrara on 7 September and arrived in Milan on 14 September in order to participate in the ceremony. Luchino's brother, the archbishop of Milan Giovanni Visconti, welcomed them in his house. Then, in presence of many Lombard and Veneto noblemen, the baptism was held, and after that Luchino made peace with Obizzo, redeeming Parma from him. This particular event, according to the *Chronicon*, took place close to the 22nd of September 1346:

Alio die, scilicet XIII septembris, omnes iiverunt civitatem Mediolani cum dicto domino archiepiscopo, ibique invenerunt dominum Luchinum vicecomitem, et conduxerunt dominum Marchionem et alios suos in domo et habitatione dicti domini archiepiscopi, et aliis domibus, et expensis domini archiepiscopi et domini Luchini... Qui, scilicet dominus marchio Estensis, dominus marchio Montisferrati, dominus Castellanus, dominus Hostaxius da Polenta et alii tenuerunt ad sacrum baptismum duos filios masculos dicti domini Luchini Vicecomitis, quos ambos peperit uxor eius. Primus quidem vocatus est Luchinus, alio vero Johannes, quibus compadres predicti obtulerunt honorabilia dona etc... Et sic dominus Marchio concessit et tradidit civitatem Parme cum certis pactis dicto domino Luchino; deinde die XXI septembris gentes domini Luchini equitaverunt et intraverunt Parmam...²⁰

On the next day, namely on the 14th of September, all the people, together with the said lord archbishop [Giovanni Visconti], arrived in the city of Milan, where they met Signor Luchino Visconti. They conducted the marquess and his company to the house of the said lord archbishop and in other houses, and expenses were paid for by the archbishop and Signor Luchino... They, that is, the lord marquess d'Este, the lord marquess of Monferrato, Signor Castellano, Signor Eustachio da Polenta and others, held at the font Luchino Visconti's two sons, both born of his wife. The first was called Luchino and the second Giovanni; to them the abovementioned godfathers offered honourable gifts etc. ... And thus the lord marquess [d'Este] granted and handed over the city of Parma on certain terms to the lord Luchino. After that, on the 22nd of September, the lord Luchino's servants rode on horses and entered Parma.

marchese Obizzo di Ferrara che portava nello scudo la bianca aquila d'Este, il quale cedé allora a Luchino Visconti».

19 ANGELO PEZZANA, *Storia della città di Parma continuata da Angelo Pezzana*, Parma, Dalla ducale tipografia, 1837, vol. 1, p. 2.

20 *Chronicon Estense*, a c. di Giulio Bertoni-Emilio Paolo Vicini, Città di Castello, S. Lapi, 1908 ("Rerum Italicarum Scriptores"), vol. 15, part 3, p. 141.

Some features of *O in Italia* alert us to a certain inconsistency in the arrangement of information. First, the timing, in terms of the date, day of the week, and even hours, refers to an earlier event, the birth, already outdated by the time of the ceremony of baptism.²¹ Second, we certainly are surprised to discover that the year, 1346, is reported in the past tense («correa 1346»). Third, we should have expected a ceremonial composition to be more poetic and allegorical, like many of those designed for presentation at ceremonies; but *O in Italia* resembles rather a dry chronicle-like account. These characteristics, however, become more coherent if we assume that Jacopo's madrigal *O in Italia* was not composed for the ceremony of baptism, but rather «dopo 'l battesimo», after a certain time-gap, that is, after 1346. What Jacopo does present in this composition is his familiarity with the annals of the Visconti house, namely, his awareness of the extreme importance of the birth of the heirs.

O in Italia is a ten-line madrigal with the rhyme-scheme ABABCCDD and EE in the *ritornello*. The musical setting shows some unusual features, such as four musical-textual phrases in the main section of the madrigal, instead of the normative three (Example 2). Except for the *ritornello*, written in hendecasyllables *tronchi*, that is, containing ten syllables with the final accent on the last syllable, the entire madrigal is in hendecasyllables *sdrucchioli* (and in part *semi-sdrucchioli*)²² that contain twelve syllables with the final accent on the antepenultimate one.

The setting of the enjambment in the *ritornello* «Quaranta sei, un M [emme] con tre C [ci]/ correa. Et fu d'agosto 'l quarto dì» (bars 50-52) is particularly interesting in the form that appears in Squarcialupi codex.²³ In the upper voice, the first phrase cuts through the first line and finishes at the beginning of the second with the word *correa*, which, although positioned at the beginning of the

21 Why indeed should one mention the date of the previous event, and not that of the current one? I am grateful to Bonnie Blackburn for the intriguing suggestion that these data might have been useful for an astrological forecast. Although it is difficult to follow this idea at present, it seems very reasonable, all the more so since it was an activity well attested at courts.

22 See SANDRA DIECKMANN, OLIVER HUCK, *Versi sdrucchioli e versi tronchi nella poesia e musica del Trecento*, «Stilistica e Metrica Italiana», VII, 2007, pp. 1-31.

23 For more information see ELENA ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK, *Parlar cantando: The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 250-252.

line, is written in lower case²⁴ and immediately followed by a point. The end of the first line of the *ritornello* is not marked by a pause. The following phrase, which begins with the word «Et» on the third syllabic position, is written with a capital letter. Evidently, the composer interpreted this third syllable as if it were the first one, placing a melisma on it:

Fig. 1: Jacopo da Bologna, *O in Italia* (Sq, f. 17'), *superius*.
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1.3 *The Motet Laudibus dignis*

Although the motet *Laudibus dignis* has been transmitted anonymously, Jacopo's authorship is more than probable:

Laudibus dignis merito laudari
Vere decet fideli reverentia,
Cantu sonoro, mensura pari
Hoc nam jubet ars et vera scientia.

It is indeed seemly to be deservedly extolled
with worthy praises in faithful respect,
through melodious chant and even mensura,
since this is what art and true science order.

Istum quid dicam cum plus admirari
Necesse sit quam ea que patentia
Ullo modo sunt per me explicari,
Si michi posset omnis sapientia.

What shall I say, since it is more needful
to admire him than that things that are obvious
should in any way be explained by me,
(even) if I possessed all wisdom.

²⁴ Generally, the custom of capitalizing the first letter of each line is carefully observed in Sq.

Duo contingunt eum inter cetera:
Veritas constans, nomen salutare
Xpisti (Christi), nec non iusticia
Qua conculcatur pravorum nequicia.
Ob hoc dignetur hunc diu servare
Qui regnat super ethera.

Amen, ut in hac nobili Liguria
Vigeat pax, cesset omnis penuria.²⁵

Two things, among others, are important to him:
constant truth, and the saving name
of Christ the Saviour, and also justice,
whereby the wickedness of the corrupt is trampled.
Therefore may he who reigns in Heaven
deign to preserve him a long time.

Amen, that in this noble Liguria
peace may be effective and all scarcity cease.

Dragan Plamenac, who was the first to describe the Paduan fragment 1106, in which *Laudibus dignis* is transmitted, noted that the allusion to «noble Liguria» recalls Jacopo's madrigal *O, in Italia, felice Liguria*. Together with the acrostic LUCHINUS (DUX), which appears in two of Jacopo's other compositions (and in Jacopo's only), these features are uncontestable indicators of Jacopo da Bologna as the author.²⁶

Plamenac observed that the initial words resemble the medieval hymns *Laudibus dignis resonemus hymnis* (for St. Bartholomew) and *Laudibus dignis resonemus omnes* (for St. Gregory).²⁷ In fact, the motet *Laudibus dignis* shares with *Laudibus dignis resonemus hymnis* (composed in Sapphic strophes) not only the incipit, but also certain words, expressions and ideas:

25 Cfr. DRAGAN PLAMENAC, *Another Paduan fragment of Trecento music*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», VIII, 1955, pp. 165-181: 174.

26 Ivi, «Opening with the words *Laudibus dignis* the text extols in stilted Latin verses the man in whose praise the piece was written. [...] Another passage, towards the end, contains a reference to 'noble Liguria'; the author prays that 'peace may prevail' within its borders and 'all penury cease'. The allusion to 'noble Liguria' brings to mind a well-known madrigal by Jacopo da Bologna, *O in Italia felice Liguria*». To recall, there is a consensus regarding the highest probability of Jacopo's authorship, as in MICHAEL CUTHBERT, *Trecento Fragments and Polyphony beyond the Codex*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006, p. 190: «The antiquated style and Visconti dedicatee of *Laudibus dignis* makes Jacopo da Bologna the strongest candidate for that motet's authorship. Although other composers worked for the Visconti, the acrostic Luchinus Dux connects it to Jacopo's two other works in praise of Luchino, *Lux purpurata* and *Lo lume vostro*».

27 PLAMENAC, *Another Paduan fragment of Trecento music* cit., p.174: «The initial words are fashioned after medieval hymn texts *Laudibus dignis resonemus hymnis* and *Laudibus dignis resonemus omnes* (ULYSSE CHEVALIER, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, Louvain, Imprimerie Lefever, 1892, 2, nos. 10449, 10450)».

De sancto Bartholomaeo

Laudibus dignis resonemus hymnis,
Additur caelis Domino *fidelis*
Civis, elatus *meritis*, beatus
Bartholomaeus.

In die coetus *modulare laetus*
Vocibus festis *jubilans canoris*,
Gloriae sanctum *recolens triumphum*
Bartholomaei.

etc.²⁸

On St Bartholomew

In worthy praises let us resound with hymns,
A citizen faithful to the lord is added
To heaven, raised by his merits, the blessed
Bartholomew

Sing on his day, a happy congregation
exulting with your voices in songful feats,
Celebrating the holy triumph of the glory
of Bartholomew.

Franco Alberto Gallo noted that the composer of *Laudibus dignis*, surely Jacopo, explains here in what way he intends to compose his music in honor of the patron, namely, with beautiful melody and binary measure.²⁹ Such explanations, however, hardly seem suited to a laudatory composition, unless the author has in mind to express his future intentions, engaging in some sort of self-publicity, as if he were seeking employment.³⁰ For this purpose he also shows, in the poem, that he is aware that the most important things for Luchino are truth, Christ, justice, and peace.

28 Cfr. *Hymni inediti: Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Guido Maria Dreves, Leipzig, Reisland (*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*), 1888, vol. 4, p. 102. I am grateful to Prof. Giulio Cattin for sharing with me the information about the hymn for Saint Bartholomew, which apparently was performed during the Liturgy of the Hours (Lauds of the morning service, or Vespers). Although I do not insist on a direct connection between the hymn and the motet, I would like to note that in this case we may see the way in which associations and allusions work within the process of creating a poetic text. The poet, believed to be Jacopo, was constrained by the acrostic, so that the first sentence had to begin with an «L». The choice of the first words for a laudatory composition, *Laudibus dignis*, could have been suggested by a laudatory hymn, of course, if he had known it. Another reason for this choice might have been suggested by the second strophe of the hymn, which claims that the addressee should be exalted by festive songs. The same motive appears in the motet as well. Of course, the possibility of a coincidence cannot be denied, but I believe that at least at the level of associations there could be a connection.

29 FRANCO ALBERTO GALLO, *Music of the Middle Ages II*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 60 (or. ed. *Il Medioevo II*, Torino, EdT, 1983 [“Storia della musica” a c. della Società Italiana di Musicologia, 2]).

30 An interesting instance of adulatory courtly poetry is some Latin eclogues composed by Jacopo Allegretti (1326-1393), an Italian poet, physician and astrologer active at the court of Bernabò,

The poetic text of the only extant voice, evidently the upper one, is exceptional for the entire Trecento musical repertory, since it is in the form of a sonnet. This is in fact the only extant sonnet, even if in Latin, set to music in the Trecento, which tells us that its author must have been a daring experimenter and a rather eccentric person, just as we think Jacopo da Bologna was.³¹ The sonnet *Laudibus dignis* is written in Latin hendecasyllables (lines 11 and 14 are *settenari*) with the rhyme-scheme ABAB ABAB CDE EDC and the ritornello FF. This type of 16-line sonnet was defined by Antonio da Tempo as *sonetus retornellatus*, which was especially practiced in the poetry of correspondence.³² Hence, this motet could have had a communicative function as well, that is, that of a letter written with the purpose of self-presentation.

