A New Music for a New Age: The *Nova musica* of Johannes Ciconia and its Humanist Models

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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Rochester, New York

2021

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Biographical Sketch

Katherine Elizabeth Hutchings was born in Edison, New Jersey, U.S.A. She attended the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, where she won the university's annual concerto competition. She graduated *magna cum laude* with a Bachelor of Music degree in Percussion Performance and Music Theory. She began graduate studies in percussion at the Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester in 2000. Under the direction of Professor John H. Beck, she was awarded a Master of Music degree in Performance and Literature (Percussion) in 2002; a Performer's Certificate (Percussion) in 2005; and a Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Performance and Literature (Percussion) with a minor in music history in 2017. Her work with professional orchestras includes performances with the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra and the Chattanooga Symphony Orchestra.

The author completed a Master of Arts degree in Musicology at the Eastman School of Music in 2006. Her doctoral studies in musicology at Eastman in late medieval music and theory were supported by a full tuition scholarship; a Presser Music Foundation Graduate Award in 2009 for research in Florence, Padua, and Venice, Italy; and an American Association of University Women (AAUW) American Dissertation Fellowship in 2010-2011. She has worked under the supervision of Professors Honey Meconi, Patrick Macey, and Gabriela Currie. She has presented her work at meetings of the American Musicological Society, the Renaissance Society of America, and the International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo.

Throughout her tenure at the Eastman School of Music, the author served as a teaching assistant for both the percussion and musicology departments. As a graduate instructor, she taught music history surveys and seminars at the undergraduate and graduate levels, including: Music and Gender (2009, 2012, 2017); Music History in Review (2012); and Music Since 1900 (2018), as well as classes at the Rochester Institute of Technology. From 2014 to 2016 she was employed at J&J Lubrano Music Antiquarians in Syosset, NY, where she catalogued rare manuscripts, letters, and historical editions of music.

Acknowledgments

Many people helped bring this project to fruition, and I would like to offer my heartfelt thanks to at least a few of them here. First and foremost, I would like to thank the members of my committee, whose guidance made this dissertation possible: Professors Honey Meconi (Eastman School of Music), Patrick Macey (Eastman School of Music), and Laura Smoller (School of Arts and Sciences, University of Rochester). I am especially grateful to Professors Meconi and Macey, whose wisdom, infinite patience, and steadfast support convinced me that I, too, had something valuable to contribute to the field of early music studies. I am indebted to Professor Gabriela Currie (University of Minnesota), who introduced me to the colorful, complex, but ever compelling world of medieval philosophy, and who was the first to suggest that I write a dissertation about Ciconia's *Nova musica*. Professors Ralph Locke, Michael Anderson, and Lisa Jakelski deserve my thanks for their professional advice, and for reading preliminary drafts of my writing; as does Bruce Frank, whose counterpoint lessons helped me pass the DMA Comprehensive Examination so that I could finally work on my dissertation full-time. My gratitude also goes out to Professor David Liptak, whose shrewd, yet thoughtful observations about life, literature, and music were never more than a Java's cookie away. Finally, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge Professor John H. Beck, who quietly but steadily encouraged me to forge my own path as a percussionist and musicologist.

A number of institutions ensured that I received books, scores, microfilms, and rare manuscripts necessary for my research. Without the resources and help of the Sibley Music Library and its staff I never could have completed this dissertation. I am also grateful to librarians in Florence, Padua, and Venice for allowing me to consult manuscripts of *Nova musica*, *Ianua sum rudibus*, and a number of other medieval music-theoretical and grammatical treatises. I must also thank the Eastman Graduate Office, and Deanna Phillips in particular, for patiently answering my barrage of questions, and for ensuring that the dissertation process ran as smoothly as possible.

I owe a great debt to my peers and colleagues, whose kindness and generosity made academia a hospitable place during less than hospitable times. I offer my warmest thanks to the "Fab Five," who welcomed me into the musicology program without hesitation, and who continue to offer their friendship and support from afar. I am grateful to the other members of my class for their camaraderie and encouragement during coursework and beyond. I would also like to thank Michael Scott Cuthbert for introducing me to a rich and vibrant network of early music scholars, and for so generously sharing his own work on Ciconia and other Trecento musicians. To those of my colleagues who have shown me your kindness but are not named here, know that you, too, deserve my thanks.

I owe my most profound debt of gratitude to close friends and family members who sustained me throughout the dissertation process. Thanks to Jon Forshee for our late-night ruminations about music, art, and sci-fi—and for introducing me to Ciconia in the

first place; to Evelyn Lam, Cori Ong, and Rebeca Boyd for reminding me that there are other things in life besides musicology; to Cristina Fava, Lauron Kehrer, and Caroline Ehman for their Thanksgiving feasts, movie nights, humor, and tough love (when I needed it); to Alex Stefaniak and Eliana Haig for their unwavering friendship, and for nerding out with me about, among other things, Star Trek and cats; and to Jen Ronyak and Mark Maynor for always checking in, for offering their love and support when times were tough, and for inviting me over for more dinners and a movie than any self-respecting friend deserves. I offer my most sincere thanks and love to my brother Stephen; to my aunt and uncle, Norma and Reuben Donovan, who kept me on track, and who always made sure I had a place to stay; and last, but certainly not least, to my mother, Carol Nekarda, who always knew that I could achieve anything I set my mind to.

Abstract

This dissertation demonstrates that Johannes Ciconia's theoretical treatise *Nova musica* draws heavily from Carolingian and Post-Carolingian grammatical treatises for its structure and organization. It places Ciconia's work within the humanist circles of his place of employment, Padua, and links him to the leading intellectual trends of his day. Far from being a conservative theorist, Ciconia reflects the most progressive intellectual thought of his time in his theoretical writings.

Chapter 1 lays out basic themes of the dissertation and provides necessary background information; Chapter 2 provides the background for the classical and humanist theories of literary *imitatio* that exerted a profound influence on *Nova musica.*

Chapter 3 examines how Ciconia implements classical theories of *imitatio* in Book 1, Chapter 60 of *Nova musica.* Like Leon Battista Alberti and others, Ciconia invokes a comparative analogy about the parallel structures of music and language to justify his hierarchical method of "composing" music. Ciconia expounds this analogy in the form of a *chreia*, a type of argument discussed in rhetorical treatises such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of Pseudo-Cicero and the *Praeexercitamenta* of Priscian.

Chapter 4 proposes that early theories of grammar provided both the conceptual foundation and structural framework for Ciconia's novel system of "accidents and declensions of music." Ciconia models the dialogue style of Book 4, Chapter 13 on two elementary parsing grammars, *Dominus quae pars* ("Remigius") and *Ianua sum rudibus* ("Donadello"). Ciconia's choice to emulate these grammar treatises harmonizes with his preference for earlier music-theoretical authorities throughout *Nova musica.* It links him to contemporaneous humanists who emulate the same authorities.

Chapter 5 shows that Ciconia's reliance on Carolingian models demonstrates that neither a substantial music-theoretical repertoire nor a practical system of musical notation existed before the reforms of Charlemagne. Certain epics and chronicles suggest that humanists in Ciconia's circles claimed the Carolingian legacy as a part of their Italo-Roman heritage. Humanists also used neo-Carolingian scripts as a powerful visual tool to disseminate their classicizing agenda. These contexts help explain *Nova musica's* preference for Carolingian authorities, references to Charlemagne, and renovation of Carolingian musical "scripts."

Contributors and Funding Sources

This work was supported by a dissertation committee consisting of Professor Honey Meconi and Professor Emeritus Patrick Macey of the Department of Musicology and Professor Laura Smoller of the History Department. All work conducted for the dissertation was completed by the student independently. Graduate study was supported by the American Association of University Women (AAUW) American Dissertation Fellowship, the Presser Foundation Graduate Music Award, and a Professional Development Grant from the Eastman School of Music.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370-1412) was a Franco-Flemish composer and music theorist principally active in Italy at the turn of the fifteenth century. In the explicit to his treatise on proportions, Ciconia calls himself "a most renowned musician throughout the world."[1] His claim seems justified. According to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, "more music by him survives, with more stylistic variety, than by any other composer active around 1400."[2] More recently, Ciconia has been hailed as the "symbolic figure in the fusion of French *ars nova* and Italian *trecento* styles,"[3] whose "sense of real musical drama… no other composer of the period could match."[4] He is now regarded as the most important composer in the generation between Machaut and Du Fay. All of his output has been edited in modern critical editions.[5] His compositions are widely performed by

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[1] "Explicit liber de proportionibus musice Johannis de Ciconiis, canonici paduani, in orbe famosisimi musici, in existentia conditus in civitate patavina, anno Domini 1411." Johannes Ciconia, *Nova musica and De proportionibus*, ed. and trans. Oliver B. Ellsworth (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 442-43.

[2] Margaret Bent, David Fallows, Giuliano Di Bacco, and John Nádas, "Ciconia, Johannes," in *Grove Music Online* (2001), https://doi-org.ezp.lib.rochester.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40689.

[3] Oliver Ellsworth, introduction to *Nova musica*, 1.

[4] Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe,1400-1600* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 39.

[5] *Nova musica and De proportionibus*, ed. Ellsworth; *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985).

musicians as wide ranging as the medieval ensemble *Mala Punica* and the avant-garde ensemble *Alarm Will Sound.*

We are fortunate to know a considerable amount about Ciconia's biography. Born in Liège around 1370, he was one of several illegitimate children of the priest Johannes Ciconia and an unnamed noblewoman.[6] He presumably received his formative musical training in Liège; in 1385 he is listed as a choirboy at the collegiate church of St. Jean l'Evangeliste, where his father and several members of his extended family held canonicates.[7] By 1391 Ciconia had arrived in Rome as a member of the chapel of the prominent French Cardinal, Phillipe d'Alençon.[8] He was the first in a long line of prominent Franco-Flemish composers born in the north who made their careers in Italy. While in Rome, he probably sang in the papal choir, as well as d'Alençon's chapel.[9]

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[6] Di Bacco and Nádas, "Ciconia, Johannes," in *Grove Music* Online. For a long time scholars (chief among them Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune) believed that Johannes Ciconia, father and son, were one person. For more on the "One-Ciconia" vs. "Two-Ciconia" controversy, see Heinrich Besseler, "Hat Matheus de Perusio Epoche gemacht?" *Die Musikforschung* 8 (1955): 21-23; David Fallows, "Ciconia padre e figlio," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 11 (1976): 171-77; Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune, "Johannes Ciconia théoricien," *Annales musicologiques* 3 (1955): 39-75; Clercx-Lejeune, *Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1960); Clercx-Lejeune, "Ancora su Johannes Ciconia (1335 ca.-1411)," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 11 (1977): 573-90; Clercx-Lejeune, "Johannes Ciconia," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 4 (1980): 393.

[7] Di Bacco and Nádas, "Ciconia, Johannes," *Grove Music Online.*

[8] Ibid. See also Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 44-92; Di Bacco and Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle capelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grand Scisma (1378-1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège," *Collectanea I*, ed. A. Roth (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 7-74.

[9] Di Bacco and Nádas, "Ciconia, Johannes," *Grove Music Online.*

After Alençon's death in 1397, Ciconia seems to have spent some time at the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti in Pavia.[10]

Ciconia's most important place of employment was Padua. He was first documented there in 1401, remaining there until his death in 1412. He held several positions at the Padua Cathedral, the most important of which was *cantor.*[11] Throughout his time in Padua, his most important patron was Francesco Zaberalla, Archpriest of Padua Cathedral, professor of canon law at the University of Padua, and one of the most important canon lawyers of the period.

Ciconia was certainly one of the most versatile composers of his time. He composed in multiple genres, languages, and styles. His secular works include madrigals, virelais, ballate, and canons. He also composed a number of polyphonic Glorias and Credos for the Mass.[12] His large-scale motets, many of which were composed for important events and/or personages in Padua, are perhaps his most impressive contributions.[13] It is important to note that some of Ciconia's texts (which he may have written himself) contain clues about their attribution, date, and provenance. This is especially true of the motets, which mark ceremonial occasions such as the installation of

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[10] Ibid. See also John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta," MS 3065: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1990).

[11] Di Bacco and Nádas, "Ciconia, Johannes," *Grove Music Online.* See also Anne Hallmark, "Johannes Ciconia: Reviewing the Documentary Evidence," in *Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo 1959-2009: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 12-14 Giugno 2009)*, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 265-285.

[12] Bent, "Ciconia, Johannes," *Grove Music Online.*

[13] Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, *38*.

a new bishop. In several of these motet texts, Ciconia incorporates his name as supplicant and composer, leaving little doubt about who composed them.[14] In all genres, Ciconia masterfully combines both French and Italian stylistic features, which has engendered a considerable amount of scholarly interest, and has drawn generations of listeners to his music.

Ciconia's consummate musicianship is also evident in his two theoretical works, *Nova musica* and *De proportionibus.* In spite of this fact, they have received comparatively little scholarly attention. This is in part because of scholarly preference for treatises that offer clues about contemporaneous polyphony, counterpoint, or performance practice. In the words of Margaret Bent: "*Nova musica* will disappoint those who hope to find links with contemporary compositional practice. The treatise is speculative, and deals with the discipline (*ars*) of music. It is resolutely unpractical and non-polyphonic in its orientation, avoiding treatment even of hexachord solmization."[15]

This dissertation demonstrates, however, that *Nova musica* offers valuable clues about how early fifteenth-century humanist culture informs musical thinking of the period. If we view it in this light, we can elucidate the connection between Ciconia the composer and Ciconia the theorist. Although Ciconia is typically regarded as a progressive composer and a "resolutely" conservative theorist, his theoretical writings reflect the most current/progressive intellectual thought of his time. The succeeding chapters of this dissertation will demonstrate some of the ways in which this is so.

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[14] Bent, "Ciconia, Johannes," *Grove Music Online.*
[15] Ibid.

Before turning to an overview of each chapter, we will discuss the structure of Ciconia's two treatises and their transmission in contemporary manuscripts. *De proportionibus* has garnered comparatively more attention than *Nova musica* because it provides enticing clues about Ciconia's biography, musical contacts, and even early fifteenth-century performance practice. The treatise appears in four known sources, three of which ascribe it to "Johannes Ciconia from the city of Liège, canon of Padua"[16]: Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, 606 (IV.9) II, copied in the north-east of Italy after 1411[17]; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VIII/85 (3579), copied in Mantua and Bozzolo in 1463-64[18]; and Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117—better known as the Faenza Codex—copied in part in Mantua in 1473-74.[19] Oliver Ellsworth has recently discovered a fourth manuscript of *De proportionibus* in Valpolicella.[20] Ciconia dedicated *De proportionibus* to Johannes Gasparus, a priest, "distinguished singer," and "worthy canon of Vicenza."[21] According to explicits in the Pisa and Venice manuscripts, Ciconia

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[16] "Johannes Ciconia de civitate leodinensis canonicum paduanus." Ciconia, *De proportionibus*, 412-13; Ellsworth, introduction, 3.
[17] For a fuller description of the Pisa manuscript and its contents, see Ellsworth, introduction, 33-35.
[18] For a fuller description of the Venice manuscript and its contents, see ibid., 36-39.
[19] Johannes Bonadies, a student of Johannes Hothby, seems to have copied the theoretical treatises (including *De proportionibus*) and a number of musical compositions into the Faenza Codex in 1473-74. A collection of keyboard works, however, was entered decades earlier, between 1410 and 1420. Padre Giovanni Battista Martini copied *De proportionibus* from the Faenza Codex in 1753. This copy is now housed in the Martini library of the Liceo musicale at Bologna (Manuscript A 32). See Ellsworth, introduction, 1, 28-31.
[20] Anne Hallmark, "Johannes Ciconia," 267n8.
[21] Preface to *De proportionbus*, 412-13; Ellsworth, introduction, 3, 23-25.

completed *De proportionbus* in Padua in December 1411, a few months before his death in 1412.[22]

Nova musica, by far the more substantial of the two treatises, was probably written in Italy between 1403 and 1410. It survives in three manuscripts. The first, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, 734, was copied in Italy in the early fifteenth century.[23] As the earliest known manuscript of *Nova musica*, and the only one with notated musical examples, it is more likely to represent Ciconia's original text than the other two.[24] It also contains fairly reliable copies of important fourteenth-century theory treatises, including the *Musica speculativa* of Johannes de Muris, the anonymous *Ars cantus mensurabilis*,[25] and most significantly, the *Lucidarium* of Marchetto of Padua, Ciconia's predecessor at the Padua Cathedral.[26] The second, a mid-eighteenth-century copy of the Florence manuscript made for Padre Giovanni Battista Martini, is currently housed in the Martini library of the Liceo musicale at Bologna.[27] The third manuscript of *Nova musica*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5320, was completed in Italy in 1476. A notation on its front flyleaf ("Jo. Ottobi Carmelitane Anglici") suggests that it once belonged to—and was perhaps even copied and annotated by—the well known humanist and music theorist Johannes Hothby.[28]

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[22] Ellsworth, introduction, 10; Ciconia, *De proportionibus*, 442-43.
[23] Ellsworth, introduction, 3, 31.
[24] Ellsworth, introduction, 3.
[25] Also known as Coussemaker's Anonymous V.
[26] Ellsworth, introduction, 3.
[27] Manuscript A 49 (52). Ellsworth, introduction, 1, 3. In 1761, Padre Martini sent a letter to his friend, Abbot Lorenzo Mehus, requesting a complete copy of the *Nova musica* from the Florence manuscript.
[28] Ellsworth, introduction, 3-4, 35-36.

Nova musica is anonymous in all extant sources. However, we know Ciconia is its author for several reasons. In the first place, *De proportionibus* is a revision of the third book of *Nova musica* ("De proportionibus"), and quotes many of its chapters verbatim. Another reason is that the Pisa, Venice, and Faenza manuscripts of *De proportionibus* all contain multiple cross-references to *Nova musica* throughout the treatise. Most telling of all are Ciconia's numerous exhortations to consult his "magnum opus," *Nova musica*.[29] Since its explicit indicates it was completed in 1411, *De proportionibus* also provides the *terminus ante quem* for *Nova musica.*

Comprised of four books plus an appended section, the work is of a size and scope comparable to Marchetto of Padua's *Lucidarium* or Ugolino of Orvieto's *Declaratio.* In fact, Ciconia makes frequent but unacknowledged references to Marchetto's treatise throughout *Nova musica.*

The first book, "De consonantiis," treats the etymology of various musical terms, the monochord and its divisions according to the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera (1.16-20), the intervals from the semitone to the double octave (1.22-45), the divisions of the tone and semitone (1.23), and finally, parallel and converging organum in the style of the *Enchiriadis* treatises (1.73-74).[30] The second book, "De speciebus,"

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[29] Ciconia exhorts his readers to consult *Nova musica* in *De proportionibus*, chapter 9 ("De consonantiis simplicibus vel compositis que cadunt in proportionibus"), chapter 12 ("De sesquioctava proportione"), chapter 14 ("De sesquialtera proportione"), chapter 15 ("De dupla proportione"), and chapter 19 ("De omnibus proportionibus simul secundum omnes auctores sub brevitate"). Of these, chapters 12, 14, and 15 include more specific cross references to the corresponding book and chapter number of *Nova musica.*

[30] Dating from the latter part of the ninth century, the anonymous treatises known as *Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis* are the first known treatises to discuss parallel organum. For an introduction and English translation of both treatises, see Raymond Erickson,

concerns itself with Berno of Reichenau's theories of the eight modes as octave species, combined from the various species of perfect fourths and fifths. The third book, "De proportionibus," summarily presents Boethius's theory of numerical proportions as they relate to musical pitches. (Indeed, many passages are direct quotations from *De institutione musica.*) In this regard, the appended "De tribus generibus melorum" reiterates, amplifies, and clarifies the three Boethian genera presented in the body of *Nova musica*. The fourth, most innovative, book, "De accidentibus," proposes a new system of classifying chant according to the "accidents," or "predicaments" explicated in Aristotle's *Categoriae*.

