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**Concord out of discord: Occasional motets of the early  
quattrocento**

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**University of California, Berkeley, 1987**

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Concord Out of Discord:  
Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento

By  
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B.A. (Columbia University) 1980  
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CONCORD OUT OF DISCORD:  
OCCASIONAL MOTETS OF THE EARLY QUATTROCENTO

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CONCORD OUT OF DISCORD:  
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by Julie E. Cumming

ABSTRACT

Motets with laudatory political texts composed in early fifteenth-century Italy are characterized by musical features such as polytextuality and isorhythm. To understand why, this study examines the history of thought associating music and politics, the motet as a genre in the early fifteenth century, and individual works.

The concept of discordia concors, concordant discord, can be applied both to musical concord and to the just state. In music the phrase refers to the various Pythagorean ratios that combine to create harmonious melody; in politics it refers to the harmonious agreement of different classes and factions. With the advent of polyphony, music as discordia concors acquires new vividness as a metaphor for the just state. Dante uses the image repeatedly, providing eloquent descriptions of the listener's experience of polyphony and polytextuality. The polytextual medieval motet, as the most polyphonic of the polyphonic genres, is a representation of good government.

Motet traditions and sources were localized in the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth century motets of every style are found together in Italian manuscripts. Close examination of the contents of one such manuscript, Bologna Q15, reveals that local fourteenth-century motet types persist, and that there is a high correlation between



particular text types and musical characteristics. These manuscripts are symptomatic of changing patterns of patronage in early quattrocento Italy and of the international contacts that resulted from the English occupation of France and the council of Constance. Performance of music became an important element in displays of splendor used to establish legitimacy, and nothing was more appropriate for this purpose than the laudatory political motet.

Detailed study of individual works reveals how they functioned as vehicles for political rhetoric. Polytextuality can be understood as an expression of discordia concors and as a logical complement to typological exegesis. Relationships between texts and music are exploited differently in each piece for different expressive effects, but all of the motets are examples of concordia discors, musical representations of the just state. Knowledge of the context and meaning of the motets will enrich our musical experience of them.

Daniel Heartz

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While I trust that my dissertation is a beginning, not an end, in many ways it is a product of my entire life; almost everything I have learned has come into play somewhere in the process of writing it. So I begin with thanks to my family -- to my mother, Patricia Cumming, my sister, Susanna Cumming, and to Lee Rudolph -- for their personal support and intellectual stimulation, and for their help in proofreading the dissertation. My mother also deserves the credit for starting me in music, where my interest in musicology began. Thanks to my childhood teachers, especially Persis Ensor and Steven Silverstein, Renaissance music was the first music that I loved and responded to -- my first favorite composer was Dufay, and he may still be.

Participation in summer music workshops was an essential part of my musical education, and I learned and continue to learn a great deal from the many friends I made in that context. Particularly important were the long evenings of playing with Arnold Grayson and Richard Taruskin.

My debts to Richard Taruskin are incalculable. We first became friends thirteen years ago during those late-night reading sessions, which continue (somewhat abridged) to this day; with him I have played through thousands of pieces, and from him I learned to read almost illegible manuscript or original notation at break-neck speed, and to delight in the complexities of Medieval and Renaissance rhythms. More important is that he taught me to listen, to respond and experiment

musically, and to shape my phrases. As one of my professors at Barnard/Columbia, he taught me music history, harmony and counterpoint, and introduced me to musicology in a graduate seminar I took with him my junior year. Out of that seminar came my first article, which he urged me to rewrite and submit. His scholarship, and the many discussions we have had over the years, of his work, my work, of music and musicology, have helped shape me as a scholar. His encouragement and enthusiasm for my ideas are a continuing source of strength.

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My dissertation is the product not only of my musical education, but of my education in the humanities and in Medieval and Renaissance studies. It was at Barnard that I gained a firm background in Medieval history and literature. The topic for my dissertation was first formulated, not in a music seminar, but in a seminar in Art History

called "Images of War and Peace in the Italian Renaissance," taught by Loren Partridge, for which I wrote a paper that would become chapters 8 and 9 of the dissertation. I have tried to adapt for music the approach used by Loren Partridge and Randolph Starn in their work on history and art. I learned a great deal from them, and as my third reader Loren Partridge continued to encourage me throughout the writing of the dissertation.

From Richard Crocker, my second reader, I learned to think and talk about Medieval music and music theory. He has a way of cutting away the previous scholarly assumptions and traditions surrounding a problem, defining the problem anew, and finding the answer by looking at the music and seeing what is there. His work is also informed by his appreciation for and sensitivity to the music. Again and again, as I turned to think about a particular problem in the first, theoretical section of the dissertation, I discovered that he had been there before me. In the second section, on the motet as a genre, I tried to be as clear-sighted and as faithful to the music and sources as he is in his work.

My first original work in graduate school was with my adviser Daniel Heartz, on eighteenth-century opera. His conviction that music is best looked at in relation to the institutions and people that created it, as well as in conjunction with the ideas and values of the culture in which it is composed and performed, and his ability to make those cultural connections in a way that informs the experience of individual works, shaped my own approach to musicology. Having studied

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## ABBREVIATIONS and MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

## Abbreviations:

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| AfMw      | <u>Archiv für Musikwissenschaft</u>  |
| AIM       | American Institute of Musicology   |
| CC        | <u>Census-Catalog of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550, vols. 1-3, Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1 (AIM 1979, 1982, 1984)</u> |
| CMM       | Corpus mensurabilis musicae  |
| CS        | Coussemaker, Edmund de, <u>Scriptorum de musica medii aevi</u> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1864-76)  |
| CSM       | Corpus scriptorum de musica  |
| DTO       | <u>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich</u>   |
| EFCM      | <u>Early Fifteenth-Century Music</u>   |
| EM        | <u>Early Music</u>   |
| EMH       | <u>Early Music History</u>   |
| JAMS      | <u>Journal of the American Musicological Society</u>   |
| JM        | <u>The Journal of Musicology</u>   |
| MD        | <u>Musica Disciplina</u>   |
| MQ        | <u>The Musical Quarterly</u>   |
| MS, MSS   | manuscript, manuscripts  |
| MSD       | Musicological Studies and Documents  |
| New Grove | <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> , ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980)  |
| NOHM      | <u>New Oxford History of Music</u>   |
| PMFC      | Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century   |
| PRMA      | <u>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</u>  |

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| RISM 2      | <u>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, BIV<sup>2</sup>: Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1400) ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich-Duisburg, 1969)</u>  |
| RISM 3 or 4 | <u>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, BIV<sup>3</sup>: Handschriften mit Mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Kurt von Fischer, with Max Lütolf (Munich-Duisburg, 1972)</u> |
| SMw         | <u>Studien zur Musikwissenschaft</u>   |
| TVNM        | <u>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</u>   |
| ZfMw        | <u>Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft</u>   |

Manuscript sigla:

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Aosta        | Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario maggiore, A <sup>1</sup> D19 [CC: AostaS D19; RISM I-AO D19]<br><br>Guillaume de Van, "A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Music," MD 2 (1948), pp. 5-74; M. W. Cobin: "The Aosta Manuscript: A Central Source of Early-Fifteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978).  |
| Bologna Q15  | Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 15 (olim. 37). [CC: BolC Q15; RISM: I-Bc 15; BL]<br><br>Guillaume de Van, "Inventory of Manuscript Bologna Liceo Musicale, Q15 (olim 37)," MD 2 (1948), pp. 231-57; Bobby Wayne Cox, "The Motets of MS Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1977).  |
| Bologna 2216 | Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216. [CC: BolU 2216; RISM: I-Bu 2216; BU]<br><br>H. Bessler, "The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216," MD 6 (1952), pp. 39-65. F. Alberto Gallo, ed., <u>Il Codice Musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, Monumenta Lyrica Medii Aevi Italica III, Mensurabilia</u> ; vol. 1, facsimile; vol. 2, discussion and inventory (Bologna, 1968-70). |

- Chantilly Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564 (olim 1047) [RISM 2: F-CH 564]
- Fauvel Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds fr. 146 [RISM 2: F-Pn 146]
- Frib Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Z 260 [RISM 2: CH-Fc 260]
- Ivrea Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 115 [RISM 2: I-IVc 115]
- Machaut MSS The Machaut manuscripts are listed and described in Friedrich Ludwig, Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1928) [RISM 2: F-Pn 1584 (MachA), F-Pn 1585 (MachB), F-Pn 1586 (MachC), F-Pn 9221 (MachE), F-Pn 22545-22546 (MachF-G), and US-NYw (MachVg)]
- Modena 5.24 Modena, Biblioteca estense e universitaria, MS alpha M.5.24 (olim lat. 568) [RISM 4: I-MOe 5.24; ModA]
- Modena 1.11 Modena, Biblioteca Estense e universitaria, MS alpha X.1.11 (olim lat. 471) [CC: ModE X.1.11; RISM: I-MOe 1.11; ModB]
- C. Hamm and A. B. Scott, "A Study and Inventory of the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha.X.1.11 (ModB)," MD 26 (1972), pp. 101-43.
- Nuremberg 61 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent-V, MS 61 [RISM: D-Nst 61]
- Old Hall London, British Library Add. MS 57950 [RISM: GB-Lbl 57950; OH] (formerly Old Hall, Library of St. Edmunds College, MS without shelf no. [RISM 4: GB-OH])
- Oxford 213 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici misc. 213 [CC: Oxf BC 213; RISM: GB-Ob 213; O]
- Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213," MD 9 (1955), pp. 73-104. Hans Schoop, Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213, Publikationen der schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. 2:24 (Bern and Stuttgart, 1971).
- Pic 67 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Coll. de Picardie, 67 [RISM 2: F-Pn 67]

- Tremoille Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr.  
23190 [RISM 2: F-SERRANT, now F-Pn 23190]
- Trent 87, 88, 92 Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del  
Buonconsiglio, MSS 87, 88 and 92 [CC: TrentC 87, 88,  
92; RISM: I-TRmn 87, 88, 92]
- Thematic index ed. Guido Adler, et al., in DTO,  
vol. 14, Jg. 7 (1900), pp. 19-80.

Sigla in square brackets are the standardized ones. The Census-Catalog (CC) has descriptions and bibliography for manuscripts. Where there is a volume number for RISM there is a thematic index in that volume; where there is no volume number there is no such index, but the sigla are useful, in that they are used in the literature and in The New Grove. The final siglum listed in some cases is the one by which the source is known familiarly in the literature.

Introduction

Occasional motets from early quattrocento Italy are usually laudatory and political: their texts praise a person in authority, and often celebrate a particular event or achievement. Musically they are usually characterized by polytextuality or isorhythm or both; they are closer in style and structure to French and Italian motets of the fourteenth century than to the new homogeneous motet with a liturgical text that will become dominant in the fifteenth century. Because of their "conservative" style, these motets have been neglected or denigrated in the musicological literature. Scholars have been interested in them principally for external reasons: occasional motets can often be dated with some precision, and thus permit the dating of a manuscript or the construction of the chronology of a composer's works.

But many questions remain to be answered about this repertory. Why are there so many occasional motets from early fifteenth-century Italy? Why are laudatory texts usually associated with polytextuality and isorhythm? What can such motets tell us about the role of music in early Renaissance culture and politics? Their texts often have political import, but are rarely intelligible in performance. Why? What was the experience of the listener? How should we understand these motets?

Most of the answers to these questions can be found by studying the

texts and music of the motets. But in order to understand them thoroughly it is necessary to know more: both about the tradition of thought that associates music and politics, and about the nature and limits of the motet as a genre in the early fifteenth century. We begin, therefore with a study of the connections drawn between music and politics by philosophers, poets, and musicians from antiquity to the Renaissance, with especial emphasis on the concept of discordia concors, concordant discord, or "concord out of discord." We go on to consider local traditions of motet composition in the fourteenth century and the extent to which they continue and mix in the motet section of the largest manuscript of the first half of fifteenth century, Bologna Q15, in order to understand the nature of the genre in the early fifteenth century and to develop motet types and subgenres for the use of twentieth-century historians. We then study nine motets in depth, with reference to their place in the genre, the concept of discordia concors, and the particular circumstances surrounding individual works. In exploring the intellectual, musical, and cultural contexts for these motets we can learn to understand them; our perception of their meaning will in turn contribute to our understanding of the culture from which they come, and to our experience of the motets in performance.

## Part I

## Music and Good Government:

## A History of Thought on Music and Politics

Chapter 1. The Cultural Legacy Concerning Music and the State

## Concord, Discord, and Pythagorean Mathematics

Medieval and Renaissance beliefs about music have their basis in Pythagorean music theory. Pythagorean concepts of consonance, of the scale and its tuning, and of basic musical relationships were central to any discussion of music theory into the Renaissance and even beyond. But music was just one part of Pythagorean arithmetic, so to understand music theory it is also important to have some sense of Pythagorean mathematics.<sup>1</sup>

For Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, number was everything. Music, as number incarnate, was a sounding realization of their theories in the physical world. Simple relationships between or among simple numbers — that is, multiple and superparticular ratios of the small integers, 1 to 4 — made pleasing combinations of pitches, consonant intervals, and that fact confirmed their central belief.<sup>2</sup> An important part of Pythagorean mathematics, therefore, were the numerical operations having to do with relationships between numbers (i.e. ratios,  $a:b$ ), between related pairs of numbers (i.e. proportions and

means  $a:b$ ;  $b:c$ ;  $a:b:c$ ), and between numbers and the physical world (such as the ways string lengths and tension correspond to musical intervals). A single number has no particular musical meaning, especially in a world without fixed pitch. But two numbers (a ratio,  $a:b$ ) give you an interval, a relationship. And that is music: relationships between or among pitches (or numbers). Music, then, was the branch of mathematics concerned with the relationships between numbers; the centrality of music in Pythagorean thought guaranteed its inclusion among the mathematical sciences among the liberal arts.<sup>3</sup>

Central to the study of relationships between or among numbers was the concept of the mean. It has been suggested that Pythagorean interest and development of this theory was at least in part inspired by musical realities.<sup>4</sup> The three means -- geometric, arithmetic, and harmonic -- have different musical properties, in that each mean results in different combinations of intervals.<sup>5</sup>

The geometric mean (in which the two ratios are the same: given  $a:b:c$ ,  $a:b=b:c$ , as in  $1:2:4$ , or  $c'$ ,  $c$ ,  $C$ ) produces the most basic consonance, that of the octave and its multiples. Given integers  $a$  and  $c$ , however,  $b$  is usually irrational (since  $b = \text{the square root of } ac$ ), necessarily dissonant in Pythagorean theory. And in fact, the double octave is the only consonance created by the geometric mean, since even the few other examples involving relatively small integers --  $4:6:9$ ,  $5^{\text{th}} + 5^{\text{th}}$ , (e.g.  $d$ ,  $G$ ,  $C$ ) or  $9:12:16$ ,  $4^{\text{th}} + 4^{\text{th}}$ , ( $d$ ,  $a$ ,  $E$ ) -- are not consonant when sounded simultaneously, nor are they normal acceptable melodic progressions. It is also impossible to find an integral, or



even a rational geometric mean between the terms of a superparticular ratio; i.e. most consonances cannot be divided geometrically into two other consonances. The geometric mean, while the simplest, is therefore in many ways the least musical or "harmonious" of the means. It produces reduplications of the same interval, rather than relations between different intervals, and creates dissonant interval relationships.<sup>6</sup>

The arithmetic mean (given  $a:b:c$ ,  $b-a=c-b$  [or  $b=c+a/2$ ], any series of adjacent integers), on the other hand, produces many of the most important musical consonances:  $1:2:3$  and its multiples produce an octave plus a fifth (e.g.  $c'$ ,  $c$ ,  $F$ );  $2:3:4$  produces a 5th plus a 4th (e.g.  $c$ ,  $F$ ,  $C$ ); and in some (non-Pythagorean) tuning systems, such as just intonation,  $4:5:6$  produces a major third plus a minor third (e.g.  $a$ ,  $F$ ,  $D$ ). The arithmetic mean always gives us the larger interval at the top, however, which is not the most pleasing or harmonious arrangement, for us or for the Greeks.<sup>7</sup>

The most musical of the means, then, is the harmonic mean. Probably developed in response to musical reality, and named accordingly,<sup>8</sup> it produces the same intervals as does the arithmetic mean, but with the larger interval at the bottom instead of at the top. The harmonic mean is more complicated to express, however, than were the other two. Plato described it in the Timaeus as follows: "The mean exceeding one extreme and being exceeded by the other by the same fraction of the extremes."<sup>9</sup>  $2:3:6$  produces the fifth plus the octave (e.g.  $g$ ,  $c$ ,  $C$ );  $3:4:6$  produces the fourth plus the fifth (e.g.  $c$ ,  $G$ ,

C); and in just intonation 10:12:15 produces the minor third and the major third (e.g. G, E, C).

It is paradoxical that the most pleasant combinations of intervals are produced by the most complex proportion, the harmonic mean. This fact is one of the sources of a concept that recurs throughout the history of discussions of music: one expression of the phrase in Latin is "Harmonia est discordia concors," "harmony is concordant discord," meaning that consonance is derived from the combination of dissimilar elements.<sup>10</sup> The phrase and the concept have obvious political implications, and would be exploited by various political theorists, as we shall see: music is in fact discussed more or less explicitly in all the great works on politics and the state -- in Plato's Republic, Aristotle's Politics, Cicero's Republic, Augustine's City of God, and Dante's Monarchy.

Before going on to examine some of these sources and their transmission in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, let us examine some of the vocabulary common to discussions of music and politics. There is a cluster of related nouns that are used more or less interchangeably, depending on the context and the writer. We will look at their Latin forms (and some of their English translations), since that is how they were known in the early fifteenth century. The most important of the words are: harmonia and musica (harmony, harmonics, music, agreement); sympbonia (concord); concordia, concordantia, and consonantia (concord, consonance, treaty, peace, agreement, harmony); concentus ("singing together," concord, unison,

harmony, with overtones of consensus as well). Discussion of a few of these words and their possible synonyms will convey an impression of how they all interrelate.

Harmonia comes from the Greek root "harmos," meaning joint, so its non-musical meaning has to do with joining, as in fine carpentry, or more generally with fitting together, adapting or adjusting different parts.<sup>11</sup> But the musical meanings of harmonia are also very ancient, and it is clear that the word has musical associations even when used outside musical contexts. It is often synonymous with symphonia, a Greek word that has always had a technical musical sense,<sup>12</sup> with concordia, and even with musica. The literal Latin translation of symphonia, consonantia, retains a primarily technical musical significance.

Concordia did not begin as a musical word either: from con plus cors, agreement of heart or mind or soul, it retains more than does harmonia a non-musical meaning. Rome's Temple of Concord and political concords or treaties have more to do with war and peace than with music and harmony. But Concordia, and especially concordantia, are used as technical musical terms very early, and they are often synonymous with consonantia or the Greek symphonia. Cors, or heart, becomes chordis, or string, by the addition of a single letter, so the possibility of a double (and therefore doubly resonant) etymology is always present.<sup>13</sup> Words that were originally musical take on larger clusters of meanings, while words that do not originally have to do with music take on musical meanings; they never appear to lose their acquired

connotations. Even these two examples serve to demonstrate the ways in which musical and social or political meanings are intertwined in the musical vocabulary.<sup>14</sup>

### Music and Politics in the Ancient World

Plato was very much a Pythagorean in musical matters, and he is an important source for much Pythagorean thought. Though he occasionally mocked the Pythagoreans for their single-minded concern with number,<sup>15</sup> he also believed that number (and therefore music) was central to of all beauty in the world.<sup>16</sup> Music was an intrinsic and essential part of education, even for the very young; and it is treated extensively in the Republic and in Laws, the great dialogues on the ideal state.<sup>17</sup> Plato made laws concerning music for his ideal republic, just as he did on other issues relevant to the state; he thus made explicit the connections between music and politics inherent in the Pythagorean vision.<sup>18</sup> Plato also seems to have depended somewhat on the ideas of the shadowy figure of Damon, who believed that music had very important moral and political significance, that music was "the main pillar of the state,"<sup>19</sup> and that "change in musical forms breeds changes in social and political structures."<sup>20</sup> Closely associated with Damonian beliefs was the doctrine of musical ethos, which held that different kinds of music ("harmoniai" or different modes, and different rhythmic patterns) could actually affect people's behaviour, for better or worse. Potential ill effects of some kinds of music led Plato to limit severely the permissible modes and rhythms in the Republic and Laws,

and stories about the effects of the modes were widely disseminated.<sup>21</sup>

Very few of Plato's dialogues were actually known in the Medieval West. The Timaeus was an exception, having been available in a Latin translation by Chalcidius.<sup>22</sup> It is Plato's most Pythagorean dialogue, for in it he insists on the primacy of number, using arithmetic principles from means to triangles to explain how everything fits together. The harmonic mean and the construction of the Pythagorean scale are invoked in the explanation of the creation of the soul and the universe from the mixture of different elements. The Timaeus is also the source for one of Plato's cosmogonies, and remained influential in descriptions of the Cosmos.<sup>23</sup> Plato uses music as a way to explain the mixture of matter, the substance, and the structure of the universe; and once again it is the miraculous musical concord arising out of difference that makes the image so effective.

Other works of Plato were known by hearsay and through the works of Roman adaptations, Neoplatonist philosophers, and late antique commentators. Cicero translated and adapted Plato's Republic for the purposes of republican Rome in the first century BC. Cicero's De re publica was not known as a complete work in the Middle Ages, but a few passages were preserved. Most widely disseminated was the section known in Plato's version as the "Vision of Er," a cosmological vision of the universe and the afterlife. Cicero's version was known as "Scipio's Dream," and the fourth-century commentator Macrobius took the passage, compared it with Plato's version, and made it into a point of departure for an encyclopedic description of world knowledge. The

commentary, with its subject, was one of the most widely disseminated works in the Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup> In "Scipio's Dream" the order of the universe and the music of the spheres are revealed to the younger Scipio by his grandfather, the great Scipio Africanus. This serves as the stimulus for a discourse on Pythagorean music theory, Platonic cosmology, musica mundana, the effects of music and its ethos.<sup>25</sup> Thus Plato's tradition of musical thought was transmitted to the Middle Ages in the context of a political discourse.

Another passage from Cicero's De re publica was known in the Middle Ages through the writings of the the most famous Christian pupil of the late antique Neoplatonists, St. Augustine. In the City of God he quotes an excerpt that makes the political significance of the musical concept of concordia discors completely explicit.

Ut enim in fidibus aut tibiis atque ut in cantu ipso ac vocibus concentus est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis, quem immutatum aut discrepantem aures eruditae ferre non possunt, isque concentus ex dissimillimarum vocum moderatione concors tamen efficitur et congruens, sic ex summis et infimis et mediis interiectis ordinibus ut sonis moderata ratione civitas consensu dissimillimorum concinit; et quae harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia, artissimum atque optimum omni in re publica vinculum incolumitatis, eaque sine iustitia nullo pacto esse potest.<sup>26</sup>

Translation using technical vocabulary:

For just as in strings and winds, and in song itself, a certain "concentus" must be maintained from distinct sounds (which, if altered or not together, learned ears cannot bear), and as such a concordant and congruent "concentus" can be derived from the moderation (or governing) of unlike tones, so, moderated (governed) by reason, the "civitas", made up of high and low, and between them the middle

classes, as if from sounds, is made harmonious ("concinitt") by the consensus ("consensu") of very different elements; and what is called by musicians "harmonia" in song is "concordia" in the "civitas," and it is the most effective and best chain of safety in any "re publica", and cannot exist in any way without justice.

Translation from Loeb Cicero:

For just as the music of harps and flutes or in the voices of singers a certain harmony of the different tones must be preserved, the interruption or violation of which is intolerable to trained ears, and as this perfect agreement and harmony is produced by the proportionate blending of unlike tones, so also is a State made harmonious by agreement among dissimilar elements, brought about by a fair and reasonable blending together of the upper, middle, and lower classes, just as if they were musical tones. What the musicians call harmony in song is concord in a State, the strongest and best bond of permanent union in any commonwealth; and such concord can never be brought about without the aid of justice.<sup>27</sup>

Notice that Cicero uses the vocabulary discussed above. For him "harmonia" and "concentus" have first of all musical associations, while "concordia" and "consensus" have political ones. Yet the adjective "concors" is first used in a musical context, "concentus... concors... et congruens," while the verb used to describe the effective working of the state is "concinere," a word that retains its primary musical meaning of singing together. Cicero goes on to make the various terms explicitly synonymous, and to suggest that music is the best representation or symbol of the just state, or good government. The discord from the phrase "discordia concors" is represented in this passage by different instruments ("fidibus aut tibiis"), distinct sounds ("distinctis sonis"), dissimilar notes ("dissimilarum vocum"), and different classes of society ("ex summis et

infimis et mediis interiectis ordinibus"); concord is obtained by the application of moderation or proportion and of reason to the dissimilar elements, thereby bringing them into harmony.<sup>28</sup>

Both Cicero and Augustine suggest that a just state can have the form of a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic; if it is just, it can be called a republic.<sup>29</sup> Cicero calls his "civitas" a republic here, but he is not necessarily referring to the form of government, but merely to the fact that it is a just state.<sup>30</sup> Therefore rulers of any kind of state could claim the image of music as an appropriate one.

Though Plato's actual works were not well known in the Medieval west, many of his general ideas were passed on via his translators, imitators, adaptors, and commentators. And it was the works of Cicero, of Macrobius, of Augustine, and of many others, in a familiar language and concerned with familiar institutions and ways of thought, that would shape Medieval concepts of music and politics.

The other major antique thinker, "the philosopher" for much of the Middle Ages, was Aristotle. Music is less central in Aristotle's writings than in Plato's, and he disagrees with Plato on many musical issues, including the audibility of the music of the spheres and the exact role of music in education. In De caelo 2.9 Aristotle rejects the Pythagorean claim that the heavenly bodies must produce sound in their motion. He does not accept the explanations for why we do not hear such music, and insists that the planets are carried silently with the motion of the spheres as is a ship drifting downstream.<sup>31</sup> In book VIII of the Politics Aristotle discusses the appropriate education of



the young, listing four customary subjects: reading and writing (considered one subject), gymnastics, music, and drawing.<sup>32</sup> Music is treated far more extensively than the other subjects; Aristotle is both less convinced than is Plato of its necessity as part of childhood education, and more convinced of its overall importance, so he finds it necessary to debate the subject at some length.<sup>33</sup> More attention is paid to music as recreation than in Plato, and Aristotle takes issues with Plato's dicta on the appropriate modes and rhythms.<sup>34</sup> In the end, though, Aristotle makes music an essential part of education, as had Plato, and he admits its importance "for those who are being educated toward civic excellence."<sup>35</sup> They share the conviction that music had ethical qualities as well: "it is plain that music has the power of producing a certain effect on the moral character of the soul, and if it has the power to do this, it is clear that the young must be directed to music and must be educated in it."<sup>36</sup> Aristotle's primary discussion of the role of music occurs in the Politics, parallel to Plato's discussion in the Republic; both the great Greek philosophers thus assert the connection between music and politics.

Even in the high and late Middle Ages, the heyday of Aristotelianism, Platonic and Pythagorean attitudes toward music persisted. A striking testament to this state of affairs appears in Nicole d'Oresme's fourteenth-century French commentary and translation from Moerbeke's Latin of Aristotle's Politics.<sup>37</sup> Oresme glosses practically every sentence of Aristotle, and his translations and comments reveal contemporary attitudes to music and invoke additional

intellectual authorities. In the Politics, Aristotle primarily discusses sounding music as performed and taught in his day. Oresme, as a product of the Medieval university, is interested in both "musique speculative" and "musique sensible," and he is determined to find both in Aristotle. He does it at greatest length in a gloss on a mistranslation: the Greek "psile," bare, meaning instrumental music that does not accompany singing, becomes "nudam" in Moerbeke's translation and "nue" in Oresme's.<sup>38</sup> He then goes on to explain that "par musique nue il entende musique speculative, laquelle considere les proportions armoniques des sons et est une des .iiii. sciences mathematiques selon ce que dit Boece en sa Musique" ("by naked music he means speculative music, which considers the harmonic proportions of sounds and is one of the four mathematical sciences about which Boethius speaks in his Music").<sup>39</sup> This is an opportunity to mention speculative music, and in particular music of the spheres, or "musique mondaine," as he calls it. In support of its existence he cites himself, Augustine, Pythagoras, Plato, Boethius, Scripture, Macrobius and Cassiodorus. He admits that Aristotle rejects this idea: "selon verité ceste musique celestiele ne est pas en sons ne sensible, et ce determine Aristote ou secunt livre du Ciel et du monde" ("in truth this celestial music makes no sound, nor is it audible, as Aristotle shows in the second book of De Caelo"). But Oresme then contradicts Aristotle by citing Cassiodorus as saying that "ce est chose que l'en ne peut oïr, mes l'en la peut penser en raison" ("it is not something that one can hear, but one can conceive of it with reason"), and goes on

assuming the existence of a "musique celestiel."<sup>40</sup> Thus for Oresme, translator of the Politics and many other works of Aristotle, a confirmed Aristotelian, the Pythagorean/Platonic tradition is always dominant in the discussion of music, even when it contradicts Aristotle's teaching. Oresme's attitude is typical of the culture as a whole.<sup>41</sup>

### The Transmission of Ancient Thought to the Middle Ages

The reconciliation of Plato and Aristotle (like the reconciliation of Christian and classical thought) remained a problem for the Middle Ages, in musical as well as other matters. St. Augustine used the musical metaphor of discordia concors to describe this reconciliation. In the dialogue Contra academicos he says that:

Non defuerunt acutissimi et sollertissimi viri, qui docerent disputationibus suis Aristotelem ac Platonem ita sibi concinere, ut imperitis minusque attentis dissentire videantur, multis quidem saeculis multisque contentionibus, sed tamen eliquata est, ut opinor, una verissimae philosophiae disciplina.

Extremely acute and talented men have not been lacking to teach in their disputations that Aristotle and Plato sing together ("concinere") with each other in such wise that, although to the inexperienced and to the less attentive they may seem to disagree -- and that throughout many a century and many a controversy -- one altogether true philosophical discipline, as I see it, has been rendered quite evident.<sup>42</sup>

Musical images came naturally to Augustine throughout his work.<sup>43</sup>

Otto von Simson discusses the Augustinian view of music with great

eloquence in his book on Gothic architecture, and he describes how Augustine combined Christian and Classical concepts of music and number:

Taking up the Biblical passage "thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight," the Bishop of Hippo applied Pythagorean and Neoplatonic number mysticism to the interpretation of the Christian universe, thus establishing the cosmology that remained in force until the triumph of Aristotelianism.<sup>44</sup>

Augustine was alive to music's sensual beauties as well as to its theoretical ones,<sup>45</sup> and the treatise De musica was the only one completed out of a projected series on the sciences.<sup>46</sup> Naturally music played a part in Augustine's great political and moral treatise, the City of God. We have already seen that he quotes there Cicero's passage on music and politics; later in the work Augustine expresses similar ideas in his own words. The specific subject matter is now the psalms, always important to Augustine, especially in relation to music.<sup>47</sup> David, their creator, was of course the archetypal Christian musician and king, and the passage I will cite introduces the claim that David was the author of all the psalms.

Procurrente igitur per tempora civitate Dei, primo in umbra futuri, in terrena scilicet Hierusalem, regnavit David. Erat autem David vir in canticis eruditus, qui harmoniam musicam non vulgari voluptate, sed fideli voluntate dilexerit, eaque Deo suo, qui verus est Deus, mystica rei magnae figuratione servierit. Diversorum enim sonorum rationabilis moderatusque concentus concordi varietate compactam bene ordinatae civitatis insinuat unitatem.

While the city of God was running its course through time, at first David reigned in the earthly Jerusalem, that shadow of the kingdom to come. Now David was a man skilled in songs, who loved musical harmony not for vulgar

pleasure, but as a man of faith, for a purpose whereby he served his God, who is the true God, by the mystic prefiguration of a great matter. For the rational and proportionate symphony of diverse sounds conveys the unity of a well-ordered city, knit together by harmonious variety.<sup>48</sup>

Note that Augustine, like Cicero, makes explicit the parallels between music and a well-ordered "civitas," or good government. The vocabulary is also similar to Cicero's -- here is a "concentus diversorum sonorum" while Cicero has a "concentus dissimillissimorum vocum"; and it is through moderation and reason that a "concordi varietate" is obtained, a new version of a discordia concors. The concord in question has many implicit meanings: it is a musical concord, that achieved in the singing of the psalms; it is a prophetic meaning inherent in the diversity of arrangement and subject of the psalms (a meaning not immediately apparent, as the harmony of Aristotle and Plato is not apparent); and it is the concord of the earthly Jerusalem and of the heavenly Jerusalem, the City of God to come. Here for the first time, then, the image of music is given a normative or a prophetic force, faintly reminiscent of the Greek doctrine of ethos. With the phrase "mystica rei magnae figuratio" musical imagery is also introduced into the world of figural or typological biblical exegesis.<sup>49</sup> Augustine has given the musical imagery of discordia concors a whole new resonance, and a peculiarly Christian one, without sacrificing the richness of the classical tradition.

Augustine was just one of the fifth and sixth century pagans and Christians responsible for the transmission of classical music theory to the Middle Ages. The knowledge was transmitted as part of an

educational curriculum of great antiquity -- the seven liberal arts, or the seven disciplines studied by free men, and prerequisite to the ultimate aim of study, philosophy. The program had its origins in Greece, but it was established formally in the Roman schools, and it had two parts, the trivium and the quadrivium, the relative importance of which changed gradually over time.

The trivium was made up of the three rhetorical arts -- grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. Practical aspects of music making, and music in its association with words as in poetry and drama, were an important part of the trivium. It was emphasized above the quadrivium in the Roman schools, which were essentially schools of rhetoric; Augustine's education was primarily rhetorical in nature,<sup>50</sup> and his treatise on music deals primarily with poetic meter. The study of the trivium formed the character, and created a good citizen and a good statesman, so it was always considered ethical in nature, another factor that linked it to ideas about music.<sup>51</sup>

The quadrivium (the term was coined by Boethius,<sup>52</sup> but the grouping of the mathematical sciences was ancient) was made up of the four mathematical arts -- music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Music was often seen as the central field of the quadrivium, since it had important ties to both arithmetic and astronomy.<sup>53</sup> Commentaries on Plato's Timaeus and Macrobius's commentary on "Scipio's dream" were concerned with the quadrivium; and thus the quadrivium leads directly to study of the order of the universe and the divine. Music's importance in both branches of the liberal arts assured the survival of

the classical tradition of thought about music; especially important was the study of music as part of the quadrivium and the resultant survival of Pythagorean music theory.

Augustine (354-430) had a central role in making the study of the liberal arts acceptable in a Christian framework. By finding support in the Bible for the Pythagorean obsession with number (see above) and by making philosophy, the traditional goal of the liberal arts, the handmaiden of theology, he validated the continuing attempts to harmonize the classical and Christian traditions.<sup>54</sup>

A slightly younger pagan contemporary of Augustine's also had a considerable influence on the study of the liberal arts in the Middle Ages. Martianus Capella (c. 400-450) was the author of The Marriage of Philology and Mercury, a handbook on the liberal arts enlivened with an allegorical frame about the heavenly marriage; the bridesmaids are the liberal arts, and each expounds on her discipline to the assembled gods. The subject of music recurs in almost every section,<sup>55</sup> and Music (called "Harmonia") herself is given distinction above other arts.<sup>56</sup>

The Roman Christian Boethius (480-524) was a statesman, philosopher, and a mathematician. He is called the last of the Romans and the first of the scholastics<sup>57</sup> — he knew Greek philosophy and science in the original, and planned to translate the complete works of Plato and Aristotle, though he actually completed only a few.<sup>58</sup> His personal erudition was as great or greater than that of any of the other figures from this period we have discussed.

It is no wonder, then, that he was the most esteemed writer on

music of the Middle Ages, and the fons et origo for all sophisticated writing on the science of harmonics and Pythagorean theory thereafter. His De institutione musica was one of a set of books on the quadrivium; music, arithmetic, and geometry survive (it is not known if astronomy was ever completed).<sup>59</sup> In the introduction to the work Boethius emphasizes the preeminence of music in the quadrivium with this comment: "of the four mathematical disciplines, the others are concerned with the pursuit of truth, while music is related not only to speculation but also to morality."<sup>60</sup> Boethius is referring in particular to the doctrine of ethos, and music's moral force results from its ethical powers. The introduction is largely made up of a series of anecdotes (often involving Pythagoras) on the influence of music. He cites Plato, referring both to the passages on the effects of modes in the Republic, and to the Timaueus: "From this may be discerned the truth of what Plato not idly said, that the soul of the universe is united by musical concord."<sup>61</sup>

De institutione musica is not an original treatise; most of it is a translation of Nichomachus and Ptolemy.<sup>62</sup> What Boethius did was to categorize and label ideas that originated long before him, insuring their survival.<sup>63</sup>

Boethius's treatment of music was not restricted to De institutione musica. David Chamberlain has shown that music also pervades Boethius's most famous and influential work, The Consolation of Philosophy. In it, Boethius is taught that music "should be used by man to order his own moral and intellectual activity."<sup>64</sup> The moral state of



the soul is a musical condition, that of musica humana. "Music in Boethius is not only, therefore, the substance as well as the instrument of ethics . . . but it is also the substance as well as the instrument of metaphysics." In the writings of Boethius, then, the ethical, normative, all-encompassing role of music is expressed by one of the most influential writers in the Middle Ages.<sup>65</sup>

After Boethius two other Christian figures were influential sources for the curriculum of the liberal arts, especially in the monastic tradition. Cassiodorus (480-575) was a Roman Christian who eventually became a monk. In the section on the liberal arts in his Institutiones divinarum litterarum he found support for the curriculum in scriptural references to the number 7: David's praises seven times a day, and Solomon's proverb about the seven pillars of the house of Wisdom.<sup>66</sup> Isidore of Seville (d. 636) was the author of the Etymologies, an encyclopedia of knowledge necessary to the Christian theologian.<sup>67</sup>

No works dealing with music survive for the next two centuries; it is with the Carolingian theorists that the Medieval tradition of music theory really begins. With the growth of monasticism a new Western, Medieval musical tradition evolved. Cassiodorus had established the liberal arts as part of the monastic curriculum -- but as the monastic tradition developed, the study of music became part of a much more basic level of education, that of the choirboy. The so-called Carolingian Trivium consisted of music, grammar, and computational arithmetic -- the three R's of the ninth century.<sup>68</sup> In response to the growth of liturgical music and to attempted Carolingian liturgical and

musical reforms a new tradition of writing about music developed -- one which was not concerned with concepts and theories of music, but instead with pedagogy and with problems of categorizing an existing body of chant.

From the ninth century on there were two traditions of writing on music. One was part of the quadrivium, musica theórica or speculativa, the domain of the musicus; it would pass from the more intellectual of the monastic schools to the cathedral schools and into the universities. The other, musica practica or activa, concerned with practice, or with theory related to a living repertory, was the domain of the cantor. In any particular music treatise we are likely to find elements of both; at least an honorary nod to the ancients in a practical work, and increasing interest in the theoretical problems of new music, especially with the advent of mensural theory. Lawrence Gushee points out that the two traditions could never be entirely separate, since "it was in a way unthinkable for the Medieval musicus to be removed from the domain of the cantor in so far as he was a cleric and often a monk. Boethius could regard the servitium operis as unworthy of a musicus, but could a Christian singer?"<sup>65</sup> Most treatises combined the two traditions in an idiosyncratic combination of practical and theoretical material.

The classical tradition of discordia concors thus lived on in the middle ages in many areas. It lived on in Pythagorean music theory, the domain of both the musicus and the cantor, in that the cantor used the monochord as a teaching device for his choirboys.<sup>70</sup> It lived on in

the curriculum of the liberal arts, and in the various translations and commentaries on ancient texts. And it lived on in the writings of some of the great religious thinkers, especially Augustine. But what did it mean to the Middle Ages? How did the advent of polyphony change the concept of concord? And what was the late Medieval attitude toward ancient texts? These are the issues we will discuss next.

Notes to Chapter 1

- i. The historical existence of Pythagoras and the exact nature of early Pythagoreanism is still debated; for a relatively recent study, see Walter Burkert, Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) (translated with revisions by Edwin L. Minar, Jr. from Weisheit und Wissenschaft: Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon [Nuremberg, 1962]). I am not concerned with the the historical actuality, but with Pythagoreanism as it was received first in the classical period and then in the Middle Ages. For the myth of Pythagoras in its most elaborate form in the English Renaissance, see S.K. Heninger, Jr., Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics (San Marino, 1974). For a recent discussion of music and number in the Middle Ages, see John Stevens, Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350 (Cambridge, 1986), esp. pp. 13-25.
2. Richard L. Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics and Music," The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 22 (1963-4) p. 192: "No wonder that in music the pythagoreans saw a patch of the basic fabric of the universe." See also D.P. Walker, Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance (London, 1978), p. 7: "This early discovery of musical ratios . . . meant that an immediately given, subjective, sensible quality was found to be exactly correlated with measurements expressible as simple numerical ratios. . . . The whole world of sensible qualities, e.g. hot, cold, dry, wet, might then be explicable in the same way; the ultimate elements, the basic structure of the physical universe might be found to show similar . . . simple elegant mathematical ratios." See also Edward A. Lippman, "Hellenic Conceptions of Harmony," JAMS 16 (1963), pp. 3-35, especially in this connection pp. 8-9: "That numbers are in some fashion constituents of reality is the fundamental metaphysical notion of the Pythagoreans. . . . The suggestiveness of acoustic phenomena was undoubtedly very great; like rows of pebbles, strings present numbers as lengths, and they make their properties audible as well as visible and tangible. Most important, however, is the easily discovered fact that consonances, and therefore numerical properties, do not reside only in relationships of length. Strings differing in tension or in physical qualities contain harmony in a much more mysterious way, and tend to suggest that number is of the essence of reality even when it is imperceptible."
3. Among countless Latin examples: Boethius, in his introduction to De institutione arithmetica, defines the four mathematical sciences of the quadrivium as follows "Therefore arithmetic explores that multitude which exists in and of itself, whereas the appropriate admixtures of musical modulation become fully

acquainted with that multitude which is related to something. Geometry professes knowledge of immobile magnitude, whereas the skill of the astronomical discipline claims knowledge of mobile magnitude." See Calvin Martin Bower, "Boethius' The Principles of Music, an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1967) pp. 25-6 (henceforth referred to as Bower, Boethius). Bower also translates the introduction to The Principles of Arithmetic. The three quadrivial treatises of Boethius are edited by Godofredus Friedlein: Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii: De institutione arithmetica libri duo, De institutione musica libri quinque. Accedit Geometria quae fertur Boetii (Leipzig, 1867) (referred to henceforth as Friedlein, Boethius). The passage from the introduction to De institutione arithmetica is on page 9 of Friedlein, Boethius. And Cassiodorus, Institutiones: "Musical science is the discipline which treats of numbers in their relation to those things which are found in sounds, such as duple, triple, quadruple, and others called relative that are similar to these." "Musica scientia est disciplina quae de numeris loquitur qui ad aliquid sunt his qui inveniuntur in sonis, ut duplum, triplum, quadruplum, et his similia quae dicuntur ad aliquid." See Oliver Strunk, ed., Source Readings in Music History, vol. I, Antiquity and the Middle Ages (New York, 1950, 1965), p. 88, n. 6. A definition like this turns up in almost every subsequent music treatise. The concept is discussed in F. Joseph Smith, "Ars Nova -- A Re-definition? (Observations in the light of Speculum Musicae I by Jacques de Liège), MD 18 (1964) pp. 19-35 and 19 (1965) pp. 83-97, esp. vol. 19, p. 86. See also Edward A. Lippman, "The Place of Music in the System of the Liberal Arts," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1966), pp. 545-559.

4. Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics," pp. 194-5, 328-9, and Walker, "Studies in Musical Science," p. 6. For more detail, see P. Tannery, "Du rôle de la musique dans le développement de la mathématique pure," in Tannery, Mémoires scientifiques, III (Paris, 1915), 68-89.
5. In the discussion that follows, we are considering ratios of relative string lengths, not vibrations, so the smaller number is the higher pitch. When I list examples of possible pitches resulting from ratios, I list them, therefore, from the higher pitch to the lower, or with the upper interval first, as the Greeks usually did.
6. See Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics," pp. 325-327.
7. See Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics," p. 328.
8. Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics," p. 328.

9. Plato, Timaeus, 36a, in Plato, The Collected Dialogues (Princeton, 1961), pp. 1165-6. Some other ways of expressing the harmonic mean follow. The differences between the terms stand in the same ratio as do the extremes: given  $a:b:c$ ,  $b-a/a=c-b/b$ , or  $b = 2ac/a+c$ . Given  $3:4:6$ ,  $4-3=1$ ,  $6-4=2$ ;  $1:2=3:6$ . Or: by whatever part of the first term the middle term exceeds it, the third term exceeds the second by the same part of itself: thus  $4-3=1$ ,  $=1/3$  of 3; and  $6-4=2$ ,  $=1/3$  of 6.
10. Claude Palisca translates it as "Harmony is the concord wrought out of discord," in his Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought (New Haven, 1985), pp. 17-18 and 161-2. I have used the form of this phrase that issues from the mouth of Gaffurius in the frontispiece to his De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus (Milan, 1518). Musica often turns up in place of harmonia, and concordia discors seems to be interchangeable with discordia concors. For some references to the use of this concept, see Leo Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony (Baltimore, 1963) pp. 9-10, citing Heraclitus, Philolaos, Pliny, Ovid, Horace, and Quintilian. In note 9 to chapter 1, pp. 144-5, he expands on Horace's use, and traces the advancement of the idea from Horace to sixteenth-century France and later. On pp. 30-32 he discusses Augustine's treatment of the concept; on pp. 34-35, Boethius.
11. See Andrew Barker, Greek Musical Writings, Volume I: The Musician and his Art (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 163-4, 244 n. 240, 249 n. 261 and Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, ch. I, passim and n. 8, p. 143. See also Carl Dahlhaus, "Harmony," New Grove 8, p. 175; and Lippman, "Hellenic Conceptions of Harmony," passim.
12. Symphonia also comes to mean a more general sense of "order"; see Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, p. 84, on symphonia and harmonia and their Latin translations.
13. Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, pp. 84-5. I will return to the issue of Medieval usage of this vocabulary below.
14. See Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, passim, for the virtuosic treatment of this subject, and Barker Greek Musical Writings, index items for harmony, concord (his English translation of Greek symphonia).
15. See Republic, VII.531b-c, The Collected Dialogues p. 763.
16. See Warren Anderson, "Plato" in New Grove 14, p. 854. Some of the relevant passages include, for example, the Republic III.401d-402a (The Collected Dialogues, p. 646), also included in Strunk, Source Readings vol. I, p. 8; the Philebus, 25d-e

- and 55d-e; the Timaeus, 47d-e (The Collected Dialogues pp. 1102 and 1135; p. 1175).
17. Anderson, "Plato," section 4, "Music and Legislation." "Probably the most striking result is his paradoxical claim that 'our songs are our laws' (799e, ll. 10-11). He meant that music, if it was to provide a model for politics, must be under state jurisdiction and conform to civic ideal, which constitute political 'rightness.'" See also Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, p. 17.
  18. See especially the passages from the Ion, the Republic and the Laws translated in Barker, Greek Musical Writings, pp. 124-163, and Anderson, "Plato," section 4, "Music and Legislation."
  19. Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, p. 10.
  20. Barker, Greek Musical Writings, p. 169.
  21. See Warren Anderson, "Ethos," New Grove 6, pp. 282-287, and by the same author, Ethos and Education in Greek Music (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); Harold S. Powers, "Mode" III.i.(a), "Modal Ethos in the Middle Ages," New Grove 12, pp. 398-99; and R.P. Winnington-Ingram, Mode in Ancient Greek Music (Cambridge, 1936; reprinted 1968).
  22. See R.R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries (Cambridge, 1954), p. 175, and Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death (Princeton, 1970), p. 71. The importance of the Timaeus cannot be overestimated — one scholar went so far as to say: "The shortest cut to the study of philosophy of the early Middle Ages is to commit the Timaeus to memory. Otherwise you can never be sure that any sentence that strikes your attention is not a latent quotation from the Timaeus, or a development of one of its suggestions" (Paul Shorey, Platonism Ancient and Modern [Berkeley, 1938], p. 105; quoted in Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts vol. I: The Quadrivium of Martianus Capella: Latin Traditions in the Mathematical Sciences 50 B.C.- A.D. 1250, by William Harris Stahl [New York, 1977], p. 10). See also Lippman, "Hellenic Conceptions" for an extensive discussion of the Timaeus and its relation to Pythagoreanism.
  23. Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres, pp. 11-22. I have omitted a discussion of the history of the concept of music of the spheres, although it does have general implications for music of the state, as we could call it, in that in so far as music is intrinsic in every ordered system, from the spheres on down, it would necessarily also exist in the well-ordered state. But the subject has been dealt with so completely by Meyer-Baer (Music of the Spheres), among others, that I chose to concentrate on

concepts that have more specific political implications.

24. Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, translated with introduction and notes by W.H. Stahl (New York, 1952). For its importance, see Stahl's Introduction, p. 41.
25. Macrobius, Commentary, Book II, i-iv, pp. 185-200.
26. Text as in the Loeb Classical Library, Cicero vol. 16: De re publica, De legibus ed. and trans. Clinton Walker Keyes (Cambridge, Mass., 1928) pp. 180-182. The text can also be found in the Loeb Classical Library, Saint Augustine, City of God Against the Pagans vol. I: Books I-III, ed. and trans. George E. McCracken (Cambridge, Mass., 1957) pp. 216-218, with minor variants due to the fact that the passage is in indirect discourse.
27. Loeb Cicero, De re publica II.xlii, pp. 181-183. Other translations of this passage (II.xxi) can be found in the Loeb Augustine, The City of God Against the Pagans, vol. I, pp. 217-19, and in St. Augustine, The City of God, trans. Henry Bettenson, with intro. by John O'Meara (Penguin Books, 1984), p. 72.
28. For Spitzer (Classical and Christian Ideas), a cluster of words with the prefix "con" always has musical or harmonious associations -- see his discussion on pp. 18-19, where he quotes this very passage from Cicero. This musical image of the state was very widespread; Shakespeare paraphrases Cicero in Henry V, Act I., sc. ii, 180-3:

For government, though high and low and lower,  
Put into parts, doth keep in one consent,  
Congreeing in a full and natural close,  
Like music.

This passage was pointed out to me by my friend Thomas Grey.

29. Augustine, II, xxi, Loeb edition vol. I, p. 221: "(Scipio concludes) that a state ("rem publicam"), that is, a people's estate ("rem populi"), exists when there is good and lawful government whether in the hands of a monarch, or of a few nobles or of the whole people." See also Cicero, III, xxxi-xxxv, p. 218-227, for a discussion of this issue.
30. According to George E. McCracken, in the Loeb Augustine, vol. I, p. 218, n. 1, the phrase "vinculum incolumitatis" is equivalent to a Greek phrase in Plato, Epistle 8, 354b. There the reference is to the senate in the republic, and thus the phrase may reinforce the republican thrust of this passage.



31. My presentation of the argument is closely modeled on the discussion in Claude Palisca, Humanism, p. 182.
32. 1337b.23. In Strunk, Source Readings p. 14, and Barker, Greek Musical Writings, p. 171.
33. Using H. Rackhams's chapter divisions from the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), which is that used by Strunk, out of 7 chapters in all, only chapter 1, the end of chapter 3 and the beginning of chapter 4 are not directly concerned with music.
34. Aristotle is also worried that music will cease to be a "liberal art," an occupation of free men, if students become too accomplished, and achieve professional skill in it. Nevertheless he admits that some practical knowledge is necessary to develop a proper critical ability. For discussions of the contrasting positions of Aristotle and Plato on music, see Barker, Greek Musical Writings, p. 171, who characterizes Aristotle as more pragmatic than Plato and willing to accept multiple uses for music, and Julius Portnoy, The Philosopher and Music (New York, 1954), pp. 23-28.
35. End of 1340b; as translated in Barker, Greek Musical Writings, p. 177.
36. Near beginning of 1340b; as translated by Rackham in Strunk, Source Readings, p. 19.
37. Maistre Nicole Oresme, Livre de Politiques d'Aristote, published from the text of the Avranches Manuscript 223 with a Critical Introduction and notes by Albert Douglas Menut, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series -- Volume 60, part 6 (Philadelphia, 1970). There is a valuable study of the translation and its context by Susan M. Babbitt, Oresme's "Livre de Politiques" and the France of Charles V, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 75, part 1 (Philadelphia, 1985).
38. Livre de Politiques, pp. 347b-348a; on the original meaning, see Barker, Greek Musical Writings, p. 174, n. 8.
39. Livre de Politiques, p. 347b.
40. All in the gloss, Livre de Politiques, pp. 347b-348a.
41. Some other striking examples are the music theorists, such as Jacques de Liège and Ugolino of Orvieto, whose approach to thought and presentation of material is scholastic and Aristotelian, but whose material on speculative music is

- Pythagorean and Platonic. See Smith, "Ars Nova -- A Redefinition?", and Albert Seay, "Ugolino of Orvieto, Theorist and Composer," MD 9 (1955), pp. 111-166 and 11 (1957) pp. 126-133. I was struck by the extent to which Plato overshadows Aristotle in musical thought of the Middle Ages when I looked up Aristotle in the indices of some of the major secondary works, such as Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres, Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, Otto von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order, second edition (Princeton, 1962) and Nan Cooke Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (Norman, 1958). In all cases Aristotle appears only in few and insubstantial entries.
42. Translation adapted from Edward A. Synan, "An Augustinian Testimony to Polyphonic Music?" MD 18 (1964), p. 4. He cites the Latin, n. 6, from the edition of Pius Knoll, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum 63, p. 79, l. 9 ff; it is also in J. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus; series latina 32, 956. Synan attempts to interpret this passage as evidence of polyphony in Augustine's day, which seems to me inappropriate. He does have an interesting discussion of the verb "concinere" and of the complexity of the agreement in question. It was through this article that I came upon the passage in question.
43. See especially Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, on Augustine, pp. 28-33.
44. Otto von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral, p. 22. The Biblical passage is from Liber Sapientiae (Wisdom of Solomon) 11:20b, or 11.21. My sense, as discussed above, is that this cosmology stayed in force right through the triumph of Aristotelianism and into the Renaissance.
45. See the Confessions, X, 33 (as translated by R.S. Pine-Coffin [Penguin, 1961] pp. 238-9); there is a different translation in Strunk, Source Readings, pp. 73-5.
46. Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo (Berkeley, 1967), p. 126. De musica is primarily concerned with metrics, but includes problems of proportion, as does De ordine, written at about the same time. See also Simson, The Gothic Cathedral, pp. 22-25, where he mentions Augustine's changing attitude toward De musica, and J. Stevens, Words and Music, pp. 13-15.
47. Confessions, loc. cit.; and the Ennarationes in psalmos, esp. Ps. 150, as cited in Synan. The language of the psalms pervades Augustine's own language, especially in the Confessions; see the Penguin edition, cited above, where references to the psalms are noted.
48. From book XVII, xiv, "De studio David in dispositione mysterioque

- psalorum" ("On David's mystical purpose in his arrangement of the psalms"), Loeb edition vol. V, pp. 310-11. Also translated by Henry Bettenson in the Penguin edition (1984), p. 744.
49. I will discuss this implication at more length below.
  50. Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 36-7.
  51. Lippman, "The Place of Music," pp. 550-51.
  52. It was first used in the introduction to his treatise on Arithmetic; see Bower, Boethius, p. 27, and David Knowles, The Evolution of Medieval Thought (New York, 1962), p. 53.
  53. On the survival of music treatises over other kinds, in planned sets on the quadrivium, see Lippman, "The Place of Music," p. 550.
  54. See Carpenter, Music in the ... Universities, pp. 12-13. One aspect of the conflict of these traditions is symbolized by the continued debate about the invention of music, by Jubal (and/or his brother Tubalcain) or Pythagoras. See James W. McKinnon, "Jubal vel Pythagoras, quis sit inventor musicae?" MQ 64 (1978), pp. 1-28.
  55. Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts, Volume II: The Marriage of Philology and Mercury, translated by W.H. Stahl and Richard Johnson, with E.L. Burge, pp. 9-17, 36-38, 349-353, 356-369.
  56. Harmonia is called "the particular darling of the heavens," Stahl, ed., Martianus Capella, p. 346; and see Carpenter, Music in the ... Universities, pp. 10-11.
  57. Knowles, pp. 51-53, and H.F. Stewart and E.K. Rand, Introduction to Boethius, The Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy, Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 10.
  58. Bower, Boethius, p. 2.
  59. See Leo Schrade, "Music in the Philosophy of Boethius," MQ 33 (1947), pp. 188-200, and Lawrence Gushee, "Questions of Genre in Medieval Treatises on Music," in Gattungen der Musik: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, ed. Wulf Arlt et. al. (Bern, 1973), pp. 376-382.
  60. De inst. musica, I.i, Bower, Boethius, p. 32; Friedlein, Boethius, p. 179: "Unde fit ut, cum sint quattuor matheseos disciplinae, ceterae quidem in investigatione veritatis laborent, musica vero nonmodo speculationi verum etiam moralitati coniuncta

- sit." See also Lippman, "The Place of Music," p. 559; Strunk, Source Readings, p. 80, and Gushee, "Questions of Genre," p. 381: "he did strengthen music's position in the quadrivium enormously; and at least for a time may have elevated it above its sister arts."
61. Strunk, Source Readings, p. 80; Bower, Boethius, pp. 32-3; Friedlein, Boethius, p. 180: "Hinc etiam internosci potest, quod non frustra a Platone dictum sit, mundi animam musica convenientia fuisse coniunctam." Boethius is most famous in the musical world, of course, for his threefold division of music into musica mundana, or music of the spheres, musica humana, or human music, that which coordinates body and soul, rational and irrational, and musica instrumentalis, instrumental or sounding music. He also described the musicus, or critic and scientific thinker about music, thereby establishing the dichotomy between the musicus and the cantor, or unintellectual performer.
  62. Calvin Bower has demonstrated this in Boethius, pp. 333-369.
  63. On the influence of Boethius, see Gushee, "Questions of Genre," pp. 381-2.
  64. David S. Chamberlain, "Philosophy of Music in the Consolatio of Boethius," Speculum 45 (1950), p. 90.
  65. Chamberlain, "Philosophy of Music," p. 97.
  66. Carpenter, Music in the ... Universities, p. 12.
  67. Strunk, Source Readings, pp. 87-92, 93-100; for discussion, see Gushee, "Questions of Genre," pp. 382-87.
  68. Lippman, "The Place of Music," p. 557; Gushee, "Questions of Genre," p. 392; M.L.W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900 second edition (Ithaca, 1957, 1966), pp. 207-224.
  69. "Questions of Genre," p. 393. Gushee is primarily concerned in the article as a whole with enriching our sense of the different possible genres of treatise, and with ending the too simple dichotomy of active and speculative.
  70. See, for example, the anonymous Dialogus de musica (c. 935) and Guido of Arezzo's Prologus antiphonarii sui, selections from which are translated in Strunk, Source Readings, pp. 103-116 and 117-120. The Dialogus was attributed to Odo of Cluny by Strunk and many others, but recent research has shown that to be false; see Michel Huglo, "L'auteur du 'Dialogue sur la musique,' attribué à Odon," Revue de Musicologie 55 (1969), pp. 119-71;

and on the Prologue to the work (originally independent), see Huglo, "Der Prolog des Odo zugeschriebenen Dialogus de musica," AfMw 28 (1971), pp. 134-146.

## Chapter 2. Concord and Consonance: From Monophony to Polyphony

### Concepts of Consonance

The music of Greece and Rome and of early Medieval Europe was monophonic. Thus the "harmony," "consonance" and "concord" characteristic of music were the fitting together of successive pitches and intervals to make up a melody. This being the case, what did "consonance" mean? In a succession of pitches, no one interval is more "consonant" than any other, and the intervals that are most common are usually Pythagorean dissonances: very large successive intervals, such as the twelfth, are forbidden in most melodic contexts, whereas small successive intervals, such as the second or third, are appropriate and pleasing. The concept of consonance would seem to make sense only in the context of simultaneities.

For the Pythagoreans the simplicity of the ratios was the most important thing; it mattered little what the resultant pitches were. The simple fact that two strings of the same thickness, tension, and length, will produce the same pitch (whether played simultaneously or successively) — that the ratio 1:1 produces a unison, and that there is a relationship between numbers and the physical world, was enough. And the second astounding, mysterious fact — that the next ratio, 1:2, first member of both the superparticular and multiple series, produces a pitch that is both the same as the first, and different at the same time — is all that is necessary. The unique qualities of unison and octave are equally perceptible as successive pitches or as

simultaneities; the qualities are independent of that distinction. Given those two pieces of evidence it is perfectly reasonable to postulate that simple ratios of small integers create a special class of intervals that could be called "symphoniae," or consonances. Then consonance can be defined by the kind of ratio that produces it; what it sounds like, or whether the pitches are heard simultaneously or successively, is not important. The very word "interval" in English holds in it the same ambiguity; we must modify it to know whether we are talking about a simultaneous or successive one. We believe that the concept interval exists apart from its performance, even though the same two pitches that make up an interval might sound good performed successively, but bad simultaneously, or vice versa.

Even if polyphony, as we know it, was not part of the musical culture of the ancient world some kinds of heterophony probably were, and it was certainly possible to produce simultaneities, even if the succession of different simultaneities was not a defining characteristic of the music. The lyre and cithara had more than one string; people sang together; and the story of Pythagoras's discovery at the blacksmith's shop surely supposes that the hammers of different weights sounded simultaneously. The Greek symphonia used for this class of intervals suggests a simultaneous performance, as does its literal translation, consonantia.<sup>1</sup>

It might have been disturbing to the Pythagoreans, had the fifth, fourth, and the twelfth (the double octave is a special case, like the unison and the octave) sounded like tritone, second, or seventh, when

they were sounded together; it would perhaps have been necessary to limit the definition of consonance to intervals produced by multiple ratios of even numbers. But they did not. In fact, all of the intervals sounded good. We recognize now that all except the fourth are found early in the overtone series, which gives us the same sense of rightness about the group of intervals that the pleasing ratios gave the Pythagoreans.<sup>2</sup>

The coincidence of all these things -- first, a few intervals the special properties of which are independent of the manner of their performance; second, a set of ratios that had already acquired value, the most fundamental of which produced those few intervals; and third, the fact that all the intervals resulting from the value-laden group of ratios produced pleasing sounds when performed in a certain way -- resulted in some confusions that persist today. Does "interval" mean simultaneous or successive? Is consonance defined by an a priori principle (such as a set of ratios, or coincidence with the overtone series) or by purely subjective "what sounds good" judgments? And if the two ways of defining consonance come into conflict, does one change the principle, or disregard the subjective judgment?

Few people could be as dogmatically devoted to simple ratios as the Pythagoreans when defining consonance. Subjective judgment and other facts about interval relationships came into play. The conflicts that resulted plagued music theorists for centuries. Aristoxenus was one of the earliest people to doubt the Pythagorean system and to argue for one more dependent on sense impressions.<sup>3</sup> In the second century A.D.



Ptolemy questioned the Pythagorean doctrine, when he argued for the eleventh, or octave plus fourth, as a consonance. Its ratio is complex: 8:3. But it sounds almost like the fourth, 4:3, because of the mystery of octave equivalency. If we lean toward subjective, aural judgments it should be a consonance; if we lean toward the a priori principle of simple ratios it should be a dissonance. Or else we need to change the principle to suit the ear, to find a way to satisfy both criteria.<sup>4</sup>

For our purposes we do not need to come to a conclusion on these issues. But it is important to understand them because we need to know how to read texts that talk about consonance, concord, and interval. It seems likely that in the ancient world the concept of consonance was partly dependent on simultaneities. Even though it was possible to make and discuss simultaneities, the music of the culture was not necessarily truly polyphonic; nor was the "harmony" or concord wrought out of discord necessarily polyphonic. For a melody is the product of the combination of pitches and intervals; and once an interval is a consonance, it is always a consonance, whether it is simultaneous or successive. The intervals combined in discordia concors are the successive intervals of a melody; the unity, the tune, the music produced by a sequence of different intervals in combination, is the concord in question. A melody can thus be "harmonious" or "concordant," even if completely unaccompanied.<sup>5</sup> A monophonic melody can also be sung or played by more than one person; such a joint performance creates yet another discordia concors and another kind of

musical experience, as different timbres and embellishments combine in a monophonic or heterophonic context around a single melody.

But polyphony did develop in the Medieval west, and the same vocabulary as before was used to talk about it. Explicit reinterpretation of old teachings was never necessary, since the principles were considered eternally valid, and thus equally applicable to monophony, polyphony, the celestial spheres, the soul and body, or the state. Consonances had been discussed before; they still were, but now the discussion was expanded to include permissible successions of simultaneities, both consonant and dissonant. Writers of discant treatises generally concentrated on the new problems of musical organization -- acceptable successions of intervals -- without stopping to theorize on what they meant.<sup>6</sup> A pleasing succession of simultaneities fits together, is harmonious or concordant, just as a succession of single pitches in a melody had always been.

But polyphony provided an added dimension. Before polyphony the dissimilar elements that could be combined concordantly to create harmony were ratios, pitches, intervals: abstractions or discrete entities, while entire melodies combined make a polyphonic composition. The dissimilar elements had form, shape, identity, in a way that ratios, pitches and intervals did not. The concept of discordia concors was thus enriched, since the discordant elements had so much more individuality.

## The Evolution of a Polyphonic Concept of Concord

The Medieval approach to the problem of successive vs. simultaneous concepts of consonance is best illustrated by a brief look at definitions of consonance in the Middle Ages, and at the usage of the various synonyms consonantia, concordia, and concordantia. There is never a consistent usage of these terms from one theorist to another,<sup>7</sup> though an individual theorist will often make distinctions in his own treatise. Definitions of consonance that imply simultaneity appear before there is any evidence of polyphonic music; as polyphonic music begins to evolve those definitions continue to be used in the new context, and the concepts of consonance and concord develop necessary associations with the fact of polyphonic musical style.

We will begin, as a Medieval theorist would, with Boethius, who returns to the subject of consonance more than six times in his De institutione musicae, each time providing a slightly different definition.<sup>8</sup> Later theorists could of course pick and choose the definitions that most pleased them. Boethius was a Pythagorean, and thus believed in a priori proportional definitions, as any thorough reading of the treatise will show. But when taken out of context, his definitions often seem to suggest a more subjective position dependent on what is pleasing to the ear. The six most important definitions follow.

(1) I.iii: "De vocibus ac de musicae elementis."

. . . . Est enim consonantia dissimilium inter se vocum in unum redacta concordia.

"Concerning the sounds and elements of music."

. . . . A consonance is a concord which reduces mutually dissimilar voices into one.

(2) I.viii: "Quid sit sonus, quid intervallum, quid consonantia."

. . . . Consonantia est acuti soni gravisque mixtura suaviter uniformiterque auris accidens. Dissonantia vero est duorum sonorum sibimet permixtorum ad aurem veniens aspera atque in iucunda percussio.

"What sound is, what interval is, and what consonance is."

. . . . Consonance is a mixture of high and low sound falling uniformly and pleasantly on the ears. Dissonance, on the other hand, is the harsh and unpleasant percussio of two sounds ill-mixed with each other coming to the ear.<sup>10</sup>

(3) I.xxviii: "Quae sit natura consonantiarum."

Consonantiam vero licet aurium quoque sensus diiudicet, tamen ratio perpendit. Quotiens enim duo nervi uno graviore intenduntur sumulque pulsati reddunt permixtum quodammodo et suavem sonum, duaeque voces in unum quasi coniunctae coalescunt; tunc fit ea, quae dicitur consonantia. Cum vero simul pulsati sibi quisque ire cupit nec permiscant ad aurem suavem atque unum ex duobus compositum sonum, tunc est, quae dicitur dissonantia.

"What the nature of consonance is."

Now although the sense of hearing discerns consonance, nevertheless reason is the final judge. For when two strings, one higher and one lower, are stretched and struck at the same time, and they produce an intermingled sweet sound, and the two sounds agree together as if joined in one, then that is what we call consonance. On the other hand, when the strings are struck at the same time and each

one desires to go its own way, and they do not impress the ear as a sound which is sweet, and as one sound made from two, then this is an occurrence of what we call dissonance.<sup>11</sup>

(4) IV.i: "Vocum differentias in quantitate consistere."

Consonae quidem sunt, quae simul pulsae suavem permixtumque inter se coniungunt sonum. Dissonae vero, quae simul pulsae non reddunt suavem neque permixtum sonum.

"That the differences in sound consist in quantity."

. . . . Consonant sounds are those that sound sweet and intermingled when struck at the same time ("simul pulsae"), while dissonant sounds are those which do not sound sweet and intermingled when struck at the same time.<sup>12</sup>

(5) IV.xviii: "Quemadmodum indubitanter musicae consonantiae aure diiudicare possunt."

Si igitur ad .K. aequum superioribus semispheriis apposuerō, atque alterutra vicissim .EK. ed .KF. plectro adhibito pellantur, diatessaron distantia consonabit, sin vero simul utrasque percussero, diatessaron consonantiam nosco.

"How musical consonance can be clearly judged by the ear."

[This is the end of an explanation of how to deduce the geometric division for the consonance of a fourth; EK and KF are segments of the string that result in notes a fourth apart.] Thus if I place a hemisphere equal to the other hemispheres at K, and if EK and KF are both in turn struck with an additional plectrum, the interval of a diatessaron will resound, whereas if they are both struck at the same time, I thus come to know a diatessaron consonance.<sup>13</sup>

(6) V.vii: "Quem numerum proportionum Pythagorici

statuant."

Consonae autem vocantur, quae copulatae mixtos  
suavesque efficiunt sonos, dissonae vero, quae minime. Et  
hoc quidem est Ptolomaei de sonorum differentia iudicium.

"The numbers which the Pythagoreans established for the  
proportions."

Pitches are called consonant if they produce an  
intermingled and sweet sound; they are called dissonant if  
they do not. This is Ptolemy's opinion concerning the  
difference of sounds.<sup>14</sup>

The first definition (I.iii) is a rewording of our recurrent  
concept of concord wrought out of discord, and its context recalls the  
Pythagorean framework of the treatise. The affective term "suavis"  
("sweet") of definitions (2), (3), (4), and (6) leads us to believe  
that Boethius finds the pleasing or sweet quality of sound as perceived  
by the ear to be the defining property of consonance. Only when we  
read the context carefully, and understand that Boethius always  
describes consonance in relation to ratios and proportions can we  
understand that these are not so much definitions as descriptions of  
the quality of consonance that results from its rational basis. This  
ambiguity persists throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Most of the definitions suggest simultaneity; (3), (4), and (5) are  
unambiguous in their definition of consonances as a subset of the  
simultaneities. In (5) Boethius distinguishes between successive  
interval ("distantia") and simultaneous consonance; and in both (4) and  
(5) the implication is that only when hearing two notes simultaneously  
is it possible to discern whether the combination produces a  
consonance. Boethius thus defines consonance (simultaneous or

successive) in terms of Pythagorean ratios; their sweetness as simultaneities then serves as both test and confirmation of the value of the system.<sup>15</sup>

Bower believes that ancient Greeks had no such conception of simultaneity, and attributes its development to the second-century (A.D.) theorist Nichomachus, on whom Boethius was heavily dependent: "The Principles of Music clearly transmitted this Nicomachan notion of simultaneous consonance into the Latin world of the Middle Ages."<sup>16</sup> It is just as possible that Boethius was articulating some version of classical thought more explicitly than before (as he did by coining the word "quadrivium"). In general Bower shows that Boethius is derivative, not original; and as far as we know his late antique musical culture had no more polyphony than earlier classical Rome or Greece. In any case Boethius was the principle source of Greek thought for the Middle Ages; and so to the careful Medieval reader of Boethius consonance and simultaneity were closely related.

Early Medieval theorists after Boethius primarily discussed plainchant; their definitions of consonance could refer to either simultaneous or successive intervals.<sup>17</sup> Hucbald (c. 840-930) was one of the first Medieval theorists to make a clear and unambiguous distinction between simultaneous and successive intervals with reference not just to simultaneously sounding pitches but to organized polyphony.<sup>18</sup> He distinguishes clearly between three classes of pitch relations: equisonae, the same pitch; spatia or intervalla, successive melodic intervals; and consonae, simultaneous consonances.<sup>19</sup> The

relevant passages are as follows:

Since equal tones are self-explanatory, one need say only that they are performed by articulating a continued tone in the manner of one speaking prose. Moreover, they are but one tone, however many times repeated, as if one wrote or pronounced any single letter over and over, thus, a a a. Further, they do not constitute a consonance; they are, to be sure, equisones [aequisonae], not consones [consonae]. In a consonance two tones clearly distant from each other in pitch sound at once, concordantly. In the case of equal tones, even if they are performed by several persons, still they are no distance apart.<sup>20</sup>

Do not assume that these intervals between tones are to be equated with the "consonances" with which musical theorizing deals. For a "consonance" is one thing, an "interval" another. "Consonance" is the calculated and concordant blending of two sounds, which will come about only when two simultaneous sounds from different sources combine into a single musical whole [modulatio], as happens when a man's and a boy's voices sound at once [pariter], and [vel] indeed in what is usually called "making organum" [organizatio].<sup>21</sup>

Thus Hucbald links the concept of consonance with simultaneity. But unlike the Greeks or Boethius he does so in the context of a musical culture that included polyphony, and thus consonance and the related word, concord, come to be associated with the performance of polyphonic music.