Since the motet has survived only partially, it is impossible to consider its musical setting as it was conceived by the author, except perhaps for a few details. The pauses which break the words «ve-ra sci-enti-a» in bars 44-46 suggest the use of hocket technique between two or three voices (Example 3). In the source, the Paduan fragment 1106, beneath the cantus of *Laudibus dignis*,

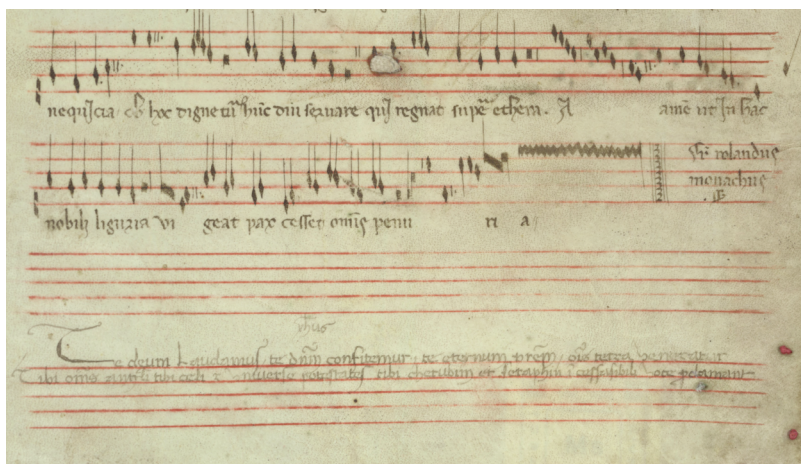
Galeazzo II and Giangaleazzo Visconti. ALESSANDRO MEDIN, *I Visconti nella poesia contemporanea*, «Archivio storico Lombardo», series 2, vol. 8, 1891, pp. 733-795: 738-739, pointed out that in one of them (*Baxen* and *Calliope*) the author expressed his eagerness to leave his fatherland, the ashes of his forefathers, and all that he loved to go to *Ticinia tellus* in order to follow the command of Destiny, namely to serve his new patrons. Medin assumes that thereby the poet intended to obtain Visconti's favor to become their courtier. DIEGO ROSSI, *Le egloghe Viscontee di Jacopo Allegretti*, Hildesheim-Zurich-New York, Olms, 1984, pp. 15-16, noted that Baxen, identified with the poet Jacopo Allegretti himself, informs the nymph Calliope that he has already had experience in singing in honor of her (evidently, experience in epic poetry) but now he will turn his talent toward a more elevated goal, that is to singing the glory of Bernabò and Galeazzo Visconti. Here too future intentions are presented on the part of a poet who sought employment.

31 JOHN WARD, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna by W. Thomas Marrocco*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», VIII, 1955, pp. 36-42: 42, observed that «it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Jacopo's music is, in general, somewhat eccentric for 14th-century Italy. That he was concerned with originality is suggested by the text of [his madrigal] *I' mi son un*, in which he describes his search for 'delectable flowers to make a garland [...] of new fragrances' and castigates those who masquerade in borrowed feathers».

32 CLAUDIO GIUNTA, *Due saggi sulla tenzone*, Roma-Padova, Antenore, 2002, p. 153: «La forma-base del sonetto poté essere percepita come troppo breve: l'aggiunta di una coda, quale che ne sia la morfologia, risponde evidentemente ad un'unica esigenza, quella di dare al contenuto una forma più capace».

the scribe Rolando da Casale added the text of the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*.³³ [Figure 2] Unfortunately, we can only hypothesize whether it was simply evoked by a natural association with the title of the motet, or whether the motet had a tenor based on this hymn.

Fig. 2: [Jacopo da Bologna], *Laudibus dignis*, Padova BU 1106, fol. 3r.
(© by kind permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities)



The acrostic of *Laudibus dignis* calls Luchino «a duke» and, as Alberto Pizaia assumes, «also a king» (QOQ AU, which could be the abbreviation of *quoque augustus*).³⁴ In fact, Luchino never bore the official title of prince or duke; it was only Giangaleazzo Visconti who obtained it in 1395. In her recent study on absolutism in Milan, Jane Black notes that the Visconti family, old-established feudatories with special privileges, sought absolute power already from the end of the thirteenth century. In the year 1313, the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VII,

33 See more in GIULIO CATTIN, *Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento: Il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato*, «Annales Musicologiques», VII, 1977, pp. 17-41.

34 ALBERTO M. PIZZAIÀ, *Closer Correspondence between Works of Trecento Music and their Cultural and Political Environment*, «Revista de Musicología», XVI/4, 1993, pp. 2437-2451: 2440.

appointed Luchino's father, Matteo I, as imperial vicar in Lombardy, that is, to guard the emperor's interests and to promulgate imperial laws, verdicts, etc.³⁵ The Visconti, however, and Luchino especially, sought to justify their right to be independent rulers. For that a juridical justification was required.

Claudia Storti Storch, referring to Visconti's claims for an independent government, writes that in this period there were two legitimate levels of government: the first was that of the sovereigns (Pope or Emperor), who were permitted to enact and promulgate laws; the second and subordinate level was that of smaller monarchies, counties, and urban and rural communities, which enjoyed a certain autonomy. This hierarchy was based on *Corpus Juris Civilis*. Therefore, the main question that preoccupied the jurists of that time was whether or not other forms of government, not considered by the *Corpus Juris*, such as Visconti's *Signoria*, might be lawful. For this purpose, the Visconti created a Court as an institution not only as a consulting chamber but a legislative one as well, which was intended to be similar to some European monarchic courts.³⁶ Already at the beginning of his rule, Luchino tried to present himself with the attributes of imperial power, among others, through Justinian's definition of imperial power as «lex animata in terris» (*Novellae*, 123), as in the Cremona statutes of 1339 (*Statuta et ordinamenta comunis Cremonae*).³⁷

1.4 *The Motet Lux purpurata*³⁸

Both extant motets for Luchino demonstrate that their author was well acquainted with the question of the legitimacy of Visconti's authority. In the motet *Lux purpurata*, alongside praise of a governor, there is a long list of features that befit the true sovereign:

35 JANE BLACK, *Absolutism in Renaissance Milan: Plenitude of Power under the Visconti and the Sforza 1329-1535*, Oxford Univ. Press, 2009, p. 38.

36 CLAUDIA STORTI STORCHI, *Francesco Petrarca: Politica e diritto in età viscontea*, in *Petrarca e la Lombardia*. Atti del convegno di studi (Milano, 22-23 maggio 2003) a c. di Giuseppe Frasso, Giuseppe Velli, Maurizio Vitale, Roma, Antenore, 2005, pp. 77-120: 86-89.

37 BLACK, *Absolutism in Renaissance Milan* cit., p. 49: «The statutes of Cremona of 1339 included a provision to the effect that communal officials had to obey local statutes, but not if they contradicted the wishes of Luchino and Giovanni, who were declared *lex animata* in their lands».

38 This motet is preserved in Florence, San Lorenzo, Archivio Capitolare 2211, fol. 61v and in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1475.

Triplum:

Lux purpurata radiis
 Venit fugare tenebras.
 Clementi vicens principe.
 Honoris namque claritas
 Ipsius toti seculo
 Numen acquirit celebre
 Virtutis atque gratie.
 Servator rei publicae.
 Virtutum cultor optimus.
 Verus amator efficax.
 Constans in omnis studio.
 Et nil permittens irritum.
 Clemens et iustus dominus.
 Onustus arrogantibus.
 Misericors egentibus
 Emittit lumen omnibus
 Salutis atque premii.

Motetus:

«Diligite iustitiam
 Qui iudicatis machinam».
 Prodesse cunctis discite.
 Obesse nulli querite.
 Hoc proprium est principis.
 Ut sit exutum [exutus] viciis.
 Sollicitudo presuli
 Sit comes, ut pacifice
 Quiescant ejus populi.³⁹

Triplum:

Crimson Light, empowered by a merciful prince,
 comes to chase away
 the darkness by [its] rays.
 For the fame of his dignity
 acquires for the entire world
 the renowned divine will
 of virtue and mercy.
 [Being] savior of the state,
 the greatest cultivator of virtues,
 the true effective lover,
 constant in all study [intention],
 letting nothing be in vain.
 A merciful and just lord,
 hard to the arrogant,
 compassionate to the poor,
 [he] irradiates for all a light
 of salvation and reward.

Motetus:

Love justice,
 you that judge the [machine] world.
 Learn to help all men,
 seek to harm no one.
 This is proper to the prince,
 that he be devoid of vices.
 Let attentiveness be
 the companion of the bishop
 so that his people may rest peacefully.

Galliano Ciliberti⁴⁰ observed that the texts of both motets and the madrigal *Lo lume vostro* show a certain affinity with some passages of the chronicle *Opusculus*

39 Cfr. *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, ed. by Kurt von Fischer-Franco Alberto Gallo, Monaco, Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987 ("Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century", 13), pp. 194-196.

40 GALLIANO CILIBERTI, *Il mecenatismo musicale di Luchino e Giovanni Visconti*, in BIANCA-MARIA BRUMANA, GALLIANO CILIBERTI, *Frammenti Musicali del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N.F. della Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia*, Firenze, Olschki, 2004, pp. 70-82: 70.

de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino et Johanne Vicecomitibus by Galvano Flamma (1283-1344), a Dominican friar who was a Visconti court chronicler and their fervent admirer.⁴¹ Flamma lists Luchino's qualities in the sections *Mores et conditiones domini Luchini* and *Proprietates domus Vicecomitum* in order to demonstrate that the Visconti had every reason to be called kings («non jam capitanei sed reges nominarentur»), since, among other things, they promoted justice and peace: «Nemo justitiam et pacem unquam melius servavit»⁴² (see Appendix 1). Further on, he refers to the record of the juridical activity of brothers Visconti, Luchino and Giovanni, introducing it as follows:

Et nota quod licet parentes et predecessores istorum dominorum istas sex laudabiles leges introduxerunt, per istos tamen duos dominos optime observantur. Et plures alias leges multo laudabiliores introduxerunt, et malas consuetudines exstirpare studuerunt.⁴³

To note, ever since the relatives and ancestors of these two lords had enacted these six venerable laws, they are perfectly observed by the two lords. They introduced many other most venerable laws and strove to root out bad customs.

In Jacopo's list too, especially in the *tripulum* written in the Latin iambic tetrameter, Luchino's preoccupations with peace and justice are among the most important ones. The suggestion that Jacopo could have used this chronicle, ending in 1342, as the source of information for the compilation of his own poems is enforced by another detail: one of Flamma's Latin dithyrambs in honor of Luchino's victory over his most insolent rival Lodrisio Visconti in 1338 reads:

41 LOUIS GREEN, *Galvano Fiamma, Azzone Visconti and the Revival of the Classical Theory of Magnificence*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», LIII, 1990, pp. 98-113: 100-101: «This Dominican, who was later to be chaplain to Giovanni Visconti when the latter became Archbishop of Milan and a close adviser to him during the period when he governed the city, was also a man of considerable learning, teaching moral philosophy, theology and canon law to scholars of his order both in Pavia and in his own convent of Sant'Eustorgio. He wrote a considerable number of works which are mainly historical in nature, including an account of the rise of the Dominican order. His principal subject was, however, the history of Milan, covered in several chronicles... Among them was a cursory history, the *Manipulus Florum*, and a more detailed one, the *Chronicon Maius*, the fourth book of which was separately issued under the title of *Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino et Johanne Vicecomitibus*».

42 GALVANEI DE LA FLAMMA, *ordinis Praedicatorum Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino et Johanne Vicecomitibus*, a c. di Carlo Castiglioni, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1938 («Rerum Italicarum Scriptores»), pp. 35-36.

43 Ivi, p. 44.

Lux, idest Luchinus, excita novis rumoribus
exilit, ira
Infremit, catulis ut seva leena furore
Evehitur raptis...⁴⁴

Light, that is Luchinus, aroused by new
noises leaps out, roars
with anger, as a cruel lioness is borne off by
rage when her whelps are snatched away...

Jacopo uses the word *lux* in his *Lux purpurata* in precisely the same context: «Lux; idest Luchinus», to indicate Luchino, as he also did in the madrigal *Lo lume vostro* with the word *lume*. It is hardly likely to be sheer coincidence.

Another noteworthy detail in the text of the *triplum* is the paraphrase of the verse «Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos» from Virgil's *Aeneid*, where it appears in an identical context: «Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:/ Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem/ *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*» (Remember, O Roman, to rule the peoples by your power – these shall be your skills – and to impose the custom of peace: to spare the humble, and war down the proud (VI, ll. 851-853). These words are paraphrased in Jacopo's poem as «Onustus⁴⁵ arrogantibus,/ Misericors egentibus» (hard to the arrogant, compassionate to the poor), apparently since he was constrained by the acrostic, and, therefore, his choice of words was relatively restricted.

The text of the *motetus Diligite justitiam* is more complicated and intriguing in terms of interpretation. Here not only is Luchino referred to as a prince («Hoc proprium est principis,/ Ut sit exutum viciis»), but Luchino's brother, the Milanese archbishop Giovanni, is mentioned as well («Sollicitudo *presuli*/ sit comes»).⁴⁶ Unlike the other poems of this series, including the *triplum* of *Lux*

⁴⁴ Ivi, p. 30.

⁴⁵ The word *onustus* (laden, burdened) seems to be less suitable in the given context than *onerosus* (oppressive, onerous). Though the words are quite close in meaning, the first has the nuance of the passive voice, «oppressed by the superb», instead of «oppressing the superb», more logical for the content of the poem. I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens for this remark. I assume that Jacopo had some difficulties with the acrostic technique, particularly with the vocabulary used. Thus, he even confused Luchino's name, VUCECOMES, perhaps because he did not find a better word beginning with «I» and instead used «U» here: *Verus amator efficax*. Apparently, the word *onustus* fitted the iambic meter of the verses better.