In 1955, Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune published a landmark study of *Nova musica.* She is perhaps the first scholar to recognize *Nova musica's* blend of "speculative" and "practical" approaches to music. In particular, she discusses its attempts to ground its more speculative aspects in real-world experience of musical sound and performance. In spite of its many wonderful observations, Clercx-Lejeune's study provides little more than a basic introduction to Ciconia's treatise. This is perhaps because it was intended to serve as a prelude to her forthcoming critical edition of *Nova musica*, to be produced in collaboration with Albert Seay. Unfortunately, neither scholar published the fruits of their labor.

Oliver Ellsworth has published the most substantial scholarship on *Nova musica* to date. Thanks to him, we now have a modern critical edition of the Latin text with

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trans. and Claude V. Palisca, ed., *Musica and Scolica enchiriadis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

English translation. His informative introduction also includes a comprehensive survey, with cross references, of the music-theoretical sources on which Ciconia relied, as well as information on earlier bibliography. Morever, Ellsworth is one of the first scholars to consider the intellectual contexts of *Nova musica.* Using the work of Claude Palisca and Annette Kreutizer-Herr as a springboard, he proposes (without providing details) that *Nova musica's* attempts to redefine music as a literary art were in tune with humanist trends of the time.[31] This dissertation provides support for this idea.

After the publication of Ellsworth edition, much of the literature about *Nova musica* focused on the speculative aspects of Ciconia's treatise. Susan Fast and especially Marc André explored the ways in which scholastic logic influenced Ciconia's concept of accidents, declensions, and proportions.[32] In perhaps the most intriguing study of this type, Jan Herlinger proposed that the musical diatribes of Ciconia's younger contemporary Prosdocimus de Beldemandis against Marchetto of Padua (Ciconia's

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[31] Ellsworth, introduction, 12-13n40. See also Annette Kreutziger-Herr, *Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370-1412): komponieren in einer Kultur des Wortes* (Hamburg: K.D. Wagner, 1991), 40-92 and 125-78; Claude V. Palisca, "A Natural New Alliance of the Arts," in *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 333-34. As Ellsworth notes, Palisca does not refer to any specific composers or music theorists before the sixteenth century. One more study that explores, albeit briefly, *Nova musica's* connections to early fifteenth-century humanism is Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "Humanism and the Language of Music Treatises," *Renaissance Studies* 15, no. 4 (December 2001): 423-24.

[32] Susan Fast, review of *Nova musica and De proportionibus*, by Johannes Ciconia, ed. and trans. Oliver Ellsworth, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4, no. 2 (October 1995): 212-17; Marc André, "L'oeuvre théorique de Johannes Ciconia," *Revue de la société liégeoise de musicology* 4 (1996): 23-40.

predecessor at the Padua of Cathedral) are actually an implicit criticism of Ciconia's own understanding of *musica speculativa.*[33]

Barbara Haggh-Huglo has written two important articles on *Nova musica.* In the first, she demonstrates how Ciconia extensively borrowed from the *Liber glossarum*, a Carolingian lexicon; *Quid est cantus?*, a treatise replete with rare chants; and other previously unknown sources from the same period. She also casts Ciconia in a more pragmatic light—as an ambitious scholar-hunter who used both his and his father's connections to gain access to rare manuscripts in libraries in Rome, Milan, Pavia, Bologna, and Venice.[34] In the second, she challenges the notion that *Nova musica*—which includes both a basic introduction to music and instructions about how to sing chant and simple, improvised organum—is primarily speculative in nature. In particular, she argues that while *cantor* of the Padua Cathedral, Ciconia used introductory material from his treatise, as well as rare chants gleaned from his aforementioned research trips, to teach young choirboys there.[35] Once again, this dissertation explores these ideas in greater depth.

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[33] Jan Herlinger, "Prosdocimus de Beldemandis *contra* Johannem Ciconiam?," in *Johannes Ciconia musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003), 305-19.

[34] Barbara Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's Citations in *Nova musica*: New Sources as Biography," in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. S. Clark and E.E. Leach (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2005), 45-56.

[35] Barbara Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's *Nova Musica*: A Work for Singers in Renaissance Padua," in *"New Music" 1400-1600: Papers from an International Colloquium on the Theory, Authorship and Transmission of Music in the Age of the Renaissance (Lisbon-Évora, 27-29 May 2003)*, ed. João Pedro d'Alvarenga and Manuel Pedro Ferreira (Lisboa, Évora: Editora Casa do Sul, 2009), 7-24.

While Stefano Mengozzi acknowledges the speculative aspects of *Nova musica*, he argues that the treatise ultimately defies categorization: "Ciconia's *Nova musica* cannot be squarely aligned with one or the other camp or disciplinary orientation. The treatise synthesizes a scholastic mode of argumentation with a humanistically inclined call for *renovatio*, as well as a combination of speculative and practical topics."[36] In one study, he contends that Ciconia's duties as a teacher ultimately account for his rejection of the Guidonian system of hexachordal solmization in favor of a return to Boethian-Carolingian preference for the monochord.[37] In his later book, he further contextualizes Ciconia's desire to reform music pedagogy according to antique principles within the broader educational and religious reforms of fellow Paduan humanists and intellectuals.[38]

In response to Mengozzi, Jason Stoessel has suggested a more humanistic foundation for Ciconia's treatise, an argument I have already made in an earlier paper.[39]

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[36] Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory: Guido of Arezzo between Myth and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 122.
[37] Mengozzi, "The Ciconian Hexachord," in *Johannes Ciconia musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003), 303-304. See also Mengozzi, " 'Si quis manus non habeat': Charting Non-Hexachordal Musical Practices in the Age of Solmization," *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 191-93.
[38] Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform*, 117-28.
[39] Stoessel, "Climbing Mont Ventoux: The Contest/Context of Scholasticism and Humanism in Early Fifteenth-Century Paduan Music Theory and Practice," *Intellectual History Review* 27, no. 3 (26 June 2017): 321-323; Katherine Hutchings, "What's So New about *Nova Musica*? Johannes Ciconia and Early Quattrocento Theories of *Imitatio*," (paper, 78th Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, New Orleans, LA, November 2, 2012).

My more detailed discussion of Ciconia's debt to humanism is the focus of the following chapters.[40]

Chapter 2 provides the background for the "Classical" theories of literary *imitatio* that exerted a profound influence on *Nova musica.* Key passages from the *De inventione* of Cicero, *Epistolae morales* of Seneca the Younger, and *Saturnalia* of Macrobius describe the imitation of multiple models in similar terms of selective gathering, reorganization, and transformation. Humanist pedagogues, writers, and painters in Ciconia's circles cite such passages as the basis for their own theories of *imitatio*. *Nova musica,* I will argue, alludes to the same passages. Moreover, Ciconia's humanist colleagues promulgate a further, heirarchical method of imitation which closely resembles the process of *compositio* described in Classical elementary grammar and rhetoric treatises.

Chapter 3 examines how Ciconia implements Classical theories of *imitatio* in Book 1, Chapter 60 of *Nova musica* ("De quindecim modis sonorum et de coniunctionibus eorum"). Like Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) and other humanists in his orbit, Ciconia invokes a comparative analogy about the parallel structures of music and language to justify his hierarchical method of "composing" Music (i.e. by combining increasingly complex constituents into a larger, unified whole). Furthermore, Ciconia expounds this analogy in the form of a *chreia* ("refining of a theme"), a type of comparative argument discussed in such widely circulated rhetorical treatises as the

[40] The literature on humanism and its various definitions is vast. For an overview (especially of less conventional forms of humanism), see Alison Frazier, *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Rhetorica ad Herennium of Pseudo-Cicero and the *Praeexercitamenta* of Priscian (fl. 500).

Chapter 4 proposes that Classical and especially Carolingian theories of grammar provided both the conceptual foundation and structural framework for Ciconia's novel system of "accidents and declensions of music," introduced in the fourth book ("De accidentibus") of *Nova musica.* In particular, I argue that Ciconia models the dialogue style of Book 4, Chapter 13 ("De declinationibus cantuum") on two elementary parsing grammars, *Dominus quae pars* ("Remigius") and *Ianua sum rudibus* ("Donadello"). Ciconia's self-conscious choice to emulate these grammar treatises harmonizes well with his apparent preference for earlier music-theoretical authorities throughout Books 1-3 of *Nova musica.* It also links him to contemporaneous humanists, who emulate the same late antique and Carolingian authorities even at the most basic levels of education. Fifteenth-century humanists often misattributed *Ianua* and *Dominus* to the pre-eminent grammarians Aelius Donatus (fl. mid-fourth century) and Remigius of Auxerre (c. 841-908), respectively, at least in part to legitimize their place in their revised elementary curriculum. Ciconia cites both authors in *Nova musica*—in the case of Remigius, more times than any authority except Boethius.

Chapter 5 broaches the question of whether *Nova musica* is truly a product of humanistic reforms if its authorities are primarily Carolingian rather than derived from classical antiquity. Ciconia's reliance on Carolingian models reflects the fact that neither a substantial music-theoretical repertoire nor a practical system of musical notation existed before the reforms of Charlemagne. Certain epic poems as well the historical

chronicles of Leonardo Bruni, Pierpaolo Vergerio, and especially Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna suggest that the humanists in Ciconia's circles not only possessed some historical awareness of the Carolingian legacy, but also claimed it as a part of their Italo-Roman heritage. Others such as Poggio Bracciolini and Niccolò Niccoli used neo-Carolingian scripts as a powerful visual tool to disseminate their classicizing agenda. These contexts help explain *Nova musica's* preference for Carolingian authorities, references to Charlemagne, and renovation of Carolingian musical "scripts" (i.e. neumatic, paginula, and proto-Guidonian staff notation).

Chapter 2

Early Quattrocento Theories of *Imitatio*: Perspectives from the Visual Arts, Literature, and Music

This chapter proposes that Classical theories of *imitatio* exerted a decisive influence on Ciconia's *Nova musica.* Using the work of literary and art historians as a springboard, it challenges the assumption (current in musicological circles) that *imitatio* was primarily a stylistic—or even rhetorical—phenomenon. Key passages from the works of Seneca the Younger and Macrobius describe the imitation of multiple models in terms of selective gathering, reorganization, and transformation. Humanist pedagogues, writers, and painters in Ciconia's circles cite such passages as the basis for their own theories of *imitatio. Nova musica*, I will argue, also alludes to these passages. Furthermore, Ciconia and his humanist colleagues promulgate a heirarchical method of imitation that closely resembles the process of *compositio* described in classical elementary grammar and rhetoric treatises. What is perhaps most striking is that, like other humanist writers and visual artists active in early fifteenth-century Padua, Ciconia compares his own, hierarchical process of modeling to that in other disciplines. This suggests that, in spite of their remarks about stylistic eloquence, Paduan humanists—and quite possibly Ciconia himself—relied upon structural frameworks more than previously assumed, practiced it across multiple disciplines.

Imitatio can broadly be defined as the imitation of one or more models in creative activity. Its use in music has been a contentious issue for early music scholars.

Musicologists engaged in this debate include Howard Mayer Brown, Lewis Lockwood, Leeman Perkins, J. Peter Burkholder, Patrick Macey, Rob C. Wegman, and Honey Meconi.[1] The arguments have been laid out most clearly in connection with the so-called parody or "imitation" mass, although other genres are involved as well. Some of the issues at stake are what precisely constitutes borrowing, what is musical *imitatio*, and composers' access to and knowledge of classical rhetoric. Although scholars dealt with these issues in later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphony, Johannes Ciconia presents an important perspective from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

For those musicologists who consider the cultivation of a "pure" or neo-classical, humanist Latin writing style a primary goal of *imitatio*, the Latin of Ciconia's *Nova musica* falls considerably short of the mark.[2] For, as one noted classicist has already pointed out, "although Ciconia's Latin has some stylistic pretension, it could no more

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[1] See especially Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 1-48; Lewis Lockwood, "On 'Parody' as Term and Concept in 16th-Century Music," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 560-75; Leeman L. Perkins, "The L'Homme Armé Masses of Busnoys and Okeghem: A Comparison," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 363-96; J. Peter Burkholder, "Johannes Martini and the Imitation Mass of the Late Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 470-523; Patrick Macey, "Josquin as Classic: *Qui habitat, Memor esto,* and Two Imitations Unmasked," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 118 (1993): 1-43; Rob C. Wegman, "Another 'Imitation' of Busnoys's *Missa L'Homme armé*—and Some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114, no. 2 (1989): 189-202; and Honey Meconi, "Does *imitatio* exist?," *Journal of Musicology* 12, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 152-78.

[2] See, for example, Meconi, "Does *imitatio* exist?," 158, 163, 166-172, and especially, 169; Wegman, "Another 'Imitation'," 197-98. Neither author mentions Ciconia.

have passed for humanistic than the motet-texts that speak in his name."[3] But, whatever Ciconia's abilities as a Latinist, certain practical exigencies would have militated against any easy choice to incorporate neo-classical language. First and foremost, the accepted language of music-theoretical discourse in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was scholastic—or "medieval"—Latin, and however much Ciconia might have wished to share his work with fellow humanists in other disciplines, he had to adopt a scholastic mode of argumentation in order to be taken seriously by other music theorists. Second, neither classical Latin nor its humanistic re-fashioning could boast a technical vocabulary adequate enough to describe the specialized practices of music or any other primarily non-literary profession. Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), a quintessential humanist, acknowledges this dilemma when—at the end of the first book of *De pictura*—he admits that the technical nature of his subject has forced him to sacrifice eloquence for comprehensibility:

> These matters have been dealt with very briefly, without any trace of eloquence. . . . Since my first objective was to be understood, I took care that my discourse should be clear rather than polished and ornate.[4]

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[3] Holford-Strevens, "Humanism," 424. Holford-Strevens does not mention imitation, and self-consciously restricts his study to humanist stylistic traits in the Latin of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music treatises (415): "The Renaissance demand that the learned man should adhere ever more strictly to the classical standards of Latinity imposed on writers about music the obligation of discussing in the language of one culture the phenomena of another. The present study is an attempt to follow the effects of this stylistic obligation, to which I shall apply the term 'humanism' without regard to the ethical or political or metaphysical consequences of the New Learning, or even to the consequences of humanism for musical thought or practice." He does, however, acknowledge Ciconia's great effort to incorporate Greek pitch names as a nod in the direction of humanistic Latin.

[4] "sine ulla eloquentia brevissime recitata [sunt]. . . . dum imprimis volui intelligi, id prospexi ut clara esset nostra oratio magis quam compta et ornate." Latin and English translation in Martin McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance: The*

As a result, however eagerly early fifteenth-century musicians may have immersed themselves in Humanistic culture and its discourse, they would have had to rely on a "medieval" and/or vernacular technical vocabulary to articulate their ideas. Concerned as it was with the liturgical repertoire (and, as such, intended at least in part for an audience of clerics), *Nova musica* had to express any humanistically-inflected notions primarily in the language of the authorities on music and liturgy: Carolingian and Post-Carolingian music theorists.[5]

Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 155.

[5] Note that "cleric" does not preclude "humanist," just as "sacred" does not preclude "secular." As many scholars have shown, clerics and humanists (and musical patrons) were often one and the same person, especially among early fifteenth-century Venetan intellectuals. Examples include, but are certainly not limited to, the figures of Francesco Zabarella, Ciconia's patron between 1401 and 1412, Bishop Pietro Emiliani, and—one may argue—even Petrarch, who held a canonicate at the Padua Cathedral in the years preceding his death. See especially Margaret Bent, "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 101: 1998 Lectures and Memoirs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 101-30; idem, "Some Singers of Polyphony in Padua and Vicenza around Pietro Emiliani and Francesco Malipiero," in *Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo 1959-2009: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 12-14 Giugno 2009*), ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 287-303; and Anne Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*: Francesco Zabarella's Patronage of Johannes Ciconia," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jesse Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 153-68. Other, more "secular" humanists, such as Vergerio and Vittorino da Feltre, also looked to the church fathers for moral guidance. See Stefano Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform*, 118-21. On *imitatio,* liturgical Latin, and music education in the *maîtrise*, see Honey Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist," 170: "For choirboys in the fifteenth century there seems to have been neither the need nor the opportunity to study the 'new' Latin. Their primary linguistic requirement was to understand the liturgy, which was most certainly not written in pure classical Latin."

Because it is so difficult to define, style can also be a problematic criterion by which to determine whether or not a writer practices imitation or harbors any humanist inclinations. As some of the most notorious literary debates of the Renaissance illustrate, the humanists themselves never came to a clear consensus as to what constitutes a proper, "classical" style of Latin prose.[6] The so-called standards often changed within one writer's lifetime, and it was not uncommon for authors of a younger generation to disparage lingering barbarisms or un-classical vocabulary and syntax in the writings of their immediate predecessors.[7] Indeed, one no less eloquent than Pier Paolo Vergerio attests that many humanists, particularly of the late Trecento and early Quattrocento, lamented their inability to reproduce truly "classical," Ciceronian Latin. In a 1389 letter to Santo de' Pellegrini, Vergerio writes:

> I follow as closely as I can that source of all eloquence [Cicero]; for I do not know who else would be preferable as a guide in this matter. But I am so artless and slow that I scarcely see let alone catch up with someone who has preceded me so swiftly that his footsteps are all but obliterated. [8]

The humanists' own educational backgrounds undoubtedly accounted for many of their stylistic shortcomings. Scholars such as Robert Black have noted that the study of grammar and rhetoric changed surprisingly little between 1300 and 1500. For approximately 200 years, then, humanists continued to learn—and later, teach—the

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[6] For a discussion of the notorious quarrel between Poggio Bracciolini and Lorenzo Valla, see McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 126-146.
[7] Ibid.
[8] "Sequor quo cominus possum totius eloquentie fontem. Nescio enim quem potiorem ducem in hoc sectari valeam, sed adeo iners tardusque sum ut velociter preeuntem obliteratis ferme vestigiis nedum attingere sed videre minime possim." Cited in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 98.

elements of grammar and style from many of the same textbooks as their medieval antecedents: the *Ars grammatica* and *Institutiones* of Donatus and Priscian, respectively, the grammars in verse of Eberhard of Béthune (*Graecismus*) and Alexander of Villedieu (*Doctrinale*), various late Carolingian parsing grammars such as the anonymous *Ianua sum rudibus* or *Dominus quae pars?*, the *Disticha catonis* of pseudo-Cato, and finally, Cicero's youthful *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of an anonymous author then thought to be Cicero.[9] Texts such as the *Graecismus* and *Doctrinale*—which the humanists later came to abhor—would have nonetheless inculcated in them a "medieval" understanding of style that would have been very difficult to eschew in their mature writing. Moreover, in their youth, humanists would have analyzed even the Ciceronian *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica* with the tools of scholastic logic rather than classical rhetoric.