The most famous of the early treatises dealing with polyphony are the Musica and Scolica Enchiriadis, probably written in the late ninth century. Parallel organum is described in both treatises, and the term used for the simultaneous intervals produced and notated in the treatise is "symphonia," the old Pythagorean term for interval. Once again the new kind of music is associated with the ancient vocabulary



and tradition.<sup>22</sup>

Much later Franco of Cologne, writing a discant treatise in the thirteenth century, uses consonantia and concordantia almost interchangeably. Consonantia is used to introduce the topic, concordantia for the technical discussion. Simple concordia does not appear. Although the definitions recall Boethius's (3) and (4), both terms are explicitly associated with polyphony here.

Sed quia discantus quilibet per consonantias regulatur, videndum est de consonantiis et dissonantiis factis in eodem tempore, et in diversis vocibus. Concordantia dicitur esse, quando duae voces vel plures in uno tempore prolatae se compati possunt secundum auditum. Discordantia vero e contrario dicitur, scilicet quando duae voces sic conjunguntur, quod discordant secundum auditum.

But since every discant is governed by consonances, let us first consider the consonances and dissonances that are sounded at the same time and in different voices. By concord we mean two or more sounds so sounded at one time that the ear perceives them to agree with one another. By discord we mean the opposite, namely, two sounds so combined that the ear perceives them to be dissonant [or, more strictly, discordant].<sup>23</sup>

In the anonymous fourteenth-century treatise Quatuor principalia<sup>24</sup> consonantia and concordantia are distinguished; the concordantiae are a subset of a fairly large group of consonantiae, some of which we consider dissonant (such as the whole tone). In the anonymous treatise on intervals, Tractatus de consonantiis musicalibus,<sup>25</sup> consonantia means any interval and concordantia means consonance; the concordantiae are thus a subset of the consonantiae.<sup>26</sup>

In the writings of theorists contemporary with our motets the usage

is still inconsistent. In the Contrapunctus (1412) of Prosdocius de Beldomandis, where the context is polyphonic, "interval" is combinatio vocum; "consonant" and "concordant" are treated as synonymous.<sup>27</sup>

Consonantia is the preferred noun form.

Ugolino of Orvieto treats all the elements of practical music in preparation for his final aim, the discussion of speculative music theory, in his Declaratio musicae disciplinae. In the first book he deals with plain chant and melody. There he defines the standard Pythagorean intervals as consonances. But the subject of consonance is not of great concern to him here; he is more interested in describing each interval (called by its name: tone, semitone, ditone, etc.) and the practice of plainchant. He does bring up the problem of the eleventh (I.xl-xlii), restating the arguments of Ptolemy and the Pythagoreans; he sides with the Pythagoreans in the end, and rejects the eleventh as a consonance.<sup>28</sup>

It is in the second book, on counterpoint or "musica melodiata" that the concept of consonance takes on real meaning for Ugolino. In the introduction he in fact states that consonance can only be recognized in a simultaneous context; that in fact reason, ratio, only comes into play with the sense information provided by simultaneity.

Haec quidem pars musicae nomine dicitur contrapunctus, in eo namque consonantiarum dissonantiarumque vim plene sensibili organo auditus apprehendimus et eam ex inde intellectui praesentatam ipsius ratione iudicamus quod nudae musicae virtute nequimus. Nam in nuda seu plana musica quid sit diatessaron vel diapente, quid diapason, quid cetera diffinitive seu descriptive cognoscimus, sed quid consonum vel dissonum in consonantiae acumine et

gravitate distantis ratione constet penitus ignoramus. Haec autem profecto huiusmodi melodiatae musicae vi cum vox in acuto in gravi voci respondet, tum proportionum ratione, tum auditus iudicio, si consona sint vel dissona penitus iudicamus.

Indeed, this part of music is called by the name counterpoint, in which we apprehend fully the nature of consonances and dissonances with the sense organ of hearing, and judge it as it is thence presented to the intellect by means of its reason, which we cannot do with the virtue of naked music. For in naked or plain music we know what is the fourth or fifth, what the octave, what are the rest definitively or descriptively, but we do not thoroughly know what constitutes a consonance or a dissonance in the height and depth of the distant consonance by means of reason. Since, however, in the nature of polyphonic music of this kind, the high voice responds to the low voice, then both by reason of proportions, and by judgment of hearing, we can judge thoroughly whether they are consonances or dissonances.<sup>29</sup>

Later in book two he quotes Boethius's second definition of consonance: "Consonance is a mixture of high and low sound falling uniformly and pleasantly on the ears."<sup>30</sup> Ugolino takes this definition out of context as license to define as consonances in a contrapuntal context a non-Pythagorean set of intervals: third, fifth, and sixth (and unison and octave, which are a slightly different category). For Ugolino, as for Boethius and for us, the concept of consonance only really makes sense, and can only be subject to the evidence of the senses in the proper Aristotelian manner, as simultaneity. But now simultaneity takes its meaning in a contrapuntal context; Ugolino's choice of consonances is determined by contrapuntal usage. Reference to Pythagorean proportions persists, but their absolute authority has given way to a more pragmatic definition.<sup>31</sup>

Tinctoris's position in his dictionary of music is similar to

Ugolino's. He has one word, coniunctio, that refers to a melodic interval,<sup>32</sup> while "concordantia" and "discordantia" refer to simultaneous consonant and dissonant intervals. Consonantia and concordia do not appear in the dictionary. His definition of concordantia is as follows:

Concordantia est sonorum diversorum mixtura dulciter auribus conveniens. Et haec aut perfecta aut imperfecta est.

A consonance is a blending of different pitches which strikes pleasantly on the ear, and which is either perfect or imperfect.<sup>33</sup>

This passage is reminiscent of Boethius's second definition, that cited by Ugolino, even though the vocabulary is not identical.<sup>34</sup>

Not only does Tinctoris define "concordantia" similarly to Ugolino, but he is similarly pragmatic in his conception of simultaneous consonances. He defines perfect and imperfect consonance by describing the rules for their use in polyphonic contexts: parallel perfect consonances are forbidden, while parallel imperfect consonances are acceptable.<sup>35</sup> For Tinctoris "concordantia" is the simultaneous mixture of diverse sounds, as it is the harmony of diverse parties that create concord. His word for successive interval has no such associations, and does not distinguish between consonance and dissonance; the notion of consonance is inextricably linked with simultaneity and the practice of polyphony.

The word concordia, then, rarely occurs in the technical musical treatises. Consonantia and concordantia, on the other hand, return again and again. From the beginning of the Middle Ages, with Boethius,

consonance was associated particularly with simultaneous intervals. With the advent of polyphony consonance became a subject particularly important in treatises and sections of treatises having to do with polyphony, and thus peculiarly associated with polyphonic music. Before polyphony, consonance, when defined by proportions or tried out as simultaneity, was something of an abstraction. With polyphony, the experience of the consonant simultaneity was a practical one, not merely experimental, and both the technical musical and broader political and social associations with consonance and concord were enriched.<sup>36</sup>

Every text that we have examined up to now has been concerned with monophonic music. But once polyphony has become a significant part of a musical culture the musical metaphors demand to be read as polyphonic.<sup>37</sup> Thus the high, middle and low classes in the Cicero . passage demand to be understood as parts in a polyphonic composition, rather than as high, middle and low pitches occurring successively in a melody. This instinctive modern interpretation is not appropriate to Cicero's musical culture. But it probably was that of almost any interpreter writing after the advent of polyphony. Witness to this assertion is once again Nicole D'Oresme, the fourteenth-century French translator of Aristotle. Oresme includes with his translation a glossary because of the many new French words he had to create in order to translate Aristotle; he also includes some familiar words when he wants to make explicit a technical meaning. One of the words in the glossary is harmony, which he defines as follows:

Armonie est concorde de plusieurs vois differentes, et est ce que aucuns appellent deschant. Et melodie est beau plain chant, mes communement l'en prent l'un pour l'autre et comme tout un.

Harmony is the concord of several different voices, and it is that which some call discant. Melody is straight plain chant; but commonly one is taken for the other and both are considered one thing.<sup>38</sup>

The assumption inherent in this passage is that Augustine's musical culture was similar to Oresme's own, and included polyphony as well as monophony.<sup>39</sup> Oresme is translating the Greek and Latin harmonia and melos/melodia. He assumes that the two terms in Aristotle correspond to the distinction between monophony and polyphony so prominent in his own culture. He is less clear on which term corresponds to which type of music, for elsewhere, in a gloss, he says:

Armonie est sans mixtion de sons, et est ce que nous appellons plain chant: et melodie est en bonne mixtion de sons, et est ce que aucuns appellent deschant, mes communement l'en prent l'un pour l'autre.

Harmony is without any mixture of sounds, and is what we call "plain chant"; and melodie is a good mixture of sounds, and is what some call "discant," though commonly one is taken for the other.<sup>40</sup>

Oresme's translates "harmonia" in his Latin text as "armonie" and "melodia" as "melodie." He treats them as equivalent, however: while a phrase of Aristotle may have "armonie" the gloss will have "melodie," or vice versa.<sup>41</sup> If Oresme, a relatively analytic and self-conscious reader in his role as translator and commentator, was convinced that

Aristotle was talking about polyphony (no matter how confused he was about where it was being referred to) then we can assume that other contemporaries did the same with Aristotle and other ancient texts. And if they read an ancient text with their own musical culture in mind, then it is possible that ancient texts could have some effect in turn on the contemporary musical culture.

### Proportions in Time: Structural Harmony

Until now we have been primarily concerned with the musical system of pitch. Concord and discord, consenance and dissonance have been conceived of as terms referring to combinations of pitches, especially intervals that can be described in terms of whole-number ratios. Music serves as a good metaphor for, or representation of, good government because in it many different elements -- ratios, intervals, pitches, parts -- can be reconciled or harmonized. That intervals embody the nature of numbers, the essential structure of the universe, gives that metaphor a special force, makes it more than a metaphor. But numbers and ratios can also be represented in music in another way: in terms of units of time, or rhythm and meter.<sup>42</sup>

Since the concordant quality of the octave or the fifth is so much more intuitively or immediately apparent than the relation between a note with two beats and a note with one, pitch relations have always been stressed in discussions of music. But rhythm and meter were also considered part of the study of music. Although few ancient

discussions of musical rhythm have survived,<sup>43</sup> the continued importance of rhythm in thought about music was guaranteed by St. Augustine. His training in the liberal arts was primarily in the trivium, the rhetorical arts, and for that reason he was particularly concerned with rhythm and meter as it pertained to poetry. One of his earliest works, De ordine, a dialogue written in 386 shortly after his conversion to Christianity, deals with the problem of how evil can exist in the world if everything is governed by God.<sup>44</sup> This is an issue closely related to our central concept of discordia concors; Augustine and his disciple Licentius argue that everything, good and evil, exists for a divine purpose in the world, even if we cannot perceive it: thus dissimilar elements combine to make a harmonious whole. The last part of the dialogue is taken up with sketching an educational program that will prepare people for the pursuit of difficult philosophical and theological problems such as the nature of divine order; the program is the liberal arts. Thus he says:

Now in music, in geometry, in the movements of the stars, in the fixed ratios of numbers, order reigns in such manner that if one desires to see its source and its shrine, so to speak, he either finds it in these, or he is unerringly led to it through them.<sup>45</sup>

The approach to the liberal arts and to the problem of order is entirely Pythagorean; the dialogue ends, in fact with a tribute to Pythagoras, as follows:

I am wont to admire in Pythagoras, and, as you well know, to proclaim by almost daily praise; namely, that he taught the science of government last of all, taught it to disciples already learned, of mature years, already wise and happy.<sup>46</sup>



The study of the liberal arts therefore leads both to philosophy and to government.

Music is one of the elements of this intellectual program, and the study of music is the study of ratios of small integers. But here the ratios are not of string lengths, but of units of time, and the pleasure of music for Augustine is especially in rhythm, just as the pleasure of sight is in well-proportioned buildings.

With regard to the eyes, that is usually called beautiful in which the harmony of parts is wont to be called reasonable; with regard to the ears, when we say that a harmony is reasonable and that a rhythmic poem is reasonably composed, we properly call it sweet. . . . We must therefore acknowledge that, in the pleasure of those senses, what pertains to reason is that in which there is a certain rhythmic measure.

Wherefore, considering carefully the parts of this very building, we cannot but be displeased because we see one doorway toward the side and another situated almost, but not exactly, in the middle. . . . But, the fact that three windows inside, one in the middle and two at the sides, pour light at equal intervals on the bathing place -- how much that delights and enraptures us as we gaze attentively is a thing already manifest, and need not be shown to you in many words. In their own terminology, architects themselves call this design, and they say that parts unsymmetrically placed are without design.

This is very general; it pervades all the arts and creations of man. Who indeed does not see that in songs -- and we likewise say that in them there is a sweetness that pertains to the ears -- rhythm is the producer of all this sweetness?<sup>47</sup>

In describing the liberal arts he first deals with the trivium, the literary arts. He treats music first in the quadrivium because of its ties with the trivium.<sup>48</sup> And while he mentions pitch, it is rhythm again that receives the most emphasis.

Reason saw, however, that this material was of very

little value, unless the sounds were arranged in a fixed measure of time and in modulated variation of high and low pitch. It realized that it was from this source that those elements came which it had called feet and accents, when, in grammar, it was treating of syllables with diligent consideration. And, because in words themselves it was easy to notice the syllabic longs and shorts, interspersed with almost equal frequency in a discourse, reason endeavored to arrange and conjoin them into definite series. . . . But, whatever was not restricted by a definite limit, and yet ran according to methodically arranged feet — that, it designated by the term rhythm. In Latin this can be called nothing other than number. . . . Reason understood, therefore, that in this fourth step of ascent — whether in particular rhythm or in modulation in general — numeric<sup>49</sup> proportions held sway and produced the finished product.

Augustine's treatise De musica also deals entirely with rhythm and meter, especially in poetry.<sup>50</sup> He defines music as "the science of mensurating well" — "*Musica est scientia bene modulandi*" — by which he seems to mean the science of governing the meter.<sup>51</sup> This definition would be frequently cited in the Middle Ages, presumably extended to refer to pitch as well.<sup>52</sup> The Pythagorean approach is ubiquitous. In Book I Augustine explains how units of time can be related proportionately, just as is usually done for string lengths (or hammers), and there is a model demonstration of the wondrous properties of the first four integers, the tetrad, and of the decad.<sup>53</sup> The sixth and last book, in the Pythagorean tradition, is devoted to showing that the study of meter and proportion can be related to the incorporeal world, to reason, justice, perception, memory, and the nature of God. The four books in the middle deal with the details of rhythm and meter in verse — an eruditio to prepare the mind for the study of higher things. With this treatise, then, Augustine ensures rhythm a place, if

a secondary one, in the Pythagorean study of music in the Middle Ages.<sup>54</sup>

Both pitch and time must be carefully governed for there to be harmony in a polyphonic piece; without proper rhythmic organization harmonious intervals will not result. It was only after the advent of polyphony, where relationships among voices must be coordinated temporally, that rhythmic notation developed. With rhythmic notation came new applications of theories of proportion. The theory of rhythmic modes may well have been influenced by Augustine's De musica, but it was in mensural notation that proportions became all important. In some cases mensural theorists went on to explore contemporary developments in science and mathematics that surpassed in sophistication Pythagorean proportions; but in most cases the classifications of proportions that worked so well for intervals sufficed to explain mensural systems as well.<sup>55</sup> The anonymous author of Quatuor principalia defines discant or polyphony in terms of mensural proportions, rather than proportions having to do with pitch:

Unde discantus est aliquorum diversorum cantuum consonantia, in qua illi diversi cantus per voces longas et breves et semibreves atque minimas proportionabiliter adaequantur, et in scripto per debitas figuras proportionatas [amended from proportionatae] ad invicem designantur.

Whence discantus is the consonance of several different parts, in which the different parts are proportionately adjusted to each other through long notes and breves and semibreves and minims, and in writing they are signified by the appropriate figures proportioned to one another.<sup>56</sup>

The Italian early fifteenth-century theorist Prosdocimus de

Beldemandis was very concerned with rhythmic notation and with proportion. He wrote a commentary on Jean de Muris which was revised several times, and a brief book on the classification of the major musical proportions. He combined his interests in some of his discussion of mensural music, especially meter, using the same proportional vocabulary.<sup>57</sup> Slightly later, Ugolino of Orvieto makes the same connection. His discussion of rhythm begins the transition from practical to speculative music theory, since in his estimation the subject lends itself to both fields.<sup>58</sup>

Tinctoris, in his Proportionale musices, classifies the rhythmic proportions in the traditional manner (multiple, superparticular, etc.); and when discussing the classic Pythagorean proportions (duple, sesquialtera, sesquitertia, and sesquioctava -- octave, fifth, fourth, and whole tone), he mentions the Pythagorean interval resulting. Thus in the section on duple proportion he writes:

The Pythagoreans say that the diapason [i.e., the octave] originates from this proportion, because, if the Greeks are to be believed, Pythagoras in his discovery of the concords saw that the diapason was made from two hammers, of which one was of six pounds, the other of twelve, sounding that concord; whence it happens that he and many others call it a duple consonance and this proportion conversely the diapason.<sup>59</sup>

In his dictionary of music Tinctoris defines the proportions as applying to both rhythm and pitch.<sup>60</sup> In the fifteenth century the system of ratios devised to describe pitch relations was equally or more applicable to rhythmic relationships, making rhythm, as well as pitch, a field of Pythagorean mathematics.

Rhythmic proportions are less meaningful intuitively as a metaphor for the state than proportions having to do with pitch, intervals, or polyphony. But they are much more flexible, since temporal units can be of many different lengths and can be counted many different ways. We can consider the length of one note in relation to the next; the relation of units of measure, such as breve to semibreve; the relationship between simultaneous or successive occurrences of the same note value within different mensurations, coloration, etc. These are relatively small-scale relationships. But we can then look at how many mensural units make up a larger unit, such as a phrase (corresponding to foot and line in verse), how many phrases make up a larger unit, and the relative length of phrases. And finally there are the large-scale sectional proportions of a piece; repetitions of a cantus firmus or all parts of a composition, with or without diminution or augmentation, and rhythmic repetition of periods, resulting in isorhythm of various kinds. In as much as harmony and concord result, in Pythagorean thought, from pleasing proportions of small integers, temporal proportion in a piece of music can represent harmony and concord just as pitch does. Systems of rhythmic proportion are also easier to manipulate over a large scale in the context of a composition than are systems of pitch, since there are fewer constraints on rhythm: use of intervals is bound by melodic and contrapuntal principles, while rhythmic systems are apparently boundless. Certain proportions in time, those of the Pythagorean ratios, were considered more harmonious or musical, even without contrapuntal constraints.

This kind of large scale proportion is comparable to proportion in architecture. One of the original meanings of "harmonia" had to do with joining, the craft of the cabinet-maker, an architect on a small scale.<sup>61</sup> Augustine made an explicit parallel between "design" in architecture and "rhythm" in music. Units of time, like string lengths on a monochord, can be envisioned as physical "lengths"; a line that is twice as long as another line can be understood to represent a unit of time twice as long as another unit of time. And while proportional string lengths produce intervals in the case of pitch, it is difficult to construct a piece using those proportions, since structure in music occurs over time and string lengths do not represent temporal units. As we read music we move from left to right across the page, and temporal progress is represented by spatial progress. There is a natural correlation between temporal and spatial units.

Architects in the Middle Ages and Renaissance valued the visual proportions that correspond to the Pythagorean musical proportions, and constructed their buildings accordingly.<sup>62</sup> These cathedrals and churches, thanks to their use of Pythagorean musical proportions, were models of the temple of Solomon, of the celestial Jerusalem, of the cosmos itself, both as physical structures and as symbols of the church, the world, divinity.<sup>63</sup> Large-scale structural proportions in a piece of music, then, can also be understood as a way of representing a physical structure, or the ordered system of which it is a symbol. Since it was the system of musical proportions that gave the building its celestial harmony, how much more powerful is the use of those

proportions in music itself. A piece of music, through its use of proportional relationships in pitch and in time, could also be understood as a model of the temple of Solomon, of the heavenly Jerusalem -- or of good government, earthly or divine.<sup>64</sup>

Notes to Chapter 2

1. For some texts that suggest accompaniment at the octave or other perfect consonances in ancient Greece, see Andrew Barker, Greek Musical Writings, pp. 52-53: "It has usually been accepted that throughout the classical period the normal Greek practice was for the accompanying instrument to play in unison with the singer. . . . This view scarcely does justice to the evidence, however." For relevant passages see Barker's translations from Plato's Laws, p. 163 and n. 111; Pseudo-Aristotelean Problems, pp. 193-5, 200-1; Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, pp. 294-7.
2. Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics," pp. 193 and 334.
3. Crocker, "Pythagorean Mathematics," p. 193; and see also Crocker, "Aristoxenus and Greek Mathematics," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1960), pp. 96-110.
4. Boethius discusses the controversy between Ptolemy and the Pythagoreans at some length in book V, ch. viii-xi, pp. 306-12 in Bower, Boethius. If the Pythagoreans had had a sacred triad instead of the tetrad then the fourth would never have been a consonance in the first place, and the system would have satisfied both Ptolemy and later practitioners who found the fourth and its octave transpositions dissonant.
5. In Words and Music, pp. 32-47, J. Stevens discusses "numerical composition" and armonia in Medieval monophony and in particular songs very eloquently. He considers numbers of notes and note-groups, motivic recurrences, and the rise and fall of the melodies.
6. Early writings on polyphony are rarely concerned with the larger speculative issues; they belong to the class of practical treatises, and if they do refer to traditional quadrivial music studies, it is usually as a formality. See Lawrence A. Gushee, "Questions of Genre," pp. 365-433; and Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," JAMS 15 (1962) pp. 1-21, especially pp. 5 and 6. On p. 4 Crocker quotes many passages from different theorists describing the pleasing quality of simultaneous consonances.
7. Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, p. 164, n.1 of ch. II, says that: "In Medieval glossaries the identification of the two word families concordia-consonantia may be noted."
8. Bower says that "the theory of consonance or harmony becomes one



of the most important aspects of musical theory in The Principles of Music" (Boethius, p. 440).

9. Friedlein, Boethius, pp. 189, 191; Bower, Boethius, pp. 50-51. This is the last sentence of a passage on plurality and quantity in proportion, as follows: "For a high sound consists of more motion than a low one. However, the plurality necessarily consists of a certain numerical quantity, and every smaller quantity is considered to a larger quantity as a number compared to a number. Now of these things which are compared according to number, some are equal, others unequal. Thus some sounds are also equal; others indeed are different by virtue of an inequality. But in these sounds which do not harmonize by any inequality, there is no consonance at all.

10. Friedlein, Boethius, p. 195; Bower, Boethius, p. 57. This section is largely derived from the Manual of Nichomachus. The accompanying definitions are as follows:

Interval is the distance of a high and low sound. . . . Dissonance, on the other hand, is the harsh and unpleasant percussion of two sounds ill-mixed with each other coming to the ear.

11. Friedlein, Boethius, p. 220; Bower, Boethius, p. 95. There is one other section where consonance is defined in book I, ch. xxx-xxxi (Bower, Boethius, pp. 97-9). The passage is concerned with physical production and perception of sound and consonance according to Plato and Nichomachus; both definitions imply simultaneities, but are not otherwise directly relevant to our investigation.
12. Friedlein, Boethius, pp. 301-2; Bower, Boethius, pp. 212-213. These sentences are the last of the chapter; they follow a discussion of proportions. This section of the treatise is a translation of the Euclidian Sectio Canonis. The underlined phrases were not in the original; according to Bower (Boethius, p. 442) they were probably added by Nichomachus, and then copied by Boethius.
13. Friedlein, Boethius, p. 348; Bower, Boethius, p. 291. The italics in the English are mine, those in the Latin Bower's (he quotes the passage in Latin in a note). This passage also shows how the ear can be used to check a rational calculation; if you have done it right, it will sound right; if you have not done it right, it will not sound right. The essential truth of the calculation is never called into question, just the execution.
14. Friedlein, Boethius, p. 357. Bower, Boethius, p. 304. According to Bower this section is derived from Ptolemy's Harmonics. Boethius goes on to expound upon the controversy about the

eleventh, Pythagoreans vs. Ptolemy.

15. See Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," p. 4, for later definitions of consonance derived from Boethius that stress the pleasing quality of the sound.
16. Bower, Boethius, p. 443. Palisca also believes that the classical concept was purely successive; see Hucbald, Guido and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises, tr. Warren Babb, ed., with Introductions, by C. Palisca (New Haven, 1978) p. 5.
17. See Weiss and Taruskin, Music in the Western World: A History in Documents (New York, 1984) pp. 59-60, and Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, 1940) for discussions of the difficulty in tracing the origins of polyphony in the writings of theorists.
18. In De harmonica institutione, trans. Warren Babb, in Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music, pp. 13-44.
19. See Palisca's introduction to Warren Babb's translation in Hucbald, Guido, and John, p. 5, for a discussion of the relation between Hucbald's and Boethius's terminology.
20. Gerbert, Scriptores, vol. 1, p. 104a; Babb, Hucbald, Guido, and John, pp. 1-14.
21. Gerbert, Scriptores vol. 1, p. 107a, top, and Babb, Hucbald, Guido, and John, p. 19. The Latin for this passage is:

Non autem putandum est, has vocum discrepantias reputari inter consonantias: de quibus musica pertractat auctoritas. Aliud enim est consonantia, aliud intervallum. Consonantia siquidem est duorum sonorum rate et concordabilis permixtio, quae non aliter constabit, nisi duo altrinsecus editi soni in unam simul modulationem convenient, ut sit, cum virilis ac puerilis vox pariter sonuerit; vel etiam in eo, quod consuecte organizationem vocant.

Part of it is translated in Reese, MMA, as follows:

Consonance is the judicious and harmonious mixture of two tones, which exists only if two tones, produced from different sources, meet in one joint sound, as happens when a boy's voice and a man's voice sing the same thing, or in that which they commonly call organum (p. 253).

It is quoted in Weiss and Taruskin, p. 60.

22. Thus in the Scolica Enchiriades:

(Disciple) What is a symphony?

(Master) A sweet blending of certain sounds, three of which are simple -- diapason, diapente, and diatessaron -- and three composite -- double diapason, diapason plus diapente, and diapason plus diatessaron.

Translation in Strunk, Source Readings, p. 126, from edition in Gerbert, Scriptores I, 184-196. Strunk and Gerbert call it the Scholia Enchiriadis; but Lawrence Gushee ("Questions of Genre," pp. 398-400) argues that it is not a commentary, or scholion on Musica Enchiriadis, but is rather a reworking in dialogue form for school use. There is a new edition of both treatises: Hans Schmid, ed., Musica et Scolica enchiriadis (Munich, 1981).

23. Ars Cantus mensurabilis 11, "De discantu et eius speciebus" ("Of Discant and its Species"). Latin from edition by Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, CSM 18 (AIM, 1974), p. 65; translation from Strunk, Source Readings, p. 152. Almost the identical passage can be found in Johannes de Garlandia, Lambert, and the St. Emmeram anonymous; see Erich Reimer, ed., Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1972) (Beihefte zum AfMw, vols. 10 and 11), vol. 1, p. 67. For a discussion of concordia and consonantia, in Jacques de Liège and Boethius, see Smith, "Ars Nova -- A Redefinition?" vol. 19, p. 93.
24. CS IV, pp. 254-98; shorter version in CS III, 334-64.
25. CS I, Anonymous 1, pp. 296-302; it appears in a fifteenth-century manuscript, but was probably written in the thirteenth century and influenced by Franco, according to Lawrence Gushee in "Anonymous Theoretical Writings," New Grove 1, p. 445. The treatise was attributed to Jacques de Liège by Roger Bragard, in "Le Speculum musicae du compilateur Jacques de Liège," MD 8 (1954), pp. 6-8.
26. The treatise begins with a song, "Tredecim consonantiae" adapted from Hermannus Contractus, according to Gushee, "Anonymous Theoretical Writings," which lists all the intervals, dissonant and consonant. It goes on as follows:

Harum consonantiarum si ipsarum voces in eodem tempore proferantur, quedam concordant, alieque discordant. Est enim concordia duorum sonorum, diversorum vel plurium in eodem tempore prolatorum se compatiuntur harmonia uniformiter suaviterque veniens ad auditum. (CS I, pp. 297-8.)

"Consonantia" thus means simultaneity, and a "consonantia

concordantis" is a consonant simultaneity.

27. "Combinations consonantes sive concordantes," I.3, p. 38 in the edition and translation by Jan Herlinger (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1984).
28. "Non est ergo diapason-diatessaron consonantia quam esse Ptolomeus probabat sed ut praefertur eximii doctoris Boetii sententiae annuimus et Pythagoricorum." I.xli, p. 78.
29. Pointed out and quoted by Seay, "Ugolino of Orvieto," p. 149; in Ugolino of Orvieto, Declaratio musicae disciplinae, ed. Albert Seay, CSM 7, (Rome: AIM, 1960) vol. 2, pp. 3-4, II.1.4-6.
30. "Consonantia est acuti soni gravisque mixtura suaviter uniformiterque auris accidens." Boethius I.viii; Ugolino, I.iii.19, Seay edition vol. 2, p. 6.
31. Crocker, in "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," pp. 5-6, comments on the differing attitudes to consonance and dissonance in discant treatises and speculative theoretical works: discant treatises describe compositional practice, speculative treatises attempt to justify practice after the fact. Ugolino is of course trying to do both; he is writing a discant treatise in book II, but as preparation for speculative theory later in the treatise.
32. "Coniunctio est unius vocis post aliam continua iunctio." "A melodic interval is the immediate connection of one syllable after another." Johannes Tinctoris, Dictionary of Musical Terms: An English Translation of TERMINORUM MUSICAE DIFFINITORIUM Together with the Latin Text, translated and annotated by Carl Parrish (London, 1963), pp. 16-17.
33. Tinctoris, Dictionary, ed. Parrish, pp. 14-15. The translation is Parrish's. "Discordantia" is defined on pp. 24-25.
34. "Consonantia est acuti soni gravisque mixtura suaviter uniformiterque auris accidens." "Consonance is a mixture of high and low sound falling uniformly and pleasantly on the ears." Boethius I.viii, Bower, Boethius, p. 57.
- 35.

Concordantia perfecta est quae continue pluries ascendendo vel descendendo fieri non potest, ut unisonus diapenthe, sub et supra quantum vis diapason.

A perfect consonance is one that can occur several times successively in ascending or descending above or below [a given note within] any number of octaves,

such as the unison and fifth.

Concordantia imperfecta est quae continue pluries ascendendo vel descendendo fieri potest, ut dytonus semidytonus diapenthe cum tono et diapenthe cum semitonio, sub et supra quantum vis diapason.

An imperfect consonance is one that can occur several times successively in ascending or descending above or below [a given note within] any number of octaves, such as the major third, minor third, major sixth, and minor sixth.

From the Dictionary, pp. 14-15. Tinctoris lists the consonances more completely in his Liber de arte contrapuncti, translated by Albert Seay, MSD 5 (AIM, 1961), p. 20. Parrish (n. 20, p. 82) does not seem to understand this definition, and says that "Perhaps this is merely a circuitous way of saying that there are more imperfect than perfect consonances."

36. Crocker, in "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," p. 17 makes the following comment on the subject of harmony as "concord of discords": "Not that 'harmony' meant 'polyphony' -- far from it -- but in polyphony they saw yet another manifestation of that quality that ran through the whole creation. Indeed, polyphony becomes the most tangible manifestation of harmony: in the Renaissance, the Promethean musicus speculator seizes upon the Idea of harmony and fixes it in the matter of counterpoint."
37. For a modern example of this tendency see Edward A. Synan, "An Augustinian Testimony to Polyphonic Music?" MD 18 (1964), pp. 3-6; he suggests that Augustine knew polyphony, based on his reading of the commentary on Ps. 150.
38. Oresme, Livre de Politiques, p. 370b.
39. This is no different from depictions in visual art of Biblical figures in Medieval dress, or playing Medieval instruments. C.S. Lewis comments in The Discarded Image (Cambridge, 1964), p. 183, that: "It is difficult to think ourselves back into the minds of men for whom [the sense of period] did not exist. And in the Middle Ages, and long after, it did not. It was known that Adam went naked till he fell. After that, they pictured the whole past in terms of their own age." On the question of instruments in particular (with a discussion of some exceptions to this rule), see Christopher Page, "Biblical Instruments in Medieval Manuscripts," Early Music 5 (1977) pp. 299-309.
40. Oresme, Livre de Politiques, p. 356a. See also p. 349b, with the comment "Melos, la melodie, ce sunt les acors."

41. See Livre de Politiques, pp. 351a, where Aristotle is talking about "harmonia" which in Greek generally means scale or mode, and Oresme then calls them "melodies" in the gloss; or p. 354b, ch. 12, where Oresme replaces the word "armonie" in the text with "melodie" in the gloss. In spite of this confusion Oresme does seem to understand some of the discussion of the appropriate "harmoniae" fairly well, though he never makes that meaning of "harmonia" explicit.
42. Belief in the parallelism of time and pitch as regards proportions is very much alive in twentieth-century composition as well; Henry Cowell comments that "a parallel can be drawn between the ratio of rhythmical beats and the ratio of musical tones by virtue of the common mathematical basis of both musical time and musical tone," in New Musical Resources, (New York, 1930), excerpted in Weiss and Taruskin, Music in the Western World, p. 485. And Elliot Carter's "metric modulation" is an application of this principle, with particular regard to large-scale form or structure. Carter himself admits to the historical origins of "metric modulation"; he comments that "music of the quattrocento" influenced him when he was developing it, and goes on to comment in a note: "There is nothing new about metric modulation but the name. To limit brief mention of its derivations to notated Western music: it is implicit in the rhythmic procedures of late fourteenth-century French music, as it is in music of the the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that uses other ways of alternating meters, especially duple and triple. . . ." Allen Edwards, Flawed Words and Stubborn Sounds: A Conversation with Elliott Carter (New York, 1971), p. 92, included in Weiss and Taruskin, Music in the Western World, p. 527.
43. I know of only one, part of the comprehensive treatise in Greek from the second century A.D. written by Aristides Quintilianus, On Music, translated, with Introduction, commentary, and annotations by Thomas J. Mathiesen (New Haven, 1983). The section on rhythm and meter is in book I, chh. 13-29, pp. 95-113.
44. The English title given the dialogue is "Divine Providence and the Problem of Evil." It is translated by Robert P. Russell in Writings of St. Augustine, vol. 1 (New York, 1948) (The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, vol. 5), pp. 239-332.
45. II.5.(14), pp. 289-90. Peter Brown comments that "The programme was not original. It was only posed in a particularly extreme form. Augustine's first requisite was discipline. To answer metaphysical questions and to contemplate 'such a God', the mind must receive a proper training, an eruditio." Augustine of Hippo, p. 121.
46. Book II.20.(54), p. 331. Augustine later regretted his

unreserved praise for Pythagoras in the Retractiones 1.3.3. See the note at the end of Russell's translation, p. 332.

47. II.11.(33)-(34), pp. 311-12.
48. "It [Reason] began with the ears, because they claimed as their own the very words from which it had fashioned grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric." II.14.(39) p. 316.
49. II.14.(39)-(41), pp. 316-318.
50. It is translated by Robert Catesby Taliaferro, in Writings of Saint Augustine vol. 2 (New York, 1947) (The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, vol. 4), pp. 167-379.
51. I.2.(2), p. 172. Translation from Taliaferro, who discusses his choice of "mensurate" to translate "modulari" in note 4, p. 172. Taliaferro finds connections between Augustine's treatment of music and that of Aristides Quintilianus, in the introduction to his translation, pp. 159-161. Peter Brown points out (p. 126) that treatises on metrics (in poetry) were common in Augustine's Milan; Manlius Theodorus, a Milanese whom Augustine knew, wrote one such. Augustine is unusual in relating his treatise on metrics so closely to the Pythagorean musical tradition.
52. See Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, p. 64. It is cited by Cassiodorus, Institutiones, II.5.2 among others. See Strunk, Source Readings, p. 88.
53. De musica, chh. 8-12, pp. 190-202.
54. Witness to Augustine's continuing importance in this regard is a passage from a treatise which otherwise has nothing to say about rhythm, and is concerned solely with pitch, the Scolica Enchiriades:

Whatever is delightful in song is brought about by number through the proportioned dimensions of sounds; whatever is excellent in rhythms, or in songs, or in any rhythmic movements you will, is effected wholly by number. Sounds pass quickly away, but numbers, which are obscured by the corporeal element in sounds and movements, remain. As St. Augustine says:

Thus reason has perceived that numbers govern and make perfect all that is in rhythms (called "numbers" in Latin) and in song itself; has examined them diligently; and has found them to be eternal and divine. . . . In this way,

then, all things present themselves in the mathematical disciplines as harmonious, as having to do with the immortal numbers which are apprehended by reflection and study, those which are perceived by the senses being mere shadows and images.

Strunk, Source Readings, pp. 137-38. The Latin can be found in Hans Schmid, ed., Musica et Scolica enchiriadis. The Augustine is from De ordine, II.14-15; pp. 316-318 in the Russell translation. The ellipsis is mine. Theories of number remained very important in poetic metrics throughout the Middle Ages; see J. Stevens, Words and Music, pp. 19-25. He discusses the most important Medieval treatises on poetics, with particular emphasis on Dante's De Vulgari Eloquentia.

55. See the work of Dorit Tanay on fourteenth-century music theory and science. Bower, in discussing the influence of Boethius, comments that:

The full development of a rational rhythmic notation by the Ars Nova and the Renaissance can be considered an application of Boethius' musical mathematics to the problem of musical rhythm. This is especially true of the fifteenth-century development of rhythmic proportions by such theorists as Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, Guilelemus Monachus, Tinctoris, and Gaffurius; for this development is nothing more than an application of the various species of inequality defined in The Principles of Music to temporal space similar to earlier theorists' application of these species of inequality to harmonic space (Boethius, p. 464).

See also Willi Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600, fifth edition, revised with commentary (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 145-7; and Richard Hoppin, Medieval Music (New York, 1978), p. 481.

56. Book II.xi, CS IV, p. 278.
57. See CS III, pp. 200-228, Tractatus practicae de musica mensurabili of 1408, one of the revisions of his work on Jean de Muris, esp. pp. 216-19. F. Alberto Gallo, "Prosdocimus de Beldemandis," New Grove 15, p. 308, comments:

In 1409 he compiled a Brevis summula proporcionum quantum ad musicam pertinet (CS iii, 258-61); in this work traditional commonplaces regarding intervallic proportions are expounded, although in other works he



applied the terminology and notation of mathematical proportions also to ratios between rhythmic values, thus placing himself among the pioneers of a new department of musical theory.

58. Seay paraphrases Ugolino as follows:

"The more a thing is divided into many parts, the more is known about its principles and causes."  
("....quanto magis res plures in partes dividitur, tanto magis de eius principiis et causis cognoscitur." III-Pro-57.) Thus mensural music may be considered a division of what has gone before. Since number is the root of all things, and number is seen in the proportions of measured music as well as in the proportions of the tones themselves and the intervals made by the combination of two tones, it follows that Book III is a discussion of measured music. Measured music, while still primarily practical in nature, is not completely so for it holds a middle path between the practical and the speculative. Not only can it be learned by the practitioner without the employment of reason, but it may also be explained and elaborated on by the speculator. ("Ipse enim theoricus modum, tempus et prolationem, alterationem, imperfectionem et perfectionem, et cetera, via speculationis intelligit et demonstrat quae practicus solum exercitio suo pronuntiat." III-Pro\*Jo-17.)

"Ugolino of Orvieto," pp. 149-50.

59. Johannes Tinctoris, Proportions in Music, transl. Albert Seay (Colorado Springs, 1979), p. 7, Book I, ch. V: "Concerning the multiplex type," "Concerning duple." Other mentions of Pythagorean proportions occur in I.VI: "Concerning the superparticular type":, "De sesquialtera" (p. 15; toward end of chapter); "De sesquitertia" (p. 16); and "De sesquioctava" (p. 17). Latin can be found in Johannes Tinctoris, Opera Theorica, CSM 22 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: AIM, 1975-78), vol. IIa, and in CS IV, pp. 153-177.
60. For example: "Sexquialtera idem est quod diatessaron aut epitritus proportio. Hinc instar ipsorum quoad id significatum diffinienda est." "Sesquialtera is a proportion which is the same as diapenthe or emiolia. Hence it is explained according to this meaning [i.e. as a proportion], just as they are." Dictionary, pp. 58-59. Square brackets are Parrish's. "Diapenthe" is of course pitch; "emiolia" is a rhythmic relationship of three to two.

61. See chapter 1 above, and Lippman, "Hellenic conceptions of harmony," p. 3.
62. See Otto von Simson, The Gothic Cathedral, pp. 21-50, and Rudolf Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (New York, 1971), pp. 101-154. Simson and Wittkower are not completely in agreement about the relative place of musical ratios in Gothic and Renaissance architecture, but both do demonstrate that they played a role, if the exact nature and extent of the role is not so clear. See Wittkower, pp. 159-60, Simson, pp. xvii, n. 3. Simson's discussion is also a very useful introduction to Augustine's De musica and De ordine.
63. Simson, The Gothic Cathedral, pp. 33-38; Wittkower, Architectural Principles pp. 7, 9, 23, 103, and 121.
64. The most famous example of a piece of music based on an architectural plan is Dufay's Nuper rosarum flores. Fallows comments in Dufay (London, 1982), p. 117, that "it has elicited more discussion than any other single piece between Sumer is icumen in and Monteverdi's Orfeo with the possible exception of the Caput Mass." The most thorough recent discussion is Charles W. Warren, "Brunelleschi's Dome and Dufay's Motet," MQ 44 (1973), pp. 92-105. I agree with Fallows that "Warren's figures on the proportions of the building seem open to discussion," (Dufay, p. 283, n. 46) and would go even further in doubting some of his parallels; but the idea that musical and architectural form have parallels I support. Frances Yates's work in The Art of Memory (Chicago, 1966), showing that the art of memory (and therefore almost any intellectual process) was conceived of in the Middle Ages and Renaissance as a method involving the creation in the mind of an architectural space, is also very suggestive in this connection.

### Chapter 3. Music and Politics in the Works of Dante Alighieri

Polyphony could also become part and parcel of political writers' idea of the state. For them, as for us, Cicero and Augustine's musical metaphors must have suggested that the perfect representation of a just state was a polyphonic composition. This is certainly the case in the works of Dante, both a political theorist, and as poet a musician (in the broad sense) as well.

#### De monarchia

Dante's De monarchia is a treatise on government very much in the tradition of Plato, Cicero and Augustine, though much narrower in focus. Written partly in response to a particular political situation, it is also a political philosophy.<sup>1</sup> In Book I Dante argues that peace can only be achieved through the unity of one world government. He uses many arguments to defend his views, and writes in the scholastic manner of logical deduction.<sup>2</sup> In chapter 15 he argues for a universal government by arguing for the necessary good of unity; in the process he invokes the Philosopher, Aristotle, and even Pythagoras: "Thus we see that at the root of what it means to be good is being one; and the root of what it means to be evil is being many. For this reason, as is explained in De simpliciter ente, Pythagoras in his system of relations places unity on the side of good and plurality on the side of evil."<sup>3</sup> Dante moves from this to a demonstration that peace, or concord, will

result from one world ruler.

Et quum concordia, in quantum huiusmodi, est quoddam bonum, manifestum est ipsam consistere in aliquo uno, tamquam in propria radice. Quae quidem radix apparebit, si natura vel ratio concordiae sumatur. Est enim concordia uniformis motus plurium voluntatum; in qua quidem ratione apparet, unitatem voluntatum, quae per uniformem motum datur intelligi, concordiae radicem esse, vel ipsam concordiam. Nam sicut plures glebas diceremus concordēs, propter condescendere omnes ad medium, et plures flammās propter coascendere omnes ad circumferentiam, si voluntarie hoc facerent; ita homines plures concordēs dicimus, propter simul moveri secundum velle ad unum, quod est formaliter in suis voluntatibus, sicut qualitas una formaliter in glebis, scilicet gravitas, et una in flammis, scilicet levitas. Nam virtus volitiva potentiā quaedam est; sed specie boni apprehensi, forma est eius, quae quidem forma, quemadmodum et aliae, una in se multiplicatur, secundum multiplicationem materiae recipientis, ut anima et numerus, et aliae formae compositioni contingentes.

His praemissis, propter declarationem adsumendae propositionis ad propositum, sic arguatur. Omnis concordia dependet ab unitate quae est in voluntatibus; genus humanum optime se habens est quaedam concordia. Nam sicut unus homo optime se habens, et quantum ad animam, et quantum ad corpus, est concordia quaedam, et similiter domus, civitas, et regnum; sic totum genus humanum. Ergo genus humanum optime se habens, ab unitate quae est in voluntatibus dependet. Sed hoc esse non potest, nisi sit voluntas una, domina et regulatrix omnium aliarum in unum.

And since concord is essentially a good, it is clear that at its root there must be some kind of unity; what this root is will become evident if we examine the nature and ground of concord. Now concord is a uniform movement of many wills; in this definition we see that the uniform movement is due to the union of wills, and that this union is the root and very being of concord. For example, we would say that a number of clods of earth would all agree in falling toward the center and that they fell "in concord," if they did so voluntarily, and similarly flames would agree in rising to the circumference. So we speak of a number of men as being in concord when in moving together toward a single goal their wills are formally united; that is, the form of unity is in their wills, just as the quality of gravity is formally in the clods, and levity in the flames. For the ability to will is a kind of power, but the form of the will is the idea of an apprehended

good. This form, like any other form (such as soul or number) is in itself a unity, but is multiplied in the various things with which it is compounded.

With this in mind we can now proceed to our argument in behalf of our propositions, as follows: All concord depends on a unity in wills; the best state of mankind is a kind of concord, for as a man is in excellent health when he enjoys concord in soul and body, and similarly a family, city, or state, so mankind as a whole. Therefore the well-being of mankind depends on the unity of wills. But this is possible only if there is a single, dominant will which directs all others toward unity.<sup>4</sup>

The concord of soul and body that results in good health is musica humana; and the concord of a "city or state" is the musical concord or harmony described by Cicero and Augustine. Although music is never mentioned in the passage explicitly, it is present everywhere implicitly. The invocation of Pythagoras alerts us to musical references, and the extended discussion of concord and its definition reinforces a musical understanding of the passage.

For the sake of his argument, of establishing that world monarchy is the preferable form of government, Dante emphasizes unity over difference in this passage. It could be argued that concordia refers not to polyphony here, but to unison singing, where many different singers come together to sing a single tune with a single voice. But Dante's images -- clods of earth, flames -- are individualized, and his definition of concord involves many acting together simultaneously, not successively, so it is possible that he is referring to polyphony. A polyphonic interpretation is also born out by the more explicit references to polyphonic music and the emphasis on the importance of ordered diversity for good government in the Divine Comedy.

### The Divine Comedy

Music and the state are recurrent themes in the whole Commedia, but they are particularly important in the Paradiso. There music is ubiquitous, and only there do we find descriptions of polyphonic music.<sup>5</sup> There also can be found Dante's greatest descriptions of good government, since his Paradise included the realization of the perfect world government, the "Monarchia," and he seems to have conceived of it in musical terms. Ordered diversity -- polyphony, even polytextuality -- is presented again and again as an essential component of harmony.<sup>6</sup>

In canto VI the emperor Justinian, the great codifier of Roman law,<sup>7</sup> tells Dante the history of the eagle that is the symbol of the Roman Empire. Justinian is in the second sphere, that of Mercury (or "service marred by ambition"<sup>8</sup>). He reflects on the appropriateness of his placement in that heaven,<sup>9</sup> and goes on to compare the variety of placement in the heavens with the music of "diverse voices" -- surely the different parts in a polyphonic composition.<sup>10</sup>

Diverse voci fanno dolci note;  
 così diversi scanni in nostra vita  
 rendono dolce armonia tra queste rote. (124-6)

Diverse voices make sweet music,  
 so diverse ranks in our life  
 render sweet harmony among these wheels.

This simile recalls the traditional images of music of the spheres.<sup>11</sup> Given the speaker, Justinian, and thus the imperial context, the "diversi scanni" are also reminiscent of Cicero's "upper, middle, and lower classes," the various ordines of society.<sup>12</sup>

Dante makes the civic image even clearer in Canto VIII of the Paradiso, where he talks to Charles Martel in the circle of Venus (or "love marred by wantonness"<sup>13</sup>). In explaining to Dante how and why members of the same family are often very different, Martel asserts the Aristotelian doctrine of the necessity for diversity in the state:

Ond'elli ancora: "Or dî: sarebbe il peggio  
per l'uomo in terra, se non fosse cive?"  
"Sì" rispuos' io; "e qui ragion non cheggio."  
"E può elli esser, se giù non si vive  
diversamente per diversi office?  
Non, se'l maestro vostro ben vi scrive." (114-120)

He continued therefore: "Now tell me, would it be worse  
for man on earth if he were not a citizen?"  
"Yes," I replied "and here I ask no proof."  
"And can he be unless men below  
live in diverse ways for diverse tasks?  
Not if your master [Aristotle] writes well of this."

There is no explicit reference to music here, though the sentiment recalls Cicero's once again. Nevertheless the context of the canto as a whole is musical and polyphonic. The various motions of the souls in the sphere of Venus are compared to the different voices of a polyphonic composition:

E come in fiamma favilla si vede,  
e come in voce voce si discerne,  
quand'una è ferma e l'altra va e riede,  
vid'io in essa luce altre lucerne  
muoversi in giro più e men correnti,  
al modo, credo, di lor viste eterne. (16-21)

And as within a flame a spark is seen,  
and within a voice a voice is distinguished  
when one holds the note and the other comes and goes,  
so I saw within that light other lights  
in circling movement swifter and slower,  
in the measure, as I believe, of their eternal vision.

The "voce . . . ferma" here is a reference to the technical musical term "cantus firmus." The polyphonic texture referred to is therefore that of organum purum or of any motet with a sustained tenor, where one or more voices move rapidly and another moves very slowly, sustaining single pitches.<sup>14</sup> Unanimity is not enough for Dante; the sweetest concord, the most effective state, is that which is a product of diversity. Dante writes in a culture with polyphony, even polytextuality, and his concept of divine and civic harmony is a polyphonic one.

Cantos X-XIV are concerned with the sphere of the Sun, the sphere of wisdom and of the doctors of the church, or theologians. A variety of musical images occur here. In canto X Dante enters the sphere and sees the shining spirits singing and dancing in a circle around him.<sup>15</sup> They pause briefly, while Thomas Aquinas introduces himself and the other members of the circle, including Gratian (the twelfth-century author of the Concordantia discordantium canonum or Decretum Gratiani, an ordering of canon law that demonstrated the harmony between civil and ecclesiastical law<sup>16</sup>), Solomon (king and author of the Song of Solomon and the Wisdom of Solomon), and Boethius. These are men concerned with musical harmony, with concord of the soul and the state, or both. The spirits resume their dance and song, now described as follows:

Indi, come orologio che ne chiami  
 nell'ora che la sposa di Dio surge  
 a mattinar lo sposo perchè l'ami,  
 che l'una parte l'altra tira e urge,  
 tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota,  
 che'l ben disposto spirto d'amor turge;  
 così vid'io la gloriosa rota  
 muoversi e render voce a voce in tempra



ed in dolcezza ch'esser non pò nota  
se non colà dove gioir s'insempra. (139-148)

Then, like a clock that calls us  
at the hour when the bride of God rises  
to sing matins to the Bridegroom that he may love her,  
when one part draws or drives another,  
sounding the the chime with notes so sweet  
that the well-ordered spirit swells with love,  
so I saw the glorious wheel  
move and render voice to voice with harmony  
and sweetness that cannot be known  
but there where joy becomes eternal.

There are multiple musical references in this passage. The clock is the keeper of time; with pitch it is the other great proportional ordering force in music, especially in measured, polyphonic music. The works of the clock in his image -- "che l'una parte l'altra tira e urge" (l. 142) ("when one part draws or drives another") -- are like the voices in polyphonic music, where voice calls to voice in harmony.<sup>17</sup> The "tin tin" of the bell wakes the monks, that they may sing matins in the middle of the night;<sup>18</sup> but the music of the bell is also the troubadour's alba or dawn song, warning his love that they must part.<sup>19</sup> The image of musica mundana is evoked by the wheel within a wheel or sphere of the sun. Benvenuto da Imola, one of the fourteenth-century commentators on Dante, glosses "in tempra" as "proportionaliter conformare voces eorum in cantu," "proportionately to coordinate their voices in song;" and Dante enriches his image here by recognizing the role of proportion both in pitch (the sound of bell and the song of the doctors) and in time (the works of the clock) in the creation of harmonious concord.<sup>20</sup> The proportionate creation of concord in life and in Paradise of these doctors of the church is represented

by their song and dance.<sup>21</sup>

In canto XI Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, tells of St. Francis's wedding to Poverty. In canto XII another circle of theologians appears, lead by St. Francis. The lights making up both the circles dance and sing together.

Sì tosto come l'ultima parola  
 la benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,  
 a rotar cominciò la santa mola  
 e nel suo giro tutta non si volse  
 prima ch'un'altra di cerchio la chiuse,  
 e moto a moto e canto a canto colse;  
 canto che tanto vince nostre muse,  
 nostre serene in quelle dolci tube,  
 quanto primo splendor quel ch'e' refuse.  
 Come si volgon per tenera nube  
 due archi paralleli e concolori  
 . . .  
 così di quelle sempiterne rose  
 volgiensi circa noi le due ghirlande,  
 e sì l'estrema all'intima rispose. (1-11, 19-21)

As soon as the blessed flame  
 took up the last word  
 the holy millstone began to turn,  
 and it had not made a full circle  
 before another enclosed it round  
 and matched motion with motion and song with song,  
 song which as far surpassed our Muses  
 and our Sirens in those sweet pipes  
 as a first splendour its reflection.  
 As two bows parallel and of like colours  
 bend through thin cloud  
 . . .  
 thus the two wreaths of those eternal roses  
 circled round us and  
 thus the farther answered to the nearer.

Here we have two circles, one lead by a Dominican, the other by a Franciscan; they will necessarily sing different songs, but in Paradise those songs will be concordant, they will combine to create a richer whole.<sup>22</sup> St. Francis then goes on in complementary fashion to tell of

the life of St. Dominic.

In cantos XIII and XIV the subject of the text of the music sung by the two circles of theologians is described:

Lì si cantò non Bacco, non Peana,  
ma tre persone in divina natura,  
ed in una persona essa e l'umana. (XIII.25-7)

There they sang, not Bacchus and no Paean,  
but three Persons in the divine nature,  
and in one Person that nature and the human.

Quell'uno e due e tre che sempre vive  
e regna sempre in tre e'n due e'n uno,  
non circunscriitto, e tutto circunscrive,  
tre volte era cantato da ciascuno  
di quelli spirti con tal melodia,  
ch'ad agni merto sarà giusto muno. (XIV.28-33)

That One and Two and Three who ever lives  
and ever reigns in Three and in Two and in One  
and uncircumscribed circumscribes all,  
was sung three times by every one  
of these spirits in such a strain  
as would be fit reward for every merit.

They sing of the wonder of the trinity, the greatest of the Christian mysteries and concordant discords. Just as Dante is about to leave he glimpses a third circle of lights in the distance, "si come al salir di prima sera / comincian per lo ciel nove parvenze, / si che la vista pare e non par vera" ("just as on the approach of evening new lights begin to show through the sky so that the sight seems and seems not real"). Whatever else it may represent, a third part to the composition sung by the lights that make up the circles provides for a musical representation of the threefold unity of the trinity.<sup>23</sup>

As Dante rises to the next sphere, that of Mars, of courage and warriors, he is met again by singing lights, this time arranged in a

cross within a circle. Their music is especially moving, even though he does not completely understand it.

E come giga e arpa, in tempra tesa  
 di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno  
 a tal da cui la nota non è intesa,  
 così da' lumi che lì m'apparinno  
 s'accogliea per la croce una melode  
 che mi rapiva, senza intender l'inno.  
 Ben m'accors' io ch'elli era d'alte lode,  
 però ch'a me venia 'Resurgi' e 'Vinci'  
 come a colui che non intende e ode.  
 Io m'innamorava tanto quinci,  
 che 'nfino a lì non fu alcuna cosa  
 che me legasse con sì dolci vinci. (XIV.118-129)

And as viol and harp strung with many chords [i.e. strings]  
 in harmony chime sweetly  
 for one who does not catch the tune [or words],  
 so from the lights that appeared to me  
 there a melody gathered through the cross  
 which held me rapt though I did not follow the hymn.  
 I perceived, indeed, that it was of high praises,  
 for there came to me "Arise" and "Conquer,"  
 as one hears without understanding;  
 by which I was so moved to love  
 that till then nothing  
 had bound me with so sweet a chain.

The first line of this passage, "E come giga ed arpa," recalls the Cicero passage once again, which begins "Ut enim in fidibus aut tibiis." Both passages use the harmony of different instrumental timbres as a simile for concord. The "dolce tintinno" of the second line recalls the bell at the end of canto X (line 143), the circle of the theologians. And overall this is an especially apt description of many listeners' perception of polyphonic and especially polytextual music. "La nota" probably refers to the words in this context, not, as Sinclair translates it, "the tune."<sup>24</sup> Dante cannot understand the whole text, and perhaps cannot follow any one individual part, but individual

words come forth out of the texture and reveal what the basic import of the text is, and the music is nevertheless the most moving thing that he has yet experienced in his entire journey. Just as with the third circle of lights in the sphere of the sun, it may be that the sense that the meaning is just beyond his comprehension contributes to its allure and its sweetness.<sup>25</sup>

The greatest and most extensive discussion of good government appears in the section about the sixth sphere of heaven, that of rulers, of justice, and of Jupiter, the ruler of the gods, in cantos XVIII-XX of the Paradiso. There concord, "the uniform movement of many wills," is made explicitly musical, and explicitly polyphonic, even polytextual.

In canto XVIII, the souls of that sphere, just rulers of the world (including Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, and Charlemagne), appear as singing stars. They form themselves into a constellation which spells out a quote from the beginning of the Wisdom of Solomon (I.i) "Diligite iustitiam, qui iudicatis terram," ("Love justice, ye that rule the earth"); the final M, which stands for "Monarchia"<sup>26</sup> then turns into first a lily, symbol of France and of the Guelf party, and then into an eagle, the symbol of the Roman empire, of the Holy Roman empire, and of Dante's dream of a world government. This is the same eagle described by Justinian in canto VI, but now in its ultimate, idealized form, in which all the nations of the world are included and harmonized.<sup>27</sup>

In canto XIX the eagle, "made by the congregated souls" ("facevan l'anime conserte" [line 3]) of rulers speaks to Dante, who emphasizes

that many voices combine to make one:

ch'io vidi e anche udi' parlar lo rostro,  
e sonar nella voce e 'io' e 'mio',  
quand'era nell concetto 'noi' e 'nostro'. (10-12)

For I saw and I heard the beak talk  
and utter with its voice 'I' and 'mine'  
when its meaning was 'we' and 'ours'.

Così un sol calor di molte brage  
si fa sentir, come di molti amori  
usciva solo un suon di quella image. (19-21)

Thus is felt a single glow  
from many brands, as from that image  
came forth a single sound of many loves.

che l'ali  
movea sospinte da tanti consigli.  
Roteando cantava, e dicea: "Quali  
son le mie note a te, cho non le 'ntendi,  
tal è il giudicio eterno a voi mortali." (95-99)

...it moved the wings  
that were impelled by so many counsels.  
Wheeling, it sang, then spoke: "As  
are my notes to thee who canst not follow them,  
such is the Eternal Judgment to you mortals."

Thus the eagle, the symbol of good government, makes a single,  
unified utterance that nonetheless has its origins in the songs of many  
different voices, just as a polyphonic piece is derived from several  
different parts. In canto XX the eagle stops singing, and the lights  
(souls, rulers) that it is made up of begin to sing individually.

Quando colui che tutto 'l mondo alluma  
de l'emisperio nostro sì discende,  
che 'l giorno d'ogni parte si consuma,  
lo ciel, che sol de lui prima s'accende,  
subitamente si rifà parvente  
per molte luci, in che una risplende;

e questo atto del ciel mi venne a mente,  
come 'l segno del mondo e de' suoi duci  
nel benedetto rostro fu tacente;  
però che tutte quelle vive luci,  
vie più lucendo, cominciaron canti  
da mia memoria labili e caduci. (1-12)

When he that lightens all the world  
sinks from our hemisphere  
so far that day is spent on every side,  
the sky, which before was kindled by him alone,  
suddenly shows itself again  
with many lights in which one shines;  
and this change in the sky came to my mind  
when the standard of the world and of its chiefs  
was silent in the blessed beak.  
For all those living lights,  
shining still more brightly, began songs  
that slip and fall from my memory.

The stars appeared to Dante individually, just as one voice, then another, emerges from the texture of a polyphonic piece; the light of the sun is the greater comprehension of the voices' unity, of their combination into one complete and various composition. The image of the appearance of the stars in the evening is the same as that used to describe the appearance of the third circle of theologians, the third part in the song of the trinity, in the sphere of the sun; and Dante's lack of comprehension recalls the music of the singing cross in the sphere of Mars. Together, cantos XIV and XX reveal to us something about Dante's perception of complex musical textures; total comprehension of text or music is not necessary for appreciation. He describes in these passages the sublime musical experience of the inexpressible. This description of the musical experience is also a way of describing the apprehension of God: God's will is not comprehensible, but nevertheless it is possible to believe in it and

appreciate it.<sup>28</sup> The eagle then speaks again with a single voice,<sup>29</sup> but his eye is now made up of the six greatest rulers (l. 36), and implicitly it is they who speak through his beak. David is the pupil of the eye -- "Colui che luche in mezzo per pupilla, / fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo" (he that shines in the middle for pupil was the singer of the Holy Ghost) (37-8) -- the musician king has precedence because he is a musician. This is Augustine's David, the ruler of the earthly Jerusalem which is the shadow of the heavenly Jerusalem that Dante is describing, the "man skilled in songs, who loved musical harmony . . . for a purpose whereby he served his God." The other rulers -- Trajan, Hezekiah, Constantine, William the Good, and the Trojan Ripheus -- come from many different eras and nations and speak different languages. Here all speak together, a uniform movement of many wills, a concordant discord, in the mouth of the Eagle.<sup>30</sup> The music they make is ineffably beautiful:

quale allodetta che 'n aere si spazia  
 prima cantando, e poi tace contenta  
 dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia. (74-6)

like the lark that soars in the air,  
 first singing, then silent, content  
 with the last sweetness that satiates it.<sup>31</sup> (73-5)

The music produced by more than one part, polyphony, is sweeter than one voice alone, as the last musical metaphor makes clear:

. . . come a buon cantor buon citarista  
 fa sequitar lo guizzo della corda,  
 in che più di piacer lo canto acquista. (142-4)

. . . as a good lutanist makes the trembling



string accompany a good singer,  
by which the song gains more sweetness.<sup>32</sup>

Once again Dante can understand the meaning of the whole, without the confusion of individual voices; but they all sound nevertheless. Sinclair says about this canto (p. 298): "The imagery of music -- the songs of the living lights, the lute, the pipe, the lark, the singer and his accompaniment -- is especially prominent in this canto, the last of the three on the sphere of Jupiter, as if for Dante, . . . nothing but music could express the consummation of earthly justice which 'his heart awaited.'" And in fact Dante's eagle is the symbol of justice, of good government, precisely because in him all people speak together as one; their individuality is maintained, they can still speak separately, but they speak to a single purpose. Such is Dante's "concord."

Ambrogio Lorenzetti's "Triumph of Good Government"

Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco in the Sala di Guerra e di Pace of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (1338-9) provides an excellent visual parallel to many of the ideas we have found in Dante and earlier writers. One wall depicts an allegory of good government.<sup>33</sup> The picture is dominated on the right hand side by a large, crowned and enthroned, male figure, Ben Comun, or Good Government, surrounded by virtues. Above his head are the theological virtues, with Charity directly above; on either side are the cardinal virtues and two other figures (Peace and Magnanimity). Left of him (moving left to right) are Peace, Fortitude, and Prudence; right of him are Magnanimity (daughter

of Fortitude), Temperance, and on the far right, Justice. On the left hand side is another enthroned figure, a female figure of Justice. Just above her head there is written "Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram" ("Choose justice, ye who rule the earth" -- Wisdom of Solomon, 1:1), the same line spelled out by the stars in Paradiso XVIII, out of which the eagle of world government emerges in the next canto.

Justitia raises her eyes to a winged figure of Wisdom ("Sapientia"). Wisdom holds a scale which rests on Justice's head; Justice's thumbs rest in the pans, and in each pan is a small angel, one labeled "distributive" and the other "commutative." From each pan comes a string, held by a figure of Concordia, who is seated in a chair below Justice with a carpenter's plane on her lap; the strings are then passed on through the twenty-four magistrates and up to the figure of Ben Comun.

The composition of the picture suggests several parallels. The Wisdom/Justice/Concord axis on the left complements the Charity/Ben Comun axis on the right; they are counterparts or complementary structures. Wisdom is necessary for justice, as we learn from the quotation above Justice's head, and as Solomon realized when he requested wisdom from God, so that he could rule and judge his people wisely (I [III] Kings 3:5-14, II Chronicles 1:7-12). Justice results in Concord, just as in it did in Dante's vision. The dependence of Ben Comun on Justice is depicted by means of the strings, which travel from the scales of Justice to Ben Comun. In order to get there, however, the individual strings of the two kinds of justice are united in the hands

of Concord, who holds the strings (chordae) of Justice as well as the hearts and minds (cordes) of the people. She combines the different elements into one concordant rope, which is held by the Sienese administrators of justice and results in Good Government, Ben Comun. Justice appears twice in the fresco: as the enthroned figure on the left and as one of the cardinal virtues on the far right. She is thus primary to Good Government, because she frames the whole composition. Cicero claimed that "concord can never be brought about without the aid of justice"; here we have an illustration of that very point -- when concord has been brought about, good government results. On another wall of the chamber is a scene representing the effects of good government in the city and countryside. At the center of the city scene there is a circle of dancing and singing maidens, from which the light in the painting emanates. The abstract figures of Justice and Concord are represented best in the picture of idealized everyday life as music; once again musical concord represents, for Lorenzetti and the Sienese, the peace and happiness of the ideal existence.

### Conclusion

As we have seen, associations between concepts of music and politics, especially concepts of the well-ordered state or good government, are ancient and distinguished. Discordia concors, which has its roots in Pythagorean mathematics, was a concept equally fundamental to music and to the just state. The very vocabulary used to describe them was shared. The concept of ethos gave music a

potentially normative force: it could be used to influence individuals, citizens, and crowds, and thus the workings of the state. Medieval writers knew and commented on many of the ancient texts, and the concept of discordia concors lived on into the Renaissance in writings on music and on politics.

With the advent of polyphony, music became an even more intuitively appropriate image for the just state. Simultaneities were now part of the musical language, so that definitions of consonance had a new vividness. Old texts took on a new life, as they were read and interpreted in light of contemporary musical culture. Harmony in polyphony is achieved only through controlled progressions of simultaneous intervals ordered in time, and units of time could be governed by the same ratios and proportions as were intervals. Temporal structures could reconcile dissimilar elements in polyphony just as did pitch structures.

Dante uses musical metaphors for an ordered cosmos and for good government again and again in the Paradiso. Images of polyphonic music are particularly important for him because of his insistence on Aristotelian diversity in the state. The paradoxical harmonious reconciliation of that diversity is one of the defining characteristics of the just state and the ordered cosmos. Dante's metaphors and similes also give us some insight into the nature of the musical experience in the late Middle Ages.

For the greatest minds in the western tradition music and good government are reflections of each other. The existence, therefore, of

pieces of music in praise of the just state -- motets with laudatory political texts for rulers and institutions -- should come as no surprise. Some knowledge of this tradition of thought provides insight into the contemporary experience of such motets, and is necessary for interpretation of their meaning. Ultimately these insights will contribute to our experience of the motets.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Walter Ullmann, Medieval Political Thought (Peregrine Books, 1975 [first issued 1965]) p. 189.
2. Even Averroist, according to Quentin Skinner, in The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, vol. 1: The Renaissance (Cambridge, 1978), p. 17.
3. Translation from Dante Alighieri, On World-Government (De Monarchia) transl. Herbert W. Schneider, with introduction by Dino Bigongiari (Indianapolis, 1949) pp. 21. I cite the Latin from Dante Alighieri, De monarchia, the Oxford text ed. Dr. E. Moore, with introduction by W.H.V. Reade (Oxford, 1916), p. 349, I.xv.13-19: "Unde fit quod unum esse videtur esse radix eius quod est esse bonum; et multa esse, eius quod est esse malum. Quare Pythagoras in correlationibus suis, ex parte boni ponebat unum; ex parte vero mali plura, ut patet in primo eorum quae de simpliciter Ente."
4. Schneider translation, pp. 21-2. Moore ed., pp. 349-50, I.xv.27-69.
5. For discussions of polyphony in the Divine Comedy, see Arnaldo Bonaventura, Dante e la Musica (Livorno, 1904), ch. IX, "I canti polifonici," pp. 122-130, and Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres ch. VII, "Late Medieval Writings and Dante's Paradise," esp. pp. 125-129, and appendix III, "The Music in Dante's Cosmos," pp. 352-356. The treatment of music in the book is somewhat more developed than in Meyer-Baer's earlier article, "Music in Dante's Divina Commedia," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1966), pp. 615-627. Meyer-Baer claims in both Music of the Spheres (p. 127) and "The Music in Dante's Cosmos" (p. 614) that music is heard only in Paradise (and in the earthly paradise at the end of Purgatorio). This is something of an exaggeration, as a quick examination of the "Versi e luoghi di tutte lo opere di Dante relativi alla musica" that appears at the end of Bonaventura (pp. 293-322) will reveal. Bonaventura finds descriptions of polyphony only in the Paradiso, cantos VIII, X, and XXVIII. For a more general discussion of Dante's philosophy and psychology of music, and on the relation between words and music, see John Stevens, "Dante and Music," Italian Studies 23 (1968), pp. 1-18, and idem, Words and Music, pp. 19-22, 386-9, 395-6, 497-8.
6. Texts and translations quoted below are from Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, with translation and comment by John D. Sinclair

(Oxford, 1939; reprinted 1979) III, "Paradiso" (henceforth Sinclair). Sinclair's translation is in prose, without line breaks; I have broken it into lines for ease of comparison with the Italian. I have also consulted the translation and commentary by Charles S. Singleton (Princeton, 1975; henceforth Singleton), and the commentary by William W. Vernon, Readings on the Paradiso of Dante, Chiefly Based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, 2nd edition (London, 1909), 2 vols.

I will not discuss here canto II, concerning the spots on the moon; suffice it to say that Beatrice teaches Dante on the arrival in Paradise that the spots on the moon are the result of diversity of quality rather than of quantity, such as density or rarity; and that this is a function of divine order. See Singleton, III.2, pp. 50-63, especially p. 51 and p. 63.

7. His Corpus iuris civilis was compiled between 533 and 556 and was extensively studied and glossed in the Middle Ages. See Hermann Kantorowicz, "Note on the Development of the Gloss to the Justinian and the Canon Law," in Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Notre Dame, 1964; first published 1940 and revised 1951), pp. 52-5.
8. Sinclair's phrase, pp. 15 and 75.
- 9.

Ma nel commensurar di nostri gaggi  
col merto è parte di nostra letizia,  
perchè non li vedem minor nè maggi.  
Quindi addolcisce la viva giustizia  
in noi l'affetto sì, che non si puote  
torcer già mai ad alcuna nequizia. (118-123)

But in the measuring of our reward  
with our desert lies part of our happiness,  
for we see it to be neither less nor more;  
thus the Living Justice sweetens  
our affections so that they  
can never be warped to any evil.

10. Bonaventura (Dante e la Musica, pp. 117-18) thinks this passage describes unison singing, but also mentions a study by Raffaele Valensise, La forma del suono secondo l'Alighieri (Napoli, Parisini, 1900) that suggests a polyphonic interpretation.
11. Discussed by Beatrice in Paradiso I, 78 and 103-41.
12. Justinian leaves Dante singing a Hosanna and dancing away with the other spirits. The Hosanna includes both Latin and Hebrew

words, possibly as a way of bringing together the traditions of Jerusalem and Rome. See Sinclair, p. 113, and Meyer-Baer, The Music of the Spheres, p. 353.