⁴⁶ The fact is noticed by GALLO, *The Music of the Middle Ages* cit., p. 59, AGOSTINO ZIINO, *Rime per musica e danza*, in *Storia della letteratura italiana, Il Trecento*, Roma, Salerno editrice, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 455-530: 487, and CILIBERTI, *Il mecenatismo musicale di Luchino e Giovanni Visconti* cit., p. 70.

purpurata, the *motetus* seems not to contain any specific literary device that would disguise name, date or other information. The question, therefore arises whether Jacopo might have inserted an allusion to Giovanni's name in a more sophisticated way.

I propose a hypothesis which takes into account associations that might have been evoked by this text in Trecento listeners. As John Ward observed, the opening phrase «Diligite justitiam, qui judicatis machinam» is a slightly altered quotation from the *Liber sapientiae Solomonis* (I, 1): «Diligite justitiam, qui judicatis terram», which for Jacopo's contemporaries had also a particular significance from its appearance in Dante's *Paradiso* (XVIII, ll. 91-93).⁴⁷ Passing from the Heaven of Mars to that of Jove, Dante describes his mystic vision of the flaming souls that formed this inscription on the sky: «DILIGITE IUSTITIAM, primai/ fur verbo e nome di tutto 'l dipinto;/ QUI IUDICATIS TERRAM, fur sezzai». (*Diligite justitiam*, these were/ First verb and noun of all that was depicted;/ *Qui judicatis terram* were the last). But then the souls concentrated on the summit of the M of the last word *terram*, so that the letter began to grow, and finally it was transformed into an eagle: «E vidi scendere altre luci dove/ era il colmo de l'emme, / ... e quietata ciascuna in suo loco,/ la testa e 'l collo d'un'aguglia vidi/ rappresentare a quel distinto foco» (And other lights I saw descend where was/ The summit of the M, ... And, each one being quiet in its place,/ The head and neck beheld I of an eagle/ Delineated by that inlaid fire [ll. 94-95, and 106-108]).⁴⁸

Numerous commentators, beginning with Dante's contemporaries, have provided explanations of Dante's intention, and they agree that this vision reflects Dante's monarchist ideals, expressed through the image of the eagle as the symbol of the Roman Empire based on Roman law.⁴⁹

47 WARD, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna* by W. Thomas Marrocco cit., p. 41. This maxim is known also for its appearance on the fresco *Allegory of God Government* in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena by Ambrogio Lorenzetti.

48 In translation by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

49 BENVENUTO DA IMOLA (1338-1388), *Benvenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij Comoediam*, ed. by W. Warren Wernon, Firenze, Barbèra, 1887, vol. 5, p. 223, who provided the most scrupulous commentary on Dante's *Comedy*, comments on the meaning of the image of the eagle as follows: «Et hic nota quod autor fingit subtiliter quod multae animae iustorum regum et rectorum hic constituunt unum corpus aquilae, per hoc figuraliter ostendens quod omnia regna mundi de iure dependent a romano, in quo maxime viguit iustitia, ut probari potest multipliciter, et omnes reges sunt subiecti romano principi, sicut diversa membra humana uni

Jacopo, obviously very knowledgeable in literature, must have known this excerpt. Why did he change the word in the well-known saying: *terram* into *machinam*?⁵⁰ Of course, the explanation might be purely technical, for example, in order to maintain the meter of the poem by adding one missing syllable. But Jacopo's intentions could have been more subtle and also practical, for instance, to attract the experienced reader's and/or listener's attention to this double M. Thus, the hidden eagle, *aquila*, an emblematic image in Jacopo's works, appears in this text too.

For the content of the motet *Lux purpurata*, the presence of an eagle seems more than expected. However, apart from the eagle's heraldic allusion, for Visconti's subjects there might be an additional association, based on the simple fact that the Visconti family had a «full set» of the names of the four Evangelists: the father Matteo (1255-1322), the brothers (three of five) Marco (killed in 1329), Luchino (ca. 1290-1349) and Giovanni (ca. 1292-1354).⁵¹ This fact apparently was noticed by contemporaries and among them by Jacopo. The eagle, as the attribute of John, could be, thus, a sign of Giovanni Visconti, a priest.

capiti. Est enim aquila signum ducum romanorum». [To note, the author subtly invents that many souls of the reign of Justice and Virtues here constitute the body of an eagle, by this showing metaphorically that all the reigns in the world derive from Roman Law, in which the most effective was Justice, which can be proved in multiple ways. All kings are subjects of the Roman Emperor, like different members of the human body are all the subject of one head. For the eagle is the sign of Roman leaders.] Modern scholars, as ROBERT MELZI, *L'Aquila d'Oro nel cielo di Giove* by Joseph Chierici, «Italice», XLII, 1965, pp. 192-196: 193, observed, may be «divided into three categories, according to their theories: in the first are those who see in the eagle the Imperial symbol, among whom are the proponents of the 'rigida tesi imperiale'; in the second are those who favor the 'tesi imperiale parziale' and disregard completely the intermediate phase of the 'ingigliarsi' and in the third are encompassed those who see in the eagle a mystic, rather than a political symbol». On the Dante's interpretation of these phrases see more in HELEN FLANDERS DUNBAR, *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, pp. 70-74; JOHN LEAVEY, *Derrida and Dante: Difference and the Eagle in the Sphere of Jupiter*, «Modern Language Notes», XCI, 1976, pp. 60-68; CHIARA FRUGONI, *The Book of Wisdom and Lorenzetti's Fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», XLIII, 1980, pp. 239-241.

⁵⁰ WARD, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna* by W. Thomas Marrocco cit., p. 41, proposed that in *Diligite iustitiam, qui iudicatis terram*, «the last word has been changed to *machinam*, most appropriately in view of Luchino's violent end».

⁵¹ The names of the two surviving brothers, Luchino and Giovanni, were given to Luchino's newborn twins, emphasizing by this an especial affinity between them.

Alejandro Enrique Planchart observed that the musical setting of *Lux purpurata* may be defined, according to the classification suggested by David Fallows, a «true cantilena» and that the term «cantilena motet» for this kind of celebratory and devotional composition is applicable to this instance.⁵² The polyphony of this three-voice motet is transparent and has mostly two voices singing at a time, as Oliver Huck observed.⁵³ There is no imitation in the strict sense, but a three-note motive of descending consecutive tones repeatedly appears in each of the three voices.⁵⁴

In *Lux purpurata*, the words rarely sound simultaneously in both singing voices (Example 4). Of the 67 bars, the text is sung in both voices in 31 bars; however, this normally occurs when one voice holds a long sound on one syllable, either finishing the previous phrase or starting the following one, while the other sings several syllables of the text in short values, as in the bars 7-10. It seems that the composer was concerned with the simultaneous pronunciation of the same vowels or even syllables of different words in different voices.⁵⁵ In Jacopo's *Lux purpurata* the vowel of the held-out syllable in one voice coincides several times with one, or

52 ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART, *What is in a name? Reflections on Some Works of Guillaume Du Fay*, «Early Music», XVI/2, 1988, pp. 165-175: 166: «such works as Jacopo da Bologna's *Lux purpurata*, a motet (so called in the sources) that is a true cantilena. The similarity of these ceremonial or devotional pieces to isorhythmic motets is what has prompted the use of the term 'cantilena motet' to describe them, and even though the term underscores the kinship between cantilenas and motets, by the same token it obscures what cantilenas, in terms of melodic surface and rhythmic fluidity, owe to the tradition of liturgical settings of treble-dominated chant paraphrases by English and continental composers».

53 OLIVER HUCK, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, Olms, 2005 ("Musica mensurabilis", 1), p. 275: «So ist *Lux purpurata/Diligite iusticiam* bis auf das abschließende Paenultimamelisma nahezu durchgehend in einem quasi zweistimmigen Satz mit wechselnden Kombinationen der Stimmen gehalten».

54 Ivi, p. 271: «Das Prinzip der Imitation im strengen Sinne spielt in *Lux Purpurata/Diligite iusticiam* keine Rolle, der Contratenor setzt in T. 4 zwar auf dem gleichen Ton wie der Cantus ein, wird jedoch sofort anders weitergeführt. [...] Den Kern des Materials bilden T. 6 mit der Gegenbewegung; während die absteigende Drei-tonfolge auf unterschiedlichen Tonstufen».

55 This phenomenon has been described by MARGARET BENT, *Polyphony of texts and music in the fourteenth-century motet*: Tribum que non abhorruit/ Quoniam secta latronum/ Merito hec patimur and its 'quotations', in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Dolores Pesce, New York, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 82-103. JANE ALDEN, *Text/Music Design in Ciconia's Ceremonial Motets*, in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. par Philippe Vendrix, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003, pp. 39-64, called it a «polyphony of vowels» with regard to Ciconia motet's technique.

more, of the vowels in the other voice: for example, in bar 7, the syllable *-am* (of *justitiam*) in the *duplum* sounds together with the three *-a-* (*purpurata radiis*) in the *triplum*. Hence the delivery of the words in this motet is just as transparent as is the polyphonic texture. There are only 9 bars in the whole composition where the text is sung simultaneously in both voices in relatively short values. However, in this situation too the composer demonstrates his awareness of the resulting effect: In bars 14-18 the similar words *principe - discite* and *claritas - querite* are sung together (in the last case the consonants *k-r-t* coincide).

Three-voice polyphony appears regularly only toward the end of the motet, beginning with the bar 47 on the last phrase of the text. The final melisma presents a good example of Jacopo's typical use of hocket, normally in the final melismas. In bars 55-60 all three voices are involved, whereas in bars 61-63 there is the more common hocket in two upper voices.

Preliminary Conclusions

From the analysis above it is clear that in this series of compositions for Luchino Visconti, Jacopo da Bologna intended to demonstrate the best of his craftsmanship: his mastery of poetic technique (composing acronyms, bilingual texts, disguising names and dates) and his command of various musical devices in the madrigal and motet forms (his careful attention to coinciding vowels and even consonants, which are more unusual; the technique of hocket, musical setting of enjambment, etc.). He also demonstrates his deep learning, exhibited in his knowledge of literature and sources. He makes it clear that he is well informed about the main events in the life of the Visconti family and the main problems they faced.

The first part of this essay led to a conclusion which contradicts the currently accepted hypothesis regarding the chronology of Jacopo da Bologna's court service. The scholarly consensus is that Jacopo first served in Milan from the beginning of the 1340s and only after Luchino's death in 1349 moved to Verona to serve Mastino della Scala.⁵⁶ Indeed, there is a well-known testimony in the chronicles

56 GIULIANO DI BACCO, *Jacopo da Bologna*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2004, vol. 62, pp. 45-48: 46-47: «è opinione corrente che il soggiorno veronese di cui riferisce il Villani sia successivo a quello presso la corte viscontea».

of Filippo Villani which confirms the presence of Jacopo at the Veronese court during Mastino's government, which cannot be later than 1351, when Mastino della Scala died.⁵⁷ However, Jacopo's presence in Verona deduced from this chronicle has been linked, without basis in Villani's text, to the latest years of Mastino's government up to his death.

Many questions surface when we try to apply this chronology to the historical realities of the period between the year 1346 and the early 1350s, or more exactly, when we reflect on the reasons and circumstances which might have caused and accompanied Jacopo's movements from one place to another. For example, why should Luchino's death have pushed Jacopo to leave rather than to remain in Milan during the government of Luchino's illustrious brother, archbishop Giovanni? Why should Jacopo prefer to transfer to a relatively modest and provincial court, whose splendid days were already past, in a time when Giovanni Visconti, the model of an enlightened governor in the Renaissance style, tried to gather at his immense and luxurious court the best of artists, poets, etc., Petrarch included?⁵⁸

These questions, however, become irrelevant if we posit that Jacopo appeared in Milan only after 1346, before which he stayed elsewhere, more plausibly in Verona; only toward the end of Luchino's life did he settle in Milan, where he remained perhaps up to his own death. I propose that Jacopo composed these «demonstrative» works as a unified series before settling in Milan, and expressly with the intention to present himself and to procure an appointment as a court poet and musician. His «portfolio» would have been composed in a fairly short

57 FILIPPO VILLANI, *De origine civitatis Florentie et de eiusdem famosis civibus*, a c. di Giuliano Tan-
turli, Padova, Antenore, 1997, p. 408: «Johannes da Cascia, cum Mastini Della Scala tiranni veronensis atria questus gratia frequentaret et cum magistro Jacopo bononiensi artis musice peritissimo de artis excellentia contenderet, tyranno eos muneribus irritante, mandralia plura sonosque multos et ballatas intonuit mire dulcedinis et artificiosissime melodie quibus quam magne quam suavis doctrine fuerit in arte manifestavit». (Johannes de Cascia, when he frequented the court of the Veronese tyrant Mastino della Scala, and competed in artistic skill with the Bolognese magister Jacopo, a most expert musician, both driven by the tyrant's gifts, set many madrigals and many *soni*, and ballatas of wonderfully sweet and most artful melody, showing through these things how great and broad-ranging was his learning in the art.)