If Ciconia's Latin prose style may give some pause, so may his choice of models. Musicologists such as Rob Wegman, Patrick Macey, and especially Honey Meconi have noted that writers who practiced literary imitation heavily depended upon an established canon of classical models.[10] Because musicians could consult no existing body of

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[9] Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially i, 171-72, 275. See also Paul Gehl, "Humanism in Crisis (0.01.7)," *Humanism for Sale: Making and Marketing Schoolbooks in Italy, 1450-1650* (blog), *Newberry Library for Renaissance Studies*, September 6, 2008, https://www.humanismforsale.org/text/archives/18; and Jason Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy in Early Fifteenth-Century Padua," in *Identity and Locality in Early European Music, 1028-1740*, ed. Stoessel (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 110-11.

[10] Patrick Macey, "Josquin as Classic," 42-43; Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist?," 158-59; and Wegman, "Another 'Imitation'," 198.

"classical" repertoire, it would have been difficult for them to practice an equivalent kind of musical *imitatio*. As a music theorist, Ciconia suffered from a similar lack of classical sources on music; aside from a few isolated references to Plato, Aristotle, or the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, he could cite only the earliest available to him: Boethius, Isidore and other fifth and sixth-century Encyclopedists, and particularly theorists of chant and liturgy active between c. 800 and 1050. But it is important to point out that Ciconia attempts to fill this lacuna by incorporating language and structural models from certain classical, Late Antique, and Carolingian writings on grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, and mathematics to describe the structure and processes of music.[11] Especially in the Prologue to Book 1 of *Nova musica,* Ciconia touts the novelty of such an endeavor:

> Who among the authors, in imitation of the art of grammar, has discovered the declensions of music that are in songs? Or who before has heard these? Who would have believed it to have accidents and declensions like grammar, genera and species like dialectic, and numbers and proportions like arithmetic?[12]

In fact, we may ask just what, exactly, constituted a proper classical literary canon for the humanists, beyond the standard works of Cicero, Vergil and a few others. Those teachers of Ciconia's generation also encouraged their students to imitate authors—including Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, Cassiodorus, the grammarians Donatus, Priscian, and Servius, and early Christian theologians such as Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose—whose Latin stretches the boundaries of what we

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[11] I talk about specific language and structural models elsewhere in this dissertation.
[12] *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 52-53: "Quis enim auctorum ad exemplum grammatice artis declinationes musice que sunt in cantibus invenit? Aus quis dudum audivit? Quis putaret hanc habere accidentia et declinationes sicut grammatica, genera et species sicut dialectica, et numeros et proportiones sicut arithmetica?"

today regard as "classical." With the exception of Servius, Ambrose, and possibly Jerome, Ciconia cites all of the aforementioned authorities in *Nova musica.*[13] Furthermore, as Meconi observes, and as I will demonstrate below, literary humanists considered certain authors of the more recent past—including Petrarch, Boccaccio, and, in the field of painting, Giotto—as worthy of emulation.[14] And, as in the case of Ciconia, the absence of classical models in one's own discipline did not dissuade some more ambitious humanists from writing tracts classically oriented in both language and scope. Alberti succeeded in composing one of his most influential humanistic treatises, *De pictura*, without any classical (or contemporaneous) painting manual to follow. In the words of art historian Robert Zwijnenberg:

> For one thing, there are no theoretical treatises that have survived from Antiquity; the chapters on painting in Pliny's *Naturalis historiae* merely provide an anecdotal chronicle, a narrative style Alberti clearly was not interested in imitating.[15]

Instead, Alberti borrowed language, concepts, and even structural frameworks from Greek and Roman treatises on rhetoric, mathematics, and geometry (a point to be examined in more detail below). Like Ciconia, Alberti acknowledges the novelty of his

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[13] Ciconia attributes many musical citations to a certain "Hieronymous," whom scholars have not yet been able to identify. Stefano Mengozzi speculates that Ciconia has willfully (mis)attributed these citations in order to invoke St. Jerome as an author in his readers' minds. See Mengozzi, *The Renaissance Reform,* 126.

[14] Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist?," 158n30: "Writers by no means limited themselves to classical models; Petrarch, to take but one example, was considered worthy of imitation."

[15] Zwijnenberg, "Why did Alberti not Illustrate his *De pictura*?," in *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 168. McLaughlin makes a similar point in *Literary Imitation*, 155: "Alberti is genuinely innovative in writing on painting in Latin, having no classical or contemporary models to follow, since Pliny's chapters on art are more a history than a manual."

endeavor when he claims that he has taken on "a subject never before treated in writing by anyone."[16]

Ultimately, when one restricts the practice of *imitatio* solely to the copying of classical literary models for the purpose of replicating their writing style, one overlooks a broader applicability of the term in especially late-fourteenth and early fifteenth-century Paduan intellectual and artistic circles, where the influence of Petrarch was still deeply felt. The writings of Petrarch and his immediate followers, which will be examined below, testify that the term carried richer overtones—indeed, even of emulation, competition, and homage—than its basic rhetorical definition would imply.[17] As I will

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[16] "a nemine. . . alio tradita litteris materia." *De pictura* 1.1, cited in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 155. Alberti writes elsewhere about the novelty of his undertaking: "I consider it a great satisfaction to have taken the palm in this subject, as I was the first to write about this most subtle art (*De pictura* 3.63)." Cited in Zwijnenberg, "Why did Alberti," 167-168.

[17] In "Another 'Imitation'," 197-198, Rob C. Wegman proposes that musicologists restrict the definition and practice of imitation to that described in the medieval and Renaissance primary rhetoric treatises: "In Renaissance rhetorical theory, *imitatio* was defined as one of the three paths which led to mastery of the science of rhetoric: Theory, Imitation and Practice. The original formulation of the concept sprang from the characteristic desire of medieval theorists to classify and name every possible activity of the rhetorician, including the learning process. Consequently, the concept denoted little more than the commonplace fact that every student of rhetoric (or for that matter of music) must learn his art partly by studying and imitating the works of established masters. It is true that the pedagogical concept of *imitatio* acquired a new and unprecedented significance in Renaissance literary circles. But it did so only in the specific humanistic sense of imitation in *classical* literature… But an even greater semantic ambiguity is created when the word *imitatio* becomes associated with concepts which are foreign to its rhetorical meaning, such as competition, emulation and homage… I would therefore suggest that we first of all strive for terminological clarity, and define the concept of musical *imitatio* in strict accordance with its original meaning in rhetoric." In response to Wegman's somewhat circumscribed definition of imitation, Honey Meconi points out: "However, for both the original classical authors of rhetorical treatises as well as their Renaissance followers concepts of emulation (with the

demonstrate below, the same writers also acknowledged the pervasiveness of the practice in disciplines other than rhetoric and literature.

Meconi broaches a further problem with *imitatio* as it pertains to music. Many musicians, especially those educated in the Northern *maîtrise*—or choir school—could not study the new Humanistic Latin because they did not have access to the appropriate resources. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at least, one could acquire a humanist education only in select pockets of Italy, in the private school of some charismatic teacher such as Guarino of Verona, Gasparino Barzizza, or Vittorino da Feltre. Those who pursued such an education had to possess enough wealth—or patronage—to devote years to their studies.[18] Although choirboys presumably would have spent some of their time learning grammar and rhetoric, the many musical demands placed upon them would have precluded any prolonged or systematic instruction in these disciplines.[19] Nor would choirboys have such a need for the new Latin if their primary duty was to understand the liturgy.[20]

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implication of homage) and competition are all part of the ongoing debate about whom one should emulate." See Meconi, "Does *imitatio* Exist," 153n3.

[18] Meconi, Does *imitatio* Exist, 168-69. I would point out, however, that teachers in the humanistic disciplines often maintained a number of poor students in their schools, and in many cases in their own homes. Examples include Gasparino Barzizza (who himself did not possess much wealth, especially in his last years), Vittorino da Feltre, and Ciconia's patron, Francesco Zabarella. According to Pietro Donato, Zabarella often "in his excellent discretion had a number of poor students situated in his house, whom he fed from his resources, furnished with his own characteristic goodness." (Cited in Hallmark, "*Protector*," 157). One such student, Arnold Gheyloven, witnessed the conferral of Ciconia's first benefice in Padua in 1401 (Ibid., 158).

[19] Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist?," 169n70: "These obligations of necessity precluded a linguistic education of the same intensity as that practiced in Italian humanist schools."

[20] Ibid., 170n76.

Nonetheless, Meconi concedes that some choirboys would have gone on to receive supplementary education in universities and/or forge connections with humanistic circles in Italy. Du Fay, Tinctoris, Compère, and Busnois all had university degrees, and of these only Busnois remained in the North, outside the direct orbit of Italian humanistic circles, for the entirety of his career. Howard Mayer Brown further mentions the composers Crétin, Pierre Chorrot, Nicole du Boys, Molinet, Nicolas Grenon and Jean Tapissier as having strong links with humanist rhetoric.[21] Meconi concludes that:

> Given that humanism spread from Italy gradually and that many musicians, of course, worked in Italy, we must remain open to the possibility of tracing connections [to humanist rhetoric and theories of *imitatio*] in the cases of specific composers."[22]

Ciconia was just such a composer. The erudition displayed in *Nova musica* and *De proportionibus* indicate that Ciconia attained much more than a rudimentary education in grammar, rhetoric, and the other liberal arts. Indeed, a number of contemporaneous archival documents—as well as an incipit from one of the extant manuscripts of *De proportionibus*[23]—call Ciconia a *magister*, suggesting that he acquired at least one university degree sometime early in his career. Several musicologists, including Anne Hallmark and Margaret Bent, have also posited direct or mediated connections to some of the most prominent humanists in early fifteenth-century Padua through Ciconia's patron, noted orator and fellow humanist Francesco Zabarella. Notable among them was Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder (1370-1444), who stood as first witness in

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[21] Howard M. Brown, "Emulation," 42, cited in Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist?," 171-72.
[22] Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist?," 171-72.
[23] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VIII/85 (3579) was copied in 1463-64 in Mantua and Bozzolo.

two documents—dated 11 and 14 of July 1401 and notarized in Zabarella's own home—recommending Ciconia for a benefice at San Biagio di Ronchalea and a chaplaincy at the Padua Cathedral.[24]

The same musicologists consistently link Ciconia's musical compositions to early fifteenth-century innovations in the field of rhetoric. Hallmark, for example, has discovered strong parallels between the "new [humanist] rhetoric" exhibited in three public speeches of Zabarella that honor successive bishops of Padua, and three motets of Ciconia on the same topic.[25] Even such distinguished surveys as Reinhard Strohm's *Rise of European Music* seem to acknowledge Ciconia's connections to humanistic rhetoric and poetry. Of the setting of Leonardo Giustinian's (1387/88-1446) *O rosa bella*, Strohm remarks:

> The three-voice setting by Ciconia is an outstanding, even incredible achievement for a composer (and not even a native Italian) of this generation… Such dramatic presentation of the words surpasses, in my opinion, most of the merely competent word-setting in fifteenth-century Italian song, and instead looks forward to the Renaissance madrigal.[26]

Furthermore, certain evidence from *Nova musica* suggests that Ciconia was cognizant of fellow humanists' debates about ancient rhetoric and the revival of a "pure" neo-classical Latin writing style. Although Ciconia did not compose *Nova musica* in the new Latin (and probably had little knowledge of Greek), he quite remarkably adapted Greek pitch names from the *musica speculativa* tradition to a more practical discussion of

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[24] Anne Hallmark, "Johannes Ciconia," 269, 273, 280.
[25] Ibid., "*Protector*," 158-59, 161, 163, 165-68.
[26] *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 103-105. Strohm's statements are amplified and more overtly linked to humanist rhetoric in Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 41.

plainchant, a feat that Leofranc Holford-Strevens attributes to Ciconia's connections to Paduan humanist circles.[27] And indeed Meconi notes the immensely important role that Greek pedagogues and their methods of learning classical Greek played in the humanist reconstruction of classical Latin.[28]

The first in this long line of pedagogues was the learned Manual Chrysoloras (c.1355-1415) of Constantinople, an emissary of the Byzantine emperor whom Coluccio Salutati offered a professorship in Greek at Florence from 1397 to 1400.[29] Chrysoloras had close ties with Ciconia's Padua and especially Ciconia's patron, Francesco Zabarella: Chrysoloras was one of the witnesses who represented the city when it officially surrendered to Venice in January 1406—an event in which Zabarella was centrally involved—and worked closely with Zabarella for the Council of Constance (1414-1418).[30] In addition, Chrysoloras taught Greek to several humanists in Ciconia's circle, including Vergerio.[31] In his capacity as pedagogue, Chrysoloras wrote what was to become the most influential Greek grammar of the Renaissance, the *Erotemata civas questiones*.[32]

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[27] Holford-Strevens, "Humanism," 423-424. As Holford-Strevens notes, *Nova musica* includes the Greek names *hypate meson* and *trite synemmenon* in a discussion of the antiphon *Isti sunt viri.* The pitch names, however, remain undeclined.
[28] Meconi, "Does *Imitatio* Exist?," 169n73.
[29] Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 24-25.
[30] Hallmark, "*Protector*," 155n11.
[31] Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, 25.
[32] The *Erotemata* was well-circulated outside of Italy; Desiderius Erasmus (among others) studied it while he was at Cambridge. Guarino of Verona, another student of Chrysoloras, also wrote a Latin redaction of the *Erotemata.*

Ciconia's educational background and his proven connections with humanists who practiced literary *imitatio* provide enough circumstantial evidence for us to suggest that he was familiar with current theories of *imitatio.* Nonetheless, if we discard neo-classical style and the choice of classical models as primary criteria, we lack a methodological framework to determine whether and how Ciconia employed *imitatio* in such works as *Nova musica.* Musicologist Rob C. Wegman may have intimated a solution to this methodological dilemma in an article about imitation and the fifteenth-century parody mass: "…It is true that the pedagogical concept of *imitatio* acquired a new and unprecedented significance in Renaissance literary circles…"[33] According to Wegman, this pedagogical concept:

> denoted little more than the commonplace fact that every student of rhetoric (or for that matter, music) must learn his art partly by studying and imitating the works of established masters.[34]

Wegman astutely observes that the humanists (and their revered classical exemplars) ultimately relegated the practice of *imitatio* to the classroom rather than to the realm of philosophy. With this in mind, it is helpful to remember that at least a few of the

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[33] Wegman, "Another 'Imitation,'" 197. For reasons noted above, I take issue with the second part of Wegman's statement: "…But it did so only in the specific humanistic sense of the imitation of *classical* literature." Wegman nowhere mentions Ciconia with regard to *imitatio*.

[34] Ibid., 198. Wegman goes on to propose a similarly circumscribed definition of musical imitation: "I would therefore suggest that we first of all strive for terminological clarity, and define the concept of musical *imitatio* in strict accordance with its original meaning in rhetoric. I propose the following simple definition: musical *imitatio* is the practice of learning musical composition by studying and imitating the works of established masters. It may be objected that the concept of *imitatio* becomes practically useless to our purposes if it is defined in this way. But that is precisely the point. The rhetorical concept of *imitatio* is really of very limited applicability to the music history of the Renaissance…"

humanists' writings on *imitatio* were intended not for an audience of accomplished Latin stylists, but for patrons of more modest abilities, or for students in the primary or secondary stages of their education. Examples include, but are not limited to, Pier Paolo Vergerio's treatise on education, *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus adolescentie studiis* (1402-1403), written for his patron, Francesco Novella da Carrara, as well as Gasparino Barzizza's *De imitatione* (c. 1413-17), designed for students "who have just graduated from the study of grammar to the art of rhetoric," and finally the *De imitationibus Eloquentie* (1430-3) of Antonio da Rho.[35]

Nevertheless, I find Wegman's definition of the "pedagogical concept" of imitation somewhat incomplete, not in the least because the terms "pedagogy" or "pedagogical" usually connote some more involved or systematic instruction. Quintilian, for one, seems to confirm that the methods by which one learns imitation are more complex when he refers to a set of precepts or a system that all elementary students, regardless of their field of study, must follow: "In fact, we may note that the elementary study of every branch of learning is directed by reference to some definite standard that is placed before the learner."[36] The questions we should be asking are not necessarily "What is a proper humanist style by which to judge whether or not someone practices *imitatio*?" or "Are an author's models 'classical' (or 'established') enough to count him or her among those who practice *imitatio*?" but rather "Can we extrapolate some more

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[35] McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 104. *De ingenuis moribus* is not properly a treatise on imitation, but contains advice about how one should practice it.

[36] "Omnis denique disciplinae initia ad propositum sibi praescriptum formari videmus." Latin and English in Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H.E. Butler (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1923), 4:74-75.

defined rubric for assimilating an appropriate 'style'?" and, if so, "Could such a rubric be applicable to multiple fields of study in spite of their divergent skill sets and technical vocabulary?"

By examining a variety of classical and humanistic writings about rhetoric, music, and the visual and plastic arts, I have formulated a set of general principles about learning and practicing *imitatio* that these disciplines seem to hold in common:

1. Authors in all three disciplines recommend that their students follow one or more models in order to perfect their skills. Sanctioned models usually include master practitioners in one's discipline, but—especially with regard to the visual and plastic arts—may include "nature" itself.
2. Artists, musicians, and especially rhetoricians sometimes compare their own processes of modeling to those in the other disciplines.
3. Certain artists and musicians paraphrase passages from classical and humanist rhetoricians on the matter of following a model. What is more, they usually render chosen passages in the technical language of their own disciplines, suggesting that they absorbed theories of *imitatio* in more than a superficial way.
4. The process of modeling tends to be hierarchical—that is, students are taught to build a piece of literature, art, or music from the ground up, by combining increasingly complex elements into a larger, unified whole. Students learn how to do this by dissecting the works of their masters in a similarly hierarchical fashion, down to the minutest particle. This process closely

resembles the concept of *compositio* taught in elementary grammar and rhetoric classes, and with which these students (and their teachers) would have been familiar.

5. If students must follow multiple models, they are encouraged to gather, *florilegia*-like, the best morsels from each source into a well-organized and, once again, unified whole. The resultant whole may be "transformed" into something new, if only by virtue of its more cogent re-organization of materials from the original source(s).

Of course, one may argue that some of the guidelines describe the more generic process of "modeling" rather than the culturally- and historically-specific process that humanist *literati* referred to as *imitatio.* After all, medieval grammarians had also recommended closely reading and copying appropriate models, and compiled from them *florilegia* of choicest vocabulary and rhetorical figures. But there exist several crucial distinctions between "modeling" in the generic sense and the processes designated above as characteristic of *imitatio.* The first is primarily semantic in nature: I have chosen to discuss these processes under the umbrella of *imitatio* because many of the humanists I cite below call what they are doing "imitatio." For example, Pier Paolo Vergerio, a personal acquaintance of Ciconia, uses the term to articulate his personal philosophy of modeling in a 1396 letter to Ludovico Buzzacarino:

> And although Annaeus Seneca wants us to follow no single author, but to manufacture an original style from a number of different sources, nevertheless I

> do not agree: I think we should choose one single model, one that is the best, whom we should imitate [*imitemur*] in particular.[37]

In fact, fifteenth-century humanist educators, who sought to inculcate their students with a solid foundation in rhetoric, paid quantitively greater attention to *imitatio* than "men of letters" such as Petrarch, Salutati, and Bruni.[38] As noted above, Gasparino Barzizza, who taught grammar and rhetoric in Padua during Ciconia's tenure there, devoted an entire treatise to the topic.