13. Sinclair's description, p. 116.
14. Everyone agrees that this is a description of polyphony; see Bonaventura, Dante e la Musica, pp. 123-4; Meyer-Baer, The Music of the Spheres, p. 353; Sinclair, p. 126, n. 2, and Joseph Anthony Mazzeo in the sixth chapter of his Structure and Thought in the Paradiso, "Dante's Sun Symbolism and the Visions of the Blessed" (Ithaca, 1958), p. 154.
15. They are compared to women dancing a round dance:

Poi, sì cantando, quelli ardenti soli  
si fuor girati intorno a noi tre volte,  
come stelle vicine a' fermi poli,  
donne mi parver non da ballo sciolte,  
ma che s'arrestin tacite, ascoltando  
fin che le nove note hanno ricolte. (76-81)

When, singing thus, these burning suns  
had circled round us three times,  
like stars near the steadfast poles,  
they appeared to me like ladies not freed from the dance,  
but pausing in silence and listening  
till they have caught the new strain.

Vernon, Readings on the Paradiso vol. I, p. 349, presents an analysis of this dance in relation to the fourteenth-century ballata, based on the commentary of Tommaso Casini. For more on trecento ballate, see Howard Mayer Brown, "Fantasia on a Theme by Boccaccio," Early Music 5 (1977), pp. 324-339.

16. The Decretum is the ecclesiastical parallel to Justinian's Corpus iuris civilis. See the note by H. Kantorowicz cited above in relation to Justinian, in Smalley, The Study of the Bible, p. 55, and Vernon, Readings on the Paradiso vol. I, p. 353.
17. Bonaventura, Dante e la Musica, pp. 126-7, finds that the passage suggests imitative or canonic textures.
18. Vernon, Readings on the Paradiso vol. I, p. 363, comments that "Benvenuto [da Imola], in genuine admiration of this appropriate comparison, remarks that, as those learned doctors were in the habit of rising in the night hours to pursue their studies, so did holy men rise to recite the night Offices of the Church; the more so, that it is in the night that the mind can turn more readily to meditation and contemplation."



19. Bonaventura, Dante e la Musica, pp. 124-5.
20. This gloss is cited in Vernon, Readings on the Paradiso vol. I, p. 363, and Bonaventura, Dante e la Musica, p. 126. Spitzer discusses the relation of the "temperare" cluster of words with the "concordia" cluster at some length in chapter III, pp. 64-79.
21. Kathi Meyer-Baer comments (The Music of the Spheres, pp. 130-132) that it is only in the fourteenth century, that is contemporary with or after Dante, that figures of angels or blessed souls dancing enter Christian iconography as a way of representing paradise. She mentions the particularly famous representation of women dancing in a circle that appears in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Good Government (discussed below) in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. In this fresco Dante's simile for the doctors of the church of women dancing in a circle seems to be associated explicitly with good government, with the achievement of celestial harmony on earth.
22. Vernon (Readings on the Paradiso vol. I, p. 394) suggests that the circles echo each other, but there is nothing to support such a reading, and it seems more likely that the two orders would have different, but complementary parts.
23. Singleton (III.2, p. 246, n. 74-6) says that the third circle is a way of celebrating the trinity; the third circle is the Holy Ghost. Sinclair (p. 210) associates it with the knowledge of God and the prophecies of Joachim, last member of the second circle.
24. See Meyer-Baer, "Music in Dante's Divina Commedia," pp. 615-16, for a discussion of the various meanings of the word "nota" in the comedy; when used with another word referring more explicitly to pitch it usually refers to the text.
25. The article by Valensise cited by Bonaventura (Dante e la Musica, pp. 116-119), and mentioned above shows that the positive quality Dante most often attributes to music is sweetness, "dolcezza." Bonaventura agrees, and cites passages to support the claim. Valensise thinks, however, that "dolcezza" results from the harmony of several voices, i.e. polyphony, while Bonaventura disagrees. I think that there could be something in Valensise's argument, but it would be difficult to prove either way. Meyer-Baer (The Music of the Spheres, p. 354) mentions this as a passage suggesting polyphonic music.
26. Sinclair, p. 266
27. Justinian had explicitly condemned the strife between Guelfs and Ghibellines, and refers to their respective misuses of their

standards, lily and eagle respectively, in his history of the eagle in canto VI, lines 103-111. See Sinclair, p. 94, n. 17. Mazzeo explains the symbolism of the eagle in "Dante's Sun Symbolism and the Visions of the Blessed," p. 160, as follows:

The eagle shows how the Guelph lily must dissolve and its component units be voluntarily absorbed as parts of the imperial eagle, a process which Dante believed to be under way although not yet completed. Yet in eternity it is somehow complete, and history moves inexorably toward its realization. That the association of all the smaller states in one universal empire is to be such that it will preserve the individual character and liberty of its members is suggested when the individual souls constituting the eagle each breaks into its own particular song of divine love (XX, 10-12).

Although the eagle of justice is "the banner that made the Romans revered to the world" (XIX, 101-102) and "the ensign of the world and its chiefs" (XX, 8), it tells of that mysterious divine justice of which Roman justice is but a part and temporal analogue, a truth symbolized by the eagle wheeling to the notes of a mysterious and incomprehensible song (XIX, 97-99). The myriad souls who constitute it usually speak and sing and wheel as one, however, manifesting that perfect harmony of many wills in one perfect willing of a perfect good which is what all earthly justice aspires to but cannot achieve. . . . Here is the apotheosis of the imperial ideal . . . , the transcendental eagle whose earthly flight recounted by Justinian (VI) gave the world all it ever knew of justice.

28. My favorite expression of this mystery is in canto XIX:

Però nella giustizia sempiterna  
la vista che riceve il vostro mondo,  
com'occhio per lo mare, entro s' interna;  
che, ben che dalla proda veggia il fondo,  
in pelago nol vede; e nondimeno  
è li, ma cela lui l'esser profondo. (58-63)

Therefore the sight that is granted to your world  
penetrates within the Eternal Justice  
as the eye into the sea;  
for though from the shore it sees the bottom  
in the open sea it does not, and yet  
the bottom is there but the depth conceals it.

Dante refers to this simile in canto XX, lines 70-72, and to the problem of belief without demonstration lines 88-94.

29.

Poscia che i cari e lucidi lapilli  
ond'io vidi ingemmato il sesto lume  
puser silenzio alli angelici squilli,  
udir mi parve un mormorar di fiume  
che scende chiaro giù di pietra in pietra,  
mostrando l' ubertà del suo cacume.  
E come suono al collo della cetra  
prende sua forma, e sì com'al pertugio  
della sampogna vento che penetra,  
così, rimosso d'aspettare indugio,  
quel mormorar dell'aguglia salissi  
su per lo collo, come fosse bugio.  
Fecesi voce quivi, e quindi uscissi  
per lo suo becco in forma di parole,  
quali aspettava il core, ov' io le scrissi. (XX.16-30)

After the bright and precious jewels  
with which I saw the sixth light gemmed  
had made silence in their angelic chimes,  
I seemed to hear the murmur of a stream  
that fell limpid from rock to rock,  
showing the abundance of its mountain source;  
and as the sound takes its form  
at the neck of the lute and the wind  
at the vent of the pipe it fills,  
so, keeping me waiting no longer,  
that murmur of the Eagle rose up  
through the neck as if it were hollow.  
There it became a voice that came forth thence  
by the beak in the form of words  
such as my heart, where I wrote them down, awaited.

30. The idea that this passage refers to polyphony, and even polytextuality, originates with Meyer-Baer, The Music of the Spheres, p. 355, and less explicitly in "Music in Dante's *Divina Commedia*," p. 626. Bonaventura thinks that it is unison singing (Dante e la Musica, pp. 106-109).
31. It is well known that this line is a reference to the troubadour song by Bernart de Ventadorn, "Can vei la lauzeta mover," the text and translation of which can be found in Goldin, pp. 144-9, and with the various melodic versions in Hendrik van der Werf, The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouveres: A Study of the

Melodies and their Relation to the Poems (Utrecht, 1972), pp. 90-95. See Singleton, III.2, p. 338.

32. The image of the sympathetic string has a small but significant place in writings on the power of music. Gary Tomlinson mentions it in "Ficino's Musical Magic in the Sixteenth Century," paper given at the Vancouver meeting of the American Musicological Society, November 9, 1985; and D. P. Walker mentions it in Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance, p. 9.
33. This discussion is based in part on a lecture given by Loren Partridge for a class he gave at U.C. Berkeley in 1982, and in part on the discussion in Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, 1957), pp. 112-113; the fresco is reproduced in the same book as figure 18. Kantorowicz mentions that Justice and Concord are often associated by the medieval jurists.

## Part II

## The Motet in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries

Chapter 4. Local Motet Traditions in the Fourteenth Century

## Introduction

In order to understand the phenomenon of the laudatory political motet in the early quattrocento we must look at it in the context of the development of the motet as a genre. What is its relation to previous national traditions of motet composition, and to other contemporary types of motets? Genre is a tricky issue; modern scholars tend to define it in terms of clearly describable formal and structural musical features because we need some such concept of genre to talk about the history of musical style.<sup>1</sup> While a sense of genre and of generic distinctions seems to have existed almost always, the criteria by which genre is determined change from period to period and genre to genre, and rarely do the criteria coincide exactly with those of the modern scholar. We want to develop a sense of genre for the early fifteenth-century motet that is as close as possible to that of the period, but that will still be useful analytically. Once we have established the fifteenth-century limits of the genre we can then apply our descriptive categories to the pieces included.

One way of approaching the concept of genre is to look for contemporary definitions of the title of the genre (e.g. "motet"). This can be useful, but usually does not account for the diversity of actual

examples. Another is to look at the way the title of the genre is used in musical sources in conjunction with actual pieces when it appears in original indices or tables of contents, or as a heading for a section of a manuscript, to see what kinds of pieces are included under that rubric. And finally, we can look at the organization of sources in which the title of the genre does not appear, to see what kinds of pieces were generically equivalent for the purposes of manuscript organization. The last two approaches provide contemporary classifications of a significant number of pieces; we can then go on to describe, categorize, and subdivide that group of pieces, in order to develop our own sense of the structural and formal musical features of the genre in the period.

### The Motet in Fourteenth-Century France

In fourteenth-century France distinctions of genre are relatively straightforward. There are theoretical definitions of the term motet that mention structural features, such as use of preexistent tenor and its rhythmic patterning, and texting of upper voices.<sup>2</sup> The term occurs in the indices of Fauvel and the large Tremoille manuscript, now lost. It is in the tables of contents of the Machaut manuscripts, and corresponds to a section in them. Ivrea and Chantilly have distinct sections devoted to motets.

EXCURSUS: The organization of French 14th-century sources of the motet.

Fauvel.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript containing the Roman de Fauvel with musical interpolations is difficult to evaluate as a musical source in the usual sense, since the conditions of inclusion and exclusion have as much to do with the literary demands of the work as they do with any musical criteria. All the polyphonic works in Fauvel are listed in the original index as motets, but the range of styles and periods is so great that the contents cast little light on the genre in the fourteenth century. We shall include only the more "modern" works (the five Latin-texted works attributed to Philippe de Vitry by Schrade) in our consideration of the French fourteenth-century repertory as a whole.<sup>4</sup>

Machaut MSS. Machaut wrote 23 motets, all collected in a special section of his manuscripts after the Lais and before the Mass; 6 have Latin texts, 15 French, and 2 are mixed. Three of his motets (1 Latin and 2 French) appear in Ivrea. Gunther has shown that, aside from choice of language, Machaut's motets generally resemble the motets in Ivrea, so we shall consider his motets in conjunction with those in the big repertory manuscripts.<sup>5</sup>

Ivrea. The manuscript is originally devoted to motets and mass ordinary settings, which are easy to distinguish from each other and separated into different sections of the manuscript. Hasselman describes its original organization as follows:

1. 18 Latin motets
2. 8 French and 1 mixed-language motets
3. Mass movements
4. Blank
5. Chaces
6. Blank; additions are miscellaneous, but predominantly motets.

8 additional motets, some more mass ordinary settings and some chansons were then added later to the blank sections and to the bottoms of pages, which makes the manuscript look more disorderly than in fact it is. The motets added later (no. 51, and the 8 motets in the last section, nos. 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, and 76) do not differ significantly from the other motets in the manuscript, so we shall consider all 36 (21 Latin, 13 French, and 2 mixed-language) in our discussion.<sup>6</sup>

Chantilly. There are 13 motets in the last fascicle of Chantilly, after 100 songs in the first part. The 4-part motets come first (100-109), the 3-part next (110-113). 10 have Latin texts, 3 French. It has 3 concordances with Ivrea, so there are 10 motets not in Ivrea.<sup>7</sup>

Tremouille. Only the index survives from what was the largest collection of motets from the fourteenth century. The index is divided into two sections, "motets" (80 items) and "ballades and rondeaux" (34). 71 of the pieces listed under the heading "motets" are what we generally call motets; the nine miscellaneous other pieces are closer to motets than to chansons: 5 mass movements, one hymn, 2 chaces, and a quodlibet/market scene. Thus here the term motet seems to include all music other than chansons. Every opening



has a motet (in the manuscript sense); the chansons seem to have been added as filler to the bottoms of pages. 39 of the motets are known from contemporary sources (all but 7 of Ivrea's 36 motets and 4 out of Chantilly's 13), while 30 are unknown, which suggests that the total repertoire was perhaps twice as big as what survives, if not larger. It is difficult to tell anything about the lost pieces from the index, but the predominance of Latin texts persists in Tremoille (41 of the 71 texts are in Latin; of those 22 are known and 19 are unknown).<sup>8</sup>

Small and fragmentary manuscripts. There are numerous small and fragmentary manuscripts from fourteenth-century France, and the pieces in the manuscripts listed above have concordances in England, the Netherlands, Germany, and all over Europe. Only two complete pieces survive that do not have concordances with the big repertory manuscripts; these are Musicalis sciencia / Sciencie laudabili (PMFC V, no. 33), from Pic 67, and Comes Flandrie / Rector creatorum / In cimbalis, from Nuremberg 61, transcribed by Strohm in his study of music from Bruges. Most of the fragmentary motets that appear in these sources have Latin texts, and there is no evidence to suggest that our general sense of the repertory is inaccurate.<sup>9</sup>

The entire repertory of surviving complete pieces numbers 74: see Table I, at the end of this chapter (p. 122).

The musical characteristics of the genre are well known and very consistent.<sup>10</sup> Tenors are pre-existent (about half the tenors have been identified, while most others can be presumed to be pre-existent,

judging by identification in the manuscript; a few may be newly composed).<sup>11</sup> Tenors are also isorhythmic, and this rhythmic organization extends at least in part to the upper parts as well.<sup>12</sup> The top two parts are close in range and have similar rhythmic activity, and each carries its own text -- all the motets are polytextual. The triplum usually has a longer text than does the duplum. Motets can have three or four voices; when four, the fourth voice is a contratenor similar in range and rhythmic motion to the tenor. In the latest repertory most pieces have four voices: nine out of the thirteen motets in Chantilly have four voices. Variety in the details of structure, texture, and isorhythm is almost infinite, but the basic musical characteristics of the genre are clearly defined.

The textual characteristics of the fourteenth-century French motet have been less discussed. They are of particular interest in relation to the fifteenth-century motet. Fourteenth-century texts appear to be written for their motets; none have been found to exist independently, and the particular ways in which the texts interact with the isorhythmic schemes suggests that text and music were written in conjunction.<sup>13</sup> There are very few mixed-language motets (2 in Ivrea, 2 by Machaut). The French texts are primarily love poems, though some are addressed to the Virgin. Latin texts are predominant: out of the total repertory of 74, 42 (57%) have Latin texts.<sup>14</sup> But 15 of the 32 French texts are by Machaut, and 13 of them appear only in the Machaut manuscripts. If we subtract those 13 French motets from the total, then the ratio of total repertory to Latin texts is 61 to 42, or 69%.

If we exclude all the Machaut motets found only in the Machaut manuscripts (13 French, 5 Latin, and 2 mixed), then the ratio is 54:37, also 69%. Latin texts become more predominant towards the end of the century: in Chantilly, the latest source, 10 out of the 13 motets, or 77%, are in Latin; Machaut's latest motets are also in Latin. Latin becomes the rule in the fifteenth century.

Unlike the French texts, the Latin texts have a great variety of subject matter. Harrison divided the subjects into devotional, admonitory-condemnatory, moral, laudatory, and aesthetic-didactic.<sup>15</sup> I prefer a different classification: see Table II.<sup>16</sup>

Given the classifications of Table II, 24% (II.1) of the motets are on sacred subjects; this is natural enough, given that Latin is the language of the church. The relatively small proportion demonstrates that the motet is still far from being a sacred genre (as it will become in the mid-fifteenth century). Such pieces might have been performed at liturgical occasions, as part of private devotions, or as entertainment for clerics and university scholars.

38% (II.2) of the motets are addressed to particular people. It has been suggested that by the end of the fourteenth century the isorhythmic motet was already a dedicatory or ceremonial genre.<sup>17</sup> But less than half of the motets of category II.2 are laudatory, and few of them could be supposed to have been written for a particular occasion. Two (or three, if you include the motet in parentheses, which I have placed in II.2.C) of the laudatory motets from group II.2.A are fairly early examples, by Vitry and Machaut. Three of the later motets are

addressed to the same person, Gaston Phebus, which suggests that he liked and commissioned such pieces, but not that laudatory motets were typical of the genre. The other two, Rex Karole and Comes Flandrie, may also come from the same musical establishment, St. Donatien in Bruges.<sup>18</sup> They both have strong ties with other categories as well: the motetus of Rex Karole is in praise of the Virgin (II.1.A), while the motetus of Comes Flandrie is about music and musicians (IV). The laudatory motets of group II.2.A resemble in tone the devotional motets of group II.1, especially II.1.C, those addressed to saints.

In the case of group II.2.A we assume that the person mentioned in the text was the patron, and that he commissioned the motets, or that a musical institution such as St. Donatien performed the piece in honor of a patron as part of festivities in his honor and possibly in hope of reward. The advisory motets of II.2.B are often classed with those of II.2.A because of the similarities of their subjects.<sup>19</sup> But the advisory and condemnatory motets (II.2.B and C) suggest a very different relation between patron and musician or poet than that of group II.2.A: they suggest instead a group of independent clerics and musicians writing and singing music on important subjects of the day, but not dependent on the favor of the people discussed in the motets. The motets of groups II.2.B and C are closer to those of group II.3, which are usually addressed to institutions or classes of people -- all of these motets belong to the old conductus tradition of admonitio, or cantus moralis.<sup>20</sup> The self-righteous tone of some of these motets resembles the self-conscious and self-congratulatory tone of the

musicians' motets of group II.4; both suggest that these pieces were written for an elite circle of intellectuals, not for public consumption.<sup>21</sup>

Overall there is a broad range of text types, suggesting a variety of different patronage and performance situations. The subjects are generally serious, and the language of the texts is complex, as is the music. But that very complexity -- the artful constructions and tortured metaphors, the ingenuity of the tenor structures and the concealment and revelation of those structures in the upper parts -- was a kind of wit, an intellectual game for highly educated northern musicians and clerics. There is nothing to suggest that the genre was associated with a particular function or subject matter, or that it played a specific role in ritual or ceremonial life.

#### The Motet in Fourteenth-Century Italy

No one acknowledged the existence of an Italian motet tradition in the fourteenth century until recently, when Margaret Bent established the existence of a *trecento* Italian tradition based in the Veneto that is distinct from the French motet tradition. There are 16 surviving motets of Italian origin in manuscripts before Bologna Q15, some of which are fragmentary; the list can be expanded to 19 counting two motets in Modena 5.24 and one Italian-texted piece, and to 27 if Ciconia's motets preserved in Bologna Q15 are included. See Table III for the 19 motets not by Ciconia. It is difficult even to hazard a

guess about the size of the original repertory, considering the fragmentary state of the surviving sources for the trecento motet. But given that among the surviving pieces there is an almost unbroken sequence of motets for the doges of Venice, and that several pieces exist in more than one source, it seems unlikely that it was a large repertory. Nevertheless there are enough pieces with enough features in common to establish that there was a real tradition, if a limited one.<sup>22</sup>

Bent describes the characteristics of the trecento motet as follows: it has a duet between the top parts in the same range, with similar rhythmic motion, and 1 or 2 texts of the same length. The tenor is free and unidentified (though occasionally it resembles chant); there is no contratenor, or it is not essential. The rhythmic language is that of the trecento, with a fair amount of trading of motives and imitative effects, as in the caccia. Isorhythm in the French sense is not present, though some pieces the second half is a rhythmic duplication of the first half, resulting in a form of two-section panisorhythm.

Texturally, then, the Italian motet resembles the French motet: it has a pair of upper voices, often with different texts, over a slower moving tenor. Like the French motet it is easily distinguishable in its text and texture from the other contemporary genres such as the madrigal, the ballata, and simpler liturgical music. Both French and Italian motets had their origins in the Ars Antiqua, and certain distinguishing features remain in both traditions. Structurally, on

the other hand, the Italian motet is different from the French motet, in that it is not built around the rhythmic manipulation of a pre-existent tenor, but instead is a free duet with a supporting lower voice.

The subjects of the Italian motets are among those of the French motets, but they are restricted to the French categories II.1 (A, B, and C), sacred motets, and II.2.A, laudatory or celebratory motets: see Table III. All of the motets are laudatory in tone: they praise God and the saints, or they praise secular and ecclesiastical leaders; some of the time the two functions are combined, as in Ave regina / Mater (under III.1.A and III.2.C) and Ave corpus / Gloriose (under III.2.A and III.1.C). There are no motets in the admonitio tradition, and no motets for music or musicians; the texts and the music are usually simpler than those of French motets. All of these pieces could have been used in a public ceremonial context, unlike many of the French motets.

#### The Motet in Fourteenth-Century England

The English repertory had only an indirect effect on the occasional motet of the early fifteenth century in Italy. We know of no English composers who worked in Italy in the early fifteenth century.<sup>23</sup> Yet there is a significant amount of English music in Continental manuscripts, and some English musicians worked in Northern Europe and appeared at the council of Constance.<sup>24</sup> However they were transmitted,

many of the newest developments in the motet in the early fifteenth century may have derived from English practices.

Peter Lefferts has done an exhaustive study of textual and musical types in the motet in England in the fourteenth century before the Old Hall manuscript (early fifteenth century). No complete manuscripts survive (all the pieces are preserved on fragments of varying legibility) but the number of surviving pieces suggests that the repertory was quite extensive. He shows that insular musical practices often differ from those on the continent, though the textural features that the Italian and French motets have in common -- polytextuality and two texted, faster moving voices over one or two slower moving voices -- are typical of the English motet as well.<sup>25</sup> Toward the end of the fourteenth century a number of French motets are found in England, and English composers begin to write isorhythmic motets in imitation of the French style; in some cases it is difficult to decide whether a motet is English or French.<sup>26</sup> By the time of the Old Hall manuscript French isorhythmic practices appear to have been well integrated into the English style.

The texts of English motets are almost invariably in Latin. There is direct evidence of the English preference for Latin over vernacular texts in the motet: a Continental motet with a French text is found in England with a new, sacred Latin text, clearly a contrafactum contrived to adapt the motet to English practices, and the text of one of the motets in Old Hall indicates that it was written as a replacement for a French text.<sup>27</sup> The subjects of English motets are overwhelmingly



sacred. Only 20 out of the 128 surviving pieces (16%) have texts that are not clearly sacred; of those, at least five are French motets with English concordances, and three more have French texts.<sup>28</sup> 38% of the motets are for saints, 21% are for various feasts of the Church year, and 7% are unspecified motets for God and Jesus. Only 27% are Marian, a decrease from the thirteenth century. Lefferts suggests that this may be caused by the increasing importance of the cantilena, which may have taken the place of the motet in Marian devotions using polyphonic music.<sup>29</sup>

In fourteenth-century England a cantilena is a simple setting for three voices of a liturgical text, usually written in score with the text written below the lowest part; if there is a cantus firmus it is usually in the middle voice.<sup>30</sup> It bears little resemblance to the motet of any country in the fourteenth century. It is readily distinguishable from a motet in manuscript because it is written in score, and because of the single text sung simultaneously in all voices. The upper voice is sometimes more ornate, so that the texture resembles that of the Continental chanson. Virtually all of the surviving fourteenth-century cantilenas are Marian.<sup>31</sup>

The only extensive surviving English source of polyphonic music in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is the Old Hall manuscript, compiled early in the fifteenth century.<sup>32</sup> The majority of the manuscript is devoted to settings of the mass ordinary, but it also contains motets and cantilenas. There are several concordances between Old Hall and some of the fifteenth-century Continental manuscripts, so

a quick survey of the non-mass music of Old Hall will give us a clearer idea of the range of English styles that could have had an influence on the fifteenth-century Continental motet. The Old Hall repertory is not very big, so we shall consider also the music of John Dunstable (c. 1390-1453). His music is primarily preserved in Continental manuscripts, and appears to have been written slightly later than most of the Old Hall repertory (one work, the motet Veni sancte / Veni creator appears in Old Hall anonymously).<sup>33</sup> See Table IV.

Out of 147 compositions in Old Hall, there are 26 pieces that are not mass movements. Some of these are part of the original layer; others were added later. All of the pieces written in score, as well as the two later cantilenas written in parts (67 and 68, by Forest) are settings of liturgical texts, primarily antiphons, to the BVM. Six use chant, five of those in the tenor voice. Dunstable's seventeen cantilenas are also primarily addressed to the BVM, though three are on other sacred subjects; three are chant settings, though several others make melodic references to chant. The isorhythmic motets in Old Hall and those by Dunstable use new texts on a variety of sacred subjects. The BVM is included, but not predominant. This confirms the evidence from earlier in the fourteenth century: texts of both motets and cantilenas are on sacred subjects, usually corresponding to a specific feast day or function in the liturgy of the mass. In Old Hall cantilenas are generically distinct from isorhythmic motets: most appear in their own section of the manuscript; most are written in score rather than in parts, with a corresponding simplicity of texture;

each uses a single liturgical text, usually an antiphon, and always to the BVM.<sup>34</sup> None of Dunstable's cantilenas is as simple as the simplest examples in Old Hall, and none is preserved in score (writing in score is not done on the continent), but otherwise they are similar to the Old Hall cantilenas.<sup>35</sup> Isorhythmic motets, on the other hand, appear in several different places in Old Hall; they are written in parts, with a slower moving tenor (and in two cases, contratenor as well) and two faster upper parts; they have two new texts on a variety of subjects, including the BVM and also saints. Dunstable's motets have a similar range of texts.

In late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century England, then, there were two distinct genres of non-mass ordinary music: motet (i.e. isorhythmic motet), with texts on a variety of sacred subjects, and cantilena, with pre-existent liturgical texts. As English music became known on the continent in the fifteenth century and was imitated by Continental composers, both cantilena and isorhythmic motet become subgenres of a new, more broadly defined genre called the motet.

## Conclusion

Familiarity with the musical characteristics and subjects of texts of the three motet traditions and the English cantilena will give us a much clearer sense of the changes and continuities in the fifteenth-century motet. The tendency in past scholarship has been to concentrate on a mainstream of generic development in France and the

Netherlands. Other traditions were seen as peripheral. They could influence the mainstream, but did not participate in it: one examined "the motet in the fourteenth century" (i.e. the French motet), and "the motet in the fifteenth century" (i.e. the motet written by northern composers, working in the north and in Italy). But the work of Margaret Bent on the Italian motet and of Bent, Lefferts, Sanders, Harrison, and others on the English motet have demonstrated that there were three "motets" and the cantilena in the fourteenth century. We must now ask of any fifteenth-century motet, not simply how it resembles or differs from the fourteenth-century French motet, but what tradition or combination of traditions it belongs to, and how we can understand text and music in relation to those traditions.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Lawrence Dreyfus discusses this issue in his unpublished paper, "Genre as Form: The Fate of a Forgotten Metaphor," given November 8, 1986, at the Cleveland meeting of the American Musicological Society.
2. See Rolf Dammann, "Geschichte der Begriffsbestimmung Motette," AfMw 16 (1959), pp. 350-354, who discusses the theorists Johannes de Grocheo, Egidius de Murino, and Jean de Muris. Both Jacques de Liège and Johannes de Grocheo discuss the audience for the genre; see Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? the Ars nova," JM 6 (1985-6), p. 46, n. 76. The motet is mentioned or discussed in many of the treatises dealing with the notational innovations of the Ars nova, and contemporary examples of the genre are often cited. This has been important in establishing the Philippe de Vitry canon. See Fuller, p. 47; Leo Schrade, ed., separate commentary to PMFC I, The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae (Monaco, 1956), pp. 29-41; and Ernest Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," JAMS 28 (1975), pp. 24-5, and "Vitry, Philippe de," New Grove 20, p. 27. The works of Vitry as edited by Schrade in PMFC I have been reprinted by L'Oiseau Lyre with a new introduction by Edward Roesner (Monaco, 1984). Part of the treatise Ars nova believed to be by Philippe de Vitry (but see Fuller) is called Ars mensurandi motetos in Philippe de Vitriaco: "Ars Nova", ed. Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles, and Jean Maillard (CSM 8, AIM 1974), pp. 55-69. For some of the more famous discussions, see Johannes de Grocheo, De musica, ed., Ernst Rohloff, Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo (Media Latinitas Musica II) (Leipzig, 1943), and again in Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo (Leipzig, 1972), translated by Albert Seay as Concerning Music, 2nd ed. (Colorado Springs, 1974), esp. ch. 15; Johannes Boen, Ars (c. 1355), ed. F. Alberto Gallo (CSM 19; AIM 1972) -- the relevant passage, pp. 29-30, is translated and discussed in Daniel Joseph Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure in the Four-part Isorhythmic Works of Philippe de Vitry and his Contemporaries," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983), pp. 16-17 -- and Musica (1357), ed. Wolf Frobenius in Johannes Boens Musica und seine Konsonanzlehre, Freiburger Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Stuttgart, 1971); and Egidius de Murino, Tractatus cantus mensurabilis, CS III, 124-8 -- the relevant part is translated by Richard Taruskin, in Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, Music in the Western World, pp. 66-7, and translated and discussed in Leech-Wilkinson, pp. 21-24. The terms color and talea are found in Murino (c. 1350) (p. 125), Boen's Ars, (c. 1355) (pp. 29-30 of Gallo's edition), the

Libellus cantus mensurabilis (c. 1340), probably by Jean de Muris (CS III, pp. 46-58, esp. p. 58), Coussemaker's Anonymous V (CS III, pp. 379-98, esp. pp. 397-9), and in the early fifteenth-century Tractatus practice de musica mensurabili, by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (CS III, pp. 200-228, esp. pp. 225-7), among others.

3. For full information on sources, see the list of manuscripts and their sigla.
4. All the polyphonic music in Fauvel is edited in Schrade, PMFC I (cited above). On the original index, see the separate commentary notes, p. 22. There is still some debate over the attributions of motets to Vitry, but his authorship is irrelevant to my discussion.
5. The Machaut manuscripts are listed and described in Friedrich Ludwig, Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke, vol. II (Leipzig, 1928). The motets are edited in vol. III (Leipzig, 1929). They are also edited by Schrade in PMFC; motets 1-16 in volume II, 17 to 23; I shall henceforth refer to this edition. (Another motet [24], is attributed to Machaut in Frib, but not found in the Machaut manuscripts and therefore not believe to be by him.) See the commentary volume to PMFC II-III for a discussion of the organization of the manuscripts and the tables of contents. On the similarity between the motets of Machaut and those of Ivrea, see Ursula Günther, "The Fourteenth-Century Motet and its Development," MD 12 (1958), pp. 27-58, especially pp. 35-38.
6. Ivrea is inventoried by Heinrich Besseler in "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters," AfMw 7 (1925), pp. 188-191. The motets were originally transcribed in Mildred Jane Johnson, "The Motets of the Codex Ivrea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1955), and those that had not been published in earlier volumes of PMFC were then published by Harrison in PMFC V, Motets of French Provenance (Monaco, 1968). Its structure has been studied by Margaret Hasselman in her dissertation, "The French Chanson of the Mid-Fourteenth Century" (University of California, Berkeley, 1970), pp. 35-50; my discussion is based on her work. Besseler lists 37 motets, but it is generally agreed that no. 78, Je comence ma chancon/Et je seray li segons/T: Soules viex, is not a motet, since it has no isorhythm, nor does it have a pre-existent tenor (see Besseler, "Studien," p. 187, and Günther, "The Development of the Fourteenth-Century Motet," p. 35); it has not been edited.

3 are by Machaut, edited by Leo Schrade in PMFC II-III:

- Iv. 16 = Machaut 19 -- Martirum/Diligenter/ Christo;
- Iv. 32 = Machaut 15 -- Amours/Faus semblans/Vidi Dominum;
- Iv. 38 = Machaut 8 -- Qui es promesses/Ha Fortune/Non est.

1 more, attributed to Machaut in the Fribourg manuscript, but found in none of the Machaut manuscripts, and not accepted as by Machaut, is also found in PMFC III:

- Iv. 41 = "Machaut" 24 -- *Li enseignement/De touz/Ecce tu.*  
9 are by Philippe de Vitry, ed. Schrade in PMFC I:  
Iv. 6 -- *Impudenter circuiui/Laudabilis*  
Iv. 8 -- *Dantur officia/Quid scire*  
Iv. 13 -- *Vos qui/ Gratissima/Gaude*  
Iv. 22 -- *Cum statua/Hugo*  
Iv. 24 -- *Tuba sacre/In arboris/Virgo*  
Iv. 18 -- *Colla jugo/Bona condit*  
Iv. 37 -- *Douce playsance/Garison/Neuma*  
Iv. 51 -- *Petre clemens/Lugentium*  
Iv. 70 -- *Canenda/Rex quem.*

1 turns up as the *Ite missa est* of the Mass of Tournai, and is also in PMFC I:

- Iv. 34 -- *Se grace/Cum venerint/T: Ite missa est.*  
22, mostly anonymous, are edited by Harrison in PMFC V, nos. 1-22.

7. Chantilly is inventoried in Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047," MD 8 (1954), pp. 59-139, and "Postscript," MD 10 (1956), pp. 55-59. The motets are edited in Ursula Günther, ed., The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense, alpha.M.5, 24 (olim lat. 568) (CMM 39, AIM 1965), and in PMFC V, Motets of French Provenance ed. Harrison; I will refer primarily to Harrison, though aspects of the layout and commentaries are better in the Günther edition. The pieces concordant with Ivrea are PMFC V, nos. 4 -- Apta caro / Flos virginum, 5 -- Ida capillorum / Portio nature and 12 -- Tant a souttille / Bien pert.
8. The contents of Tremoille are listed and discussed in Heinrich Bessler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II," AfMw 8 (1926), pp. 235-41, and the index is edited in Craig Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1418: A Documentary History, Musicological Studies 28 (Henryville, 1979), pp. 147-58.
9. See the sources listed in Harrison, PMFC V; G. Reaney, "New Sources of Ars Nova Music," MD 19 (1965), pp. 53-68; and RISM IV. Comes Flandrie/Rector/In cimbalis is edited in Reinhard Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 201-5.
10. On the French motet in the fourteenth century, see Günther, "The Fourteenth-Century Motet and its Development"; Harrison, PMFC V, pp. XI-XVII and 201-204; Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure"; Ernest Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in Wulf Arlt et al., eds., Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellung: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade (Bern, 1973), pp. 497-573, esp. pp. 554-67 and idem, "Motet, §1, 3: Medieval -- Ars Nova," New Grove

- 12, pp. 625-8.
11. Harrison has identified 16 of the 33 tenors to motets in PMFC V (p. 208), and remarks that three-quarters of the tenors are identified by incipits (p. XVI).
  12. Two French motets in Ivrea (Harrison nos. 14, Les l'ormel / Mayn se leva / T: Je n'y saindrai plus, and 22, Clap clap / Sus Robin) appear to be holdovers from the 13th century and are not isorhythmic. Three of Machaut's motets with secular tenors (nos. 11, Dame / Fins cuers / T:Fins cuers, 16, Lasse / Se j'aim / T:Pour quoy, and 20, Trop plus / Biaute / T:Je ne sui) are not isorhythmic, but all have some kind of rhythmic patterning. See Günther, "The Fourteenth-Century Motet," pp. 29 and 36.
  13. See H.H. Eggebrecht, "Machauts Motette Nr. 9," AfMw 19-20 (1962-3) pp. 281-93 and 25 (1968), pp. 173-95; G. Reichert, "Das Verhältnis zwischen musikalischer und textlicher Struktur in den Motetten Machauts," AfMw 13 (1956), pp. 197-216; Harrison, in PMFC V, pp. XII-XIII and 204; Ursula Günther, "Das Wort-Ton-Problem bei Motetten des späten 14. Jahrhunderts," Festschrift Heinrich Bessler (Leipzig, 1961), pp. 163-78; George Austin Elliott Clarkson, "On the Nature of Medieval Song: The Declamation of Plainchant and the Lyric Structure of the Fourteenth-Century Motet" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970). Verse structures are usually extremely regular; Gordon Anderson sees the transition to regularity as a "historical trend" in "The Motets of the Thirteenth-Century Manuscript La Clayette: A Stylistic Study of the Repertory," MD 28 (1974), pp. 5-37; there is a statistical survey on pp. 6-7. Peter Lefferts, in The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century (Ann Arbor, 1986) finds that English and Continental motets show similar correlation between text and music (p. 202), and in the case of an English retexting of a French motet he finds very careful adaptation of that new text to the structure of the music (in certain respects more so than the original French text, which was more regular) (pp. 202-44). He comments on the versification of the fourteenth-century motet and on the relation between text and music on p. 198.

Egidius de Murino, writing around 1350, describes the relation of text to music as a much more casual affair:

Postquam cantus est factus et ordinatus, tunc accipe verba que debent esse in moteto et divide ea in quatuor partes; et sic divide cantum in quatuor partes; et prima pars verborum compone super primam partem cantus, sicut melius potest, et sic procede usque in finem; et aliquando est necesse extendere multas notas super pauca verba, super pauca tempora, quousque pervenientur ad complementum.



After the music has been made and fixed, then take the words which are to go into the motet and divide them into four segments; and divide the music into four corresponding segments; and put the first segment of the words over the first segment of the music as best you can, and proceed in this way all the way to the end. Sometimes it will be necessary to stretch many notes over few words in order to make the setting come out right, and sometimes many words must be squeezed into a small amount of time. Just fit it together any way you can.

CS III, 125; as translated by R. Taruskin in Weiss and Taruskin, Music in the Western World, p. 67. The process described in this passage recalls the origins of the motet, where words were added to pre-existent clausulae, and it is often quoted as evidence of the negligible relationship between music and text in the motet. It can be read another way: as an imprecise description of what is actually a rather close relationship between music and text. Egidius is not oblivious to words, since he advocates what Sanders calls "reverse textual troping" ("The Medieval Motet," p. 556 and "Motet, §1, 3: Medieval -- Ars Nova," New Grove vol. 12, p. 626): "Primo accipe tenorem alicujus antiphone vel responsorii vel alterius cantus de antiphonario; et debent verba concordare de materia de qua fecere motetum." "First take for your tenor any antiphon or responsory or any other chant from the book of Office chants; and its words should accord with the theme or occasion for which the motet is being made" (CS III, p. 124; Taruskin translation, pp. 66-7). Knowledge of the "materia de qua fecere motetum" suggests that the text might have preceded the music, and its form could have affected the layout of the tenor. Egidius's "segments of text (partes verborum)" could correspond to stanzas, strophes or couplets, his "segments of music (partes cantus)" to taleae, so the passage could be seen as an imprecise description of the correlation between textual and musical units. Certainly such a reading corresponds more closely to the careful coordination of text and music in the pieces themselves. The exact underlay of individual words and syllables to individual notes is not always important, but the formal or structural correlations between music and text are. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson suggests in his dissertation (p. 22) that Egidius was writing for beginners, which might explain the lack of precision in his description of the process.

14. Total number of Latin texts:

- 5 Fauvel motets of Vitry
- 1 text with no music attributed to Vitry
- 5 Machaut motets found only in Machaut MSS
- 21 in Ivrea (8 by Vitry; 1 by Machaut; 12 others)

8 in Chantilly and not in Ivrea  
1 in Pic 67  
1 in Nuremberg 61

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42 motets total.

15. Harrison, PMFC V, p. XIV.
16. Rokseth and Tischler do similar surveys of text content for the thirteenth-century repertory. See Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle IV, (Paris, 1939) pp. 227-31; and Tischler: preface to The Montpellier Codex (Madison, 1978); "Classicism and Romanticism in 13th-Century Music," Revue Belge de musicologie 16 (1962), pp. 3-12; "Intellectual Trends in 13th-Century Paris as Reflected in the Texts of Motets," The Music Review 29 (1968), pp. 1-11; and "Latin Texts in the Early Motet Collections: Relationships and Perspectives," MD 31 (1977), pp. 31-44.
17. Lefferts, p. 186: "In the later fourteenth century the motet in both France and Italy became a vehicle for propaganda and political ceremony." See also F. Alberto Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II (Cambridge, 1985), p. 34.
18. Reinhard Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, pp. 102-105.
19. See Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II, p. 34: "In the decades following the Roman de Fauvel, a tradition of music dedicated to the Kings of France was gradually established." He includes in this group two motets from Fauvel — Se cuers/Rex (15/32) and Servant/O Philippe, (16/33), — and Rex Karole/Leticie (Harrison no. 26, from our II.2.A) and O Philippe/O bone dux (Harrison no. 1, in our group II.2.B. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson also sees such a tradition, in "Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France," PRMA 109 (1983-4), p. 9, n. 1-5. He supports Schrade's attribution of the Fauvel motets to Philippe de Vitry, in an article that appeared after the publication of PMFC I, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," MQ 42 (1956), pp. 347-8. I find the tenors of these motets simpler than those of the works we know to be Vitry's, so I have not included them in Tables I and II. I maintain also that the differences in tone in the texts of these motets, and the fact that the kings of France make suitable subjects for laudatory and advisory or condemnatory motets written in France in any case, argue against anything as definite as a tradition.
20. On this tradition, see Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: The Coronation of French Kings," in Leo Schrade, De Scientia Musicae Studia atque Orationes, ed. Ernst Lichtenhang (Bern/Stuttgart, 1967), p. 153. The article was originally published in Annales Musicologiques 1 (1953), pp. 9-63 and 409.

21. On the function, audience, and performance of these motets, see Reaney, "The Isorhythmic Motet and its Social Background," Internationale Musikwissenschaftliche Kongress, Kassel 1962, Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Berichte, ed. Georg Reichert and Martin Just (Kassel, 1963), pp. 25-7; Harrison, in PMFC V, pp. 15-17; Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 556-7. On the self-conscious tone, see Gallo, Music in the Middle Ages II, pp. 77-79.
22. See Margaret Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," unpublished paper presented in Certaldo in 1984 and at the New York Chapter meeting of the American Musicological Society, February 1985. My whole discussion here is heavily dependent on Bent's article, and I am very grateful to her for having made it available to me before publication. The most complete list of sources for this repertory is Table I of Margaret Bent, Review of PMFC XII: Italian Sacred Music, ed. K. von Fischer and F. A. Gallo (Monaco, 1976), JAMS 32 (1979), pp. 561-577. I know of one manuscript discovered since then (and included in Bent's list); this is the San Lorenzo manuscript, described by Frank A. D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'Ars nova italiana: il Codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," Studi musicali 13 (1984), pp. 3-31.
23. The only English musician known to have worked in Italy (with the exception of the mid-century theorist, Hothby), is Robertus de Anglia, who worked in Ferrara, Bologna, and Oporto in the 1460s and '70s. See David Fallows, "Robertus de Anglia," New Grove 16, p. 71.
24. The most recent and detailed discussion of English connections to Italy is Ann Besser Scott, "English Music in Modena, Biblioteca Estense," MD 26 (1972), pp. 145-60. See also Charles Hamm, "A Catalogue of Anonymous English Music in Fifteenth-Century Continental Manuscripts," MD 22 (1968), pp. 47-56; Fallows, Dufay (London, 1982), pp. 18-20, who argues for the central importance of the Council of Constance; Manfred Schuler, "Die Musik in Konstanz während des Konzils 1414-1418," Acta Musicologica 38 (1966), pp. 150-68; Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, (London and New York, 1958), pp. 222-7, 243-5, 229-32. On whether Dunstable worked on the continent, see Margaret Bent, Dunstable, Oxford Studies of Composers 17 (London, 1981), p. 1.
25. Lefferts, The Motet in England, pp. 3-8. He declines to exclude chant settings showing the same textures as motets from his study, but does exclude chant settings found in separate gatherings or written in score notation; see esp. p. 8 and nn. 10 and 11.
26. Lefferts, The Motet in England, pp. 86-92; 182-4.

27. Lefferts, The Motet in England, pp. 190-2; for piece, Lefferts, pp. 202-4 and 279-80, and PMFC V, no. 16.
28. Lefferts, The Motet in England, Tables 23 (p. 157) and 27 (pp. 168-174), and discussion, pp. 167 and 174-80, 182-4.
29. Lefferts, The Motet in England, p. 166.
30. Settings of liturgical texts written in score are known variously as cantilenas and English discant (or descant) settings by modern scholars. See Sanders, "Cantilena and Discant in Fourteenth-Century England," MD 19 (1965), pp. 7-52; Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, pp. 149-153. For Sanders, an English discant setting has a cantus firmus, while a cantilena is free; for Harrison, English discant refers to any three-part setting written in score, with or without a cantus firmus, and including settings of the ordinary of the mass. Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent have adopted Harrison's terminology for the Old Hall manuscript: they refer to all the pieces in score (both mass and non-mass music) as "English Descant." See Bent and Hughes, "The Old Hall Manuscript: An Inventory," MD 21 (1967) pp. 130-147, and Bent and Hughes, eds., The Old Hall Manuscript (CMM 46, Rome, AIM 1969-73), 3 vols. Hughes then contrasts this essentially homorhythmic style with a "chanson style," where the top voice is more ornate, and calls the more ornate of the pieces written in score hybrids between "English Descant" and "Chanson" styles; see Andrew Hughes, "The Old Hall Manuscript: A Re-Appraisal," MD 21 (1967), pp. 97-129, esp. pp. 99-102. The debate about terminology for this repertoire has to do with the issues concerning written and improvised polyphony, the origins of, and relationship between, fauxbourdon and faburden, which are not relevant here. For my purposes, English discant is either an improvisatory practice, and thus only tangentially related to written polyphony, or a style that can be used for any genre; it is not a genre itself. Margaret Bent, in Dunstable, treats Dunstable's "settings of liturgical texts" as one category regardless of the presence or absence of a cantus firmus: "To divide settings which present the plainsong melody complete from those which allude to it, treat it freely or make no use of it, may be invidious and misleading. Such a division also obscures the fact that the two categories artificially divide pieces of similar liturgical status" (p. 39). I have chosen to use the word cantilena for this genre (settings of liturgical texts written in score), which, in fourteenth-century England, is distinct from the motet. I believe that Lefferts uses the term cantilena as I do.
31. Lefferts, The Motet in England, p. 349, n. 59 (from p. 185). "English cantilenas are almost exclusively devoted to the BVM. Exceptions include settings for Saint Margaret (. . .); for Jesus (. . .); for Christmas and Easter (. . .); and for King Edward

III (. . .) . . .[or] Edward the Confessor."

32. See the articles and edition by Bent and Hughes cited above, as well as Bent, "The Old Hall Manuscript," EM 2 (1974), pp. 2-14 and idem., "Old Hall MS," New Grove 13, pp. 526-29.
33. See John Dunstable, Complete Works, ed. Manfred F. Bukofzer; 2nd, revised ed. prepared by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent, and Brian Trowell, Musica Britannica 8 (London, 1970), and Bent, Dunstable. Leonel Power (c. 1375?-1445), the older contemporary of Dufay, wrote cantilenas, but no isorhythmic motets (he used isorhythm only in mass movements). The non-mass music is edited in Charles Hamm, ed., Leonel Power: Complete Works vol. I: Motets (CMM 50, AIM 1961). Of the 26 cantilenas attributed to Power by Hamm (7 of which are anonymous in the sources, and 4 of which have attributions also to Dunstable), only 3 are not antiphons to the BVM; of those, one (no. 14, Salve sancta parens) has a second text to the BVM, and the other two (no. 9, Spes nostra, for Trinity, and no. 20, Angelorum esca, for Corpus Christi) are anonymous in the sources. Powers's cantilenas appear in score in the Old Hall manuscript and in choirbook format on the continent. There are no Continental concordances with the pieces in Old Hall, but there are some Continental pieces (nos. 4 and 5) that may well have been written originally written in score.
34. Location of the motets in the the Old Hall manuscript:

|         | Original layer         | Later Additions              |
|---------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Gloria  | 12 cantilenas in score | 3 cantilenas in score        |
| Credo   |                        | 3 in Cc: 1 iso, 2 cantilenas |
| Credo   |                        |                              |
| Sanctus |                        | 3 in Cc: iso (2 T's Sanctus) |
| Sanctus |                        |                              |
| Agnus   | 5 in Cc, isorhythmic   |                              |

(Cc = Cantus collateralis, or choirbook format)  
(iso = isorhythmic)

35. See Bent, Dunstable, pp. 39-40 on use of score notation and a comparison between the cantilenas of Dunstable and Old Hall.

Table I: French Motets, Sources and Editions

Table I: The surviving motet repertory of 14th-century France:  
sources and modern editions

## A: Listed by source

| Source       | Modern Edition         | no. | Total no.       |
|--------------|------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| Fauvel       | PMFC I (Vitry)         | 5   | 5               |
| Ivrea        | PMFC I (Vitry)         | 9   | 36              |
|              | PMFC I (Tournai)       | 1   |                 |
|              | PMFC II-III (Machaut)  | 3   |                 |
|              | PMFC III (non-Machaut) | 1   |                 |
|              | PMFC V (Harrison)      | 22  |                 |
| Machaut MSS  | PMFC II-III (Machaut)  | 23  | 20 not in Ivrea |
| Chantilly    | PMFC V (Harrison)      | 13  | 10 not in Ivrea |
|              | Günther                |     |                 |
| Misc.        |                        |     |                 |
| Vitry texts  | PMFC I                 | 1   | 3               |
| Pic 67       | PMFC V (Harrison)      | 1   |                 |
| Nuremberg 61 | Stroh                  | 1   |                 |
|              |                        |     | --              |
|              |                        |     | 74              |

## B: Listed by modern edition

| Modern edition                  | Source         | no. | Total no. |
|---------------------------------|----------------|-----|-----------|
| PMFC I (Fauvel,<br>Vitry, etc.) | Fauvel         | 5   | 16        |
|                                 | Ivrea (Vitry)  | 9   |           |
|                                 | Vitry text     | 1   |           |
|                                 | Tournai        | 1   |           |
| PMFC III (Machaut)              | Ivrea & M. Mss | 3   | 24        |
|                                 | Ivrea and Fri. | 1   |           |
|                                 | Machaut Mss.   | 20  |           |
| PMFC V (Harrison)               | Ivrea          | 19  | 33        |
|                                 | Ivrea and Ch.  | 3   |           |
|                                 | Chantilly      | 10  |           |
|                                 | Pic            | 1   |           |
| Stroh                           | Nuremberg      | 1   | 1         |
|                                 |                |     | --        |
|                                 |                |     | 74        |

## Table I: French Motets, Sources and Editions

## Key to Table I:

For MSS, see list of sigla.

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| Günther     | Ursula Gunther, ed., <u>The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense, alpha.M.5, 24 (olim lat. 568) (CMM 39, AIM 1965)</u> |
| PMFC I      | Leo Schrade, ed., <u>The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae (Monaco, 1956)</u>  |
| PMFC II-III | Leo Schrade, ed., <u>The Works of Guillaume de Machaut (Monaco, 1956)</u>  |
| PMFC V      | Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., <u>Motets of French Provenance (Monaco, 1968)</u>   |
| Strohm      | Reinhard Strohm, <u>Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985)</u>   |

Table II: Subjects of Latin-texted motets from 14th-century France

|  |          |      |
|--|----------|------|
| 1. Sacred  | 10       | 24%  |
| A. To the BVM                                      | (4; 10%) |      |
| B. Other   | (2; 4%)  |      |
| C. To Saints                                       | (4; 10%) |      |
| 2. Motets in which the subject is a person         | 16       | 38%  |
| A. Laudatory                                       | (7; 17%) |      |
| B. Advisory  | (3; 7%)  |      |
| C. Condemnatory                                    | (6; 14%) |      |
| 3. Evils of the world: complaint, <u>admonitio</u> | 10       | 24%  |
| 4. Music, musicians, aesthetics                    | 5        | 12%  |
| 5. Secular love                                    | 1        | 2%   |
| Total  | 41       | 100% |

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1. Sacred (10)

A. To the BVM (4)

Vitry:

7: Vos qui admiramini/Gratissima virginis species

11: Impudenter circumivi/Virtutibus laudabilis

Harrison:

4: Aptā caro/Flos virginum

8: Almifonis melos cum vocibus/Rosa sine culpe spina

(25: Alpha vibrans/Cetus venit heroycus [also St. Francis])

(Several others have one text addressed to BVM, or address her as part of A complaint, but the overall thrust of text is not praise of the BVM. Machaut no. 23, Felix virgo/Inviolata (in III below) is such a piece, and could appear in this category. Harrison no. 13, A vous/Ad te, a mixed-language motet, is also for the BVM, as are some of the French-texted motets.)

B. Other devotional (2)

Vitry:

Fauv 30, Vitry 4: Firmissime fidem teneamus/Adesto,  
sancta Trinitas (Trinity)

10: Tuba sacra fidei/In arboris (dogma)

C. To Saints (6)

Machaut:

19: Martyrum gemma latria/Diligenter inquiramus (St. Quentin)

Harrison:

5: Ida capillorum/Portio nature (St. Ida)

7: Flos ortus inter lilia/Celsa cedrus (St. Louis of Anjou)

25: Alpha vibrans/Cetus venit heroycus (St. Francis and the BVM)



## Table II: Latin-Texted French Motets

## 2. Motets in which the subject is a person. (16)

## A. Laudatory (7)

Vitry:

12: Petre Clemens/Lugentium siccentur (Pope Clement VI; Pierre Roger de Beaufort)

(14: O canenda vulgo/Rex quem metrorum [King Robert of Anjou; ROBERTUS in acrostic of motetus; triplum addressed in no uncertain terms to his enemy])

Machaut:

18: Bone pastor Guillerme/Bone pastor, qui pastores  
(Guillaume de Trie, Archbishop of Reims)

Harrison:

26: Rex Karole/Leticie, pacis, concordie (Charles V)

Three motets for Gaston Phebus, Lord of Foix and Bearn

2: Altissonis aptatis viribus/Hin principes qui presunt seculi

3: Febus mundo oriens/Lanista vipereus

29: Inter densas deserti meditans/Imbribus irriguis

Strohmer, pp. 201-205

Comes Flandrie/Rector/In cimbaliis (Louis, Count of Flanders)

## B. Advisory (3)

Machaut:

22: Tu qui gregem/Plange regni (Charles, Duke of Normandy?)

Harrison:

1: O Philippe, Franci qui generis/O bone dux indolis optime  
(Philip VI and John II)

24: Pictagore per dogmata/O terra sancta (Pope Gregory XI)

## C. Condemnatory (6)

Vitry:

Fauvel motets opposed to Enguerran de Marigny:

25, Vitry 2: Aman novi probatur exitu/Heu Fortuna subdula

27, Vitry 3: Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum

33, Vitry 5: Garrit gallus/In nova fert

Motets in Ivrea (and elsewhere)

8: Cum statua Nabucodonasor/Hugo, Hugo princeps (Hugo; unknown)

14: O canenda vulgo/Rex quem metrorum (King Robert of Anjou;  
ROBERTUS in acrostic of motetus; triplum addressed in  
no uncertain terms to his enemy)

15: Phi millies ad te/Creator Deus pulcherrimi (against  
unknown poet; only text survives)

3: Evils of the world: criticism, complaint, admonitio. (10)

Vitry

Fauv 12, Vitry 1: Orbis orbatus/Vos pastores aldulteri  
(evils of church)

9: Colla iugo subdere/Bona condit (evils of church)

13: Dantur/Quid scire proderit (against papal court)

Machaut:

9: Fons totius superbie/O livoris feritas (evil of Lucifer,  
envy; plea to BVM)

21: Christe, qui lux es/Veni creator spiritus (plea to Christ)

Table II: Latin-Texted French Motets

- for help from ills of world)  
 23: Felix virgo/Inviolata genitrix (plea to BVM  
 for help from ills of world)

Harrison:

- 6: Post missarum sollempnia/Post misse modulamina  
 (advises people to do their job well)  
 10: Zolomina zelus virtutibus/Nazarea que decora (zeal for  
 virtue against evils of world, and plea to BVM for help)  
 11: Rachel plorat filios/Ha fratres, ha vos dominie  
 (evil of church, rulers; vengeance comes)  
 23: Degentis vita/Cum vix (evils of world; plea for help)

#### 4. Music, musicians, aesthetics (5)

Harrison:

- 9: Apollinis eclipsatur/Zodiacum signis lustrantibus/(+Pantheon  
 abluitur) (praise of musicians)  
 18: In virtute nominum/Decens carmen edere (on writing good  
 poetry and music)  
 28: Alma polis religio/Axe poli cum artica (praise of  
 Augustinian musicians)  
 31: Sub Arturo plebs vallata/Fons citharizantium (praise of  
 musicians; English)  
 33: Musicalis sciencia/Sciencie laudabili (letters  
 between Music and Rhetoric; in Pic)

(Strohm, pp. 201-205

Comes Flandrie/Rector/In cimbaliis [Louis, Count of Flanders])

#### 5. Secular Love (1)

Harrison:

- 30: Multipliciter amando/Favore habundare

#### Key to Table II:

( ) Parentheses indicate that the item is counted under another category

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| Vitry    | PMFC I, Leo Schrade, ed., <u>The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae</u> (Monaco, 1956) |
| Machaut  | PMFC II-III, Leo Schrade, ed., <u>The Works of Guillaume de Machaut: Motets</u> (Monaco, 1956)  |
| Harrison | PMFC V, Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., <u>Motets of French Provenance</u> (Monaco, 1968)  |
| Strohm   | Reinhard Strohm, <u>Music in Late Medieval Bruges</u> (Oxford, 1985)  |

Table III: Subjects of motets from 14th-century Italy

|                     |          |    |      |
|---------------------|----------|----|------|
| 1. Sacred           |          | 11 | 58%  |
| A. BVM              | (3; 16%) |    |      |
| B. Other            | (3; 16%) |    |      |
| C. Saints           | (5; 26%) |    |      |
| 2. Laudatory        |          | 8  | 42%  |
| A. Doges            | (3; 16%) |    |      |
| B. Luchino Visconti | (2; 10%) |    |      |
| C. Other            | (3; 16%) |    |      |
| Total               |          | 19 | 100% |

1. Sacred (11)

A. BVM (3)

"Marcum Paduanum" (acrostic) -- Ave regina/Mater  
(possibly for Scrovegni) <PMFC XII:37>  
Cetus/Cetus (and Apostles) <PMFC XII:39>  
O Maria/O Maria <PMFC XII:41>

B. Other (3)

\*. . . Trinitatem (Trinity, three-fold schism) <Bent>  
M. de Perusio -- Ave sancta mundi/T: Agnus  
<Fano, no. 1, pp. 191-5>  
Cantano gl'angiol lieti/T: Sanctus <PMFC XII:40>

C. Saints (5)

(Ave corpus/Gloriose [Doge Francesco Dandolo  
and St. Stephen]) <PMFC XII:38>  
Gratiosus fervidus/Magnanime (St. George; "Georgius miles,"  
acrostic) <PMFC XII:43 and Günther:11>  
\*Hic est precursor (John the Baptist) <PMFC XII:42>  
\*O proles Yspanie (St. Anthony of Padua) <PMFC XXIV:21>  
\*. . . Christina (St. Christina) <GB-Ob16>  
Laurea martiri/Conlaudanda est (St. Laurence) <Günther:13>

2. Laudatory (8)

A. Doges (3)

Ave corpus/Gloriose (Doge Francesco Dandolo [1329-39] and  
St. Stephen) <PMFC XII:38>  
Marce Marcum (Doge Marco Cornaro [1365-8]) <Grottaferrata>  
\*Principum nobilissime (Doge Andrea Contarini [1368-82])  
(acrostic "me Franciscum") <PMFC IV:1(155)>

B. Luchino Visconti, duke of Milan, 1346-9 (2)

M. Jacobi de Bononia -- Lux purpurata/Diligite  
("Luchinus Vuce comes" acrostic) <Pirrota:34>  
\*Laudibus dignis ("Luchinus dux" acrostic) <Pirrota:35>

C. Other (3)

("Marcum Paduanum" [acrostic] -- Ave regina/Mater  
[possibly for Scrovegni]) <PMFC XII:37>  
\*Florentia, mundi speculum/Parce pater pietatis  
(Florence and Franciscans) <I-MFA and I-F1 2211>  
\*Leonardo, pater (Franciscan minister general) <I-MFA>  
\*Padu... serenans/Pastor bonus (Andrea Carrara, abbot of  
Santa Giustina) <PMFC XXIV:20>

Key to Table III:

\* asterisk indicates that piece is incomplete.

() parentheses indicate that piece is counted in another category

Where there is no modern edition, RISM sigla for manuscripts are provided.

Modern editions are as follows:

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Bent          | Margaret Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," <u>Studi Musicali</u> 9 (1980), pp. 171-89.  |
| Fano          | Fabio Fano, <u>Le origini e il primo maestro di cappella: Matteo da Perugia</u> , <u>La cappella musicale del duomo di Milano</u> , pt. 1 (Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale Italiana, I, n.s.) (Milan, 1956).      |
| Grottaferrata | Ursula Günther, "Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata," <u>L'Ars Nova Italiano del Trecento: Secondo Convegno Internazionale</u> , 1969, ed. F. A. Gallo (Certaldo, 1969), pp. 315-397. |
| Günther       | Ursula Günther, ed., <u>The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense, alpha.M.5,25 (olim lat. 568)</u> (CMM 39; AIM, 1965).  |
| PMFC IV       | Leo Schrade, ed., <u>The Works of Francesco Landini</u> (Monaco, 1958).  |
| PMFC XII      | Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., <u>Italian Sacred Music</u> (Monaco, 1976).   |
| PMFC XXIV     | Margaret Bent and Ann Hallmark, eds., <u>The Works of Johannes Ciconia</u> (Monaco, 1985).   |
| Pirrotta      | Nino Pirrotta, ed., <u>The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy IV: Jacobus de Bononia and Vincentius de Arimino</u> (CMM 8; AIM 1963).   |

## Table IV: English Motets and Cantilenas

Table IV: Motets and Cantilenas in the Old Hall MS and by Dunstable.

A: Contents of the Old Hall manuscript

Cantilenas:

- 15 cantilenas written in score, antiphons to the BVM
- 2 cantilenas written in Cc, antiphons to the BVM

---

17 cantilenas to the BVM

Isorhythmic motets, written in Cc

- 2 to BVM
- 2 to BVM and St. George
- 2 to saints: Catherine of Alexandria and Thomas of Canterbury
- 2 Deo Gratias substitutes
- 1 Pentecost

---

9 isorhythmic motets

=====

B. Dunstable

Cantilenas:

- 12 antiphons to the BVM
- 2 other liturgical texts to BVM  
(sequence and Office of All Saints)
- 1 sequence to St. Catherine
- 2 antiphons on the Holy Cross

---

17 cantilenas

Isorhythmic motets:

- 3 to BVM
- 6 to saints (John Baptist, Catherine,  
Alban, German, Michael, Anne)
- 2 for Pentecost (1 in Old Hall)

---

11 isorhythmic motets

(Other Latin-texted non-mass ordinary works by Dunstable:  
Textless isorhythmic motet from Henry VIII manuscript;  
Magnificat; Hymn setting)

=====

Key: Cc = cantus collateralis, or choirbook format

## Chapter 5. The Motet c. 1400-1440

### Introduction

The issue of genre, and in particular of the genre of the motet, becomes more complicated in the fifteenth century. The best known definition from the period, that in Tinctoris's music dictionary, is extremely vague:

Motetum est cantus mediocris, cui verba cuiusvis materiae sed frequentius divinae supponuntur.

A motet is a composition of moderate length, to which words of any kind are set, but more often those of a sacred nature.<sup>1</sup>

The principal surviving sources containing motets -- Aosta, Bologna Q15, Bologna 2216, Oxford 213, Modena 1.11 -- were copied in the 1430s and 40s in Northern Italy.<sup>2</sup> No longer do we find locally produced manuscripts containing primarily locally produced music; instead we find music of all kinds by composers of every nationality collected in large repertory manuscripts produced in one part of Europe. All of these manuscripts except Oxford 213 have distinct sections devoted to motets.<sup>3</sup> Both Modena and Aosta have tables of contents that are divided up by genre -- in Modena the comment "Hic incipiunt motetti" indicates the beginning of a section of the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The presence of such sections, and, in the case of Modena, the use of the term motet for a specific group of pieces, suggests a genre that is clearly defined, as in the French fourteenth-century manuscripts. But although the

"motetti" in Modena are distinguished from the simple liturgical chant settings that precede them, the contents of the motet section are so various as almost to defy classification. There are settings of pre-existent texts of various kinds, Biblical and liturgical; and of new texts on a variety of subjects; and a huge variety of textures, structures and styles, including those of the older French and Italian motet, and of the English motet and cantilena. Some "motet sections" appear to include pieces with texts in the vernacular, hymn settings, and laude.<sup>5</sup> Tinctoris's definition appears, if anything, too specific.

Formal or musical generalizations about the genre are very difficult in this context, but after sorting out what actually belongs in the motet sections it is possible to make a few general statements. The pieces share one positive attribute -- all the texts are sacred or Latin-texted or both -- and several negative attributes -- they do not have simple repeat structures like chansons, hymns, or laude, nor do they set the text of the Mass ordinary or the magnificat.<sup>6</sup> None of the pieces are necessarily liturgical in the way that Mass movements and alternatim settings of hymns and magnificats are (though some pieces, such as the Marian antiphons, can be liturgical). The pieces in the motet sections must be considered in some sense generically or functionally equivalent, inasmuch as they were consciously grouped together in the manuscript and distinguished in the process from Mass and Vespers music.

But genre of the motet in the fifteenth century is disappointingly broad; we have almost no specific expectations to bring to a piece

called a motet. In order to develop such expectations about the genre we must investigate the range of its musical and textual possibilities, and develop a subsidiary set of categories or subgenres. Certain subgenres that associate text types and musical features, such as the song-motet or cantilena that sets the text of a Marian antiphon, or the isorhythmic motet that sets a dedicatory or occasional text, are discussed in the literature and appear in text books.<sup>7</sup> But our sense of these subgenres is impressionistic, and we do not have a precise idea about the extent to which these two types account for the whole repertory. We can find counterexamples for both types -- Marian isorhythmic motets, and dedicatory song motets -- and pieces that fall into neither category. We are not well equipped to answer questions such as "What kinds of musical characteristics should we expect for a piece with a text in praise of a saint?" or "What kind of text should we expect for a piece with two texts and a newly composed non-isorhythmic tenor?"

One way to approach these questions is to establish the range of possible musical characteristics and text types and their correlations; another is to trace the connections with the various national traditions of the fourteenth century. It would be difficult to survey the entire repertory of motets from the early fifteenth century in the way we have the fourteenth-century national traditions, because the repertory is too big and too ill-defined. As an alternative I have chosen to study the music in the motet section of a single source: Bologna Q15 (see Table V at the end of the chapter [p. 156]). It is one



of the earliest manuscripts with a motet section that is both clearly defined and extensive. The motet section allows us to begin with a generic framework that originated in the culture, and its repertory is sufficiently large (over 100 motets) to provide a representative sample.

#### Bologna Q15 (See Table V)

Organization of Bologna Q15;  
Criteria for Inclusion in Table V.

Bologna Q15 is believed to be from the Veneto and completed c. 1440, but begun considerably earlier: there are interpolated fascicles, folios that have been removed and recopied, several different scribes, and conflicting foliations; some pieces have initials and some do not, and smaller pieces appear to have been added to the bottoms of pages.<sup>8</sup> Besseler believed that the original "Korpus" was completed by 1430, and considered any piece without an initial at the top of the page part of a later "Nachtrag," but this is probably something of an oversimplification.<sup>9</sup> The manuscript is divided into three sections — Mass ordinary movements, "motets," and Vespers music (hymns and magnificats) — but the organization is obscured somewhat by the pieces added to the bottoms of pages.

The motet section begins in fascicle 18 and continues to the middle of fascicle 27. Fascicle 20 is one of the interpolated fascicles, and does not have the roman-numeral foliation of the rest of the fascicles, nor does it have large initials; fascicles 26 and 27 also lack initials, though in many cases they have small cue letters suggesting

that initials were planned. But the types of pieces in fascicles 20, 26 and 27 are not consistently different from those of the original fascicles, and it appears that these fascicles were added, at whatever time, with the generic constraints of the section in mind.

The pieces added at the bottoms of pages -- two motets, ten laude, and eight rondeaux, usually without initials, often in a different hand -- present a different picture, because most of them are clearly distinguishable generically from motets. The two motets are added with the generic constraints of the section in mind -- motets do not appear as page fillers in any other section of the manuscript. The laude (four in fascicles 18-21 and six in fascicles 26-27) are easily distinguishable from motets because of the additional stanzas of text written below and around the music. Two laude also appear as part of the "original corpus" of the manuscript, with initials at the tops of pages (nos. 198 and 268); like the motets they appear nowhere else in the manuscript. It appears, therefore, that laude were added to this section of the manuscript because of some generic affinity to motets: like most motets they have sacred subjects, they usually have Latin texts, and they share with motets the lack of a clearly defined liturgical function. But the radical simplicity of texture and strophic repeat and refrain structures make the laude easily distinguishable from any of the motet types that appear in the section; that distinction is born out by their marginal relationship to the principal genre of the section, the motets. The eight French-texted rondeaux appear in fascicles 22-24; their language makes them even more

easily distinguishable from motets than are laude. Rondeaux also appear as page-fillers in the Mass music section of the manuscript, which makes it clear that their inclusion in the motet section is a matter of space and not generic appropriateness.

I have therefore chosen to exclude the laude and rondeaux (see Table V.D), and to include all the motets in the motet section in Table V.<sup>10</sup> The issues addressed by this typology do not have precise chronological limits, and to exclude the "Nachtrag" would be to risk making false distinctions.<sup>11</sup>

#### General Explanation of Table V

Table V.A organizes all the motets in the motet section by text type and musical characteristics. Table V.B lists the motets in the table by text type. Table V.C lists the motets in the table by musical type. Table V.D lists the pieces in the section excluded from Table V.A. A key can be found at the end.

Text types are listed on the vertical axis of Table V.A. I distinguish first of all between pre-existent and new texts. All the important fourteenth-century motet traditions used newly composed texts; only the English cantilena used pre-existent liturgical texts. The use of pre-existent texts, with or without the accompanying chant, is a new departure that seems to reflect a rapprochement between simple service music or improvised polyphony for the liturgy and the more complex art music of the motet. Unless a text is known to have existed previously it is included with the new texts. Since I may not have

succeeded in tracing every text, some of the pieces listed under "New Texts" may actually belong with pre-existent texts; this will be taken into account in the discussion.

Musical/structural traits are listed on the horizontal axis. I have chosen to concentrate on matters of texture: on number of voices, number of texts, and which voices are texted. I have also included presence or absence of isorhythm. These are all categories that are fairly simple to determine. They also correspond to characteristics of fourteenth-century motets. I have not included as a criterion for the typology presence or absence of pre-existent material, such as chant paraphrase or cantus firmus. The simplest reason for this omission is the frequent difficulty of determining whether pre-existent material is present. Labeled tenors may be newly composed; unlabeled tenors may be pre-existent; the paraphrase may be partial or very concealing; the chants may be of obscure origin and difficult or impossible to locate. But I also believe that texture is more important than presence or absence of pre-existent material. Two cantilenas, one which paraphrases a chant and the other which is freely composed, may be almost indistinguishable in style. It is interesting that freely composed melody resembles paraphrase, and that paraphrase converts chant into fifteenth-century melody -- but the important thing is their similarity, not their difference, and a typological distinction would conceal that similarity rather than reveal it. A similar argument can be made for cantus firmus: a cantus firmus can be composed in chant style, or a chant can be excerpted and rhythmicized in such a way as to

effectively conceal its origins. Here I wish to illuminate perceptible commonalities among pieces, rather than emphasizing distinctions, since in the end every piece is in its own category.<sup>12</sup>

The musical groups are listed in a particular order, moving essentially from the three-voice "cantilena" or "song motet" texture (recalling the English cantilena and Continental song styles) on the left, through textures that recall the Italian motet, with two texted upper voices in the same range but no isorhythm in the middle, to the isorhythmic motet in the French style on the right.

Detailed Explanation and Discussion  
of the Categories in Table V

VERTICAL AXIS — Text types (see tables V.A and V.B)

Pre-existent texts:

Except for those in category 6, all of the pre-existent texts are liturgical. In the fourteenth century only ~~the~~ English cantilena traditionally used pre-existent liturgical texts; especially common were the Marian texts found here in categories 1, 2, and 3. The musical settings of categories 1 through 5 use the textures listed at the left side of Table V.A, those that resemble the textures of English cantilena.