58 CILIBERTI, *Il mecenatismo musicale di Luchino e Giovanni Visconti* cit., p. 72: «L'archivescovo, infatti, impersonava l'ineccepibile quanto perfetta e nuova figura di mecenate a cui Petrarca guardava con ammirazione come se fosse una sorta di 'corteggiano' ante litteram».

space of time, after the year 1346 (mentioned in the past tense) and before Luchino's death at the beginning of 1349, that is, in 1347 or 1348.

Part 2. *In Petrarch's pomifera silva*

Up to this point the compositions for Luchino Visconti by Jacopo da Bologna have been presented in musicological literature as an unquestioned example of musical patronage in the Trecento. However, if they were written *before* Jacopo's employment in Milan, the personal involvement of Luchino as a musical patron becomes uncertain. What do we actually know about Luchino as a patron and supporter of music and literature?⁵⁹

Although Galvano Flamma is not sparing with his enthusiastic praise of Luchino's customs, he does not say anything about his interest in music, literature and *litterati*, mentioning simply that among many courtiers of different professions he also kept *cytaristi* and *hystrioni*.⁶⁰ These, however, were the most common representatives of everyday courtly life, so that this fact cannot explain why Luchino, and only he, merited these extremely refined musico-poetic compositions by Jacopo.

Petrarch's letter to Luchino Visconti

In this connection, one more person needs to be introduced in our discourse, Francesco Petrarca. Petrarch has already been considered with regard to his presumed relationship with Luchino and Jacopo, for example by Pierluigi Petrobelli.⁶¹ Indeed, Jacopo must have been personally acquainted with Petrarch, since he was the only contemporary of the great poet to set his poetry to music, the madrigal

59 Questions of patronage have largely concerned later periods, beginning with the Quattrocento. But regarding the earlier stages and particularly the Trecento in Italy, the topic is still insufficiently treated. In this regard the article by CARLA VIVARELLI, *Di una pretesa scuola napoletana: Sowing the Seeds of the Ars nova at the Court of Robert of Anjou*, «Journal of Musicology», XXIV/2, 2007, pp. 272-296, on Robert d'Anjou's support of musicians is worth noting.

60 GALVANEI DE LA FLAMMA, *Opusculum de rebus gestis* cit., p. 35.

61 PETROBELLI, 'Un legiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche cit., pp. 38-39.

Non al suo amante.⁶² A witness to Petrarch's relationship with Luchino is his letter written to him on the 13th of March 1348 in Parma (*Familiare* VII, 15).⁶³ [Appendix 2]

Ernest H. Wilkins described the situation surrounding it as follows:

Before the 13th [of March 1348] Petrarch received from Luchino a letter in which Luchino made two requests: that Petrarch send him some scions from his fruit trees, and that he send him some verses. Petrarch complied with both requests. In his answer to Luchino he says that while his gardener is busy with herbs and trees he will busy himself with words and verses, sitting among his trees, and listening to the murmuring of the little stream that flows among them. He takes occasion, in his letter, to set forth as exemplary the honour in which certain ancient rulers held the Muses. In his brief poem, addressed *Ad arbores suas*, he bids them to grow tall and fruitful, to renew their foliage in the spring, and to furnish shade in the summer for the great lord whom they are to flourish.⁶⁴

Ugo Dotti too believes that it was Luchino who initiated this communication, turning to Petrarch with the request to send verses and scions of fruit-trees, even though such a request does not really seem tenable («quale che sia la sua veridicità»).⁶⁵ It becomes apparent, however, that the present letter to Luchino Visconti must have been the third in the chain, and Luchino's request for parts of trees should have been, in turn, a reply to a previous letter from Petrarch, which does not survive. Indeed, Petrarch begins his response with the words: «I read your letter, (which was) as I had hoped, or rather as I had not even hoped. I am very glad that between your Excellency and my humility at least this exchange has taken place, and that such a chance has opened me the way to your

62 The letter of Petrarch to Giovanni Boccaccio written in Venice on August 1364 (*Epystolae seniles*, v, 2) makes it clear that it was not acceptable to take one's poem for written or oral musical setting without the agreement of the poet. PETRARQUE, *Lettres de la vieillesse*, ed. by Elvira Nota and Ugo Dotti, Paris, Belles Lettres, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 127 and 129. See more in ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK, *Parlar cantando* cit., p. 90.

63 FRANCESCO PETRARCA, *Familiarium rerum libri*, a c. di Ugo Dotti, Torino, Aragna, 2007, vol. 2, pp. 1004-1013.

64 ERNEST HATCH WILKINS, *Life of Petrarch*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961, pp. 74-75.

65 UGO DOTTI, *Libro settimo – Nota introduttiva*, in *Francisci Petrarce Familiarium rerum libri*, p. 891: «Questa lettera a Luchino è del 13 marzo 1348 e venne scritta da Parma in risposta ad una dello stesso signore di Milano che, per primo, si era rivolto a Petrarca per chiedergli tra l'altro alcuni versi».

acquaintance». In other terms, Petrarch obviously was hoping for Luchino's letter, which is logical if he was the first to establish connection with Luchino. Moreover, he indicates that «at least this exchange» of messages between them had already taken place before the letter of the 13th of March, 1348. Since Luchino asked for scions from fruit-trees, Petrarch's first letter must have mentioned them, in order to explain such an extravagant request on Luchino's part for scions from his garden.

Considering this exchange, one cannot ignore the circumstances that surrounded it.⁶⁶ Never before and never again would Petrarch communicate in such a way with Luchino Visconti,⁶⁷ nor would he ever visit Milan during the latter's reign. This makes it all the stranger that their only contact had to do with gardening. That Petrarch himself was an enthusiastic and expert gardener is clear from his own statements.⁶⁸ In the case of Luchino Visconti, however, such a pastime is highly unlikely and has not been corroborated by any records.

Furthermore, three years earlier, in 1345, Petrarch, already planning to leave Provence and settle in Italy, bought a house with a garden in Parma, then under the rule of the Ferrarese marquis Obizzo d'Este.⁶⁹ Shortly thereafter, the war for Parma began, initiated by none other than Luchino, so that Petrarch was forced to leave everything and flee the city, as he describes it in the letter to Barbato da Sulmona on 25 February 1345 (*Familiars* v, 10). Almost three years later, returning from Valcluse, he passed Parma in December 1347 on his way to Verona on a diplomatic mission, but he returned to Parma for a longer residence at the end of

66 The table of *Petrarch's life in terms of his changes of residences and of his journeys* (WILKINS, *Peregrinus ubique*, «Studies in Philology», XLV, 1948, pp. 445-453) is very helpful indeed, as noted by PETROBELLI, 'Un legiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche cit., p. 39.

67 PETROBELLI, 'Un legiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche cit., p. 38, mentions four Latin verses composed by Petrarch in 1341 that probably concern Luchino, but they lack any personal connotation. The other *Epistula metrica* II, 11, also a song of praise for Luchino, is considered to have been sent in September 1348 since it mentions a basket of pears, see ENRICO FENZI, *Tempi e modi di una scelta meditata*, in *Petrarca e la Lombardia*. Atti del convegno di studi, Milano (22-23 maggio 2003), Roma, Antenore, 2005, pp. 221-262: 257.

68 About Petrarch's horticultural library and his journal of gardening, initiated on the 26th of November 1348 in Parma, see WILLIAM ELLIS-REES, *Gardening in the Age of Humanism: Petrarch's Journal*, «Garden History», XXIII/1, 1995, pp. 10-28.

69 See also FORTUNATO RIZZI, *Francesco Petrarca e il decennio parmense, 1341-1351*, Torino, Paravia, 1934, especially the chapter «La casa del Petrarca in Parma», pp. 491-505.

February 1348.⁷⁰ Therefore, when he wrote the letter in question he had stayed there for some two or three weeks at best. It is difficult to imagine that in his nearly three-year absence, and despite the siege and the war, his garden estate would have been maintained well enough to provide saplings ready for immediate delivery. Moreover, Petrarch's first contact with Luchino must have been established even before he reached his house in Parma.

A no less intriguing question concerns the combination of the topics in the letter, at first glance hardly congruent: gardening and the condemnation of dull-witted rulers, ancient and modern, who ignore literature. The passionate tone of Petrarch's letter is replete with bitterness and sometimes by venomous irony when he inveighs against «our [modern] rulers, who do nothing but what is worthy of a satirical poem, [and] hate this literature that they fear», extending to rather audacious expressions like «*asinus coronatus*». The statement at the end, in which he expresses his doubts about Luchino's adherence to letters and philosophy, is the most risky and even hardly thinkable in the context of a ruler and his subject: «Therefore, you greatest man of this age, whose realm does not lack anything except the royal title, I do not know to which of the two opinions of princes you adhere [those who respect literature and men of letters or those who fall under the definition of «crowned asses»], but I expect all better things of you». The letter ends with the confirmation of sending parts of trees.

All these inconsistencies must have a logical explanation. I propose that Petrarch did not mean fruit-trees in a literal sense, but as an allegory, using the image of his favorite hobby – gardening – but not only that.

The Fruit-Tree Garden as Allegory

In Italian medieval writings and particularly in those concerning rhetoric and *ars dictaminis*, the image of fruit-trees and fertile gardens was largely used to symbolize rhetoric, philosophy and literature. Some examples follow.

The first excerpt is taken from the *Summa dictaminis* by Guido Fava (ca. 1190 – ca. 1243), one of the most influential theoreticians of rhetoric in Bologna in the Duecento:

⁷⁰ See more in WILKINS, *Life of Petrarch* cit., p. 74.

Advenite nunc omnes ad viridarium magistri Guidonis, qui donat sophie cupitis invenire, ubi dulces avium cantus resonant et suaviter murmurant a fontibus rivuli descendentes, flores similiter apparent vernantes et lilia venustatis, rose quoque specioso consurgunt, et cynamonum et balsamum ac viole non desinunt redolere; ibidem etiam pratum ridet amenum, et arbores cuncti generis sunt inserte, que ventorum impetum introire non sinunt ne solatia turbarentur, sed suis frondibus auram levem immittunt et umbram prebent gratitudinis et quietis. In hoc siquidem tante felicitatis loco sunt dictamina purpurata, colores reperiuntur rethorici, et iuxta platanum ad fluentia aquarum sedet sapientia Salomonis, per quam viri scolastici decorantur et clarescit machina mundialis.⁷¹

Come now, you all, to the tree-garden of Master Guido, who lets those who desire wisdom to come where the songs of birds resound and streams descending from the sources murmur, where the flowers that are on the point of springing and lilies of [extreme] beauty rise in their beauty up to the roses, and cinnamon and balsam do not cease emitting a scent. In this very place also a charming meadow pleases [the eyes], and the trees of all sorts are planted there, which do not permit gusts of winds to enter so that they shall not disturb the solace, but by their foliage they allow [only] the light breeze and the shadow that render gratitude and quiet. In this so happy place, there are crimson words, colors of rhetoric are found, and near the plane-tree at the water stream the seat of the wisdom of Salomon, which embellishes learned men and by which the government of world is enlightened.

From a more recent period, the treatise eloquently entitled *Pomerium rhetorice*,⁷² written by a professor of rhetoric at the University of Padua, Bichilino da Spello, about the year 1304, is a good example of using such an allegory:

In qua [*Summa*] cum, quod admodum in fertili viridario contingit, inveniantur diversa et varia genera rethoricorum fructuum et pomorum, ipsa quidem non inmerito hoc nomen *Pomerium* est adepta. Noscite ergo, filii, circumspecte et provide hinc flores et fructus carpere, non omni, et cum de una non sapiunt arbore, ad aliarum arborum poma degustanda procedite. (Epilogus)⁷³

Since in this [*Summa*], as is appropriate in the fertile tree-garden, the different and various genres of crops and fruit of rhetoric are invented, it adopted, thus, not unreasonably, the actual name of *Pomerium*. So, know, you sons, guard and look well around to cull these flowers and fruits. Not all of them, but if you do not know the tree of one of them, go on to taste the fruits of other trees.

71 GUIDO FAVA, *Summa dictaminis*, a c. di Augusto Gaudenzi, in «Il propugnatore», Bologna, Romagnoli, n.s. vol. 3, 1890, pp. 287-393: 287-288.

72 In medieval Latin, the word *pomerium* signifies a fruit garden, mainly, however, with an allegorical connotation.

73 BICHILINO DA SPELLO, *Pomerium rhetorice*, a c. di Vincenzo Licitra, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1979, p. 103. This treatise has remained practically unknown in the scholarly world, and even after

The title and the explanations above by Bichilino recall the treatise with a similar name *Pomerium* (ca. 1320) by Marchetto, a Paduan as well, who extends the allegory of the fruit-tree garden to music. Marchetto points out the meaning of the title twice, in the letter of dedication to Robert d'Anjou, King of Naples,⁷⁴ and at the very end of the treatise in the epilogue:

Hunc autem librum voluimus *Pomerium* nuncupari, eo quod flores et fructus in eo totius pulchrae musicae sunt plantati ad laudem et gloriam Conditoris. (Epilogus)⁷⁵

This treatise we wished⁷⁶ to be called *Pomerium*, because the flowers and fruits of all beautiful music have been planted in it to the praise and glory of the Creator.

its publication in 1979 it has not been mentioned in the comprehensive study by JAMES JEROME MURPHY, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: a history of rhetorical theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1981.