In contrast, medieval sources almost never employ the term as consistently or systematically as the classical and humanistic sources I have surveyed. Furthermore, the authors of these humanistic writings display a much greater commitment to the revival and canonization of ancient sources than their medieval predecessors. Whether or not their exemplars were classical in the conventional linguistic sense matters less than whether or not the humanists thought of them as such—in other words, as representative of a perceived Greek or Roman culture—and could incorporate them into their own philosophical, moral, and pedagogical agendas. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the late Trecento and early Quattrocento sources surveyed draw more attention to the transformative properties of their own modeling processes and the resultant novelty of their creations than their medieval predecessors.

We may presume that Ciconia, having received his formative training in the Northern *maîtrise*, would have encountered more generic processes of modeling.

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[37] Trans. McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 99.
[38] Ibid., 98. However, McLaughlin points out that humanist educators inevitably treat the topic imitation within the context of elementary rhetorical training rather than as specific stylistic advice.

However, humanist notions of *imitatio* had inflected his ideas about such processes by the time he composed *Nova musica* (c. 1401-1410).

I would, however, recommend a judicious, case-specific application of these guidelines to the works of other Renaissance composers or music theorists. Nearly all the humanist authors I have examined in this study had important associations with late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Padua or its environs, and so to a certain extent the theories proposed in this chapter may be unique to the intellectual climate there. Conversely, it is plausible that an investigation of sources from other cultural centers and/or time periods would yield similar enough results to formulate a more universally applicable theory about the pedagogy of Renaissance *imitatio.*

The remainder of this chapter is organized into two large sections. The first focuses on the so-called "rhetoric of comparison," with subsections on i) classical and humanist tropes about rhetoric and painting, ii) perspectives from the visual arts, and iii) music and *imitatio*. The second section addresses the pedagogy of *imitatio*, with subsections on i) heirarchical models of imitation, and ii) the art of collecting.

The Rhetoric of Comparison

i. Classical and Humanist Tropes about Rhetoric and Painting

In his classic survey, *Giotto and the Orators*, art historian Michael Baxandall observes that both classical and post-classical literature abounds with tropes that compare the rhetorical process of following an exemplar to the same process in painting and

sculpture.[39] Petrarch and his literary heirs duly reproduce such tropes in their own writings.

Although I will examine these passages in much greater detail below, I will offer a few general observations about them here. First, many of these citations display a markedly pedagogical bent, strengthening the argument that humanists conceived of imitation in primarily pedagogical terms. Indeed, several of them come from teaching manuals: Cicero's *De inventione* and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which became standard fare in medieval and Renaissance classrooms, Barzizza's *De imitatione,* and Quintilian's enormously influential *Institutio oratoria.* Two more come from the letters of solicitous mentors, Petrarch and Gasparino Barzizza. Petrarch explains to Boccaccio how he has warned his young amanuensis, Giovanni Malpaghini, about the dangers of following models too closely, and advises Malpaghini how he may more profitably practice imitation. Barzizza's citation expresses concerns about a pupil's course of study: rather than trying to assimilate an overwhelming amount of information in too short an amount of time, "Giovanni" might instead try imitating a select number of famous letters in order to acquire a proper writing style.

Not surprisingly, both classical and humanist writers on rhetoric and literature unanimously recommend following an appropriate model. What is more striking about these passages, however, is their propensity to compare the processes of modeling in writing to those in the visual and plastic arts. In fact, comparison—formally known as

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[39] See especially Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350-1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

"rhetorical induction," from the Greek παράδείγμα (*paradeigma*)—constituted one of the most important methods for inventing topics appropriate for discourse among classical rhetoricians. As Quintillian explains, comparisons of similar, dissimilar, or contrary things ("aut similia aut dissimilia aut contraria") could serve as proofs for an argument, or ornaments of style.[40] Humanists would have assimilated the basic principles of rhetorical induction in their school days, with texts such as Pseudo-Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the *Praeexercitamenta rhetorica* of Priscian, and later, Quintillian's own *Institutio oratoria.* Although the humanists did not employ induction as rigorously as their predecessors, they undoubtedly considered it an integral element of their discourse. Consequently, they must have chosen their predecessors' analogies about painting or sculpture and rhetoric in part because they so vividly illustrated the technique of comparison.[41]

The visual and plastic arts appealed to humanists for several other reasons. First of all, the narrative of a painting or sculpture would have been more immediate, concrete, and, as a result, more readily described in words than, for example, that of a piece of music. Paintings, sculpture, and works of architecture were, moreover, made to endure, and could potentially be admired and copied for centuries. Humanists had become obsessed with lasting, "literate" models, particularly because their hungry searches for ancient manuscripts unearthed relatively little, often piecemeal information about the

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[40] *Institutio oratoria*, v. xi. 1-5. http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/quintilian.html, accessed 22 January 2021.
[41] See especially Michael Baxandall, *Giotto*, 31-34. Humanists still attributed the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to Cicero.

past. Nor does such a preoccupation strike us as unusual when we consider that the majority of humanists spent the bulk of their careers composing letters (as notaries or papal secretaries, for example), and, as such, depended upon the written word to transmit their legacy to contemporaneous and future readers.

ii. Perspectives from the Visual Arts

Baxandall and fellow art historian Andrea Bolland argue that the same classical and humanist literary tropes about painting and *imitatio* significantly influenced the way in which at least two artists, Cennino Cennini and Leon Battista Alberti, wrote about painting, and—one might venture—their studio practices as well. Both artists compared their arts and the processes/attributes of their arts to rhetoric, poetry, and literature; used selected models from literature; and were influenced by these models in rhetoric and literature in their conceptions of painting and sculpture and their writings about it.

Cennino d'Andrea Cennini was born in Colle di Val d'Elsa, Tuscany, in the second half of the fourteenth century. He apparently studied painting in the Florentine studio of Agnolo Gaddi, whose father (and teacher) Taddeo Gaddi studied with Giotto himself. After he completed his training, Cennini served as court painter for Francesco Novello da Carrara, ruler of Padua, from the 1390s until the early years of the fifteenth century.[42] Cennini's tenure in Padua therefore coincided with Ciconia's (c. 1401-1412),

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[42] For more on Cennini's life and career see Thea Burns, "Cennino Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*: A Historiographical Review," *Studies in Conservation* 56, no. 1 (2011): 1-13; Mina Bacci and Pasquale Stoppelli, "Cennini, Cennino," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 23 (1979), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cennino-cennini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/; and Andrea Bolland, "Art and Humanism in Early Renaissance Padua:

and if no known documents indicate they were personally acquainted, they very likely operated within the same extended network of Paduan intellectuals, artists, and musicians.[43]

Like Ciconia, Cennini wrote a substantial treatise, *Il Libro dell'Arte*, in Padua shortly after 1400.[44] Cennini's treatise is regarded as the most reliable extant source for artists' working methods in Florentine workshops of the late Trecento and the Quattrocento.[45] But it is also an invaluable artifact of the flourishing humanist culture at the Carrara court, where "noble families, university teachers and artists mingled, and painting was valued as a socially prestigious intellectual activity."[46] Consequently, while the *Libro dell'Arte* may very well describe techniques Cennini learned in Florence, its more philosophical digressions about *imitatio*, imagination, and style were almost certainly influenced by Paduan intellectual trends.

Cennini's views on *imitatio* are most clearly articulated in *Il Libro dell'Arte,* chapter 27, "How to Strive to Copy and Draw from as Few Masters as Possible." In this chapter Cennini explains how fledgling painters should imitate a model in order to develop their own personal artistic style—"a maniera propria per te":

Cennini, Vergerio, and Petrarch on Imitation," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 472. Cennini probably left Padua in 1405, when the Carrara family fled the city.

[43] Indeed, Cennini's brother Matteo was a professional trumpeter at the Carrara court in the 1390s. Burns, "Cennino," 2; Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell'Arte*, ed. Gaetano and Carlo Milanesi (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1859), vi-viii.

[44] Bacci and Stoppelli, "Cennini"; Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 472; Burns, "Cennino," 2, 6, 9-10.

[45] Burns, "Cennino," 1.

[46] Ibid., 9.

> Having first accustomed yourself to drawing, as I told you above (that is, on a small panel), you should labor and take delight in always copying the best things that you can find by the hand of the great masters. And if you are in a place where there have been many great masters, so much the better for you. But I counsel you: guard that you always choose the best and the one who has the greatest fame, and proceeding thus day in and day out, it would be unnatural for you not to come close to his manner and to his *aria*; because if you endeavor to copy one artist today and another tomorrow, you will not acquire the manner of either of them, and you will necessarily become *fantastichetto*, by the love that each manner will excite in you. Now you will proceed in the manner of this one, tomorrow, some other, and thus nothing will be perfect. But if you follow the method of one master, practicing continually, coarse indeed will be the intellect that does not derive some benefit. Then it will happen that, if nature has given you any *fantasia*, you will acquire a manner proper to you, and it cannot be other than good, because when your intellect is accustomed to picking flowers, your hand will not know how to gather thorns. [47]

Although medieval artists routinely copied works by other masters, none of them wrote so extensively as Cennini about the practice of modeling. Cennini is, moreover, the first known artist since antiquity to examine the question of personal style. Andrea Bolland concludes that Cennini's idiosyncratic references to *imitatio* and style are therefore best contextualized within the debates about literary *imitatio* that took place in late-Trecento

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[47] "Avendo prima usato un tempo il disegnare, come ti dissi di sopra, cioè in tavoletta, affaticati e dilèttati di ritrar sempre le miglior cose che trovar puoi per mano fatte di gran maestri. E se se' in luogo dove molti buon maestri siemo stati, tanto meglio per te. Ma per consiglio io ti do: guarda di pigliar sempre il migliore e quello che ha maggior fama; e, sequitando di dì in dì, contra natura sarà se che a te non venga preso di suo' maniera e di suo' aria; perocché se ti muovi a ritrarre oggi di questo maestro, doman di quello, né maniera dell'uno, né maniera dell' altro non n'arai, e verrai per forza fantastichetto, per amor che ciascuna maniera ti straccerà la mente. Ora vo' fare a modo di questo, doman di quello altro, e così nessuno n'arai perfetto. Se seguiti l'andar d'uno per continovo uxo, ben sarà lo intelletto grosso che non ne pigli qualche cibo. Poi a te interverrà che, se punto di fantasia la natura t'arà conceduto, verrai a pigliare una maniera propria per te, e non potrà essere altro che buona; perché la mano (lo intelletto tuo essendo sempre uso di pigliare fiori) mal saprebbe tòrre spina." Cited and translated in Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 470-71.

Padua.[48] Cennini's position as court painter for Francesco Novello da Carrara would have placed him within close proximity of the humanists who participated in such debates, including the recently-deceased Petrarch, Pier Paolo Vergerio, and perhaps even Ciconia himself.

Cennini probably appropriated his ideas about *imitatio*—and some of the language with which he articulated them—from one or more sources either written by or known to authors in Paduan humanist circles. His exhortations to follow one rather than many models bear an obvious resemblance to those from a 1396 letter of Vergerio to Ludovico Buzzacarini, and to pseudo-Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Book 4.6.9.[49]

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[48] Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 471-72. Bolland's invaluable article forms the basis for the following discussion on Cennini.

[49] We may recall that Vergerio resided in Padua between 1390 and 1405, and had close ties with the Carrara court. We may also note that, although Cennini does not praise Giotto in his chapter on *imitatio*, he does elsewhere in his opus, most notably in the first chapter, where he inserts himself in a lineage of painters directly descended from Giotto himself: "I was trained in this profession for twelve years by my master, Agnolo di Taddeo of Florence; he learned this profession from Taddeo, his father; and his father was christened under Giotto, and was his follower for four-and-twenty years; and that Giotto changed the profession of painting from Greek back into Latin, and brought it up to date; and he had more finished craftsmanship than anyone has had since." Cennino Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook "Il Libro dell'Arte,"* trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1933), 2. It is not entirely clear why Vergerio chose to replace one of the many of the classical visual artists named in such passages with Giotto. Bolland ("Art and Humanism," 474-75) has suggested that Vergerio named Giotto—the most prized painter of Petrarch, and among members of the ruling Carrara family in Padua—because he was trying to curry favor at the court: "…in the 1380's and 1390's a Tuscanizing style—and more specifically a Giottesque style—was the norm in works commissioned by other members of the Carrarese court…Thus Vergerio's decision to use the modern example of Giotto rather than a standard ancient *topos* may well have been influenced by his familiarity with the Paduan art (and perhaps artists) around him as well as a canny sense of the stylistic preferences at court. It is certainly worth noting that in the early to mid-1390s, Vergerio seems to have been currying favor with the Carrara by dedicating, for instance, public orations to members of the family." Using two examples from Bruni to illustrate his point, Baxandall (*Giotto*, 41-43) argues that an

As one student's notes from lectures of Guarino of Verona demonstrate, major humanists from the Veneto and their students closely read the *Rhetorica* in particular.[50] The language that Cennini employs to warn his reader about the dangers of copying too many masters ("because if you endeavor to copy one artist today and another tomorrow, you will not acquire the manner of either of them, and you will necessarily become *fantastichetto,* by the love that each manner will excite in you") also recalls another source oft-cited by Vergerio, Petrarch, and other Paduan humanists: namely, the *Epistolae morales* of Seneca the younger. Seneca cautions his correspondent, Lucilius, that the reading of too many authors or books will make him *vagum et instabile*—"discursive and unsteady":

> …Lest this reading of many authors and books of every sort may tend to make you discursive and unsteady. You must linger among a limited number of master-thinkers, and digest their works, if you would derive ideas which shall win firm hold in your mind.[51]

In particular, Bolland observes that Cennini's *fantastichetto*—a relatively unusual term in early Renaissance literature on the arts—would have the same range of meaning as a vernacular rendering of Seneca's phrase, "vagum et instabile":

> The Latin *vagus* (literally wandering, figuratively inconstant and capricious) forms the root of the Italian *vago*—an adjective that by the end of the Trecento had come to signify both the state of desiring and that of being desired . . . what has an entirely negative meaning in the ancient source becomes more ambivalent in its modern reformulation. "Vagum et instabile" is understood as *desirous* and

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author's choice of whether to use an ancient or modern example of an artist depended upon the requirements of style in which he or she was operating.

[50] See Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 473 and Baxandall, *Giotto*, 40-44.

[51] *Epistola morales*, 1:6, 7 (Epistle 2.2): "Illud autem vide, ne ista lectio auctorum multorum et omnis generis voluminum habeat aliquid vagum et instabile. Certis ingeniis imnorari et innutriri oportet, si velis aliquid trahere, quod in animo fideliter sedeat." Cited in Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 479.

> unstable, which in turn becomes "fantastichetto per amore" . . . In Cennini's text we might suppose *fantastichetto* signifies a state in which the *fantasia* [a faculty of the mind] is overly stimulated by the mind's desires.[52]

According to both Bolland and David Summers, the twenty-seventh chapter of Cennini's *Libro* may owe more to Petrarch than either Vergerio or Seneca. Petrarch spent his last years (1368-74) in Padua and Arquà (in the hills southwest of Padua), enjoyed the patronage of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, and—as his relationship with the painter Altichiero, not to mention his frequent comments about Giotto and painting, demonstrate—had some contact with Paduan artistic circles.[53] The years of Cennini's tenure in Padua also witnessed the flourishing of a "cult of Petrarch," whose members included none other than Vergerio and Francesco Zabarella, the patron of Ciconia.[54] In particular, Summers and Bolland propose that Cennini's use of the term *aria*, and his insistence that the practice of *imitatio* ultimately leads to the development of one's own style, recall a famous letter of 1366 from Petrarch to Boccaccio.[55] Petrarch's letter employs the imagery—and ostensibly, the language—of painting to extol the virtues of what modern scholars have termed "dissimulative imitation"—or, a type of imitation that

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[52] Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 479. Both Cennini and Leonardo da Vinci use the Italian *vago* in their writings. For a more thorough account of *vagus* and its semantic transformations, see ibid., 479n33, and Angela Castellano, "Storia di una parola letteraria: It. 'vago'," *Archivio glottologico italiano* 48 (1963): 126-69.
[53] Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 479-80.
[54] Ibid., 480. Vergerio wrote the *Sermo de vita moribus et doctrina illustris et laureate poete Francesci Petrarce*, which he is documented to have read in the Padua Cathedral in the mid-1390's on the anniversary of Petrarch's death. He also edited Petrarch's *Africa*, and was familiar with a number of the poet's other Latin works.
[55] Ibid., 480-85; David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 56-57, 193-94; and idem, "*Aria II:* The Union of Image and Artist as an Aesthetic Ideal in Renaissance Art," *Artibus et historiae* 10, no. 20 (1989): 27.

disguises its source by altering its content enough to make it the imitator's own.[56] Imitators may produce something similar, but never identical, to their models, or they will become apes devoid of original ideas rather than poets who create unique styles and works. In the words of Petrarch:

> Thus, we may appropriate another's ideas as well as his coloring but we must abstain from his actual words for, with the former, resemblance remains hidden and with the latter it is glaring, the former creates poets, the second apes.[57]

Petrarch contrasts "poets" who strive to practice dissimulative *imitatio* with visual artists, who tend to reserve the highest praise for those who can reproduce an identical copy of an original master painting:

> An imitator must take care to write something similar yet not identical to the original, and that similarity must not be like the image to its original in painting where the greater the similarity the greater the praise for the artist, but rather like that of a son to his father.[58]

In fact, Petrarch has borrowed both the painterly and the father-son (or "filial") metaphors—and indeed this passage's fundamental ideas about *imitatio*—from Seneca's *Epistolae morales* 84, a fact that he readily acknowledges later in the same letter ("It may all be summarized by saying with Seneca, and Flaccus before him…").