1) The four Marian antiphons.

Settings of the votive Alma redemptoris mater, Ave regina caelorum, Regina caeli laetare, and Salve Regina. These were not the only votive Marian antiphons in use during this period, but they appear to have

been the principal ones, judging by the number of settings that survive.<sup>13</sup> Four of the pieces in this category are by English composers.

## 2) Other liturgical Marian texts.

Other Marian antiphons (votive and/or psalmic) and other liturgical Marian texts such as sequences (which could also be used as votive antiphons), probably used at Marian feasts and other Marian devotions. Two or three of these pieces are by English composers.<sup>14</sup>

## 3) Texts from the Song of Songs.

These are also Marian texts, primarily antiphons. They appear to be favored by Flemish composers working in Italy.<sup>15</sup>

## 4) Liturgical texts for God and Christ.

There are many fewer of these than there are Marian texts, which suggests that polyphony may have been particularly associated with Marian devotions. Three of the six motets in this category are settings of Ave verum corpus, sung at Mass for the blessed sacrament, but also a prayer for private devotions that appears in books of hours.<sup>16</sup> Settings range in style from the simplest two-voice setting in the style of a lauda to the more complex four-voice setting by Hugh de Lantins.

## 5) Motets with liturgical texts for saints.

Motets for saints existed in France, Italy, and England in the fourteenth century, but their texts were new and often related to local traditions. These, on the other hand, use pre-existent texts and thus are difficult to trace to any particular locale.

6) Non-liturgical pre-existent texts.

Some of the pre-existent texts are neither Biblical or liturgical, though they may be devotional in a more general way.

i) Texts to old motets

These pieces set texts that originated with motets of the thirteenth century to completely new music; two use the same text. Re-use of these texts makes reference to the venerable tradition of the French motet, so we would expect such texts to look like French fourteenth-century motets and appear at the right of the chart. Two of them do, but the third is a cantilena and uses only one text. It is interesting to note that sacred subjects are chosen for re-use, out of all the diverse subjects of early motet texts.

ii) Non-liturgical sacred poetry.

Sacred or devotional texts neither from the Bible or the liturgy. One is a Petrarch canzona in Italian. Its tone recalls that of the Song of Songs settings, and it is set similarly, as a cantilena. The other two are found in poetic, but not liturgical, sources. They are closer in language and poetic style to the new texts below than to the other liturgical texts, and they are set as isorhythmic motets, which traditionally use new texts.

### New texts:

All the fourteenth-century motet traditions use new texts, presumably written for the motet at the time of its composition.<sup>17</sup> The subjects of the fifteenth-century texts have similarities to and differences from those of the fourteenth century. Many, but not all, of the settings use textures listed in the middle and right of Table V.A, those of the trecento Italian motet and the isorhythmic motet in France and England.

#### 7) Marian texts.

The subject matter of these texts corresponds to categories 1, 2 and 3, and some of these texts may also be pre-existent — they are devotional, if not liturgical. We find settings, therefore, both in the style of the pre-existent texts, to the left of Table V.A, and in the style of the fourteenth-century French and Italian isorhythmic motet, to the right of Table V.A. Note that Marian texts are now in the minority (15% of the new texts), whereas above they accounted for more than half of the pre-existent texts (27:44, or 60%). This corresponds to the English use: cantilenas for Marian devotions, motets for other sacred subjects.

#### 8) Texts concerning God and Christ.

The subject matter of these texts corresponds to category 4, which makes up 18% of the pre-existent texts, while category 8 makes up 22%



of the new texts. Only four of the texts in category 8 are in the cantilena style; most of the settings are to the middle and right of Table V.A, in the more traditional motet styles. The four pieces in column m are by Carmen, who was never in Italy and worked exclusively in France and Burgundy, and Grenon, who was in Italy for only two years.<sup>18</sup> Many of the surviving isorhythmic motets by composers working in the North are on such subjects; it seems to be an independent continuation of one part of the fourteenth-century French tradition.<sup>19</sup>

#### 9) Texts in honor of saints.

The subject matter of these texts corresponds to category 5, and some of these texts may well be pre-existent. Every national tradition had motets on the subject of saints, but they were particularly predominant in the Italian tradition. These motets are spread fairly evenly across Table V.A, but when we look at the composers we find that all of them except Loqueville are Italian (Cristoforus de Monte, Antonius de Civitatio; Ciconia's music makes him Italian for this purpose as well) or spent a significant part of their lives working in Italy (Lymburgia, Brassart, Dufay).<sup>20</sup>

#### 10) Laudatory political texts.

These texts are in praise of political and ecclesiastical rulers (princes and bishops) and in praise of cities. The category corresponds to text types in French and especially Italian fourteenth-century motets, and most of the settings use the

corresponding textures at the right and in the middle of Table V.A. This is the largest single category of new texts (35%). In the fourteenth century laudatory subjects played an important role only in Italy; as in category 9, most of the composers of these motets worked in Italy, continuing the Italian laudatory motet tradition. Only three of the settings are from the left of Table V.A.<sup>21</sup>

#### 11) Complaints.

This category corresponds to text type II.3 of the French fourteenth-century motet. The few examples are the last vestiges of a text type that reaches back almost to the beginnings of the motet. Examples are toward the right of the chart, as might be expected.

#### HORIZONTAL AXIS -- Musical types and textures

##### a). 2-1, n-i.

Non-isorhythmic, two voices, one text.

This is barely a category at all; two of the pieces are by Ciconia and are contrafacta for secular works;<sup>22</sup> the third, Reson's Ave verum corpus, is simple service music. They were included in the motet section of the manuscript, and belong to the genre only peripherally.

##### b), c), d). 3-1, n-i: C, C&T, all.

Non-isorhythmic, three voices, one text, with a variety of texting possibilities: Cantus only, cantus and tenor, and all voices.

These are the pieces known as "cantilenas" or "song motets," and they resemble the English cantilenas. Usually they have one leading melodic voice in the upper range and two lower voices, tenor and

contratenor, in the same lower range; text declamation is fairly clear (though some are quite melismatic). They are to be distinguished from the pieces in category g, where there are two texted voices in the upper range. Texting practice is irregular; some pieces begin one way (such as Cantus only) but end another (such as Cantus and Tenor), and others appear one way in Bologna Q15 and another way in another source.

e). 4-1, n-1: all.

Non-isorhythmic, four voices, one text, all texted.

In four-voice non-isorhythmic pieces with one text there are relatively few texting practices, unlike three-voice pieces. Texting of all voices is rare, but a clear extension of category d into the four-voice realm; it will become the standard for the motet later in the century.

f). 4-1, n-1: I&II.

Non-isorhythmic, four voices, one text, Cantus I and II texted.

The other texting practice gives the top two voices text, after the fashion of the standard French or Italian motet. There are more pieces in column f than in any other column, probably for two reasons. First of all, this must have been the standard texting practice for four-voice pieces; four-voice cantilenas were essentially unknown in the fourteenth century, and the most familiar four-voice model was the isorhythmic motet or the Italian motet with two texted upper voices. Second, there is reason to believe that the scribe(s) of Bologna Q15 may have added contratenor parts to many three-voice motets in order to

bring them up to date, or make them look more like the classical French isorhythmic motet.<sup>23</sup> Many of the pieces in this category thus probably belong in categories b, c, d, and g. The thicker line between e and f marks the distinction between the cantilena or song motet and the Italian motet style, even though many of the pieces in category f probably belong to the left of that line.

g). 3-1 n-1, I&II.

Non-isorhythmic, three voices, one text, Cantus I and II texted.

This category is separated from the other three-voice pieces with a single text (3-1 n-1: b, c, and d) because the pieces in it are closer to the Italian motet than to the song motet, and resemble many of the pieces both in category f, 4-1 n-1 I&II, and in category h, 3-2 n-1 (I&II). The habit of the Q15 scribe(s) of adding a fourth voice to such three-voice pieces accounts for the surprisingly small number in this category.

From here on it is assumed that Cantus I and II are texted.

h). 3-2 n-1.

Non-isorhythmic, three voices, two texts (Cantus I and II).

These pieces are texturally identical to those in g, except that there are two texts, another option for the Italian motet. The small number of pieces in this category may also be the result of the Q15's scribes practice of adding a fourth voice; some of the pieces in i may actually belong here. The two laudatory texts are by Italian composers; the other two are by the rather mysterious Hubertus de

Salinis, who is known only from Northern Europe, but writes here in the Italian style.

i). 4-2 n-1.

Non-isorhythmic, four voices, two texts (Cantus I and II).

At least one of the pieces in this category (no. 243: Anthonius Romanus, Ducalis / Stirps, in text type 10) probably originated as a three-voice piece such as those in group h.<sup>24</sup> The others are not strictly 4-2 n-1; two have three texts, and in the last (260: Velut, Summe / Summa) all voices are texted, two with each of the two texts, though the Tenor text ceases after two lines. Only Velut is not Italian; very little is known about him, and he may have spent time in Italy.<sup>25</sup>

j), k), l), m). 3-1, 4-1, 3-2, 4-2, iso (Cantus I and II). Isorhythmic, three and four voices with one or two texts.

Isorhythm includes here not only the strict French-style organization of a pre-existent tenor into taleae, but also any kind of large scale rhythmic patterning, such as the Italian practice of pan-isorhythmic repeat of the rhythms of all parts for the second half of the piece. Bent calls such organization isorhythm in the Ciconia edition, but has since regretted using the term.<sup>26</sup> Both procedures are ways of creating large-scale proportional structures in music.

The isorhythmic motet traditionally has two texted parts in the upper range. In French motets the two parts are usually called Triplum and Motetus, and are sometimes differentiated in range, amount of text and rhythmic activity. Here they are called Cantus I and II, after the

Italian practice, where the two parts often have the same amount of text and are indistinguishable in range and musical style.

The isorhythmic motet with a single text (j and k) is a new development in the fifteenth century. Although it is composed primarily by Northern composers, it may result from the influence of the cantilena or the monotextual Italian motet.

The four-voice isorhythmic motet (m) is the classic form of the late fourteenth century, and column m is larger than any other except b and f, with an especially large number of laudatory texts (row 10). Many of the motets by Italian composers may have had voices added by the scribe of Bologna Q15, and belong in column 1.

## Conclusion

Table V.A reveals that all the local traditions of motet composition continued into the fifteenth century, and are represented in Bologna Q15: the English cantilena is at the top left (in the rectangle with the corners 1.b and 5.d or f); the French motet on the bottom right (6 or 7.1 to 11.m); and the Italian motet in the bottom middle and right (7.f to 10.m).<sup>27</sup> In the fourteenth century manuscripts were locally produced and contained primarily music of local origin by local composers; this resulted in a consistency of style in any one manuscript, and "motet" had a specific meaning in any one place (though it differed from place to place). The apparent diversity of style in the motet section of Bologna Q15 and our resultant difficulty in defining the limits of the genre arise because it contains music of

several different local traditions, so that we are looking, not at one genre, but at three local motet traditions plus the English cantilena, collected in the same place for the first time. A good part of the repertory of Bologna Q15 is simply a continuation of the local fourteenth-century traditions of motet composition -- English cantilenas by English composers, French motets by French composers, and Italian motets by Italian composers. This is not to say that there is nothing new in the fifteenth century motet; but less is new than had been previously thought.<sup>28</sup>

Some elements from the past do not continue into the fifteenth century. In particular, the French text types II.2.B ("Advisory"), II.2.C ("Condemnatory"), II.4 ("Music, musicians, aesthetics") and II.5 ("Secular love"), which combined make up 35% of the French motets, do not appear in the fifteenth century at all, while the French category II.3 ("Evils of the world"), 24% of the French fourteenth-century repertory, is represented only minimally in the fifteenth century (in text type 11, "Complaints," 5% of the motets with new texts).

We also find pieces that are perfectly clear examples of one local tradition written by composers of the "wrong" nationality. In particular, there are some "French" motets written by Italian composers, and lots of "English" cantilenas and "Italian" motets written by French (Northern) composers.

And there are motets that do not seem to belong to any of the fourteenth-century types. These can be found on the parts of Table V.A not included in any of the local traditions: cantilenas using new texts

on sacred and laudatory subjects, instead of pre-existent liturgical texts, on the bottom left (in the rectangle with the corners 7.b and 10.d); four-part motets resembling both the English cantilena and the Italian motet (pieces in columns e and especially f). Most of these new motet types are by Northern composers working in Italy.

Our knowledge of the fourteenth-century local traditions and the extent to which they continue to apply in the fifteenth century allows us to bring much more specific generic expectations to individual pieces. They function as subgenres, and correspond to the subgenres accepted in the literature. The "song-motet" is a version of the English cantilena; the dedicatory isorhythmic motet is a French-influenced Italian motet or an Italian-influenced French one. We can now answer the questions posed at the beginning of the chapter. A piece with a pre-existent text in praise of a saint would probably be a three- or four-voice cantilena; a piece with a new text for a saint could be a cantilena or it could look more like an isorhythmic motet. A piece with two texts and a non-isorhythmic tenor would be most likely to have a new, laudatory text, or a text in honor of a saint; it is an Italian motet. As Tinctoris says, a motet is a piece of moderate length — longer than a chanson, or a lauda, shorter than a Mass ordinary cycle. It is also the middle genre — now it resembles or approaches liturgical music, now it resembles or approaches secular music. The text can be on any subject — and we now know exactly what the possible subjects are — but more often than not the subject is sacred — which we can also observe on Table V.A. Tinctoris did the



best he could describing a genre with a great deal of diversity in style and function; but that he failed to discuss the specific varieties of motet does not mean that subgenres did not exist, or that it is not possible to develop them.

Bologna Q15 has a larger repertory of motets than any other manuscript of the period, it has concordances with all the other manuscripts containing motets, and it was copied over a long period of time. Knowledge of the motets of Bologna Q15 is the next best thing to knowing the whole repertory, and the Bologna Q15 repertory has the advantage of being defined by fifteenth-century generic guidelines, not twentieth-century ones. Studying the contents of the motet section Bologna Q15, in conjunction with our knowledge of fourteenth-century local traditions of motet composition, has allowed us to develop a typology for the whole repertory of fifteenth-century motets. Like most of the other manuscripts of the period, it was compiled and copied in Northern Italy. The music it contains by Italian and English composers generally resembles Italian and English music of the late fourteenth century. Some of the music by composers from France and the Burgundian Netherlands resembles French fourteenth-century music (especially that of composers who did not work in Italy); but some kinds of French motets do not appear in the manuscripts, some of it is closer to English and Italian models than it is to French ones, and some of it is in a new style, or a new combination of a variety of previous styles. Bologna Q15 is a melting pot for national styles of motet composition. Some ingredients retain their individual flavor,

some are excluded from the brew, some take on the flavors of other ingredients, and some new flavors are created. But we need to ask what forces affected the composition of that brew, and determined its final flavors. How can we understand the changes in the transmission and preservation of music? What could have affected which parts of the French tradition persisted, and which did not? What could have made Northern composers so receptive to new influences, and why did they respond in the way they did? For the answers to these questions we will have to turn to the cultural politics of Europe during the period.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Dictionary of Musical Terms, ed. and transl. Carl Parrish (London, 1963), pp. 42-43. This is the only definition mentioned by Dammann, "Geschichte der Begriffbestimmung," p. 355. In describing the definition of motet as "extremely vague," I was echoing the words of Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance, revised ed. (New York, 1959), p. 20 — "their use of the designation motet was extremely vague" — without knowing it.
2. For the most important fifteenth-century manuscript inventories and studies, see the list of manuscripts and sigla. See also CC (Census-Catalog) and Charles Hamm and Jerry Call, "Sources, MS, §IX, 2: Renaissance polyphony, 15th-century Northern Italian" New Grove 17, pp. 674-77. Parts of Aosta were copied in Strasbourg, Basel, and Innsbruck; see Marian Cobin, "The Aosta Manuscript: a Central Source of Early-Fifteenth-Century Sacred Polyphony" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978). Several smaller manuscripts contain motets, as do the Trent codices, but motets are less important in proportion to the total repertory than in the sources listed, and therefore will not be discussed here.
3. Charles Hamm describes the organization of most of the important manuscripts in "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," Acta Musicologica 34 (1962), pp. 166-84; but see also Margaret Bent, "Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 295-317; she questions Hamm's theory of "fascicle manuscripts." Oxford 213 contains motets, but it is not organized into distinct sections.
4. Charles Hamm and Ann Besser Scott, "A Study and Inventory of the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, alpha.X.1.11 (ModB)" MD 26 (1972), p. 102. See also Hamm, "Manuscript structure," and on Aosta, see Cobin, "The Manuscript Aosta."
5. The motet section of Bologna Q15 includes pieces with Italian texts (Dufay's "Apostolo glorioso," an isorhythmic motet, and "Vergene bella," a cantilena), a hymn, and laude. See Table V below, especially V.D, for a discussion of what really belongs in the motet section of Q15. On the lauda see Sylvia Kenney, "In Praise of the Lauda," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1966), pp. 489-99. Neither Kenney nor anyone else defines the term or the genre for the early fifteenth century; it is a piece with additional stanzas of text, simple repeat structures, and a devotional text in Latin or Italian. A more informative discussion of the lauda can be found in Giulio Cattin, "Contributi alla storia della lauda spirituale. Sulla evoluzione musicale e letteraria della lauda nei secoli XIV e XV,"

Quadrivium 2 (1958), pp. 45-75.

6. Several manuscripts (including Bologna Q15 and Modena 1.11) have sections devoted to Vespers music (hymns and magnificats); such music is distinguishable from motets both in text and in style. On hymns, see Tom R. Ward, "The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth-Century Italy," MD 26 (1972), pp. 160-188, and The Polyphonic Office Hymn, 1400-1520: A Descriptive Catalog, Renaissance Manuscript Studies 3 (AIM 1980), where he comments on page 9 that "this inventory removes 755 works from that vague category 'motet'."
7. See, for example, Heinrich Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 31, 135-6, for a discussion of the new "Liedmotette"; Rudolf von Ficker, "The Transition on the Continent," NOHM III: Ars Nova and the Renaissance (London, 1960), p. 163, "the new liturgical motet, with the ornamented plainsong in the upper part"; Howard M. Brown, Music in the Renaissance (Englewood Cliffs, 1976), p. 36: song-motets for the Virgin Mary, and isorhythmic motets, "many of the written . . . for a particular historical occasion"; or Leeman Perkins, "Motet, §2: Renaissance," New Grove 12, pp. 628-37: "isorhythm . . . linked with compositions written to celebrate festal and ceremonial occasions," and "the devotional song motet for three voices" (p. 628).
8. See Guillaume de Van, "Inventory of Manuscript Bologna Liceo Musicale, Q15 (olim 37)," MD 2 (1948), pp. 231-57. This is an inventory with no discussion; the organization of the manuscript is discussed in H. Besseler, "The Manuscript Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria 2216," MD 6 (1952), pp. 39-65. Some of the motets are discussed and transcribed in Bobby Wayne Cox, "The Motets of MS Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1977). This dissertation has been very useful to me because it cites all the previous discussions of the motets he discusses, and the transcriptions are all assembled in one place. Unfortunately, Cox never explains how he defines "motet," and he excludes close to half of the pieces in the motet section. I suspect that he used the source of the text as his criterion for inclusion, because all but three of the motets listed in Table V.B under "New Texts" (categories 7-11) are included in his study, and all but six (five of them in category 6) of the motets listed under "Pre-existent Texts (categories 1-6) are excluded. See Table V: Key.
9. Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, pp. 11-13.
10. I have also chosen to exclude the single hymn in the original corpus, no. 282. It appears near the end of the motet section, and thus near the beginning of the hymn section of the

manuscript. Like the laude it is clearly distinguishable from the motets due to its strophic text, and in this case use of chant paraphrase and fauxbourdon.

11. At the beginning of fascicle 18 there is a miscellaneous section including music of almost every kind -- two magnificats, a Mass movement, a lauda, and two motets -- and in no particular order. There is no disagreement about the fact that the motet section proper begins with no. 168, Dufay's Supremum est mortalibus bonum, which also begins the motet section of Bologna 2216. I have therefore omitted the two motets preceding it (nos. 164 and 167) from my typology, because I wished to limit myself to pieces included in the motet section proper. If I had added them (and thus included all the motets in Q15) very little would change. Both have pre-existent texts, one a Marian antiphon and the other a responsory with a text from Revelations 22; both are 3-1 n-i Cantus only, and would go in b) 1) and b) 4) respectively. The total in column b would therefore increase by 2.
12. Peter Lefferts declines to distinguish between chant settings and "motets" in The Motet in England, p. 8; and Margaret Bent, in Dunstable, treats settings of liturgical texts with and without chant paraphrase together (p. 39, quoted above).
13. Harrison, in Music in Medieval Britain, p. 81, says that the Franciscans had adopted these four antiphons by 1254. On the votive antiphons in general, see pp. 81-88.
14. No. 289, Beata dei genitrix, is attributed to Binchois in Q15 but to Dunstable in another source.
15. On this category, see Shai Burstyn, "Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Settings of Verses from the Song of Songs," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972.
16. It is included under "Varia" in the Liber Usualis; on its presence in books of hours, see Joseph Kerman, The Masses and Motets of William Byrd (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981), p. 269.
17. The English cantilena is not considered a motet in England. Some English motets in Old Hall use pre-existent texts for some voices (the most famous example of this is Dunstable's Veni sancte / Veni creator). New texts are often based on or amplifications of pre-existent texts; see Lefferts, The Motet in England, pp. 193-6. This may be a particularly English trait; but see the discussions of the texts of the motets in Chantilly and Modena 5.24 by Ursula Günther, The Motets of the Manuscript Chantilly. She finds, for example, similarities between motet texts and the language in the saints' lives.
18. Carmen worked for the Dukes of Burgundy and is mentioned by

Martin le Franc as one of the older composers in France who gave way to the contenance angloise; Grenon was in the papal chapel for two years, 1425-27, but spent most of his time in the North. See Cox, "The Motets," pp. 299-301, for Carmen and p. 302 for Grenon, and Craig Wright, "Carmen, Johannes," New Grove 3, pp. 798-9; and "Grenon," New Grove 7, p. 702.

19. Erna Dannemann concentrates on composers who spent most of their working lives in the North in Die spätgotische Musiktradition in Frankreich und Burgund vor dem Auftreten Guillaume Dufays (Strasbourg, 1936).
20. On Ciconia as Italian, for all intents and purposes, see Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet"; Bent and Hallmark, eds., PMFC XXIV, The Works of Johannes Ciconia (Monaco, 1985), p. I; and Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy," in Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music, ed. S. Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), p. 204. For a list of composers that worked in Italy, see Ficker, "The Transition on the Continent," pp. 147-8; and Cox, "The Motets," pt. 1, pp. 22-33 and 290-314; see also the individual composer articles in New Grove.
21. Two of those three are by composers who worked primarily in Italy: Feragut and Lymburgia; the third, anonymous work in honor of a Venetian cardinal, probably is as well, if it is not by an Italian composer. Fallows (Dufay, pp. 124-5) has suggested that there may have been an Italian cantilena independent of the English tradition, and cites Feragut's Excelsa civitas (which he believed was written in 1409, but was probably written in 1433, according to Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," p. 2) as an example. It is true that none of these texts would have been set as cantilenas by English composers; but what are the origins of such an Italian tradition? It seems more likely that these composers adapted a traditional Italian text type to the new musical style they knew from English models; and Fallows suggestion that this style influenced Dufay is weakened by the later dating of Excelsa.
22. See PMFC XXIV, nos. 22 and 23.
23. Margaret Bent suggests this in "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet" and in PMFC XXIV, p. XIII.
24. It is found in Bologna 2216 with only three voices. Bent believes that no. 254, Ciconia's O virum / O lux / O beatae Nicolae also had only three voices originally; see PMFC XXIV no. 15.
25. See Cox, "The Motets," p. 306.

26. "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet."
27. The English isorhythmic motet is found inside the French category (a more limited subject matter), 7.1 to 8.m, but there are in fact no examples of English isorhythmic motets in Bologna Q 15, though there are in other contemporary sources, especially Modena 1.11.
28. In "The Transition to the Continent" Rudolf von Ficker comments that "At the end of the [fourteenth] century these three national schools were still independent, and clearly distinguishable from one another. Only during the first thirty years of the fifteenth century was a compromise reached between them; and from their fusion emerged a single musical ideal, valid in both Northern and Southern Europe" (p. 134). He goes on to describe the three motet traditions. The cantilena is his "new liturgical motet" (p. 163), and has English antecedents. The Italian motet he describes as follows: "A new type of motet appeared which, though it may have been originated by the Netherlanders of the Liege school and in particular by Ciconia, was used mainly in Italy. This new form abandoned both isorhythm and the canto fermo. . . . On the other hand it used at first a double set or words like the old motets, as well as a canonic introduction (introitus)" (p. 154). And of the French motet he says that "in the first thirty years of the fifteenth century the traditional isorhythmic motet maintained its dominant position" (p. 156). Few Italians write them, but the "Paris school" writes them in the traditional manner (pp. 156-57). Ficker was not aware of the Italian motet tradition, and he was unaware how assimilated Ciconia was in Italy, but he knew the repertory well and described it fairly accurately.

Table V.A: Motets of Bologna Q15

Table V: THE MOTETS OF THE MOTET SECTION OF BOLOGNA Q15

V.A: Classification by text type and musical features

|                    |     | non-isorhythmic (n-i) |     |     |     |      |      |     |     | isorhythmic |     |     |     |     |
|--------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                    |     | 2-1                   | 3-1 |     |     | 4-1  |      | 3-1 | 3-2 | 4-2         | 3-1 | 4-1 | 3-2 | 4-2 |
|                    |     | C                     | C&T | all | all | I&II | I&II |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| totals             |     | a)                    | b)  | c)  | d)  | e)   | f)   | g)  | h)  | i)          | j)  | k)  | l)  | m)  |
| PRE-EXISTENT TEXTS |     |                       |     |     |     |      |      |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| 1) 4 Marian A's    | 10  |                       | 5   |     | 3   | 1    | 1    |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| 2) Other Marian    | 7   |                       | 3   |     | 1   |      | 1    | 2   |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| 3) Song of Songs   | 10  |                       | 3   | 1   | 2   |      | 4    |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| 4) God and Christ  | 8   | 1                     | 1   | 2   | 1   | 1    | 1    | 1   |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| 5) Saints          | 4   |                       | 1   | 1   |     |      | 2    |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| 6) Non-liturgical  | 6   |                       | 2   |     |     |      | 1    |     |     |             |     | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| totals             | 45  | 1                     | 15  | 4   | 7   | 2    | 10   | 3   |     |             |     | 1   | 1   | 1   |
| NEW TEXTS          |     |                       |     |     |     |      |      |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| 7) Marian          | 9   |                       | 3   | 2   |     |      | 1    |     |     |             |     | 1   |     | 2   |
| 8) God and Christ  | 13  | 1                     | 1   | 1   | 1   |      | 1    |     | 1   | 1           | 1   |     | 1   | 4   |
| 9) Saints          | 13  | 1                     | 3   | 2   |     |      | 2    |     |     | 2           |     |     | 1   | 2   |
| 10) Laudatory      | 21  |                       | 1   | 1   | 1   |      | 3    | 2   | 2   | 1           | 1   | 1   | 2   | 6   |
| 11) Complaints     | 3   |                       |     |     |     |      |      | 1   | 1   |             |     |     |     | 1   |
| totals             | 59  | 2                     | 8   | 6   | 2   |      | 7    | 3   | 4   | 4           | 2   | 2   | 4   | 15  |
| TOTALS             |     |                       |     |     |     |      |      |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
| TOTALS             | 104 | 3                     | 23  | 10  | 9   | 2    | 17   | 6   | 4   | 4           | 2   | 3   | 5   | 16  |
| totals             |     |                       |     |     |     |      |      |     |     |             |     |     |     |     |
|                    |     | a)                    | b)  | c)  | d)  | e)   | f)   | g)  | h)  | i)          | j)  | k)  | l)  | m)  |



Table V.B: Listing by text type

PRE-EXISTENT TEXTS (45 total)

1) The four Marian antiphons (10 total)

b)3-1 n-i, Cantus only (5)

179: Reson, Salve regina

192: Leonelle/Binchois [Dunstable], Alma redemptoris

199: Lymburgia, Regina celi (fb, chant incipit)

240: Leonell Polbero, Salve regina/Tro Virgo mater ecclesie  
(all texted by end of piece)

280: Dunstable, Regina celi (chant incipit)

d)3-1 n-i, all parts texted (3)

224: Dufay, Alma redemptoris

225: Dufay, Ave regina celorum

238: Anon, Regina celi (chant incipit)

e)4-1 n-i, all parts texted

232: H. de Salinis, Salve regina/Tro Virgo mater ecclesie

f)4-1 n-i, Cantus I and II

281: Leonel, Ave regina celorum

2) Other liturgical Marian texts (7 total)

b)3-1 n-i, Cantus only (3)

185: De Anglia, Benedicta es caelorum regina (sequence)  
(T texted a bit)

289: Binchois [Dunstable], Beata dei genetrix (A)

290: Dunstable, Sub tuam protectionem (A)

d)3-1 n-i, all texted

234: Dufay, Flos florum fons ortorum (Leonine hexameters)

f)4-1 n-i, Cantus I and II

193: Dufay, Gaude virgo mater Christi (sequence)

g)3-1 n-i, Cantus I and II (2)

200: P. Rubeus, Missus est Gabriel angelus (Luke 1.26 ff)

270: Lymburgia, Recordare virgo mater (troped offertory)

3) Texts from the Song of Songs (10 total)

b)3-1 n-i, Cantus only (3)

177: Jo. de Lymburgia, Pulcra es amica mea

178: Ar. de Lantinis, O pulcerima mulierum

183: Johaannes de Lymburgia, Descendi in ortum meum

c)3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor

279: Lymburgia [Dufay] Veni dilecte my apprehendam te

d)3-1 n-i, all texted (2)

235: Dufay, Anima mea liquefacta est

291: Dunstable, Quam pulcra es et quam decora

f)4-1 n-i Cantus I and II (4)

191: Anon., Descendi in ortum meum

197: Lymburgia, Tota pulcra es amica mea

202: Ar. de Lantinis, Tota pulcra es amica mea

204: Jo. de Lymburgia, Surge propera amica mea

- 4) Liturgical texts for God and Christ (not the Virgin) (8 total)
  - a) 2 voices, both texted  
212: Jo. Reson, Ave verum corpus natum
  - b) 3-1 n-i, Cantus only  
190: Anon., Hec dies (Gradual, with chant incipit)
  - c) 3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor (2)  
184: De Anglia, Spes nostra salus nostra (A)  
210: Jo. Reson, Ave verum corpus natum
  - d) 3-1 n-i, all texted  
175: Jo. de Lymburgia, Surexit Christus hodie (H; Easter)
  - e) 4-1 n-i, all texted  
222: H. de Lantinis, Ave verum corpus natum
  - f) 4-1 n-i, Cantus I and II  
205: Jo. de Lymburgia, Puer natus in Bethleem (H; T texted)
  - g) 3-1 n-i, Cantus I and II  
262: P. Rubeus, Caro mea vere est cibus (All. V)
- 5) Liturgical texts for saints (4 total)
  - b) 3-1 n-i, Cantus only  
288: Lymburgia, Gaude felix Padua (A, St. Anthony)
  - c) 3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor  
181: Hugo de Lantinis, O lux et decus Hispanie (A, St. James)
  - f) 4-1 n-i Cantus I and II (2)  
195: Benenoit, Gaude tu baptista Christi (Sequence, St. John)  
207: Hugo de Lantinis, Ave gemma claritas (2 A's,  
St. Catherine of Alexandria)
- 6) Non-liturgical pre-existent texts (6 total)
  - i. Texts to old motets (3)
    - b) 3-1 n-i, Cantus only  
284: Lymburgia, O Maria maris stella (Marian: W2, F, etc.  
with T Veritatem)
    - f) 4-2 n-i, Cantus I and II  
247: Hubertus de Salinis, Psallat chorus in novo carmine/Eximie  
pater et regie rector (St. Lambert; originally  
Nicholas in Mo and Ba, with tenor Aptatur)
  - l) 3-2 iso, Cantus I and II (solus tenor only; 4-2 iso in other MSS)  
227: Anon: O Maria virgo davitica/ O Maria maris stella  
(Marian: see 284 above, plus Mo, Ba, La Clayette, with  
T Veritatem; also found in Table III)
- ii. Non-liturgical sacred poetry (3)
  - b) 3-1 n-i, Cantus only  
201: Dufay, Vergene bella (Petrarch: Italian canzone,  
first stanza only)
  - k) 4-1 iso, Cantus I and II  
169: Dufay, Balsamus et munda cera cum crismatis unda (14th c.  
poem in Leonine hexameters, for blessing of wax  
Agnus Dei figures)
  - m) 4-3 iso, Cantus I and II and Contratenor

- 211: Dufay, O sancte Sebastiane/O martir Sebastiane/O quam mira  
refulsit gracia (St. Sebastian; Cantus I and II one poem,  
Ct. another, found in poetic sources)

## NEW TEXTS (and/or texts not yet identified as pre-existent) (59 total)

## 7) Marian texts (9 total)

## b)3-1 n-i, Cantus only (3)

182: Johannes de Sarto, Ave mater O Maria (T sometimes texted)

264: Jo. Brasart, O flos fragrans iam vernalis

(all texted in middle section)

276: Jo. Sarto, O quam mirabilis progenies

## c)3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor (2)

233: Anon., Ave mater pietatis

265: Jo. de Lymburgia, Ave mater nostri redemptoris

## f)4-1 n-i, Cantus I and II

173: Du Fay, Inclita stella maris (top part in canon;  
it alone is texted)

## k)4-1 iso, Cantus I and II

236: Jo. Franchos, Ave virgo lux Maria (has cantus firmus)

## m)4-2 iso, Cantus I and II (2)

229: Johannes Brasart, Ave Maria Gracia plena/O Maria gracia  
plena (New tropes to pre-existent Marian texts)

231: Anon., Cuius fructus ventris Ihesus/Te Maria rogitassem

## 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin) (13 total)

## a)2 voices

255: Jo. Ciconie, O beatum incendium (Corpus Christi;  
contrafactum for Aler m'en veus)

## b)3-1 n-i, Cantus only

196: Anon: Ave Yhesu Christe verbum patris

## c)3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor

203: Grosin, Imera dat hodierno (Holy Spirit)

## d)3-1 n-i, all texted

249: Anon., In Pharaonis atrio (Joseph in Egypt)

## f)4-1 n-i, Cantus I and II

221: Matheus de Brixia, Jhesus postquam monstraverat  
(paraphrase of Matthew 17:9)

## h)3-2 n-i, Cantus I and II

213: Huberty de Salinis, Yhesu salvator seculi/Quo vulneratus  
scelere (Holy week)

## i)4-2 n-i (all texted except T)

260: Gilet Velut, Summe summy tu patris unice (CI and Ct)/Summa  
summy tu matris filii (C II and T) (God and Mary)

## j)3-1 iso, Cantus I and II

176: Grenon, Nova vobis gaudia refero (Christmas; Noel refrain)

## l)3-2 iso (sort of), Cantus I and II

251: Jo. Rondelly, Verbum tuum/In cruce te (Easter)

## m)4-2 iso, Cantus I and II (4)

209: Grenon: Ad honorem sancte trinitatis/Celorum regnum  
supernum (All Saints, Trinity)217: Carmen, Venite adoremus dominum/Salve sancta eterna  
trinitas (God, trinity, schism)

Table V.B: Listing by text type

- 223: Nicolaus Grenon, Plasmatoris humani generis/Verbigine mater ecclesia (Easter)
- 246: Carmen, Salve pater creator omnium/Felix et beata deo (Trinity and Virgin)
- 9) New texts in honor of saints (13 total)
- a)2 voices, both texted
- 258: Jo. Ciconie, O Petre Christi discipule (may becontrafactum) St. Peter; possibly for Petro Marcello
- b)3-1 n-i, Cantus only (3)
- 189: Lymburgia, In hac die celebri (St. George)
- 286: Lymburgia, O baptista mirabiles (St. John the Baptist)
- 292: Dufay, O beate Sebastiane (St. Sebastian)
- c)3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor (2)
- 186: Lymburgia, Martires dei incliti Leonci et Carpophore (Sts. Leonzio and Carporforo, patron saints of Vicenza)
- 267: Jo. Brasart, Te dignitas presularis (St. Martin)
- f)4-1 n-i, Cantus I and II (2)
- 220: Christoforus de Monte, Dominicus a dono (Dominicans)
- 274: De Civitato, Sanctus itaque patriarcha Leuncius (St. Leuncius of Brindisi and Trani)
- i)4-2/3 n-i (2)
- 242: Fr. Antonius de Civitato, Pie pater Dominice/O Petre martir inclite/T: O Thoma lux ecclesie (Dominican saints)
- 254: Jo. Ciconie, O virum omnimoda veneracione/O lux et decus Tranensium/T: O beatae Nicolae (St. Nicholas of Trani)
- l)3-2 iso, Cantus I and II
- 253: F. Loqueville, O flos in divo/Sacris pignoribus (St. Yvo)
- m)4-2 iso, Cantus I and II (2)
- 174: Du Fay, Rite maiorem Iacobum canimus/Artibus summis miseri reclusi (T: Ora pro nobis dominum qui te vocabit Iacobum) (St. James the Apostle, with an acrostic mentioning the curate Robertus Auclou)
- 263: Dufay, O gemma lux et speculum/Sacer pastor Barensum (T: Beatus Nicolaus) (St. Nicholas of Bari)
- 10) Laudatory, political texts (21 total)
- b)3-1 n-i, Cantus only
- 271: Feraguti, Excelsa civitas Vincencia (bishop[s?] of Vicenza)
- c)3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor
- 188: Anon., Salve vere gracialis (Cardinal Antonio Correr)
- d)3-1 n-i, All texted
- 187: Lymburgia, Congruit mortalibus plurima (Giovanni Contarini, patriarch of Constantinople)
- f)4-1 n-i, Cantus I and II (3)
- 215: Christoforus de Monte, Plaude decus mundi (Doge Francesco Foscari)
- 219: Antonius Romanus, Aurea flamigeri iam excedis (Francesco Gonzaga)
- 275: Jo. Brasart, Summus secretarius omnia scientis (dignitary of church)

- g)3-1 n-i, Cantus I and II (2)
  - 216: Jo. Ciconie, O felix templum jubila (Bishop of Padua, Stefano da Carrara)
  - 256: Jo. Ciconie, O Padua sidus preclarum (City of Padua)
- h)3-2 n-i, Cantus I and II (2)
  - 208: Fr. Antonius de Civitato, O felix flos Florentia/Gaude felix Dominice (Florence and Leonardi Dati, superior general of the Dominicans)
  - 257: Jo. Ciconie, Venecie mundi splendor/Michael qui Stena domus (city of Venice and Doge Michele Steno)
- i)4-2 n-i, Cantus I and II
  - 243: Anthonius Romanus, Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps Mocinico (Doge Tommaso Mocenigo)
- j)3-1 iso, Cantus I and II (fauxbourdon voice alternates with Ct)
  - 168: Dufay, Supremum est mortalibus bonum (Pope Eugenius IV and Emperor Sigismund)
- k)4-1 iso, Cantus I and II
  - 244: G. Du Fay, Vasilissa ergo gaude (marriage of Cleofe Malatesta)
- l)3-2 iso, Cantus I and II (2)
  - 218: Alani: Sub Arturo/Fons citharizancium (T: In omnem terram) (14th c. motet about English musicians, also in Table II)
  - 259: Jo. Ciconie, Ut per to omnis celitum/Ingens alumpnus Padue (St. Francis and Francesco Zabarella)
- m)4-2 iso, Cantus I and II (6)
  - 206: Antonius Romanus: Carminibus festos/O requies populi (Doge Francesco Foscari)
  - 237: Du Fay, Apostolo glorioso/Cum tua doctrina (T: Andreas Christi famulus) (Actually 5 voices: 2 Ct's, each of which has one of the upper texts) (rededication of church of St. Andrew in Patras, Pandolfo Malatesta, bishop; in Italian)
  - 245: Jo. Ciconie, Petrum Marcello Venetum/O Petre antistes inclite (For Venetian bishop of Padua, Pietro Marcello)
  - 252: Jo. Brasart, Magne decus potencie/Genus regale esperie (For a pope?)
  - 272: Jo. Ciconia, Doctorum principem/Melodia suavissima cantemus (T: Vir mitis) (Francesco Zabarella)
  - 273: Jo. Ciconia, Albane misse celitus/Albane doctor maxime (Venetian bishop of Padua, Albane Michele)
- 11) Complaints (3 total)
  - g)3-1 n-i, Cantus I and II
    - 261: Ar. de Ruttis, Prevalet simplicitas (simple life vs. duplicity and simony)
  - h)3-2 n-i, Cantus I and II
    - 278: Hubertus de Salinis, Si nichil actuleris/In precio precium (enemies of the church)
  - m)4-2/3 iso, Cantus I and II
    - 171: Lymburgia, Tu nephanda prodigio/Si inimicus meus/T: Emitat celum fulgura (enemies of the church)

## Table V.C: Listing by musical features

## Table V.C: Listing by musical features

## a) 2 voices (3 total)

- 4) Liturgical texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
  - 212: Jo. Reson, Ave verum corpus natum
- 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
  - 255: Jo. Ciconie, O beatum incendium (Corpus Christi; contrafactum for Aler m'en veus)
- 9) New texts in honor of saints
  - 258: Jo. Ciconie, O Petre Christi (probably contrafactum)
    - St. Peter; possibly for Petro Marcello

## b) 3-1 n-1, Cantus only (23 total)

- 1) The four Marian antiphons (5)
  - 179: Reson, Salve regina
  - 192: Leonelle/Binchois [Dunstable], Alma redemptoris
  - 199: Lymburgia, Regina celi (fb, chant incipit)
  - 240: Leonell Polbero, Salve regina/Tro Virgo mater ecclesie (all texted by end of piece)
  - 280: Dunstable, Regina celi (chant incipit)
- 2) Other liturgical Marian texts (3)
  - 185: De Anglia, Benedicta es caelorum regina (sequence)
    - (T texted a bit)
  - 289: Binchois [Dunstable], Beata dei genetrix (A)
  - 290: Dunstable, Sub tuam protectionem (A)
- 3) Texts from the Song of Songs (3)
  - 177: Jo. de Lymburgia, Pulcra es amica mea
  - 178: Ar. de Lantinis, O pulcerima mulierum
  - 183: Johannes de Lymburgia, Descendi in ortum meum
- 4) Liturgical texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
  - 190: Anon., Hec dies (Gradual, with chant incipit)
- 5) Liturgical texts for saints
  - 288: Lymburgia, Gaude felix Padua (A, St. Anthony)
- 6) Non-liturgical pre-existent texts (2)
  - i. Texts to old motets
    - 284: Lymburgia, O Maria maris stella (Marian: W2, F, etc. with T Veritatem)
  - ii. Non-liturgical sacred poetry
    - 201: Dufay, Vergene bella (Petrarch: Italian canzone, first stanza only)
- 7) New Marian texts (3)
  - 182: Johannes de Sarto, Ave mater O Maria (T sometimes texted)
  - 264: Jo. Brasart, O flos fragrans iam vernalis (all texted in middle section)
  - 276: Jo. Sarto, O quam mirabilis progenies
- 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
  - 196: Anon: Ave Yhesu Christe verbum patris
- 9) New texts in honor of saints (3)
  - 189: Lymburgia, In hac die celebri (St. George)

## Table V.C: Listing by musical features

- 286: Lymburgia, O baptista mirabiles (St. John the Baptist)
- 292: Dufay, O beate Sebastiane (St. Sebastian)
- 10) Laudatory, political texts
  - 271: Feraguti, Excelsa civitas Vincencia (bishop[s?] of Vicenza)
- c) 3-1 n-i, Cantus and Tenor (10 total)
  - 3) Texts from the Song of Songs
    - 279: Lymburgia [Dufay] Veni dilecte my apprehendam te
  - 4) Liturgical texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin) (2)
    - 184: De Anglia, Spes nostra salus nostra (A)
    - 210: Jo. Reson, Ave verum corpus natum
  - 5) Liturgical texts for saints
    - 181: Hugo de Lantinis, O lux et decus Hispanie (A, St. James)
  - 7) New Marian texts (2)
    - 233: Anon., Ave mater pietatis
    - 265: Jo. de Lymburgia, Ave mater nostri redemptoris
  - 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 203: Grosin, Imera dat hodierno (Holy Spirit)
  - 9) New texts in honor of saints (2)
    - 186: Lymburgia, Martires dei incliti Leonci et Carpophore (Sts. Leonzio and Carporforo, patron saints of Vicenza)
    - 267: Jo. Brasart, Te dignitas presularis (St. Martin)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts
    - 188: Anon., Salve vere gracialis (Cardinal Antonio Correr)
- d) 3-1 n-i, all parts texted (9 total)
  - 1) The four Marian antiphons (3)
    - 224: Dufay, Alma redemptoris
    - 225: Dufay, Ave regina celorum
    - 238: Anon, Regina celi (chant incipit)
  - 2) Other liturgical Marian texts
    - 234: Dufay, Flos florum fons ortorum (Leonine hexameters)
  - 3) Texts from the Song of Songs (2)
    - 235: Dufay, Anima mea liquefacta est (A)
    - 291: Dunstable, Quam pulcra es et quam decora
  - 4) Liturgical texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 175: Jo. de Lymburgia, Surexit Christus hodie (Easter)
  - 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 249: Anon., In Pharaonis atrio (Joseph in Egypt)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts
    - 187: Lymburgia, Congruit mortalibus plurima (Giovanni Contarini, patriarch of Constantinople)
- e) 4-1 n-i, all texted (2 total)
  - 1) The four Marian antiphons
    - 232: H. de Salinis, Salve regina/Tro Virgo mater ecclesie
  - 4) Liturgical texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 222: H. de Lantinis, Ave verum corpus natum



## Table V.C: Listing by musical features

- f) 4-1 n-1, Cantus I and II (17 total)
- 1) The four Marian antiphons
    - 281: Leonel, Ave regina celorum
  - 2) Other liturgical Marian texts
    - 193: Dufay, Gaude virgo mater Christi (sequence)
  - 3) Texts from the Song of Songs (4)
    - 191: Anon., Descendi in ortum meum
    - 197: Lymburgia, Tota pulcra es amica mea
    - 202: Ar. de Lantinis, Tota pulcra es amica mea
    - 204: Jo. de Lymburgia, Surge propera amica mea
  - 4) Liturgical texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 205: Jo. de Lymburgia, Puer natus in Bethleem (H: T texted)
  - 5) Liturgical texts for saints (2)
    - 195: Benenoit, Gaude tu baptista Christi (Sequence, St. John)
    - 207: Hugo de Lantinis, Ave gemma claritas (2 A's, St. Catherine of Alexandria)
  - 6) Non-liturgical pre-existent texts
    - i. Texts to old motets (3)
      - 247: Hubertus de Salinis, Psallat chorus in novo carmine/Eximie pater et regie rector (St. Lambert; originally Nicholas in Mo and Ba, with tenor Aptatur)
  - 7) New Marian texts
    - 173: Du Fay, Inclita stella maris (top part in canon; it alone is texted)
  - 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 221: Matheus de Brixia, Jhesus postquam monstraverat (Paraphrase of Matthew 17:9)
  - 9) New texts in honor of saints (2)
    - 220: Christoforus de Monte, Dominicus a dono (Dominicans)
    - 274: De Civitato, Sanctus itaque patriarcha Leuncius (St. Leuncius of Brindisi and Trani)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts (3)
    - 215: Christoforus de Monte, Plaudite decus mundi (Doge Francesco Foscari)
    - 219: Antonius Romanus, Aurea flamigeri iam excedis (Francesco Gonzaga)
    - 275: Jo. Brasart, Summus secretarius omnia scientis (dignitary of church)
- g) 3-1 n-1, Cantus I and II (6 total)
- 2) Other liturgical Marian texts (2)
    - 200: P. Rubeus, Missus est Gabriel angelus (Luke 1.26 ff)
    - 270: Lymburgia, Recordare virgo mater (troped offertory)
  - 4) Liturgical texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 262: P. Rubeus, Caro mea vere est cibus (All. V)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts (2)
    - 216: Jo. Ciconie, O felix templum jubila (Bishop of Padua, Stefano da Carrara)
    - 256: Jo. Ciconie, O Padua sidus preclarum (city of Padua)

- 11) Complaints
  - 261: Ar. de Ruttis, Prevalet simplicitas (simple life vs. duplicity and simony)
- h) 3-2 n-1, Cantus I and II (4 total)
  - 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 213: Huberty de Salinis, Yhesu salvator seculi/Quo vulneratus scelere (Holy week)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts (2)
    - 208: Fr. Antonius de Civitato, O felix flos Florentia/Gaude felix Dominice (Florence and Leonardi Dati, superior general of the Dominicans)
    - 257: Jo. Ciconie, Venecie mundi splendor/Michael qui Stena domus (City of Venice and Doge Michele Steno)
  - 11) Complaints
    - 278: Hubertus de Salinis, Si nichil actuleris omere/In precio precium (enemies of the church)
- i) 4-2 n-1 (4 total)
  - 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 260: Gilet Velut, Summe summy tu patris unice (CI and Ct)/Summa summy tu matris filii (C II and T) (God and Mary)
  - 9) New texts in honor of saints (2)
    - 242: Fr. Antonius de Civitato, Pie pater Dominice/O Petre martir inclite/T: O Thoma lux ecclesie (Dominican saints)
    - 254: Jo. Ciconie, O virum omnimoda veneracione/O lux et decus Tranensium/T: O beatae Nicolae (St. Nicholas of Trani)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts
    - 243: Anthonius Romanus, Ducalis sedes inclita/Stirps Mocinico (Doge Tommaso Mocenigo)
- j) 3-1 iso, Cantus I and II (2 total)
  - 8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)
    - 176: Grenon, Nova vobis gaudia refero (Christmas; Noel refrain)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts
    - 168: Dufay, Supremum est mortalibus bonum (Pope Eugenius IV and Emperor Sigismund)
- k) 4-1 iso, Cantus I and II
  - 6) Non-liturgical pre-existent texts (3 total)
    - ii. Non-liturgical sacred poetry
      - 169: Dufay, Balsamus et munda cera cum crismatis unda (14th c. poem for blessing of wax Agnus Dei figures)
  - 7) New Marian texts
    - 236: Jo. Franchos, Ave virgo lux Maria (has cantus firmus)
  - 10) Laudatory, political texts
    - 244: G. Du Fay, Vasilissa ergo gaude (Marriage of Cleofe Malatesta)
- l) 3-2 iso, Cantus I and II
  - 6) Non-liturgical pre-existent texts

i. Texts to old motets

227: Anon: O Maria virgo davitica/ O Maria maris stella  
(Marian: see 284 above, plus Mo, Ba, La Clayette,  
with T Veritatem)

8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin)

251: Jo. Rondelly, Verbum tuum/In cruce (Easter)

9) New texts in honor of saints

253: F. Loqueville, O flos in divo/Sacris pignoribus (St. Yvo)

10) Laudatory, political texts (2)

218: Alani: Sub Arturo/Fons citharizancium (T: In omnem terram)  
(14th c. motet about English musicians; in Table II)

259: Jo. Ciconie, Ut per to omnis celitum/Ingens alumpnus Padue  
(St. Francis and Francesco Zabarella)

m) 4-3 iso, Cantus I and II and Contratenor (16 total)

6) Non-liturgical pre-existent texts

ii. Non-liturgical sacred poetry (3)

211: Dufay, O sancte Sebastiane/O martir Sebastiane/O quam mira  
refulsit gracia (St. Sebastian; Cantus I and II one  
poem, Ct. another, found in poetic sources)

7) New Marian texts (2)

229: Johannes Brasart, Ave Maria gracia plena/O Maria gracia  
plena (New tropes to pre-existent Marian texts)

231: Anon., Cuius fructus ventris Ihesus/Te Maria rogitassem

8) New texts concerning God and Christ (not the Virgin) (4)

209: Grenon: Ad honorem sancte trinitatis/Celorum regnum  
supernum (All saints, trinity)

217: Carmen, Venite adoremus dominum/Salve sancta eterna  
trinitas (God, trinity, schism)

223: Nicolaus Grenon, Plasmatoris humani generis/Verbigine  
mater ecclesia (Easter)

246: Carmen, Salve pater creator omnium/Felix et beata deo  
(Trinity and Virgin)

9) New texts in honor of saints (2)

174: Du Fay, Rite maiorem Iacobum canimus/Artibus summis miseri  
reclusi (T: Ora pro nobis dominum qui te vocabit  
Iacobum) (St. James the Apostle, with an acrostic  
mentioning the curate Robertus Auclou)

263: Dufay, O gemma lux et speculum/Sacer pastor Barensum  
(T: Beatus Nicolaus) (St. Nicholas of Bari)

10) Laudatory, political texts (6)

206: Antonius Romanus: Carminibus festos/O requies populi (Doge  
Francesco Foscari)

237: Du Fay, Apostolo glorioso da dio/Cum tua doctrina  
(T: Andreas Christi famulus) (Actually 5 vcs: 2 Ct's,  
each of which has one of the upper texts)  
(Rededication of church of St. Andrew in Patras,  
Pandolfo Malatesta, bishop; in Italian)

245: Jo. Ciconie, Petrum Marcello Venetum/O Petre antistes  
inclite (For Venetian bishop of Padua, Pietro Marcello)

## Table V.C: Listing by musical features

- 252: Jo. Brasart, Magne decus potencie/Genus regale esperie  
(For a pope?)
- 272: Jo. Ciconia, Doctorum principem/Melodia suavissima  
(T: Vir mitis) (Francesco Zabarella)
- 273: Jo. Ciconia, Albane misse celitus/Albane doctor maxime  
(Venetian bishop of Padua, Albane Michele)
- 11) Complaints
- 171: Lymburgia, Tu nephanda prodigio/Si inimicus meus/T:  
Emitat celum fulgura (enemies of the church)

Table V.D: Pieces excluded from Table V.A

NON-MOTETS that appear in the motet section, added to the bottoms of pages unless otherwise noted (21 total). Rondeaux also appear at bottoms of pages in the first section (Masses) of the manuscript; laude appear only in the middle (Motet) section of the manuscript.

Rondeaux: (8) (In fascicles 22-24)

- 214: Briquet, Ma seul amour et ma belle maistresse (a 2)
- 226: Anon., Mon seul vouloir mon souverain retour (a 3)
- 228: Jacobus Vide, Et c'est asses pour m'esjoir (a 2)
- 230: Du Fay, Par droit je puis complaindre (a 3)
- 239: Passet [Cesaris], Se vous scavies (a 3)
- 241: Ar. de Lantins, Or voy je bien que je moray (a 3)
- 248: Gemblaco, Par ung regart des deux biaude yeux (a 3)
- 250: Fontainne, J'aime bien celui que s'en va (a 3)

Laude: (12 total)

In fascicles 18-21 (5)

- 170: Lymburgia, Salve salus mea (a 3)
- 172: Anon., Ave fuit prima salus (a 3)
- 180: Anon., In nataly domini gaudent (a 4)
- 194: Anon., Dilectoza cortesia (a 2, Italian)
- 198: Lymburgia: Imnizabo rege me (a 3, end of fascicle)

In fascicles 26-27 (7)

- 266: Lymburgia, Salve virgo regia (a 3)
- 268: Brasart, Gratulemur Christicole (a 3, at top of page; could be a motet, but strophic with refrain)
- 269: Anon., Dilecto Yhesu Christo (a 2)
- 277: Anon., Alleluia Katerina ad pacem (a 2)
- 283: Lymburgia, Verbum caro factum est (a 3)
- 285: Anon., Gaude flore virginali (a 3)
- 287: Anon. [A. de Lantins], In tua memoria virgo (a 3)

- Hymn: 282: Lymburgia, Magne dies leticie (a 3, w and w/out fb; at top of page, but in the last fascicle preceding the hymn section of manuscript).

Key to Table V:

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| n-i            | non-isorhythmic   |
| iso            | isorhythmic   |
| 2-1, 3-1, etc. | The first number is the number of voices, the second is the number of texts. 2-1 means two voices, one text; 3-2 means three voices, two texts. |
| C              | Cantus (voice texted)   |
| T              | Tenor (voice texted)  |
| I&II           | Cantus I and Cantus II (voices texted)  |
| Ct             | Contratenor   |
| A              | antiphon  |
| H              | hymn text   |
| []             | Square brackets around a composer name in the listings (V.B, C, and D) indicate that the attribution is found in another source for the piece   |
| 197:           | numbers preceding pieces are the numbers in the inventory of Bologna Q15  |

Table V is based on Guillaume de Van, "Inventory of Manuscript Bologna Liceo Musicale, Q15 (olim 37)," MD 2 (1948), pp. 231-57, and my own study of a microfilm of the manuscript.

One of the pieces in V.D (the lauda no. 268), eight of the pieces from V.B., "Pre-existent Texts" (categories 1-6) (2.d, no. 234; 5.f, nos. 195 and 207; 6.i.b, no. 284; 6.i.f no. 247; 6.i.l, no. 227; 6.ii.k, no. 169; 6.ii.m., no. 211), and all of the pieces from V.B, "New Texts" (categories 7-11) except three (7.c, no. 265; 8.b, no. 196, 8.d, no. 175), are discussed and transcribed in Bobby Wayne Cox, "The Motets of MS Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q15," (Ph.D. Dissertation, North Texas State University, 1977). Most of the other pieces are available in the complete works of their composers. For more information on the texts, contact J.C. at Wellesley College.

## Part III

## Laudatory Motets in the Early Fifteenth Century

Chapter 6. Fourteenth-Century Precedents

## Introduction

The best-trained musicians in Europe were educated at the choir schools of the cathedrals and collegiate churches of Northern France and the Burgundian Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> These composers were exposed to English music in the early fifteenth century through the fortunes and misfortunes of war. England was Burgundy's ally and France's conqueror, so there were good reasons to admire her music. According to Martin le Franc, English music was admired and highly valued by the French nobility, and by musicians, who attempted in various ways to imitate the English style.<sup>2</sup> English polyphony for the liturgy was particularly new and interesting to both patrons and musicians. This explains the many settings of Marian texts as cantilenas by Northern, Continental composers. At the same time, many of these enterprising Northern musicians were seeking and finding employment in Italy.<sup>3</sup> There they heard and admired Italian music, which, with English music, helped to transform their style. They also had to conform to the expectations of their Italian patrons, and wrote laudatory motets on saints and rulers. Critical and advisory texts no longer had a place. Northern musicians were exposed to other musical traditions to a greater extent,

perhaps, than were English and Italian musicians. But more importantly, they were motivated to imitate those traditions and to incorporate English and Italian styles into their own music for reasons of patronage.

Bologna Q15 (like most of the other important manuscripts of the period) was produced in one place, Northern Italy, but it contains a pan-European repertory, including music by composers who never went to Italy.<sup>4</sup> Transmission of repertory over long distances and time spans was not unknown in the fourteenth century, but it was limited.<sup>5</sup> The diversity of repertory known and presumably performed as preserved in Bologna Q15 corresponds to the increased mobility of performers and composers, new employment patterns and a changing system of patronage.<sup>6</sup> The English victory over the French and the international furor over the papal schism, culminating in the Council of Constance and the conciliar movement, resulted in frequent gatherings of important dignitaries of church and state from all over Europe.<sup>7</sup> The new tide of humanism and the rise of the personality-centered Italian city state resulted in new employment opportunities for the superbly trained Northern musicians and singers. In diplomatic meetings, in church councils, in the city states ruled by despots who had seized power illegitimately, in the confused papacy, figures of state and church desired to establish their security, legitimacy and power. One of the favorite ways of communicating that legitimacy was through pomp and circumstance, and that meant through patronage.<sup>8</sup> Buildings and works of art made an effective display at home, and sponsorship of literature



and men of letters contributed to a reputation as an intellectual. But nothing made as good a show or travelled as well as musicians ready to perform in public. Dignitaries of church and state travelled with their chapels, and put on the best show possible; they also listened to the music sung by the chapels of other dignitaries, and tried to hire the best possible musicians. Musicians met, exchanged repertoire, and looked for more lucrative and comfortable employment.<sup>9</sup> Musical culture ceased being local, and became international; the center of that international culture was Italy.<sup>10</sup>

These new circumstances also had an impact on genre. The more complex the music, and thus the more skilled the performers, the more status accrued to the patron. Thus polyphony was more impressive than monophony; and complex polyphony better than simple.<sup>11</sup> Complex polyphony that made specific reference to the patron or the occasion was better yet — the fact of the patron's commission and the exemplification of the resources used to support the composer and performers combined to provide an ideal model of the patron's power and authority.<sup>12</sup>

Italy had an old tradition of just such pieces — laudatory political motets. Even as the musical culture expanded and foreign musicians dominated the musical establishments of Italy the laudatory motet maintained its importance as a sub-genre of the motet. The conservative nature of the genre (in contrast to the new cantilena) made it ideal for the expression of claims about dynastic continuity, just as in the visual arts conservative or emblematic poses and

portrait types were used as a way of reinforcing the authority of the subject. There also existed, as we have seen, a tradition of thought associating music and politics, in which musical concord represented the just state. Musical and textual features of the laudatory political motet made it a peculiarly appropriate illustration of that tradition of thought, and thus an apt vessel for the idealized image of the state for the self-conscious ruler in early quattrocento Italy.

And indeed the early Renaissance in Italy was the most self-conscious of eras. The historian Lauro Martines comments that "Never before had Italian ruling groups owned so much faith in their ability to control the perceived reality of the surrounding world. In this psychological environment, the interest in self-images, at once direct and devious, became one of the leading pleasures of the day, nowhere more than at the courts."<sup>13</sup> Political motets should be considered in this light along with visual art and literature. They had a functional similarity to decorative cycles in a ruler's palace. That is, they were aimed at two audiences. On one hand they were narcissistic exercises: mirrors into which the ruler and his court could look for reassurance about their power and splendor. On the other hand they functioned as opulent display for outsiders, aimed at demonstrating the power and control of the ruler. The sentiments and ideologies expressed were those of the subject of the motet or the decorative cycle, placed on display for public and private consumption. These motets are also sometimes comparable to the literary tradition of "mirror-for-princes" treatises, which present an

idealized and instructive image of good government to the ruler. Such treatises articulate the values and concerns of an individual court or ruler; in describing virtuous conduct in general and the supposed virtues of an individual ruler or republic, they actually instruct their subjects how to behave.<sup>14</sup> As we shall see the texts of laudatory motets also praise the ruler, describe his virtues, and predict his future victories, while their music exemplifies the workings of a just state, instructing the ruler in the importance of justice, harmony, and proportion. Each motet is a musical "mirror for princes"; it reflects the reality and demonstrates an ideal society.

We shall study nine laudatory motets in depth, with occasional reference to other related works. We begin with Italian and French examples of laudatory motets from the fourteenth century, in order to establish the precedents for the later motets and to exemplify some of the possibilities inherent in the motet type taken up so enthusiastically in the fifteenth century. We turn next to two motets in honor of Francesco Zabarella by Johannes Ciconia, the foremost composer of laudatory motets in the first decade of the fifteenth century. Then we consider four motets for doges of Venice in conjunction with monumental sculpture commissioned by the same doges. We end with a motet for pope Eugenius IV, the grandest motet by the greatest composer of the period, Guillaume Dufay. While the composers of all the motets seem to have shared certain basic assumptions about the meaning of music in relation to the concept of the just state, the motets are very different from each other. Different composers

responded to different situations with an astonishing variety of expressive musical techniques.

It has been argued that the laudatory polytextual and isorhythmic motets were the decadent last gasp of the medieval motet, and they have been denigrated as mere "*pièces de circonstance*."<sup>15</sup> I argue, on the other hand, that they represented a flowering of the Italian motet, fertilized by French influences; and that the genre was uniquely adapted to the cultural politics of early quattrocento Italy.

Example 1: Anon. [Marchettus of Padua?], Venice, Monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore, fragment, without shelfmark, f. 1/2

Ex. 1a: Text edition after F.A. Gallo, "Da un codice italiano di motetti del primo Trecento," Quadrivium 9 (1968), pp. 25-35.

## Cantus I

[T]

## Cantus II

Ave corpus sanctum

gloriosi Stefani

protomartiris.

Exaudi

protomartir melodiam

alta voce canencium devote,  
nostramque precem intueri piam,  
virtutes cuius undique sunt note  
per mundi girum.//

Adesto sancte, mitis tu protector

Adolescens

protomartir Domini  
requiescens in Sancto Georgio,  
audi nos psallentes

tuo nomini

qui sumus in hoc mundi naufragio  
rogamus

dulciter.//

Francisci Ducis nunc Veneciarum  
hunc tu sanasti, huius sistis rector,  
huic apparuisti;

Salva [... ...] Abbatem ibidem

hoc est clarum,

eius actus dirige,

o magnum mirum.//

hunc gubernas;

O corona martirum

ducem nostrum dirige

et nostram civitatem.

Precamur te gloriose, Levita:  
guberna hunc, nos et civitatem,  
esto tu nobis dux, via et vita,  
roga pro nobis Dei pietatem  
et pie insta.//

Tu Venetorum civis porro extas;  
tui sunt ipsi, ergo ipsos ama.  
Sanguinis nomen protho fusi gestas  
ob hoc in celis es, tibi nos clama,  
pater nec dista.//

devotus tuus is

existit quidem,

defende ipsum a morte eterna,  
orat te iugiter.//

Presta ei in hoc mundo

vili

Deo vitam gerere placibilem;  
congrega ipsum tuo in ovili,  
Deitatem ut cernat laudabilem  
cum sanctis pariter.//

// = end of stanza

Ex. 1b: Translation by J.C., with help from Lawrence Rosenwald

## Cantus I

[T]

## Cantus II

Hail, holy body

of glorious Stephen

the protomartyr.

Listen,

protomartyr, to the melody  
of those singing devoutly  
with loud voices  
consider our pious prayer, you  
whose virtues are known everywhere  
throughout the circuit of the world.//

Young

protomartyr of the Lord,

resting in San Giorgio,  
hear us singing in your name,

Be, you kind saint, the protector

we who are in this shipwreck  
of a world,

of Francesco, now doge of Venice;  
you healed him, you were his guide,  
you appeared to him;

we ask sweetly.//  
Save [... ...], the abbot

this is well known,  
oh great miracle.//

direct his acts,  
govern him;

O crown of martyrs,

direct our doge

and our state.

We pray to you, Levite, gloriously:  
govern him, us, and the state,  
be our leader, way, and life,  
request the mercy of God for us,  
and persevere piously.//

your devoted servant he was indeed;  
defend him from eternal death;  
he prays to you constantly.//  
Be ready to help him in this world

You are, moreover, a citizen of Venice;  
they are yours, therefore love them.  
Since your blood was spilled you  
bear the name "proto";  
because of this you are in heaven,  
call us to you,  
father, nor be far away.//

which is vile,  
to lead a life pleasing to God.  
Gather him into your flock,  
that he may see praiseworthy  
Deity,  
as clearly as do the saints.//

Ex. 1c: Tenor of Ave corpus sanctum

The musical score for the Tenor part of 'Ave corpus sanctum' is presented in four staves. The first staff, labeled 'I', begins with a '4 mm.' marking. The second staff features a 'G' marking. The third staff, labeled 'II', also begins with a '4 mm.' marking. The fourth staff concludes with a 'G' marking. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines, indicating a complex melodic structure.

## Note on presentation of examples.

Motet texts are laid out as presented in the music, while preserving the poetic structure. Lines of text (or parts of lines) heard simultaneously in two cantus parts are on the same line in the example; lines (or parts of lines) heard alone stand alone. Occasionally lines are broken, using the dramatic convention for a new speaker in the middle of a line. Translations of texts are fairly literal, and follow the original line by line. Where it seems useful or practical the translation is laid out as is the text, so that it is possible to see what the meaning of the words sung alone is; often the translation is in simple stanzaic form. When a text has stanzas, lines are referred to by part, stanza, and line within the stanza; so in example 1 the first line of cantus I is I.1.1, while the last line of cantus II is II.3.5. Where the text is not stanzaic (as in example 2) the lines are numbered in the traditional fashion. In some texts the tenor has occasional snatches of the texts of the upper parts; those lines are included in the example when they seem revealing, but are not always shown in the translations. Spellings have not been modernized. Where necessary the readings have been emended, as noted.

Ave corpus sanctum

Our first motet is preserved in a fragment in the library of the Benedictine abbey on the Isola San Giorgio in Venice.<sup>16</sup> The style of notation, script, and music, all suggest that it is a work of the early trecento, and though the composer of the motet is not known, it has been attributed to Marchetto of Padua.<sup>17</sup> It has two texts, both addressed to St. Stephen, cantus I on behalf of the doge "Franciscus" (who can only be Francesco Dandolo, doge 1329-1339), and cantus II on behalf of the abbot of San Giorgio. The relics of St. Stephen, called the protomartyr because he was the first martyr for Christ (see Acts 6 and 7), were brought to Venice in 1110 from Constantinople and placed in the abbey of San Giorgio. Henceforward the doge traditionally went to the abbey to hear Vespers on the evening of Christmas day. The next day, 26 December, the feast of St. Stephen, the doge returned to the island to hear Mass, and afterwards ate a large meal there. The motet was doubtless performed on one of these occasions during Francesco Dandolo's reign.<sup>18</sup>

The text of this motet is unusual, in that it begins with a monophonic acclamation, divided among three voices (cantus I, tenor, and cantus II) which is outside the poetic structure of the chief texts of the motet. A similar acclamation occurs at the middle of the piece. If we ignore the acclamation, cantus I has four five-line strophes (paired by rhyme of last line, gírurum/mírurum, áista/insta); cantus II has three five-line strophes, all with the same final rhyme



(dulciter, iugiter, pariter). The two texts share vocabulary and imagery. Both address the protomartyr, both sing his praises ("canencium," cantus I.1.2, suggests secular song, while "psallentes," cantus II.1.3, suggests liturgical song). The saint is asked to guide the two leaders, and to aid them in governing. Both doge and abbot have ties to Stephen: the doge had a vision of the saint, as Stephen had of Christ, while the abbot rules the monastery in which Stephen's body lies. As the doge has imitated the saint, the saint becomes the doge ("esto tu nobis dux," cantus I.3.3, is a reference to the fact that "dux" means both doge and leader). Stephen takes over the government of the doge and the people of Venice: "Guberna hunc, nos et civitatem" (cantus I.3.2). The abbot becomes a saint ("cum sanctis pariter," last line of cantus II); the roles of the abbot, the doge, and even the saint are identified.

The musical structure of this motet follows the poetic structure of cantus I closely. The tenor of the motet (see ex. 1c) may be pre-existent, and is somewhat reminiscent of chant, but it has not yet been identified.<sup>19</sup> It resembles French tenors in that it is organized isorhythmically: there is one color, divided into two taleae, each 25 measures long, reflecting the division of the text into two pairs of strophes. None of the other voices is affected by the isorhythm. Each talea begins with an acclamation divided among the three voices (including the tenor), but although the acclamations are the same length (four measures), for all intents and purposes they are outside the isorhythmic scheme, since the tenor rhythms of the two acclamations

are not identical, nor do they resemble the rhythms of the body of the motet. Each talea after the introduction can then be divided into two very similar halves, of 11 and 10 measures respectively (see musical example 1). The phrase structure of the tenor is thus (4) + 11 + 10; + (4) + 11 + 10; and that division reflects the paired stanzas of the text of cantus I. Finally, each of the four tenor sections is divided by three measures of rest after the first four measures; that coincides with division of each stanza of text into two couplets. These correspondences are not exact or complete -- the new line or stanza does not always begin at the same metrical moment of the talea -- but globally they are very consistent.

Cantus II's text must be spread rather more sparingly over the piece, since it is only three stanzas; the second acclamation comes after the first couplet of the second stanza, and interrupts it (see ex. 1a). The necessity for spreading three strophes over the music for four in the other voice also prohibits close parallelisms in the articulation of the two texts. Notes sustained in all voices are often underlaid with the last syllable of a word or line in one voice and the first in the other. The irregularity of cantus II helps provide continuity and overlapping phrase structure, and thus recalls the style of the French motet, both of the *Ars Antiqua* and the *Ars Nova*.

The division of the piece musically and textually into two halves, and each of those halves into half again suggests another type of musical and textual parallelism. In the first half the emphasis is on the prayers of the people to the saint on behalf of the doge; in the

second the saint becomes the doge, and they ask him in turn to intercede for them with God. And in spite of that there being no literal repetition of a color, there are a few significant recurrences of pitches and harmonies in the two halves. Both halves of the piece end with cadences to G (the tenor goes to d); the only other cadences to G in the piece are at the beginning of the second half of the first talea and the first half of the second (see ex. 1c); in these two places the voice leading is identical and emphasized by a series of sustained chords. The effect is to bring out the fourfold division of the piece as well as the more obvious twofold division, and to establish the final sonority in structurally significant places.