74 *The Epistola* has: «Libellum quoque hunc decrevi *Pomerium* nuncupari, eo quod fructuum et florum velut immensitatis culto plantario emissiones poterunt invenire cantores». MARCHETTO DA PADOVA, *Pomerium*, a c. di Giuseppe Vecchi, Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1961 ("Corpus scriptorum de musica", 6), p. 37. I thank Leofranc Holford-Stevens, who noted that the second half of this sentence is manifestly corrupt. He suggested the following translation: «I have also decided that this book shall be called *Pomerium*, because the singers will be able to find the 'puttings-forth' of fruits and flowers as in an enormous cultivated plant-bed».

75 Ivi, p. 210. Marchetto's treatise *Pomerium* has never been linked to the homonymous treatise by Bichilino, apparently because the latter has escaped the eyes of scholars. I believe that their link is more plausible than with the treatise *Pomerium Ravennatis ecclesiae* by Ricobaldo da Ferrara (ca. 1245-1318), as proposed by FRANCO ALBERTO GALLO, *La teoria della notazione in Italia dalla fine del XIII all'inizio del XV secolo*, Bologna, Tamari, 1966, pp. 39-40: «*Pomerium* è un titolo di tipo metaforico, secondo un gusto assai diffuso nella cultura medievale, già adoperato per un'opera storica scritta in epoca ed ambiente molto prossimi a quelli in cui ebbe compimento il trattato di Marchetto. L'intitolazione si giustifica secondo l'autore per il contenuto, che rappresenta *flores et fructus* dell'arte musicale [...]. Questa spiegazione coincide singolarmente con quella di Ricobaldo da Ferrara: 'ut legentium menti florem et fructum novum opus afferet'». However, this excerpt reveals a greater and more intrinsic connection with the general theory of rhetoric and *ars dictaminis*.

76 Marchetto means here that he chose the title together with the Dominican friar Siphante de Ferrara, his adviser on the philosophic aspects of the treatise. See VIVARELLI, *Di una pretesa scuola napoletana* cit., p. 294. Indeed, the influence of rhetoric on Marchetto's thought may also be suggested by the similarity of the titles of Marchetto's *Lucidarium* and the treatise on rhetoric by Bene da Firenze, *Candelabrum* (c. 1220), since both actually signify a lamp. BENE DA FIRENZE, *Candelabrum*, a c. di Gian Carlo Alessio, Padova, Antenore, 1983, p. 3, begins as follows: «Presens opus *Candelabrum* nominatur, quia populo dudum in tenebris ignorantie ambulanti lucidissimam dicandi peritiam cognoscitur exhibere». (The present work is called *Candelabrum*, since it would show

In Petrarch's own writings, in two letters to his friend Giovanni Fedolfi in 1355 (*Epistolae Extravagantes*, 50 and 61), we find a description of a symbolic tree that represents all human virtues: four main descending branches stand for four basic virtues (*Justitia*, *Prudentia*, *Fortitudo*, *Temperantia*), three ascending ones for three theological virtues (*Fides*, *Spes*, *Caritas*), and many smaller branches for innumerable other virtues. Petrarch's description of the tree-garden where this tree grows follows the tradition as presented above:

Illic assidue felices aure circumsibilant, canore simul et candide volucres nidificant, poma predulcia divites ramos premunt. Mite solum, herbe varie et purpurei flores tegunt: in quibus levis accubitus, odor suavissimus, et ad se oculos trahens color. Fons ad umbram nitidus amenitate lympharum scatebrisque perennibus manat, cuius in circuitu roscidis cespitibus ripisque recentibus cursum frenantibus, undarum late gratissimum murmur strepit. (Var., 50)⁷⁷

In this place constant favorable breezes blow around and white singing birds build nests; sweet fruits weight down the fertile branches. Various herbs and crimson flowers cover the soft ground: in which there is smooth space for lying down, softest odor and color that draws the eyes to itself. A spring gleaming with the pleasantness of its waters and with perpetual bubbling flows in the shade, around which, with dewy grass and fresh banks that restrain its rapid course, the most agreeable murmur of waves resounds far and wide.

In this context, we may view Petrarch's fruit-tree garden in his letter to Luchino, astonishingly similar to the above-reported portrayals of the garden of rhetoric, as allegorical:

dum ortulanus herbis et arboribus, ego verbis et carminibus incumbam, invitante rivi murmure, qui querulus fugit et dextra levaque prominentem pomiferam silvam secat; cuius studii primitias iam nunc degustabis.⁷⁸

while my gardener busies himself with herbs and trees, I shall do so with words and poems, stimulated by the murmur of the stream, which flees querulously and cuts through a prominent orchard to right and left; you shall now taste the first-fruits of my zeal.

the people, formerly walking in the obscurity of ignorance, how to produce the most enlighten skill of rhetoric). On *Candelabrum* see more in MURPHY, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* cit., p. 255.

77 FRANCESCO PETRARCA, *Lettere disperse: varie e miscellanee*, a c. di Alessandro Pancheri, Parma, Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1994 ("Biblioteca di scrittori italiani"), p. 248.

78 PETRARCA, *Familiarium rerum libri* cit., pp. 1004-1006.

The explanations above make it clear enough that in his letter to Luchino Petrarch did not mean his actual garden in Parma, but that allegorical place where Wisdom resides, since rhetoric, philosophy and literature, according to Platonic thought, are the necessary tools of wise government. It cannot be excluded that the great poet, in his first letter to Luchino, wanted to feel out the possibility of residing in Luchino's domain after leaving Provence.⁷⁹ In all probability, in this first letter Petrarch had already employed this well-known allegory of the fruit-tree garden.

Unfortunately, we do not know with certainty what Luchino's response would have been; we may only infer the vein of his answer from Petrarch's letter. It seems that Luchino did not demonstrate much empathy for the poet and that he had not understood the metaphor of the fruit-garden, since in Petrarch's extant letter there is a clear distinction between the topics of trees and verses, as two separate things: At the beginning Petrarch writes that «while my gardener busies himself with herbs and trees, I shall do so with words and poems» (following by the description of the garden); and at the end, «Thus, not to be too long, I have sent a brief song that I recently composed extempore amidst those trees of which you ask in most friendly manner for a share». In all likelihood, Luchino understood the metaphor literally and asked Petrarch to send parts of the fruit-trees, adding to them verses as well.⁸⁰ Perhaps the great poet felt intellectually superior, continuing to play with these images in the literal sense in his response, inasmuch as this «crowned ass» missed their metaphorical meaning.

Such a shameful misunderstanding must have caused Petrarch deep anxiety, affecting him to burst out with a philippic against ignorant rulers. But perhaps he did not have great expectations, since he began his response with the following words: «I read your letter, (which was) as I had hoped, or rather as I had not even hoped». Of course, any Milanese option for residence would have been

79 Ugo Dotti surmises that Petrarch had in mind to investigate the possibility to collaborate with an illustrious governor: «La volontà del poeta di reagire e di conquistarsi un posto di preminenza nella nuova realtà della penisola è avvertibile nella lettera a Luchino Visconti [...], quasi un primo annuncio della disponibilità petrarchesca a collaborare con il potere laico dettandone tuttavia le condizioni: [...] nella garanzia che il principe doveva dare sul suo franco amore per le lettere e sulla protezione che doveva offrire agli ingegni davvero meritevoli». Ivi, p. 891.

80 Significantly, in the modern research the topic of fruit-trees in Petrarch's letter has never been referred as a metaphor.

immediately discarded. And indeed, Petrarch appeared in Milan only in 1353, after multiple insistent invitations from Luchino's brother, the archbishop Giovanni Visconti. The latter was a prince who understood well the prestige that literati could impart to his court and therefore promised Petrarch «solitudinem et otium», as Giorgio Chittolini has noted.⁸¹

In this light, Petrarch's confession in the preface to the second part of *De viris illustribus*, written in 1351-1353 during his last sojourn in Valcluse, that he will not write about modern rulers, can be applied to this specific instance of Luchino's confusion, and all the more since he actually repeats the words from his letter to Luchino about modern princes who deserve only satire:

Scriberem libentius, visa quam lecta, nova quam vetera, ut sicut notitiam vetustatis ab antiquis acceperam ita huius notitiam etatis ex me posteritas sera perciperet. Gratiam habeo principibus nostris qui michi fesso et quietis avido hunc preripiunt laborem; neque enim historie, sed satyre materiam stillo tribuunt.⁸²

I would rather write on things seen rather than read, modern rather than ancient, so that, as I had received knowledge of antiquity from the ancients, so distant posterity should receive knowledge of the present age from me. I am grateful to the princes of our time who take this labor from me, tired and desirous of rest as I am, for they offer me matter not for history but for satire.

Returning to the tree-garden allegory, let us now consider the quest for a part of fruit-trees in its allegorical sense. In the given context, the parts of trees must signify examples of literary and/or musical creativity. However, in this instance the requested part should be fruits (products of creativity) rather than scions, as the above-quoted excerpts from the treatises suggest. This is exactly the way Petrarch introduced his poetry in his letter to Luchino: «cuius studii *primitias* iam nunc degustabis» (you shall now taste the *first-fruits* of my zeal). Petrarch's

81 GIORGIO CHITTOLINI, *Milano viscontea*, in *Petrarca e la Lombardia*. Atti del convegno di studi (Milano, 22-23 maggio 2003), Roma, Antenore, 2005, pp. 11-30: 19.

82 *De viris illustribus*, in FRANCESCO PETRARCA, *Prose*, a c. di Guido Martellotti, Pier Giorgio Ricci, Enrico Carrara, Enrico Bianchi, Milano-Napoli, Ricciardi, 1955 ("La Letteratura italiana. Storia e testi", 7) p. 218. See also BENJAMIN G. KOHL, *Petrarch's Prefaces to De viris illustribus*, «History and Theory», xiii/2, 1974, pp. 132-144: 138. The English translation has been improved by Leofranc Holford-Stevens.

first letter might have elucidated the picture, but unfortunately it has not survived. Hence I believe it important for further understanding of the situation that in the existing letter Petrarch did not specify the part of the tree that has been requested by Luchino, since he wrote simply: «inter arbores illas de quibus tibi admodum familiariter *partem* poscis» (amidst those trees, of which you ask in most friendly manner for a share). The currently accepted interpretation of *pars* as scion appears to have been a logical deduction based on the circumstances: in the early spring, in March, there are no fruits yet; therefore it must be some other part of the tree, sprouts or scions. I assume that Luchino too could have understood this controversy in this way. He would certainly be right, were it a normal tree-garden, and not an allegorical one.

It is not clear, however, whether Petrarch meant only his own mastery of belles-lettres by this allegory, since he was already a famous man of letters, crowned with the laurel wreath in 1341 in Rome. He could well have been presenting somebody else, some protégé of his, recommending his works in an elegant and shrewd manner. The series of laudatory musico-poetical compositions for Luchino by Jacopo da Bologna seems to be the most plausible candidate for the role of these allegorical fruit-tree parts.

Jacopo and Petrarch

Much has been written about the possibility of a personal contact between Petrarch and Jacopo da Bologna. The currently accepted chronology of Jacopo's court service, according to which the Milanese period preceded that of Verona, left the possibility of their first (and short) meeting not before March of 1350 in Verona, and then in May of 1351.⁸³ Since scholars have supposed that Jacopo returned to Milan after 1352 (this premise, however, has no documentary basis), their longer common sojourn in Milan must have begun in July of 1353, when Petrarch himself settled in Milan.

The new chronology proposed in this essay, according to which the Veronese period preceded that of Milan, places Petrarch and Jacopo together for a longer sojourn at the same place much earlier. Petrarch is known to have resided in

83 PETROBELLI, 'Un legiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche cit., pp. 39-40.

Verona for about six months in 1345; thus he had the opportunity to make Jacopo's acquaintance there. In this case Petrarch's second stay in Verona, for two months from the end of 1347 up to the second half of February 1348, must have been the second meeting between them.

These milestones of time (the end of 1347 – spring 1348) and places (Verona, Milan and Parma – where Petrarch wrote his letter to Luchino and which is also mentioned in Jacopo's *O in Italia*) can be correlated with specific episodes in Italian history. These years were marked by a tragedy that struck not only Italy but all of Europe – namely the Black Plague.⁸⁴ It is quite possible that the spread of the plague to Verona in January of 1348 was one of the reasons that Petrarch left Verona at the end of February and moved to Parma: the plague reached Parma only in June of 1348, so that for several months the city could have seemed to be a safe refuge. As the contact with Luchino Visconti was established exactly in these days, Petrarch could well have been thinking about the Milanese alternative.