Seneca, however, takes a somewhat harsher stance than Petrarch toward painting (or sculpture) and *imitatio*: a father produces progeny (his artistic "creations") that resemble him enough to recall his essential qualities, and yet themselves possess their

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[56] On dissimulative imitation, see especially G. W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 3-15.
[57] Petrarch, *Letters on Familiar Matters (Rerum familiarum libri)*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, vol. 3, *Books XVII-XXIV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 301-02.
[58] Ibid.

own particular essences and creative potential. A visual artist, by contrast, creates a reproduction of his model that lacks its own essence and contains no dynamic or creative potential; it is, in Seneca's words, a "res mortua"—a dead or lifeless thing:

> Even if there shall appear in you a likeness to him who, by reason of your admiration, has left a deep impress upon you, I would have you resemble him as a child resembles his father, and not as a picture resembles its original; for a picture is a lifeless thing.[59]

Although Petrarch favors literary over pictorial imitation, he esteems the visual arts well enough to include a lengthy excursus not present in Seneca about how certain paintings are able to reproduce the inner character of their living models, and as a result, seem themselves alive. Elsewhere, in his *Rime sparse*, Petrarch had already praised the Sienese painter Simone Martini (fl. 1315-1344) for his ability to portray the soul of his sitter, Petrarch's beloved Laura.[60] But in the 1366 letter to Boccaccio, Petrarch claims to borrow from the vocabulary of painters to describe the ineffable quality that links a father and his son:

> While often very different in their individual features, they have a certain something our painters call an air [*aer*], especially noticeable about the face and eyes, that produces a resemblance; seeing the son's face we are reminded of the father's although if it came to measurement, the features would all be different,

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[59] "Etiam si cuius in te comparebit similitudo, quem admiratio tibi altius fixerit, similem esse te volo quomodo filium, non quomodo imaginem; imago res mortua est." Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistolae morales*, ed. and trans. Richard M. Gunmere, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 2:280-81. Unfortunately, Seneca offers no details about what kind of image he means (e.g. a drawing, painting, or sculpture) or how it is reproduced (e.g. from nature, from memory, or from objects in a studio).

[60] Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 481. Sonnets number 77 ("Per mirar Policleto a prova fiso") and 78 ("Quando giunse a Simon l'alto concetto") praise the painter. Simone allegedly painted a portrait of Petrarch's beloved Laura (lost) as well as a frontispiece to the works of Virgil. Petrarch, *Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 176.

> but there is something subtle [*nescio quid occultum*] that creates this effect. We must thus see to it that if there is something similar, there is also a great deal that is dissimilar, and that the similar be elusive and unable to be extricated except in silent meditation, for the resemblance is to be felt rather than rather than expressed.[61]

As Summers has proposed, Petrarch probably chose *aer* as a "modern" substitution for the more ancient Greek term *ethos*. Specifically, the *Alexander* (1,3) of Plutarch and the *Imagines* (proœmium, 3) of Philostratus the Younger use the latter term to describe a human's inner character. Painters who wished to portray their sitter's *ethos* would most successfully discern it from the expression of their subject's eyes and surrounding facial features.[62] Consequently, Petrarch implies that visual artists would prize not merely the ability to reproduce an exact replica of a model, but its inner, living soul as well. In this regard, Petrarch may even equate *aer* with Seneca's *spiritus*—soul- or "life-breath." Artists breathe life—their *aer* or *spiritus*—into their creations, thus giving them their own soul and autonomy.[63]

Petrarch's letter to Boccaccio suggests that Trecento painters commonly used *aer* (and its collateral forms *aere* or *aria*) to describe the ineffable, inner quality of their own creative endeavors. While this may be the case, the term appears in the written accounts

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[61] Petrarch, *Letters on Familiar Matters*, 3:301-02, quoted in Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 481.
[62] David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 474n5; idem, "*Aria II,*" 26; and Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 481. Philostratus in particular tells us that "the signs of men's character [*ethos*] are revealed" in "the state of the cheeks and the expression of the eyes and the character of the eyebrows." Petrarch would have known both works.
[63] Summers, *The Judgement of Sense*," 121; Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 481-482.

of few visual artists before the sixteenth century.[64] Petrarch himself never specifies from which painters he borrows it. Indeed, Cennini's *Libro dell'Arte* contains the earliest known attestation of the vernacular *aria* or *aere* with regard to pictorial style.[65] Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455), Cennini's younger, more illustrious Florentine contemporary, seems to have been the only other early fifteenth-century artist to write about *aria* as a stylistic trait. Unlike Petrarch and Cennini, however, he does not mention it in conjunction with *imitatio*.[66]

Without more substantial evidence, it is difficult to determine whether Trecento painters imbued *aer* or its vernacular equivalents with the same, complex undertones of Petrarch. Certainly, Bolland discerns something approaching the nuance of the poet in Cennini's *Libro*; if she is correct, then the subtexts of Cennini's *aria*—and consequently his theories of *imitatio* and personal style—may owe a greater debt to Petrarch than his fellow visual artists. The fact that Cennini is the first known artist to write about *aria*, painting, and *imitatio* may be telling in this regard.

If we read the twenty-seventh chapter of Cennini's *Libro* superficially, we notice that *aria* seems to designate something as simple as an artist's personal manner or style; Cennini assures us that when we diligently copy the *aria* of one worthy master, we cannot fail to acquire a unique style of our own:

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[64] For a brief history of the *aer* and its collatoral forms in Renaissance art of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, see Summers, "*Aria II*."
[65] Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 482.
[66] Ghiberti's comments about *aria* are translated in Summers, "*Aria II*," 26-27. For Ghiberti, *aria* is a natural gift than cannot be taught.

> …guard that you always choose the best [master] and the one who has the greatest fame, and proceeding thus day in and day out, it would be unnatural for you not to come close to his manner and to his *aria*. . . But if you follow the method of one master, practicing continually… then it will happen that, if nature has given you any *fantasia*, you will acquire a manner proper to you [*una maniera propria per te*]…[67]

Yet, as we have noted above, Cennini remains the only known Trecento painter to discuss personal artistic style at all, which suggests that he may have also borrowed his ideas about such from Petrarch's 1366 letter rather than his visual artist-contemporaries. Many Renaissance literary historians, including Thomas Greene and Martin McLaughlin, have called Petrarch's similar emphasis—in the aforementioned letter and elsewhere in Petrarch's *oeuvre*—on personal style unique among his contemporaries and one of his most vital contributions to the Renaissance.[68] Indeed, I would add that the tenor of Petrarch's 1366 letter diverges remarkably from that of its own model, the *Epistolae morales* 84 of Seneca, in its preference for personal style over "unity" as the principal goal of *imitatio*. As Seneca states in the parallel passage from *Epistolae morales* 84:

> "What," you say, "will it not be seen whose style you are imitating, whose method of reasoning, whose pungent sayings?" I think that sometimes it is impossible for it to be seen who is being imitated, if the copy is a true one; for a true copy stamps its own form upon all the features which it has drawn from what we may call the original, in such a way that they are combined into a unity.[69]

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[67] Quoted in ibid., 470-71.

[68] See especially Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 81-146; and McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 22-48.

[69] "'Quid ergo? Non intellegetur, cuius imiteris orationem, cuius argumentationem, cuius sententias?' Puto aliquando ne intellegi quidem posse, si imago vera sit; haec enim omnibus, quae ex quo velut exemplari traxit, formam suam inpressit, ut in unitatem illa conpetant." Seneca, *Epistolae morales*, 2:280-83.

Furthermore, a closer and more detailed analysis of chapter 27 and other passages from Cennini's text indicates that he too may have endowed the term *aria* with richer undertones of "soul," "life-breath," or Petrarch's "nescio quid occultum" that lies beneath a surface of a sitter or painting. As these passages make clear, drawing is the principal medium by which artists not only assimilate the style of others (by making charcoal copies of their works), but discover their own unique style.[70] But, as Cennini informs us in chapter 122, a drawing also serves as the foundation of a panel, and—for that matter—fresco painting, and as such constitutes a direct link to the draughtsman's own artistic sensibility, and ultimately, his or her "soul."[71]

For example, panel painters would execute a preliminary charcoal drawing on a gessoed panel, correcting any mistakes, and "adumbrating" (*aombrare*) the drapery and faces of their figures. At this stage, Cennini tells us, they may "copy and look at things made by other good masters, and will bring [them] no shame."[72] The artists would then brush off much of the drawing, reinforce it with ink wash, and afterwards erase any trace of the original charcoal drawing.[73] Finally, they would cover the ink-washed drawing with paint.[74]

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[70] Drawing may be considered to be analogous to the poet's practice of memorizing and/or transcribing one's model.
[71] In chapter 103, Cennini tells us that one must master panel painting before moving on to the more "virtuoso" art of fresco painting.
[72] *Il Libro dell'Arte*, chapter 122, quoted in Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 483.
[73] Bolland, ibid.
[74] The painting process is in itself a complex process to which Cennini devotes many chapters.

As a result, even though the original drawing would only "adumbrate" the finished painting (because it would be erased and painted over), it would bring an observer closest to the artist's original conception of the work, as shaped by both the close observance of a model artwork and the rational faculties (*intelletto* or *fantasia*; akin to the Latin *ingenium*) of their own soul (*animo*; Latin *anima*), and executed by their "skill of hand" (*operazione di mano*; Latin *manus*).[75] As such, the transient drawing shares a close kinship with the "aer," "umbra," or "nescio quid occultum" that induces Petrarch's silent meditation on similarities and differences between a model and its subsequent refashioning; it functions as the invisible, ineffable "soul" that may be intimated beneath the veneer of the completed painting.[76]

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[75] In ancient, medieval, and Renaissance philosophy, the *ratio, fantasia,* and *ingenium*, along with the *imaginatio,* constituted the various qualities of the rational soul, or *anima*. In chapter 2 of *Il Libro dell'Arte*, Cennini tells us that drawing delights the *intelletto* of those who are naturally drawn to it by an *animo gentile*: "It is not without the impulse of a lofty spirit that some are moved to enter this profession, attractive to them through natural enthusiasm. Their intellect will take delight in drawing, provided their nature attracts them to it of themselves, without any master's guidance, out of loftiness of spirit." Cited in Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 470. Cennini again uses *intelletto*—a word relatively infrequently used by Trecento artists—in his chapter 27 discussion of *imitatio*, quoted in full on page 19 of this chapter. The artist's *intelletto* is thus shaped by regarding good or bad models. Finally, according to chapter 30 of *Il Libro,* the copying of models sharpens the intellect's sense of scale and proportion. In chapter 1 Cennini tells us that painting requires imagination (*fantasia*) and skill of hand: "and this is an occupation known as painting, which calls for imagination, and skill of hand, in order to discover things not seen, hiding themselves under the shadow of natural objects, and to fix them [*fermarle*] with the hand, presenting to plain sight what does not actually exist. And it justly deserves to be enthroned next to theory, and to be crowned with poetry." *The Craftman's Handbook,* 1-2. Cennini's combined skills of *fantasia* and *operazione di mano* are, as Bolland points out, but a vernacular rendering of the common humanist trope, *ingenium et manus*. See "Art and Humanism," 475; Baxandall, *Giotto*, 15-16.

[76] As Petrarch's letter has already hinted, the word *ombra* (Latin, *umbra*), may be used metaphorically to mean "soul." Bolland sees an implicit connection between Cennini's *ombra* and *anima.* See "Art and Humanism," 484n50.

It may come as no surprise, then, that Cennini designates the original drawing rather than the finished painting as the principal object by which others may fall in love with an artist's work: "And thus you will be left with an alluring (*vago*) drawing that will make everyone fall in love (*innamorare*) with your works."[77] We should recall that, in the same passage in which he had described *aria*, Cennini had used similar terms to describe an inexperienced artist's propensity to be attracted to, and to fall in love with, too many masters: if he (or she) were not careful, he could become "fantastichetto per amore." In his 1366 letter, Petrarch had also described his young amanuensis's somewhat immature approach to *imitatio* in terms of desire and attraction:

> But now, as is the way of youth, he delights in imitation, and at times is so enraptured by another poet's sweetness and so entangled, contrary to good poetic practice, in the rules of such a work that he becomes incapable of freeing himself without revealing the originals. . . So enamored of Virgil's charms is he that he often inserts bits taken from him into his own works.[78]

Michael Baxandall also discusses the artist, architect, theoretician of perspective, and humanist Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), who studied in Padua between ca. 1414 and 1418. He demonstrates how Alberti appropriated an example from Cicero and his humanist followers of Zeuxis and the maidens of Croton not merely to confirm his own aesthetic views on beauty, but as a prescription for actual artistic procedures. In the original passage from *De inventione*, Cicero appeals to the example of the ancient painter Zeuxis to justify his own choice to imitate more than one literary model. Alberti presents his version of the story of Zeuxis twice in his *oeuvre.* The first rendition, from the

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[77] Cited in Bolland, ibid., 483-484.
[78] *Letters on Familiar Matters* (23.19), 3:301. Bolland does not discuss this part of Petrarch's letter.

enormously influential treatise *De pictura* (1435), appears within a discussion of beauty as the harmonious construction of disparate parts from multiple models to form a unified whole:

> The ancient painter Demetrius fell short of the highest merit because what he applied himself to representing was likeness rather than beauty. So it is that one should pick out from the most beautiful bodies each of their most admirable parts. It is beauty, above all, that we should strive keenly and assiduously to understand, perceive, and represent. Yet this is the most difficult thing of all, since not all the glories of beauty are disclosed in any one place; rather are they scattered here and there. Nevertheless it is on this—on thoroughly inquiring and learning about beauty—that every effort should be spent . . . Zeuxis, the most famous, learned, and skillful of all painters, when he was to make a picture for public dedication in the temple of Juno at Croton, did not rashly rely on his own talent in setting about painting, as almost all painters of the present day do. Rather, since he considered all that he needed for beauty could not be found in any one body, either with his own talent or indeed even from Nature, he chose for this reason out of the whole youth of the city five maidens of the most exceptional beauty, so that he might translate into painting what was most admirable in each girl's form. He was indeed wise to do so.[79]

By the time Alberti composed *De statua*, he had apparently adopted Zeuxis's working methods as his own:

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[79] ". . . Demetrio pictori illi prisco ad summam laudem defuit, quod similitudinis exprimende fuerit curiosior quam pulchritudinis. Ergo a pulcherrimis corporibus omnes laudate partes, eligende sunt. Itaque non in postremis ad pulchritudinem percipiendam, habendam, atque exprimendam, studio et industria contendendum est. Que re tametsi omnium difficillima sit, quod non uno loco omnes pulchritudinis laudes comperiantur, sed rare ille quidem ac disperse sint, tamen in ea investiganda, ac perdiscenda omnis labos exponendus est . . . Zeusis prestantissimus et omnium doctissimus et peritissimus pictor, facturus tabulam, quam in templo Lucine apud Crothoniates publice dicaret, non suo confisus ingenio temere, ut fere omnes hac aetate pictores, ad pingendum accessit. Sed quod putabat omnia, que ad venustatem quereret, ea non modo proprio ingenio non posse, sed ne a natura quidem petita, uno posse in corpore reperiri. Idcirco ex omni eius urbis iuventute delegit virgines quinque forma prestantiores ut, quod in quaque esset formae muliebris laudatissimum, id in pictura referret. Prudenter is quidem." Cited in Baxandall, *Giotto*, 38.

> I took these proportions not from one particular body but rather, so far as possible, I tried to note and record the great beauty shared out, as it were, by Nature among many bodies—imitating in this the painter who, when he was to make an image of a goddess at Croton, selected all the more remarkable and graceful beauties of from a number of the more handsome maidens there and translated them into his work. In this way I too chose a number of bodies considered very beautiful by knowledgeable judges and took their measurements. I then compared these with each other, excluding those that were extreme either in excess or deficiency, and extracted such mean dimensions as a number of measurements of internal proportions agreed on and confirmed. After measuring the principal lengths, breadth, and thicknesses of the members, what I found was the following.[80]

The further significance of the story of Zeuxis and Alberti's renditions thereof will be explored below.

iii. Writings on Music and Imitatio

Thus far I have surveyed some of the ways in which classical and humanist rhetoricians and visual artists influenced one another's conceptions and practices of *imitatio.* If indeed ideas about imitation could so easily cross disciplinary boundaries, we must ask whether there existed similar reciprocal influences between rhetoric and music. Two questions in particular arise. First, did classical and/or humanist authors write about music and imitation? If so, did their writings significantly affect the way in which early fifteenth century musicians, Ciconia chief among them, conceived of imitation?

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[80] "Ergo non unius istius aut illius corporis tantum, sed quoad licuit, eximiam a natura pluribus corporibus, quasi ratis portionibus dono distributam pulchritudinem, adnotare et mandare litteris prosecuti sumus, illum imitati, qui apud Crotoniates, facturus simulacrum Deae, pluribus a virginibus praestantioribus insignes elegantesque omnes formae pulchritudines delegit, suumque in opus transtulit. Sic nos plurima quae apud peritos pulcherrima haberentur corpora, delegimus et a quibusque suas desumpsimus dimensiones, quas, postea cum alteras alteris comparassemus, spretis extremorum excessibus, si qua excederent aut excederentur, eas excepimus mediocritates, quas plurium exempedarum consensus comprobasset. Metiti igitur membrorum longitudines, latitudines, crassitudines primarias atque insignes, sic invenimus." Cited in Baxandall, *Giotto*, 38-39.

In fact, classical authorities did write about music and imitation, though less frequently than about the visual arts and imitation. In the tenth book of the *Institutio Oratoria*, for example, Quintilian noted how the practice of imitation pervades every discipline, including music.[81] In his *Epistolae morales* 84, Seneca used a series of metaphors to describe how a writer should imitate multiple models to create new, unified works. After comparing the imitative process to how bees make honey (the "apian" metaphor), how humans digest food (the "digestive" metaphor), and how a child resembles his father (the "filial" metaphor), Seneca likened the harmonious joining of parts from various literary sources to the joining of many individual voices to form one unified voice in a chorus:

> Do you not see how many voices there are in a chorus? Yet out of the many only one voice results. In that chorus one voice takes the tenor, another the bass, another the baritone. There are women, too, as well as men, and the flute is mingled with them. In that chorus the voices of individual singers are hidden; what we hear is the voices of all together… All the aisles are filled with rows of singers; brass instruments surround the auditorium; the stage resounds with flutes and instruments of every description; and yet from the discordant sounds a harmony is produced.[82]

Macrobius included abbreviated versions of Seneca's "choral," "apian," and "digestive" metaphors in the Preface of his *Saturnalia*.[83]

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[81] Trans. Butler, 4:74-75 (X.2).

[82] *Epistolae morales*, trans. Gunmere, 2:281-83. "Non vides, quam multorum vocibus chorus constet? Unus tamen ex omnibus redditur; aliqua illic acuta est, aliqua gravis, aliqua media. Accedunt viris feminae, interponuntur tibiae. Singulorum illic latent voces, omnium apparent… Cum omnes vias ordo canentium inplevit et cavea aenatoribus cincta est et ex pulpito omne tibiarum genus organorumque consonuit, fit concentus ex dissonis." For more on the "apian," "digestive," and "filial" metaphors, see Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation."

[83] Ed. and trans. Robert A. Kaster, vol. 1, *Books 1-2*, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 4-7 (Preface 5, 6-7, 9).

In contrast to writers in antiquity, humanists rarely broach the connection between music and *imitatio*. The single author to do so, Battista Guarini, will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Pedagogy of *Imitatio*

By now, the reader should have a fair understanding not merely of what kinds of models early humanists chose to imitate, but how they imbibed the ideas and rhetoric contained within them. Thus far I have approached the more pressing issue of pedagogy only obliquely; at this juncture, I will therefore address the various methods by which certain authors, visual artists, and musicians tell us they learned how to imitate chosen models. Their collective writings on the subject reveal that—however metaphorically they may or may not have described the process of imitation—their fundamental conceptions of the imitative process were of a more practical nature, and had already been inculcated in them from the earliest stages of their education—in other words, at the same time they were learning how to read and write their first words.

i. Hierarchical Models of Imitatio: Analysis and Composition

Multiple writings—pedagogical or otherwise—indicate that one prerequisite for imitation was a working knowledge of how a model was constructed. For the "avant garde" generation of humanists that came of age in the first decades of the fifteenth century, this knowledge encompassed not only a general understanding of the model's superficial structure, rhetorical figures, vocabulary, and sounds of the written words. Humanists additionally advocated an analysis of every aspect of the model's construction

down to the smallest particle, coupled with a detailed exegesis of selected words, passages, or the work in its entirety.