The musical structure of the motet also has significant impact on which elements of text are intelligible, and therefore emphasized. The introductory acclamations are completely intelligible, and they present the subject of the motet. Cantus I has the highest tessitura, and generally stands out of the texture (though it occasionally crosses with the tenor). A bit of word painting emphasizes this—"alta voce" (I.1.2) is clearly audible as the "highest" part. (The layout of the text reveals when a voice sings alone.) "Exaudi protomartir melodiam" in cantus I.1.1 and "rogamus" in cantus II.1.4 complement the acclamations in revealing the nature of the discourse and its object. The phrases that stand out in cantus I emphasize the political nature of the entreaty: "Francisci ducis nunc Veneciarum" (I.2.2), "guberna hunc, nos et civitatem" (I.3.2), and "Tu Venetorum civis porro extas" (I.4.1).

Everything in the motet, in fact, serves to emphasize the political message of cantus I. Cantus II is literally a subtext; its range is often an octave below that of cantus I, its poetic structure bears little relation to the musical structure of the motet, and the abbot's name is omitted from the manuscript, and that in spite of the manuscript's preservation in his very abbey.<sup>20</sup> Yet there is so much vocabulary ("dirige", "hunc gubernam," "gubernam hunc") shared between the texts, and the roles of abbot and doge are so close, that we should not underestimate cantus II; it serves to enrich the discourse. The abbot is an echo of the doge — ruled by the doge, he rules his own lesser city, the monastery — and he contributes a sacral authority or holy aura to the doge. The implication is that Venice, like the monastery, is a holy place, a heavenly city on earth. Cantus I dominates the musical and textual discourse, as we have seen; the subject of the motet is ultimately the relation of the saint to the doge. We learn this from the combined effect of musical and textual construction.

Bent, von Fischer, and Gallo all comment on the various French characteristics of this piece.<sup>21</sup> Both Italian and French motet traditions had their roots in the French Ars Antiqua, and here those roots are clearly exposed. The organization of the music on the page is closer to that of French thirteenth-century motet manuscripts such as Montpellier than it is to any Italian manuscript.<sup>22</sup> The chant-like tenor and the shorter text of cantus II (or the "duplum"), which results in overlapping phrase structures, are also typical features of

the French Ars Antiqua. The use of isorhythm, rudimentary as it is, recalls the more modern French techniques of the Ars Nova. But several features of this motet point to the later tradition of the Italian motet as well. The homorhythm and frequent pauses by all voices on long notes would rarely be found in a French motet, but are common in Italian ones; the simple division of the motet into two halves and the unidentified tenor are also typical Italian features.<sup>23</sup>

Ave corpus sanctum is one of the first surviving motets in the laudatory political Italian motet tradition. (Marchetto's Marian motet, Ave Regina / Mater innocencie, which precedes it, is not explicitly political in the way that Ave corpus is.) It is also the first of the motets for doges of Venice. In it we can already see some of the expressive possibilities of the political motet. The use of two texts with different but complementary subjects and the highlighting of key words and phrases are techniques that we shall see used again. Doge and abbot have different roles in the Venetian state; both are necessary, especially in the context of the St. Stephen's day ceremonies. The saint rules and guides the city through both intermediaries. Parts, texts, notes, verse structures, all are necessary and are brought into harmony through the appropriate intervallic concords and temporal proportions. Here is a musical representation of the abbey and the republic of Venice.

Dante's Divine Comedy was already well known in Italy by the time of the composition of Ave corpus sanctum. Benevenuto da Imola, in his commentary on the Divine Comedy of c.1376, claims that Dante was in

Padua in 1306, where he met Giotto, who was painting the Scrovegni Chapel.<sup>24</sup> The one motet securely attributed to Marchetto is the Marian Ave regina caelorum / Mater innocencie, in which MARCUM PADUANUM appears in the duplum as an acrostic.<sup>25</sup> Gallo suggests that the piece may have been written for the opening of the Scrovegni chapel in 1305.<sup>26</sup> Dante and Marchetto could thus have met in Padua. Whether or not they met, we can remember Dante's descriptions of music in Paradise when we listen to this piece. The combination of texts for doge and abbot recalls the song of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Paradiso XII, 1-21. And the emergence of individual words and phrases from the texture of the piece recalls Dante's description of his experience in the sphere of Mars, Paradiso XIV, 118-129, where, although he fails to understand the whole text, he is nonetheless moved by the music and its meaning.<sup>27</sup>

Example 2: Philippus Royllart, Chantilly, f. 65'-66

Ex. 2a: Text edited after Günther, The Motets, pp. XXXI-XXXII;  
punctuation amended by J.C.

## Cantus I

Rex Karole, Johannis genite

quondam regis Francorum strenui,  
mortalibus pre cunctis inclite,

a claritate generis ardui,  
5 facultate donandi comite,/   
Alexandri more prospicui  
qui Darium cum multo milite/  
Porum quoque subdidit nutui,/   
sic hostili subducto stipite,  
10 pestifero gregis  
innocui

b vorativa fauce satellite  
inimica regni melliflui,/   
pestis huius mordaci fomite  
invidia consumptiva sui./   
15 Pastor cui jam quasi perditte/  
suffragaris solercia tui,  
dolet Argus  
Yo perterrite

c cum simili sono gemitui,  
custos iners gaudes sollicite/  
20 curam gerens gregis precipui./   
Nam gladio gentis ancipite/  
per te pulso, remote domui  
tue pax est nunc  
pacis reddite.

d Sic itaque nostro auditui  
25 das gaudium securo tramite/  
paci dando plebem restitui;  
quare potes vocis emerite/  
Salomonis nomine perfrui./   
Miror regni paterno limite  
30 succedentem  
te principatui.

e Litterarum ditari divite  
coniugio polles et instrui./   
Novi falli vocis incognite/  
aut in verbi posset ambigui./   
35 Vive felix in aula celite,  
comprehensor  
regni perpetui.

/ = phrase ending

## Cantus II

Leticie, pacis, concordie  
ac salutis  
humano generi

reparatrix,/   
solem justicie

claustris tui/  
baiulans uteri,/   
5 effugatrix Eve tristicie,  
testamento quam signat veteri  
dulcis Hester,

inventrix gratie/  
Assueri  
sedatrix asperi,  
revo-  
catrix/  
eius sentencie.  
10 Plebi Dei ducem te fieri.  
luget Aman, princeps mili-/

cie,/   
et tiranni  
traditur funeri,  
mesti luctus et ignominie./   
Mardocheus desinit conqueri,  
15 plebs Israhel datur leticie.  
Sic genitrix

te regis superi/  
rogo supplex,  
ut  
regno Francie/  
nostro,/   
per quod devote liberi  
magis tibi serviunt hodie  
20 quam faciunt, ut puto,

ceteri,/   
pacem dones, hostesque conteri,  
ut serviant  
tibi/  
liberius.  
De fauce nos eripe Cerberi,  
virgo prius ac posterius.

Ex. 2b: Translation by J.C., with help from Lawrence Rosenwald

Cantus I

King Charles, son of John

(once vigorous king of the French)  
you are renowned before all mortals

a        for the fame of your lofty family  
5        and for the accompanying faculty of generosity.  
After the fashion of the great Alexander—  
who subdued Darius with his great army,  
and Porus also, under his dominion—  
thus you removed with the enemy weapon,  
10        pestiferous to an  
                                 innocent flock

b        and also the devouring jaws of its accomplice,  
hostile to this sweet kingdom,  
by means of the biting fire of this plague:  
Envy, which consumes itself.  
15        Shepherd, whose [flock] was almost lost,  
you succor us with your ingenuity—  
Argus mourns for  
                                 frightened Io

c        with a similar sound of moaning—  
an inactive watchman you rejoice, carefully  
20        assuming the care of your excellent flock.  
For the double sword of a people  
has been routed by you; from afar to a home  
of peace your  
                                 peace has now returned.

d        And thus, to our hearing,  
25        you give joy, with a safe path,  
by giving the people restored peace,  
whence you can deservedly  
enjoy the name of Solomon.  
I admire the extent of your father's  
30        realm to which  
                                 you have succeeded.

e        You can be enriched and instructed  
by the union of letters with riches.  
Do not be deceived by empty promises  
and by ambiguous words.  
35        Live happily in the hall of heaven,  
possessor of a  
                                 perpetual reign.



Ex. 2b, cont.

Cantus II

Restorer of joy, peace, concord,  
and salvation, to human kind,

a        bearing the sun of justice  
         in the secret of your womb,  
5        dispeller of Eve's sorrow,  
         in the Old Testament you were signified by  
         sweet Esther,

b                                the inventor of grace,  
         tamer of fierce Ahasuerus  
         and revoker of his sentence.  
10       That you [Esther] became the leader of the people of God,  
         Haman, the commander of the ar-

c                                my, complains;  
         he is delivered to a tyrant's death  
         of sad mourning and shame.  
         Mordecai ceases to lament,  
15       and the people of Israel rejoice.  
         Mother

d                                of a great king, thus to you  
         I pray, suppliant: that to our Kingdom of France,  
         —throughout which free people devotedly  
         serve you today, more,  
         I think, than do

e    20                                others—  
         you will give peace, and that the enemy be destroyed,  
         so that they may serve you more freely.  
         Deliver us from the jaws of Cerberus,  
         virgin before and after.

Ex. 2c: Tenor of Rex Karole

Handwritten musical score for the Tenor of Rex Karole. The score consists of nine staves, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first five staves are in 3/4 time, and the last four staves are in 3/4 time. The staves are labeled with notes  $a_1$ ,  $b_1$ ,  $c_1$ ,  $d_1$ ,  $e_1$ ,  $a_2$ ,  $b_2$ ,  $c_2$ ,  $d_2$ , and  $e_2$ . The first five staves feature a melodic line with various intervals and a common time signature change to 2/4 at the end of each staff. The last four staves feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Philippe Royllart: Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie

The second motet -- Philippe Royllart's Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie -- is one of the few laudatory political motets from fourteenth-century France.<sup>28</sup> Cantus I is addressed to King Charles V of France, who ruled 1364-1380. Cantus II is addressed to the Virgin. The last line of cantus II is a quote from the end of the Marian antiphon Alma redemptoris mater, and that phrase from the antiphon is the tenor of the motet. Ursula Günther has argued persuasively that the motet was written in 1375-6, when French victories over the English and ongoing peace negotiations made peace seem likely, though not yet certain.<sup>29</sup> Reinhard Strohm has suggested that it was performed at the collegiate church of St. Donatian, and that it may have been copied into the church's lost liber motetorum in 1377.<sup>30</sup> The piece survives complete in two manuscripts, Chantilly, and the newly discovered San Lorenzo manuscript from early fifteenth-century Florence,<sup>31</sup> and part of the motetus is found in a fragmentary manuscript of unknown provenance now in Washington D.C.<sup>32</sup> It was in the lost Strasbourg manuscript, where it is attributed to the unknown composer, Philippus Royllart;<sup>33</sup> we know that it was copied into the discant books of the Confraternity of our Lady at 'sHertogenbosch in 1423-4;<sup>34</sup> and it is mentioned in two fourteenth-century treatises on notation: Tractatus de diversis figuris, and Ars cantus mensurabilis.<sup>35</sup> Judging by the number of sources and references to Rex Karole, it must have been one of the best known pieces of the fourteenth century, and

was performed for at least half a century after the occasion for which it was written, both in its place of origin, the Low Countries, and as far away as Italy.

The text of cantus I is difficult and abstruse. The verse form -- 10-syllable lines with alternating rhymes on -ite and -ui -- contributes to the difficulty of the text, since relatively few words in Latin end with those combinations, so the poet is forced to use unusual vocabulary and constructions.<sup>36</sup> The text is not inherently stanzaic, with the result that syntactic units can be of any length and complexity. Add to these qualities a preference for symbolic and allusive imagery, and the result is a text that would be difficult to understand even with chrystal-clear text setting and no competing cantus II. It is a text written to be studied, and as such it is appropriate for its subject, Charles V. Christine de Pisan called him "le sage"; he was very well read (among other things, he had Aristotle's Politics translated into French by Nicolas of Oresme<sup>37</sup>) and was determined to show, however convoluted the reasoning, that he was in the right legally and morally. His enemy, the English King Edward III, deprecatingly called him a "lawyer."<sup>38</sup> He would have enjoyed the tortuous contrivances of this text, as well as its unambiguously laudatory tone. Most of the text is a series of comparisons. The first is to Alexander, student of Aristotle and greatest of military leaders, a historical figure of classical antiquity; the emphasis is on Alexander's military prowess and ability to subdue his enemies. Next he is compared to Argus, the many-eyed monster whom Juno charged with

guarding Io, a famous symbol of watchfulness from Greek mythology; having defeated the foreign foe, the king now turns to watching over and protecting his peaceful kingdom. Last he is compared to Solomon, who ruled over a peaceful and united Israel for forty years. Solomon was the wisest of the Old Testament kings, and acquired his wisdom from God, who came to Solomon and asked him what he wanted. Solomon requested "*sapientiam et intelligentiam*," so that he would be able to rule over his people justly. God was so pleased with his request that he granted it and added riches, glory and long life (I [III] Kings, 3:5-14, and I Chronicles, 1:7-13). The speaker goes on to praise and advise Charles in the first person, in language that could also refer to Solomon : mention is made of an extensive realm inherited from his father, and of the acquisition of riches through knowledge. Charles is a culmination of many traditions: historical, mythological, classical, Christian; and the multiplicity of reference reinforces his pre-eminence.

The text of cantus II is not as complex as that of cantus I, but it is still not simple. The text form is the same, and though the rhymes (ie, eri) are not as abstruse, they have pleasant resonances with the rhymes of cantus I. It has only 24 lines to cantus I's 36. The virgin is praised as the restorer of joy, peace, concord and salvation (lines 1-2); as the bearer of the "sun of justice" (line 3) (that is Christ, but also sometimes the King of France<sup>39</sup>). Like Charles, Mary is compared to a previous figure, though to one only, Esther, the Jewish Queen of the Old Testament. She married King Ahasuerus (Xerxes), and

with the advice of her cousin and guardian Mordecai, kept Haman, his military commander, from having all the Jews killed. Mordecai was given Haman's position, and Haman was killed on the gallows planned for Mordecai. Finally the speaker makes a personal plea for France, the country most devoted to the Virgin (and thus comparable to Israel, the "plebs dei" of line 10). He requests that she, the "reparatrix pacis" of lines 1-3, restore peace to France as well (line 21), and ends with a quotation from the Marian antiphon Alma redemptoris mater on which the tenor of the motet is based; a fitting choice, since line two of the antiphon is "Stella maris, succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo" ("Star of the sea, come to the aid of the falling people who strive to rise again").

There are many resonances between the texts of the two cantus parts, especially with reference to the concept of justice. The medieval ruler was considered father and son of Justice (personified Justitia), both the source of justice and the provider of it, and certainly the comparison of Charles to Solomon evokes that image of the ruler. Conversely, Justice is both daughter and mother of the ruler.<sup>40</sup> The Virgin, as "genitrix regis superi" (line 16), can thus be identified with Justitia, mother of the ruler, Charles. The personified virgin Justitia is usually shown in a Solomonic throne with lions on each side (see I Kings, 10:18-20); the Virgin is sometimes also shown on such a throne.<sup>41</sup> Esther, the Old Testament Mary, saw to it that Justice was done to the people of God. But here the Virgin is not only Justitia, but bears the "sol justitiae" (line 3) in her womb. Christ,

and the ruler, Charles, are "justitia animata." Solomon built himself a magnificent throne, the "sedes sapientiae" (the "seat of wisdom") from which he dispensed justice (I [III] Kings, 10:18-20); the Virgin as the bearer of Christ, wisdom incarnate, is also the "sedes sapientiae."<sup>42</sup> And she is not only "sedes sapientiae," but also "sedes justitiae." Justice is the central value of medieval kingship, and is nurtured and provided by the Virgin. The Virgin and King together assure a prosperous reign, as the two cantus parts combine with the tenor to create harmonious polyphony.

There is another way of understanding the relationships within and between the texts. Lines 6-7 of cantus II, "testamento quam signat veteri/dulcis Hester" "whom sweet Esther signifies in the Old Testament," refer to the tradition of typological or figural exegesis, in which episodes in the Old Testament prefigure those in the New. Typology is a way of interpreting texts, similar to allegory or metaphor, but it is also a way of understanding history. Erich Auerbach describes it as follows:

"Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life."<sup>43</sup>

The Old Testament event or person is the "figure" or "type," the New-Testament event or person is the "fulfillment" or "antitype." Developed as a way of reconciling the Old and New Testaments for the early Christians, typology becomes a way of interpreting any kind of

text, or historical event -- a habit of thought for the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It takes many forms, and was developed into complex systems of interpretation (most famous is the "fourfold sense of scripture"<sup>44</sup>). Like allegory it could be used to express certain positions or make certain points, theological or political.<sup>45</sup>

The text of cantus II makes use of a common figural reading of scripture, but also teaches us to read it and the text of cantus I figurally. We can read them separately and together. Esther is a "type" of the biblical Mary as a female saviour of the people of God. But here we are asked to see Esther also as the type of the Virgin in heaven, Mary as protector of France. The figure of Esther will be fulfilled when Mary saves the French, as Esther did the Jews; when she slays a tyrant general as Esther did Haman; and when she guides and directs King Charles, as Esther did her husband the king Ahasuerus. Figural interpretation thus serves as a way of confirming the belief in the eventual victory of France; the figure is a foreshadowing and a prophecy of what must come to pass.

Likewise, Alexander, Argus, and Solomon do not merely resemble Charles -- they are his "types." As Alexander triumphed, as Argus watched, as Solomon ruled -- so will Charles. And ultimately we can understand the Virgin herself as the "type" of Charles. The Virgin, as mother of Christ, is mother of Justice, just as the King of France, as ruler, is father of Justice. The Virgin retains her virginity forever (last line of cantus II, and tenor), just as the kingship persists forever and Charles is the "possessor of a perpetual reign" in heaven



(last lines of cantus I). The speaker asks Mary and the king to restore peace to the kingdom of France. France had a particular closeness to Mary — its colors, blue and white, and the lily of France, are the white lily of the annunciation and the blue of Mary's cloak. The king of France is often depicted wearing a blue cloak covered with fleurs de lis.<sup>46</sup> Virgin and King are thus figure and fulfillment, and both are exemplifications of justice, or Justitia. Justice, as we have seen, is associated with concord, or with Concordia, by Cicero, Dante, and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, among others. The two texts are brought into concord because they are juxtaposed in a piece of music; their realization in that context also contributes to their meaning.

Like virtually all French motets of the fourteenth century, Rex Karole is isorhythmic. (See example 2c for tenor structure.) There are two colores (sixty notes long) and five taleae of 24 (12 + 12) notes; the color begins again at the midpoint of the third talea. The talea is very distinctive, and immediately perceptible. It begins very slowly and ends at the rate of the upper voices. The first nine notes are stretched out over six longs (modus is perfect) in 0, tempus perfectum; the next three notes over three longs in C, tempus imperfectum; and the last twelve, now moving at the semibreve level, over two longs, back in 0, tempus imperfectum. The change to tempus imperfectum serves as a bridge to the final fast section. Each talea opens with a note held in all voices for six semibreves.

The upper voices begin the motet with an introitus (6 longs in perfect modus, 0) that is outside the isorhythmic structure (and thus

reminiscent of the acclamations in the Italian motet). For the first nine notes of each talea the upper voices are isoperiodic (that is, phrases begin and end in the same place in relation to the tenor) but not isorhythmic. At the change to C in the tenor the motet becomes panisorhythmic, with a syncopation section succeeded, at the tenor's return to 0 for its second section, by a rapid-fire hocket-like section, with all voices moving in semibreves, including the tenor.<sup>47</sup>

The musical structure does not bear an obvious resemblance to the poetic structure (which does not clearly suggest any internal divisions, in any case).<sup>48</sup> The correlation of the text of cantus I to the music is slightly irregular: three lines to the introitus, and then 7,7,6,7, and 6 lines each for the five sections of music. Yet the correlation of lines to the isorhythmic structure is consistent and precise. The first phrase of each section (9 breve measures of 0) is two lines; the second phrase (6 measures of 0) is either one or two lines, depending on the stanza; the third phrase (3 measures of 0) is one line. The last phrase is panisorhythmic, and two lines long, with two sections. The penultimate line corresponds to the section of the talea in C, tempus imperfectum; it is six measures long, and marked by syncopated semibreves between the cantus parts. The last line (6 measures of 0) corresponds to the second half of the talea, and is marked by hocket-like interchange among all voices in semibreves. (Musical phrases are indicated in the text, example 2a, with a slash, "/".) Careful coordination of poetic units and musical phrases is evident: the phrase lengths decrease and the rate of declamation

increases over the course of each talea, leading up to the climactic hocket section at the end where the tenor speeds up.

No such careful coordination is evident in cantus II, where each musical section after the two-line introitus has approximately four-and-a-half lines, and major musical articulations sometimes occur in the middle of a word. It looks very much as if the composer took Egidius de Murino's advice about text underlay here -- he divided the text more or less equally into five parts to correspond to the five sections of the motet.<sup>49</sup> As in Ave corpus sanctum, the effect is to insure continuity in what is an unusually sectional motet for the period; cantus II always bridges the gaps between cantus I's first two phrases, and in section c between the second and third phrases as well. In general cantus II's text is spread more thinly, since there is less of it; the exception is in the final hocket sections of each talea, where cantus II actually has more text than does cantus I. This contributes to the sense of *accelerando* that is created by the rate of the tenor and the cross rhythms of these sections, and is a subtle indication of how much thought was devoted to coordination of text and music even where the distribution of the text of this part seems arbitrary.

Musical structure also has a significant effect on how we understand and interpret the texts of the motet. During the introitus we hear the first line of each text alone before the two parts start in together: "Rex Karole, Johannis genite//Leticie, pacis, concordie." Sung to the same music, the lines also share mid and end rhymes:

Karole, Leticie, genite, concordie. Günther suggests that it is this similarity of sound that may have inspired the imitative introitus, which may be the first in the French motet.<sup>50</sup> This could almost be the beginning of one poem with rhyming couplets; it tells us, therefore, that we are to comprehend the two texts as one. We are also told of the subject of the motet in the clearest possible language — "King Charles, son of John; of happiness, of peace, of concord" — the political reference is made unambiguous from the start.

The correspondences between the texts as they are distributed over the music are also revealing, in that they contribute to our sense of the parallels between the two texts. In the introitus and the first section, a, we hear attributes of Charles and Mary and are then introduced to the first typological characterizations, Alexander and Esther. Stanzas b and c are linked very closely by means of syntax in cantus I and word division in cantus II. In them cantus I continues with its allegorical and difficult imagery, invoking Envy and then Argus, and then goes on to praise Charles, while cantus II continues the narrative of Esther and ends with the rejoicing of the people of Israel. Finally, in the last two stanzas (which like b and c are 7 and 6 lines respectively in cantus I) we return to the modern world and the people of France in both texts, and end with a proper reference to heavenly salvation. Thus, although the texts differ in their complexity, subject, and length, their narrative strategies are almost exactly parallel; this is revealed in examining how the texts correspond to the musical divisions.

Music and text work together in many ways in this motet. The irregularities in coordination between text and music help compensate for the almost excessive musical sectionality of the motet, while careful distribution of text contributes to the excitement at the end of each section. While most of the words are not easily intelligible in performance, the imitative introitus introduces the subject of the motet, and tells us that the relationships between the texts are more important than their differences. And finally, the typological relationships in the texts are exemplified in the sounding reality of the music. For essential to typological exegesis is the belief that in the mind of God all history exists at the same moment — and though when we read, we are bound by temporal progressions, in the performance of the motet Charles and Mary exist in the same moment, while retaining their individuality.<sup>51</sup>

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Polytextuality is often an aesthetic problem for modern listeners and critics; it seems particularly paradoxical in a political piece, given our understanding of how propaganda works. Some suggest that isorhythm and polytextuality are evidence that the medieval musician or composer was more interested in an abstract concept than in the sounding effect of the piece.<sup>52</sup> They were interested in what we would call "abstract concepts." But it should be abundantly clear from the Dante passages that the musical experience was still personal and immediate. Comprehension of typological and allegorical patterns of

thought can help us to appreciate and understand the polytextual motet in general.

Multiple stories and layers of meaning were part of any single text, and individual texts were read with others in mind. Musical metaphors and vocabulary were often used in relation to figural interpretation, which is yet another form of discordia concors.<sup>53</sup> St. Bonaventure describes it as follows:

Tota Scriptura est quasi una cithara, et inferior chorda per se non facit harmoniam, sed cum aliis; similiter unus locus Scripturae dependet ab alio, immo unum locum respiciunt mille loca.

All of Scripture is like a cithara, and a lower string [i.e. the Old Testament] does not make harmony except with the others; similarly, one place in Scripture depends on<sup>54</sup> another, or rather a thousand places rely on one place.

Joachim of Fiore called his book on the biblical types Concordia novi ac veteris testamenti.<sup>55</sup> We have seen how Augustine described the relationship between Plato and Aristotle in these terms, and relationships among many other different kinds of conflicting texts were also called "concordiae." St. Ambrose and St. Augustine wrote "Gospel Harmonies," De concordia Matthaei et Lucae in Genealogia Christi, and De consensu Evangelistarum, respectively,<sup>56</sup> and Gratian's great work on canon law is called Concordia discordantium canonum.<sup>57</sup> When musical vocabulary is used to describe the relationships between texts, the presence of different texts in a piece of music appears as a natural corollary. The mental skills developed for reconciling conflicting texts will certainly be exercised on texts set to music.

And as we have seen, typology can also be used for political

purposes — to reinforce the authority of the ruler by suggesting that his rule and successes are prefigured. St. Augustine's discussion of David (father of Solomon) in the City of God makes reference both to political harmony and the just state, and to David's musical and mystical prefiguration of the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup> Political, typological, and musical concordia discors all come together in the political polytextual motet. In that combination lies its essential political message; the details are less important. The listener recognizes that to commission and have performed a complex composition is expensive, especially one destined for a particular occasion, and is impressed by the element of display. He knows the basic subject matter of the piece, because it has been announced, because of the nature of the occasion, or because he has heard snatches of text; he recognizes that the subjects of the texts are different; and he can make educated guesses about the intended relationship between texts and its meaning in the political situation. In listening to the musical concord he can experience the relationships between texts, and the concord of an idealized state. Some of the audience may have a chance to study the texts, or may have had a hand in composing them; for these listeners the performance may have had more specific shades of meaning. That the work be complex is important, because its complexity creates part of its effect for all the listeners, whatever their comprehension of the specifics are.<sup>59</sup> The Medieval listener is accustomed to the ceremony of Mass, where some of the most important words and actions are performed by the priest standing with his back to the congregation, and some are

whispered, so that the people can neither see nor hear him. A certain element of mystery contributes to the solemnity of the event; what is important is that the right things are being said and done, not that the listener understand every nuance. Some of the greatest and most powerful mysteries are secret.<sup>60</sup>

I have chosen to address the problem of polytextuality in relation to Rex Karole because figural relationships are so explicit in its texts, and because we know a fair amount about its composition, performance, and transmission. Figural relationships are present in many other motets -- in Ave Corpus Sanctum St. Stephen can be understood as the "type" of both the doge and the abbot, who in turn are allegorical representations of each other, and we will also find them in later motets -- but rarely is the text as explicit about a typological reading. Rex Karole was also widely disseminated, and known both in the North and in Italy. Margaret Bent remarks that the French motets that are found in Italian sources are those that resemble Italian motets in mensuration, equality of upper voices, and introitus.<sup>61</sup> Rex Karole's imitative introitus, minor prolation, and equal top parts are reminiscent of Italian motets, as is the fact that it uses essentially the same rhythms over again without diminution. Whether for its musical features or for the subject of its text, which recalls the subjects of many Italian motets, Rex Karole was liked enough in Italy to be preserved there; it could therefore have been a model for or influence on some of the fifteenth-century laudatory motets by both Northern and Italian composers.



Notes to Chapter 6

1. See Nino Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy," JAMS 19 (1966), p. 129; and Christopher Reynolds, "Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet," JAMS 37 (1984), pp. 73-75, on musical education and institutions in the North.
2. Martin le Franc, Champion des Dames, dedicated to the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good in 1441-2; quoted and translated in Reese, Music in the Renaissance, pp. 12-13, and a slightly longer excerpt quoted in a different translation in Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II, pp. 129-30. It has often been suggested that fauxbourdon originated as a Continental imitation of an English improvisatory practice; the latest publication on this debate is the article by Ann Besser Scott, "The Beginning of Fauxbourdon: A New Interpretation," JAMS 24 (1971), pp. 345-63.
3. The reasons for the famous "segreto del quattrocento" have not been completely explained. For a discussion of the possible economic motivations, see Reynolds, "Musical Careers," passim (pp. 49-97); Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies," passim (pp. 127-161, and two articles in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981): Craig Wright, "Antoine Brumel and Patronage at Paris," pp. 37-60, and Lewis Lockwood, "Strategies of Music Patronage in the Fifteenth Century: The Cappella of Ercole I d'Este," pp. 227-248. Pirrotta tries to explain the lack of Italian musicians by suggesting that the humanists were not particularly interested in polyphony; but see also Reinhard Strohm, who discusses Italy as the host to the Northern tradition of musical craftsmanship in "Towards a Reappraisal of Musical Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy," unpublished paper presented at Cornell University in April, 1985. Daniel Heartz kindly showed me the handout from the talk, which sketches Strohm's argument.
4. Composers never in Italy include English composers and some Northern composers, such as Carmen, Binchois, and Loqueville.
5. For fourteenth-century French motets found in English sources, see Lefferts, The Motet in England, pp. 80-83; for those in Italian sources, see Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," and Gallo and von Fischer, PMFC XII, pp. 187-8, category (4).
6. See Reinhard Strohm, "European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century," EMH 1 (1981), pp. 305-324, and Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II, ch. 19, "The

- Professional Composer," pp. 77-82, esp. pp. 79-80, and ch. 21, "The Transmission of Music," pp. 87-91.
7. See Manfred Schuler, "Die Musik in Konstanz während des Konzils 1414-1418," Acta Musicologica 38 (1966), 150-68, and Strohm, "European Politics."
  8. See, for example, Lauro Martines, Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy (New York, 1979), pp. 229-276.
  9. Dufay's career is a good example. He is believed to have come to Constance with the former Bishop of Cambrai, the Cardinal Pierre D'Ailly, and to have made contact there with his next employers, the Malatestas of Pesaro. See Fallows, Dufay, pp. 16-21.
  10. That most of the surviving manuscripts of polyphonic music were produced in Italy is testimony to its importance. Italy was also becoming a center for book production of all kinds. After the Council of Constance the papacy returned to Italy, which also contributed to Italy's centrality; and of course the Italian merchant economy and numerous city-states meant that there were contacts with Northern centers, money to employ musicians, and numerous patrons. In spite of many disagreements of interpretation, there is widespread agreement in the broader historical community about the fact of significant changes in early fifteenth-century Italy. See Denys Hay, The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 102-3; Jacob Burkhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (New York, 1958), vol. I, p. 34; Hans Baron, The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance, revised edition (Princeton, 1966), passim, but especially the Introduction: "one of the greatest forward-strides occurred about the year 1400" (p. xxv); and Quentin Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought vol. I: The Renaissance, who opposes Baron (pp. 69-71 ff.) but still comments (p. 103) — "But we still need to ask why it happened that these particular arguments were revived in one particular generation — and with such particular intensity — at the beginning of the fifteenth century."
  11. Pirotta claims that humanists often preferred improvised polyphony, performed by virtuoso musicians and poets, such as Pietrobono. See "Music and Cultural Tendencies," pp. 138-41. But early in the century humanists were still fairly rare among patrons of art, and the general point still holds: display of skill, whether in performing complex composed polyphony or of improvised instrumental virtuosity, is impressive.
  12. Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II: "the more important and elaborate the occasion on which the motet was to be performed, the more the composer sought to produce a technically complex and polished piece" (p. 39). H. David comments that "la musique

religieuse est au nombre des moyens de persuasion dont use le diplomate, le politique, en ses tractations délicates," Philippe le Hardi (1947) (p. 112); quoted in Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, p. 223.

13. Power and Imagination, p. 229; and see pp. 229-276 for a discussion of the role of art and literature in relation to power. Many other discussions could be cited as well.
14. See Quentin Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought I, pp. 88-128. I use the term "mirror-for-princes" literature in the broadest sense, including educational treatises, and mirrors for republics, citizens and courtiers as well, inasmuch they all cast light (darkly or not) on the figure of the ruler. Decorative cycles are of course the visual parallels to the mirror-for-princes treatises; Lorenzetti's "Triumph of Good Government" in the Sala di Guerra e di Pace in Siena (discussed above, in chapter 3), and Mantegna's "Camera degli Sposi" in Mantua are good examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
15. The phrase is from Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 571, and "Motet, §I, 3: Medieval — Ars Nova" New Grove 12, p. 627. Sanders sees the motets of Dufay as the last "overripe" but "magnificent synthesis" of the medieval motet; Leeman Perkins, in "Motet, §II, 1: Renaissance — Dufay," New Grove 12, p. 628, says that motets with "isorhythmic and mensural structures ... had reached a degree of complexity that was to be less and less in harmony with developing stylistic tendencies."
16. It is edited in F. Alberto Gallo, "Da un codice italiano di mottetti del primo trecento," Quadrivium 9 (1968), pp. 25-44; and in Gallo and Kurt von Fischer, Italian Sacred Music, PMFC XII (Monaco, 1976), pp. 133-137.
17. See F. Alberto Gallo, "Marchetto da Padova," New Grove 11, pp. 661-3, and idem., "Marchetus in Padua und die 'franco-venetische' Musik des frühen Trecento," AfMw 31 (1974), pp. 42-56, esp. p. 51. The piece uses the notation described in Marchetto's treatises, and his sign for a chromatic semitone.
18. See especially Gallo, "Da un codice italiano," pp. 30-33, and Denis Stevens, "Ceremonial Music in Medieval Venice," The Musical Times 119 (1978), pp. 325-326.
19. See PMFC XII, p. 203, commentary: "probably liturgical but unidentified T"; I think it is probably not pre-existent.
20. There is a blank space in cantus II, line 6, where the abbot's name should go. See Gallo, "Da un codice," p. 32, n. 32, for the probable abbot, Morandus.

21. This discussion is very dependent on Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet." See also Gallo and von Fischer, PMFC XII, pp. XI-XII; Gallo, "Da un codice," and "Marchettus in Padua und die 'franco-venetische' Musik," p. 52, and von Fischer, "The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento," PRMA 100 (1973-74), pp. 143-157, esp. pp. 153-4.
22. Gallo, "Da un codice," p. 26.
23. See Kurt von Fischer, "The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento," p. 154. He comments about Marchetto's Ave Regina / Mater innocentie, that "the isorhythmic structure is French, while the alternation between declamatory parts in short values and sustained long notes is a specifically Italian feature." And see especially Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet."
24. The passage is translated by John Adams in Giotto in Perspective, ed. Laurie Schneider (Englewood Cliffs, 1974), p. 31, from Benevenuto de Rambaldi de Imola, Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij Comoediam, vol. 3, Purg. 1-20 (Florence: Typis G. Barbera, 1887), pp. 312-13.
25. Gallo and von Fischer, PMFC XII, no. 37; see also Gallo, "Marchettus in Padua und die 'franco-venetisch' Musik," pp. 44-8.
26. See "Marchetto da Padova," New Grove 11, p. 661, and "Marchettus in Padua," p. 43. Kurt von Fischer thinks the motet is somewhat later, c. 1315-20; see "Philippe de Vitry in Italy and an homage of Landini to Philippe," in L'Ars Nova italiana del trecento, IV, Certaldo 1977, ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo, 1978), p. 227.
27. See above, chapter 3.
28. See Table II. It is edited by Ursula Günther in The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense, alpha.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568), no. 5, pp. 17-62, and in Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, PMFC V (Monaco, 1968), no. 26, pp. 141-48. There is a good recording of the piece by the Early Music Consort of London, directed by David Munrow, on Music of the Gothic Era (Archiv, 2710 019, 1975).
29. The Motets, pp. XXIX-XXXI. Günther's discussion of the texts is excellent, and I am indebted to it.
30. Music in Late Medieval Bruges (Oxford, 1985), p. 103.
31. I-F1 2211; see Frank A. D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'Ars nova italiana: il Codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," Studi Musicali 13

- (1984), pp. 3-31; see especially p. 10.
32. Washington, Library of Congress, MS M 2.1.C 6a.14, formerly flyleaves in Law MS 7 (De Ricci 133) (RISM siglum: US-Wc 14; also known as Wa or Wash). The Law manuscript is a book on the laws of England, written in France; it may be of English origin.
  33. See Charles van den Borren, Le manuscrit musical M.222 C.22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (Antwerp, 1924); it was burnt in 1870, but a partial copy and list of incipits were made by Coussemaker.
  34. See Strohm, Music in Late Medieval Bruges, p. 103, and Smijers, De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch (Amsterdam, 1932), p. 46.
  35. The first treatise is attributed to Philipoctus de Caserta in CS III, p. 118, but elsewhere to Egidius de Murino. The second is by Coussemaker's Anonymous V of volume III, p. 396. See Günther, The Motets, p. XXX.
  36. The ending -ite occurs in the vocative of nouns, or the adverbial form of adjectives, ending in -itus; or as the ablative singular of third declension nouns in -es. Normally it could also be first declension genitive or plural (as the medieval spelling of -itae), but the poet seems to avoid this (perhaps because of a sensitiveness to accent and length). It can also be an imperative form. The ending -ui is even more limited: the genitive of words ending in -uus, dative of fourth declension nouns, or certain passive infinitives.
  37. Discussed in Part II; see also Susan M. Babbitt, Oresme's Livre de Politiques and the France of Charles V, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 75, pt. 1, 1985.
  38. Günther, The Motets, p. XXIX, and Edouard Perroy, The Hundred Years War (New York, 1965), p. 147 (originally published in Paris in 1945 as La Guerre de cent ans; the translation is by W.B. Wells). Babbitt comments that he knew Latin and that "he was among the most scholarly of Medieval monarchs" (Oresme's Livre, p. 8).
  39. See Ernst Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, 1957), pp. 101-2 and n. 42.
  40. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 99-100.
  41. See David Rosand, "Venetia Figurata: The Iconography of a Myth," in Interpretazioni Veneziane: Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro, ed. David Rosand (Venice, 1984), pp. 179 and 182, and Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art (London, 1939), *passim*.

42. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral (New York, 1964), p. 15. "According to Guibert of Nogent, for instance, Christ, the Wisdom of God, was prefigured by Solomon. Like the Jewish king Wisdom built a throne, when He prepared a seat for Himself in the Virgin."
43. "'Figura'," in Auerbach, Scenes from the Drama of European Literature (Minneapolis, 1984), p. 53; originally published in German in Neue Dantestudien (1944). On typological exegesis see also Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, (Notre Dame, 1964); A.C. Charity, Events and their Afterlife: The Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible and Dante (Cambridge, 1966); Earl Miner, ed., Literary Uses of Typology From the Late Middle Ages to the Present (Princeton, 1977), especially the article by Robert Hollander, "Typology and Secular Literature: Some Medieval Problems and Examples," pp. 3-19; and for some examples of types and antitypes and their representation in the visual arts, see Émile Mâle, The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century (New York, 1958), esp. pp. 131-175.
44. See Henri de Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture, 4 vols. (Paris, 1959-63), and Charity, Events, pp. 172-8.
45. Stephen Zwicker, "Politics and Panegyric: The Figural Mode from Marvell to Pope" in Miner, ed., Literary Uses of Typology, pp. 115-146, discusses a "political typology" that develops out of an "understanding of history as prophecy," and comments on the Medieval roots for such practices (pp. 115-17). Miner, in his introduction to the book, suggests that "political typology" may be particularly prevalent in times of stress (p. xiii); there is no doubt that the middle of the Hundred Years War was such a time for France.
46. This was pointed out to me by Alfred Bichler. Some examples of such depictions can be found in François Avril, ed., Manuscript Painting at the Court of France (New York, 1978), plates 28, 31, 34, and 35.
47. Although Günther (The Motets, p. 7) and Harrison (PMFC V, p. 201) both call this a unipartite motet, because the color/talea combination is not repeated in diminution, it gives the impression in performance of five tiny two-part motets because of the sudden change in the rate of tenor motion in the middle of each talea. It would be possible to rearrange the sections so that the second half of each section was a faster version of the first (though not an exact diminution), as follows: a1-c2, b1-d2, c1-e2, d1-a2, e1-b2 -- five two part motets, each with a different color but the same rhythmic structure. See example 2c.

48. Harrison (PMFC V, p. 204) gives this piece the grade of C in his Table IV, "Relation between sections of poems and taleae."
49. See chapter 4, note 13.
50. Motets p. XXXII.
51. See Auerbach, p. 43, who quotes St. Augustine (De div. quaest. ad Simplicianum, II, qu. 2, n. 2) "For what is foreknowledge but knowledge of the future? But what is future to God who transcends all time? If God's knowledge contains these things, they are not future to him but present; therefore it can be termed not foreknowledge, but simply knowledge."

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht was the first to analyze the texts of a motet in terms of typological relationships, and to connect typology to polytextuality, in "Machauts Motette Nr. 9," AfMw 19-20 (1962-3), pp. 281-93, and continued in vol. 25 (1968), pp. 173-95. See especially vol. 19-20, p. 290:

Als ein spätmittelalterliches Zeugnis für "die jederzeitliche Aktualität alles historischen Geschehens im Geiste Gottes," die die Geschehensauffassung des typologischen Denkens charakterisiert, kann zu einem Teil vielleicht der ursprünglich und wesentliche tropische Charakter der mittelalterlichen Motette überhaupt, insbesondere aber das ihr eigentümlich Phänomen der Gleichzeitigkeit verschiedener, sich gegenseitig figurierender Texte verstanden werden.

52. In "Machaut's Motette Nr. 9," Eggebrecht called this attitude the "legend of isorhythm" (vol. 19-20, p. 283). It is articulated recently by James Winn, who in many ways could be called an apologist for isorhythmic motets:

For Vitry and Machaut, both of whom were clerics, these mathematical proportions were by no means abstract; they held the same mystical truth expounded by Augustine almost 1000 years earlier. If mortals could not hear these higher harmonies in the music (and they certainly could not), neither could mortals hear the music of the spheres, and in both cases the belief remained that the music of mathematical proportion expressed and pleased God.

Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of the Relations between Poetry and Music (New Haven, 1981) p. 102.

53. See Leo Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, pp. 46-48.

54. Quoted in Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, p. 48; from In hexaemeron collatio XIX, §7, in Opera omnia, Quaracchi, 1891, V, 421. The translation is mine.
55. Late twelfth-century, printed Venice, 1519, and reprinted Frankfurt, 1964. It is discussed in Smalley, The Study of the Bible, pp. 287-90.
56. See Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, p. 47, and note 20, p. 173.
57. See note by Hermann Kantorowicz in Smalley, The Study of the Bible, p. 55, and Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, note 18, p. 173.
58. See Chapter 1.
59. Observers of civic ceremony and pageantry often do not interpret every element as intended; see David Rosand, "Venetia Figurata," pp. 186-8, where he discusses a visiting Englishman's interpretation of Venetian imagery in the early seventeenth century. Thomas Coryat, the Englishman, interprets the images in relation to the visual conventions he knows best, and his readings sometimes conflict with the official program published in Venice. He responds, nevertheless, to meaningful ambiguities in the images and comes away with an accurate overall picture of the image Venice was trying to project.
60. The central prayer of the Mass, the Canon, during which the host is elevated and the words of Christ at the last supper are recalled, is said silently by the priest while he is facing the altar. The silence serves, among other things, to increase the solemnity of the ceremony at that moment, and to imitate the silence of Christ during the passion. See Adrian Fortescue, "Canon of the Mass," The Catholic Encyclopedia III (New York, 1908), pp. 255-267, especially pp. 261 and 266.
61. "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," p. 1.



## Chapter 7. Two Motets by Johannes Ciconia for Francesco Zabarella

### Johannes Ciconia

Johannes Ciconia is a pivotal figure between the trecento Italian tradition and the cosmopolitan musical culture of the early quattrocento in Italy. His motets are very similar to several late trecento motets, but he is the earliest composer represented by more than one or two pieces in the big fifteenth-century repertory manuscripts. His motets survive only in fifteenth-century manuscripts, especially in Bologna Q15. More laudatory political motets survive by Ciconia than by any trecento composer, and than by any quattrocento composer other than Dufay.<sup>1</sup> We also know more about him than we do about most other composers of the period, excepting again Dufay. The explicit of his treatise De proportionibus calls him "in orbe famosissimus musicus," "the most famous musician in the world."<sup>2</sup> His music was thus highly regarded in his day, as it is in ours. It is with Ciconia that any discussion of the fifteenth-century occasional motet must begin.

Ciconia has been called an "epoch maker," and was believed to be the first of the many Flemish composers to settle in Italy, bringing with them Northern skills and styles.<sup>3</sup> Recent research by Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark has considerably revised Ciconia's biography, and demonstrates that his music is better understood as a continuation of well-established Italian traditions of composition. The composer

Johannes Ciconia (possibly the son of a canon from Liège by the same name) was probably born in the 1370s, in Liège; he was a choirboy there in 1385. He received a benefice as custos or cantor at St. Prosdocimus, the cathedral of Padua, in 1401. By 1411 he was a canon there, and he died in late June or early July 1412. He wrote Italian secular music and a few pieces with French texts; Mass ordinary movements (Glorias and Cremos); eight motets and two Latin contrafacta.<sup>4</sup> Ciconia would have been in his late teens when he arrived in Padua, a skilled singer with a good grasp of the fundamentals of composition, but probably without a personal style of composition. He seems to have embraced the Italian manner: most of the music was probably originally composed in Italian notation, and is Italian in style. Some of his music shows Northern influence, but not more than music by native Italian composers circa 1400.<sup>5</sup>

The trecento motet tradition appears to have been centered in the Veneto: almost all of the surviving motets are on subjects from Venice and its environs, or are in sources that have their provenance there.<sup>6</sup> Padua in particular seems to have been a center for motet production, beginning with Marchettus and continuing late in the century with the Paduan fragments copied at the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina.<sup>7</sup> Music and text of Ciconia's motets resemble those of the trecento.<sup>8</sup> Particularly striking is the similarity in the use of isorhythm. Most motets have no isorhythm; a few repeat the rhythms of all voices in the first half of the piece in the second half (I shall call this technique "double statement," after Bent); a few use more

complex isorhythmic or mensural structures.<sup>9</sup>

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|                            | Ciconia (8) | Italian non-Ciconia (19)            |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| no isorhythm               | 4 (50%)     | 8 (42%)                             |
| double statement           | 2 (25%)     | 3 (16%) ( <u>Ave corpus</u> T only) |
| complex schemes            | 2 (25%)     | 5 (26%)                             |
| indeterminate (incomplete) |             | 3 (16%)                             |

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Also striking is the congruence between Ciconia's motets and the Italian repertory in subjects of texts and texting practices. Compare Ciconia's subjects with those of Table III (Chapter 4):

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Subjects of Ciconia's motets:

|            |                                     |   |
|------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Sacred:    | St. Nicholas of Trani               | 1 |
| Laudatory: |                                     | 7 |
|            | doge of Venice (for Michele Steno)  | 1 |
|            | the city of Padua (no. 13);         | 1 |
|            | ecclesiastical dignitaries in Padua | 5 |
|            | Francesco Zabarella, archpriest     | 2 |
|            | bishops of Padua                    | 3 |

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Use of mono- and polytextuality is also similar; a single text is possible, but polytextuality is the rule:

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|                            | Ciconia   | Italian non-Ciconia |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| 2 texts                    | 6 (75%)   | 9                   |
| probably 2 texts           | (1 has 3) | 2                   |
| total                      |           | 11 (58%)            |
| 1 text                     | 2 (25%)   | 3                   |
| probably 1 text            |           | 1                   |
| total                      |           | 4 (21%)             |
| indeterminate (incomplete) |           | 4 (21%)             |

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Ciconia's motets differ from the earlier repertory in one respect:

in all the surviving non-Ciconia polytextual motets cantus II's text is shorter than cantus I's, while in Ciconia's motets both texts are the same length.<sup>10</sup> The difference in length between the two texts is typical of French fourteenth-century motets. Its origins lie in the addition of faster triplum parts to duplum/tenor pairs in the thirteenth century, and finds its most extreme form in the Petronian motet of the end of the thirteenth century, which has a very fast-moving triplum with text declamation at the smallest note value, over a slower moving duplum. Thus at one time the differentiation in length of text corresponded to the rhythmic differentiation between parts in the motet. In France the tradition continues even when the top parts have become extremely similar, perhaps as another way of differentiating the texts and allowing for different types of formal congruencies between the texts and music.<sup>11</sup> In Italy the practice persisted also, in spite of even greater similarity between the top parts than in French motets. The development of motets with a single text for both voices, and the similarities between the motet and the caccia or three-part madrigal, suggested an alternative texting practice for polytextual motets. Ciconia must have decided that the traditional practice had little to do with the musical realities of the Italian motet, and chose to use texts of the same length to correspond to the rhythmic and melodic similarity between the two cantus parts.

In most respects, therefore, Ciconia's motets are indistinguishable from the native Italian tradition, although he was born in the North. Some of Ciconia's motets show French influence, but that influence

appears to come from outside, not from within the composer himself. Ciconia's decision to equalize the length of the two texts is a motion away from French traditions and toward the monotextual Italian motet. It is also one of the most obvious ways in which Ciconia put his personal stamp on the genre; in this practice and in his use of imitation and fanfare effects he exerted influence upon the whole next generation of Italian composers of laudatory political motets. We shall examine in detail three of Ciconia's motets -- two for the archpriest, Francesco Zabarella, and the motet for the doge of Venice, in connection with the Italian tradition of dogal motets.

#### Francesco Zabarella (1360-1417)

Francesco Zabarella was born in Pieve di Sacco in 1360, and educated in Padua.<sup>12</sup> In 1378 he went to the University of Bologna to study canon law under Giovanni di Legnano. In 1383 he received his licentiate in canon law in Bologna, and moved to the University of Florence, where, in 1385, he received his degree of doctor utriusque iuris, doctor of both civil and canon law, and began to teach. He also took minor orders, and became vicar for the bishop of Florence. He retained ties to the humanists in Florence for the rest of his life, especially to Coluccio Salutati. In 1390 he moved back to Padua as professor of canon law at the University of Padua, which was second only to Bologna for the study of this subject. In Padua he became a close friend of the humanist Pietro Paolo Vergerio, and under his

influence wrote a treatise on metrics.<sup>13</sup> In 1397 Zabarella became archpriest (chief canon) of the Cathedral of Padua. He seems to have been responsible for hiring Ciconia, and granted the young musician a benefice that had previously been held by his own nephew, a student of canon law. Shortly after his appointment as archpriest Zabarella became an advisor to the Roman pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) and, later, Innocent VII (1404-6). Zabarella was also well connected with the government of Padua; in 1404 he was sent to King Charles VI of France to request military aid against Venice. He was unsuccessful, and Venice conquered Padua on 21 November 1405. The Carrara lords of Padua were captured and strangled in prison by the Venetians; Zabarella then became the principle architect of the peace treaty. On 3 January 1406 Zabarella presented Doge Michele Steno with the emblems of Padua and made an extended oration on the steps of San Marco. On 30 January Venice responded with the "Golden Bull," acknowledging Padua's surrender and promising to respect the privileges and statutes of the city.<sup>14</sup> On 8 March a Venetian, Albano Michele, was made bishop of Padua, and in 1407 Venice granted privileges to the cathedral in return for Carrara property. Zabarella appears to have been trusted and respected by the Venetians, for in 1409 he was sent as the Venetian delegate to the Council of Pisa, where a third pope, Alexander V, was elected in 1409. Zabarella became a supporter of Alexander's successor, John XXIII (1410-1415), who made him bishop of Florence on 18 July, 1410, when he left Padua. On 6 June of the next year, 1411, he was made a cardinal. In 1412-13 he supported John XXIII at the council of Rome;

when it failed he was sent in 1413 to King Sigismund as a papal legate to discuss and plan the Council of Constance (1414-17). At Constance Zabarella first supported John XXIII and then persuaded him to resign. He died at Constance on 26 September 1417, shortly before the election of Martin V on November 11, and was greatly mourned; the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini delivered a funeral oration at the Council. He is buried in the Cathedral of Padua, where a monument to him remains.<sup>15</sup>

The positions held by Zabarella -- professor, archpriest, bishop, even cardinal -- do not adequately indicate his importance in the period. By 1400 he was already the foremost canonist of his day; it was said that without knowledge of Zabarella's work no one could earn a degree in canon law. The explicit to a copy of a lecture he had given at the university in 1407 calls him "the most famous doctor of both laws in the world."<sup>16</sup> He played a central role at the Council of Constance, and is mentioned again and again in the contemporary chronicles. Zabarella might even have been elected pope, had he lived: the Emperor Sigismund exclaimed, on hearing of Zabarella's death, "Today the pope has died."<sup>17</sup> His treatise on the schism, De Schismate, was written and released in sections between 1403 and 1408, while he was in Padua; it is the most important of the contemporary expressions of conciliar theory.<sup>18</sup> But in Padua he was also involved on a day-to-day level at the University and the Cathedral, and would have known Ciconia well. He provided the composer with his first benefice, and with a supplementary gratuity in 1409.<sup>19</sup> Our knowledge of the

circumstances of composition is too small to tell whether the composer wrote them as an expression of esteem for the great canonist.

Whichever the case, it does not seem impossible that Zabarella could have had these motets performed after Ciconia's death at the Council of Constance, perhaps for another leading figure at the Council, Pierre d'Ailly, formerly the employer of Guillaume Dufay.<sup>20</sup>

Ciconia wrote not one, but two motets for Zabarella. This is unusual, and speaks to Zabarella's eminence and his closeness to the composer.<sup>21</sup> Both motets are concerned with the virtues of Francesco Zabarella, and neither text is explicit about a specific occasion for composition. Nevertheless, they are very different musically and they stress different aspects of his character and accomplishments. These contrasts between the motets reveal some of the range of textual and constructive possibilities in the laudatory political motet, and how they can be manipulated in service of a particular message.



Example 3: Johannes Ciconia, Bologna Q15 no. 259, Oxford 213 f. 119'-20.

Ex. 3a: Edition of text after Connolly, PMFC XXIV, pp. 224-5.

Cantus I

Ut te per omnes celitus  
plagas sequamur maxime  
cultu lavandos, lumina,  
Francisce, nostros spiritus.

Tu qui perennis glorie  
sedis tuere omnipatris,  
qui cuncta nutu concutit,  
perversa nobis erue.

Cristi letus quod sumpserat  
vulnus receptum per tuum  
nobis benigne porrige,

[ut] de te canens gloriam

sic illa felix regula,  
fratrum minorum nomine,  
cuius fuisti conditor  
duret per evum longius.  
Amen.

Cantus II

Ingens alumnus Padue  
quem Zabarellam nominant,  
Franciscus almi suplicat  
Francisci adorans numina.

Sis tutor excelsis favens  
servo precanti te tuo,  
quem totus orbis predicat  
insignibus preconis.

Audi libens dignas preces  
doctoris immensi, sacer

Francisce, quo leges bonas  
Anthenoris stirps accipit.

Silvas per altas alitus  
in mole clausus corporis,  
ducens viam celestium,  
rector veni fidelium.  
Amen.

Ex. 3b: Translation by J.C., with help from Lawrence Rosenwald

Cantus I

That we may follow you through all  
trials that come from on high with  
full reverence, illuminate, [St.]

Francis, our unclean spirits.

You who watches over the seats

of eternal glory of the Father,  
who shakes all things with a nod,  
cast forth evil things from us.

Kindly offer us the wound of Christ,

which he freely suffered

and you also received,  
so that, singing of your glory,

that fortunate order  
called the Friars Minor,  
which you founded  
may exist to the end of time.  
Amen.

Cantus II

The mighty offspring of Padua  
whom they call Zabarella,  
Francis, worshiping the  
divinity of kindly  
[St.] Francis, beseeches him,

that you be a helpful tutor  
from heaven  
to your servant who prays to you,  
whom the whole world acclaims  
with extraordinary praises.

Hear willingly the the worthy  
prayers  
of the great teacher, holy  
Francis,  
from whom Antenor's line  
receives good laws.

Raised in the deep forests,  
enclosed in the mass of the flesh,  
leading the way to heaven,  
guide of the faithful, come.  
Amen.

Ex.3c: Tenor of Ut te per omnes

Handwritten musical score for Tenor of "Ut te per omnes". The score consists of eight staves, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first two staves are marked with "5 mm." and "I" and "II" respectively. The third staff is marked with "9 (I)". The fourth staff is marked with "6 (III)". The fifth staff is marked with "8 (I)". The sixth staff is marked with "2 (II)". The seventh staff is marked with "8 (I)". The eighth staff is marked with "8 (II)". The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, sixteenth notes), rests, and slurs. Dashed lines indicate phrasing or breath marks. The score is written in a clear, legible hand.

Ut te per omnes celitum / Ingens alumnus Padue

In this motet cantus I is in honor of St. Francis of Assisi (1181/82-1226), cantus II in honor of Francesco Zabarella.<sup>22</sup> It could have been written almost any time between Ciconia's arrival in Padua (1401) and Zabarella's departure from Padua to become bishop of Florence (1410). It seems likely that it was written after the conquest of Padua by Venice, and Zabarella's role in arranging a favorable settlement, considering the reference to his instrumentality in the Paduan acceptance of "good laws" (cantus II, 3.3-4).<sup>23</sup> St. Francis was an especially important saint in Padua, because St. Anthony of Padua (1195-1231) was a disciple of St. Francis. Originally from Lisbon, St. Anthony died and was buried in Padua. The basilica dedicated to St. Anthony, known as "il Santo," is run by the Franciscans, and was and is an important pilgrimage site. Zabarella had no official connection with il Santo, and there is no record of any polyphony there. But as an important figure at the cathedral Zabarella must have had dealings with the other important basilica in town; perhaps the motet even celebrated some occasion in which clerics of il Santo and the cathedral met. It could have been an occasion similar to that celebrated in Ave corpus sanctum, where doge and abbot met under St. Stephen's auspices. Zabarella was born near Padua, and named for the teacher of St. Anthony; the motet could have been written for Zabarella's nameday, the feast of St. Francis, October 4. In any case the identity of name tells us to look for parallels between the texts.

Cantus I and II are identical in form: both have four four-line stanzas with eight syllables per line (mostly iambic dimeter), and no rhyme. Cantus I emphasizes the role of St. Francis, as a guide through life and to heaven; his stigmata and association with Christ are discussed in stanza 3, and it ends with a reminder of the Franciscan order. Cantus II emphasizes Zabarella's origins in Padua, his great learning, and his devotion to the Saint, his namesake, becoming a plea to the saint in Zabarella's name. "Anthenor" was an escaped Trojan mentioned in the Aeneid (I, lines 242-9) and in Livy's Ab urbe condita, book I, as the founder of Padua; the Paduans were proud of their ancient foundation, older than Rome itself, and a monument to Antenor (ostensibly his tomb) still stands in the city today.<sup>24</sup> Both texts end with the standard references to heaven and eternal life.

The identity of the two names suggests a typological interpretation. Christ is a type of St. Francis, and St. Francis is a type of Zabarella; or as St. Francis modelled himself on Christ, Zabarella imitates the saint. St. Francis and the Friars Minor (chief among them, St. Anthony) were particularly famous as preachers, or teachers of the word of God. Zabarella was not a Franciscan, but as a teacher in the university his task resembled that of the friars. St. Francis becomes the academic in Cantus II, as he is asked to be the tutor of Zabarella ("sis tutor," 2.1); the saint directs Zabarella, just as St. Stephen directed the doge and the abbot in Ave corpus sanctum. Zabarella intercedes with Francis on behalf of Padua and its university; Francis will in his turn intercede with Christ and God the

father.

Musically, perhaps more than in either of the previous motets, the top parts are similar. The forms of the texts, the ranges, and the rhythmic movement of the two voices are indistinguishable. Since this is a double statement motet, the rhythms of all the voices are exactly repeated for the second half. The repetition is very audible: the talea begins and ends with long melismas; towards the end of each half (see slash in text, ex. 3a) there is a syncopated section followed by hocket reminiscent of the end of each talea of Rex Karole. Musical continuity is achieved through alternation and overlap of phrases in the two cantus parts (see layout of text in example 3a).

Two anonymous Italian motets also have a double statement of rhythms in all voices. The fragmentary Padu... serenans is dedicated to Andrea Carrara, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina of Padua (1402-4), another local ecclesiastic; O proles Hispanie is to the Franciscan, St. Anthony of Padua.<sup>25</sup> By using the same musical structure for Ut te per omnes, dedicated to a saint and a local ecclesiastic, Ciconia may have been making a deliberate reference to this tradition. He uses the rhythmic structure also in Albane misse celitus / Albane doctor maxime, for another local ecclesiastic, in this case Albane Michele, the first Venetian bishop of Padua (1406-1409).<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, Ciconia himself may have written the two anonymous pieces, which are incomplete; in that case he may have created the tradition. But the early St. Stephen motet, Ave corpus sanctum (also for a saint and a local ecclesiastic, as well as the doge of Venice)

has free rhythms in the upper voices, the tenor has a twofold talea, with no color repetition; Ciconia's innovation could have been to extend the rhythmic repetition to the upper voices.

As in Ave corpus sanctum, the two-part musical division responds to the division of the texts into two halves, and leads us to expect textual parallels between the two halves of each text as well as between the two texts. And indeed the third and fourth stanzas of each text seem almost to restate in different words content of the first two. Stanzas 1 and 3 of cantus I begin with discussion of "trials" (plagas) and "wounds" (vulnus), making reference to the stigmata and their importance for the salvation of St. Francis and of the singers; both end with intimations of heaven, in stanza 2 with the vision of God, in stanza 4 with the evocation of eternal life. Both halves of cantus II begin with allusions to Zabarella as scholar and go on to entreat the saint for guidance, either on earth (first half) or to heaven (second half).

The textual correspondences between the halves and the return of the outstanding rhythmic features of each talea are reinforced by harmonic similarities in the two halves. Although the tenor does not repeat exactly, there are significant correspondences in pitch between the two taleae (see example 3c). At the places where the tenor note is the same in the two halves exact repetition of pitches in the upper voices as well as the prescribed rhythms would result in excessive similarity between halves of the motet; the second half would be virtually a repeat. Because the tenor usually functions as the bass,

reharmonization was not often a viable option either. Voice exchange answered the need for variety: the pitches of cantus II's first half are sung in the second half by cantus I with its rhythms, and vice versa.

The phrase structure and underlay also emphasize the relations between the texts and their subjects. For part of each talea the two upper voices alternate lines, singing alone while the other rests. (Shown on the text layout.) This has the effect of making part of each text intelligible, and of presenting them as one poem, as at the beginning of Rex Karole (though in this case they do not fit together syntactically). A very striking effect is achieved near the opening, when the two parts alternate lines beginning with the name Francis. Each appearance is in a different grammatical case, and in fact two of the occurrences refer to the saint, and one to the priest; the effect is to mix up the two thoroughly. The episode is recalled by a return of "Francis" in cantus II in the second half (3.3), in a place where the sense is slightly ambiguous, and could refer either to the priest or to the saint. We know this is a motet about two people named Francis, but we are not sure which is which.

The two-fold musical structure is particularly appropriate for the multiple echoes and resonances among the parts and sections of this kind of motet. Like polytextuality, such a musical structure is analagous with typology, this time in a diachronic framework. Auerbach's definition of figural interpretation serves as a description of this musical structure. The "two events" "within time" are the two



halves of the piece; the first signifies the second, in that they have the same rhythms and many of the same pitches (just as there will be important similarities between the Biblical events), but they retain their individuality; the second half follows and fulfills the first half, in that the musical meaning of the piece is only completed at the end. In this motet we can see a four-way analogy, achieved both musically and textually, between cantus I and II, and between the first and second halves of the motet. St. Francis and Francesco Zabarella exist in one moment in the mind of God, while their temporal progression in historical time is represented by the musical repetition of the rhythmic framework. By stressing the relationship of Zabarella to the saint, and by evoking typological exegesis both musically and textually, Ciconia stresses Zabarella's role as a man of the church, a teacher, a guardian, a shepherd, a protector of the poor.

Example 4: Johannes Ciconia, Bologna Q15, no. 272.

Ex. 4a: Edition of text after Connolly, PMFC XXIV, pp. 223-4.

Cantus I

Doctorum principem super ethera  
revocant virtutum digna merita.  
Ergo  
vive voci detur opera,  
promat mentis fervor intus concita.

O Francisce Zabarelle, gloria,  
doctor,  
honos et lumen Patavorum,  
vive felix de tanta victoria;  
pro te virescit  
fama  
Patavorum.

O Francisce Zabarelle, pabula  
parasti pastoribus armentorum,  
quibus  
pascant oves: grata secula  
te pro munere revocant laborum.

Cantus II

Melodia suavissima cantemus,  
tangant voces melliflue sidera,  
concordie  
carmen lira\* sonemus,  
resonet per chorus pulsa cithara.

O Francisce Zabarelle,  
protector,  
imo verus pater  
rei publice,  
illos ad se voca rerum conditor,  
qui fortune  
miserentur  
lubrice.

O Francisce Zabarelle, causas  
specularis omnium creatorum;  
tuas  
posteriores resonebunt musas  
per omnia secula seculorum.

\*Connolly and MS have liram.

Ex. 4b: Translation of text after Connolly, PMFC XXIV, pp. 223-4.

## Cantus I

The fitting merits of his deed extol  
the prince of teachers to beyond  
the skies.

Therefore, let care be given to  
living voice,

Let fervor of mind disclose  
excitements from within.\*

O Francesco Zabarelle, glory  
teacher, honor, light of Padua,  
live contented at such a triumph.  
Padua's fame will increase because  
of thee.

O Francesco Zabarella, thou hast  
provided nourishment for the shepherds  
of the flocks,  
on which they may graze their sheep.  
A grateful world  
proclaims thee as reward for  
thy labors.

\*Connolly has "Therefore let sincerely  
summoned care be given to living  
voice, let fervor of mind show forth."

## Cantus II

Let us sing with sweetest melody,  
let our mellifluous voices reach  
the stars,

let us sound the song of concord  
with the lyre,\*

let the plucked cithara resound  
throughout the choirs.

O Francesco Zabarelle, protector,  
yea, true father of the commonweal,  
the Maker calls to himself those  
that have pity for fleeting  
misfortune.

O Francesco Zabarella, thou dost  
watch over the affairs of all  
creatures:  
posterity will resound thy praises  
forever and ever.

\*Connolly has "let us sound the  
harmonious lyre."

Doctorem principem super ethera / Melodia suavissima cantemus

There is no clue as to the exact occasion of the composition of Doctorem Principem.<sup>27</sup> But some phrases in the text suggest that Zabarella has been granted some honor in recognition of his reputation for knowledge and goodness beyond the limits of Padua, and is going on to bigger and better things: "super ethera / revocant" (I.1.1-2: "extol him beyond the skies"); "vive felix de tanta victoria / pro te virescit fama Patavorum" (I.2.3-4: "live contented at such a triumph; Padua's fame will increase because of thee"); "grata secula / te pro munere revocant laborum" (I.3.3-4 "a grateful world proclaims thee as reward for thy labors"); "illoe ad se vocat rerum conditor" (II.2.3: "the maker calls to himself those. . ."). I suggest that this may be a farewell piece, written to celebrate Zabarella's election as Bishop of Florence.

Doctorem principem is both simpler and more complex than Ut te per omnes. There is no double subject here: both texts are in honor of Zabarella, and the second and third stanzas of both texts begin with his name. The texts are almost identical formally.<sup>28</sup> Each text has three stanzas; each stanza has four eleven-syllable lines rhymed abab, and they even share some of the same rhymes:

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| -era  | -emus    |
| -ita  | -era/ara |
| -ria  | -tor     |
| -orum | -ice     |
| -ula  | -sas     |
| -orum | -orum.   |

Just as the two texts have slightly different rhyme schemes, they also have slightly different emphases. Cantus I begins by proclaiming Zabarella as "the prince of teachers," thereby recognizing his fame as a teacher of canon law; the second stanza stresses the credit he is to his native city, Padua; the third stresses his role as a priest and leader of priests, recognizing his effectiveness as archpriest of the cathedral. Cantus II begins with an exhortation to song and music making. This kind of self-reference to laudatory music making in the text of a laudatory motet becomes a recurrent topos; it serves to stress the function of the composition, and ties it to the ancient topos of songs of praise. The second stanza of cantus II emphasizes Zabarella's importance to Padua, the city-state or "rei publica," while the last stanza is generalized praise.

But the two texts also have many parallels: the "vive voci" of I.1.3 corresponds to the "voces melliflue" of II.1.2; both second stanzas stress Zabarella's importance to the city of Padua; both motets end with public acclaim for the archpriest. When we look at the lines of text declaimed alone by the two cantus voices, and put them together as heard in the piece, we get the following text:<sup>29</sup>

|        |                                     |
|--------|-------------------------------------|
| I.1.1  | Doctorum principem super ethera,    |
| II.1.1 | melodia suavissima cantemus,        |
| I.1.3  | vive voce detur opera               |
| II.1.3 | carmen lira sonemus.                |
| I.2.1. | O Francisce Zabarelle, gloria       |
| II.2.1 | O Francisce Zabarelle,              |
| I.2.3  | vive felix de tanta victoria /      |
| I.2.4  | pro te virescit / fama / Patavorum. |
| II.2.3 | (illos ad se voca rerum conditor /  |

II.2.4                qui fortune / miserentur / lubrice.)

I&II.3.1            O Francisce Zabarella  
 II.3.3              posterī resonebunt musas  
 I.3.3                pascant oves grata secula  
 I.3.4                te pro munere revocant laborum.

[To] the prince of teachers, to beyond the skies  
 let us sing with sweetest melody,  
 let care be given to living voice,  
 let us sound the song with the lyre.

O Francesco Zabarella, glory;  
 O Francesco Zabarella,  
 live contented at such triumph.  
 Padua's fame will increase because of thee.  
 (the maker calls to himself those  
 who have pity for fleeting misfortune.)

O Francesco Zabarella  
 posterity will resound praises  
 they graze their sheep; a grateful world  
 proclaims thee as reward for thy labors.

Not all of it makes sense. The reference to grazing sheep in the second-to-last line is rather abstruse, though it may suggest a peaceful future, thanks to Zabarella.<sup>30</sup> But no other motet from this period has texts that even come close combining into an intelligible composite, while, with a few exceptions, this composite text works. It is less nuanced and detailed than either of the individual texts, but its message is more direct and resounding: let us raise our voices in songs of praise for the prince of professors, Francesco Zabarella; your victory brings fame to Padua, posterity will praise you, as they live in peace and graze their sheep; a grateful world rewards you for your labors.

The parallels in subject are reinforced by many assonances between the texts as realized in performance. Most obvious are the occurrences

of his name in stanzas 2 and 3; in stanza 2 each voice declaims the name alone, to the same music, while in the last stanza both parts sing it at the same time (as if it were a motet with only one text). But there are also more subtle devices. Assonances between lines sung at the same time occur in lines 2 and 4 of the first stanza, especially at the end, "merita" / "sidera" and "intus concita" / "pulsata cithara," and in lines 2 and 4 of the last stanza, where the rhymes finally coincide. And rhymes are created between parts even at the expense of the verse structure, in stanza 2, where "doctor" and "protector" are sung together even though "doctor" begins a line and "protector" ends one. Ciconia has abandoned the complexities of meaning and figural cross reference between texts, for a simpler kind of parallelism and carefully worked-out relationships among the sounds of words.

The similarity between the music of the two parts is less subtle. The stress in this motet is on integrative devices such as imitation and homorhythm. Only in the hocket sections (mm. 34-44, 47-49, 59-61, 78-88, 124-130) do the parts ever have real conflicting rhythms; the rest of the time they are either singing alone or singing the same rhythms together.<sup>31</sup> And the hocket sections are integrative in another way, in that the interchange of snatches of melody serves to mix up the two parts, so that it is difficult to tell which is which. The two parts are in the same range (middle C to the d a ninth above, the outer lines of the soprano clef, in which they are both written). When the two voices sing together cantus I spends most of its time in the upper half of that range, and cantus II in the lower half, but both begin

most of the solo imitative passages in the upper part of the range, and there are occasional voice crossings at important moments, such as at the beginning of the first section, mm. 88-90 and 100-109. "Discordia" between the voices is not much in evidence here; this is a case of "concordia concors."