Regarding Jacopo's movements, we know that he changed his place of service at least once. There could have been many reasons for it. Perhaps the Veronese court seemed to him not sufficiently prestigious and attractive, especially if he was an ambitious personality, as we think he was.⁸⁵ However, it is also possible that he had fallen into disgrace with his patron, Mastino della Scala, and was beginning to think about other options. Some of Jacopo's compositions hint at this, for example his madrigal *Tanto che siate, acquistati nel giusto*; Franco Alberto Gallo noted that this madrigal «ends with the reflection that 'the love of princes does not last for always': 'Talora vien che perdet'el valore/ che sempre non dura amor di signore' (it may happen that you lose your value, since the patron's

84 The plague struck Italy several times in the course of the 14th century. However, a new and the most fearsome outbreak occurred between the end of 1347 and the beginning of 1349 after a long interruption and was thus the first in the memory of those alive at the time. This epidemic came from the east via the coastal cities, spreading through Italy in this order: the end of 1347 – Sicily, Naples; January 1348 – Genoa, Venice, Padua, Verona; March – Florence, June 1348 – Parma. This information is cited from WILKINS, *Life of Petrarch* cit., p. 104. Many tried to save themselves by fleeing the plague, as described, for example, in the prologue to the *Decameron*, which contains a blood-curdling account of the epidemic in Florence.

85 GALLO, *Music of the Middle Ages* cit., p. 60: «The difficulties of life as a court musician, with its constant rivalry, which some madrigals refer to, led him sometimes to be egoistical and boastful of the originality of his work, as in his madrigal *Io me son un che per le frasche andando*».

benevolence does not last forever)». ⁸⁶ Jacopo might have asked Petrarch, confidentially, to intercede for him with the Milanese ruler, delivering his musico-poetic laudatory pieces: the written music, thus, was the only possibility for him to demonstrate his musical skills at a distance. In these newly defined circumstances, hypothetical of course, the four compositions for Luchino Visconti by Jacopo da Bologna must have been written before the end of February 1348 in Verona and were conceived as a demonstration of his mastery of poetry and music in his search for new place of work. Another scenario is that Petrarch left Verona together with Jacopo, so that they both wrote the requested compositions simultaneously in response to Luchino's demand for «parts of trees». In this case, the Luchino series by Jacopo would have been written close to the date of 13 March 1348 in Parma.

Petrarch's two Latin poems, written at Luchino's request, likewise glorify the ruler's government; both use the allegory of fruit-trees. One of them, entitled *Ad arbores suas* (To his trees; *Epystolae metricae*, 111, 6), claims that fruit-trees grow and flourish to the glory of Luchino. ⁸⁷ The poem's last six verses are similar in content to Jacopo's *Lux purpurata*: the justice with which Luchino rules his subjects; and the same quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* at the very end of Petrarch's poem, but the accurate one and not paraphrased as in Jacopo's motet:

qui crimina duris	Crimes with harsh bands
Nexibus illaqueat legumque coercet habenis <i>Iustitiaque regit populos</i> ; quique aurea fesse Tertius Esperie melioris secla metalli, Et Mediolano romanas intulit artes, <i>Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos</i> .	He snares and with the reins of law restrains; With justice rules the peoples; and its third To bring a golden age to weary Italy. He has carried to Milan the art of Rome: «To spare the subject and war down the proud». ⁸⁸

⁸⁶ The troubles of court service, with its rivalry and intrigues of colleagues, might also be reflected in other of his madrigals, such as *Prima virtute*. See ELENA ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK, *Corresponding through Music: Three Examples from the Trecento*, «Acta musicologica», LXXXII, 2011, pp. 3-37: 23.

⁸⁷ Another poem for Luchino in *Epystolae metricae*, 11,11 (*Ad Luchinum Vicecomitem*) is supposed to have been sent in September together with a basket of pears («Et glaciale pirum se se commendat abunde») as proposes MICHELE FEO, *Di alcuni rusticiani cestelli di pomi*, «Quaderni petrarcheschi», 1, 1983, pp. 23-75. However, if the pears also were an allegory, this dating becomes uncertain as well.

⁸⁸ Translation of WILKINS, *Life of Petrarch* cit., p. 85-6.

In effect, Petrarch's poems and Jacopo's compositions for Luchino Visconti are functionally identical; thus, the assumption that Jacopo's compositions were created simultaneously with Petrarch's poems, under the same circumstances and for the same objective, is plausible.

Do we see here a trace of influence of the great poet on Jacopo? Of course, any personal acquaintance between them in an earlier period must have left a deep imprint on Jacopo's personality, then apparently still young and greedy for knowledge and studies, and all the more when they come from the most illustrious man of letters of the time. Perhaps the conversations between them (as known, one of the most preferred of Petrarch's pastimes), discussions, and even direct instruction that Jacopo could have enjoyed in Petrarch's *pomifera silva*, rendered his own poetic creativity much more professional and richer in sources. For example, there cannot be any doubt that Guido Fava's depiction of the garden of Wisdom, which was reproduced in Petrarch's letter to Luchino, prompted Jacopo to reformulate the famous opening maxim from the Book of Wisdom as «Diligite justitiam qui judicatis machinam», since it recalled Fava's expression: «et iuxta platanum ad fluentia aquarum sedet sapientia Salomonis, per quam viri scolastici decorantur et clarescit machina mundialis».

The very fact of the existence of Jacopo's musical setting of Petrarch's madrigal *Non al suo amante* indicates a closer relationship between them. Unfortunately, it is still impossible to establish when and under what circumstances it was composed, or whether it was one more tree-scion attached to Petrarch's letter to Luchino. Although Jacopo is never mentioned in Petrarch's writings by name, he could have been alluded to by a nickname. A certain Confortino comes to mind, a singer listed in a poem by the Trevisan poet Niccolò de' Rossi (d. 1348). Here Confortino, together with twenty other names, is reported as an example of the most prominent singers of the time. Petrarch designed some of his poems for him in 1351.⁸⁹ In connection with a sonnet by the poet Francesco di Vannozzo addressed to Petrarch, Petrobelli observed that the author expressed his wish to write something for Petrarch, but was inhibited by his own sense of insignificance: only the thought that what he could write would be sung by Confortino

89 See NINO PIRROTTA, *Due sonetti musicali del secolo XIV*, in *Miscelânea en homenaje a Mons. Higinio Anglés*, ed. por Miguel Querol, Barcelona, Consejo sup. de invest. cient., 1958-1961, vol. 2, pp. 651-662; PETROBELLI, 'Un legiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche cit., pp. 41-43; ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK, *Parlar cantando* cit., pp. 36-38 and 91-93.

gives him the strength to compose it.⁹⁰ However, whether Confortino could have been the name in art of Jacopo da Bologna will remain only a hypothesis, in the complete absence of any documentary information.

Whatever the case may have been, in writing the presumed letter of recommendation (the first letter to Luchino, now lost) Petrarch was apparently motivated by a desire to help the young musician to find a safer shelter.⁹¹ Of course, somebody must have been present in Milan who could judge these written compositions, and it could well have been the musician Magister Piero, the elder Trecento composer, who was, as far as we know, linked to the Milanese court.⁹² His acquaintance with Jacopo is suggested by the fact that the madrigal *Sì come al canto della bella Iguana* was set to music by both composers, and that some of the texts of their other madrigals share the same imagery, expressions and words.

The Imperial Eagle of Giovanni Visconti

My hypothesis regarding Jacopo's laudatory series of compositions for Luchino Visconti and my new reading of Petrarch's letter to Luchino somewhat reduce Luchino's reputation as a supporter of music and letters: certainly

90 PETROBELLI, 'Un legiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche cit., p. 42.

91 It is difficult to determine when exactly Jacopo was accepted at the Milanese court of the Visconti. But if he was not invited shortly following Petrarch's recommendation, he possibly did not arrive there during Luchino's lifetime. The plague of 1347-49 almost bypassed Milan, due to the well-thought-out and well-constructed city canals made by Luchino's predecessor, his nephew Azzone Visconti (1302-1339, a son of Luchino's elder brother, Galeazzo I). With the expansion of the epidemic, Luchino placed the city of Milan and its suburbs in quarantine, so that the city became hardly accessible. PEZZANA, *Storia della città di Parma* cit., p. 12, notes: «A tener il morbo lontano provvide Luchino con rigorosa Grida pubblicata il giorno 2 di Giugno, che vietava agli abitanti il recarsi a Venezia, a Firenze, a Pisa, a Lucca, a Genova ed a Pontremoli, e proibiva il ricevere genti che provenissero da quelle parti». See more in GABRIELE ZANNELLA, *Italia, Francia e Germania: una storiografia a confronto*, in *La peste nera: dati di una realtà ed elementi di una interpretazione*, Università di Perugia, Fondazione CISAM, 1994, pp. 49-136.

92 KURT VON FISCHER, GIANLUCA D'AGOSTINO, Piero, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second Edition, ed. Stanley Sadie, London, Macmillan, 2001, vol. 19, pp. 727-728: «Piero certainly spent some time in the 1340s and early 1350s with Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo da Bologna at the courts of the Visconti family in Milan and of the della Scala family in Verona. This is indicated by the texts of his madrigals and cacce. The caccia *Con brachi assai*, also

Petrarch did not bear witness to that.⁹³ However, that cast light on Luchino's brother, the archbishop Giovanni. This outstanding personality has largely escaped the attention of musicologists, which has mainly been concentrated on Luchino. However, Giovanni rightly gained a reputation as one of the most magnificent persons of the time (Petrarch called him *Italicorum maximus*).⁹⁴ In

set to music by Giovanni, was composed at the court of the Visconti: the text mentions the river Adda, which flowed through territory at that time under Milanese rule». Interestingly, the Venetian poet Niccolò Quirini (d. 1328, of which mere a nine sonnets and one canzone have survived) addressed to *Mastro Petro* the sonnet *O mastro Petro de canto e de nota* (in FURIO BRUGNOLO, *Il Canzoniere di Nicolò de' Rossi*, Padova, Antenore, 1974, p. 275.) Hence, if he was already an esteemed musician by 1328, in the year 1348 he could have had great authority in musical circles.

93 Another Trecento poet, Fazio (Bonifazio) degli Uberti (ca. 1305 - after 1367), the author of the long unfinished poem *Dittamondo*, written in Dante's *terzinas* and inspired by the *Divine Comedy*, apparently was in Luchino's service, although it is not clear in what function; his service can only be inferred from a pair of sonnets which he exchanged with Luchino. The sonnets concern Fazio's salary, either delayed or insufficient. Fazio humbly begged for a more decent retribution, but Luchino scornfully suggested that he should be satisfied with what he had already received. RODOLFO REINER, *Liriche edite ed inedite di Fazio degli Uberti*, a c. di Rodolfo Renier, Firenze, Sansoni, 1883, p. CLXIX, noted that «quanto è umile la domanda di Bonifazio, tanto la risposta di Luchino è superba» («Dician se 'l tuo salar t'è stato atteso,/ per don che ti sie fatto parvo o magno,/ ritorna in quello e non ti dar più lagno»). Cfr. *Il Dittamondo e le Rime*, a c. di Giuseppe Corsi, Bari, Laterza, 1952, vol. 2, p. 47, vv. 12-14. *Il Dittamondo e le Rime* cit., p. 396, comments these lines as follows: Fazio's salary has been paid regularly, and if there was extra it was only by kindness of Luchino: he may claim his salary but not more and hence he has to be happy with it and not complain («Il tuo salario ti è stato regolarmente pagato; se per di più ti si fa un dono, piccolo o grande che sia, questo è tutto per mia bontà; tu puoi pretendere il tuo salario, ma niente di più: e quindi accontentatene e non lagnarti»). Interestingly, and perhaps significantly, in the *Dittamondo* (Book 3, Chapter 4), cfr. *Il Dittamondo e le Rime* cit., vol. 1, pp. 193-194, describing his visit in Milan (for the first time, as it appears from the text), Fazio asks his new friend («come l'uom dimanda un amico,/ se 'l trova, quando giunge in una terra,/ fec' io un mio») to explain the situation in this prosperous and peaceful city («Questa città, che vive sì felice/ Con fede, con giustizia e senza guerra», and from his explanations we learn that at that time Luchino was already dead («Galeazzo fu l'un, l'altro Giovanni,/ Luchino, Marco, Stefano e ciascuno/ Per gran valor sofferse gravi affanni./ Tutti questi son morti, fuor che uno, cioè Giovanni [...] »), and it was Giovanni who governed the city («e costui ci conduce/ sì ben, ch'al mondo non so par niuno./ E non pur sol del temporale è duce, ma questa nostra chericia dispone/ come vero pastore e vera luce». For some unclear reason, Fazio even did not mention his acquaintance with Luchino.

94 In the letter to Zanobi da Strada (*Epistole extravagantes*, var. 7). Cfr. UGO DOTTI, *Petrarca a Milano: Documenti milanesi 1353-1354*, Milano, Ceschina, 1972, p. 132.

fact, Giovanni's astute government of Milan at the beginning of the 1350s rendered the entire province a secure and prosperous place.⁹⁵ Galliano Ciliberti, one of the few to pay attention to Giovanni Visconti's patronage of the arts, notes that «he was able to achieve the level of absolute power due to his being a patron of the arts».⁹⁶ Unlike Luchino, Giovanni kept at his court not only *histriones* but also *cantores*, as Flamma informs us.⁹⁷ *Cantores* evidently were employed for professional polyphonic singing, which certainly could be of practical use at the court of a person who merged secular and religious power.⁹⁸ In all likelihood, Jacopo appeared at the Milanese court of the Visconti in the last months of Luchino's life, that is, later than March of 1348. His main service, therefore, occurred during Giovanni's government.