Two authors bear witness to their generations' particular obsession with literary minutiae. The first, Hungarian bishop and poet Ianus Pannonius (1434-1472), eulogizes the analytical and interpretive skills of his former teacher, illustrious humanist and pedagogue Guarino of Verona (1374-1460), in an elaborate panegyric:

> These last [works of poets] you interpret not in the usual trite way, following the plain and obvious, like one who casts his trailing net over the surface of the water, without going for the catch at the bottom; but rather, mingling great with small, the highest with the lowest, you leave nothing whatever in doubt or un-discussed, so that no one will make a mistake over a short syllable or an individual letter, about the construction, the meanings of words, what words have faithfully kept their meaning over the years, the etymology of any expression, the difference between words that seem to have only one meaning, the style of the meter, the author of the poem, the sources of subject matter, what figures of speech are permissible in argumentation, which ones best fit a particular literary form, and which rule is the more effective in narrative…[84]

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[84] "Seu velit annales seu dia poemata vatum,
Quos tu non trito vulgi de more retexis
Plana et aperta sequens, ceu qui vaga retia summis
Ducit aquis fundo nec praedam quaerit in imo,
Grandia sed parvis, sublimibus infima miscens
Nil indiscussum penitus dubiumve relinquis,
Syllaba uti nullum tenuis vel littera fallat,
Qui structurae ordo, quae sit sententia vocum,
Quae nota verborum servata fidelibus annis,
Quodlibet a quanam decurrat origine nomen,
Quid distent, unum quae significare videntur,
Qui stilus aut numeri species, quis carminis auctor,
Argumenta quibus veniant a sedibus et quos
Excuset ratio, commendet forma colores,
Narrandi quae lex potior…"
Humanist Pietas: The Panegyric of Ianus Pannonius on Guarinus Veronensis, ed. and trans. Ian Thomson (Bloomington, IN: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1988), 152-53.

The second, Leonardo Bruni, merits citation not only because he was one of the greatest authors and translators of the early fifteenth century, but because his writings indicate that humanists disseminated their views on imitation beyond their immediate, elite circles of male colleagues and protégés to their patrons, or—even more, remarkably—their female correspondents. Bruni's educational tract *De studiis et litteris,* written sometime between 1422 and 1429, is addressed to none other than Battista di Montefeltro (1384-1448), daughter of Count Antonio II of Urbino, wife of Lord Galeazzo Malatesta of Pesaro, and herself an accomplished scholar and poet.[85] According to Bruni, Battista should scrutinize every grammatical and semantic detail of her models if she would like to write in a truly eloquent style:

> The person aiming at the kind of excellence to which I am calling you needs first, I think, to acquire no slender or common, but a wide and exact, even recherché familiarity with literature. Without this basis, no one can build himself any high or splendid thing. The one who lacks knowledge of literature will neither understand sufficiently the writings of the learned, nor will he be able, if he himself attempts to write, to avoid making a laughing stock of himself. . . Study reveals and explains to us not only the words and syllables but also the tropes and figures of speech in all their beauty and polish. Through study we receive our literary formation, and, as it were our teaching; through it, indeed, we learn much that a teacher could never teach us: vocalic melody, elegance, concinnity, and charm…Our second [study] will be to bring to this reading [of only the best authors] a keen critical sense. The reader must study the reason why the words are placed as they are, and the meaning and force of each element of the sentence, the smaller as well as the larger; he must thoroughly understand the force of the several particles whose idiom and usage he will copy from the authors he reads.[86]

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[85] *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. and trans. Craig W. Kallendorf, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), xi, 328n1; *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, trans. William Harrison Woodward, Classics in Education 18 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), 119-20.

[86] "Homini quidem ad excellentiam illam, ad quam ego nunc te voco, contendenti in primis necessariam puto non exiguam neque vulgarem, sed magnam et tritam et accuratam et reconditam litterarum peritiam, sine quo fundamento nihil altum neque

Bruni and Pannonius also stress the novelty of their endeavors; both take great pains to distinguish their more comprehensive study of models from the superficial methods of their immediate predecessors—scholastic theologians, and the older humanists of Petrarch's generation.[87] Pannonius reminds his readers that Guarino did not interpret the "words of poets…in the usual trite way, following the plain and obvious."[88] In a similar passage from *De studiis et litteris*, Bruni castigates contemporaneous theologians because they mistake superficial, scholastic vocabulary for eloquent speech, and because of their complete ignorance of proper literary exemplars:

> …you [Battista Malatesta] live in these times when learning has so far decayed that it is regarded as positively miraculous to meet a learned man, let alone a woman. By learning, however, I do not mean that confused and vulgar sort such as is possessed by those who nowadays profess theology, but a legitimate and liberal kind which joins literary skill with factual knowledge, a learning Lactantius possessed, and Augustine, and Jerome, all of whom were finished men

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magnificum sibi aedificare quisquam potest. Nam neque doctorum hominum scripta satis conspicue intelliget, qui non ista fuerit peritia eruditus, nec ipse, si quid litteris mandabit, poterit non ridiculus existimari. . . Haec enim non verba solum et syllabas, sed tropos et figuras et omnem ornatum pulchritudinemque orationis aperit nobis atque ostendit. Ab hac informamur ac velut instituimur, denique per hanc multa discimus, quae doceri a praeceptore vix possunt: sonum, elegentiam, concinnitatem, venustatem. . . Erit igitur prima diligentia, ut nihil nisi optimum probatissimumque legamus; secunda vero, ut haec ipsa optima probatissimaque nobis acri iudicio asciscamus. Videat legens qui quidque loco sit positum, quid designent singula et quid valeant; nec maiora tantum, sed minutiora discutiat, cumque plures sint orationis particulae, quae sit unaquaeque, de schola cognoscet. Consuetudinem certe et usum illarum ab iis, quos leget, auctoribus reportabit." *De studiis et litteris,* in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. and trans. Kallendorf, 94-97. Battista Guarino expresses a similar view of intricate study in *De ordine docendi et studendi* 34, in Kallendorf, 298-99.

[87] According to R.R. Bolgar, Bruni wished "to disassociate himself equally from the medieval rhetoricians who followed the *De inventione* [of Cicero] in their analyses of structure, and from the school of Petrarch and Barzizza who concentrated on the widening of the student's vocabulary and on the sound of what was written." See Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries: From the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 269.

[88] Thomson, *Humanist Pietas*, 152-153.

> of letters as well as great theologians. It is shameful, by contrast, how very little modern theologians know of letters.[89]

If both authors' types of analysis were as novel as they claimed, we may ask from whom they learned their methods. Once again, Pannonius gives us an answer, in a florid adaptation of Seneca's "apian" metaphor:

> As the stippled packer of golden honey enters a garden blooming in the first dews and plunders all the plants of sweet-smelling spring, now sipping mezereon, now thyme, now the supple poppy, now skimming the filaments of the crocus with her tiny leg, until, laden, she knocks in the late evening at the familiar door, and returns to her waxen home; so you [Guarino] eagerly pluck all the riches from Chrysoloras' mind and carefully stow them away in your innermost heart, and pass no idle hour, with time for nothing but your master's orders or your teacher's instructions.[90]

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[89] "Et tua quidem laus illustrior erit quam illarum fuit, propterea quod illae his saeculis floruere in quibus eruditorum hominum magna supererat copia, ut multitudo ipsa minueret admirationem, tu autem his temporibus florebis in quibus usque adeo prolapsa studia sunt, ut miraculi iam loco habeatur videre virum, nedum feminam eruditam. Eruditionem autem intelligo non vulgarem istam et perturbatam, quali utuntur ii qui nunc theologiam profitentur, sed legitimam illam et ingenuam, quae litterarum peritiam cum rerum scientia coniungit; qualis in Lactantio Firmiano, qualis in Aurelio Augustino, qualis in Hieronymo fuit, summis profecto theologis ac perfectis in litteris viris. Nunc vero, qui eam scientiam profitentur, pudendum est quam parum persciant litterarum." Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 92-95.

[90] "Non secus ac flavi stipatrix Daedala mellis
Florentem primis subiit cum roribus hortum,
Omnia odorati populatur germina veris,
Nunc casiam, nunc illa thymum, nunc lene papaver
Delibans, nunc fila croci redolentia parvo
Crure legens, donec sero iam vespere notas
Pulsat onusta fores et cerea tecta revisit:
Sic Chrysolorei cupide tu pectoris omnes
Carpis divitias et corde recondis in imo
Sedulus ac nullam consumis inaniter horam
Obsequiisve vacans domini monitisve magistri."
Thomson, *Humanist Pietas*, 100-03.

The "Chysoloras" of whom Pannonius speaks is none other than the great Greek diplomat and pedagogue Manuel Chrysoloras, to whom historian R.R. Bolgar attributes the humanists' newfound preoccupation with the love of literary minutiae, and perhaps more grandly, the genesis of a truly "Renaissance" pedagogy. Indeed, Chrysoloras's formidable skills as a diplomat impressed this generation of humanists rather less than his intimate knowledge of ancient Greek texts and language. Long after his original diplomatic mission to extract Western aid for the Byzantine emperor against the Turks ended, he taught Greek across Italy, and soon acquired a close-knit cadre of devoted students and correspondents.[91] Among them, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Ambrogio Travesari, Gasparino Barzizza, Niccolò Niccoli, Francesco Zabarella, and especially Bruni and Guarino became the most prominent humanists of their time. Guarino in particular studied Greek with Chrysoloras in Constantinople for a number of years and made his own Greek-Latin redaction of Chrysoloras's Greek grammar, the *Erotemata.*[92]

The influence that Chrysoloras exerted upon his students was so great that Greek soon became a required auxiliary for the proper cultivation of Latin style. In his educational treatise, *De ordine docendi et studendi* (1459), Battista (1435-1513), the youngest son of Guarino, informs his readership of his conviction that "Greek is not only useful but absolutely essential for Latin letters."[93] He then goes on at some length about the close dependence of Latin vocabulary, grammar, etymology, and literary allusion—in

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[91] Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 268-69.
[92] Thomson, *Humanist Pietas*, 2-3; Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 345n37.
[93] "Mihi vero, dum vivam, nemo hunc errorem (si error est) eripiet, ut eam non modo utilem sed pernecessariam litteris nostris esse non credam." Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 278-79.

short, all the elements of the Latin language—upon Greek. In this regard, he mentions certain students of his father who, after gaining a mastery of Latin basics, had made such progress in Greek that after only one year of study "they were translating books into Latin at sight, all by themselves, and so correctly and faithfully that everyone was quick to applaud their efforts." Such proficiency, Battista notes, could in fact only be attained by careful and systematic teaching of the rudiments of the grammar, as they are laid out in the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras:

> Let students, then, acquire the Greek language, but not in the confused and disorderly way that the Greeks usually teach it. Instead, put into their hands the rules which Manuel Chrysoloras, our father's teacher, collected in summary form, or the ones which our father himself, as great lover of compendia, distilled from the rules of Chrysoloras.[94]

Battista's testimony, then, furnishes some proof that illustrious pedagogues and their students transferred Chrysoloras's intricate analytical apparatus to their preferred second language of Latin.

One of the primary reasons that humanists so closely analyzed models was to learn how to compose their own works. Indeed, authors so often mention composition in conjunction with what we have designated "analysis," that it seems a student could not learn one without the other. Leonardo Bruni, for instance, informs Battista Malatesta that one cannot gain proficiency in the art of composition without first attaining a mastery of Latin language and literature: "The one who lacks knowledge of literature will neither

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[94] "Eam igitur adolescentes arripiant, nec confuse et inordinate ut apud Graecos tradi solitum erat, sed eas habeant regulas quas parentis nostri praeceptor Manuel Chrysoloras summatim collegit, vel quas parens ipse noster compendii amantissimus ex illis contraxit." Ibid., 280-81.

understand sufficiently the writings of the learned, nor will he be able, if he himself attempts to write, to avoid making a laughing stock of himself."[95]

The commentary of Bruni, Guarino of Verona, and various other authors suggests that the early fifteenth-century humanists absorbed the principles of composition and analysis in the earliest stages of their education. Bruni concedes the vital role that elementary education must play in the acquisition of proper Latin style:

> To attain this knowledge [of letters], elementary instruction has its place…Everyone knows that in the first instance the mind needs an instructor to train and as it were initiate it so that it can recognize not only the parts of speech and their arrangement, but also those smaller details and elements of speech.[96]

Students learned Latin parts of speech, syntax, and "smaller elements" such as letters, syllables, and metric feet through the repetition and memorization of Latin paradigms, formulas, and eventually, longer excerpts of literature. In a letter of October 28, 1425, for example, Guarino reveals his preferred method of instruction: "I will repeat 'and repeat again, and recommend many, many times' [a line from Vergil's *Aeneid*, 3.345] that you must exercise a student's memory. Give him something to memorize, and pay more attention to repetition than to explanation." Guarino's statement indicates furthermore that his students would internalize the rules of Latin grammar, structure, and vocabulary without necessarily knowing what they meant. Only later in their education would they realize that they had already acquired the tools necessary to conduct their own

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[95] Ibid., 95.

[96] "Ad hanc autem comparandam cum praeceptio valet, tum nostra multo magis diligentia atque cura… Quis enim nescit ante omnia tinctum esse oportere ingenium et quasi initiatum praeceptoris opera, ut non solum partes structuramque earum, sed etiam minutiora illa ac velut elementa orationis agnoscat?" Ibid.

literary exegeses or compose their own works. Bruni echoes this sentiment in another passage from *De studiis*. Elementary education, he tells Battista Malatesta, "need hardly detain us," presumably because he and his correspondent had thoroughly absorbed the principles of Latin grammar in their youth. But now that he and Battista had matured, they could revisit—and savor—the literary significance of what they had once memorized without thought: "But these [the parts of speech, their arrangement, and their smaller elements], we absorb in childhood as though dreaming; afterwards when we have moved on to greater things, they somehow come back to our lips, and it is only then that we taste their sweetness and the true flavor."[97]

For Bruni in particular, the unconscious absorption of Latin precepts—either in one's childhood or in independent adult study—constituted a necessary prerequisite for the development of one's own writing style. "Study", reveals Bruni, in a shift to Seneca's digestive metaphor, "is the pabulum of the mind by which the intellect is trained and nourished. For this reason, just as gastronomes are careful in the choice of what they put in their stomachs, so those who wish to preserve purity of taste will only allow certain reading to enter their minds."[98] Here, as elsewhere, Bruni uses culinary metaphors to describe the absorption process. Gastronomes may choose what they eat, but the process by which that food is digested is unconscious and automatic. Bruni and Battista

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[97] "Verum haec tamquam somniantes in pueritia capimus; postea vero ad maiora provecti, nescio quomodo haec ipsa ad os revocamus et quasi ruminamus, ut tunc demum illorum sucus saporque verus exprimatur." Ibid., 94-95.

[98] "Est enim veluti pabulum animi, quo mens imbuitur atque nutritur. Quam ob rem, ut ii, qui stomachi curam habent, non quemvis cibum illi infundunt, ita, qui sinceritatem animi conservare volet, non quamvis lectionem illi permittet." Ibid., 96-97.

Malatesta may recall the flavor of material they had digested (and presumably taken into their own being) years earlier. While Battista may consciously select appropriate literary models, then, the actual process by which their styles are transmuted into her own unique writing style remains obscure and mysterious.

The texts from which primary and secondary pupils internalized Latin paradigms were in fact not new. Early fifteenth-century humanists continued to regard the *Ars minor* and *maior* of Donatus (fl. ca. 350), the *Institutiones* of Priscian (fl. 500), and to a lesser extent the commentaries of Servius on the *Ars minor* and *maior* as the authoritative texts on Latin grammar and syntax. Indeed, the *Ars minor* became so synonymous with elementary education that any treatise on the rudiments of grammar came to be known as a *Donat.*[99] Humanists also considered the texts of Donatus, Priscian, and Servius as valuable sources from which students could learn the art of analysis and composition. According to Bruni, grammarians like Servius and Priscian had developed a model of literary exegesis that adult learners in particular should follow:

> There is another more robust kind of elementary instruction, useful more to adults than children: the instruction, I mean, of those who are called grammarians, those who have thoroughly investigated every detail in our books, and in so doing have created a kind of literary discipline. Servius and Priscian are grammarians of this sort.[100]

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[99] Paul Gehl, "Pseudo-Donatus (2.03)," *Humanism for Sale*, September 17, 2008, https://www.humanismforsale.org/text/archives/144.

[100] "Est aliud genus praeceptionis robustius, ne tam pueris quam adultis perutile; eorum scilicet, qui grammatici appellantur, qui longo labore singula persecuti disciplinam quamdam litterarum effecerunt. Quo in genere Servius Honoratus et Priscianus Caesariensis haberi possunt." Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 94-97. The *Institutiones* in particular would seem to nicely complement Chrysoloras's analytical methods.

The texts of the *Institutiones, Ars maior*, and indeed most other late antique and early medieval grammar manuals are especially important because they approach the principles of grammar—and by extension, the analysis and composition of Latin works—hierarchically. Even a brief survey of the manuals' tables of contents illustrates that their authors built language from the ground up, that is from small to large: after briefly defining what the voice and its qualities are, authors continue with chapters on, respectively, the letter, the syllable and its various arrangements, basic metrics (feet, accents, and distinctions, often still at the level of the syllable), the eight types of words—or parts of speech, and conclude with rules of proper syntax.