Ciconia chose to represent "discordia concors" in a different way in this piece; instead of reconciling conflicting texts, rhythms, and phrase structures of the upper parts, he constructed a large-scale proportional isorhythmic structure. Isorhythm in the French sense, which assumes the organization of the pitches and rhythms of a pre-existent tenor, is virtually unknown in trecento and early quattrocenro Italy. Pre-existent tenors are very rare, as is any kind of structure that places constraints on the pitches of the upper parts (such as color repetition, whether or not pre-existent).<sup>32</sup> Ciconia only uses what could be called "true isorhythm" twice: in Petrum Marcello Venetum / O Petre antistes inclite, written for the second Venetian bishop of Padua after his appointment in 1409, and in Doctorum principem. Petrum Marcello follows the common pattern of a double rhythmic statement in all voices, but within each half the tenor and contratenor are repeated in diminution at 3:1. Bent remarks about this piece that "these symptoms bring Ciconia closer to French procedures in one of his late works; his chosen diminution technique requires him, unusually, to take account not only of the rhythms but also of the pitches of the T in constructing the upper parts."<sup>33</sup>

In Doctorum principem Ciconia abandons the double statement



completely, and states his tenor three times, each time in a different mensuration. In doing so Ciconia was writing what has been called a "mensuration motet,"<sup>34</sup> which takes the relatively common bipartite motet with diminution one step farther: it usually has more than two parts, and the color is repeated for each section in a new (faster) mensuration. Doctorum principem is a special case, in that it has only one talea per color in each section (i.e. there is no rhythmic repetition within sections). Sanders calls such pieces "mensuration motets without isorhythm," because of the lack of literal repetition of any rhythmic pattern. Previous mensuration motets are northern, although at least one, the tripartite Sub Arturo, was known in trecento Italy, and could have been a model for Ciconia. Mensuration motets of all kinds, with and without isorhythm, would become more common after Ciconia, especially for laudatory political motets (see Table VI, at the end of the chapter.) Ciconia gives his tenor part a label -- "Vir mitis" -- after the French fashion, and confines his mensural reinterpretation to that voice.<sup>35</sup> Here, as in Petrus Marcello, Ciconia adopts French procedures.<sup>36</sup>

Italian habits of notation and construction persist nonetheless. Even though Ciconia names the tenor and thus treats it as if it were pre-existent, it must have been newly composed: its melodic style, with reiterated fanfare-like fifths and uninterrupted descent through an entire octave, is totally unlike chant. Its label, "Vir mitis" ("kind man"), is simply another description of Zabarella.<sup>37</sup> And even though he adopts French-inspired mensural reinterpretation, he still thinks in

Italian notation, so that in the second section the second semibreve must always be altered, even before another semibreve.<sup>38</sup> Ciconia thus consciously chose to apply a French constructive technique to an essentially Italian musical style.<sup>39</sup>

The tenor is provided with three mensural signatures (C, O, C, bottom to top) and a canon, which indicates in what order to read the the mensural signatures, and explains that semibreves must always be altered in perfect tempus.<sup>40</sup> Because of the combination of French and Italian notational features in this piece it is difficult to determine what the proper relationship between the first and second sections should be: minim = minim (eighth note = eighth note in Bent and Hallmark's transcription) in the French manner, or semibreve = semibreve (dotted-quarter note = quarter note) in the Italian. In the French manner, while the minims (eighth notes) remain the same speed and the breves (measures) remain the same length, the effect is of an increase in tempo in the second section, since the semibreve tactus (dotted-quarter note, quarter note) moves faster. In the Italian manner the effect is of a decrease in tempo, since the tactus remains the same, but there are now three of them per measure, divided into two instead of three. Both sections have declamation on the minim (eighth note). The relationship between the second and third sections is the same in both systems, and the effect is of an increase in tempo, since measures are shorter. If we consider the proportionate length of all three sections, the French system gives us 3:3:2, the Italian 2:3:2. When we consider the relationship between the first and last sections,

we see that in the Italian interpretation they are the same length, but the tempo of the first section is perceived as faster, because the tactus is divided into three rather than two (the minim [eighth note] moves faster in the first section). If we consider the relative tempi of the three sections, then, the French has slow, faster, fastest; while the Italian has fastest, slowest, middle. This makes the French interpretation more likely, since mensuration motets invariably begin with the the longest section in the slowest tempo, and usually move from long to short and slow to fast, creating a sense of accelerando or drive to the cadence (see Table VI). This use of a French rhythmic relationship would correspond to Ciconia's choice of a French mensural construction.

In adopting French rhythmic notation and constructive devices, Ciconia was also writing in the most intellectual style available to him. Academic or scholastic music treatises were written about French rhythmic notation, often as commentaries on Jean de Muris, even in early fifteenth-century Italy: both the Paduan Prosdocimus de Beldemandis and Ugolino of Orvieto wrote such treatises.<sup>41</sup> In 1412 Prosdocimus changed his position and began to defend Italian notation, in his Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the Italian Manner.<sup>42</sup> In the introduction he expresses the common attitude toward the relative value of French and Italian notation:

The art or practice of mensural music is discovered to be of two kinds: There is the Italian practice, which at present only the Italians use, and there is the French practice, which all Europeans now embrace except the Italians. Of late, however, even the Italians have taken to using French practice — perhaps no less well than the

French — and to such an extent that they are neglecting their own practice and reveling in the French, thinking their own defective and the French more elegant, more perfect, and more refined.<sup>43</sup>

In choosing to write a mensuration motet, Ciconia also created a large-scale set of temporal proportions. The particular proportions of this piece (3:3:2) are among the most basic of the Pythagorean proportions: 3:3, the unison, the unity, the beginning; and 3:2, the fifth, the first real interval that is not some kind of reduplication of pitches. The discordia concors in this piece is a mensural and temporal one; Ciconia has constructed a harmonious structure in time, another realization of the intervallic musical concords that govern the combinations of voices.

The text of the motet begins with the phrase "Doctorum principem," a reference to Zabarella's degree in canon law, to his role as professor at the university, and especially to his eminence as a scholar; Zabarella's brilliance is the only quality that emerges from the composite text. Ciconia, "in orbe famosissimus musicus," adopted French rhythmic and notational practices as a fitting tribute to Francesco Zabarella, "in orbe famosissimus doctor." Just as Zabarella developed a theory of a unified church in his treatises, Ciconia constructed a motet in which pleasing relationships among the sections of the motet result from the harmonious mensural proportions. In emulating French style, Ciconia chose to speak in an international musical language, just as Zabarella spoke to all of Europe. In Doctorum principem Ciconia raises his voice in a harmonious song of praise that also represents the concord after which the great canonist strived.

On the simplest level, both of these motets are musical compositions with texts in praise of Francesco Zabarella, archpriest and canonist; they would have been effective as displays of skill and patronage, and as such were an acknowledgment and contribution to his prestige. Looking more closely, we see that they stress very different aspects of Zabarella, and they do so by means of different musical devices. In Ut te per omnes Ciconia used texts on different subjects (the saint and the archpriest) and a twofold rhythmic construction to create a typological analogy between St. Francis and Zabarella; the musical relationships became expressions of the relationships between the texts, and together they presented an image of Zabarella as the kind shepherd watching over his Paduan flock in the likeness of St. Francis. In Doctorum principem he combined similar texts into one composite text, and used French mensural practice and temporal proportions to present an image of Zabarella as a scholar bent on creating a harmonious church. Ciconia was thus able to use the musical and textual resources of the genre in a variety of ways for a variety of effects.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. Composers ranked in order of the number of their motets in Bologna Q15:

| composer              | total #<br>of motets | Laudatory<br>political motets |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Johannes de Limburgia | 17                   | 1                             |
| Dufay                 | 14                   | 3                             |
| Ciconia               | 10                   | 7                             |
| (Anon.)               | 9                    |                               |
| Brassart              | 5                    | 2                             |

See Table V, especially V.B.10.

2. See Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., The Works of Johannes Ciconia, PMFC XXIV (Monaco, 1985), p. X, and Suzanne Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, un musicien liégeois et son temps, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1960), vol. 1, p. 49. Future references to Ciconia's music will be to Bent and Hallmark's exemplary edition, often cited as PMFC XXIV.
3. See Heinrich Bessler, "Hat Matheus de Perusio Epoche gemacht?" Die Musikforschung 8 (1955), pp. 19-23; Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, un musicien; and Clercx, "Ciconia, Johannes," New Grove 4, p. 394.
4. Two more motets, PMFC XXIV nos. 20, Padu... serenans, and 21, 0 proles Hispanie, and one Latin contrafactum (no. 24, Regina gloriosa) are included in PMFC XXIV as opera dubia, as are one Mass movement and several secular works. The dubious motets were included in Table III; they are not included here as works by Ciconia.
5. For Ciconia's biography and style, see Bent and Hallmark, PMFC XXIV, pp. IX-XIII, and Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy," in Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music, ed., Stanley Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), p. 204, and Hallmark's forthcoming dissertation, "Johannes Ciconia in Padua" (Princeton University). Only one work, the virelai Sus un fontayne, is inescapably French; but it is a musical and textual patchwork of ballades by Philipoctus de Caserta, and is probably a student work. It may even have been written in Padua; it appears in one of the Paduan fragments. See Bent and Hallmark, PMFC XXIV, pp. X-XI, and Hallmark, "Some Evidence," pp. 207-209.

6. The only exceptions are two motets from the Egidi fragment (no. 5, Florentia / Parce, also found in San Lorenzo 2211, and no. 6, Leonarde), and two of the motets in Modena 5.24 (no. 25, Laurea / Conlaudanda, and no. 26, Ave sancta / Agnus, by Matteo de Perusio). But both these manuscripts also have some connection with the Veneto: the Egidi fragment includes the motet for doge Marco Cornaro (no. 4, Marce Marcum), and Modena 5.24 has a concordance with I-Pu 1475, or Pad A (no. 8, Gratiosus / Magnanimus, for St. George). Even the Italian motets in the Florentine manuscript San Lorenzo 2211 (no. 5, Florentia / Parce and no. 7, Jacopo da Bologna's Lux / Diligite) have North Italian connections; for this point see Bent, "The Fourteenth Century Italian Motet."
7. See Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," Hallmark, "Some evidence," Gallo, "Marchetus in Padua," and Giulio Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a Santa Giustina di Padova all'inizio del quattrocento: il copista Rolando da Casale — nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato," Annales musicologiques 7 (1964-77), pp. 17-41.
8. On this subject, see Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian motet." She emphasizes matters of pitch, such as final and cadence forms, as well as formal and rhythmic procedures.
9. The more complex isorhythmic schemes tend to appear late in the trecento, and seem to indicate French influence. Of the five listed below, one is the early motet by Marchetto of Padua, Ave regina / Mater innocencie; its isorhythm is confined to the tenor. Three are in the late manuscript Modena 5.24, which contains a French-influenced repertory in general: one piece, no. 26 Ave sancta mundi / Agnus is by Matteo de Perusio, known for his ars subtilior chansons; another, no. 25, Laurea/Conlaudanda, is probably by Matteo also; the last, no. 9, O Maria / O Maria is based on old French motet texts, which may explain its French features. See the discussion below of Ciconia's Doctorum principem for his use of relatively complex isorhythmic schemes.
10. O virum omnimoda / O lux et decus / beate Nicolae (PMFC XXIV, no. 15) has three prose texts of slightly different lengths: cantus I has 59 syllables, cantus II has 76, and Tenor has 54.
11. Even Dufay's motets usually have a longer text in the top part. All of Dufay's nine polytextual motets have more text in cantus I except two: Rite majorem and Magnanime gentes. Of the motets that split a single text, it is usually divided unequally: in Moribus et genere cantus II has the last sixteen of the twenty-four lines sung by cantus I; in Apostolo glorioso cantus I has the octave, cantus II the sestet of a sonnet; in O sancte Sebastiane cantus I has seven stanzas to three in cantus II; in

Fulgens iubar and Ecclesie militantis cantus II has same number of lines, but fewer syllables per line. Cantus I and cantus II are otherwise musically indistinguishable in most cases. There are four remaining motets that use the Italian option of only one text in both upper parts.

12. This biography is derived from the following sources: Michael Ott, "Zabarella, Francesco," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1912), XV, p. 739; Walter Ullmann, The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History (London, 1938; reprinted with a new preface by the author in Hamden, Conn., 1972), Appendix: "Cardinal Zabarella and his Position in the Conciliar Movement," pp. 190-231; Gasparo Zonta, Francesco Zabarella (Padua, 1915); Bent and Hallmark, PMFC XXIV, pp. XII-XIII; Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, pp. 37-8, 39, 42-3, 45-6, 48, 86. Details relating to Ciconia come primarily from Clercx. For the history of Padua, see Attilio Simioni, Storia di Padova: dalle origini alla fine del secolo XVIII (Padua, 1968), pp. 566-8 and 611-12.
13. Zonta, Zabarella, p. 22, and Simioni, Padua, p. 612.
14. On Venice's relations with Padua, see Benjamin J. Kohl, "Government and Society in Renaissance Padua," The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2 (1972), pp. 205-221. On the "Golden Bull," see p. 215.
15. For a discussion of his tomb, see Wolfgang Wolters, La Scultura Veneziana Gotica (1300/1460) 2 vols. (Venice, 1976), cat. no. 166, vol. 1, pp. 234-5, and vol. 2, figures 534, 547-551. For contemporary accounts of his funeral at the Council, see The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church, transl. Louise Ropes Loomis, ed. and ann., John H. Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York, 1961), pp. 159-60 (Richtental) and 405 (Fillastre); for an excerpt from his funeral oration, see Ullmann, The Origins, p. 230.
16. See Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a Santa Giustina," p. 24, where the explicit is quoted: "Explicit reportata Dom. Francisci de Zabarellis Iuris utriusque Doctoris in orbe famosissimi. . ." The lecture was copied by Rolando de Casale, a monk at the monastery of Santa Giustina, and the copyist of some of the Paduan fragments, in particular Pad D and Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, 14 [I STR14, olim Domodossola, and known as Dom] (see Cattin, "Ricerche," pp. 27-31).
17. The first part of this paragraph is very close to Walter Ullmann, The Origins of the Great Schism, p. 193. On the possibility of his election, see Brian Tierney, Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism (Cambridge, 1955), p. 246. See also Simioni,



Padova, p. 612.

18. See Tierney, Foundations, Chapter IV, "Franciscus Zabarella," and Ullmann, The Origins, Appendix, on Zabarella's writings and thought.
19. Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, pp. 86 and 48-49.
20. On Ailly, Dufay, and Constance, see David Fallows Dufay (London, 1982), pp. 16-19.
21. It is difficult to determine whether this state of affairs is an accident in transmission; it is of course possible that many of Ciconia's motets have been lost, including several pairs of motets for selected individuals. But there are very few examples of more than one motet for the same person in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. There are two fourteenth-century motets for Gaston Febus, and two trecento motets for Luchino Visconti (see Table II and III); Dufay wrote two motets in praise of Florence (Mirandas parit and Salve flos Tusce gentes). Other examples are more difficult to defend. Every one of Dufay's multiple motets for Pope Eugenius IV is associated with a different event or occasion in the pope's reign, whereas the motets for Zabarella have no such specific indications. It has been suggested that Brassart's Magne decus potencie is for the same occasion as Dufay's Ecclesie militantis, the coronation of Pope Eugenius IV, but Brassart's text is so vague (the pope's name is not mentioned) that this position is hard to support (see Fallows, Dufay, pp. 34-5 and 45-6). There are multiple motets for the same saint, and numerous motets for the BVM or Christ, but these are clearly different cases. Thus even though we do not know how many motets Ciconia wrote, it seems unlikely that he wrote multiple motets for any other person.
22. The best edition of this piece, and the one to which I shall refer, is in Bent and Hallmark, PMFC XXIV, no. 19. It was recorded in 1966 by the Capella antiqua of Munich, directed by Konrad Ruhland, Religious Music circa 1400: Ciconia, Dunstable, and Others (Telefunken, Das alte Werk, SAWT 9505-A Ex).
23. Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, pp. 37-8, suggested 1390-7, because there is no mention of Zabarella's position of archpriest in the text. This is not a compelling argument, and in any case Ciconia probably was not in Padua then. Bent and Hallmark do not suggest a specific date.
24. The tomb was erected circa 1283 when some excavations turned up the corpse of a knight, who was believed to be Antenor. See Cesare Foligno, The Story of Padua (London, 1910), pp. 177-8. Livy was a Paduan, and his tomb was discovered in 1413 on the grounds of the monastery of Santa Giustina by Rolandus de Casale,

the copyist of Zabarella's lecture notes and of Paduan music manuscripts. See Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica," pp. 24-26.

25. Both these pieces are found in Padua 1106, or Pad D, discussed in Dragan Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music," JAMS 8 (1955), pp. 165-181. They are tentatively attributed there to Ciconia, and are included as opera dubia in Bent and Hallmark, PMFC XXIV, as nos. 20 and 21.
26. PMFC XXIV no. 16.
27. PMFC XXIV, no. 17. It is recorded on the same record as Ut te per omnes. Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, pp. 48-49 and 86, says that the piece must have been written between the dealings with Venice in January 1406 and Zabarella's departure in 1410, because of the line "pater rei publice" (cantus II, 2.2). She suggests 1409, when Zabarella arranged a supplementary gratuity of 200 livres for Ciconia. Bent and Hallmark (p. XIV, n. 18), agree that 1409 is a possibility, but suggest that "Zabarella's relinquishing of his teaching abilities might provide a less narrowly personal occasion." Zabarella stopped teaching in 1409, when he went to the Council of Pisa (Simioni, Padova, p. 612).
28. M. J. Connolly, who edits the texts of the motets in PMFC XXIV, calls the texts "doublets" of each other (pp. 223-4).
29. I rearranged things a bit at the end of the second stanza; compare the complete text as laid out in Ex. 4a. Here the individual phrases sung in alternation, beginning with Cantus I at "vive felix" are marked with slashes. It is so easy to sort out which part is which — the parts alternate clearly, the two parts do not make sense together, and cantus I keeps returning to the high d, while cantus II spends most of its time in the lower range — that cantus I's lines are perceived as a single utterance in spite of the interruptions from cantus II (which functions as a background or subtext, and is included only in parentheses).
30. Daniel Heartz pointed out to me that the image of sheep evokes peace.
31. The brevity of the list of exceptions to this statement is evidence of its accuracy (parentheses indicate places where the rhythms are not identical but fit together): mm. (19), (26-27), (29), (56), (63), 70, (117), 119, (120).
32. The only non-Ciconia Italian motets that have color repetition are the very early motet of Marchetus, Ave regina / Mater innocencie, which, as we have seen, has many ties still to the French tradition; Gratiosus / Magnanimus, found in Pad A and Modena 5.24, which uses a retrograde middle statement of the

tenor that may have been inspired by Machaut's Ma fin est mon commencement, also found in Pad A, according to Hallmark ("Some Evidence," p. 215); O Maria / O Maria, which uses old motet texts; and the motets from Modena 5.24 attributed to Matteo de Perusio, who in many ways was more French than the French.

33. PMFC XXIV, commentary, p. 207. Bent also comments that the contratenor works better than most of the contratenors for Ciconia's motets in Bologna Q15, and is involved in the diminution structure with the tenor, so it may be original, another French feature.
34. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," pp. 565-7, and "Motet," New Grove 12, pp. 726-7.
35. Literal repetition of the rhythms of the upper voices is not possible in Doctorum principem, since the mensuration changes; but Ciconia does not even attempt mensural reinterpretations of equivalent rhythms, confining his manipulations to the tenor.
36. It seems likely that Doctorum principem was written at around the same time as Petrus Marcello, in 1409 or after, a fact that would support the proposed date of 1410.
37. See Bent and Hallmark, PMFC XXIV, p. 207.
38. Bent, PMFC XXIV, p. 207
39. In "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet" Bent calls diminution, retrograde, and mensural reinterpretation "special experimental devices" in the context of the Italian motet.
40. The canon reads: "Et dicitur primo imperfecto maioris 2o perfecto minori semper ultima semibrevis alteratur, 3o imperfecto minoris." "And it is sung first in imperfect tempus, major prolation; second in perfect tempus, minor prolation with the last semibreve always altered; third in imperfect tempus, minor prolation." See Bent and Hallmark, PMFC XXIV, p. 207.
41. The first three treatises of Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, written during his student years (1404-9), are on French notation; the first is a commentary on Jean de Muris. See Jan Herlinger, ed. and transl., Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi, Contrapunctus (Lincoln, 1984), Introduction, pp. 2-5, and F. Alberto Gallo, "La tradizione dei trattati musicali di Prosdocimo de Beldemandis," Quadrivium 6 (1964), pp. 31-2, and Gallo, ed., Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannis de Muris, Antiqui musicae italicae scriptores, no. 3: Prosdocimi de Beldemandis opera, vol. 1 (Bologna: Antiquae musicae italicae studiosi, 1966). The third book of Ugolino's Declaratio musicae disciplinae is a commentary on Jean de Muris; it is ed. Albert

Seay, CSM 7 (Rome, AIM, 1960). Ciconia's own treatise deals with the relationship between French and Italian notation; see Clercx, "Ciconia, Johannes," New Grove, 4, p. 392.

42. CS III (Paris, 1869), pp. 228-48, and Claudio Sartori, La notazione italiana del Trecento in una redazione inedita del "Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytalicorum" di Prosdocimo de Beldemandis (Florence, 1938), pp. 35-71; translated by Jay A. Huff, MSD 29 (AIM 1972).
43. Huff, translation, p. 11.

Table VI: Mensuration motets

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A: The 14th century examples in the Chantilly manuscript:

Ida capillorum/Portio nature (PMFC V no. 4, Günther no. 14, also in Ivrea)  
4 colores of 2 taleae, with the proportion 6:4:3:2

Sub Arturo/Fons citharizancium (PMFC V no. 31, Günther no. 12, also in  
Bologna Q15 and Yoxford (England), MS in private possession)  
3 colores of 2 taleae, with the proportion 9:6:4

\*Inter densas/Imbibribus irriguis (PMFC V no. 29, Günther no. 15)  
8 colores of 1 talea, with the proportion 27:12:12:8:18:8:18:6

Ida capillorum is in Ivrea, so it must be from the 1360's.

Sub Arturo is probably an English motet, although very French in style; it has been dated in 1358 or in the 1360's (the later date is more likely, stylistically); it is disseminated on the continent as well, and the tenor is cited in an Italian treatise of the mid fourteenth century. See Lefferts, The Motet in England, pp. 87, 183, 301 and 332, nn. 92 and 93, for the most recent discussion and bibliography.

Inter densas is a late fourteenth-century motet in honor of Gaston Febus.

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B: Some early fifteenth-century examples:

In Modena 5.24:

Laurea/Conlaudanda [M. de Perusio?] (Günther no. 13)  
3 colores of 2 taleae, with the proportion 3:1:2

\*Ave sancta mundi/Agnus, by M. de Perusio (Fano, no. 1, pp. 191-5)  
3 colores with the proportion 4:2:1 in the T  
(tops have 4 rhythmic statements, the last in diminution)

In Oxford 2i3:

Billart: Salve virgo/Vita via/Salve Regina (PS no. 24)  
6 sections, in the proportions 54:40:30:18:27:30

Grenon: Ave virtus/Prophetarum/Infelix (PS no. 30)  
4 sections (6 colores, last two have two each), 4:3:2:1

Dunstable's isorhythmic motets are all mensuration motets (with isorhythm); see Bent, Dunstable, pp. 64 to 65. The proportions of the sections are invariably 6:4:3 or 3:2:1.

Dufay's mensuration motets without isorhythm:

\*Nuper rosarum (6:4:2:3),  
\*Magnanime gentis (12:4:2:3),  
\*Ecclesie militantis (6:3:4:2:6:3).

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Key to Table VI:

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| *       | mensuration motet without isorhythm  |
| Fano    | Fabio Fano, <u>Le origini e il primo maestro di cappella: Matteo da Perugia</u> , La cappella musicale del duomo di Milano, pt. 1 (Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale Italiana, I, n.s.) (Milan, 1956) |
| Günther | Ursula Günther, ed., <u>The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense, alpha.M.5, 24 (olim lat. 568)</u> (CMM 39, AIM 1965)                             |
| PMFC V  | Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., <u>Motets of French Provenance</u> (Monaco, 1968)   |
| PS      | Charles van den Borren, ed., <u>Polyphonia Sacra: A Continental Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century</u> (Burnham, 1932)  |

## Chapter 8. Venice and Music in the Early Quattrocento

### Introduction

The Venetian state has often been called a work of art.<sup>1</sup> So effective was this creation of a state by the state -- so absolute and necessary appear its fictions, which through artistry take on the status of eternal truth -- that Venetian history has a timeless quality. Continuity and tradition are always in the foreground, change recedes to the distant horizon. It is this quality of timeless truth that characterizes the "myth of Venice," the image of the Venetian state created by the Venetians; the history of Venice achieves the quality of destiny and necessity characteristic of great epics and novels.<sup>2</sup> So pervasive is the mythic quality of Venetian history that even the most wary and down-to-earth historian can be taken in by it;<sup>3</sup> all students of things Venetian come away from their investigation with the conviction that Venice is unique, special, and set apart, unlike any other city or place.

The power of the myth is problematic for historians, and many have attempted to determine what aspects of the myth are based in reality, and which are fabrication. Even these historians have tended to study the history of Venice as one would a myth: they examine the myth's origins, and they expound on the meaning of its most fully worked-out and magnificent redactions. The elements of the myth are virtually complete by the end of the thirteenth century, say some historians;<sup>4</sup>

but most of the surviving documents about Venetian life, ceremony, and politics are from the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The intermediary stages -- the ebb and flow of the myth's influence, especially the occasional disruptions in Venetian continuity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries -- have received less attention from historians.

But some recent historians have looked more closely at the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and have recognized the importance of the period from circa 1380 to circa 1450. The war of Chioggia (1379-80), in which Venice fought against an alliance of Genoa, Hungary, Padua, the Scaligeri, and Austria, is viewed by many historians as a turning point. Chojnacki begins his study of "The Making of The Venetian Renaissance State" in 1378;<sup>6</sup> Chambers begins his book, The Imperial Age of Venice, in 1380.<sup>7</sup> Chojnacki describes the war of Chioggia as the catalyst that caused a unified effective government to emerge out of the faction-ridden Venetian patriciate, that had previously been more concerned with individual ambitions than with an effective state. The narrowness of Venice's escape (for a brief period Venice lost the city of Chioggia, at the other end of the Venetian lagoon and practically within sight of the city) forced the nobility to perceive themselves as a class and enabled them to work together.<sup>8</sup> Chambers views the period from 1261 to 1380 as a time of increasing tensions and conflicts within and without the republic; these struggles were resolved in the war of Chioggia, which "created or vindicated Venetian morale."<sup>9</sup> Other historians see a more general change during this period: Lane calls his section on the early fifteenth century "The



Turn Westward,"<sup>10</sup> and Finlay sees 1297 to c.1450 as the period of the final formation of the government, which "it was to retain until the end of the Republic in 1797."<sup>11</sup>

There can be no doubt that the late trecento and early quattroceto was a pivotal time for Venice. After the war of Chioggia she made a speedy economic recovery. Hungary collapsed, and Venice regained a solid economic base in the Aegean.<sup>12</sup> During the first decades of the fifteenth century, Venice began a concerted effort to combat opposing forces on the Italian mainland as well. This expansion onto the terraferma was a radical change in Venice's policy, which heretofore had been content to base its power and wealth almost exclusively on its holdings overseas and its flourishing maritime trade. Due to the increasing difficulties with transportation on the mainland caused by hostile opposing states, the Venetians felt bound to protect their financial interests by obtaining control over trade routes. The result was an expansionist policy of considerable magnitude: between 1402 and 1405 Venice conquered Vicenza, Verona, and Padua, and in another campaign against the Viscontis of Milan Venice conquered the more distant cities of Brescia (1426) and Bergamo (1428). At the same time Venice was successfully fighting her eastern enemies, the patriarch of Aquileia, the king of Hungary, and the Holy Roman Emperor. In the process Venice gained control over most of the territory immediately to the north and east of the city, as well as regaining control of Dalmatia.<sup>13</sup>

These changes in the makeup of the Venetian possessions were

accompanied by similar internal changes in the Venetian government. In 1382 thirty new families were admitted into the Great Council (the members of which were the Venetian ruling class) in reward for their services during the war of Chioggia; this was the last time that any enlargements were made to the ruling body. In 1403 a proposal to add a new family to the Great Council whenever a patrician family died out was rejected, marking the absolute transformation of the patriciate into a caste, membership in which was determined by heredity alone.<sup>14</sup> The expansion onto the terraferma also involved the need for more officials, and a more thoroughly articulated governmental system, so it was also a period of marked political and administrative expansion.<sup>15</sup> This caused a further consolidation and integration of the patrician class. As Chojnacki puts it:

In the double achievement of the mainland acquisitions — material benefits for individual Venetians and the increased power of the Venetian state which reflected on the class that ruled it — the nobility found advantage and satisfaction for each of its members. In this double achievement the noble ideology became not only fully articulated, but also fulfilled in the early Quattrocento.<sup>16</sup>

In 1423 the people were no longer given the opportunity to assent to the election of the new doge, and the city of Venice abandoned the title of comune Venetiarum, adopting instead the title of dominio o signoria.<sup>17</sup> All of these developments mark a profound change in the concept of the state and of the nature of its government and ruling class.

The restructuring of Venetian government naturally had an impact on

the office of the doge. In the long run the power of the doge steadily decreased, as his powers and privileges became more and more limited by the Senate. But the more stringent restrictions were usually made only in response to manipulation of power by the doge beyond an acceptable level, so there was an ebb and flow in his power and influence. The early quattrocento is considered a period when the power of the doge was in the ascendent, all regulations and restrictions to the contrary. William Bouwsma comments:

Several powerful doges, long after the office had presumably been rendered harmless, demonstrated its continuing potentiality as an instrument of political leadership. After Michele Steno, Tommaso Mocenigo, and Francesco Foscari had made this clear in the fifteenth century, the alarmed patriciate initiated, as a general practice, the election of mediocrities or men of great age to the dogeship.<sup>18</sup>

These three doges were neither the first or the last doges to attempt an expansion of the power of their office.<sup>19</sup> But their dogeships coincided with a period of growth, prosperity, and change for Venice, and Steno, Mocenigo, and Foscari were perceived as exceptionally involved in the causes of and reactions to those changes.

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Musicologists have also stressed continuity in Venetian music, in particular in the series of motets for the doges of Venice written in the trecento and quattrocento. Three of the nineteen non-Ciconia motets (see Table III) are for doges of Venice, and there exist five

motets for doges from the early quattrocento:

|   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Francesco Dandolo, 1329-39<br>(six doges between 1339 and 1365) | Ave corpus sanctum                |
| Marco Corner, 1365-8  | Marce Marcum imitaris             |
| Andrea Contarini, 1368-81<br>(two doges between 1381 and 1400)  | Principum nobilissime             |
| Michele Steno, 1400-1413  | Venetia / Michael (Ciconia)       |
| Tommaso Mocenigo, 1413-1423                                     | Ducalis / Stirps (Romanus)        |
| Francesco Foscari, 1423-57                                      | Carminibus / O requies (Romanus)  |
|   | Plaude decus mundi (de Monte)     |
|   | Christus vincit (Hugh de Lantins) |

The tendency is to fill in the blanks, and as with so many Venetian phenomena, to posit an ancient and unbroken tradition of dogal motets: Denis Stevens, for example, comments that "they demonstrate the continuity of a doubtless venerable tradition, for three of the doges stand in direct succession one to another."<sup>20</sup> The implication is that motets for the intervening doges were written, but have been lost; and that at every dogal election Venice had access to a composer of motets and to musicians capable of performing them. That more motets survive from the early quattrocento is seen as an accident of transmission; they are a continuation of an ancient practice, and suggest no new developments.

But when we look more closely at the musical situation, we discover changes that can be correlated with the political and cultural changes described above. In the trecento the Italian motet tradition, as we have seen, was centered in the Veneto. But the city of Venice was probably not a center for motet composition and performance or manuscript production. No trecento composer of polyphony is known to

have connections with Venice, while composers can be linked to Padua, Verona, and Milan in northern Italy, as well as to Florence in central Italy. There exist two motets for Luchino Visconti of Milan, at least one of which is by Jacopo da Bologna, who is known to have been employed by the Visconti (see Table III). Padua in particular was a center for music theory (Marchetto and Prosdocimus) and manuscript production (at the monastery of Santa Giustina).<sup>21</sup> A university town, Padua was an intellectual center in a way that Venice was not, and humanism took hold there much earlier than in Venice: Petrarch spent the last years of his life in and near Padua, under the protection of the Carraras, while Paolo Vergerio was tutor to the Carrara family.<sup>22</sup> But there is no evidence that polyphonic musical culture existed in Venice.<sup>23</sup>

Thus the three trecento dogal motets were probably occasional commissions by doges or tributes to them, composed by musicians living and working outside of Venice. This can be seen in the case of the first surviving dogal motet, Ave corpus sanctum (example 1), which, as we have seen, is dedicated to St. Stephen and also treats the abbot of San Giorgio. It was probably performed at the abbey by the monks, and it may have been commissioned by the abbot. Its probable composer, Marchetto of Padua, appears never to have lived in Venice. The composers of the two subsequent dogal motets (examples 5 and 6) are unknown, and there is nothing to associate them with Venice either.

Example 5: Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell Abbazia, Collocazione provvisoria 197, ff. 5'-6 (cantus II is also in the lost Egidi fragment, I-MFA).

Ex. 5a: Edition of text after Ursula Gunther, "Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment decouverts a Grottaferrata, " L'ars nova italiana del trecento, 2o Convegno Internazionale, 1969, ed. F.A. Gallo (Certaldo, 1970), pp. 369-375.

Ex. 5b: Translation by J.C.

Ex. 5a

Marce marcum imitaris  
probitatis radio,  
nec ab ipso disregaris,  
equitatis madio.

Miles dignus approbaris  
virtutum efficacia,  
princeps iustus sublimaris,  
karismatum gratia.

Tu ducatus generosi,  
mundi pari feriam,  
circumducis virtuosus  
ad prolem Corneriam.

Tu michi benignitatis  
manum porrexisti,  
Tu Venetie dignitatis  
gradum addidisti.

Sic celestis claritatis  
cui te commisti,  
Deus augeat largitatis  
Liliumque maiestatis,  
quod pie meruisti.

Amen.

Ex. 5b

Mark, you imitate Mark  
with a staff of uprightness,  
nor are you separated from him,  
steeped in equity.

Worthy knight, you are approved  
by the efficacy of your virtues;  
just prince, you are exalted  
by the grace of your divine gifts.

You, of generous dogeship,  
provide a feast for the world,  
you persuade the virtuous in favor  
of the child of the Corner family.

You offered me  
the hand of generosity;  
you added to the rank  
of the dignity of Venice.

Thus you mingled yourself  
with celestial renown;  
may God augment the lily of  
of largess and of majesty,  
which you piously deserved.

Amen.

The motet for Marco Corner (doge 1365-8), Marce Marcum imitaris, is preserved in two fragmentary sources without any known connection with Venice.<sup>24</sup> The composer is not known, though the motet has been

attributed to Francesco Landini,<sup>25</sup> to Lorenzo da Firenze or Jacopo da Bologna,<sup>26</sup> and to Francesco da Pesaro, organist at San Marco.<sup>27</sup> There is reference in the fourth stanza to the author or composer -- "tu michi benignitatis manum porrexisti" -- but unfortunately no identifying information is included. The text suggests that by extending the "hand of generosity" to the composer, that is in commissioning the motet, the doge has contributed to the glory of Venice. Certainly the text glorifies the doge. As in Ave corpus sanctum and Ut te per omnes, he is associated with a saint, in this case his namesake St. Mark, the patron saint and symbol of Venice. The text suggests that the doge owes his election to divine grace ("karismatum gratia," 2.4); but also attributes his success to the virtues of the man himself. The doge's justice and equity are given particular emphasis near the beginning of the text (in 1.2 and 4, "probitatis" and "equitatis," and 2.3, "princeps iustus"), while his generosity and renown are stressed in the latter part.

This is one of the few motets from the trecento with only one text, and with two sections (the second section is the Amen) in contrasting mensurations. While the two equal cantus parts and the free supporting tenor resemble those of other trecento Italian motets, as do the cadences, the motet also resembles a three-part madrigal or caccia, which has a single text and a final ritornello section usually in a contrasting mensuration.<sup>28</sup> Thus, while this text resembles those of earlier and later laudatory motets, the piece does not exploit the symbolic and expressive possibilities possible in the polytextual motet.

Example 6: Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1006 [Pad D], f. II'.  
[Possibly by Francesco Landini.]

Ex. 6a: Edition of text after  
Dragan Plamenac, "Another  
Paduan Fragment of Trecento  
Music," JAMS 8 (1955), p. 181.

Ex. 6b: Translation by J.C.

Principum nobilissime  
ducatum Venetorum  
regnans iure stabiliter,

Noblest of princes  
and of doges of Venice,  
solidly ruling, by means of law,

Tuas sedes verissime  
virtutum atque morum,  
perfulgans mirabiliter,

your offices, truest  
in virtues and morals,  
shining miraculously,

Tu septrum equitatis  
iure divino presidens  
decenter sublimasti,

you, scepter of equity,  
presiding by divine law,  
decently were exalted,

Dum radio humilitatis  
extra ducatum residens  
indignum te putasti.

while with the rod of humility  
residing outside the dogado,  
you thought yourself unworthy.

Te veritatis dignitas  
micans orbi terreno  
principem ordinavit,

The dignity of truth, shining  
over the terrestrial orb,  
ordained you prince,

dum te virtutum claritas  
Andream Contareno,  
plene nobilitavit.

while the clarity of virtue  
made you, Andrea Contareno,  
completely noble.

Sic tibi vitam integre  
conservet donans gloriam  
pius rex angelorum,

Thus may the pious king of angels  
conserve your life wholly,  
giving glory,

Et me Franciscum peregre  
canentem tui memoriam  
in evo seculorum.  
Amen.

And preserve me, Francesco, from afar  
singing of your memory,  
in eternal ages.  
Amen.

The last of the trecento dogal motets, Principum nobilissime, for  
Andrea Contarini (doge 1368-81), is found in one of the Paduan  
fragments copied at Santa Giustina of Padua.<sup>29</sup> Because only one part  
survives (probably cantus II, judging by the delayed entrance and the



pitches at the final cadence), it is difficult to tell much about the musical structure), and impossible to tell whether the piece was polytextual.<sup>30</sup> The text emphasizes religious figures and heaven much less than did either of the preceding motets; only the second-to-last stanza makes any mention of heavenly powers, and it is not God who has made Contarini prince, but the abstract quality "veritatis dignitas" (5.1). The emphasis on law and justice are even more pronounced than in Marce Marcum: "regnans iure stabiliter" (1.3), "septrum equitatis" (3.1), "iure divino" (3.2). Many other complementary virtues (such as nobility, truth and humility) are mentioned as well. There is one specific reference to the doge's personal history: "extra ducatum residens / indignum te putasti" (4.2-3) is a reference to the fact that the doge was living outside the dogado (the narrow strip of land around the lagoon) on his farm near Padua when he was elected, and that he refused the office twice before accepting it on the third offer.<sup>31</sup> The comment at the end of the surviving text, "et me Franciscum peregre / canentem tui memoriam," led Plamenac to attribute the piece to Landini, the only Italian composer of the later trecento by the name of Francesco. "Peregre" is taken by Plamenac to refer to the fact that Landini, who lived in Florence, was singing there "from afar." The attribution is strengthened by the fact that Landini had a prior connection with Venice: in 1364 he came to Venice to be crowned with a laurel wreath by King Peter II of Cyprus. Although no surviving motets are attributed to Landini, he was paid for five motets by Andrea dei Servi in 1379.<sup>32</sup> The self-reference on the part of the composer recalls

that of Marce Marcum, and suggests that both pieces were written for their respective doges by non-Venetian composers. If Landini did indeed write Principum nobilissime, it was perhaps a tribute from a citizen of one beleaguered city-republic to another.<sup>33</sup>

The texts of Marce Marcum and Principum nobilissime both praise the doge unreservedly, with special emphasis on justice and liberality, qualities appropriate to a doge of Venice. Their similarity suggests a traditional literary mode of addressing and praising the doge.<sup>34</sup>

Musically the pieces fail to take advantage of the symbolic possibilities of the motet, and the references in both texts to the author or composer suggest that the pieces are special commissions or tributes, not the work of Venetian employees. Such commissions or tributes, using standardized textual imagery, may have become customary toward the end of the century, but do not constitute a native Venetian musical tradition of full-blown laudatory motets.

There is evidence that Venice's attitude toward music changed in the early fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup> In 1403 a choir school was instituted at the basilica of San Marco (the principal church in Venice and the chapel of the doge). Established by order of the procurators of San Marco, but surely with the approval and even at the instigation of the doge, Michele Steno, the choir school provided for the care and education of eight boys, to be taught by the singers of San Marco. The reason given for the founding of the school was as follows:

Quia cedit ad honorem et famam nostri domini, quod in ecclesia nostra Sancti Marci sint boni cantores.

Because it contributes to the honor and fame of our

dominions, that there be good singers in our church of Saint Mark.<sup>36</sup>

Prior to this document we have records only of organists at San Marco; we assume that there were singers as well, but they were among the regular body of attendant clergy at the basilica, and were not rewarded specifically as singers. Although there is no evidence in this document that the boys were taught to sing polyphony, there is evidence that Venice had decided that good singers, and therefore good music, were an important element in her public image, as they were in other Italian cities.

Having conquered the neighboring cities of the terraferma, Venice also began to appropriate their culture: by 1434 a law was passed forbidding Venetians from attending any university other than Padua,<sup>37</sup> and the great Paduan canonist, Zabarella, was sent as a Venetian envoy to the council of Pisa in 1409. As part of the same program of appropriation, the great Paduan composer Ciconia was commissioned to write a motet for the doge (Venecia / Michael, to be discussed below). Soon Venice employed musicians of her own, capable of writing and performing polyphony. In 1420 the procurators of San Marco appointed the first master of the choir school, the composer Antonius Romanus, who wrote two of the quattrocento dogal motets.<sup>38</sup> As we shall see, the fifteenth-century motets can be understood as one element in a whole program of self-glorification on the part of the doges of the period. Their texts share subjects with monumental sculpture, and their potential for political symbolism is exploited.

A Motet for Michele Steno: Venecia mundi splendor /

Michael qui Stena domus, by Johannes Ciconia

Michele Steno was born in 1331, and elected doge on 1 December 1400, at the age of 70. In spite of his advanced age, he ruled energetically and productively until his death on 26 December, 1413. It was during his reign that the expansion onto the terraferma began. The inhabitants of the conquered cities -- Padua, Verona, and Vicenza -- welcomed Venetian rule and the prospect of a peaceful and just government once the local despots had been defeated.<sup>39</sup> Steno also successfully consolidated Venice's holdings overseas, and regained control over some of Dalmatia. Under Steno the Republic of Venice took a new direction; it was no longer purely a maritime empire.<sup>40</sup>

Known for his eloquence, wit and spirit, Steno was a patron of all the arts, and a great sponsor of celebrations and ceremonies. It is said that after his election there was continuous citywide celebration for a year, and that it was for these celebrations that the Compagnie delle calze, companies for organizing festivals made up of young nobles, were formed. There were elaborate festivities in honor of each of his conquests.<sup>41</sup>

As a patron of the visual arts in Venice Steno made many contributions to the city, and in particular to the ducal palace and the ducal chapel, San Marco. As one of the procurators of San Marco before his election, he was partly responsible for the magnificent iconostasis by the Delle Masegne brothers in San Marco, and for some of the renovations of the Palazzo Ducale.<sup>42</sup> In response to the expenses of

the fourteenth-century program of rebuilding, the Senate set a large fine on renovations to the Palazzo Ducale during Steno's reign.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless Steno involved himself in the last part of the campaign, and took the credit for it. Known as the dux stellifer, or star-bearing doge, because of the stars on his coat of arms, Steno had the ceiling of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio decorated with gold stars in 1406.<sup>44</sup> In 1409 he had all the paintings in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio restored.<sup>45</sup> But the monuments that survive and that tell us most about Steno's political program are the balcony on the Palazzo Ducale and his tomb.

The balcony of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio is on the newly renovated south side of the Palazzo facing the lagoon.<sup>46</sup> It was commissioned during the last year of the life of Steno's predecessor, Venier; Steno, the faithful procurator, had helped sponsor the work, and readily took up the project at his election. The original balcony was designed and executed by Pierpaolo Masegne, but the program was probably worked out by Steno and other members of the Venetian government, since it "proved an opportunity to display publicly the 'ordine di Stato,' (in which it foreshadowed the palace's Porta della Carta and Arco Foscari)."<sup>47</sup> The balcony is an "elaborate tabernacle-like structure,"<sup>48</sup> beginning at the level of the second floor and crowned with a standing figure of Venice as Justice far above the roof line of the Palazzo. Below this pinnacle there are three seated saints: San Marco in the middle, below Venice/Justice, with St. Peter on his right and St. Paul on his left. Below the saints is a

platform on which were figures of St. Mark in the form of a lion facing the kneeling doge, Michele Steno. The doge and lion group was a common image of Venice which occurs also on the Porta della Carta and on the Arco Foscari.<sup>49</sup> This sculpture does not survive. Below the platform is an oculus, which probably held a large seated figure of Faith; standing figures of Hope and Charity flank the oculus on the wall above the large arched window. Paired piers flank the whole structure; within them, at the level of the theological virtues, there are two cardinal virtues on each side, while at the bottom, on each side of the window, stand the two knightly saints, Theodore and George.<sup>50</sup>

The center of the composition is the platform with the lion of Saint Mark and the kneeling doge; they represent the state, and the doge's submission to the state. As the eye ascends toward heaven the image of the doge recedes in favor of the religious and abstract concepts of the state, the seated person of St. Mark and the standing figure of Venice as Justice, a pinnacle pointing to heaven. The virtues below the doge are his personal virtues and the support of the state. The knightly saints at the bottom of the structure are patrons and protectors of Venice, and the swords they bear are swords of justice; they suggest once again the person of the doge, who should be as they were, a just protector of the weak.<sup>51</sup> Both Justice and St. Mark appear twice on the balcony: Justice both as a figure of Venice and as one of the cardinal virtues flanking the structure, St. Mark as the central saint and support of supreme justice, and as the Lion accepting the doge's submission. Thus the program combines the older

identification of Venice with the saint and the newer adoption of the figure of Justice as Venice.<sup>52</sup> In 1364 Petrarch praised Venice and her victory over Crete with these words:

The most august city of Venice rejoices, today the single home of liberty, peace, and justice. . . . Venice, rich in gold but richer in fame, built on solid marble but standing more solid on a foundation of civic concord, surrounded by salt waters but more secure with the salt of good council. . . . Venice rejoices at the outcome, which is as it should be -- the victory not of arms but of justice.<sup>53</sup>

The supreme figure of Justice was particularly appropriate on the Palazzo Ducale, the seat of Venetian government and "explicitly defined as a palace of justice (ad jus reddendum)."<sup>54</sup>

The actual figure of the doge was small and insignificant in comparison to the lion and the other figures of the balcony.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, Steno manages to reinforce the doge's importance in the inscription, found in two square plaques between the oculus and the peak of the window on either side:

MILLE QUA  
DRINGENTI  
CURREBANT  
QUATUOR  
ANNI

HOC OPUS  
ILLUSTRIS  
MICHAEL  
DUX STELLI  
FER AUXIT

Or "Mille quadringenti currebant quatuor anni; hoc opus illustris Michael dux stellifer auxit," "In the year 1404 the illustrious starbearing doge Michele enlarged this work."<sup>56</sup> Note that it is the doge, "Michael" who is "illustris," not the work. Thus Steno takes the credit for most of the monument on which he himself appears in the

central position, and combines the authority of sacred (St. Mark) and civic (Justice) roles in one person.

The last of the artworks commissioned by Steno was his own tomb. The tradition for prominent tomb display had been established not long before, and there is evidence that Steno carefully thought out the format and message of his tomb.<sup>57</sup> The wording of his will suggests that the tomb was finished before his death in 1413.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately the entire tomb does not survive, since it was dismantled and moved in the nineteenth century; the effigy of the doge and the inscription are now in the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo.<sup>59</sup> An eighteenth-century aquarello of the tomb does survive,<sup>60</sup> and in it we can see that a lifesize stone image of the doge lay on top of the sarcophagus; on the side were a Madonna and Child flanked by saints, and above it was a gothic arch in which a mosaic depicted the doge and dogaressa being presented to the Madonna by saints Michael and Marina. Two towers flanked the arch with statues either of the annunciation or of saints; at the peak there was an imago pietatis. At the sides of the tomb were the keys of Padua and Verona, cities conquered during the doge's reign,<sup>61</sup> and beneath it was the inscription. Only the figure of the doge and the inscription (now above the doge) survive. The inscription reads:

IACET IN HOC TUMULO SERENISSIMUS  
PRINCEPS, ET DOMINUS, DOMINUS MICHAEL  
STENO OLIM DUX VENETIARUM, AMATOR  
IUSTITIE, PACIS, ET UBERTATIS, ANIMA  
CUIUS REQUIESCAT IN PACE, OBIIT  
MILLESIMO QUADRIGENTESIMO TER  
TIO DECIMO DIE VIGESIMOSEXTO DECEMBRIS.



There lies in this tomb the most serene  
prince and lord, lord Michele  
Steno, once doge of Venice, lover  
of justice, peace, and abundance, may  
his soul rest in peace, he died  
in one thousand four hundred thir-  
teen, on the twenty-sixth day of December.<sup>62</sup>

In many ways Steno's tomb harks back to the trecento in form and style: the overall plan is almost identical to that of Michele Morosini, doge for four months in 1382,<sup>63</sup> and the iconography is religious and Marian. Unlike the balcony, the image of the state is in abeyance, and the stress is on the afterlife. But the face of the doge is startlingly grim and realistic; it has been suggested that it was carved from a death mask made after some decay had already set in.<sup>64</sup> Thus in spite of the universalizing qualities and stereotypes of the monument as a whole, the image of the doge as a person and an individual is very strong. This image is reinforced by the inscription, which makes no mention of the afterlife or of anything sacred, and stresses the doge's qualities as a man and a ruler. Steno is commemorated as a lover of peace and abundance; the keys of his conquests suggest that, as so often, peace and prosperity were obtained by means of successful domination and war. He is also praised as a lover of Justice, and therefore Venice, given their identification on the balcony. The doge is serenissimus, just as the city is serenissima, and he is "princeps et dominus," not just primus inter pares as the regulations would have it. Dead, Steno could be exalted in a way that during his life would have been considered prejudicial to the state; but the tomb was begun before his death, and the wording was

also probably planned then. Here, as in the balcony, it is clear that Michele Steno had no qualms about glorifying himself and his role in the government of Venice.

Example 7: Ciconia, Bologna Q15 no. 257 (ff. 258'-259)

Ex. 7a: Edition of text after Connolly, PMFC XXIV, p. 221.

Cantus I

[Tenor]

Cantus II

Venecia, mundi splendor,

Michael,

qui Stena domus

Italie cum sis decor, [Italie]  
in te

tu

ducatus portas onus

viget omnis livor  
regulis mundicie.

honor

tibi quia bonus  
vitam duces celebrem.

Gaude, mater

Phebo compar

maris salus,  
qua purgatur quisque malus.

princeps alme

[mundicie]  
Terre ponti tu es palus

tibi mundus promit "salve";  
spargis tuis fructum palme,  
victor semper nobilis.

miserorum baiula. [quisque malus]

Clemens, justus

Gaude late, virgo digna,  
principatus portas signa  
(tibi soli sunt condigna)  
ducalis dominii.

approbaris

decus morum appellaris  
tu defensor estimaris,  
fidei catholice.

[Gaude mater late digna]

Gaude, victrix exterorum  
nam potestas Venetorum  
nulli cedit perversorum  
domans terram, maria.

Bonis pandis munus dignum,  
malis fundis pene signum  
leges suas ad condignum  
gladio justicie.

Nam tu vincis manus fortis,  
pacem reddis tuis portis,  
et dirumpis faucem mortis  
tuorum fidelium.

Sagax, prudens,

mitis pater

(lex divina cum sit mater),  
mentis virtus

tibi frater

[Pro te canit voce pia]

Pro te canit voce pia  
(tui statum in hac via  
El conservet et Maria)  
Johannes

zelator reipublice.//  
Sedem precor tibi dari,  
Deo celi famulari  
ejus throno copulari  
per eterna secula.

Ciconia.

Amen.

[Amen].

[conservet hec Maria  
Jo(hannes) Ciconia.]

## Example 7b, cont.: Emendations.

## Cantus I

1.1: MS and Connolly have "Venecie," Connolly invoking an "archaized feminine vocative." The emendation seems more plausible to me.

## Cantus II

1.4: MS and Connolly have "celibem", celibate. But Steno was not caelebs, "unmarried," and he also sowed wild oats in his youth, so I have amended it to "celebrem."

Ex. 7b: Translation by J.C., with help from Lawrence Rosenwald and influence from Connolly.

## Cantus I

Venice, splendor of the world,  
while you are the jewel of Italy,  
in you all striving for the

canons of elegance flourishes.

Rejoice, mother of the sea, salvation  
by whom each evildoer is purged,  
you are a marsh, of both  
land and sea,  
support of the miserable.

Rejoice greatly, worthy virgin:  
you bear the signs of sovereignty

(to you only are they appropriate)  
of all the dogal dominions.

Rejoice, conqueror of the heathen,  
for the power of the Venetians  
yields to none of the wicked,  
ruling both earth and seas.

You conquer the forces of the strong,  
you restore peace to your gates,  
and you break the jaws of death  
for the sake of your faithful  
subjects.

For you sings with a pious voice,  
(that in this way God and Mary

may preserve you as you are)

Johannes Ciconia.  
[Amen.]

## Cantus II

Michele, of the house of Steno,  
you who bears the dogal burden,  
honor to you because as a  
good man,  
you lead a famous life.

Equal to Phoebus, kind prince,  
to you the world proclaims "hail"  
you distribute the fruits of  
victory to your subjects,  
always a noble victor.

Clement, just, you are acclaimed,  
you are called an ornament of  
morals,  
you are considered the defender  
of the whole catholic faith.

To the good you give a fitting  
gift,  
to the evil you distribute the  
mark of punishment,  
their own laws in proper measure,  
with the sword of justice.

Wise, prudent, and mild father  
(while divine law is your mother)  
and virtue of mind is your brother  
you are a zealous guardian  
of the republic.

I pray that a seat be given you,  
that you may serve the God of  
heaven,  
and that you may be joined to  
his throne  
for eternal ages.  
Amen.

Venecia mundi splendor / Michael qui Stena domus was written by Ciconia sometime between Venice's conquest of Padua late in 1405 and Ciconia's death in 1412.<sup>65</sup> As in Ut te per omnes there are two texts in the same form (six four-line stanzas, with syllable count 8887 and rhyme scheme aaax for each stanza) on different, but related subjects; in this case cantus I is addressed to Venice, personified, and cantus II to doge Michele Steno.

The text of cantus I evokes two, and maybe three, of the standard images of Venice described by David Rosand: Venice as Justice, Venice as the Virgin Mary, and Venice as Dea Roma.<sup>66</sup> Venice as Justice is the sword-bearing virgin at the top of Steno's balcony. Venice as Mary is the Virgin shown on his tomb, both in the annunciation and as Virgin mother. Virgin Venice, never taken by force, was believed to have been founded on 25 March, the date of the Annunciation, 421; and a fresco by Guariento of the Annunciation graced the Sala del Maggior Consiglio.<sup>67</sup> Venice considered herself the only true successor to ancient Rome, combining the virtues of the Roman republic and the vastness of the Roman empire.<sup>68</sup>

The first stanza acclaims Venice as splendor of the world and jewel of Italy, phrases that could not but evoke ancient Rome. In the second stanza she is "mater maris," and "salus," mother of the sea and saviour — that is, the Virgin mother, "maris stella," star of the sea, who brought Christ our saviour into the world. "Palus" (2.3) can be understood two ways — as a marsh, a city of double substance, both land and sea — and as a staff or support (Connolly translates this

line as "mainstay to land and sea"<sup>69</sup>), equivalent to "baiula" in the next line. In the third stanza she is now virgin -- both the Virgin Mary and virgin Justice, who is invested with the signs of the principality; here the identification of the city with the virgin goddesses is made explicit. The fourth stanza refers to Venice's (and Steno's) conquests both at home and abroad -- the victories over the heathen Turks and control of the seas, as well as the advances onto the terraferma; Venice, like Rome, rules both land and sea. The fifth stanza recalls the sentiment on Steno's tomb: peace is achieved through domination, and Venice has preserved peace for her citizens by defeating the enemies just outside her gates, the cities of the terraferma. In the last stanza Ciconia himself requests that Venice continue unchanged -- that the famed timeless serenity continue to be true. He makes his request in the name of God ("El," Connolly explains, is the divine name) and Mary, identified throughout the text with Venice, and here invoked as her special protector.<sup>70</sup>

Cantus II is addressed to the doge, Michele Steno. The association, even identification, between the ruler and the city created by the juxtaposition of texts recalls the imagery of the balcony on the Palazzo Ducale, especially the linear relationship between the figure of Justice/Venice and the doge kneeling before the lion of St. Mark. The city achieves its greatness through the actions of its leader, while the doge takes on the status of the city; the actions attributed to the city (such as bearing the signs of the principality, or the domination of earth and seas) are also relevant to the man, while the

qualities of the doge are also those of the city. The two texts work simultaneously -- similar or complementary traits are discussed in the same stanzas.<sup>71</sup>

The text begins by locating the doge in his lineage and his office: just as Venice is the ornament of Italy and of the world, Steno, as doge, is an honor to his family and to the dogeship. The second stanza compares him to Phoebus Apollo, an especially apt image for the dux stellifer, the star-bearer, since Phoebus is god of the sun, and bears his own star, the sun, over the heavens each day. A mid-fifteenth century panegyrist, Giovanni Caldiera, in describing the Venetian government would say that the doge was "splendid like the sun."<sup>72</sup> The doge is a fostering prince, just as Venice is a mother in cantus I.2; the "fructum palme" (the fruits of victory, II.2.3) which he distributes make him the "miserorum baiula" (support of the miserable, I.2.4) and recalls "ubertatis" (abundance), mentioned on Steno's tomb inscription. As victor he resembles Venice of cantus I, stanzas 4 and 5. The third and fourth stanzas of cantus II emphasize the doge's personal virtues of clemency and justice (also mentioned on the tomb inscription), and his role as lawgiver and judge; administering both distributive and commutative justice, he rewards the good according to their merit, and punishes the evil for their sins. This is the sword-bearing justice of the balcony, tempered with clemency. As the defender of the catholic faith (II.3.3) he is equivalent to Venice, the "victrix exterorum" (I.4.1). The fifth stanza replaces the doge's earthly family with the virtues. As a father he is the complement to



Venice as mother (I.2.1); together they are the parents of the people of Venice.<sup>73</sup> The doge is son to "divine law" -- once again (see discussion of Rex Karole) we see the ruler as the son of justice.<sup>74</sup> Aided by his family of virtues he zealously protects the republic of Venice. The last stanza makes the traditional reference to heaven and eternal life. The use of the first person ("precor," II.6.1) parallels Ciconia's self reference at the end of cantus I. The stanza also makes explicit a connection suggested in the iconography of the balcony between Venice and the heavenly Jerusalem. When the doge's throne is joined to that of the Father, Venice becomes the eternal city. Venice is both ideal earthly government on earth, and a guarantee of eternal life in the heavenly city; the doge is the guardian and provider of supreme peace.

Unlike the previous motets, Venetia mundi splendor is not isorhythmic; it does not even use the double rhythmic statement so common in Italian motets. It gives the impression of a freely-composed setting of essentially non-stanzaic verse; while there are occasional pauses in all voices, they do not coincide with beginnings or ends of stanzas. The two cantus parts are independent; there is less imitation and homorhythm than in either Doctorum principem or Ut te per omnes, and the various textures recur without any perceptible pattern. Both voices begin together on a melisma, as in the other two Ciconia motets, but while Ut te per omnes begins with imitation immediately, and Doctorum principem begins with a homorhythmic fanfare and then moves into imitation, Venecie refrains from either imitation or homorhythm

for the whole first stanza; imitation is used only for the second stanza of the piece. Unusually, cantus II has the first word in this motet, and also leads in the final imitative entry in stanza 2.

Looking more closely, it becomes apparent that the musical structure does respond to the form of the text. When we count the number of measures per stanza, the following pattern emerges:

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|            |    |    |        |    |        |    |                    |
|------------|----|----|--------|----|--------|----|--------------------|
| Stanza:    | 1  | 2  | 3      | 4  | 5      | 6  | Amen               |
| no. of mm: | 17 | 17 | 12 [2] | 12 | 12 [2] | 15 | 17 [+last<br>note] |

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Thus the motet begins with relatively expansive treatment of the stanzas, resulting from alternation of parts (as can be seen in the layout of example 7a), leading to clearer comprehension of text. Stanzas 3-5 are given more compact presentation, with a great deal of simultaneous declamation, leading to poorer intelligibility of text, but a sense of urgency and acceleration; the last stanza relaxes somewhat, and the Amen returns to the proportions of the opening section. In the first two stanzas there are no clear breaks between stanzas (though the second stanza is set off by its use of imitation) but there is a pause after the first line of each stanza (as there is in every stanza except stanza 3); that pause functions as a rhetorical emphasis after the declamatory statements that begin the stanzas. Beginning in stanza 3 there are pauses also at the ends of stanzas, and two-measure tenor interludes (shown on the chart above in square brackets) serve to further clarify the breaks between stanzas.

If we contrast the subject of this motet with the two earlier Ciconia motets, we can understand some of the musical choices. In Doctorum principem both texts are on the same subject, and independence of voices was therefore not desirable. In Ut te per omnes the texts are about two different people, so there is little homorhythm. But the intent was to stress the relationship and analogies between the two subjects, so there is extensive use of imitation and voice exchange. In Venecia mundi splendor the subjects of the two texts are different (Venice and the doge), but there is no need to convince anyone of their relationship, since the analogies between doge and state are obvious. Venice was also a republic, where diversity of opinion was valued. The cantus parts are therefore independent: the beginning of the piece uses non-imitative polyphony, and is relatively free from integrative devices. At the same time it is important to demonstrate that the interests of the particular doge, Michele Steno, and the timeless city of Venice, are in accord. This is demonstrated by the use of imitation in the second stanza, the occasional use of hocket, and the harmonically static Amen, which uses hocket and imitation for a triumphant fanfare at the end of the piece. The alternation of parts in the first stanzas makes the double subject of the motet clear, while it also intertwines the texts, to bring home the extent to which Michele Steno is ideally suited to lead Venice.

The surface effect of this motet is of a rather formless diversity which nevertheless is extremely pleasing. The pleasure results in part from planning and control that are not immediately obvious — from the

careful pacing of the sections, the balancing of textures, the independent parts that nevertheless combine to good effect -- in other words, from a discordia concors. As we have seen, this motet is part of a whole series of public statements by Michele Steno, and it recapitulates many of the themes expressed in the iconography of his monumental sculptures. All his artworks are constructed to glorify the justice, power, and stability of Venice -- but in particular Venice as ruled by Michele Steno. Theoretically the doge is primus inter pares or a servant of the state, but in this motet the doge is more than that -- he is the incarnation of the qualities of the abstract figure of Venetia, he is Venice; and under his rule, like the different voices of the motet, Venice and her subject cities are brought into concord.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. "Se mai è esistito uno stato che meritasse il nome di opera d'arte, è lo stato Veneziano." Gina Fasoli, "Liturgia e cerimoniale ducale," in Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV, 2 vols. (Venice, 1973), I, p. 261.
2. J.R. Hale describes the myth of Venice as follows:

It contained 3 main components. One was stability: while other states changed their mode of government as a result of foreign conquest or internal revolt or crisis, Venice remained unvanquished and its republican institutions virtually unchanged. The second and third sought to explain this stability. On the one hand the constitution of Venice was seen to be "perfect" in that it ideally combined the "best" Aristotelian forms of government: by one good man (the doge), by a beneficent elite (the senior patricians of the Senate), and by the responsible many (the membership of the Great Council); on the other, Venice had discovered the secret of preserving harmony between interest and income groups, between governors and governed, the key to this being an impartial justice.

"Myth of Venice," in A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Italian Renaissance ed. J.R. Hale (London, 1981) p. 220. There is now an extremely large literature on the myth of Venice. For a survey of the myth and its historiography, see Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton, 1981), pp. 13-61. See also: Gina Fasoli, "Nacita di un mito," in Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe (Florence, 1958), pp. 445-479; Hans Conrad Peyer, Stadt und Stadtpatron in mittelalterlichen Italian (Zurich, 1955); Myron Gilmore, "Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory," in Renaissance Venice, ed. J.R. Hale (London, 1973), pp. 431-444; and Felix Gilbert, "The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought," in Florentine Studies, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (London, 1968), pp. 463-500. For music in the sixteenth century, see Ellen Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice," The Renaissance Quarterly 30 (1977), pp. 511-537. For visual representations of the myth, see David Rosand, "Venetia Figurata: The Iconography of a Myth," in Interpretazioni Veneziane: Studia di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro, ed. D. Rosand (Venice, 1984), pp. 177-196.

3. See Anthony Molho's review of Frederic C. Lane, Venice -- A Maritime Republic (Baltimore, 1973) in The Renaissance Quarterly, 28 (1975), pp. 374-8, especially p. 376, where he says that Lane's conception of Venice's history "depends and draws equally

from the old mito di Venezia and from an idealist interpretation of history."

4. Especially Fasoli, "Nascita di un mito," and Agostino Pertusi, "Quaedam regalia insignia: Ricerche sulle insegne del potere ducale a Venezia durante il medioevo," Studi Veneziani 7 (1965), pp. 3-123.
5. Some scholars emphasize the sixteenth-century development of the myth; see Muir, Civic Ritual, p. 27 ff.; E. Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice," and Robert Finlay, Politics in Renaissance Venice (New Brunswick, 1980).
6. Stanley Chojnacki, "The Making of the Venetian Renaissance State: The Achievement of a Noble Political Consensus, 1378-1520," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968.
7. D.S. Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380-1580 (London, 1980).
8. Chojnacki, "The Making of the Venetian Renaissance State," passim, and p. 304.
9. Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, p. 24.
10. Lane, Venice -- A Maritime Republic (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 202-72.
11. Finlay, Politics in Renaissance Venice, p. 4.
12. Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, p. 44 ff., and Chojnacki, "The Making of the Venetian Renaissance State," p. 120.
13. Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, pp. 54-5.
14. A close paraphrase from Finlay, Politics in Renaissance Venice, pp. 41-2.
15. Chojnacki, "The Making of the Venetian Renaissance State," p. 123 ff. and 151; Finlay, Politics in Renaissance Venice, pp. 42-3.
16. Chojnacki, "The Making of the Venetian Renaissance State," p. 281.
17. Finlay, Politics in Renaissance Venice, p. 43, and William J. Bouwsma, Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), p. 61.
18. Bouwsma, Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty, p. 63.

19. See Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, p. 22, on the fourteenth-century doge Marin Falier. See Muir, Civic Ritual, pp. 265-7 for the sixteenth-century doge Agostino Barbarigo; Debra Pincus, "The Tomb of Doge Nicolò Tron and Venetian Renaissance Ruler Imagery," in Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Janson (New York, 1981), pp. 127-70, for the sixteenth-century doge, Nicolò Tron; and Michelangelo Muraro, "La scala senza giganti," in Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky (New York, 1961), pp. 350-70, for additional examples of some later doges' attempts at self-glorification.
20. "Cereemonial Music in Medieval Venice," p. 321. F. Alberto Gallo traces the presence of music at dogal elections back to the eleventh century, in Antonii Romani Opera, Antiquae Musicae Italicae: Monumenta Veneta Sacra, I (Bologna, 1965), p. V-VI; Bent discusses "an almost unbroken succession for the doges inaugurated from 1365-1423," in "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet."
21. On the importance of music in Padua and other cities in the Veneto in the trecento and quattrocento, see R. Casimiri, "Musica e musicisti nella cattedrale di Padova nei secoli XIV, XV, XVI. Contributo per una storia," Note d'archivio per la storia musicale 18 (1941), pp. 1-31, 101-80, 180-214, and 19 (1942), pp. 49-92; Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Padua" in New Grove 14, pp. 78-81, and idem, "La musica nelle cattedrale e nelle città ed i suoi rapporti con la cultura letteraria," in Storia della cultura veneta II: Il trecento (Vicenza, 1976), pp. 440-468; Giulio Cattin, "Formazione e attività della cappelle polifoniche nelle cattedrali; La musica nella città," in Storia della cultura veneta III, pt. 3 (Vicenza, 1981), pp. 267-296; Hallmark, "Some Evidence"; and on Santa Giustina, Cattin, "Ricerche," and Dragan Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music," JAMS 8 (1955), pp. 165-81; on music theory, see F.A. Gallo, "La trattatistica musicale," in Storia della cultura veneta III, pt. 3, pp. 297-314.
22. On Vergerio and humanism in Padua, see W.H. Woodward, Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators: Essays and Versions. An Introduction to the History of Classical Education (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 2-16; a translation of Vergerio's influential treatise on the education of Ubertino Carrara, De ingenuis moribus, is included, pp. 93-118; see also Hans Baron, The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance, pp. 121-145; Margaret L. King, Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance (Princeton, 1986), pp. 212-13 and 224-5, and Simioni, Padova, pp. 573-639. Vergerio and Zabarella were close friends; see Simioni, p. 612.
23. With the possible exception of organ music; the first recorded organist at San Marco, "Maestro Zuchetto," was appointed by the

- procurators of San Marco in 1316. See Fabio Fano, "Profilo di una storia della vita musicale in Venezia dalle origini alla vigilia della fioritura rinascimentale," Quadrivium 15 (1974), p. 22, and Francesco Caffi, Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797, 2 vols. (Venice, 1854-5), vol. 1. Fano assumes that there was some performance of polyphony, lacking any evidence for polyphony before 1400, but he still recognizes Padua's superiority to Venice in musical matters: "specialmente Padova l'aveva sin allor largamente superata nelle espressioni di matura civiltà musicale (basti ricordare i nomi dei teorici Marchetto da Padova, e, per quanto minor e tardivo, Prosdocimo de Beledemandis, e dei compositori polifonisti Bartolino e Grazioso da Padova, e, per le due qualità riunite, di gran lunga maggiore, il fiammingo Giovanni Ciconia che potrebbe dirsi divenuto padovano di elezione agl'inizi del '400)." "Profilo," p. 31.
24. The sources are the lost Egidi fragment and Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Collocazione provvisoria 197; it is discussed and edited in Ursula Günther, "Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata," in L'ars nova Italiana del trecento, 2o Convegno Internazionale, 1969, ed. F.A. Gallo (Certaldo, 1970), pp. 315-397, esp. pp. 334-338. Günther used both sources to reconstruct the complete three-voice piece. See also Stevens, "Ceremonial music," pp. 326-7. The Grottaferrata fragment may originate at Santa Giustina in Padua; see Stevens, "Ceremonial music," p. 326, and Hallmark, "Some Evidence," p. 196.
25. Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14., und 15. Jahrhunderts," Acta Musicologica 36 (1964), p. 92, based on the Egidi fragment alone.
26. Günther, "Quelques remarques," p. 337.
27. Stevens, "Ceremonial Music," p. 327; there is no surviving music attributed to Francesco da Pesaro.
28. See Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet."
29. Padua 1106, or Pad D. It is edited and discussed in Flamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment," pp. 173-4, p. 180, and facsimile, illustration 4. It is also edited in Leo Schrade, ed., PMFC IV, The Works of Francesco Landini (Monaco, 1958), no. 1(155), p. 222.
30. It is possible to determine only that the motet was probably not isorhythmic, it had hocket sections, and there was probably imitation.
31. See J.D. Richardson, The Doges of Venice (London, 1914), pp.



181-2.

32. See Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment," p. 173; he also comments that there are six compositions by Landini in the other Paduan fragments.
33. See Hans Baron, The Crisis, pp. 387-403, for a later identification of the interests of the two city-republics.
34. For a discussion of the role of the doge in relation to law and gift-giving, see Muir, Civic Ritual, pp. 251-63.
35. Fano, "Profilo," p. 31, on the early quattrocento: "E se Venezia evidentemente non pote subito sollevarsi da questa condizione di inferiorità, pur diede in varie guise i segni d'un rinnovato interesse per l'incremento di istituzioni musicali e per la cultura dello stile polifonico allora in uso, oltre che poi per espressioni di nuovo spirito che sembra aver generato dal proprio grembo."
36. Gallo, Romani opera, p. V, n. 1, and facsimile, p. XIII; see also Giulio Cattin, "Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth-Century Italy," in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), p. 23; and Fabio Fano, "Profilo," p. 32.
37. Bouwsma, Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty, p. 85. Margaret King comments that "the Venetian conquest of Padua would lead, in the realm of intellectual life, to the Paduan 'conquest' of Venice" (Venetian Humanism, pp. 224-5).
38. Gallo, Romani opera, p. V.
39. For an account of Venice's assumption of power in Padua, see Benjamin G. Kohl, "Government and Society in Renaissance Padua," pp. 205-221. He comments that "it was with a minimum of penalty and animosity, and with a recognition of special Paduan interests and customs, that the Venetians attempted to secure their rule over the city" (p. 214).
40. On Steno, see J.D. Richardson, The Doges of Venice (London, 1914), pp. 193-201; Andrea da Mosto, I dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata (Milan, 1960), pp. 151-57; and Marino Sanudo, Vite dei dogi, in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. 22 (Milan, 1733), ed. L.A. Muratori, cols. 784-885.
41. See Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. 152, and Muir, Civic Ritual, pp. 167-9 and n. 87. See also R.M. della Rocca and Maria F. Tiepolo, "Cronologia veneziana del quattrocento," in La civiltà veneziana del quattrocento (Venice, 1957), pp. 185-193; they mention many of the major festivals.

42. Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. 52, and Wolters, La scultura, cat. 146, p. 223 (all page references are to vol. I; figures are in vol. II). Steno also had the chapel of San Domenico in the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo erected; see Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. 151.
43. See Debra Pincus, The Arco Foscari (New York, 1976), p. 34, n. 1.
44. Mosto, p. 151.
45. Rocca and Tiepolo, "Cronologia," p. 190: "1409, 25 maggio — Si riparino le pitture della Sala del Maggior Consiglio."
46. Wolters, La scultura, cat. 143, p. 221, and plates 491-8.
47. Wolters, La scultura, p. 70: the balcony "dava l'occasione di mettere in mostra l'ordine di Stato' veneziano (in ciò precorre la Porta della Carta e l'Arco Foscari del Palazzo)."
48. Pincus, Arco, pp. 35-6, n. 1.
49. Pincus discusses the history of this image in Arco, Appendix I, "The Imagery of the Doge and Lion Group," pp. 384-401.
50. Much of the sculpture, including Justice/Venice, was destroyed in the fire of 1577, and there are many problems in the attribution of the surviving sculptures. The oculus below the Doge and Lion now contains a late sixteenth-century figure of Charity, but considering the flanking figures it was almost definitely Faith. See Wolters, La scultura, cat. 143, p. 221.
51. On saints George and Theodore in Venetian iconography, see Wolters, La scultura, p. 71, and Muir, Civic Ritual, pp. 92-97.
52. David Rosand comments in this regard:

That identification of the cardinal virtue with the state was a fairly standard topos in the world of the medieval commune -- and we need look no further than Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena for monumental testimony of this. In Venice the identification became literal, as the traditional representation of Iustitia became the prime model for the figure of Venetia herself.

Throughout most of her early history Venice imaged herself through the person of her patron saint, Mark, or, synecdochically, by the symbol of the evangelist's winged lion. By the middle of the

Trecento, however, a new figural emblem of Venice began to emerge. ... Her earliest full monumental and official manifestation is probably the relief in the roundel on the Piazzetta facade of the Ducal Palace, which may have been in place as early as the mid-fourteenth century.

"Venetia figurata," p. 179.

53. Petrarch, Epistolae seniles, IV, 3; quoted in David Rosand, "Venetia figurata," p. 177.
54. Rosand, "Venetia figurata," p. 179; he also lists some of the other figures of Justice that can be found on the Palazzo Ducale.
55. Pincus, Arco, p. 390.
56. The use of the verb currere as part of the date seems to have been common; it will reappear in the text of example 10, Plaude decus mundi, one of the later motet texts.
57. See Debra Pincus, "The Tomb of Doge Nicolo Tron and Venetian Renaissance Ruler Imagery," in Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Janson (New York, 1981), p. 30: "it is clear that by the beginning of the fifteenth century the tradition for prominent tomb display had been established." She associates the beginning of the tradition with doge Marco Cornaro (1365-8), known to us from the motet Marce Marcum, and particularly Michele Morosini (June-October 1382), whose tomb seems to have been the model for Steno's, as we will see below.
58. He wrote in his will that he wished to be buried in the church of Santa Marina "in archa nostra" (Wolters, La scultura, p. 71).
59. It was illegal for doges to be buried in San Marco after 1354 (Muir, Civic Ritual, p. 257) so they chose various churches around Venice. Many chose SS. Giovanni and Paolo, and some tombs were moved there; it has become the de facto mortuary of the doges of Venice.
60. Wolters, La scultura, cat. 163; the acquarello of the tomb by Grevembroch is reproduced in volume I, figure XXXVII, while the surviving pieces are in vol. II, figs. 538 and 581.
61. Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. 155; there is a photograph of the keys (now kept in the Seminario patriarcale) in Andrea da Mosto, I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe (Venice, 1939), fig. 31.
62. See Wolters' transcription of the epitaph (La scultura, p. 233) and his plate 538 (he omits "VIGESIMO" on the last line in his

transcription); the translation is mine.

63. Wolters suggests that Steno requested that his tomb resemble Morosini's (La scultura, p. 234); Morosini's tomb is cat. 205, figg. 343-4, 346-9.
64. Wolters, La scultura, p. 234: "Paoletti credeva possibile che il ritratto del defunto fosse copiato da un maschera mortuaria, poichè alcune parti rivelerebbero già uno stato di tumefazione."
65. Edited in PMFC XXIV, no. 14. A recording was made in 1968 by Conrad Ruhland with the Capella antiqua of Munich, Festmusik der Renaissance, Telefunken Aspekte, 6.41087 AH. Besseler (Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, p. 81, table and n. 5) and Stevens ("Ceremonial music," p. 322) suggest that this piece was written at the time of Steno's installation, in December 1400; this is unlikely, considering that Venice and Padua were not on particularly good terms at that time, and considering that there is nothing in the text to suggest that he was just elected, but rather suggestions that he has already made some military conquests. Suzanne Clercx suggests 1407, after the fall of Padua, since Steno granted privileges to the cathedral in that year (Johannes Ciconia, pp. 46, n. 9, and 86). Bent and Hallmark suggest that the piece was possibly written for 3 January 1406, Zabarella's submission of Padua to Steno in Venice (PMFC XXIV, p. 207). I think it could have been commissioned by Steno any time between 1405 and his death in 1413.
66. "Venetia figurata," passim. Rosand's fourth Venice is Venus, but this image only becomes current in the sixteenth century.
67. See Rosand, "Venetia figurata," pp. 180-188, especially 180-1; on the founding of Venice, see Muir, Civic Ritual, pp. 70-72.
68. See Rosand, "Venetia figurata," pp. 179-80, and Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, pp. 12-30.
69. PMFC XXIV, p. 221.
70. On "El," see PMFC XXIV, p. 221. The fact that the plural of maris, sea, is maria may be another factor contributing to Venice's special relationship to the virgin. The introduction of the composer into the text in the last stanza recalls similar passages in the texts of Marce Marcum and Principum nobilissime. Here we know that the composer lived and worked outside of Venice, and can understand the personal reference as identification of a well-wisher from outside the city; if we can assume that is the correct interpretation then the earlier pieces were probably also by non-Venetians. On the other hand, some of Ciconia's motets for Paduan dignitaries of the cathedral also include his name (O felix templum, for bishop Stefano Carrara,

and O Padua sidus, to the city of Padua, as well as the two motets for Venetian bishops of Padua, Albane / Albane and Petrum Marcello / O Petre).

71. Connolly comments that while the two texts are "ultimately two distinct compositions" (as the doge and the city he rules are distinct), there are "metric, stylistic and thematic parallels" between the texts, such as "Venetia = victrix, Michael = victor."
72. Quoted in Margaret King, "Personal, Domestic, and Republican Values in the Moral Philosophy of Giovanni Caldiera," The Renaissance Quarterly 28 (1975), p. 566, and in King, Venetian Humanism, p. 110.
73. At the feast of the Ascension, or the "Sensa" as it was called in Venice, the doge married the sea, by dropping a ring into the water at the mouth of the lagoon. There are and were numerous interpretations of this ritual, but surely it can be understood as a marriage with Venice herself, floating upon the waters. On the ceremony and its meaning, see Muir, Civic Ritual, pp. 119-134; and on marriage as an image for the relationship between the ruler and the state, see E. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 212-218.
74. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 97-102.

Chapter 9. Celebrations of the Doge's Investiture

A Motet for Tommaso Mocenigo: Ducalis sedes inclita /  
Stirps Mocinico Veneti, by Antonius Romanus

Tommaso Mocenigo was born in 1343, elected doge on 7 January 1414, at the age of 70, and died on 4 April 1423. He held many state offices, and was especially noted for his abilities as a leader of the Venetian fleet. He is remembered best for the speeches given near the end of his life, and for his deathbed oration, all preserved in the early sixteenth-century chronicle by Marino Sanudo. In his final speech he argues against supporting the Florentines in their policy of hostility toward Milan, and against further attempts at expansion onto the terraferma. He warns that if Francesco Foscari is elected as the next doge, his desire for power on the Italian mainland would create economic hardship. He stresses above all Venice's prosperity and the necessity of peace in maintaining that prosperity, using statistics to support his argument. Mocenigo himself had been involved during most of his reign in wars -- with the Turks; with Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor elect; with Ladislaw, the king of Hungary; and with Louis de Teck, the Patriarch of Aquileia. In the process he regained and conquered most of the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and some territories in Greece. But these were the traditional battles of the Venetians, defending their ancient holdings -- Mocenigo was warning against the new kinds of conquests that Steno had initiated and that

Foscari would continue.<sup>1</sup>

Mocenigo, like Steno, was a patron of the arts, though few monuments survive that bear his name. In 1422 he paid the Senate-imposed fine of 1000 gold ducats for renovations to the Palazzo Ducale, in order to rebuild the west wall facing the Piazzetta. The south wall (where the balcony is) had been rebuilt during the late trecento, and Mocenigo wished to bring the west wall, "quasi rovinoso," into accord with it.<sup>2</sup> Much of the sculpture may have been planned by Mocenigo, but it is difficult to date or attribute any of it, and the project was actually executed by the next doge, so it will not be considered here.

We will examine the iconography of Mocenigo's splendid tomb and its inscription, which depict and describe the doge's sense of himself in relation to the state of Venice. Made by Pietro da Niccolo Lamberto and Giovanni di Martino da Fiesole for the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, and finished the year of the doge's death, it is very different in effect from Steno's.<sup>3</sup> The effigy of the doge lies on a sarcophagus, on the front of which are free-standing theological and cardinal virtues in niches with scalloped arches. On the corners of the sarcophagus stand two armed saints. Two angels hold open the curtains of a graceful stone baldacchino suspended above the doge, on the peak of which stands the figure of Justice. On each side of the baldacchino there are three more niches with scalloped arches; the outer ones portray an annunciation, while in the four inner niches there are figures of saints. Debra Pincus describes the tomb:

The architectural gable has turned into a canopy of honor, a reflection of the Trecento tomb's funeral curtains, reinterpreted under the influence of the funeral catafalque. The Mocenigo tomb tentatively introduces a number of classicizing elements into the ducal tomb repertoire. A pair of small putti support the architectural backdrop and present the Mocenigo arms; two warrior figures of different ages, youth contrasted with experienced maturity, mark the corners of the sarcophagus.<sup>4</sup>

The tomb has lost the gothic air of earlier dogal tombs: the niches, the elegant sway of the canopy, and the figure of Justice all give it a Renaissance quality. The presence of an allegorical figure of Justice at the top of a tomb is unusual,<sup>5</sup> and the way in which it stands above the rest of the structure is reminiscent of the figure of Justice at the top of Steno's balcony, as is the presence of the theological and cardinal virtues. Mocenigo's willingness to pay the fine in order to bring the west wall into accord with the south wall, dominated by Steno's balcony, and the similarity of the imagery on the tomb to that of the balcony, suggest that Mocenigo designed his tomb as an answer to Steno's balcony, and that he wanted to equal or surpass his predecessor's show of magnificence. The next doge, Francesco Foscari, would also commission a work crowned by a figure of Justice, the entrance to the Palazzo Ducale known as the Porta della Carta. By exalting Justice the doges were also exalting themselves as administrators of justice and thus as powerful rulers within the Venetian government.

The classicizing elements of the tomb are reinforced by its inscription, which is in dactylic hexameters, the most common classical verse form.



HAEC BREVIS ILLUSTRIS MOCENIGA AB ORIGINE THOMAM  
 MAGNANIMUM TENET URNA DUCEM GRAVIS ISTE MODESTUS  
 JUSTICIE PRINCEPSQUE FUIT DECUS IPSE SENATUS  
 ETERNOS VENETUM TITULOS SUPER ASTRA LOCAVIT  
 HIC TEUCRUM TUMIDAM DELEVIT IN EQUORE CLASSEM  
 OPIDA TARVISI CENETE FELTRIQUE REDEMIT  
 UNGARIAM DOMUIT RABIE PATRIAMQUE SUBEGIT  
 INDE FORI JULII CATARUM SPALATUMQUE TARGURAM  
 EQUORA PIRRATIS PATEFECIT CLAUSA PEREMPTIS  
 DIGNA POLUM SUBIIT PATRIIS MENS FESSA TRIUMPHIS

This small urn holds the high-minded doge Tommaso, from the illustrious Mocenigo stock. He was a solemn and modest prince of justice, and the jewel of the senate. He placed the eternal titles (glories) of Venice above the stars. He destroyed the arrogant fleet of the Turks on the seas. He redeemed the towns of Treviso, Ceneda, and Feltre. He tamed the Hungarian wrath, and subdued the country, whence Cividale del Friuli, Cattaro, Spalato, and Traù. He cleared the closed sea by destroying the pirates. His worthy mind approaches <sup>6</sup>heaven, wearied by his country's triumphs.

This epitaph stresses the doge's origins and virtues, his relation to the Senate, the glory he brought to Venice, and above all his numerous military exploits and conquests. It has several similarities to the text of the motet in the doge's honor.<sup>7</sup>

Example 8: Antonius Romanus, Bologna Q15 no. 243 (f. 246'-247) and Bologna 2216 no. 58 (f. 38'-9).

Ex. 8a: Text after Bologna Q15; edition close to F.A. Gallo, "Musiche veneziane del Ms. 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna," Quadrivium 6 (1964), Ex. 1.

Cantus I [Tenor]

Ducalis sedes inclita  
es Venetorum predita

Toma duce quo supera  
locaris inter sydera.

Hoc duce tuta permanes,  
hostes hoc duce perymes,  
hoc duce ad alta venies,  
tibi cuncta subicies.

Voto precamur sedulo  
diu consistat solio,  
longo vivat imperio  
excelso Jove previo.

[O Sancte Marce presidem]

Letare festa iubila  
senatus et

plebs veneta,  
Thome sub alis condita  
[numquam videbis nubila]  
numquam videbis nubila.

Cantus II

Stirps Mocinico,  
Veneti  
tibi tenemur debiti  
quod noster dux est genitus  
de te, princeps magnificus.

O Christe, grates agimus  
tibi que vota solvimus,  
qui nos dotasti pro duce  
tanto rectore, consule.

Hunc nobis serva incolumen  
ducatus nostri columnen,  
quo stante tuti stabimus  
et nil adversi dabimus.

O Sancte Marce, presidem

ad usque terre limitem  
Thomam profer dominio  
[numquam videbis nubila]numquam mereat prelio.

Variants in Bologna 2216:

- 1.3: predicta
- 1.4: Toma lacking
- 2.1: permanens
- 2.2: costes (for hostes)
- 3.2: consistant
- 4.3: Thome lacking
- 4.4: iubila (for nubila)

- 1.1: Mocinico lacking
- 1.2: debite
- 2.2: doctasti
- 4.3: Thomam lacking; prefer domino
- 4.4: vingatur (for mereat)

Ex. 8b: Translation by J.C.

Cantus I

Famous ducal throne  
of Venice, you have been  
provided with  
Tommaso as doge, by whom you  
are placed among the highest heavens.

With this doge you remain safe,  
with this doge you will destroy  
enemies,  
with this doge you will achieve  
great things;  
you will make all things subject  
to you.

We pray with earnest vow  
that he may remain on the throne  
for a long time,  
that he may live for a long rule,  
as highest Jove leads the way.

Rejoice with festive songs,  
senate and Venetian people.  
Protected under the wings of Tommaso  
you will never see clouds.

Cantus II

Family of Mocenigo, we Venetians  
hold ourselves in debt to you  
because our duke is born  
from you, the magnificent prince.

Oh Christ, we give thanks  
and have discharged our vows  
to you,  
who has presented us with such  
a ruler  
and consul as doge.

Keep him unharmed for us,  
the summit of our dukedom,  
with whom standing, we shall  
stand safe,  
and shall pay no penalty.

O Saint Mark: bring Tommaso  
to lordship as ruler  
to the ends of the earth,  
may he never serve in battle.

(Or as in B2216: may he  
never be defeated in battle.)

Ex. 8c: "Introitus" of Ducalis / Stirps, and first and last phrases of the tenor compared.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Introitus" of Ducalis / Stirps. The score is organized into three systems, each with three staves. The first system features **Cantus I** (top staff), **Cantus II** (middle staff), and **Tenor** (bottom staff). The second system continues the **Tenor** part, with measures 91 and 95 marked. The third system includes **Motus** (top staff), **Cantus I** (middle staff), and **Tenor** (bottom staff), with measures 10 and 15 marked. The lyrics "Du-ca-lis se-des in-cli-ta" and "Mo-tus ei-ni-co ve-ne-ti" are written below the staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, and note values.

Cantus I

Cantus II

Tenor

91

95

Tenor

10

15

Du-ca-lis se-des in-cli-ta

Mo-tus ei-ni-co ve-ne-ti

Antonius Romanus, the composer of Ducalis sedes / Stirps Mocinico, is mentioned in the records of San Marco as "magister cantus" on 3 March 1420 and as "cantor S. Marci" on 20 July, 1425. He is also known to have been a priest and the "magister or rector scholarum," the master of the choir school founded in 1403. His name indicates that he is from Rome, but the language of the motet suggests that when the motet was written Romanus was already employed by Venice and considered himself a Venetian.<sup>8</sup> Two other motets (one for the next doge, Francesco Foscari, which we shall examine below, and one for Gianfrancesco Gonzaga of Mantua, on the occasion of a state visit to Venice), three mass movements, and a ballata by Romanus have survived. Although the birth and death dates of Romanus are not known, his employment in the 1420s suggests that he belongs to the generation of Italian composers that followed and imitated Ciconia. Most of Romanus's music is preserved in Bologna Q15, where Ciconia's motets are also preserved.<sup>9</sup>

Ducalis sedes / Stirps Mocenico survives in two sources: Bologna Q15 and Bologna 2216. Bologna 2216 is the later source (compiled after 1433), and the text omits the name of the doge, perhaps to make the piece applicable to later doges or just to divest it of its topical focus; Bologna Q15 (begun in the 1420s) includes the name of the doge (as well as many other topical motets with complete texts). But musically Bologna 2216 seems to be closer to the original, both in terms of the the rhythmic notation of the upper parts and the number of voices: Bologna 2216 has three, while Bologna Q15 has an added contratenor that results in contrapuntal problems.<sup>10</sup>

This is a typical Italian motet. It is in three voices, with a freely-composed tenor and two cantus parts in the same range, and there is no isorhythm. The two cantus parts have different texts, which like Ciconia's are the same length and form: four stanzas, each of which has four eight-syllable lines. Both texts are concerned with doge Tommaso Mocenigo, and the language suggests that the motet was written for his election, or shortly afterwards. Cantus I begins by stating that the office of the doge has been filled by Tommaso, and goes on in the second stanza to predict a happy future for the city as a result. In stanza 3 the speaker hopes that the doge's term will be a long one, and stanza 4 is concerned with rejoicing about the choice of doge. Cantus II first thanks the doge's family and Christ for having given the Venetians such a ruler, and then asks Christ and St. Mark to guide and protect him.<sup>11</sup> The doge was away on an ambassadorial mission on 7 January, 1414, the day he was elected, and had to be sent for. He returned to Venice on 27 January; there was a large celebration the next day in conjunction with the investiture ceremony.<sup>12</sup> Thus there were three weeks between the election (7 January) and the ceremony (28 January), plenty of time to compose and rehearse the motet, and it could have been performed at the investiture ceremony.<sup>13</sup>

Imagery and subject matter link both texts to the language of the tomb inscription. The inscription begins with identification of Tommaso's family, as does cantus II; it goes on to identify him with his office: he is "magnanimum ducem," and "princeps iustitiae," recalling the first line of cantus I and the "princeps magnificus" of

cantus II.1.4. The fourth line of the inscription, "Eternos Venetum titulos super astra locavit" recalls cantus I.1.3-4, "supera / locaris inter sydera": in the inscription the glories of Venice are placed above the stars, while in the motet the office of the doge, and by extension the city of Venice, is placed among the highest heavens. The list of Mocenigo's conquests recalls the predictions in cantus I.2.2 and 4 ("hostes ... perymes," "cuncta subicies"), and cantus II.3 and 4 (references to successful campaigns and unlimited dominion). Though the text of the motet does not use the classical meter of the tomb inscription, it does have several classical references, previously lacking in dogal motets. In the inscription the use of classical meter and the list of conquests evokes the image of Venice as "Dea Roma," as the successor to the Roman empire; that image is even clearer in cantus I.4.3-4, where the word used for the doge's reign is "imperio" and the god evoked is not Deus but "Jove."<sup>14</sup> The use in cantus II.2.4 of the words "rector" and "consul" for the office of the doge recalls republican Rome, where the consul was one of the two highest magistrates of the Roman state, chosen annually, and the term "rector" was frequently used by Cicero and others for the good ruler.<sup>15</sup> The text of the motet thus presages some of the themes that Mocenigo would choose to stress on his tomb, ten years later, and its predictions of peace and victory were largely fulfilled.

The two texts have the same subject and form, and occasionally express the same sentiments at the same time, especially in stanza 3, where cantus I prays that the doge may have a long life, and cantus II

asks Christ to keep him safe, or in stanza 4.3, where the doge's name appears in both texts simultaneously. But the two texts are also differentiated. Both have four-line stanzas, but the rhyme schemes are slightly different. In each stanza of cantus I the last syllable of each line is the same: aaaa.<sup>16</sup> In each stanza of cantus II there are paired couplets of two-syllable rhymes, aabb; the two cantus parts share no rhymes. The speaker and addressees of the two parts are also different. In the first two stanzas of cantus I the speaker (not identified) addresses the "ducal throne," or the office of the doge, in the second person. As the text continues we associate the "ducalis sedes" with the city of Venice, which will remain safe and conquer its enemies. In the third stanzas the speaker is identified as "we"; we assume it is the people of Venice, but in the fourth stanza the Venetian people are exhorted by the speaker to rejoice. The speaker is thus commenting objectively from outside the city; in tone and subject cantus I resembles cantus I of Ciconia's Venecia mundi splendor. In cantus II, on the other hand, the speakers are identified in the first two lines as the Venetians. As in cantus II of Venecia mundi splendor the text begins with the doge's lineage ("Michael, qui Stena domus," and "Stirps Mocinico, Veneti"), but the tone is more one of personal thanksgiving and prayer on the part of the people than it is one of description or prediction. Overall, the relationship between the texts is closer to that of Venecia mundi splendor than it is to that of Doctorum principem, in spite of the fact that, as in Doctorum principem, both texts are concerned with the same person. The



relationship here is between the office of the doge (cantus I) and person of the doge (cantus II); in the motet we find office and person combined, for the benefit of Venice.

Stylistically Ducalis sedes resembles Ciconia's Venecia mundi splendor in many respects: there is a texted tenor solo between the last two stanzas and a melismatic hoquet section at the end. Like two other Ciconia motets it begins with a duet between cantus I and the tenor, and then has a duet between cantus II and the tenor.<sup>17</sup> But unlike any Ciconia motet, Ducalis sedes uses virtually no imitation.<sup>18</sup> This is particularly striking at the opening, essentially an accompanied introitus, which ought to be imitative. The duet with cantus I practically demands the same music from cantus II, but instead cantus II has a different melody, and the two duets are not even the same length (see example 8c). In general the cantus parts are less integrated than in Ciconia's motets: there is virtually no homorhythm, the voices cross constantly, and there is no obvious plan to the lengths of sections and stanzas as in Venecia mundi splendor. The layout of the text in example 8a reveals that the parts alternate lines less than in any of the Ciconia motets we have studied; for most of the motet they are declaiming text simultaneously, thus increasing the sounding polytextuality. The only intelligible lines are as follows:

cantus I

Ducalis sedes

....

Letare festa jubila

...

numquam videbis nubila.

cantus II

Stirps Mocenigo

....

O Sancte Marce presidem

numquam mereat prelio.

The non-imitative introitus emphasizes the rather subtle distinction between the man ("stirps Mocenigo") and the office ("ducalis sedes") by giving each phrase its own music, while the continuing independence of the parts reinforces that distinction.

But in order to create a discordia concors, to demonstrate that man and office are suited to each other, Romanus must also find a way of reconciling the differences between the voices, and of creating a harmonious whole. Patterns emerge in the overall plan of the motet, and the location and pitch of cadences. The first and last stanzas have more independent declamation by individual voices than do the middle stanzas, which declaim their texts simultaneously and cadence together at the end of each line; the middle stanzas are also almost the same length (see below) and considerably shorter than the outer stanzas. The result is an ABA form. In spite of their rhythmic independence the two cantus parts invariably cadence together at the ends of lines and stanzas (unlike in Venecie mundi splendor where the end of a line or stanza is often marked by a pre-cadential sonority). The only cadences in the middle of a line are in the first stanza (after "locaris" in cantus I) and in the last (after "senatus et" in

cantus I), a corollary to the independent declamation of the first and last stanzas. The motet is very stable tonally: it begins and ends on the final, F, and the tenor melody is almost identical in measures 1-5 and measures 91-96, the first and last phrases of the motet (see example 8c). Cadences on F and C coincide with the stanzaic structure of the text:

---

|            |    |      |    |      |
|------------|----|------|----|------|
| Stanza     | 1  | 2    | 3  | 4    |
| no. of mm. | 23 | 16   | 17 | 40   |
| Cadence    | C  | C->F | C  | C->F |

---

Stanzas 2 and 4 both reach a cadence on C, and then have a melismatic section leading to a cadence on F. Within stanzas cadences are almost invariably on other scale degrees (D, G, and A).<sup>19</sup> The tonal structure creates a two-part form that combines with the three-part form to emphasize the final stanza. Everything combines to make the last stanza the climactic goal of the motet: it is introduced by a two-measure tenor solo; it is the longest section in the piece; and it brings back the texture of the opening, the melismatic syncopation at the end of stanza 2 (which returns both at the end of the motet, and as a rhapsodic pause following "jubila," jubilation or song), and the tonal center as established both at the opening of the motet with the tenor melody, and at the end of the second stanza.

During that final stanza we hear the last intelligible lines of text, which suggest that since Saint Mark protects Mocenigo, the people should celebrate, the weather will always be fair, and the city of

Venice will always be peaceful; once Mocenigo takes on the office of doge the people of Venice will have nothing to worry about. The uniting of person and office are suggested musically by the sense of return and arrival in the last stanza, and by the final extended melisma (mm. 86-96) where the voices imitate each other's rhythms (if not pitches), having ceased to declaim conflicting texts. Romanus has succeeded in creating a motet that maintains the distinction between the person of the doge and his office, while demonstrating that with Mocenigo as doge Venice will continue to be a city of harmonious concord.

Two motets for Francesco Foscari:

Carminibus festos / O requies populi, by Antonius Romanus,  
and Plaude decus mundi, by Cristoforus de Monte

Francesco Foscari was perhaps the most -- and last -- powerful doge of Venice, "un personaggio storico di primo ordine."<sup>20</sup> Born in 1374, he was elected doge on 15 April 1423, at the age of 49, one of youngest doges ever elected.<sup>21</sup> His installation was the next day, 16 April. He reigned for thirty-four years, longer than any other doge in the history of Venice. He tried, unsuccessfully, to resign three times, but he was not allowed to die in office, as did most doges: he was deposed by the Council of Ten on 23 October 1457, the next doge (Pasquale Malipiero) was elected on 30 October, and Foscari died on 1 November. In spite of his deposition he was given a doge's funeral at which there was a huge crowd and a four-hour oration by Bernardo Giustiniani; the

new doge walked in the procession dressed as a simple senator.<sup>22</sup> These contradictions mark his whole reign: while some Venetians were fiercely loyal to him, others said that he had rigged his election, that he built a political machine by obtaining offices for the poorer patricians, and that he had poisoned one of his rivals. Modern historians cannot agree about Foscari either: some love him,<sup>23</sup> some dislike him,<sup>24</sup> and others cannot make up their minds.<sup>25</sup>

Foscari was elected at a pivotal moment for Venice. Should she continue to remain friendly with Milan, ignore Florence, and maintain her holdings in the east, as she had done for centuries? Or should she continue Steno's expansion onto the terraferma, support her sister republic Florence, and involve herself in the struggle for power on the Italian peninsula? Before his death Mocenigo had advocated the first choice and warned the patriciate not to elect Foscari, who advocated the second even before his election. Mocenigo feared that involvement on the mainland would lead to endless warfare. Foscari was elected in spite of Mocenigo's warnings, and set out to defeat the Visconti of Milan and to conquer northern Italy; he would extend Venice's holdings northwest to Brescia (1426) and Bergamo (1428), west to Crema (1447) and south to Ravenna (1441). His conquests were achieved at great cost in lives and money -- Mocenigo's prediction was fulfilled.<sup>26</sup>

Foscari's power depended in part on his manipulation of the image of the doge. He was the first doge to use the "royal we" when speaking in the first person;<sup>27</sup> his reign was marked by plentiful celebrations and pageants, and by the visits of foreign royalty, most notably the

emperors of both East and West. Foscari was also a great patron of art and architecture. Projects supported or instigated by him include the Capella dei Mascoli in San Marco;<sup>28</sup> the whole side of the Palazzo facing the Piazzetta, including the scene of the Judgment of Solomon;<sup>29</sup> the Porta della Carta;<sup>30</sup> the lower part of the Arco Foscari;<sup>31</sup> and his tomb.<sup>32</sup> We shall examine the Porta della Carta, the entrance to the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale that stands in the juncture between the Palazzo and the basilica of San Marco.<sup>33</sup>

Mocenigo had begun the plans for a restoration of the Piazzetta side of the Palazzo Ducale in 1422, just before his death. Foscari took it up where Mocenigo had left off, and March 1424 the order was given for the demolition of the old structure.<sup>34</sup> The Porta della Carta is an elaborate ornamental arch that leads to a covered passage between the palace and the basilica. The passageway was also remodeled during this period, and a new stairway was built, which changed its emphasis from a north-south axis between San Marco and the wing of the Palazzo containing the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, to an east-west axis leading to the doge's quarters. At the end of the passage was a solid, one-story Roman triumphal arch. The whole complex was a via triumphalis leading through two triumphal arches, from the Piazzetta to the seat of the doge (rather than to the Sala del Maggior Consiglio).<sup>35</sup>

Although planning probably began much earlier, the Porta della Carta was commissioned from Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon in 1438, and was still in progress in 1442.<sup>36</sup> The structure contains elements of the tabernacle, the tomb, and the triumphal arch; it includes Renaissance

motives (such as putti climbing in leafy carvings and holding the Foscari arms) in a Gothic structure. The sculptural program includes the four cardinal virtues and one theological virtue, Charity. Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Charity stand in the piers, while a seated Justice holding a sword and a balance crowns the archway. Iconographically Justice is almost identical to an earlier relief with the inscription "Venecia" in a roundel of the Piazzetta side of the Palazzo Ducale: both are seated on Solomonic thrones with lions, both are crowned, and both hold upright swords; the only difference is that Venecia does not hold scales. The Justicia of the Porta della Carta is thus also Venice personified.<sup>37</sup> In the arch is a shell tondo with a relief of St. Mark carried upward by angels; above the door is a life-size figure of doge Francesco Foscari, kneeling before the lion of St. Mark.<sup>38</sup> As on Steno's balcony and Mocenigo's tomb, the dominant image is of Justice. Religious elements are few here, and they are subsumed into a civic imagery that included some classical elements and the cardinal virtues associated with good pre-Christian and Roman rulers. By directing the triumphal route that passed beneath the Porta della Carta toward his own quarters, Foscari implied that justice and civic virtue were in his hands, and not in the hands of the senate or the church.

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Three motets written for Francesco Foscari have survived. One of

them, Christus vincit, by Hugh de Lantins, is a setting of a pre-existent Venetian acclamation or laus sung at the doge's investiture and at other occasions by the chaplains of San Marco. As might be expected in the case of a pre-existent text, it is set as a cantilena: three voices, one text, non-isorhythmic, treble dominated, with text in all parts. It will not be considered here.<sup>39</sup> The other two, Carminibus festos and Plaude decus mundi, use new texts in dactylic hexameters celebrating Foscari's election. Both texts evoke the scene of the investiture of the doge, but since there was only one day between the election and investiture, there was not in fact time for the motets to be composed or rehearsed for performance at the ceremony. They must have been performed at subsequent celebrations for the new doge; Gallo suggests a recorded festival on 23 April.<sup>40</sup> Both are written by Italian composers, both are found in Bologna Q15 with four voices, and both use change of meter as a formal device. Nevertheless the pieces are very different from each other, and demonstrate once again the range of possibilities within the early fifteenth-century occasional motet.

A text in dactylic hexameters sets compositional problems very different from those of a strophic text. In a strophic text there is always the same number of syllables per stanza, so double rhythmic statements are simple to carry out, and the stanzas provide poetic units of regular lengths that are easy to associate with musical units, as we have seen. A line in dactylic hexameter, on the other hand, can have from thirteen to seventeen syllables, depending on the choice of



dactyl or spondee for any particular foot, and lines are not grouped into stanzas. Syntactic structures do not tend to correspond neatly to line divisions, as they do to stanzas in stanzaic verse. The composer has to develop a new way of relating the music to the text; our two composers chose completely different techniques.

Foscari's election in 1423 was eleven years after the death of Ciconia and six years after the end of the Council of Constance. Dufay and many other northern musicians had already arrived in Italy. The Italian composers Antonius Romanus and Cristoforus de Monte had to choose whether to continue or alter Ciconia's style, and whether to assimilate or reject musical influences from the North. As we shall see, they made different choices.

Example 9: Antonius Romanus, Bologna Q15 no. 206 (ff. 213'-214).

Ex. 9a: Edition after Reaney, EFCM VI, pp. XXXIX-XL, with some changes in punctuation and emendations as noted.

#### Cantus I

Carminibus festos muse juvat edere cantus  
 et letos celebrare dies; huc ferte, sorores  
 carmina digna viro quem nunc pulcerima tellus  
 finibus Ausoniis clarum et pietate serena /  
 extulit emeritum celsaque locavit in aula. 5  
 Inclite qui nunc es summos egressus honores,  
 dux Venetum Francisce potens quem Fuscara proles //  
 condidit illa—genus claro devexit Olimpo--  
 teque tuos nostri referent ad sidera versus.  
 Salve, magne pater, nostri decor unice secli, 10  
 tu nobis segura quies, tu legibus almis /  
 nunc populis das jura pius. Non arma tiranny  
 horida concutient miseris infesta colonis;  
 te duce scena ruet, surget gens aurea mundo. //

#### Emendations:

line 6: originally que

#### Cantus II

O requies populi, multos spectate per annos,  
 te patricii, cives, decus et tutela senatus,  
 magestate ducem cuncti expectare serena.  
 Ingenii munus te dulcis gratia lingua /  
 pretulit ante alios fama super ethera notum. 5  
 Digna nequit calamus tante preconia laudi  
 reddere; sed terras fundet tua fama per omnes //  
 in populosque dabit nullum tacitura per evum.  
 Magna domus Venetum felix, o principe tanto,  
 plaudite nunc, Veneti, cantet longo ordine sacrum 10  
 turba virum festosque dies celebremus ovantes. /  
 At te, summe parens urbis cui summa potestas,  
 Marce, decus Venetum, longos oramus in annos  
 per populos sublimis eat; iter numina firment.//

#### Emendations:

line 14: sublimes

// = end of talea; / = change of meter

Ex. 9b: Translation by J.C., with help from Lawrence Rosenwald

### Cantus I

It pleases the muse to pour forth festive songs with music,  
 and to celebrate the happy day; bring hither, sisters,  
 songs worthy of a man whom, renowned to the ends of Italy and  
 eminent for his untroubled piety, the beautiful earth  
 has raised up and placed at the summit of the court. 5  
 O eminent one, you who have gone beyond the highest honors,  
 Francesco, powerful doge of Venice whom the Foscari clan  
 produced--a family descended from famous Olympus--  
 our verses shall tell of you and yours to the heavens.  
 Hail, great father, only ornament of our age, 10  
 you are our secure peace, with fostering laws you piously give  
 justice to the people. No longer shall the fearful  
 arms of the tyrant clash, dangerous to the miserable farmers;  
 with you as doge the scene will change and a golden race  
 will arise in the world.

### Cantus II

O repose of the people, expected for many years,  
 all the citizens and patricians, the jewel and support of the  
 senate, await you, the doge with serene majesty.  
 A gift of nature, elegant grace of tongue revealed you  
 before others in fame and known above the skies. 5  
 A flute cannot render commendations worthy enough to praise you;  
 but your fame shall pour through all lands,  
 and, never to be silent, shall present you to the people.  
 Great and happy house of Venice, oh, with such a prince,  
 applaud, Venetians, and may the crowd of holy men in a 10  
 long line sing, and let us celebrate the feast days praising.  
 But to you, o great parent, in whose possession is the city's  
 greatest power,  
 Mark, jewel of the Venetians, we pray, that he may go exaltedly  
 among the  
 people for many long years; may the gods prolong the journey.

Ex. 9c: Tenor of Carminibus festos

Handwritten musical score for Tenor of Carminibus festos, Ex. 9c. The score consists of ten staves of music, each with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The staves are labeled with Roman numerals I through X and contain various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is divided into measures by vertical dashed lines, and some measures are grouped by horizontal dashed lines. The tempo or meter is indicated by the number 10 at the top right. The staves are numbered 1 through 10, with the first staff starting at measure 1 and the tenth staff ending at measure 105. The staves are labeled with Roman numerals I through X, and the first staff is labeled with a 'C' and a '5'.

The texts of Carminibus festos / O requies populi are more complex than those of any other Italian motet we have examined (though they do not reach the level of difficulty of Rex Karole).<sup>41</sup> The sentences are long, and the syntactic divisions often do not coincide with line breaks. In the first sentence of cantus I (lines 1-5) the muses celebrate the "happy day" of the election of the doge in song; as in cantus II of Doctorum principem we are meant to identify the motet with the song of the muses and to associate it with the ancient topos of songs of praise. In the second sentence (lines 6-9) the muses address the doge, making the traditional reference to his family, and referring again to "nostri ... versus," which will bestow fame on the doge.<sup>42</sup> In the third and fourth sentences (lines 10-14) they continue to address the doge, referring to his traditional roles as law-giver and as maker of peace by means of conquest, and predicting peace and prosperity. The mention of a "tyrant" (line 12) may be a reference to Foscari's well-known resistance to tyrannous Milan, and his support of the republic of Florence. The text ends with a reference to the golden age; a Venice ruled by Francesco Foscari will be a paradise on earth, a new scene in the never-ending pageant that is Venice.

While cantus I begins with the image of the muses on Parnassus praising the doge, cantus II begins with the image of all the people of Venice awaiting the doge.<sup>43</sup> Reference is made to Foscari's skill as an orator, and the power of music and fame is evoked, recalling "nostri ... versus" of cantus I.9.<sup>44</sup> In lines 9-11 the people of Venice described in line 2 are addressed directly, and encouraged to praise

the doge, just as the muses ("sorores," cantus I.2) had been urged to pour forth songs in cantus I. Line 11 refers to a "longo ordine sacrum ... virum," a procession of holy men, perhaps a reference to a procession of singers of San Marco. Finally St. Mark is invoked, with the traditional reference to long life and indirectly to the afterlife. But Mark is not so much a Christian saint in this context as he is a civic symbol, like the doge himself.

In spite of the occasional Christian reference, the imagery in both texts is drawn from a classicizing mythical tradition rather than from the Medieval tradition of abstract virtues and vices and sacred poetry, found in the earlier texts. The very vocabulary is classical: muses (I.1), "Ausoniis" for Italy (I.4), Olympus (I.8), the change of scene, evoking classical theater (I.14), the word "calamus" for flute (II.6), and the use of "numina" for gods (II.14). This imagery and vocabulary accords with the use of the classical heroic-epic meter. As in Mocenigo's tomb inscription (of almost exactly the same time), the meter and imagery suggest a conscious innovative classicism; Mocenigo (in his funeral inscription) and Foscari (in this motet) see themselves, or want to be seen as, classical heroes.

The two cantus parts share many of the same themes. References to music (I.1,3,9; II.6,10), pageantry (I.14), and processions (II.10) return again and again in conjunction with images of peace and of fame and immortality. Venice is the home of the muses (I.1), a new Parnassus, where concord (musical and political) reigns; it is an Olympus (I.8), home of the gods, the heavens (I.9), home of a golden

race (I.14). The concord of the mythical heavens — "pietate serena" (I.4), "secura quies" (I.11), "requies populi" (II.1), "magestate ... serena" (II.3) — is embodied by the doge, and achieved through the court and the council hall ("celsaque ... aula," I.5), through fostering laws ("legibus almis," I.11) and justice ("jura," I.12). The two texts have slightly different emphases — cantus I uses more classical imagery, cantus II is more concerned with the people of Venice — but musical imagery unites them; through music the people of Venice become both the citizens of ancient Rome and characters in classical mythology. The music and poetry of the muses will make the doge immortal, and thus Venice will become a paradise on earth. The function of music is made explicit, as a way to express harmony, peace, and good government, and as a way to achieve them, along with fame and immortality. Foscari would go on to an exceptionally unpeaceful reign, but he would fight in the name of peace; domination and conquest brought peace to Venice's fortunate subject states, and fighting Milan was a way of preserving liberty and good government for both Venice and Florence.

Carminibus festos has a rich and difficult text, and Romanus chooses to complement it with difficult music. The motet is found in Bologna Q15 with four voices; the contratenor may or may not be authentic.<sup>45</sup> This is a double statement motet, in the Italian tradition: the rhythms of all voices are repeated in the second half, with a few exceptions in the upper voices, primarily for reasons of text underlay.<sup>46</sup> Within each statement there is a change of

mensuration, from imperfect tempus major prolation to imperfect tempus minor prolation, or from  $\text{C}$  to  $\text{C}$  ( $6/8$  to  $2/4$ ). The change to a faster mensuration within each half of a double statement motet recalls Ciconia's Petrum Marcello, but here there is no color repetition, and hence no diminution. While in Ciconia's Ut te per omnes, another double statement motet, there were extensive correspondences between the pitches of the tenor in the two halves of the motet, that is not the case in this motet; there are no parallel passages longer than two measures, and none have more than two pitches in common (see example 9c). Nor do cadences occur in the same place in the two halves. The tenor is unusual in several other respects: it virtually never rests, nor does it have the brief solo passages found in some of the other motets; and although it occasionally moves in semibreves and minims (quarter and eighth notes in this transcription), it frequently uses these faster note values to rearticulate the same pitch. The harmonic rhythm, rarely faster than the breve, is thus slower than that of most of the other Italian motets we have studied, and resembles instead that of the French fourteenth-century motet, with its very slow-moving tenor. The slow harmonic rhythm also results in a more angular melodic style in the upper parts.

The clear articulation of phrases and stanzas found in Ducalis sedes has given way to a continuous texture with almost no long notes held simultaneously in all voices, and very few cadences. The texture thus resembles again French fourteenth-century motets, where overlapping phrase structures in the upper parts resulted in few



cadences. The lack of rests in all parts far exceeds most French motets. All the voices sing all the time, except in mm. 8-11 and 60-63, where cantus I drops out. There are no melismatic sections with hocket or syncopated arpeggiation, such as we have found in most of the Italian motets; there is one brief (C, 2/4) measure of hocket near the end of each half, making reference perhaps to the traditional use of hocket to mark the end of the talea, but it is over before the listener realizes it has happened.

Once again there is no imitation; the cantus parts are even more independent than in Ducalis sedes. Romanus does not always avoid imitation: his third motet, Aurea flamigeri, begins with an imitative accompanied introitus (such as we expected in Ducalis sedes), and it repeats a section, exchanging the parts of the upper parts.<sup>47</sup> Romanus may have decided that imitation was appropriate in Aurea flamigeri because it has only one text. He made a deliberate decision to avoid imitation in both of his polytextual motets.

There are large-scale correlations between music and text. Each text is fourteen lines, so there are seven lines for each half of the motet, which, since 7 is an odd number, must be divided unevenly over the two sections of each half. While there are more measures (breves) in the second, minor prolation (C) section, there are more eighth notes (minims) per measure (breve) in the first section, which makes it longer. The first section thus receives the greater number of lines of text:<sup>48</sup>

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| section     | breves | minims<br>per breve | total<br>minims | comparative<br>lengths | lines |
|-------------|--------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------|
| 1 (G, 6/8): | 22     | x 6                 | = 132           | 11                     | 4     |
| 2 (C, 2/4): | 30     | x 4                 | = 120           | 10                     | 3     |

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The divisions are marked in example 10a, with a slash (/) for the two sections of each half, and a double slash (//) between the two halves. Both cantus parts declaim their texts at roughly the same rate, though Cantus I's rests (mm. 8-11 and 60-3) give cantus II a head start, and line endings rarely coincide in the two voices. Line endings also do not come at the same rhythmic point in the two halves of the motet (with the exception of the mensuration change<sup>49</sup>); the most striking example is in cantus I, whose rests come in the middle of line 2 in the first half, but at the end of line 8 in the second half.

The uncompromising continuity of texture in this motet seems to be Romanus's response to a verse form without the articulations -- short lines articulated by rhyme, stanzas -- of accentual strophic poetry. The rhythmic independence of the parts and lack of imitation correspond to its polytextuality (in contrast to the monotextual Aurea flamigeri). Romanus stresses the discordia in this motet, especially on the local scale, with his seeming inattention to correspondences between texts or between text and music in the two halves of the motet. He appears to almost parody the French fourteenth-century isorhythmic motet, with its lack of cadences, seamless texture, sustained-note tenor, angular melodic style, and use of varying mensurations, without adopting its essential features, namely, use of

cantus prius factus and true isorhythm. We have already seen that French musical devices were perceived as more intellectual, more complex; by adopting elements of that style Romanus chose to increase the grandeur of the motet. He is careful at the same time to preserve the large-scale harmony: each of the cantus parts has the same amount of text, each half of the motet has the same amount of text, the amount of text apportioned to each section is relative to its length. Intelligibility of text is not possible in this piece -- the sentences are too long, the syntax too complex, and the texture too thick; but it is also not important. What is important is the realization of a discordia concors, a representation of Venice as ruled by Francesco Foscari. Romanus set two texts about the power of music in a deliberately difficult style in order to demonstrate how great the power of music is; concord emerges out of massive local discord.

Example 10: Cristoforus de Monte, Bologna Q15, no. 215 (ff. 221'-223).

Example 10a: Edition of text after Rudolf Ficker, ed., Sieben Trienter Codices, Sechster Auswahl, DTO Jhg. 40, Bd. 76, 1933, pp. 6-8, with some emendations to punctuation.

- [0] Plaude, decus mundi, Venetum clarissima turba,/   
 sorte ducem solita sacra cum feceris altum/   
 Ytalie sydus,/ cui munera magna dedere/   
 Jupiter ipse, Venus florens, dulcisque Minerva;/   
 5 utque tibi, princeps/ magno luceret Olimpo/   
 vim dedit et gratiam populo Mercurius aliam./
- [C] Neque minus generosa domus tu Fuscara gaude/   
 cum nunc lucescas,/ Francisco principe facto./   
 Felices patriae quas temperat urbs Venetorum./
- 10 [0] Plaudite, nam populis successit [C] dux pius eq[u]us   
 mille quadrigentis domini currentibus an-[0]nis/   
 [C] vigenisque tribus cum sol ter quinque per orbem   
 inerat et thauri/ [0] lustrabat cornua fortis.

/ = Musical articulation: cadence, long note, melismatic passage, change of meter.

[] = Square brackets enclose mensural signs.

Ex. 10b: Translation by J.C., with help from Lawrence Rosenwald.

Applaud, o jewel of the world, o famous crowd of Venice,   
 since, with the accustomed sacred lot, you have made the high doge   
 Italy's star, to whom Jupiter himself, flowering Venus,   
 and sweet Minerva give great gifts;   
 and so that for you the prince would shine from great Olympus 5   
 Mercury gave him strength and fostering grace to the people.   
 Nor should you rejoice less, eminent house of Foscari,   
 since now you shine, Francesco having been made prince.   
 Happy are the countries that the city of the Venetians governs.   
 Applaud, for a just and pious doge has come to the people, 10   
 in fourteen hundred and twenty-three, anno domini, when the sun   
 had been thrice five times through the heavens   
 and was shining upon the horns of the strong bull.

Little is known about Cristoforus de Monte. Three works attributed to him survive, two motets and a mass movement. The other motet is in praise of the Dominicans, and contains an allusion to the composer's life: "in Feltro natus Christoforus et educatus ... in montisque nutritus" ("Christoforus was born in Feltre [a town in the mountains north of Venice], and raised in the mountains").<sup>50</sup> Suzanne Clercx has found evidence that he worked at the cathedral of Padua from 1402 to 1426.<sup>51</sup> He must have known Ciconia well, and his style is very similar to Ciconia's.

Plaude decus mundi is found in Bologna Q15.<sup>52</sup> It has two texted upper voices, a tenor, and a contratenor that is probably not original.<sup>53</sup> Like Carminibus festos its text is in dactylic hexameters, and filled with classical references: Jupiter, Venus, Minerva, and Mercury have given him gifts, and he shines from Olympus (lines 4-6). As in Carminibus festos the doge has entered the pantheon of the gods -- here Venice has become Olympus, rather than Parnassus. But the syntax and word order are simpler, and there is only one text. The narrative structure is also simpler than that of Carminibus festos: it exhorts first the people of Venice, then the house of Foscari, and finally the subject peoples to acclaim the new doge and rejoice. The reference to subject peoples is particularly fitting in a piece by a composer born and employed in two cities subject to Venice. The exhortations are interspersed with favorable commentary on the doge, and the text ends with the date of the election, expressed in astrological terms: first the year, 1423, then the day of the month,

the fifteenth (thrice five) and last the month, April, which was associated with the astrological sign of Taurus, the bull; Foscari was indeed elected on 15 April 1423. The language recalls that of several of the previous dogal motets, and of inscriptions: "decus mundi" (line 1), referring both to Foscari and to Venice itself, recalls "Venecia mundi splendor" the first line of Ciconia's dogal motet, and "decus Venetum," from Carminibus festos (II.13), where the reference was to St. Mark. "Venetum clarissima turba" (line 1) recalls the "turba virum" of Carminibus festos (II.11). We recognize the traditional references to the family of the doge. The appearance in the text of the date of the investiture recalls the inscriptions on Steno's tomb and especially on the balcony, where the verb "currere" is also used as part of the date. The language of the motet is overtly inaugural, but it could not have been written until after the election, when the exact date of the election was known and could be included in the text. Like Ciconia's Venecia mundi splendor, Plaude decus mundi is a tribute to the Serene Republic and her doge from a composer living in a subject city.

De Monte responds to the complexities of the hexameters by accentuating the formal and syntactic features of the text in the musical setting. The end of almost every line is articulated by a long note, a melismatic section (usually with hocket or syncopation), or a change of meter.<sup>54</sup> (Articulations are marked in the text, example 10a.) The lines are all close to the same length, five to eight measures long. Pauses within lines 3, 5, 8, and 13 come at the traditional caesura point in the dactylic hexameter, the middle of the third

foot.<sup>55</sup> The first major articulation in the motet comes at the end of the first sentence (at the end of line six).

De Monte also projects his single text so that every syllable is intelligible. The opening of the motet resembles that of a polytextual motet, by giving each cantus part, as it enters, only half of the first line. But from the second line on, the text is either declaimed simultaneously in both voices, or it is sung by one voice while the other rests; the other voice then usually repeats it in imitation. The texture of the motet is almost entirely imitative or homorhythmic, as in Ciconia's Doctorum principem.

De Monte is concerned with projecting and expressing the meaning of the text, as well as its form and content. This is not an isorhythmic motet, but it does use meter change for a variety of formal and expressive purposes.<sup>56</sup> The first six lines of the motet make up a section that is self-contained both semantically and syntactically, consisting of praise for the new doge and of exhortations of the Venetians to praise. It ends with a fast-moving hocket-like melismatic section, and the arrival of the next section is marked by a change of meter. Lines 7 and 8 are concerned with the Foscari clan; all parts cadence together on the final, F, at the end of line 8. Line 9 is de Monte's description, based on personal experience, of the happy state of the cities subject to Venice; he stresses this point with fermatas on the last syllable of "temperat" and on "urbs" ("governs" and "city"). The word "temperat," of all the possible words for "govern," is one that particularly evokes the image of discordia concors: it suggests

the mixture of elements, being in tune, the proper balance of the elements, the finding of the mean.<sup>57</sup>

There is a return to the original meter for the last section of text, lines 10-13, which begins "Plaudite" (a plural imperative recalling the singular form that began the motet, now expanded to include the subject countries as well as the crowd of Venetians), and ends with the commemorative date of the election. Part way through line 10 the upper voices change to a meter not previously used in the motet (C, imperfect tempus minor prolation, or  $2/4$ ), and the tenor has coloration; there is a return to 0 (perfect tempus, minor prolation, or  $3/4$ ) for the last syllable of the next line. Several features of this passage are odd: why a new meter so late in the piece? Why change mensuration in the middle of a line? Coloration usually works out in multiples of two and three, but in this case there are fourteen bars, either two extra or one too few. The mystery is explained in the text of the passage: "the just and pious doge [acceded] in one thousand four hundred passing years of our lord ..." which is to say that he was elected in 1400 ... [and 23]. The mensuration sign for imperfect tempus, C, is also the Roman numeral for 100; 14 bars of C is 1400, the century of the election. De Monte has chosen to depict the date in the music. After the single bar of 0 for the last syllable of "annis," the meter changes again, for the words "vigenisque tribus," "twenty-three." Can it be a coincidence that the new meter is 6, perfect tempus, major prolation, or  $2 \times 3$ ? And perhaps it is not a coincidence that the return to 0, the circle, coincides with the image of the zodiac (the



circle of constellations). In any case the work has turned full circle, with the final return to the original meter, and the triumphant melisma at the end of the piece.

The style of Plaude decus mundi is extremely close to Ciconia's, especially the use of sequence, imitation, and melismatic hocket-like sections. Some passages seem to be modelled directly on Venecia mundi splendor and Doctorum principem.<sup>58</sup> And indeed, Plaude decus mundi combines elements of those two works: while the subject and occasion parallel Venecia, the texture, structure, and approach are closer to Doctorum principem. There Ciconia combined two texts in such a way that the piece almost ceased to be polytextual: a third, simpler text emerged, and the voices occasionally had the same text. Here de Monte abandons polytextuality altogether, for the sake of a unified statement on the part of the Venetians and their subject cities. There Ciconia used a mensural plan that corresponded to the form of the text and that made a fitting tribute to a great scholar; here de Monte uses mensuration for formal and illustrative effect.

De Monte's text resembles that of a monumental inscription, and his attention to intelligibility and use of what might even be called word-painting suggest that this text was meant to be understood, as an inscription is meant to be read. Rather than write a polytextual motet, de Monte has evoked the image of discordia concors by "underlining" the word "temperat," and by writing a motet in which music and text are exceptionally concordant. Plaude decus mundi is a musical monument to the glory of Venice and her new doge.

### The Motet in Venice -- Conclusion

In the early quattrocento Venice began her conquest of the terraferma, and in the process began to appropriate the culture of the mainland. Margaret L. King describes the process by which the Venetian ruling class, the patriciate, appropriated mainland humanism, and used it in the service of state and the myth of Venice.<sup>59</sup> Venice appropriated musical culture for similar reasons: she started a choir school, hired musicians, and commissioned motets in order to glorify the city and her rulers. The doges of Venice, in particular, used music as part of a program of self-aggrandizement that also included festivals and monumental sculpture. Later historians have agreed that the early quattrocento doges succeeded in playing an unusually active role in the Venetian government; their success stemmed in part to a political acumen that extended to matters such as public image and display.

Nevertheless these doges never sought to overturn the principles of the Venetian state; they merely tried to change the balance of power. The humanist Giovanni Caldiera, writing on the Venetian government shortly after the reign of Francesco Foscari, exaggerates the actual power of the doge, and describes him as "the most virtuous member of the patrician order," "superior to the law on account of his virtues," "splendid like the sun," "like pure gold that contains no baser element."<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, in a slightly earlier allegorical work resembling in format the Divine Comedy or Martianus Capella's Marriage

of Philology and Mercury, he describes a vision of a city like Venice. There he finds an enthroned personification of a female Respublica, and at her feet sit the Venetian officials and ministers. Chief among them is Francesco Foscari, the doge, who declaims a lengthy speech on the greatness of Venice.<sup>61</sup> Here the doge, while first among the Venetian patriciate, is still a servant of the republic. A later theorist of the Venetian state, Domenico Morosini, describes the figure of the doge as the chief guarantee of civic harmony. The doge is subject to the law, and the representation of the common good. His symbolic power is so great that: "he need not even speak. His public appearance, adorned with the signs of majesty and power, silently and effectively compels unity and obedience. That spectacle alone 'wins the reverence of the people and attracts their respectful regard'."<sup>62</sup>

In this vision of the office of the doge, his splendor and display are not a threat to the Venetian government, but a guarantee of it. Morosini goes on to say that public building is the other great guarantee against discord and factions. It both creates civic harmony and impresses outsiders with the wealth and power of Venice.<sup>63</sup> Our doges multiplied the signs of their majesty and power, by building and by commissioning motets; but they did it in service of the Venetian Republic. The sculptural programs and some of the motet texts illustrate this. Although the doge is the central figure in monumental sculpture, he pays tribute to St. Mark below the figure of Justice/Venice. And while the monuments glorify the doge, after his death they glorify the city. Likewise, in the motets, the doge is

usually subject to Venice. In Ciconia's motet for Steno, Venecia mundi splendor, the leading voice, cantus I, is about Venice, while the doge has cantus II. In Romanus's motet for Mocenigo, Ducalis sedes, cantus I is concerned with the office of the doge, cantus II with the person. There is no such clear subordination in the motets for Foscari, whose ambitions were perhaps greater. But even in Carminibus festos and Plaude decus mundi the doge is a temporary presence, a momentary glory, in the eternal history of Venice. The doge does not make the state; the state makes the doge, who is elevated from the patriciate and appointed and applauded by the state officials.<sup>64</sup> All the dogal motets represent a civic harmony in which the doge plays an important part, but not the only one.

Civic concord was an especially resonant concept in Venice. Venice personified was Justice personified, and we have seen in both Cicero and Dante that justice and concord are inextricably linked. For Petrarch civic concord was Venice's foundation, and justice assured her victory. Venice's eulogists very consciously used the images of "discordia concors" in order to justify her class system and mixed system of government. Lauro Quirini, writing a treatise dedicated to doge Francesco Foscari, quotes Cicero's passage from De re publica on harmony in the state in justification of social differences: "Just as in music a harmony of different sounds is sought, 'so from the [counterpoint of] highest, lowest, and intermediate [social] orders, just like sounds, a well ordered city achieves harmony by means of the agreement of dissimilars, and what musicians call harmony in song, is

in a city concord.'"<sup>65</sup> Many other writers used the same vocabulary.<sup>66</sup> The Venetian patriciate was therefore particularly receptive to the meaning of laudatory motets.

The dogal motets thus had several functions. Each of the three doges was trying to augment the possibilities for personal leadership within the Venetian government, and manipulated the public image of the doge so as to increase his importance in the eyes of the Venetians and outsiders. The motets were thus one part of a program of self-aggrandizement in the public eye. On the other hand, the doge was always the creation of the state, and thus public works such as monuments and motets necessarily worked for the benefit of the whole state, and not just the doge. Morosini described the pomp and glory of the doge's presence and the creation of harmonious public buildings as the chief guarantees of civic concord. The monumental sculpture and the motets functioned both as public works and as ways of increasing the power of the doge's presence. The doge need not even speak, says Morosini; just so, the texts of the motets need not be intelligible as long as they are understood as part of the doge's personal display of grandeur. And finally, as representations of the civic concord that was Venice, the motets ultimately celebrated the harmoniousness of the Serene Republic, not just the personal power of her leaders.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. For Mocenigo's life, see Richardson, pp. 202-7; Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, pp. 157-62; and Sanudo, Vite dei dogi, pp. 885-966. See also Rocca and Tiepolo, "Cronologia," pp. 193-98. The authenticity of Mocenigo's final speeches is discussed in Hans Baron, "The Anti-Florentine Discourses of the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1422-1423)," Chapter IX of his Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 185-215. The speeches appear in Sanudo, Vite dei dogi, cols. 964A-960E. Roberto Cessi, in his Storia della Repubblica di Venezia (Milan, 1944), vol. I, p. 363, says of Mocenigo, that he was "di una generazione, che si era accostata ai nuovi ideali per impulso irresistibile della necessità delle cose, ma non aveva rinunciato al tradizionale pregiudizio della politica di isolamento."
2. Closely paraphrased from Pincus, Arco, pp. 35-6.
3. No commission survives, but it is safe to assume that the doge commissioned it and that it was begun before his death. See Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, pp. 161-2, and Wolters, La scultura, cat. 171, esp. p. 239, and figg. 568-77, 582.
4. Debra Pincus, "The Tomb," pp. 130-31. Mocenigo's tomb is the first of a group in which "the format, changing to emphasize the funeral ceremony, presents a further step in symbolic aggrandizement."
5. Wolters, La scultura, p. 239 and 240.
6. The text of the inscription was transcribed literally from the tomb inscription, as it appears in Wolters, La scultura, fig. 568. There are several mistakes in Wolters's transcription on p. 239. The punctuation in the translation is after the punctuation of the inscription in Sanudo, Vite dei dogi, col. 945E.
7. Gallo noted the similarity between the texts in Romani opera, p. VI, n. 14.
8. Note the use of first person plural in cantus I.3.1, and II.1.2 and 3, 2.1 and 3, and 3.1-4. Especially in cantus II the speaker identifies himself very clearly with the Venetians.
9. On Romanus, see Gallo, Romani opera, pp. V-IX.
10. There are five modern editions of this piece, one after Bologna

- 2216: F.A. Gallo, "Musiche veneziane del Ms. 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna," Quadrivium 6 (1964), Tavole 1-6; and four after Bologna Q15: Gallo, Romani opera, no. 1, pp. 1-6; Reaney, EFCM vol. 6 (AIM 1955), no. 4, pp. 166-171; Cox, The Motets, vol. II, pp. 408-418; and A. Schering, ed., Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 23-25. I prefer the edition by Gallo in "Musiche Veneziane." A facsimile of and commentary on Bologna 2216 have been published: Gallo, ed. Il Codice Musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1968-70). For a discussion of the two versions, see Reaney, p. XXXIV, and especially Cox, vol. I, pp. 187-193. The upper voices of Bologna 2216 are notated in the older mensuration of C, imperfect tempus, major prolation, while in Bologna Q15 they are the more modern mensuration of O, diminished perfect tempus. Cox suggests that Bologna Q15 "is a descendant" and Bologna 2216 "is a variant of the original notation" (p. 190). On added contratenor parts in Bologna Q15, see Bent and Hallmark in PMFC XXIV, p. XIII, and Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet."
11. Denis Stevens believes that all the motets (except for Ave corpus sanctum) were written for the investiture ceremony ("Ceremonial music," p. 321). But none of the previous dogal motets have such overtly inaugural language. The text of Principum nobilissime mentions the circumstances of the doge's election, and divine aid is requested in preserving his life, but the text gives the sense of a doge who had been ruling successfully for some time.
  12. Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. 57. Another possible date for the piece fairly early in the doge's reign is the celebration 25 April, 1415, at which there were numerous jousts, and Gianfrancesco Gonzaga was present (Sanudo, Vite dei dogi, col. 894A).
  13. See Appendix on the doge's investiture ceremony.
  14. See David Rosand, "Venetia figurata," pp. 179-80, on Dea Roma.
  15. See Lewis and Short, eds., A Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1879), "rector" for citations of this usage; and see Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, ch. III, "Venetian Government," pp. 73-107, on Venice as a mixture of both Romes.
  16. While the rhyme of the last syllable only of cantus I result in an aaaa rhyme scheme, the last two syllables make rhyming couplets, aabb (or ba,ba,ca,ca), in the first two stanzas. In the last two stanzas most of the lines have the same two-syllable rhyme for three out of the four rhymes, which suggests that the four-line one-syllable rhyme is the dominant one for the verse form.

17. PMFC XXIV, nos. 12, O felix templum, and no. 15, O virum / O lux / O beate Nicholae.
18. The exceptions are: mm. 23-4, imitation of two notes; m. 45 in cantus I imitated by cantus II in m. 49, not at the beginning of the same phrase; and m. 66 in cantus I and 69 in cantus II, both in the middle of phrases.
19. Stanza 2 has a C cadence at the end of the third line, and stanza 4 has cadences on F and C before the final C->F passage. There is a cadence on F after the second line of stanza 3.
20. Mosto, I dogi ... tombe, p. 110. On Foscari in general, see Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, pp. 162-74, Richardson, pp. 207-229, and H.R. Trevor-Roper, "Doge Francesco Foscari," in J.H. Plumb, ed., Renaissance Profiles (New York, 1961), pp. 107-121. See also Rocca and Tiepolo, "Cronologia," pp. 198-219, and Sanudo, Vite dei dogi, cols. 966-1165. Trevor-Roper comments that "after 1457 the republic no longer feared the Doge" (p. 121).
21. Certainly by far the youngest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the next youngest were Alvise Mocenigo, 63, elected in 1570, and Leonardo Loredan, 65, elected in 1501. See Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, p. 82.
22. On the funeral oration, see Patricia H. Labalme, Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento (Rome, 1969), p. 11 ff. Bernardo Giustiniani also wrote poems in Latin hexameters in praise of Venice in 1428 (Labalme, p. 29, n. 39); could he have written the texts of Carminibus festos and Plaude decus mundi?
23. Richardson justifies his actions throughout.
24. Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. 166, for example: "I notevoli acquisti di territorio, fatti in Italia, non furono tuttavia in proporzione degli immensi sacrifici di ogni genere sostenuti, che determinarono un vero colasso economico."
25. Trevor-Roper, p. 120.
26. See Chambers, The Imperial Age of Venice, pp. 55-60 (there is an excellent map on pp. 56-7) and M.E. Mallett and J.R. Hale, The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400-1617 (Cambridge, 1984), "The Milanese Wars," pp. 33-43 (there is an excellent map on p. xiii). From the league with Florence in December 1425, says Mallett (p. 33), "for nearly thirty years Venice was to be at war, or on the brink of war, with Milan."
27. Muir, Civic Ritual, p. 264.



28. Wolters, La scultura, cat. 235, pp. 277-8.
29. Wolters, La scultura, cat. 245, pp. 287-8.
30. Wolters, La scultura, cat. 240, pp. 281-4, and Pincus, Arco, pp. 34-75.
31. Pincus, Arco, pp. 76-103.
32. Wolters, La scultura, cat. 252, pp. 292-4; Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, pp. 172-3; and Pincus, Arco, App. II, pp. 402-438.
33. The Arco Foscari was begun near the end of Foscari's reign (see Pincus, Arco, chh. III and IV) and is thus less interesting in relation to the motet texts; the tomb is even later, and may not have been finished until the sixteenth century (Pincus, Arco, Appendix II, "The Tomb of Francesco Foscari"); the Judgment of Solomon is a continuation of the theme of Justice so prominent on the Porta della Carta.
34. Pincus, Arco, p. 36.
35. Pincus, Arco, pp. 58-75, esp. pp. 73-5; on the Roman arch, pp. 78-102, esp. 92-99. See Wolters, La scultura, figg. 845, 843, and 841 for photographs of the Porta della Carta.
36. Pincus, Arco, pp. 42, 46.
37. See Rosand, "Venetia figurata," p. 179 and figg. 3 and 4.
38. See Pincus, Arco, pp. 51-56, and Appendix I, "The Imagery of the Doge and Lion Group," pp. 384-401, for dating and authenticity of this image.
39. Found in Bologna 2216, no. 44, pp. 60-61, ff. 30'-31, it is edited in Gallo, "Musiche veneziane," tavole 7-9. Foscari's name appears in the motet, but any doge's name could be substituted. Nothing is known about Hugh de Lantins's whereabouts; see Cox, The Motets, vol. I, p. 26, n. 64, and p. 311, who suggests that he might have been in Brescia when Venice conquered it in 1426; and Charles Van den Borren, "Hugo et Arnold de Lantins," reprinted in Revue belge de musicologie 21 (1967), pp. 29-35. On the laus in general, see Ernst Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship, with a study of the Laudes and musical transcriptions by Manfred F. Bukofzer (Berkeley, 1946), especially the section by Bukofzer. For thirteenth-century use of the laudes, see Martin de Canal, Les Estoires de Venise, ed. Alberto Limentani, Civiltà veneziana fonti e testi no. 12, 3d. series, no. 3 (Florence, 1972), pp.

- 248, 254, 280, and 285; see also Muir, Civic Ritual, p. 142; Gina Fasoli, "Liturgia e cerimoniale ducale," in Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV, vol. I, p. 277, and Agostino Pertusi, "Quaedam regalia insignia: Ricerche sulle insegne del potere ducale a Venezia durante il medioevo," pp. 92-5.
40. Gallo, Romani Opera, p. VII.
41. It is edited in Reaney, EFCM vol. 6, no. 5, pp. 171-176; in Gallo, Romani Opera, no. 2, pp. 7-12; and Cox, The Motets vol. II, pp. 143-154; it is discussed in Cox, The Motets, vol. I, pp. 82-6.
42. This may suggest that Romanus himself wrote the text.
43. Cantus II could almost be a continuation of cantus I: it begins as cantus I ended, by addressing the doge, and there is nothing in the subject or the verse form to mark it as a different poem. Several Dufay motets, both early and late, divide one poem between the two cantus parts (see Fallows, Dufay, pp. 111-12 for a list of such motets). But the image of the "gens aurea" at the end of cantus I is climactic, more suited to the end of a poem than to the middle, and there are other parallels between the texts to suggest that they are two different poems.
44. Mocenigo's warnings against Foscari suggest that he was already a very effective political figure; his eloquence would also be mentioned in his epitaph and his funeral oration; see Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. 164, where some of the funeral oration is quoted.
45. The contratenor frequently doubles another voice at the octave at cadences (e.g. mm. 20, 51, 104); occasionally creates dissonances (e.g. mm. 4, 10, 14, 93), and is usually inessential (there are no fourths above the lowest pitch without it). But none of these examples are very serious, and at m. 41 there would be a fourth, D-G, above the lowest voice (the tenor), without the contratenor's low G. This could be an error in the manuscript, but since Romanus appears to imitate French style in several respects in this piece, he may well have written an essential contratenor in emulation of French motets as well. Cox (The Motets, vol. I, pp. 81-86) does not doubt the authenticity of the contratenor.
46. See Cox, The Motets, vol. I, pp. 84-85, for examples.
47. See editions in Gallo, Romani Opera, no. 3, pp. 13-19; Reaney, EFCM vol. 6, no. 6, pp. 177-183; and Cox, The Motets, vol. II, pp. 270-289, and his discussion, vol. I, pp. 139-144, especially p. 141. Cox doubts the authenticity of this contratenor.

48. I am assuming the French relationship of minim = minim; that the first section has more text supports this assumption, because if one assumed the Italian semibreve equivalency, then the second half would be longer, and would have received more text.
49. At the first mensuration change, in measure 23, cantus II has already begun line 5; the underlay is fairly imprecise, however, and it could be adjusted so that the change coincided with the line ending.
50. This piece, Dominicus a dono, is discussed in Cox, The Motets, vol. I, p. 145-148, and edited in vol. II, p. 290-99.
51. Clercx, Johannes Giconia, vol. I, p. 69.
52. It is edited in Cox, The Motets, vol. II, pp. 208-222, and in R. Ficker, ed. Sieben Trienter Codices, Sechster Auswahl, DTO Jhg. 40, Bd. 76, 1933, pp. 6-8. It is discussed in Cox, The Motets, vol. I, pp. 112-17, and in Stevens, Ceremonial Music, p. 325.
53. The extent of doubling at the unison or octave is much greater in this piece than in Carminibus festos. Especially egregious passages are the following: mm. 32-33 octave doubling for two measures with cantus II; mm. 114-116, octave doubling for about two measures with cantus I; and mm. 122-128, octave doubling for 6+ measures with cantus II. It creates more dissonance than the contratenor in Carminibus festos: a glaring example is in mm. 94, where the contratenor holds a G beneath an A in cantus II that is approached and left by leap (and the A must be correct, since it is imitated by cantus I in the next measure). It often does not fit in well in melismatic hocket sections, though it sometimes imitates the upper voices in such sections. Thus in mm. 19-23 the contratenor's irregular rhythms blur the regular rhythmic patterns of the upper parts; it is more successful in mm. 40-44, except for the last measure, but in mm. 67-72 it is late in joining the hocket patterns of the other voices, and creates some dissonances in the process (such as at m. 70); it obscures the imitation in mm. 77-81; and in mm. 116-122 its irregularities cloud the regular rhythms of the upper parts. The motet begins now with an imitative introitus accompanied by the contratenor rather than the tenor; it would be more believable as an unaccompanied introitus.
54. There are no breaks between lines 10-11 and 12-13; the text of this section concerns the date of the election, which, as we shall see, is handled in another fashion.
55. It may be only coincidental that the lines with articulations of the caesura make up a brief Fibonacci sequence.