95 CHITTOLINI, *Milano viscontea* cit., p. 14: «L'archivescovo aveva assunto da solo e personalmente la guida del dominio unendo in sé l'autorità temporale e quella spirituale». Ivi, p. 18: «Ma certamente Milano si presentava con tutto il suo prestigio di città ricca e popolata, di capitale di uno stato tranquillo all'interno, e in fase di fortunata espansione, mentre in tante altre parti della penisola Petrarca, e non solo lui, lamentavano l'insicurezza, le guerre, le continue minacce alla pace pubblica e privata».

96 CILIBERTI, *Il mecenatismo musicale di Luchino e Giovanni Visconti* cit., p. 74.

97 CILIBERTI (*Ibid.*) notes that the court of Giovanni, in the period described by Flamma (till 1342), substantially differed from that of Luchino; in addition to a common *familia* it also comprised professional singers, probably employed for the performance of sacred polyphonic music in the archbishop's cappella. GALVANEI DE LA FLAMMA, *Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone* cit., p. 48: «Excedit insuper principes et prelatos [...] in convivijis regalibus et continuis, in domicellis, capellanis, cantoribus, citharistis, militibus et alia familia seu familijs, ultra quam credi posset» (He exceeded above [other] princes and priests ... in rich and frequent banquets, in servants, chaplains, singers, cithara-players, warriors, and other courtiers more than can be imagined).

98 CILIBERTI, *Il mecenatismo musicale di Luchino e Giovanni Visconti* cit., p. 76, proposes that the Trecento fragments discovered in the State Archive of Perugia (I-PEu) are the remains of some unknown musical manuscript which must have been created in the ambience of Giovanni's court under the commission and patronage of the archbishop, since it contains an unprecedented quantity of sacred music and parts of the mass that no other Trecento codex contains. The important point is that the same codex contains madrigals of Jacopo da Bologna (the fragments have transmitted four of Jacopo's madrigals): «Non c'è codice arsnovistico che abbia un numero così elevato di componimenti per messa, fenomeno spiegabile solo con una prestigiosa committenza da parte di un eminente ecclesiastico». OLIVER HUCK, *Review of Frammenti musicali del Trecento nell'incunabolo Inv. 15755 N.F. della Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia*, a c. di Biancamaria Brumana e Galliano Ciliberti, «Plainsong and Medieval Music», xv/1, 2006, pp 77-81, contests, reasonably enough, Ciliberti's early dating of the codex at the end of 1340s and the beginning of the 1350s, on the basis of the peculiarities of the notation used in it. MARCO GOZZI,

Returning to the image of the eagle in the *motetus* of *Lux purpurata*, which could have been linked to Giovanni through the association with the symbol of John the Evangelist, it seems to me quite certain that, although extremely subtle, the image of the eagle might well have been understood as the figure of an outstandingly intellectual and educated person, as Giovanni Visconti was.⁹⁹ Therefore, the eagle in the madrigal *O in Italia* possibly hints not only at Obizzo d'Este, but also at Giovanni Visconti, because it was apparently he who performed the rite of baptism. It seems, indeed, more natural to praise Luchino's brother and coruler of the state rather than their rival, the marquis of Ferrara. I even believe it possible that the famous three-voice polytextual madrigal *Aquil'altra* by Jacopo da Bologna could have been designed for Giovanni Visconti, all the more since the expression «insegna di giustizia» now appears to be linked not only to the description of eagles in bestiaries¹⁰⁰ but also to the mystic transformation of the phrase «Diligite justitiam» into an eagle in Dante's vision – the phrase cited by Jacopo in his *Lux purpurata*, which referred to Giovanni Visconti (*presul*) as well. Perhaps the madrigal *Aquil'altra* mourns his death on the 5th of October 1354, if the words «Dove tua vita prende suo riposo» (where your life takes its repose) may be understood as an indication of death.¹⁰¹ However, in this instance it is impossible to infer whether it was Jacopo's personal expression or this madrigal was intended to be performed on this occasion.

Liturgia e musica nel Trecento italiano, in *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, hrsg. von Sandra Dieckmann-Oliver Huck-Signe Roter-Broman-Alba Scotti, Hildesheim, Zürich-New York, Olms, 2007 ("Musica mensurabilis", 3), pp. 53-98: 61-62, notes that even if the type of notation points to a later dating of the manuscript (around 1390-1400) and its provenience from Perugia, it is possible, however, that it might have been copied from an earlier northern source. Moreover, the musical style of two identified composers (one of them is a certain Franciscus de Cumis, so far unknown) is that of the middle of the century; and the composer Johannes de Florentia, on the basis of the musical style of his *Benedicamus*, can be identified with Giovanni da Cascia.

99 On the interpretation of the image of an eagle as a symbol of the human intellect and as a possible reference to someone who was blessed with outstanding intellectual qualities see ELENA ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK, *The Madrigal Aquil'altra by Jacopo da Bologna and Intertextual Relationships in the Musical Repertory of the Italian Trecento*, «Early Music History», xxviii, 2009, pp. 1-37.

100 The connection of the eagle with a just judgment appears in the bestiaries of the second family and in the *Tresor* by Brunetto Latini. See more in ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK, *The Madrigal Aquil'altra by Jacopo da Bologna* cit., pp. 10-11.

101 Significantly, this line has been ignored in both interpretations so far accepted, wedding and coronation, since it does not fit either of them.

Conclusions

If the present reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding the four compositions by Jacopo da Bologna in honor of Luchino Visconti is correct, we now can answer the question why these celebratory musical pieces for a secular ruler remained unique in the whole Trecento musical repertory. Furthermore, we understand why they use poetic devices that are more suitable for a written form: not only *senhals*, usual enough in the Trecento musical repertory, but acrostics as well, which no other Trecento secular musical composition has.

On the other hand, poems flattering rulers must have been frequent enough in Italian court life. The very fact that they are found also in chronicles and treatises as examples of this kind of poetry suggests that they represented a common courtly practice. Such examples appear in Antonio da Tempo's *Summa*,¹⁰² in Flamma's above-cited *Opusculum* containing panegyrics of Luchino and Giovanni Visconti in Latin verses, in *De li rithimi volgari* and *De li contrasti* by Gidino da Sommacampagna.¹⁰³ *De li contrasti* contains a long poem in which Antonio della Scala is praised as the only Italian ruler who is able to resist the French army.¹⁰⁴ According to the author's remark, this poem must have been presented by two performers who «spoke it through singing... for the listener's delight» (*cantando pàrlanno ... a ben piaxere de l'omo*).¹⁰⁵

It seems that the musicians who sought employment at the courts normally presented their musical art orally, when approaching the desired place and participating in some kind of competition. In all likelihood, their main duty surely must have been the musical performance of ceremonial and celebratory poetry,

102 The ballata *Dolente Amor mi face per servire* with the acrostic DOMINE MARGARITE ANTONIUS DE TEMPO (ANTONIO DA TEMPO, *Summa artis ritmici vulgaris dictaminis* cit., p. 98.)

103 In the first of Gidino da Sommacampagna's treatises there are two sonnets with acrostics, *Magnifica corona de valore* containing MADONA SAMARITANA MESER ANTONIO (*De li rithimi volgari*, a c. di Carlo Giuliani, Repr. in Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1968, p. 219) and *La gloria de Judit asay fu chiara* with LA INCLITA PULISENA LA NOBILE TADEA (Ivi, p. 220). For further information see BIANCA BECCHERINI, *Le insegne viscontee e i testi poetici dell'Ars Nova*, in *Liber Amicorum Charles van den Borren*, Antwerp, Lloyd Anverso, 1964, pp. 17-25. SARAH CARLETON, *Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2009, contains many examples of heraldic (non-musical) flattering poetry for rulers.

104 GIDINO DA SOMMACAMPAGNA, *De li rithimi volgari* cit., p. 226-247.

105 Ivi, pp. 224-225.

but this activity most plausibly remained within oral practice, particularly when it concerned clothing poetic texts of this kind in music. I am convinced that the oral delivery of poetic texts was the main activity of Jacopo and many of his other colleagues as court musicians. Unfortunately, we can only hypothesize in what way they performed ceremonial poetry.

The analysis of the musical compositions in this essay touches only the tip of an iceberg in terms of hidden associations, quotations, allusions and other literary devices used in composing these works. I am convinced that they contain many more allusions which were significant to Jacopo's contemporaries, but unfortunately imperceptible for us, unless we delve deeply into the world of their knowledge in order to comprehend their way of thinking and hence the principles of their creativity.

Appendix 1

*Galvanei de la Flamma ordinis Praedicatorum Opusculum de rebus gestis ab Azone, Luchino et Johanne Vicecomitibus*¹⁰⁶

Mores et conditiones domini Luchini:

Mores habuit claros, quasi dedignantis naturae. Nemo justitiam et pacem unquam melius servavit. Cor ejus constans, et verbum firmum fuit, quia quidquid promisit, totum servavit. Introytus et bona comunitatis optime servavit; a tributis abstinuit et totam suam familiam abstinere voluit. Pauperularum mulierum causas omni die diligenter audivit; omni die xxx pauperes ad mensam in suo palatio cibarijs pavit.

Conduct and terms of messer Luchino

His conduct was glorious as if that of a haughty nature. Nobody ever kept justice and peace better than he did. His heart was steady and his word was firm, since whatever he promised he performed in full. He admirably maintained the income and property of the community. He refused to take tributes and required the same from all his household. To the pleas of poor women he carefully listened every day, and every day he fed 30 paupers in his palazzo.

Proprietates domus Vicecomitum

Et si isti duo domini nostre civitatis quinque alias conditiones haberent, non jam capitanei sed reges nominarentur, que sunt he secundum sententiam philosophorum, videlicet affatus dulcis, structura viarum et pontis, vindicta sceleris, tributum juris, et hostium connexio amicabile. Hec sunt fascie regis, exclusio tyrannidis, populi cultus et preclare memoria laudis.

The properties of the house of the Visconti

If these two lords of our city had five other qualities, they would be called not captains but kings. They are these, according to the opinion of philosophers, namely: pleasant conversation, construction of roads and bridges, punishment of crime, respect for the law, friendly dealings with strangers. These are the diadems of a king, the preventative against tyranny, the people's admiration. and remembrance in glorious renown.

106 GALVANEI DE LA FLAMMA, *ordinis Praedicatorum Opusculum* cit., pp. 35-36.

Appendix 2

Petrarch's letter to Luchino Visconti of the 13th of March 1348 (*Familiares* VII, 15)¹⁰⁷

15

Ad Luchinum Vicecomitem, Mediolani
dominum, de principibus literatis.

[1] Quales speraveram, imo quidem quales
nec speraveram, literas tuas legi. Gratulor
inter excellentiam tuam et humilitatem
meam hoc saltem intervenisse commer-
cium, talemque michi ad notitiam tui adi-
tum aperuisse fortunam.

[2] In eo sane quod literarum ipsarum ulti-
ma pars iubet, diligentie mee cura non deer-
rit, eoque promptius enitar quo plus delec-
tationis labor afferet: dum ortulanus herbis
et arboribus, ego verbis et carminibus
incumbam, invitante rivi murmure, qui
querulus fugit et dextra levaque prominen-
tem pomiferam silvam secat; cuius studii
primitias iam nunc degustabis. [3] Etsi for-
tasse animum altissimis intentum curis ista
non tangant, ut temporum mos est, scio
tamen illos tam magnos rerum dominos,
Iulium et Augustum Cesares, sepe a reipu-
blice negotiis bellorumque laboribus in
nostri tranquillitate otii quievisse, et rigen-
tes gladiis dexteris ab hostibus feriendis ad
syllabas numerandas, ac voces adversis
agminibus intonare interque tubarum clan-
gorem et militarem strepitum exaudiri soli-
tas, ad Pyerii modulaminis dulcedinem
transtulisse. [4] Neronem transeo, ne pre-
clarum studium gloriosaque nomina illius
monstri commemoratione commaculem.

15

To Luchino Visconti, the Lord of Milan,
about the learned rulers (princes).

[1] I read your letter, (which was) as I had
hoped, or rather as I had not even hoped. I am
very glad that between your excellence and
my humility at least this exchange has taken
place, and that such a chance has opened me
the way to your acquaintance.

[2] Concerning that which the closing part of
your letter requires, I shall not be wanting in
attentive diligence, and I shall strive the more
eagerly as the task is more pleasing: while my
gardener busies himself with herbs and trees, I
shall do so with words and poems, stimulated
by the murmur of the stream, which flees
querulously and cuts through a prominent
orchard to right and left; you shall now taste
the first-fruits of my zeal. [3] Even if perhaps
these things cannot touch a soul busy with
loftiest duties, as the custom of our times is, yet
I know that even the greatest rulers, Julius and
Augustus and Caesar, often sought recreation
from affairs of state and the toil of war in the
quiet of our leisure, and shifted their sword-
stiffened right hands from striking foes to
counting syllables, and their voices that were
wont to thunder against opposing troops and
to be heard amidst the blare of trumpets'
clangs and soldiers' cries, to the sweetness of
Pierian [the Muses'] melodies. [4] I pass over
Nero, in order not to spoil this illustrious occu-

107 PETRARCA, *Familiarium rerum libri* cit., vol. 2, pp. 1004-1013.

Quam deditum Musis Hadrianum credimus, cuius intentio tam vehemens fuit, ut ne vicina quidem morte lentesceret? prorsus, mirum dictu, sub extremum vite spiritum de anime discessu versiculos edidit, quos insererem nisi quia vel tibi vel tuorum alicui notos esse confido.