Popular encyclopedias like the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636) clearly articulate a hierarchical theory of composition. In Book 2, chapter 18 ("De colo, commate, et periodis"), Isidore outlines a four-step, progressive method of constructing (or, for that matter, analyzing) a sentence; words combine to form phrases, phrases to form clauses, and clauses to form periods or sentences:

> 1. Every utterance is composed and constituted of words, the phrase, the clause, and the sentence. A phrase (*comma*) is a small component of thought, a clause is a member, and a sentence is a 'rounding-off or compass'. A phrase is made from a combination of words, a clause from phrases, and a sentence from clauses. 2. A *comma* is the marking off of a speech-juncture, as 1): "Although I fear, judges. . ." –there is one *comma*, and another *comma* follows—". . . that it may be unseemly to speak for the bravest of men, . . ." and this makes up a clause, that is, a member, that makes the sense intelligible. But still the utterance is left hanging, and in this way finally from several clauses the sentence's period is made, that is the last closing-off of the thought, thus: ". . . and so they miss the traditional procedure of the courts." But a sentence should not be longer than what may be delivered in one breath.[101]

[101] *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 74-75. "Conponitur autem instruiturque omnis oratio verbis, comma et colo et periodo. Comma

In *Nova musica*, Ciconia employs a number of hierarchical analogies to compare the parallel processes of composing music and language. Although erroneously attributed to the Venerable Bede, one analogy, from Book 2, Chapter 55 ("De perfecta sistemata et periodo"), utilizes some of the same vocabulary as Isidore to describe the analogous structures of a complete sentence, thought, or speech and a complete "song" or "mode":

> A "period" in music is called an entire song or an entire mode, which is produced by a diapason and composed of *cola* and *commata*, that is, of tones and semitones. In grammar, a period is an entire speech or an entire thought, as Bede [*sic*] reports. Its parts are called *cola* and *commata*, as, for instance, "For you endure, if someone reduces you to servitude" is a colon. "If someone receives" is a colon. "If someone consumes" is a colon. "If someone is lifted up" is a colon, and others, up to a full thought, are *cola* and *commata.* Therefore, a full thought is a period. The interpretations of *colon* or *cola* are "member" or "members"; comma is a phrase; period is a clause or circuit. Fewer than two members cannot have a circuit, but more can.[102]

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particula est sententiae. Colon membrum. Periodos ambitus vel circuitus. Fit autem ex coniunctione verborum comma, ex commate colon, ex colo periodos. 2 Comma est iuncturae finitio, utputa (Cic. Mil. 1): 'Etsi vereor, iudices,' ecce unum comma; sequitur et aliud comma: 'ne turpe sit pro fortissimo viro dicere,' et factum est colon, id est membrum, quod intellectum sensui praestat; sed adhuc pendet oratio, sicque deinde ex pluribus membris fit periodos, id est extrema sententiae clausula: 'ita veterem iudiciorum morem requirunt.' Periodos autem longior esse non debet quam ut uno spiritu proferatur." *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), updated with corrections at https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Isidore/2*.html#18 .

[102] "Periodus autem in musica dicitur integer cantus vel integer modus qui fit per diapason et qui componitur ex colis et commatibus, id est tonis et semitoniis. In grammatica vero periodus est integra oratio vel integra sententia, ut Beda refert. Partes eius cola et commata dicuntur, ut puta substinetis enim si quis vos in servitutem redigit colon est. Si quis accipit colon est. Si quis devorat colon est. Si quis extollitur colon est, et cetera usque ad plenam sententiam cola sunt et commata. Plena igitur sententia periodus est. Interpretationes autem colon vel cola membrum vel membra. Comma incisio, periodus clausula vel circuitus. Minus enim quam duo membra circuitus habere non possunt, plura vero possunt." *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 332-35.

Another analogy, from Book 1, chapter 60, will be discussed at great length in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

According to Baxandall, every humanist schoolboy would have been taught the hierarchical method of composition that Isidore describes. We may adduce multiple authors in support of Baxandall's statement. In one aforementioned passage from *De studiis*, Bruni uses the construction of a building as a metaphor for constructing one's own literary monument, implying that he conceptualized composition as a hierarchical process: "Without this basis [in Latin grammar and literature] no one can build himself any high or splendid thing."[103] As another passage from the *De ordine docendi* of Battista Guarino demonstrates, the building metaphor became a recurring trope in humanist discourse about composition:

> In teaching the former [beginning students], however, he should stick to the following order: they should get used to pronouncing the letters and words clearly and easily… Secondly, pupils should be given a complete and perfect command of grammar, for just as, in the case of buildings, everything that you build on top necessarily collapses unless strong foundations have been laid, so too in one's plan of study: unless pupils acquire an excellent knowledge of the basics, greater progress will only make them more aware of their weaknesses. Consequently, let boys learn first to decline their nouns and conjugate their verbs; without this, there is no way they will be able to come to an understanding of what comes next. And the teacher should not be content to have taught [the paradigms] once only, but should repeat them over and over, training the boys' memories on them.[104]

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[103] "…sine quo fundamento nihil altum neque magnificum sibi aedificare quisquam potest." Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 94-95.

[104] "In illis autem erudiendis ordinem hunc servari oportebit, ut litteras et verba aperte quidem et expedite, non tamen expresse nimis pronuntiare consuescant; nam sicut obscura et intra dentes murmuratio et verborum conculcatio, ita iniucunda et fastidiosa vehemens tum litterarum expressio, tum in verbis quasi syllabarum dilatatio. Deinde grammatica omni ex parte perfecte docendi sunt; ut enim in edificiis nisi valida iacta sint fundamenta, quiquid supra construas corruat necesse est, ita et in studiorum ratione, nisi principia optime calleant, quo magis progrediuntur, eo magis imbecillitatem suam sentiunt. Quocirca nomina et verba declinare in primis pueri sciant, sine quibus nullo

One of the most well-articulated statements about early Renaissance literary composition may be found, ironically, in a treatise about painting. We have already demonstrated how Leon Battista Alberti's readings of certain ancient poets and rhetoricians informed his own discourse about the creative process of painting and sculpture. One passage from the third book of *De pictura* takes Alberti's comparisons between literature and painting one step further. It proposes that the processes of writing and painting mirror each other even at the most basic levels; students should therefore learn how to paint the same way they learn how to write, by putting together increasingly complex constituents:

> I would have those who begin to learn the art of painting do what I see practiced by teachers of writing. They first teach all the signs of the alphabet separately, and then how to put syllables together, and then whole words. Our students should follow this method with painting. First they should learn the outlines of surfaces, then the way in which surfaces are joined together, and after that the forms of all the members individually.[105]

As the last sentence of this passage hints, and Alberti's text goes on to make clear, a good deal of analysis, repetition, and memorization of various models accompanies the

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modo pervernire ad intellectum sequentium possunt ; nec semel tantum docuisse contentus sit praeceptor, sed saepe repetens iterumque iterumque memoriam in iis puerorum exerceat, et tamquam diligens imperator, quid didicerint et quantum, recognoscat…" Ibid., 268-69.

[105] 3.55: "Velim quidem eos qui pingendi artem ingrediuntur, id agere quod apud scribendi instructores observari video. Nam illi quidem prius omnes elementorum characteres separatim edocent, postea vero syllabas atque perinde dictiones componere instruunt. Hanc ergo rationem et nostri in pingendo sequantur. Primo ambitum superficierum quasi picturae elementa, tum et superficierum connexus, dehinc membrorum omnium formas distincte ediscant…" Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture: The Latin Texts of De Pictura and De Statua*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1972), 96-97.

student's first forays into painting. They should learn all of the possible permutations of body parts and poses that nature has to offer, much as grammar students memorize dozens of Latin paradigms so that they may reproduce at will all of the possible permutations of that language:

> And they should commit to memory all the differences that can exist in those members, for they are neither few nor insignificant. Some people will have a crook-backed nose; other will have flat, turned-back, open nostrils; some are full around the mouth, while others are graced with slender lips, and so on: every part has something particular which considerably alters the whole member when it is present in greater or lesser degree. Indeed we see that those same members which in our boyhood were rounded, and, one might say, well turned and smoothed, are become rough and angular with the advance of age. All these things, therefore, the student of painting will take from Nature, and assiduously meditate upon the appearance of each part; and he will persist continually in such enquiry with both eye and mind. In a seated figure he will observe the lap, and how the legs hang gently down. In a standing person he will note the whole appearance and posture, and there will be no part whose function and symmetry, as the Greeks call it, he will not know.[106]

It is perhaps worth noting that these passages directly precede one of the most famous tropes about *imitatio* in classical and Renaissance literature: namely, the Zeuxis metaphor. As we have seen, Alberti borrowed Cicero's account of the legend in order to justify—as his predecessor had done—his own use of multiple models.

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[106] "… omnesque in membris possint esse differentias memoriae commendent. Nam sunt illae quidem neque modicae neque non insignes. Aderunt quibus sit nasus gibbosus; erunt qui gerant simas nares, recurvas, patulas: alii buccas fluentes porrigunt, alios labiorum gracilitas ornat, ac deinceps quaeque membra aliquid praecipuum habent, quod cum plus aut minus affuerit, tunc multo totum membrum variet. Quin etiam videmus ut eadem membra pueris nobis rotunda et, ut ita dicam, tornata atque levia, aetatis vero accessu asperiora et admodum angulata sint. Haec igitur omnia picturae studiosus ab ipsa natura excipiet, ac secum ipse assiduo meditabitur quonam pacto quaeque extent, in eaque investigatione continuo oculis et mente persistet. Spectabit namque sedentis gremium et tibias ut dulce in proclivum labantur. Notabit stantis faciem totam atque habitudinem, denique nulla erit pas cuius officium et symmetriam, ut Graeci aiunt, ignoret." Ibid., 96-99.

In fact, Alberti had already presented a fully-fledged model of composition in the second book of *De pictura.*[107] Here, *compositio* encompasses much more than the most basic rudiments of painting technique. Accomplished painters would construct entire visual narratives—or *historiae*—according to a four-fold hierarchy that resembled the one outlined in the second book of Isidore's *Etymologies*. Just as words (*verba)*, the most basic elements of intelligible discourse, combined to form phrases (*commae*), phrases to form clauses (*cola* or *membra*), and clauses to form periods or sentences (*periodi*), so would planes (*partes superficies*), the most basic elements of painting, combine to form members (*membra*), members to form bodies (*corpora*), and bodies to form coherent scenes of a picture (*istoriae*). As Alberti states:

> Composition is that procedure in painting whereby the parts are composed together in a picture. The greatest work of the painter is the *historia*; parts of the *historia* are the bodies, part of the body is the member, and part of the member is a plane surface.[108]

Because of the close connections between composition and analysis, moreover, artists could employ Alberti's model to help them study the paintings of other masters. And indeed, Alberti goes on to praise the *historiae* of the ancient Timanthes of Cyprus and Giotto in part because he thinks they are so harmoniously composed.[109]

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[107] The following discussion of Alberti's model of compositio is indebted to Baxandall, *Giotto*, 129-32.

[108] 2.33: "Est autem compositio ea pingendi ratio qua partes in opus picturae componuntur. Amplissimum pictoris opus historia, historiae partes corpora, corporis pars membrum est, membri pars est superficies." Ibid., 70-71; cf. also Baxandall, *Giotto*, 130. One may notice that Alberti also borrows the term "member" (Ltn. *membrum*) from his grammatical/rhetorical/literary model. Alberti's member, however, functions at a lower level of the compositional hierarchy than it does in the corresponding literary model.

[109] Alberti, *On Painting* (2.43), 82-83.

Alberti's theory of *compositio* is especially important because it shows us not only that early humanist writers conceptualized analysis, composition, and—by extension—*imitatio* hierarchically, but that at least a few of them thought it possible to apply their hierarchical models to other disciplines. In this instance, Alberti has cleverly borrowed analytical and compositional devices from the fields of grammar and rhetoric to fashion a conceptual framework for experienced and novice painters alike. Painters could now take the paintings of other masters through a systematic analysis that paralleled the literary exegeses of Bruni or Guarino. Moreover, they are provided with a convenient blueprint that they could use to structure their own first attempts at painting, and eventually, a complex *historia.*[110]

Baxandall, who has closely studied Alberti's writings, concludes that, while other visual artists had used the word *compositio* in the more general sense of putting things together, Alberti was the first to use the term in an exact sense, as the basis of an entirely new structural and analytical model for painting. As noted above, Alberti reiterates the novelty of his endeavors throughout *De pictura*; he has no classical or contemporaneous theoretical tracts to follow so he will organize his own according to the methodological frameworks presented in classical and humanist writings on geometry—and in the case of *compositio*—grammar, and rhetoric. Furthermore, Alberti reiterates his

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[110] Cf. Baxandall, *Giotto*, 133. Art historians have discerned Alberti's theories of composition in certain works of Andrea Mantegna and Piero della Francesca. Mantegna merits special consideration because of his close ties to both Padua and Mantua. Mantegna received his formative education—in painting, ancient art, and Latin—in Padua, with the painter and enthusiast of ancient art, sculpture, and architecture, Squarcione. He later moved on to Mantua, where he worked alongside Alberti under the patronage of Ludovico Gonzaga.

definition of *compositio* several times throughout the second book, giving some indication that other artists had not before used the term in such a specific sense.[111]

De pictura—and with it, Alberti's theories of composition—may be contextualized within the larger humanist program of educational reforms that began in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Like writers in other disciplines such as literature, Alberti wanted to reformulate his art at its most fundamental levels in order to elevate its status within the *studia humanitatis*. However, Alberti had more at stake than other writers, because painting and drawing, regarded more as crafts than sciences, had never belonged to the liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy). As Vergerio narrates in *De ingenuis moribus*:

> Nowadays drawing does not in practice pass as a liberal study except so far as it relates to the writing of characters—writing being the same thing as portraying and drawing—for it has otherwise remained in the province of painters.[112]

Consequently, Alberti's adaptation of grammatical and rhetorical models may be seen as an attempt to more closely align it to science of "writing characters" in order to legitimize its position in the humanist curriculum.[113]

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[111] See, for example, *On Painting* (2.34-35), 72-73: "It would be well to repeat what composition is…"

[112] "Designativa vero nunc in usu non est pro liberali, nisi quantum forsitan ad scripturam attinet (scribere namque et ipsum est protrahere atque designare), quoad reliqua vero penes pictores resedit." Baxandall, *Giotto*, 125.

[113] Robert Zwijnenberg makes a similar claim in "Why did Alberti," 167. In his study of perspective, Alberti also borrows precepts from arithmetic and geometry.

ii. The Art of Collecting

We may ask how students of Quattrocento humanists like Bruni or Guarino kept track of their analyses, and how they remembered choice passages, forms, or figures from their exemplars. As many of the humanists' writings attest, they recommended taking notes while they read. The humanists did not, of course, invent the practice; certain antique writers also recommended note-taking, and it would come to constitute a particularly important aspect of thirteenth and fourteenth-century scholastic education and book culture.

Historian Ann Blair identifies two categories of note-taking that have persisted throughout the European literary tradition: 1) those genres—such as the epitome or abridgement—that operate by "reduction," wherein note-takers summarize or paraphrase the contents of the original text or texts, and 2) those—like the *florilegium* or commonplace—that operate by "selection," wherein note-takers excerpt passages whose content or style most interest them.[114] In the case of the commonplace, passages are sorted and copied according to a thematic or topical heading in order to facilitate easy retrieval. Examples of the former include epitomes of Livy's histories, summaries of ancient plays, and—significant for our purposes—the medieval "encyclopedias" of Isidore of Seville and Vincent of Beauvais. Collections of quotations, opinions, or anecdotes by such authors as Valerius Maximus or Diogenes Laertius, as well as the

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[114] Ann Blair, "Note Taking as an Art of Transmission," *Critical Inquiry* 31, no. 1 (Autumn 2004): 87. *Florilegium*, from the Latin *flos* "flower" and *legere* "to gather" literally means "a gathering of flowers." The florilegium was originally an invention of thirteenth-century preachers who, according to Blair, sought to "adorn their sermons with authoritative quotations and illustrative examples."

compilation textbooks that circulated so widely at fourteenth-century universities, comprise examples of the latter.[115]

These genres merit particular consideration because they so thoroughly shaped Trecento and Quattrocento humanists' conceptions of reading and note-taking. Many humanists, it must be remembered, had received their formative education within the university, where scholastic ways of thinking and tools of learning still held sway. In such an intellectual milieu, students and professors alike had come to prefer compilation textbooks and *florilegia* to the original, complete sources from which they were excerpted, because the former allowed students to access essential facts and information in a more efficient, less time-consuming manner. Consequently, many early humanists received their first exposure to classical authors not from their original texts, but through such miscellanies.[116]

In fact, the process of how one should judiciously collect and subsequently arrange excerpts became a prominent theme subject in numerous humanist writings. First of all, humanists valued compilations for their mnemotechnical utility—as Vergerio makes clear when he refers to collecting as a "second memory"—as well as an aid to composition.[117] In this regard, such compilations could function as easily accessible

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[115] Ibid., 86-87; Jacqueline Hamesse, "The Scholastic Model of Reading," in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 111. Evan Angus MacCarthy provides a concise summary of Blair's note-taking methods in "Music and Learning in Early Renaissance Ferrara, c. 1430-1470" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2010), 50, https://search.proquest.com/docview/816191562?accountid=13567.

[116] Hamesse, "The Scholastic Model," 107-114.

[117] "So, since our memory cannot hold everything and indeed retains very little, scarcely enough for particular purposes, books, in my view should be acquired and preserved as a

storehouses from which humanists and their students could extract particularly good samples of writing style or general information for their own literary endeavors. As they had in so many other instances, the humanists often appeal to the compilations of classical authorities to lend an air of prestige to their own note-taking methods.

The writings of Guarino Guarini and his youngest son Battista evince the humanist preoccupation with the pedagogical utility of miscellanies and the purportedly ancient methods of compiling them. In a letter to Leonello d'Este, Guarino advises his patron and star pupil about how to compile a notebook:

> Whenever you read, have ready a notebook… in which you can write down whatever you choose and list the materials you have assembled. Then when you decide to revise the passages that struck you, you will not have to leaf through a large number of pages. For the notebook will be at hand like a diligent and attentive servant to provide what you need. The ancient teachers and students considered this practice so valuable that many of them, including Pliny, reportedly never read a book without taking notes on its more interesting contents.[118]

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kind of second memory. For letters and books constitute a fixed record of things and are the communal repository of all things knowable." Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 45-46. See also MacCarthy, "Music and Learning," 49.

[118] "Has ad res salubre probatumque praestatur consilium, ut quotiens lectitandum est paratum teneas codicillum tanquam fidelem tibi depositarium, in quo quicquid selectum adnotaveris describas et sicuti collectorum catalogum facias; nam quotiens visa placita delecta repetere constitueris, ne semper tot de integro revolvendae sint chartae, praesto codicillus erit qui sicuti minister strenuus et assiduus petita subiciat. Haec adeo fructuosa apud maiores studiorum parentes et alumnos habita semper est industria, ut cum alii permulti tum vero Plinius noster nullum legisse tradatur codicem, quin dignas adnotatu res excerptserit." Guarino da Verona, *Epistolario*, ed. Remigio Sabbadini (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1959), 2:270. Translated in Anthony Grafton, "The Humanist and the Commonplace Book: Education in Practice," in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 143.