56. It is interesting to note that neither of Ciconia's texts with a single text are isorhythmic, nor are they double statement motets. One of the incomplete double statement motets, O proles Hispanie, sometimes attributed to Ciconia, may have had a single text (PMFC XXIV, no. 21). But the possibly French-inspired devices of rhythmic patterning (isorhythm of some sort) and polytextuality may well have often been associated. Dufay, of course, would write isorhythmic motets with one text; but he had a different relation to the Italian tradition.
57. See Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas, ch. III, pp. 64-79.
58. Cox discusses these passages, with musical examples and measure numbers, in The Motets, pp. 114-116.
59. Venetian Humanism, passim, but especially pp. xix-xx, 187, 207, 219, 244-51.
60. Giovanni Caldieraa, De politia (On the Excellence of the Venetian Polity), 1463, quoted and paraphrased in King, Venetian Humanism, p. 109.
61. Caldiera, De Concordantia poetarum, philosophorum, et theologorum (Concordance of the Poets, Philosophers, and Theologians) (before 1457) Book II. Quoted and paraphrased in King, Venetian Humanism, pp. 115-116; I paraphrase her closely.
62. De bene instituta republica (On the Well-Managed Republic), paraphrased in King, Venetian Humanism, p. 147.
63. King, Venetian Humanism, pp. 147-8.
64. In Carminibus festos, ex. 9, see lines I.6 ("gone beyond the highest honors") and II.2-3, "all the citizens and patricians, the jewel and support of the senate, await you." In Plaude decus mundi, ex. 10, see line 2 ("you have made the high doge Italy's star"). These are specific examples of the attitude toward the doge that pervades these texts.
65. De republica (On the Republic), c. 1449-50, paraphrased and quoted in King, Venetian Humanism, pp. 129-30.
66. A Venetian chronicler, Marcantonio Sabellico, commented of Venice that "no musical harmony is so concordant," and Guarino Veronese called concord the "peculiar ornament" of Venice. Quoted in King, Venetian Humanism, p. 181. She cites several other examples in note 258.

Chapter 10. A Motet by Guillaume Dufay for Pope Eugenius IV

## Guillaume Dufay

The career of Guillaume Dufay is a paradigm for the early fifteenth-century composer — his life and employment history exemplify the kinds of exchange and cross-fertilization that created the new fifteenth-century style in all its richness and variety. More music by Dufay survives than by any other composer of the period, and he wrote in a bewildering variety of styles and genres. In studying the music of Dufay we learn about the whole range of early fifteenth-century music. Yet the range, quantity, and quality of Dufay's music distinguish him from other composers of the period. He was the great experimenter, the best composer of the period, and one of the best composers of all time.

Dufay's biography is treated at length in other works.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say here that he was born in or near Cambrai, probably on 5 August 1397, was educated as a choir boy at the Cathedral of Cambrai, and probably went to the Council of Constance in 1414 with the former Bishop of Cambrai, Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, or in 1415 with the Bishop of Cambrai Jean de Lens. There he presumably made contact with the Malatesta family, for whom he wrote several pieces between 1420 and 1426. In 1427-8 he was employed by the cardinal legate in Bologna, Louis Aleman, and in 1428 he joined the papal choir of Martin V in Rome. Dufay remained in the papal chapel at the election of the next

pope Eugenius IV, in 1431, but left in 1433 to work for the dukes of Savoy. He returned to the papal chapel, residing at that time in Florence, in 1435, and stayed with the papal chapel probably until sometime in 1437. During 1437 to 1439 Dufay appears to have maintained ties to the papal chapel, the Duke of Savoy, and Cathedral of Cambrai (under the control of the Duke of Burgundy), in spite of their shifting political alliances.<sup>2</sup> The dukes of Burgundy and Savoy were both involved in the Council of Basel, which was opposed to pope Eugenius. The pope transferred the Council to Ferrara in September 1437, but the Council of Basel continued nevertheless, and elected the former Duke of Savoy as antipope. By late 1439 Dufay was in residence at the Cathedral of Cambrai, where he remained for most of the rest of his life (except for the 1450s, most of which he spent at the court of Savoy).

Dufay thus brought his training as a choirboy in Cambrai and his experience with Northern music to his various positions in Italian courts, both secular and sacred. He was quick to combine Northern and Italian styles, both in vernacular music and in motets. One of his first works, the motet Vasilissa ergo gaude, probably written in 1420 for the departure of Cleofe Malatesta from Rimini for her marriage to Theodore Paleologos, has many Italian features: its laudatory subject, a fairly fast-moving tenor, double rhythmic statement in all voices and no color repetition, imitation, cadence forms, and a single text for both cantus parts. There is a canonic introitus for the upper parts outside the isorhythmic scheme, like that in Rex Karole, but also

recalling imitative openings in many Italian motets. Dufay retains the French features of the chant tenor and the essential contratenor. Bent considers this motet the first true fusion of the Italian and Northern motet traditions.<sup>3</sup>

In his later motets Dufay would experiment with almost every combination of Italian, English, and French musical styles and text types. One indication of Dufay's willingness to experiment is the frequency with which he wrote motets that are one of a kind. Seven of Dufay's nineteen motets are the single examples of a type in Table V.A: Flos florum fons ortorum (2.d); Gaude virgo mater Christi (2.f); Balsamus et munda cera (6.k); O sancte Sebastiane / O martir Sebastiane (6.m); Inclita stella maris (7.f); Supremum est mortalibus (10.j); Vasilissa ergo gaude (10.k). Balsamus et munda cera and O sancte Sebastiane / O martir Sebastiane are almost the only settings of pre-existent texts as isorhythmic motets, isolated on Table V. Inclita stella maris is a very unusual canonic setting of a new Marian text, with an Italianate texture. It is a mensuration canon, and as such may have been a tribute to Ciconia's Le ray au soleil. Supremum est and Vasilissa are the only laudatory isorhythmic motets with only one text. Dufay also used Italian texts for several motets (the cantilena Vergene bella [6.b], a setting of a Petrarch sonnet, and the five-voice isorhythmic motet Apostolo glorioso / Cum tua doctrina [10.m]), even though motets by Italian composers used Latin texts.<sup>4</sup> Fallows comments that Dufay's motets "contain an unsurpassed range of techniques, expanding some features of the old style, rejecting others,

experimenting and re-experimenting with various musical figures, constantly reconsidering the form."<sup>5</sup> We can assume that Dufay was aware of the multiple possibilities in the laudatory political motet, and set himself the task of exploiting those possibilities in order to create motets that were appropriate to the occasion and expressive of the subject.<sup>6</sup> Of all the motets, Ecclesie militantis is the most exceptional and the most experimental; it makes a fitting conclusion to our study of the laudatory political motet in the early quattrocento.

Ecclesie Militantis / Sanctorum arbitrio / Bella canunt

Dufay's motet Ecclesie militantis, in honor of pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447), is an extraordinary work. It is one of the only five-voice works of the period; it has two different pre-existent tenors instead of the usual one, which recur in six different mensurations; it has three different texts in different poetic meters instead of the usual two; and the contratenor is threefold.<sup>7</sup> "Ecclesie militantis" is thus an extreme example of discordia concors in the laudatory motet. When we consider what it is that Dufay was describing, depicting, or reflecting, we will understand the reasons for the multiplication of dissimilar elements in Ecclesie militantis.

Three political occasions have been suggested for the composition of Ecclesie militantis. David Fallows, Heinrich Bessler, and Guillaume de Van, as well as most other modern scholars, suggest the pope's coronation in 1431.<sup>8</sup> Haberl suggested the formation of the



Italian league of Florence, Venice, and the papacy in 1436.<sup>9</sup> And David Crawford has recently suggested the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439.<sup>10</sup>

There seems to be little evidence to support 1436; although Dufay was a member of the papal choir from June 1435 to May 1437,<sup>11</sup> the mention of Venice that may have led Haberl astray (*Triplum* 4.3) is far more likely to refer to the pope's city of origin than to an ally, especially since Florence, where the pope was living at the time, is not mentioned.

David Crawford's argument for 1439 rests on his interpretation of the text of the motet, on the use of particular musical features such as mensurations, and on his interpretation of the source situation and Dufay's biography. The details of his arguments are best refuted in conjunction with the argument presented here in defense of 1431-33.

Dufay was a member of the papal choir in Rome from October 1428 to August 1433.<sup>12</sup> Pope Martin V died February 20, 1431; Eugenius IV was elected March 3, and crowned on March 11. There might have been just enough time for Dufay to write the motet in the eight days between the election and the coronation (if we think of Bach's composition of a cantata a week, for example). The emphasis in cantus I on Rome (stanza 1.2; see example 11 below), the transformation of the man Gabriel into the pope Eugenius (stanza 2) and the election process (stanza 3) all suggest that the motet was written either for the coronation or fairly early in the pope's reign.<sup>13</sup> One possible occasion is the famous public consistory early in his reign when the floor collapsed;<sup>14</sup> another is

the celebration of the first anniversary of either the election or the coronation.<sup>15</sup> We can be fairly confident that it was written and performed sometime between the election of the pope in 1431 and Dufay's departure from Rome in August 1433.

Crawford rejects the coronation for the motet because he believes that the eight days between the election and coronation was not enough time for the composition and rehearsal of the motet, because the election is referred to in the past tense (I.2), and because the text is more pessimistic than celebratory. These problems disappear if we assume that the motet was performed after the coronation; the political situation early in the pope's reign was reason enough for pessimism, as we shall see below. He explains the references to the election by assuming that the piece was performed at the anniversaries of the election and coronation at the council of Ferrara-Florence. This is possible, but the text of a motet written eight years after the coronation would probably be more concerned with the successes of the papacy than with the election itself, while this text is explicitly inaugural. Crawford does not explain the prominent mention of Rome at the beginning of cantus I, even though Eugenius was driven from Rome on 4 June 1434, and did not return to Rome until 1443. Although Dufay was probably not a member of the papal chapel in 1439, and was involved with the opposition to the pope as a delegate to the Council of Basel and employee of the Duke of Savoy, Crawford suggests that Dufay might have written the motet at the pope's request because of the earlier connection. Dufay also had ties to the Duke of Burgundy, who supported

Eugenius, so Crawford's suggestion is possible; nonetheless, it was not an ideal time for Dufay to write motets in favor of the pope.

Charles Hamm finds that notational evidence for the date is inconclusive, and that either 1431 or 1436 were possible dates of composition.<sup>16</sup> Although the use of colored semiminims and diminished imperfect tempus suggest the later date, the use of major prolation suggests the earlier one, and he concludes that "it would be a mistake to draw conclusions about mensural practice from this exceptional piece."<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless Crawford uses mensural evidence as support for his date of 1439, along with some other equally problematic musical features: the use of six taleae, different poems for the cantus parts, use of two cantus firmi, and the presence of five voices. Although it is true that Dufay used six taleae in several late motets, there are several precedents in the fourteenth century, and many of Dunstable's motets have six taleae.<sup>18</sup> Use of different poems for the upper parts was standard practice in the French motet from its origins well into the fifteenth century; what is unusual is Dufay's avoidance of the practice in his earlier motets. Only one other motet (Nuper rosarum) uses two chant cantus firmi, so it is impossible to make any chronological determination on this basis, since he could have done it first in either of the two motets. Crawford relates the presence of five voices to the use of divisi in the late four-voice motets; I find the five real voices of the early motet (1426) Apostolo glorioso a closer parallel. Ecclesie militantis is very unusual in its combination of elements found individually in Dufay's motets from every

period, but it is that uniqueness that makes musical style an untrustworthy guide to chronology.

The motet is found in only one source, Trent 87(1), probably copied between 1436 and 1440. Its provenance is still debated, but the manuscript is probably from Northern Europe, perhaps near Strasbourg or Basel.<sup>19</sup> It must have been copied after 1436 because of the inclusion in the manuscript of Dufay's Nuper rosarum flores, written for the dedication of the cathedral of Florence in 1436.<sup>20</sup> While Crawford is right that the manuscript evidence does not contradict his dating, neither does it contradict the earlier date.

Ecclesie militantis is bound into the manuscript on a pair of facing bifolios on the outside of a gathering (ff. 85'-86 and 95'-96); it is impossible to perform it from the manuscript as it now stands, since the two openings are widely separated in the manuscript, and neither cantus I or cantus II is complete in either opening. Andrew Hughes has shown that when the two bifolios are taken out of the manuscript and placed one above the other a more traditional and logical arrangement of parts results. Having discovered a later motet (1494) for the Bishop of Sion, Switzerland, preserved as a large single-leaf presentation copy, Hughes suggests that the Trent leaves could have been an exemplar for another such presentation copy, laid out so that a large single-leaf format could be copied without error.<sup>21</sup> This is an attractive theory, and could support Crawford's dating, if Dufay wrote the motet in Savoy, which is close to the Basel-Strasbourg area. But the evidence remains inconclusive, and it is unlikely that a

presentation copy for Eugenius of Ecclesie militantis was copied from the Trent manuscript. Everything suggests that the piece was written in Rome for the pope while Dufay was there, 1431-3; and while the exact provenance and date of Trent 87 are still uncertain, it could not have been copied that early and probably was not copied in Rome. The existence of a single-sheet presentation copy prior to the copying for Trent 87 could also explain the unusual format, if the leaves in Trent were copied from such a copy.<sup>22</sup> The idea of a presentation copy of Ecclesie militantis is very appealing: the presentation would be a fitting complement to the grandeur and complexity of the motet. But it is difficult to imagine the pope both commissioning the motet and requesting that a presentation copy be made and presented to him.

The rest of Crawford's argument depends on his interpretation of the text, which is is difficult and allusive enough that any specific interpretation is open to question. In the following discussion Crawford's interpretation will be addressed in the notes. Although we disagree on the date of the motet, we agree on the overall sentiment of the text, and it is this sentiment that Dufay expresses musically.

Example 11: Trent 87, ff. 85'-86  
and 95'-96.

Example 11a: Edition by J.C. and  
Lawrence Rosenwald

| Cantus I |  | Cantus II |  |
|----------|--|-----------|--|
| tenor    |  | stanza    | contratenor  |
| color    |  | 1.        | color  |
|          | Ecclesie militantis<br>Roma sedes, triumphantis<br>patris sursum sidera<br><br>carmen chori resonantis<br>laudem pontifici [dantis]<br>promat voce libera. |           | Sanctorum arbitrio,<br>clericorum proprio,<br>corde meditantibus:<br>nequam genus atrio<br>recedat ludibrio<br>umbrae petulantibus.                            |
| i.       | Gabrielem quem vocavit,<br>dum paternum crimen lavit,<br>baptismatis sumptio,<br>Eugenium revocavit,<br>bonum genus quod notavit,<br>pontificis lectio.    | 2.        | Nam torpens inertia A<br>longe querens otia<br>nescivit Eugenium;<br>sed juris peritia<br><br>cum tota justitia<br>sunt eius ingenium.                         |
| ii.      | Quod consulta contio,<br>quam sancta ratio,<br>sic deliberavit,<br>ut sola devotio<br>regnet in palatio<br>quod deus beavit.                               | 3.        | Hinc est testi-<br>monium:<br>pacem querit omnium<br><br>exosus piaculi;<br>et trinum dominium<br>demonis et carnis<br>pompa vincit seculi.                    |
| iii.     | Certe deus voluit<br>et in hoc complacuit<br>Venetorum proli;<br>sed demon indoluit,<br>quod peccatum defuit<br>tante rerum molis.                         | 4.        | Qui coleris populi B<br>scutum, dic, quod attuli<br>tibi, pater optime,<br><br>sacrum det, quod oculi<br>tui instar speculi<br>cernant nitidissime.            |
| iv.      | Dulcis pater populi,<br>qui dulcorem poculi<br>crapulam perhorres,<br>pone lento consuli<br>rem gregis pauperculi,   | 5.        | Eja, [tu] pulcerrime,<br>querimur, tenerrime,<br>moram longi temporis;<br>ducimur asperrime,<br>nescio quo, ferrime  |
| v.       | ne nescius erres.<br>Pater he-<br>rens filio<br>spiritus consilio<br>det prece<br>solemni<br>gaudium Eugenio,<br>perfecto dominio,<br>in vita perhenni.    | 6.        | ad tormentum corporis. C<br>Una tibi trinitas<br>vera deus unitas<br>det celi fulgorem,<br><br>quem lineae bonitas,<br>argentea castitas<br>secernit in morem. |
| vi.      | Amen.  |           | Amen.  |

## Example 11a, cont.: Manuscript readings

## Cantus I

1.3: patri; 1.4: tamen chori;  
1.5: laudem summi pontificis;  
6.2: consilio; 6.3: dat.

## Cantus II

1.2: cleri canor; 1.4: equum;  
1.5: accedit; 3.4: demonium;  
4.1: quam color ipse poli;  
4.2: dic scutum; 4.4: dat;  
4.5: instar tui; 4.6: cernunt;  
5.6: fulmentum.

Example 11b: Translation by Lawrence Rosenwald, in consultation with J.C.

Cantus I

Let Rome, seat of the  
church militant, to the  
father triumphant above the stars,  
send forth with unfettered voice  
the song of the resounding chorus  
giving praise to the pope.

The assumption of baptism  
named him Gabriel,  
washing away his ancestral sin;  
his election as pope  
has renamed him Eugenius,  
which means "of noble birth."

For the learned assembly --  
how holy its judgment --  
has determined  
that piety alone  
is to reign in the palace  
which God has blessed.

Surely God wanted this to happen,  
  
and so has pleased  
the people of Venice;  
but the devil was most unhappy  
that there was no sin to be found  
in so great an enterprise.

O father of a sweet people,  
you who shun the drunken  
sweetness of the goblet:  
entrust the affairs of your poor flock  
to a cautious consul  
lest you go unknowingly astray.

And may the father, joined to the son  
with the wisdom of the spirit,  
grant to Eugene,  
by this solemn prayer,  
joy in life eternal  
when his reign is ended.

Amen.

Cantus II

By the judgment of the saints,  
by the prerogative of the clergy,  
by the thoughtful heart:  
let the wicked people depart  
from the court, an object of  
ridicule to the mocking shadow.

For sluggish sloth,  
ever in pursuit of idleness,  
has not found out Eugenius;  
legal skill  
and complete justice  
are natural to him.

Here is the evidence:  
he seeks peace for all,  
despiser of sin;  
his threefold dominion  
shall conquer the pomp of the  
devil, the flesh, and the world.

You who are worshipped as  
your people's  
shield, grant that what I have  
brought you, O best father,  
yield a sacred object that your  
eyes may behold very clearly  
as a mirror.

O thou loveliest and most tender  
of all men, we bewail  
the delay of a long time;  
we are led harshly,  
I know not where, and savagely  
to bodily torment.

To you may the single trinity,  
the true unity that is God,  
give the radiance of heaven;  
to you, whom excellence of lineage  
and silver chastity  
habitually distinguish.

Amen.



## Example 11c: Contratenor (elegaic couplets, sung 3 times)

a Bella canunt gentes: querimur, Pater optime, tempus.  
 b Expediet multos, si cupis, una dies.  
 c Nummus et hora fluunt magnumque iter orbis agendum;  
 d nec suus in toto noscitur orbe deus.

a The nations sing of war; we bewail, O best father, the time.  
 b A single day, if you wish, will free many men.  
 c Time and money flow away, and the world's great journey must  
     be undertaken;  
 d nor does the whole world recognize its own God.

## Example 11d: Tenors

I. ECCE NOMEN DOMINI. Behold the name of the Lord.

Beginning of the Antiphon for the Magnificat,  
 Saturday before the 1st Sunday of Advent  
 (Antiphonale Romanum and Antiphonale Monasticum p. 186).

II. GABRIEL. Gabriel.

Beginning of the Antiphon for Sunday matins in Advent,  
 & Antiphon for the Magnificat, 2nd Vespers, Annunciation BVM  
 (Antiphonale Romanum p. 565; Antiphonale Monasticum p. 866).

## Example 11e: diagram of the whole motet.

|         |        |            |        |   |        |          |        |        |   |        |   |
|---------|--------|------------|--------|---|--------|----------|--------|--------|---|--------|---|
| Cantus  | stanza | 1          | 2      | 3 | 4      | 5        | 6      | Amen   |   |        |   |
| I&II:   | meter  | [ $\phi$ ] |        |   | $\phi$ |          |        | $\phi$ |   |        |   |
| Contra- | line   |            | a      | b | c      | d        | a      | b      | c | d      | + |
| tenor:  | meter  |            | $\phi$ |   |        | $\phi$ 3 |        | $\phi$ |   |        |   |
| Tenor   | color  |            | i      |   | ii     | iii      | iv     | v      |   | vi     | + |
| I&II:   | meter  |            | e      |   | $\phi$ | C        | $\phi$ | O      |   | $\phi$ |   |
|         |        |            | A      |   |        | B        |        | C      |   |        |   |

The top three parts of Ecclesie militantis have independent texts found in no other source.<sup>23</sup> Cantus I and II are similar in form: both have six six-line stanzas rhyming aab,aab. They are also closely related in subject: both discuss the election and virtues of the pope, formerly the Venetian cardinal, Gabriel Condulmaro. But they are not two halves of the same poem, as are the texts of many of Dufay's polytextual motets, since they are in different meters: cantus I has the syllable count 887,887, and cantus II has 776,776.<sup>24</sup> The contratenor has a third, much shorter, text in elegaic couplets; the whole part is repeated three times. Its text does not mention Eugenius specifically, but it does echo some of the fifth stanza of cantus II.<sup>25</sup> The two tenors are brief phrases from pre-existent antiphons. They were clearly chosen for their appropriateness to the subject matter of the texts of the upper parts -- "Behold the name of the lord: Gabriel" could be the very words used to announce the election of the cardinal Gabriel Condulmaro to the papacy.<sup>26</sup> As antiphons for Advent they are also appropriate to the coronation of the pope, announcing the coming of the Lord.

Much of the text is concerned with the characteristics of the new pope.<sup>27</sup> We learn that his name was Gabriel and that he was of noble birth (cantus I.2.1 and 2.5); that he was from Venice (cantus I.4.3), and of excellent lineage (cantus II.6.4). His virtues included piety (cantus I.3.4), virtue (cantus I.4.5), temperance (cantus I.5.2-3), industry and learning (cantus II.2), and chastity (cantus II.6.5). While these traits would grace any pope, they were in fact particular

to Eugenius, to judge by the reports of his contemporary biographers. The Condulmaro family were well-to-do merchants and part of the Venetian patriciate.<sup>28</sup> The young Gabriel gave away all his money and joined the order of Augustinian canons, and it was only unwillingly that he left the monastic life. Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-98) begins his life of Eugenius with the comment that the pope "was a man of the saintliest life and carriage," and later comments that "the air of devotion which hung around him was such that few who looked on could retain their tears . . . indeed, it was as if the people felt they looked upon the Divinity as well as upon the Vicar of Christ."<sup>29</sup> He later became famous for his efforts on behalf of monastic reform.<sup>30</sup> Vespasiano also reports that "he drank no wine, nothing but water with sugar and a little cinnamon." His eating habits were also modest: "he was content with one dish, always boiled, . . . and greatly relished his fruits and vegetables."<sup>31</sup> As for industry, Vespasiano reports that Eugenius sang the whole office, including Matins, and would read in the middle of the night whenever he woke; Platina (1421-81) describes his patronage of learned men and of the schools in Rome.<sup>32</sup> The characteristics attributed to Eugenius in the lives by Vespasiano and Platina differ markedly from those attributed to other popes, and those in the text of the motet differ from the characteristics attributed to Martin V in the anonymous motet in his honor, Clarus ortus / Gloriosa mater / T: Justus non conturbabitur.<sup>33</sup> The text of Ecclesie militantis was thus written with the specific character of Eugenius in mind.

The text of Ecclesie militantis also makes reference to the

particular political situation near the beginning of the reign of Eugenius IV. The early fifteenth century was a difficult time for the papacy in general, and for Eugenius in particular. His predecessor Martin V, born the Roman Oddo Colonna, had managed to create an uneasy stability in Rome and the papal states largely through nepotism and extensive grants of property to his family and friends.<sup>34</sup> At the election of Eugenius, however, the Colonna family and their allies tried to retain the properties ceded by Martin, while the pope tried to regain for himself and his office as much as possible.<sup>35</sup> The Colonnas attacked Rome less than two months after the election. For most of his reign Eugenius would be constantly at war to control the papal states and the warring factions in Rome. Platina quotes him as saying "that it became a pope to preserve the church patrimony even by war rather than alienate it," and goes on to attribute to the pope a positive love of war.<sup>36</sup> Eugenius had enemies further afield as well. The papal legate was leading an attack against the the Hussite heretics in Bohemia when Eugenius was elected. There were also tentative plans for a crusade against the Ottoman Turks.<sup>37</sup>

But the conflict that would dominate the pope's reign was with the Council of Basel. It had been called, reluctantly, by Martin V shortly before his death, and was inherited by Eugenius as an accomplished fact.<sup>38</sup> From the very beginning Eugenius was even less disposed toward the council than Martin had been, and its location was not favorable to papal control.<sup>39</sup> It was convened on July 23, but got off to a slow start. On November 12, 1431, before anything had happened at the

council, the pope attempted to dissolve it and translate it to Bologna in the bull "Quoniam alto." He tried again more emphatically in a revised version of December 18.<sup>40</sup> On January 13, 1432, the president of the Council publicly refused to obey the pope and dissolve the Council. War was declared.

Eugenius tried to dissolve the council because he knew that it would revive the claim of conciliar power that had been articulated at the Council of Constance. He was right: on February 15, 1432, it reaffirmed the decree "Haec sancta," first adopted at the Council of Constance in 1415.<sup>41</sup> This decree was the principle basis for all subsequent claims of conciliar supremacy. The essential paragraph is as follows:

It [the Council] first declares that this Synod, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, constituting a General Council, representing the church militant, has immediate power from Christ to which anyone, of whatever status and condition, even if holding the Papal dignity, is bound to obey in matters pertaining to the Faith, extirpation of the schism and reformation of the said Church in head and members.<sup>42</sup>

Notice that the decree claims that the council represents the church militant, the ecclesia militans, and thus recalls the opening line of our motet.

The phrase "church militant" was a 12th-century adaptation of Augustine's concept of the "peregrinating" church, and it was contrasted with the "church triumphant," Augustine's "celestial church." In the early thirteenth century Pope Innocent III added the church of Purgatory, or the "suffering church." Together these three

make up the whole body of the Christian church: the church militant is the Christian souls on earth, searching for God and fighting sin; the suffering church is the souls in Purgatory, undergoing penance in preparation for their eventual admission to Paradise; and the triumphant church is the souls praising God in heaven, those who have fought, suffered, and triumphed over sin.<sup>43</sup> On one level any reference to the church militant is simply to the church of the living. But the term also implies certain attitudes about the role of the church on earth and of its members. Innocent III's threefold division of the church is a division into three armies: "One, which triumphs in heaven; another, which fights in the world; the third, which lies in Purgatory."<sup>44</sup>

In the decree "Haec sancta" the council claims that it represents all of living Christendom, claiming jurisdiction over even the pope. Our motet, on the other hand, opens with the phrase "Ecclesie militantis/Roma sedes," "Rome, seat of the church militant" sung alone by cantus I, and goes on to describe how Rome's praises of its pope ascend to the Father triumphant in heaven. By claiming that Rome, the papal city, is the seat of the church militant, Eugenius is declaring that only a fighting church directed by the pope will lead to the church triumphant. As we have seen, this was not a trivial claim. Memories of the Avignon Papacy and of the papal schism were still fresh, and the conciliar movement brought into question the primacy of the holy city and of the papacy as never before. The opening of our motet is no less than an expression of Eugenius's position vis-a-vis

the conciliar movement, and a declaration of war.<sup>45</sup>

At his election Eugenius was handed a difficult political situation on every front. He was involved in conflict in spite of himself.<sup>46</sup> But his reaction to the situation was aggressive, rather than conciliatory. He began by insisting on his due as pope, asserting himself by attacking the Colonnas and trying to dissolve the Council of Basel. References to war and political conflict pervade the motet. The warlike tone is most pronounced in the contratenor. Set apart from the rhyming, accentual verse of the upper parts by its use of quantitative elegaic couplets, and sung three times over the course of the piece, it functions as a kind of refrain, articulating the musical and textual structure. The associations of the text are rich, and it can be interpreted in several different ways. "Bella canunt gentes" ("The people sing of war") it begins, and brings to mind the beginning of the most famous dactylic hexameter ever written, "Arma virumque cano" ("I sing of arms and the man"). Aeneas, the man, was almost unwillingly forced to take up arms, like Eugenius, the victim of conditions beyond his control. It also recalls the opening of the second psalm, "Quare fremuerunt gentes," "Why do the nations rage," where the nations are the enemies of Israel. The first line of the contratenor can thus be heard as the pope's protest at his circumstances -- his enemies rage and sing of war, while he bewails the time. But the allusion to Virgil also suggests another reading. With "cano" ("I sing") Virgil introduced himself; the parallel suggests that the "gentes" who "sing" here are the performers of the motet, the papal choir itself, of which

the composer Dufay was a member. They announce that the motet is a song of war; or perhaps of war and of a man, pope Eugenius IV. But we can also understand "gentes" as the people of Rome, as in the first stanza of the cantus I; as the nations of Europe, under attack by the Turks; and as all the members of the "ecclesia militans." The "gentes" are impatient for action; they long to begin the great fight, for the power of the papacy and for Christian Europe. The contratenor is thus both a complaint and a battle cry; the sense of urgency here and in the fifth stanza of cantus II corresponds to the hastiness of the pope's actions against the Colonnas and the Council of Basel.<sup>47</sup>

The purpose of all this war is presumably to achieve peace and concord: a unified church, peaceful rule over the papal states. And in the third stanza of cantus II Eugenius is praised as a seeker of peace (3.2: "pacem querit omnium," he seeks peace for all). But the imagery is still primarily military, that of dominion and conquest (3.4: "trinum dominium," threefold dominion; 3.6: "pompan vincit," "he conquers the pomp of . . ."), or of defence (4.1-2: "populi/scutum," "shield of the people"). Peace can only be defined in terms of war; that is the lot of the army of the church militant, and the message of the motet.

The motet is self-referential -- it is the "carmen" which Rome sends forth in the first stanza of cantus I, and its composer is a member of the "resounding chorus" and one of the contratenor's singers of war.<sup>48</sup> As such it calls attention to itself and to its function, and nowhere more than in the fourth stanza of cantus II, where the first



person singular (attuli, "I have brought you") is used for the first and last time. We understand the speaker to be the poet or composer, and the "sacred object," he brings must once again be the motet itself. The "carmen" has become a "speculum," the song has become a clear mirror that functions as a visual representation of the pope's vision of the papacy; and indeed, we have seen that its text faithfully reflects the pope's aggressive response to his political reality.

Eugenius would also express his view of the papacy in visual terms. Early in his reign he issued a new coin, showing Peter with the keys and a book, and Paul with a sword.<sup>49</sup> Then, shortly after he left Rome in 1434, he commissioned the sculptor Filarete to make new bronze doors for the Porta Argentea of old St. Peter's. Its six main panels show Christ and the Virgin above, St. Paul and St. Peter on the second level, and the condemnation and execution of the saints on the bottom. Eugenius IV kneels before Peter and holds the keys of the church; the pope could thus behold an image of himself as he entered his church. The art historian Carroll Westfall has commented that "the program stresses the traditional Church. . . . [and] shows that the papacy is the legitimate successor to the apostolic dignity of Peter and of Paul. . . . The decision to invest resources in this commission and this program, with this display of papal doctrine, . . . may correspond to an attempt to emphasize the apostolic role of the pope, along with his role as bishop of Rome."<sup>50</sup>

Every medium has its own expressive potential. Westfall goes on to explain that the style of the doors reinforces the point of the program

— that by using facial types for Peter and Paul derived from those on pontifical bulls, and by deriving Eugenius's image from the marble relief of pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303), Filarete presents a conservative image of papal authority, stressing papal power.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the style and structure of Dufay's music reinforce and flesh out the ideas put forth in the text. Up to now we have discussed the motet as if it consisted of text alone. It is the musical elements, however, that have been called "different," "extraordinary," "exceptional."<sup>52</sup> The musical setting of the text gives it the expressive force that the realization in bronze relief gave to Filarete's program.

Ecclesie militantis is an isorhythmic or "mensuration" motet. It has two very short pre-existent tenors (see example 11e, where the structure of the whole motet is diagrammed). They are repeated six times, each time in a different meter; each even-numbered repetition moves twice as fast as the odd-numbered one preceding it, so that the whole motet can be divided into three sections (marked A, B, C on examples 11a and 11e), each with a slow and a fast subsection. The three-fold division is reinforced by the contratenor. Unlike the normal contratenor, this one is noticeably different from the tenors: it has a larger range, moves faster, and carries its own text. It is treated as another cantus firmus, in that it is repeated three times; the second time (B) it appears in a different meter, resulting in a faster tempo.<sup>53</sup> It has four phrases of music corresponding to its four lines of text (abcd); the first three of those phrases, a, b, and c,

accompany the odd-numbered repetitions of the tenor; the last, d, accompanies the even-numbered, faster sections. The harmonic and metrical framework created by the rigidly controlled repetitions of the tenors and contratenor provide the foundation of the piece.<sup>54</sup>

Normally isorhythmic structures affect the upper parts as well, but here cantus I and II are free from any literal melodic or rhythmic repetition.<sup>55</sup> As we have seen, there are six stanzas of text in each of the upper parts. We would expect them to correspond to the six repetitions of the tenor. Instead the two voices have a free duet or introitus for the first stanza. From the second stanza on there is a close correlation between stanzas and repetitions of the tenor, with the Amen taking the place of a seventh stanza for the sixth repetition of the tenor. Since the even-numbered repetitions of the tenor take half as long, to an equal amount of text in the upper parts, Dufay makes the first part of each of the three large divisions more melismatic, with an especially long melisma at the end, during which the end of the contratenor's line c is particularly audible. Dufay begins the second part of each large section with fairly rapid syllabic declamation in the upper parts. The second part of the B section is the shortest in the piece, with the tenors in fast duple meter; as a result the fifth stanza overlaps into the C section (see example 11a).

Dufay thus multiplies the numbers of compositional elements in this piece, and emphasizes discord. The lack of repetition in the upper parts is opposed to the rigid structure of the lower parts. The tenor pattern is repeated in six different meters, and the sequence of meters

in each set of parts is different. At times even the two upper parts are metrically differentiated, as in stanza 3, where cantus II has a long section of syncopation with cantus I. The contratenor plays an uneasy role as mediator, sometimes siding with the tenors, sometimes with the upper parts; long sections are in metrical conflict with one part or another. The combinations of mensurations are unlike those in any other piece by Dufay.<sup>56</sup>

Dufay emphasizes the discordia of this motet, multiplies the elements and increases metrical conflict, in order to represent the battle that is the subject of the text. "Bella canunt gentes" sings the contratenor, three times over the course of the piece; and the composer makes sure that they not only sing of war, but also sing war itself. The musical complexities and conflicts thus represent the pope's political reality and express the struggles of the militant church.

The discordia concors of the motet is realized in two dimensions. On one hand, the piece as a whole is like Cicero's state: it "is made harmonious by agreement among dissimilar elements." Individual lines are always pleasing and well-formed; vertical harmonies and use of dissonance are carefully controlled to good effect; and the overall structure of the motet has a satisfying symmetry. The mensurations of the six tenor repetitions have the proportional lengths 6:3, 4:2, 6:3: a sequence of duple proportions, equivalent to the octave. The three large sections corresponding to the repetitions of the contratenor have the proportional lengths 9:6:9, or 3:2:3, the Pythagorean proportions

for the fifth (3:2 or 2:3) and the unison (3:3).<sup>57</sup> Thus the mensural relationships, complex as they are, result in the simplest and most important Pythagorean ratios, those of the unison, octave, and fifth.<sup>58</sup>

A linear, narrative achievement of concord also emerges out of discord over the course of the piece. Dufay increases the level of metrical and structural discord gradually and irregularly; he then moves through that discord to triumphant concord. The opening of the motet moves from unity to multiplicity, as each element is introduced. Cantus I begins with the motto, the only phrase heard unaccompanied in the motet, "Ecclesie militantis." It is imitated by cantus II, with the same music but a new text, and the two then continue, declaiming different texts in different poetic meters. Tenor II, which has a long note at the bottom of the texture, and the contratenor, which momentarily dominates the texture as a new moving part, come in together; finally Tenor I enters. Although we are presented with five parts and three texts, metrically the parts are in harmony here. (The tenors are different only notationally.) In stanza 3 the tenor changes mensuration, and cantus II and cantus I conflict rhythmically through syncopation. The largest metrical shift occurs at B, stanza 4; cantus II takes over some of the melodic material and the leading role of cantus I, and there is significant rhythmic conflict between the contratenor (which continues to have a triple subdivision) and the upper voices. The overlap of stanza 5 into section C disturbs the previous symmetry of the structure. In the C section the upper voices are notated in duple meter, but must sing in triple meter. The

syllabic section that we expect at the sixth repetition of the tenor comes early (at cantus I 6.4, "gaudium Eugenio"); in it the upper voices are integrated by means of imitation, the first sign of the resolution to come. Just before the Amen the upper parts break into faster, syncopated subdivisions, reminiscent of the syncopations of stanza 3, creating a climactic transition into the triumphant finale. At the Amen for the first time all voices are notated and singing in the same meter, and all but the contratenor have the same text. The upper voices are integrated by imitation, and the melodic style is triadic, fanfare-like.<sup>59</sup> and At the very end all voices have free material, and the ultimate resolution is drawn out with a fermata.

The theory that the musical conflicts in Ecclesie militantis represent the the pope's political conflict is supported when we look at another of Dufay's motets in honor of Eugenius IV. The text of Supremum est mortalibus bonum celebrates the meeting of the Holy Roman Emperor elect, Sigismund, with Eugenius in Rome on 21 May, 1433, prior to his coronation.<sup>60</sup> Like Ecclesie militantis, Supremum est is very unusually musically. The tenor is not pre-existent, and there are extensive free sections at the beginning, end, and when the tenor rests during the middle of the piece. But the most striking feature of the piece is the unprecedented inclusion of fauxbourdon passages in an isorhythmic motet.<sup>61</sup> The single text is a paeon to the joys of peace (the word "pax" recurs eight times in twenty lines), and it ends with praise of the pope and emperor, who have brought peace. Fauxbourdon, which calls for a middle voice moving in parallel fourths with the top

part, is the most homogeneous, least individualized musical texture of the period. It makes a perfect illustration of the harmony between the pope and emperor, whose names are presented with fermatas in the last line of the motet. The exceptional musical features of both Supremum est and Ecclesie militantis can be explained with reference to the subjects of their texts. Dufay chose to use what we might consider abstract musical techniques for specific expressive purposes.

The structural elements of Ecclesie militantis and their reconciliation, the music itself, can thus be understood as a representation or reflection of the pope's battle and victory, his successful domination of the whole Christian church. The harmonious reconciliation of diverse elements serves as a model for the papal government.<sup>62</sup> In listening to the motet, Eugenius perceives both his present struggle and the triumphant concord he hopes to achieve. Dufay holds up a mirror that shows the pope how to progress from discord to concord, from war to peace, from the church militant to the church triumphant, where the blessed dwell and praise the Lord with a new song in perpetuity.<sup>63</sup>

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In spite of its striking musical individuality, Ecclesie militantis sums up the tradition of laudatory motets. The text makes the standard references to virtues and genealogy, to songs of praise, and to the trinity and eternal life at the ends of both texts. Dufay reconciles

the French and Italian motet styles here, as in so many of his motets, and that reconciliation itself can be seen as an ironic commentary on the conciliar strife between North and South. The long introitus beginning with imitation recalls both Rex Karole and the Italian tradition. The complex use of mensurations and isorhythm recalls the French tradition (as does the shorter text of cantus II) and Ciconia's Doctorum principem. The use of a pre-existent cantus firmus is French, while the final d minor 10-12 cadence recall the Italian tradition.<sup>64</sup> The Venetian, Gabriel Condulmer, is praised in language resembling that of the dogal motets, and Venice is mentioned in the text. The older accentual rhyming verse of the cantus parts is combined with the more humanistic quantitative meter of the contratenor. In Ecclesie militantis Dufay has drawn elements from both French and Italian motet traditions to create the greatest of the musical representations of concordia discors.



Notes to Chapter 10

1. The most complete published account is in Fallows, Dufay, pp. 1-85 and 217-226 (a calendar of the composer's life with reference to archival documents and their editions). The most important work before Fallows is Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," JAMS 28 (1975), pp. 175-229. A concise resume of his life can be found in Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II, ch. 22, "Biography of a Composer," pp. 92-98. Alejandro Planchart has found more biographical information (including Dufay's birth date), not yet published, but presented in "Guillaume du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Burgundian Chapel," at a meeting of the American Musicological Society (Philadelphia, 1984).
2. Dufay was granted a prebend at Cambrai Cathedral in fall of 1436 (Fallows, p. 221), but was not resident at that time. It has generally been believed that Dufay left the papal chapel in May 1437 and then worked for the Dukes of Savoy for two years, until December, 1439, when he was resident at Cambrai. He was appointed representative to the Council of Basel in April 1438 by Cambrai Cathedral, and spent the winter of 1438-9 at the court of Savoy in Pinerolo (Fallows, Dufay, pp. 221-2; Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II, pp. 95-96). But Planchart ("Guillaume du Fay's Benefices," handout, documents 30-34) has found documents naming Dufay as singer of the papal chapel in July and August of 1437 and January 1438 (as well as even later, 1442 and 1446, when it is believed he was in residence at Cambrai). It is possible that Dufay continued to call himself a member the papal chapel even after he had left it, especially in correspondence with the papal curia concerning benefices. But the documents do suggest that Dufay retains ties to the papal chapel even when working for the Duke of Savoy; Fallows's correlation of Dufay's choices of employer with the political situation (pp. 48-51) may be too simple.
3. See Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," and Fallows, Dufay, pp. 21 and 104-108.
4. There is one Italian motet with an Italian text, the motet Cantano gl'angiol lieti / T:Sanctus, edited in PMFC XII, no. 40.
5. Dufay, p. 104.
6. Fallows attributes Dufay's experimentation to the desire to develop and display technical skill, to his consciousness of the historical tradition of the motet, and to his desire to reconcile the motet "with fifteenth-century cultural values" (Dufay, p.

104).

7. The motet evokes a strong response in everyone who talks about it. Sanders calls it an "extraordinary motet" in "The Medieval Motet," pp. 567 and 571; Charles Hamm remarks that it is an "exceptional piece" in A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay Based on a Study of Mensural Practice (= Princeton Studies in Music, I) (Princeton, 1964), p. 70; and Fallows says it is "different from everything else of Dufay's" in Dufay, p. 280, n. 14. Ecclesie militantis is edited in Heinrich Besseler, ed., Guillelmi Dufay: opera omnia CMM I, vol. I: Motetti (AIM, 1966), no. 12. The motets were also edited earlier by Guillaume de Van, also as CMM I, vols. I (Motetti qui et cantiones vocantur) and II (Motetti isorithmici dicti) (AIM, 1947 and 1948). I will refer to the two editions as Besseler, Dufay, and Van, Dufay I or II, respectively. The Besseler edition is easier to use, since it is in modern clefs and note values, but the Van edition often has better commentary on the texts. There is an excellent recording of Ecclesie militantis by Pomerium Musices, Alexander Blachly, director, on Guillaume Dufay: Missa Ecce ancilla domini, Motets & Chansons, Nonesuch H-71367 (New York, 1978), and another very good and more recent recording by the Hilliard ensemble, Guillaume Dufay, Missa "L'homme arme" and Motets, EMI Reflexe 27 04261 (London, 1987). The only other five-voice piece from the period that I know of is Dufay's motet Apostolo glorioso / Cum tua doctrina, in Besseler, Dufay, no. 10 and Van Dufay, II, no. 3.
8. Fallows, p. 34, Besseler Dufay, p. XVII and Van Dufay, I, p. XXX.
9. Bausteine für Musikgeschichte vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1885), p. 88. Hamm finds the later date plausible (pp. 67-70); see also Fallows p. 280, n. 14.
10. "Guillaume Dufay, Hellenism, and Humanism," forthcoming (1987-8) in a festschrift for Gwynn McPeck. Professor Crawford kindly sent me a copy of his article before publication.
11. Fallows, Dufay, pp. 219-21; Planchart's documents would suggest that he remained in the pope's service longer.
12. Fallows, Dufay, pp. 219-21.
13. Crawford interprets the "consulta contio," the "learned assembly" of cantus I.3.1 as the Council of Ferrara, rather than the college of cardinals; I find it more evocative of an election than of the union of the Greek and Latin churches.
14. Platina, The Lives of the Popes vol. II, From the Accession of Gregory VII to the Death of Paul II, trans. W. Benham (London,

- n.d.), pp. 213-14.
15. Eugenius celebrated these anniversaries at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (see Crawford, "Guillaume Dufay, Hellenism, and Humanism," nn. 18 and 19), and celebrated them every year.
  16. A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay (Princeton, 1964) pp. 67-70. He places it in his Group 3 (1426-31), but discusses it in group 4 (1426-33).
  17. A Chronology, p. 70.
  18. See Harrison, PMFC V, nos. 9, 12, 19, 21, and 32, and Bent, Dunstaple, p. 64. It could also be argued that Ecclesie militantis has three taleae, if the contratenor is considered the controlling voice for the form; for precedents for tripartite motets, see Table VI, at the end of chapter 7.
  19. See R. Strohm, "European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century," Early Music History 1 (1981), p. 320, Peter Wright, "The Compilation of Trent 87(1) and 92(2)," Early Music History 2 (1982), p. 265ff, and Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550, eds. Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, Renaissance Manuscript Studies I, vol. 3 (1984).
  20. Wright, "The compilation," p. 265, n. 44.
  21. Professor Hughes kindly sent me copies of his unpublished articles, "The Manuscript Layout of 15th-Century Dedicatory Motets" (Toronto, 1975), and "A Rediscovered 15th-Century Motet to Jodocus of Silinen, Bishop of Sion" (Toronto, 1974).
  22. The same would apply if Dufay wrote the motet in Florence and brought it to Basel or Strasbourg on his way North later in 1439, which Crawford also suggests as a possibility.
  23. As is the case of the previous motets, we do not know who wrote the texts of Ecclesie militantis. Eugenius had several distinguished papal secretaries, including the humanists Flavio Biondo and Poggio Bracciolini (see Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes, trans. Frederick I. Antrobus (London, 1906), vol. I pp. 302-7), but on stylistic grounds it is unlikely that such accomplished humanists would have written the cantus parts, though perhaps one of them might have written the contratenor, which is in elegaic couplets. Dufay is believed to have written at least some of his texts himself; his name appears in conjunction with the first person in Salve flos Tusce gentis, and again much later in the last Ave regina coelorum; perhaps he wrote the texts himself. See Fallows, Dufay, p. 47.

24. Motets by Dufay with one text divided into two: O sancte Sebastiane / O martyr Sebastiane; O gemma, lux et speculum / Sacer pastor barensium; Apostolo glorioso, da Dio electo / Cum tua doctrina; Rite majorem Jacobum canamus / Artibus summis miseri reclusi; Moribus et genere / Virgo, virga virens. See Fallows, Dufay, pp. 236-7.
25. The end of the contratenor line 1, "querimur, pater optime, tempus" recalls cantus I 4.3., "pater optime" and 5.2-3 "querimur, tenerrime,/moram longi temporis".
26. This is a good example of what Egidius de Murino recommended, and Sanders calls "reverse textual troping" ("The Medieval Motet," p. 556). For a discussion of Egidius, see above, chapter 4, note 13.
27. Crawford suggests that some of these characteristics are peculiarly appropriate to the Council, but I think they are too general to be associated with any particular office or occasion.
28. He was the nephew of a member of another important Venetian family, Angelo Correr, who became pope Gregory XII, (1406-15) of the Roman line. His sister Polissena married Nicholas Barbo, and one of their children was the future pope Paul II. See Joseph Gill, Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Union (Westminster, Maryland, 1961), p. 15. Thus Gabriel/Eugenius was both nephew and uncle to popes, and part of the ruling patriciate of what was perhaps the wealthiest city in Italy. One of his closest friends was another nephew of Gregory XII, Antonio Correr. Their two ecclesiastical careers were closely intertwined for many years, and both Vespasiano da Bisticci and Platina give Antonio the responsibility for Gabriel's entry into ecclesiastical politics. See Platina, The Lives of the Popes, p. 213, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV, translated by William G. and Emily Waters as The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century (London, 1926), p. 18. There is a motet for Antonio Correr, Salve vere gracialis, possibly by Johannes de Limburgia, in Bologna Q15, no. 188, f. [2'-4]. It is discussed in Cox, The Motets, vol. I, pp. 69-6, and edited in vol. II, p. 110 ff. For the early life of Eugenius see also Gill, Eugenius IV, pp. 15-37.
29. The Vespasiano Memoirs, pp. 17 and 27.
30. Platina, The Lives of the Popes, pp. 213 and 234; The Vespasiano Memoirs, pp. 20-22.
31. The Vespasiano Memoirs, pp. 27-8. Platina says that he "lived on a spare diet himself, and was so great a stranger to wine, that he was properly called the abstemious" (The Lives of the Popes, p. 234).

32. The Vespasiano Memoirs, p. 29; Platina, The Lives of the Popes, p. 234. As to looks, Vespasiano reports that "he was tall and handsome: spare, grave and reverend in appearance" (Memoirs, p. 27), and Platina says that he had "a very venerable aspect" (The Lives of the Popes, p. 234). He was famed as well for his generosity: "he gave alms liberally to anyone who might ask, . . . being always in debt for he saved nothing" (The Vespasiano Memoirs, p. 28; see also Platina, The Lives of the Popes p. 234).
33. The motet is in Oxford 213, and edited in van den Borren, Polyphonia Sacra (Burnham, 1932), no. 23.
34. See Peter Partner, The Papal State under Martin V: The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century (London, 1958) passim, and conclusion, pp. 193-196.
35. Platina, The Lives of the Popes, p. 214; Gill, Eugenius IV, pp. 40-41.
36. Platina, The Lives of the Popes, p. 220; see also p. 234, and p. 233, when Eugenius does peaceful things "lest he should seem to mind nothing but war."
37. Negotiations for union with the Greek Church, begun by Martin and important to Eugenius, always involved the promise of a crusade to protect Constantinople. The Ottoman empire also threatened Eastern Europe and Italian trade and shipping routes. Eugenius would finally launch an abortive crusade in 1443-4. See Gill, The Council of Florence (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 327-33.
38. His predecessor, Martin V, was the first pope after the schism, and had been elected by the Council of Constance, which had called for regular councils in the years to come in the decree "Frequens." See Joachim Stieber, Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel, and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, vol. 13) (Leiden, 1978), pp. 7-8 and Appendix E, pp. 405-7. Martin had little enthusiasm for conciliar interference, and succeeded in dissolving the council of Pavia/Siena (1423-4) without ever appearing at it, thanks to its poor organization and attendance. Stieber, Pope Eugenius IV, p. 8; Karl August Fink, "The Council of Constance: Martin V" and "Eugen IV and the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence," in Hubert Jedin, ed., Handbook of Church History, vol. 4, From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation (New York, 1970) chapters 49-50, especially p. 472. In spite of the pope's objections the time and place of the next council were decided at Pavia, and Martin reluctantly summoned

the council of Basel shortly before he died. He named Cardinal Cesarini his legate to the council on 1 February 1431, and died 20 February 1431, only three weeks later. The day after his coronation, March 12, Eugenius confirmed Martin's appointment of Cesarini.

39. John A.F. Thomson, Popes and Princes, 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church (London, 1980), p. 5: "The actual meeting of councils worried the papacy less than where they met."
40. Fink, "Eugene IV," p. 474. He probably hoped to imitate Martin's successful dissolution of Pavia/Siena, especially when he heard of its initial poor attendance.
41. Stieber, Pope Eugenius IV, p. 14 and 405, and Fink, "Pope Eugene IV," p. 475.
- 42.

Et primo declarat, quod ipsa Synodus in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, et ecclesiam militantem representans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cuiuscumque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis exsistat, obedire tenetur in his quae pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis et ad generalem reformationem ecclesie Dei in capite et in membris.

Latin from Stieber, Pope Eugenius IV, p. 406; English adapted from Sidney Z. Ehler and John B. Morall, eds. and transls., Church and State Through the Centuries (London, 1954; repr. New York, 1967), p. 105. The decree is also known as "Sacrosancta." It can also be found in translation in Louise Ropes Loomis, translator, The Council of Constance, p. 229, as reported by Cardinal Guillaume Fillastre.

43. Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), p. 174, and Charles Thouzellier, "Ecclesia militans," in Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras, vol. 2 (Paris, 1965), pp. 1407-24.
44. Le Goff, Purgatory, p. 395, n. 41; my translation from Innocent III's Latin. Those in the world act through combat, as Job said (7:1): "Militia est vita hominis super terram; et sicut dies mercenarii, dies eius." "The life of man on the earth is war; and his days are like the days of the mercenary."
45. Fallows, Dufay, p. 34, says that the motet "may well have represented some kind of papal manifesto." Unfortunately the

association between the text of "Ecclesie militantis" and "Haec sancta" does not lead to any more specific date for the motet. "Haec sancta" was reaffirmed on February 15, 1432, and Dufay did not leave Rome until August 1433, so it is possible that it was written as a response to the Council's action. But since Eugenius was presumably anticipating that the council would reaffirm "Haec sancta" it is just as possible that he was claiming to lead the ecclesia militans before the council could. The references in the text to the election suggest a date of composition during the first year after the election (March, 1431), rather than after February 1432, although the first anniversary is still a strong contender.

46. On his death bed he would wish that he had remained a friar. The Vespasiano Memoirs, p. 30.
47. David Crawford suggests that the contratenor describes "perfectly the state of the council during the late winter of 1439." Both of us suggest that reference is made to a possible crusade against the Turks. Unfortunately war, money, and time are such eternal problems that it is impossible to determine what the specific reference is. Crawford finds that cantus II.5, which echoes the contratenor, ends with a reference to the body of the church or of communion. The opening of cantus II is said to refer to the unified doctrine of the teaching of the saints, and the final references to the trinity deliberately avoid the "filioque" controversy, concerning the descent of the holy spirit (the Greeks denied that the spirit descended from the son). These are thought-provoking possibilities, but the interpretations are impossible to substantiate.
48. This is a traditional topos in laudatory motets, as we have seen (compare Doctorum principem and Carminibus festos).
49. Carroll William Westfall, In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55 (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 8.
50. Westfall, In This Most Perfect Paradise, p. 8.
51. Westfall, In This Most Perfect Paradise, p. 9.
52. See note 7 of this chapter.
53. The threefold division of the motet, with each section in a different mensuration, recalls Ciconia's Doctorum principem; the newly composed contratenor of Ecclesie militantis functions like the newly composed tenor in Doctorum principem. In both motets the composers seem to be searching for specific musical techniques appropriate to the subject of the motet -- Ciconia trying out a more intellectual construction, for his scholarly

- patron, Dufay expressing the turmoil of the pope's reign by multiplying the musical elements of the motet.
54. Since the tenors were chosen for the appropriateness of their texts to the subject matter of the motet, that subject matter has an influence over its harmonic content.
  55. Fallows, Dufay, p. 113.
  56. Charles Hamm comments: "Dufay set himself the problem in Ecclesie militantis of using mensurations against one another which would not go together according to the performance practice of the time, and he solved this by resorting to theoretical relationships" (A Chronology, p. 70.)
  57. These are the same proportions found in Ciconia's Doctorum principem, though in a different order. For a much more complex proportional scheme in Ecclesie militantis, that of the golden section, see Newman W. Powell, "Fibonacci and the Golden Mean: Rabbits, Rumbas, and Rondeaux," Journal of Music Theory 23 (1979), pp. 227-73, especially pp. 258-267.
  58. David Crawford suggests that the predominance of triple divisions in this piece corresponds to debate over the nature of the trinity. Three is such an essential part of the mensural system, however, that it would be possible to find trinitarian references in any piece.
  59. The Amen is reminiscent of extended Amens at the ends of Gloria and Credo sections from Mass settings, and the very end of cantus I resembles the end of the chanson "Se la face ay pale." Fallows points out a general A B A structure in the use of isomelic techniques and imitation. The first and last sections use imitation and have the same melodic outlines, while imitation is avoided in the middle section, and the melodic outlines of the upper two parts are exchanged (Dufay, p. 113). But the new concord achieved at the end of the motet is unlike the opening; its meaning is fundamentally different, because it has emerged out of discord.
  60. See Fallows, Dufay, p. 35, for a fuller description of this occasion. His dating of the motet is slightly different from the earlier suggestion of April 1433, for the peace of Viterbo, and more convincing. In spite of its unusual features, Supremum est is found in more sources than any other motet of Dufay's: it is in six manuscripts, usually at the beginning of motet sections. Its celebratory text must have been a fitting opening to a section in spite of the mention of the pope and emperor at the end. It is edited in Besseler, Dufay, no. 14, and Van, Dufay, II, no. 5. Text and translation are as follows:



Edition of text after Van, Dufay, II, no. 5, p. XVII.

Supremum est mortalibus bonum  
pax optimum summi dei donum;  
pace vero legum prestancia  
viget atque recti constancia;  
5 pace dies solutus et letus,  
nocte sompnus trahitur quietus;  
pax docuit virginem ornare  
auro comam crinesque nodare;  
pace rivi psallentes et aves  
10 patent leti collesque suaves;  
pace dives pervadit viator,  
tutus arva incolit arator.  
O sancta pax, diu expectata,  
mortalibus tam dulcis, tam grata,  
15 sis eterna, firma sine fraude,  
fidem tecum semper esse gaude,  
et qui nobis, o pax, te dedere  
possideant regnum sine fine:  
sit noster hic pontifex eternus  
20 Eugenius et rex Sigismundus.  
Amen.

Translation by Stanley Appelbaum, from notes to Guillaume Dufay: Secular and Sacred Music for Voices and Instruments, recording by the Ambrosian Singers and Players, Denis Stevens, conductor (New York, 1965). Dover Publications, HCR-5261.

1 The supreme good of mankind  
is peace, the best gift from God on high;  
for in time of peace the excellence of the laws  
and the steadfastness of justice are in force.  
5 In peace, the day is free and happy  
and at night tranquil sleep draws on;  
peace taught maidens to adorn  
their tresses with gold and to do up their hair.  
In peace, the brooks and birds make joyful noise,  
10 and the gentle hills lie open and happy;  
in peace, the wealthy traveler completes his journey,  
the ploughman cultivates his fields in safety.  
O holy peace, long awaited,  
so sweet and so pleasing to mortals,  
15 may you be everlasting, constant without deceit;  
rejoice that faith is always with you.  
And may those who gave you to us, O peace,  
possess a rule without end:  
Let our Eugenius be pope  
20 and Sigismundus be king eternally.  
Amen.

61. Fauxbourdon is normally found in hymn settings and mass propers, in some antiphon settings, and in Dufay's anomalous Juvenis qui puellam. See Fallows, Dufay, pp. 115-17, and Willem Elders, "Guillaume Dufay as Musical Orator," TVNM 31 (1981), pp. 1-15, especially pp. 9-13, for extensive discussions of this motet. Elders discusses the use of fauxbourdon as a rhetorical figure.
62. The concept of concord was specifically related to the conciliar movement. Nicholas of Cusa's De concordantia catholica was a treatise on the unification of the church, and though he himself was at that time a conciliarist, he later switched over to Eugenius's side. Everyone perceived that discord dominated the church and desired concord. See Erwin Iserloh, "Theology in the Age of Transition," in Jedin, ed., Handbook of Church History ch. 59, pp. 585-94.
63. Innocent III: "Primus exercitus in laude... De primo legitur: 'Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te' (Ps. 83/84:4)." Jacques Le Goff, The Birth of Purgatory, p. 395.
64. Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet."

Conclusion

The concept of music as a discordia concors, a reconciliation of diverse elements into a harmonious whole, began with Pythagorean mathematics and the system of ratios and proportions that define musical consonance. Discordia concors was also understood as a description of the ideal state, where dissimilar views, classes, and social or economic roles are combined with proportion and moderation into a harmonious and peaceful society. As Cicero says, "what the musicians call harmony in song is concord in a state, the strongest and best bond of permanent union in any commonwealth; and such concord can never be brought about without the aid of justice." Thus music could be understood as an image or representation of the just state. With the development of polyphony and of mensural notation the metaphor became even more appropriate: individual melodies are juxtaposed and coordinated by means of a rhythmic notation based on the simple Pythagorean ratios into a harmonious whole. Ancient texts on music and the state were read again and took on a new vividness when interpreted as descriptions of polyphonic music.

Of all the genres of late Medieval music the motet is the best representation of discordia concors, because it incorporates the greatest variety of musical and textual contrasts: the slow tenor is combined with two faster upper parts; upper parts are independent rhythmically and have conflicting phrase structures; and upper parts usually have different texts, often on different subjects. The motet

is the most polyphonic of all the polyphonic genres. And while the existence of the motet in all its diversity contributed to the image of discordia concors as a representation of the just state, there were few fourteenth-century motets on the subject of the just state in England and France. In Italy, on the other hand, most motets had laudatory texts for saints or secular rulers that were entirely appropriate given the genre's potential for association with the concept of discordia concors.

In the fifteenth century the genre of the motet, previously defined differently in England, France, and Italy, became a pan-European genre, and motets in the styles of all the local traditions plus English-style cantilenas were collected in the "motet" sections of individual manuscripts, most of them copied in Northern Italy. It is still possible to make generalizations about the correlation between text types and musical characteristics. Pre-existent liturgical texts received settings resembling the English cantilena, while new texts of all kinds and in particular laudatory political texts were set as "motets" in the fourteenth-century sense: with two upper text-bearing voices over one or two slower-moving lower voices, often in conjunction with polytextuality or large-scale rhythmic schemes such as isorhythm.

The amalgamation of local motet types into the large and amorphous fifteenth-century motet was a result of a new mobility of music and musicians. That new mobility was due in turn to the larger political situation: attempts to end the papal schism with the conciliar movement, and new models for political life and new patterns of

patronage in the Italian cities. Musical exchanges of all kinds occurred at the church councils, and once the schism had ended the popes had to re-establish their authority and prestige. Venice was making new inroads onto the terraferma and began describing herself as the successor to ancient Rome; Medieval communes were giving way to principates, where personal display was an important way of reinforcing authority. The new humanist movement caused a general revival of intellectual life. Whether it was used to reinforce traditions as in Venice and the papacy, or whether it called into question Medieval values and assumptions, as in Florence, it excited a renewed interest in old texts, including those comparing music and the state. Music of all kinds became an important element in the display of affluence and authority: choir schools were founded in Italian cities, in emulation of the great Northern churches and cathedrals, and Northern singers and composers were sought out for employment in Italian chapels.

This was the context for the flourishing of the laudatory political motet. The more active and self-consciously political the musical culture, the more Italian composers turned to such motets. Northern composers employed in Italy also wrote Italian motets, abandoning the advisory and condemnatory text types of fourteenth-century France. The genre acquired a new vitality.

All the pieces we have studied are examples of discordia concors in as much as they are polyphonic music and, in particular, motets: all combine faster upper parts with a slower tenor part (and sometimes a contratenor); most are polytextual; all of them respond to the

structures of their texts. But the pieces also show a remarkable variety of style and approach. The composers chose different musical techniques and kinds of relationships between texts in order to represent discordia concors in different ways for different subjects.

Many of the motets emphasize the independence of the two cantus parts, through avoidance of homorhythm and overlapping phrase structures. This is one of the defining features of the Medieval motet from its inception in the thirteenth century; it was especially typical of the French fourteenth-century motet. Rex Karole exhibits this trait within sections, but it is unusual in pausing in all voices at the opening of each talea. Both motets by Antonius Romanus exhibit rhythmic independence, but Carminibus festos is particularly striking in this regard; here an Italian composer has adopted, for expressive purposes, a musical technique from French music that makes his motet more motet-like, closer to the original (French) conception of the motet. Dufay, combining French and Italian traditions, exaggerates the rhythmic independence of the cantus parts after the French manner in Ecclesie militantis, but has extensive homorhythmic passages closer to Italian models in Supremum est.

Rhythmic independence of the cantus parts is the musical counterpart to textual independence, where the two texts are primarily concerned with different subjects; when the subjects of the texts are different the parts are usually independent rhythmically. Ave corpus sanctum (I: doge Andrea Dandolo/II: abbot of San Giorgio), Rex Karole (I: King Charles V/II: BVM), Ut te per omnes (I: St. Francis/II:

Francesco Zabarella), Venecia mundi splendor (I: Venice/II: Doge Michele Steno), and even Ducalis stirps (I: office of doge/II: person of doge Tommaso Mocenigo) all have texts on different subjects, and all are characterized by rhythmic independence of the cantus parts. The relationships between the texts can be understood as another kind of concordia discors central to Medieval and Renaissance intellectual life — typology or figural exegesis. In Rex Karole and Ut te per omnes the subjects of the two texts can actually be understood as typologically related: the Virgin is the type of King Charles, St. Francis is the type of Francesco Zabarella. But all the motets in which the texts have different subjects can be understood in similar terms. The personified Venice of Venecia mundi splendor is not the type of the doge, but nonetheless Venice and the doge are analogous or equivalent on some level; their relationship is similar to that of figure and fulfillment. The typological habit of mind also contributes to our understanding of all the polytextual motets, and of polytextuality in general. Medieval and Renaissance readers were constantly attempting to harmonize conflicting systems of belief embodied in different texts, such as Old and New Testament, Classical and Christian, or Plato and Aristotle; in order to achieve that harmonization they believed that any single text was potentially the carrier of multiple layers of meaning. A piece of music containing several texts that contribute to a single meaning is natural, not strange, in this context.

In other motets, such as Doctorum principem and Ecclesie militantis, discordia concors is represented by large-scale

proportional relationships created by mensural reinterpretation. In this case it is the original Pythagorean concept of harmony as the combination of different ratios that is represented; the lengths of sections or of breves (measures) in relation to each other produce the Pythagorean ratios of the consonant intervals. Mensural reinterpretation is primarily a French technique; Ciconia combines it with Italian musical style as an appropriate tribute to the great canonist, while Dufay demonstrates how proportion can contribute to the creation of concord out of discord. Several other motets, such as Carminibus festos and Plaude decus mundi, use mensural changes to articulate the structure or meaning of the text. And in Venecia mundi splendor phrase lengths are used to shape the piece and create a sense of acceleration and then of relaxation.

Plaude decus mundi foregoes polytextuality for the sake of intelligibility of text and clarity of presentation (as does Supremum est). But it retains the traditional texture of the motet, makes reference to polytextuality by dividing up the text between the cantus parts for the introitus, and alludes to isorhythm by employing changes in mensuration as structural articulations. Supremum est is isorhythmic, but uses the technique exceptionally freely. Thus both these motets choose to emphasize concord over discord, but retain the associations of discordia concors nevertheless.

Each motet uses a different combination of techniques for a specific expressive effect; each mirror reflects a different image. We have studied the texts and music carefully in order to understand what



each motet represents and how it achieves that representation. Listeners of the period would not, perhaps, have been able to grasp all the subtleties of the textual allusions, or to calculate the proportional relationships of each section. But those listeners came to the performance with an understanding of the context and the situation far greater than ours, and with the intellectual equipment to enable them to make sense out of proportions, polytextuality, conflicting textures, and many musical and textual relationships that we cannot reconstruct. The fragments of intelligible text, knowledge of the context, and belief in the concept of discordia concors enabled contemporary listeners to interpret the musical conflicts and reconciliations of the motets and to understand what the motets represented. Our painstaking reconstruction of the meaning of these pieces is an attempt to reconstruct something of the original musical experience and to transform our present-day experience of such motets.

Appendix: The Investiture Ceremony of the Doge of Venice

Early fifteenth-century sources for the dogal investiture ceremony are rare and difficult of access. There are several sources from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, and many from the sixteenth century; since many elements of the ceremony remain constant in both periods, we can assume that at least these elements were the same in the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The process of electing the doge begins with the choice of the forty-one electors and their complex method of voting. When they have made their choice, the bells of San Marco ring three times, causing the entire city to realize that the new doge has been elected, and to start celebrating. The electors go to find the doge (he could be in the city, out of the city, in the palace, or even among the electors) and bring him the beretto, or dogal cap (related to the bishop's head dress). He is greeted by the electors and the senate, and there is a big banquet, at noon if the election is in the morning, and in the evening if it was in the afternoon.

That afternoon, or the next morning, the doge hears mass in the oratorio ducale; then in the company of the forty-one electors he enters San Marco and ascends a large pulpit to the right of the altar. People fill the church, and he is presented to them by the oldest of the electors. Before 1423 he is presented with the words "Questo e il vostro doge se vi piace," and accepted with a cry of "sia, sia"; from 1423 (the election of Francesco Foscari) he is presented with the words

"abbiamo eletto doge il tal dei tali," and the people are given no voice in the matter.

The doge is then led to the altar, and the clergy of San Marco sing a responsorial chant while he kneels before it.<sup>2</sup> This is one possible place for the performance of a motet. Hugh de Lantins's setting of "Christus vincit" might well have been sung here. Ducalis sedes / Stirps Mocenigo could also have been sung here: it is composed by Antonius Romanus, a singer of San Marco, and its text addresses St. Mark at the end of cantus II.

The doge then rises and kisses the altar. He swears over a Missal or Gospel to protect the church of San Marco, and lays fifteen coins on the altar as a token of his support. The admiral of the Arsenal steps forward with the standard of San Marco; the celebrant (usually the primicerius, or principal canon of San Marco) takes it and holds it out to the doge with the words:

Consignamus serenitati vestre vexillum S. Marcum  
in signum veri et perpetui ducatus.

We consign the standard of St. Mark to your serenity  
as a sign of true and perpetual dogeship.<sup>3</sup>

The doge answers "accipio" (I take it), puts his hand on the standard, and hands it back to the admiral.

He then gets onto the pozzetto, a kind of portable altar or dais, carried by sailors, and is carried around the Piazza San Marco throwing money, with his hand on the standard, still held by the admiral of the Arsenal. We know from Gentile Bellini's painting, "Processione in San

Marco," that vocal and instrumental music were performed in processions,<sup>4</sup> so this is another possible moment in the ceremony for the performance of a motet.

The doge is then taken to the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale, where he mounts the stairs.<sup>5</sup> Here he hears more laudes from the singers of San Marco,<sup>6</sup> and motets could also be performed here. He climbs the steps, reads the promissione ducale, and swears to obey it. He speaks to the people and enters the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, where he is seated in his throne and accepted by the great council. Wine and bread are distributed to the people.

There is thus a place for musical performance, even of polyphonic music, during the investiture ceremony of the doge. There was not always time between the election and the ceremony for composition and rehearsal of a motet. But the celebrations went on for days and weeks afterwards, and the motets may have been composed later to commemorate the election of the doge, rather than for the investiture itself. We have no way, of knowing whether in fact any particular piece was sung at any particular moment; Canal's record of the text "Christus vincit" is very unusual, and in general we are fortunate if chroniclers even mention the presence or absence of music at all. But knowing of a possible context for the performance of motets, however slender the evidence, allows us to imagine more fully how they functioned as part of dogal display.

Notes to Appendix

1. I drew on all of the following sources to construct this account of the installation ceremony: Pertusi, "Quaedam regalia insignia," pp. 64-80 (he compares thirteenth- and sixteenth-century accounts on pp. 75-9); Fasoli, "Liturgia," passim; Muir, pp. 263-289; Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, pp. XI-LX, esp. pp. XIV-XVIII; Peyer, Stadt und Stadtpatron, Anhang, "Die Dogeneinsetzung in Venedig," pp. 63-7; and Martin de Canal, Les Estoires de Venise, ed. Alberto Limentani, Civiltà veneziana fonti e testi no. 12, 3d. series, no. 3 (Florence, 1972). There was no coronation of the doge until 1485 (Muir, p. 286); the last spoliation of the doge's person was probably before 1400, the year of Steno's election (Mosto, I dogi ... vita pubblica e privata, p. XXII).
2. For the text of this chant, see Peyer, Stadt und Stadtpatron, p. 66.
3. Peyer, Stadt und Stadtpatron, p. 67.
4. For a discussion of the use of music in this painting, and in processions in general, see Howard Mayer Brown, "On Gentile Bellini's Processione in San Marco (1496)," in the Proceedings of the 1977 Congress of the International Musicological Society in Berkeley, California, ed. D. Heartz and B. Wade (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 649-658.
5. Between 1400 and 1423 neither the Scala Foscara nor the Scala dei Giganti had yet been built. The stairway that was present was in the southwest corner of the courtyard, and led directly to the Sala del Maggior Consiglio (Pincus, Arco, p. 67, n. 80).
6. Canal, Les Estoires de Venise, p. 248.

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