[5] Quid Marcum Antoninum loquar, qui cum non ambitione sed meritis ad imperium ascendisset, vetus philosophie cognomen tenuit, novum sprexit, aliquanto maius extimans philosophum esse quam principem? Huius generis exemplorum copia ingens est; vixque aliquis principum sine hac literarum suppellectili se principem, imo vero se hominem esse censebat. [6] Sed mutata sunt tempora; reges terre bellum literis indixerunt; aurum, credo, et gemmas atramentis inquinare metuunt, animum ignorantia cecum ac sordidum habere non metuunt. Sed gravis et periculosa materia est, vivum potentem verbis offendere; nec ad offensionem longo sermone opus est: quisquis male vivit, nuda leditur veritate. Mortui autem securius reprehenduntur; nulli gravis est percussus Achilles, ut ait Satyricus.

[7] Itaque hostes literarum reges nostri temporis, non nominare consilium est; “non est enim” tutum “in eum scribere qui potest proscribere”, ut ait Asinius Pollio, egregius orator, in Cesare Augustum iocans; cuius ego nunc exemplo, suppressis reorum nominibus, accusationem publicam peregero. [8] Prope enim omnes idem error agit, et cum nullus eos quos supra retuli, literarum amicos principes sequi velit, certatim Licinium

pation and these glorious names with the remembrance of that monster. How much, we believe, was Hadrian devoted to Muses, if his attachment was so powerful as not to slacken even when death was nigh? Indeed, marvelous to relate, on the point of breathing his last he made the verses on the departure of his soul, which I would have inserted here, except that I am confident they are known to you or to some of your people.

[5] Why should I mention Marcus Antoninus, who, when he became Emperor not by ambition but by his merits, retained his old title of philosopher, and spurned the new one [of Emperor], thinking it more honourable to be a philosopher than a prince? There is a huge abundance of examples of this kind, and hardly any prince considered himself a prince, or even a man, without this literary furnishing. [6] But times have changed. The kings of the earth have declared war on letters; I believe they fear to soil their gold and gems with ink, but they do not fear to have minds blind and deaf from ignorance. But is it a grave and dangerous matter to offend by words a living ruler; nor is a lengthy discourse necessary to give offence: whoever lives badly is hurt by the naked truth. It is safer to rebuke the dead, as the Satirist (Juvenal) says, “no-one suffers for having struck Achilles”.

[7] Therefore, it is advisable not to name the rulers of our times, who are unfriendly to letters, “it is not safe to write against one who can proscribe [put on the deathlist]”, as Asinius Pollio, a distinguished orator, said jokingly against Caesar Augustus; by whose example I will complete my public accusation, not naming the guilty. [8] They nearly all [of them] make the same mistake, and since none wishes to follow the princes whom I

Cesarem imitantur, qui rusticanæ vir originis ita literas oderat, ut eas «virus ac pestem publicam» appellaret; vox non quidem imperatore digna, sed rustico. [9] At non sic Marius, et ipse quoque «rusticanus vir, sed», ut ait Cicero, «vere vir», quem licet vel occupatio vel natura literarum ad studia tardior faceret, literatos tamen homines amabat, precipue poetas, quorum speraret ingenio suarum rerum gestarum gloriam celebrari posse. [10] Et nimirum quis est hominum, nisi sit idem prorsus agresti duritie, qui etsi non valde literis delectetur, clarum saltem non cupiat nomen, quod profecto, sicut sine virtute non queritur, sic sine literis non servatur? Fluxa est hominum memoria, picture labiles, caduce statue, interque mortalium inventa nichil literis stabilius; quisquis illas non metuit, oportet ut diligat, omninoque verum est illud Claudiani:

Gaudet enim virtus sibi testes iungere Musas;
Carmen amat quisquis carmine digna facit.

[11] Nostri vero, qui nichil nisi satyrico carmine dignum gerunt, quas metuunt literas, oderunt. Itaque cum Licinio sentiunt omnes, nemo cum Mario, ne cum aliis dicam; et – qua nulla turpior desidia unquam fuit – id quod preciosissimum habebant, subripi sibi per plebeios homines passi, eo sensim pervenire, ut iam inter divitias suas gravissima premantur inopia. [12] Ita qui pro exiguo censu, pro parvo regni angulo in aciem descendissent, relictum sibi a proavis thesaurum inextimabilem proiecerunt, inque ipsam animi regiam permiserunt alienigenas

mentioned above, friends of letters, they eagerly imitate Licinius Caesar, who, being of rustic origin, loathed literature to such a degree that he called them “public poison and plague”, an expression worthy not of an Emperor but of a farmer. [9] But Marius was not such, himself a “countryman, but truly a man”, as Cicero said, who, though made slower to study by either being busy or the nature of literature, yet he liked literate persons, especially poets, since he hoped that by their talents the glory of his deeds would be lauded. [10] Indeed, what man is there, if he is also of thoroughly rustic thick-headedness, who even if he does not take much pleasure in letters, does not strive at least for an illustrious reputation, which of course cannot be acquired without virtue, but cannot be perpetuated without letters? The human memory is transient, paintings fade, sculptures fall down, and nothing is more stable among the inventions of the human race than letters. Anybody who does not fear them ought to love them, as it is rightly said by Claudian:

For virtue joys to make the Muses their witness
They all love song whose deeds are worthy of song.

[11] However, our rulers, who do nothing but what is worthy of a satirical poem, hate this literature that they fear. Thus all agree with Licinius and none with Marius, not to mention others! And – than which no idleness is more dishonourable – they have permitted their most precious possession to be stolen from them by common persons, and have gradually reached the point that now in the midst of their richness they are oppressed by the most grievous. [12] Thus, they, who for any small sum, for a miserable corner of a kingdom would have entered the battlefield,

ingredi, qui eos, non purpureis sed sidereis vestibus spoliatos, inde depellerent; unde illud regale dedecus videmus, plebem doctam, regesque asinos, coronatos licet; sic enim eos vocat romani imperatoris epystola quedam ad Francorum regem.

[13] Tu ergo, hac etate vir maxime et cui ad regnum nichil preter regium nomen desit, e duabus principum sententiis cui potissimum te applies, ignoro; sed meliora omnia de te spero. Itaque, ne in longum exeam, breve carmen, quod ex tempore nuper occurrit inter arbores illas de quibus tibi admodum familiariter partem poscis, excellentie tue misi; quodsi placuisse tibi sensero – in eo genere posse enim videor – quam putas et quam occupatio mea spondet, liberalior apparebo. Vale.

111 Idus Martias.

have thrown away the invaluable treasure left them by their ancestors, and allowed the very palace of their souls to be invaded by strangers who should expel them despoiled of their not royal but celestial garments, so that we see this royal shame, the commons learned, the kings asses, albeit crowned; for so they have been called in one letter of the [Holy] Roman Emperor to the king of Franks.

[13] Therefore, you greatest man of this age, whose realm does not lack anything except the royal title, I do not know to which of the two opinions of princes you adhere, but I expect all better things of you. Thus, not to be too long, I have sent a brief song that I recently composed extempore amidst those trees of which you ask in most friendly manner for a share; but if I sense that I have pleased you – for I think I can in that line – I shall appear more generous than you think and my employment promises. Be well.

13 March.

Es. 1 : *Lo lume vostro*

The musical score is written for a voice and lute. It consists of five systems of two staves each. The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Italian and describe a patron's light as a guiding star.

System 1:
 Voice: Lo - lu - me
 Lute: Lo - lu - me

System 2:
 Voice: vo - stro dol - ce'l mi - o sin - gno -
 Lute: vo - stro dol - ce'l mi - o sin - gno -

System 3:
 Voice: re, Vir - tu - te sic per - fec -
 Lute: re, Vir - tu - te sic per -

System 4:
 Voice: ta est or - na -
 Lute: fec - ta est or - na -

System 5:
 Voice: tum, Ch'a'
 Lute: tum, Ch'a'

Es. 1: continued

Musical score for "Es. 1: continued" by Elena Abramov-van Rijk. The score is in G major and 3/4 time, featuring a vocal line and a piano accompaniment.

The first system shows the vocal line with lyrics: "rey non". The piano accompaniment has a bass line with notes G, B, D, F, G.

The second system shows the vocal line with lyrics: "lu - ce a bo - ny sem - pre chia -". The piano accompaniment has a bass line with notes G, B, D, F, G.

The third system shows the vocal line with lyrics: "ra.". The piano accompaniment has a bass line with notes G, B, D, F, G.

The fourth system is labeled "Ritornello" and shows the vocal line with lyrics: "U - na don - na vi re - gna". The piano accompaniment has a bass line with notes G, B, D, F, G.

The fifth system shows the vocal line with lyrics: "ch'É SI - BEL - LA, Sul ciel non é po - sta più". The piano accompaniment has a bass line with notes G, B, D, F, G.

The sixth system shows the vocal line with lyrics: "lu - cen - te stel - la.". The piano accompaniment has a bass line with notes G, B, D, F, G.

Es. 2: *O in Italia*

1.

o _____

o _____

5 in I - ta - li a fe - li - ce Li - gu

in I - ta - li a fe - li - ce Li - gu

10 ria, È

ria, È

20 pro - pri - o'l tuo Mi - lan, Dio lau - da e glo

pro - pri - o'l tuo Mi - lan, Dio lau - da e glo

3. 25 ri - a De' dui na - ti si - gnor che'l ciel t'a -

ri - a De' dui na - ti si - gnor che'l ciel t'a -

Es. 2: continued

8 -ghu - ri - a.

8 Un ve - ne - re fra ter - ça et

8 sex - ta nac - que - ro.

Ritornello

8 Qua ran - ta sei

8 un M con tre C Chor - rea et

un M con tre C Cor - re - a et

55 fu d'a - ghos - to il quar - to di.

fu d'a - ghos - to il quar - to di.

Annotations: **Ritornello**, **enjambment**, **third syllable melisma**

Es. 3: *Laudibus dignis*

La - di - bus di - gnis me - ri - to lau - da - ri Ve - re de - cet fi - de - li re - ve - ren - ti - a,
 Can - tu so - no - ro,
 men - su - ra pa - ri: Hoc nam iu - ber
 ars er ve - ra sci - en - ti - a,
 Is - tum quid di - cam, cum plus ad - mi - ra - ri Ne
 ces - se - sit quam e - a que, pa - ten - ti - a, Ul -
 lo mo - do sunt per me ex - pli - ca - ri, Si mi - chi pos - set
 om - nis sa - pi - en - ti - a? Do - o con - ti - gunt e - um in - ter ce - te - ra:
 Ve - ri - tas con - stans, no - men sa - lu - ta - re Chri - sti, nec non iu - sti - ci - a
 Qua con - cui -
 ca - tur pra - vo - rum ne - qui - ci - a. Ob hoc di - gne - tur
 hunc di - u ser - va - re Qui re - gnant su - per e - the - ra.
 A - men, ut in hac no - bi - li Li - gu - ri
 a Vi - ge - at pax, ces - set om - nis pe -
 nu - ri - a.

Es. 4: *Lux purpurata*

Tripl
(C1)

Mot
(C2)

T

Lux

Di

5

pu - pu - ra - ta - ra - di - is

Ve - not fu - ga - re - te - ne -

li - gi - te iu - sti - ci - am

Qui

10

bras,

Cle - men - ti vi - gens

prin - ci -

iu - di - ca - tis ma - chi - nam.

Pro - des - se cunc - tis di - sci -

15

20

pe, Ho - no - ris nam - que cla - ri - tas

I - psi - sus to - ti se - cu - lo Nu - men ac - qui - rit ce - le -

te,

O - bes - se nul - li que - ri - te.

Es. 4: continued

-bre Vir - tu - tis at - que gra - ti - e. Ser - va - tor re - i - pu bli - ce,
Hoc pro - pri - um est prin - ci - pis,

Vir - tu - tum cul - tor op - ti - mus, Ve - rus a - ma - tor ef - fi - cax, Con -
Ut sit e - xu - tus vi - ci - is.

stans in om - ni stu - di - o Et nil per - mit - tens ir - ri - tum, Cle - mens et
So - li - ci - tu - do pre - su -

ius - tus do - mi - nus, O - nus - tus ar - ro - gan - ti - bus,
li Sit co - mes, ut pa -

Es. 4: continued

Mi - se - ri - cors e - gen - ti - bus E - mit - tit lu - men

- ci - fi - ce

Qui -

om - ni - bus Sa - lu - tis at - que

e - scant e - ius po -

e - ius po -

pre -

pre -

pre -

- mi - i.

- pu - li.

- pu - li.

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