Following in the footsteps of his father, Battista prescribes a similar course of note-taking in his treatise, *De ordine docendi*:

> Once [students] begin to study on their own, they should make an effort to read miscellaneous works like [Aulus] Gellius, Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, and Pliny's *Natural History* (a book no less varied than Nature herself)… But they should hold fast to the practice of always making excerpts of what they read, and they should convince themselves of the truth of Pliny's dictum, that "there is no book so bad that it is totally useless." The ancients had such regard for this plan of study that Pliny the Elder left to his nephew 160 notebooks of selected passages, written on both sides of the page, which on one occasion in Spain the elder Pliny could have sold to Larcius Licinus for 400,000 sesterces. Let them excerpt those things in particular which seem worth remembering and are rarely found. This practice will also serve greatly to develop a rich and ready diction if students, in the course of their miscellaneous reading, will note down maxims pertinent to a given topic and collect them in one particular place, reviewing at night any excellent thing they have read or heard during the day, like the Pythagoreans. The process stamps these ideas into memory so strongly that they can be expunged only with the greatest difficulty, and the stamping will be stronger still if they refresh their recollection of all the precepts on some fixed day of the month.[119]

To begin with, Guarino and his son cite ancient authorities to justify their own methods of note-taking. Battista in particular elaborates upon his father's example of

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[119] "Ubi primum per se studere incipient, operam dabunt ut eos videant qui variis ex rebus compositi sunt, quo in genere est Gellius, Macrobius *Saturnalium*, Plinii *Naturalis historia*, quae non minus varia est quam ipsa natura… Sed omnino illud teneant, ut semper ex iis quae legunt conentur excerpere, sibique persuadeant, quod Plinius dictitare solebat, 'nullum esse librum tam malum ut non in aliqua parte prosit.' Haec studendi ratio apud veteres observata fuit adeo, ut Plinius maior electorum <commentarios> centum et sexaginta opistographos sororis filio reliquerit, quos aliquando quandringentis milibus nummum Larcio Licino in Hispania vendere potuit. Ea vero potissimum excerpent, quae et memoratu digna et paucis in locis inveniri videbuntur. Erit hoc etiam ad orationis tum copiam tum promptitudinem valde idoneum, si inter legendum ex variis libris sententias quae ad eandem materiam pertinent adnotabunt, et in unum quendam locum colligent, Pythagoreorumque more quicquid excellens interdiu legerint vel audierint vesperi commemorabunt. Imprimuntur enim ea confirmatione adeo ut non nisi difficillime ex memoria aboleri queant; validior etiam illa erit impressio si statuto aliquo mensis die praeceptorum omnium memoria renovabitur." Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 294-97.

Pliny the Elder (23-79AD). He wants to show his readers, first, how studiously Pliny applied himself to note-taking (his efforts produced no less than 160 tightly-packed notebooks), and second, that Pliny's written efforts held considerable intellectual and monetary value. What is perhaps more striking about the passage from *De ordine docendi*, however, is Battista's reading recommendations: independent learners should read ancient works—like Macrobius's *Saturnalia,* Pliny's *Natural History,* and, presumably, the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gelius—that are themselves compilations of quotes, facts, and anecdotes.[120]

Furthermore, both authors seem to favor the "commonplace" method of taking notes, whereby one extracts desired passages and organizes them by topic or thematic heading. Battista manifests his preferences when he advises his students to "hold fast to

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[120] Gellius's *Attic Nights* was a commonplace book popular in mid-fifteenth century Ferrarese circles. Macrobius tells his reader how and why he composed *Saturnalia* in the work's preface: "3. Nor have I hapharzardly deployed these items that are worth remembering, as though in a heap: I have organized the diverse subjects, drawn from a range of authors and a mix of periods, as though in a body, so that the things I initially noted down all in a jumble, as an *aide mémoire*, might come together in a coherent, organic whole. 4. Please do not fault me if I often set forth the accounts I draw from my varied reading in the very words that the authors themselves used; the work before you promises not a display of eloquence but an accumulation of things worth knowing. You should, furthermore, count it as a bonus if you sometimes gain acquaintance with antiquity plainly in my own words, at other times through the faithful record of the ancients' own words, as each item lends itself to being cited or transcribed. . . 10. That is my goal for the present work: it comprises many different disciplines, many lessons, examples drawn from many periods, but brought together into a harmonious whole. If you neither disdain the things already familiar to you nor shun those you do not know, you will find many things that are either a pleasure to read or a mark of cultivation to have read or useful to remember." *Saturnalia*, ed. and trans. Kaster, 1:5, 7, 9. Anthony Grafton (*"*The Humanist," 147) calls the *Natural History* of Pliny, "that great rag-and-bone shop of ancient art, technology, and science which was itself, as everyone knew, the precipitate of the author's brilliantly systematic note-taking."

the practice of making excerpts of what they read" and to "note down maxims pertinent to a given topic and collect them in one particular place." We may also presume that Leonello is to order his notebooks in a similar manner when Guarino tells him to "list the materials" he has assembled. Notebooks organized by topic will further strengthen memory and compositional fluency. To Guarino, they are conveniently at hand "like a diligent and attentive servant to provide what you need." If his students practice Battista's advice, they will develop "a rich and ready diction" and, presumably, writing style. If they review their commonplace notebooks at certain predetermined intervals, they will have the ideas contained therein stamped so strongly into their memories that they can be "expunged only with the greatest difficulty."

While notebooks constituted one of the most efficacious tools in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century pedagogical arsenal, however, their miscellaneous nature simultaneously threatened to destabilize burgeoning humanist hermeneutics of creativity and authorship. Historian Anthony Grafton notes, for example, that selective copying "obliterates" the original text(s), and leads note-takers to think of passages or ideas from the texts rather than the whole texts themselves:

> The pervasiveness of such compilations…had a powerful impact on habits of reading and argument. Any regime of commentary tends to atomize texts, to break them up into little units that can be coherently discussed. But the commonplace method heightened this tendency. It schooled even thinkers of the highest originality to think of the works they read not as coherent wholes, but as quarries from which the modern reader could assemble any sort of mosaic.[121]

[121] Grafton, "The Humanist," 149-50.

This phenomenon is of course exacerbated when would-be writers relied on compilations made by an unknown third party. I would add that selective copying not only eschews a deep reading of original texts, but also renders the resulting compilation as little more than a motley assortment of historical anecdotes, rhetorical examples, and moral *sententiae* of dubious authorship. In other words, without a coherent construction, the compilation could not be conceived as a unified "work" and belonged to no one, let alone the compiler.

One way that humanists sought to combat the threat that the miscellaneous nature of notebooks posed was by restoring the creative agency of the compiler. In their youth, we must remember, many fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century humanists read the "classic" monuments of literature through *florilegia* composed by some third, often anonymous, party. Because they were meant to be distributed to the university culture at large rather than any specific individual, such *florilegia* were composed according to a rigid scholastic framework that, according to historian Jacqueline Hamesse, allowed little room for original exegesis or commentary.[122] Rebelling against what they felt to be the unnecessary linguistic strictures and formulaic construction of these "mass-produced" *florilegia*, as well as the questionable interpretations of anonymous compilers, then, the humanists began to make their own compilations from original texts.

The humanists praised compilers' discriminating selection and interpretation of excerpts, the skill with which they re-combined them into a unified, harmonious whole, and the ingenuity with which they transformed the resultant whole into an entirely

[122] Hamesse, "The Scholastic Model," 107.

different, and in many cases better, literary monument. In the first place, they stress that their pupils should collect only the most exceptional "flowers" of the most exceptional authors. For instance, Antonio da Rho, a Milanese rhetorician and student of Gasparino Barzizza, tells us that he has designed the *De imitationibus Eloquentie* (1430-3) so that his students could "come to this compilation as to a beautiful little orchard and pluck from the many varied flowers there the nobler ones."[123] In a similar vein, Battista Guarini's *De ordine docendi* cautions against the "indiscriminate reading of miscellaneous books."[124] For his part, Leonardo Bruni—in a passage already cited above—reminds the intended recipient of his *De studiis et litteris*, Battista di Montefeltro, that "the most important rule of study"—and presumably note-taking—is:

> to see to it that we study only those works that are written by the best and most approved authors, and avoid the crude and ignorant writings which only ruin and degrade our natural abilities. The reading of clumsy and corrupt writers imbues the reader with their own vices and infests his mind with a similar corruption. Study is, so to speak, the pabulum of the mind by which the intellect is trained and nourished. For this reason, just as gastronomes are careful in the choice of what they put in their stomachs, so those who wish to preserve purity of taste will only allow certain reading to enter their minds.[125]

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[123] "Calamum verto quo his commentariis tamquam in ortulo quodam pulcherrimo ex multis diversisque floribus nobiliores ac venustiores quosque suaviusque spirantes possint excerpere, quibus eloquentie nova serta intexant atque conficiant." Quoted in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 109.

[124] "Ordo potissimum in studendo adhibendus erit, ne varios libros confuse legant…" Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 300-01.

[125] "Caput vero huius diligentiae fuerit videre primum, ut in eorum tantum librorum, qui ab optimis probatissimisque latinae linguae auctoribus scripti sunt, lectione versemur, ab imperite vero ineleganterque scriptis ita caveamus, quisi a calamitate quadam et labe ingenii nostril. Inquinate enim inepteque scriptorum lectio vitia sua lectori affigit et mentem simili coinquinat tabe. Est enim veluti pabulum animi, quo mens imbuitur atque nutritur. Quam ob rem, ut ii, qui stomachi, curam habent, non quemvis cibum illi infundunt, ita, qui sinceritatem animi conservare volet, non quamvis lectionem illi permittet." Ibid., 96-97. Pier Paolo Vergerio and Angelo Decembrio make similar comments. See MacCarthy, "Music and Learning," 47.

We may even discern a preference for selective gathering in Cennino Cennini's warning in the twenty-seventh chapter of the *Libro dell-arte* to his pupils to choose only the best and most famous master(s), lest their imaginations become over-stimulated and their painting style too discursive—in his words "fantastichetto per amore." If, on the other hand, pupils have copied from well-chosen models, "it cannot be other than good, because when your intellect is accustomed to picking flowers, your hand will not know how to gather thorns." In the second place, authors consistently reiterate that compilers should re-arrange their chosen "flowers" so that they coalesce into one coherent body. For example, Battista Guarini quite remarkably compares the well-organized program of study and note-taking to the harmonious blending of many voices in a (presumably) polyphonic choir:

> Above all one must apply order to the process of study. . . But it may be learned from other cases that nothing is more useless, nothing uglier than disorder, especially the kind the Greeks call *ataxia*. A chorus is made up of many different people who would produce an inharmonious noise, confused and unpleasant to the ears, if they each decided to sing as the spirit led them. But when each one sings at the correct time and place as instructed, a pleasing and unanimous harmony bursts forth from their multiplied sound.[126]

[126] "Ordo potissimum in studendo adhibendus erit… Perturbatione vero, et ea quam Graeci άταξίαν nominant, nihil non modo inutilius verum etiam deformius esse ex aliquis quoque rebus intelligi licet. Chorus ex multorum varietate conficitur, qui si prout cuiusque animus tulerit canere voluerint, inconcinna quaedam emergit, et auribus iniocunda clamantium confusio. Ceterum cum suo quisque loco et tempore, ut institutum est, ita vocem emittit, ex multiplici sono grata quaedam et consona exultat harmonia." Kallendorf, *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 301-03.

In his correspondence with the early sixteenth-century humanist Pietro Bembo, Giovan Francesco Pico della Mirandola (1470-1533) reiterates the importance of organizing one's readings of various authors into a unified body of material. In one letter, Pico insists that he and Bembo "must follow our own mental instinct and the innate tendency of mind we have been endowed with; thereafter we must put together from various virtues of other writers one single body of style, as it were."[127] The rhetoric with which Pico describes the compilation process is especially noteworthy because it once again focuses attention upon the innate creative tendency of the compiler. Indeed, compilers cannot be anything other than creative because they are born human, and as such possess rational and creative faculties like imagination and *fantasia* that other earthly creatures lack.[128] That Pico regards Bembo and himself as more than simply compilers of *florilegia* is evinced in comments from another letter dated 12 September 1512: compilers/writers organize their materials not merely so that "one particular [style] should emerge and coalesce from all the models," but so that the resultant whole "should be different from all of them"—in other words, something akin to a new work.[129] Eighty years earlier, Antonio da Rho had voiced similar sentiments about the compiler-writer's

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[127] "Ergo sequi debemus proprium animi instinctum, et inditam innatamque propensionem: diende variis aliorum virtutibus unum quiddam quasi corpus coagmentare." Quoted in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 260. Giovan Francesco Pico della Mirandola was the nephew of renowned humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.
[128] Pico's statement also recalls the comments of Bruni and other humanists about how students memorize the style of others—though memorization of Latin paradigms and intensive analysis of others' works—so that it becomes an innate and intensely personal element of their own style. It would seem the processes of compilation and analysis parallel each other to some degree.
[129] "ut una ex omnibus quae nulla sit illarum. . . et confletur et coalescat oratio." Cited in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 259.

finished product: from their most noble flowers, compiler-writers could "weave and produce *new* garlands of eloquence."[130]

The humanists inherited some of their rhetoric about creativity and the compilation process from their classical and pre-scholastic mentors. Battista Guarini and Cennino Cennini both pay their debts to the *Epistolae morales* of Seneca the Younger: Battista's polyphonic choir metaphor is none other than an adaptation of the "musical" metaphor from Epistle 84, while—as Andrea Bolland reminds us—Cennini's "fantastichetto per amore" may trace its philological origins to the "vagum et instabile" ("discursive and unsteady") passage from the second epistle.[131] Furthermore, in the second book of his widely read *De inventione,* Cicero espouses a similar program of selective gathering. He also states:

> In a similar fashion when the inclination arose in my mind to write a text-book of rhetoric, I did not set before myself some one model which I thought necessary to reproduce in all details, of whatever sort they might be, but after collecting all the works on the subject I excerpted what seemed the most suitable precepts from each, and so culled the flower of many minds. For each of the writers who are worthy of fame and reputation seemed to say something better than anyone else, but not attain pre-eminence in all points.[132]

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[130] Cited in McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 109.

[131] 1:6, 7 (Epistle 2.2): "… Lest this reading of many authors and books of every sort may tend to make you discursive and unsteady. You must linger among a limited number of master-thinkers, and digest their works, if you would derive ideas which shall win firm hold in your mind." Quoted in Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 479. See p. 23 above for a more detailed examination of the relationship between Cennini and Seneca.

[132] 2.2.4: "Quod quoniam nobis quoque voluntatis accidit ut artem dicendi perscriberemus, non unum aliquod proposuimus exemplum cuius omnes partes, quocumque essent in genere, exprimendae nobis necessarie viderentur; sed, omnibus unum in locum coactis scriptoribus, quod quisque commodissime praecipere videbatur excerpsimus et ex variis ingeniis excellentissima quaeque libavimus. Ex eis enim qui nomine et memoria digni sunt nec nihil optime nec omnia praeclarissime quisquam dicere nobis videbatur." Cicero, *De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum*, ed. and trans. H.M.

He goes on to commend the perspicuity and ingenuity with which his great predecessor, Aristotle, had gathered, interpreted, and transformed the styles and ideas of previous rhetoricians in the latter's own enormously influential *On Rhetoric*:

> Aristotle collected the early books on rhetoric, even going back as far as Tisias, well known as the originator and inventor of the art; he made a careful examination of the rules of each author and wrote them out in plain language, giving the author's name, and finally gave a painstaking explanation of the difficult parts. And he so surpassed the original authorities in charm and brevity that no one becomes acquainted with their ideas from their own books, but everyone who wishes to know what their doctrines are, turns to Aristotle, believing him to give a much more convenient exposition.[133]

The language that Pico uses to describe compilation recalls not only certain passages from the eighty-fourth epistle of Seneca's *Epistolae morales,* but Macrobius's refashioning of it. The "one [style] from all models" ("ut una ex omnibus quae nulla sit illarum") of which Pico speaks mirrors the "single flavor" or "substance" that results from the "blending of diverse extracts" or "flavors" ("in unum saporem varia illa libamenta confundere") of Seneca—and Macrobius in turn.[134] Moreover, Pico's use of the Latin *coalescare* and *corpus* in this particular context demonstrates that he also consulted Macrobius's redaction of the *Epistolae morales*; in addition to *cohaerere*, a

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Hubbell, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 168-71.

[133] 2.2.6-7: "Ac veteres quidem scriptores artis usque a principe illo atque inventore Tisia repetitos unum in locum conduxit Aristoteles et nominatim cuiusque praecepta magna conquisita cura perspicue conscripsit atque enodata diligenter exposuit; ac tantum inventoribus ipsis suavitate et brevitate dicendi praestitit, ut nemo illorum praecepta ex ipsorum libris cognoscat, sed omnes qui quod illi praecipiant velint intellegere ad hunc quasi ad quendam multo commodiorem explicatorem revertantur." Ibid., 170-73.

[134] Macrobius cites Seneca nearly verbatim here: "quo conditur universitas, in unius saporis usum varia libamenta confundit..." *Saturnalia* (Preface 6), 1:4-5.

verb closely related in meaning to the former, neither word appears in Seneca's original. In the third section of the preface, Macrobius tells his son and dedicatee, Eustachius, that he has not haphazardly gathered the material for his *Saturnalia* "as though in a heap," but has "organized the diverse subjects, drawn from a range of authors and a mix of periods, as though in a body [*ita in quoddam digeste corpus est*], so that the things I initially noted down all a jumble, as an *aide mémoire*, might come together in a coherent, organic whole [*in ordinem instar membrorum cohaerentia convenirent*]."[135] Shortly thereafter, in the sixth section of the preface, Macrobius reiterates this idea with similar language: "I too will commit to writing all that I have sought out in my varied reading, so that by being arranged consistently it will come together in an orderly whole [*in ordinem eodem digerente coalescat*]."[136] Finally, Pico's notion of innate creativity—"the mental instinct and innate tendency of mind we have been endowed with [*sequi debemus proprium animi instinctum, et inditam innataque propensionem*]—resonates particularly well with Macrobius's "mental fermentation" [*nam et in animo melius distincta servantur, et in ipsa distinctio non sine quodam fermento*] and Seneca's "supervising care" or "natural gifts" with which "nature has endowed" the compiler [*diende adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate*]. Needless to say, both Seneca and Macrobius regard the finished product of their "mental fermentations" as something new and different than their original sources:

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[135] "Nec indigeste tamquam in acervum congessimus digna memoratu, sed variarum rerum disparilitas, auctoribus diversa confuse temporibus, ita in quoddam digesta corpus est, ut quae indistincte atque promiscue ad subsidium memoriae adnotaveramus, in ordinem instar membrorum cohaerentia convenirent." Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1:4-5.
[136] "Nos quoque quicquid diversa lectione quaesivimus committemus stilo, ut in ordinem eodem digerente coalescat." Ibid.

the compiler should—in Seneca's words—"so blend those several flavors into one delicious compound that…nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came"[137]

The humanists' aforementioned comments indicate that (like their classical and pre-scholastic mentors) they conceptualized their compilations—which were to be unified in their composition, original in scope, and executed by a single author—as "creative" endeavors not unlike our twentieth- or twenty-first-century "works." Remarks from certain authors also lead us to believe that—perhaps more than their classical counterparts—the humanists intended their compilations for public consumption (however limited), and wished their audience to regard them as the exclusive property of their authors. Of the related process of composing commentaries, Battista Guarini writes: "Writing glosses in books is also extremely profitable, the more so if they have some hope of publishing them someday for we are more careful with such things when we are in pursuit of praise."[138] In fact, historian R.R. Bolgar notes that several students of

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[137] McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation*, 260; Seneca, *Epistolae morales* 84, 2:278-79: "diende adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate in unum saporem varia illa libamenta confundere, ut etiam si apparuerit, unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum est, appareat." Once again, Macrobius closely follows Seneca's language: "nam et in animo melius distincta servantur, et ipsa distinctio non sine quodam fermento quo conditur universitas, in unius saporis usum varia libamenta confundit, ut etiam si quid apparuerit unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum noscetur appareat." *Saturnalia* (Preface, 6), 1:4-6.

[138] "Explanationes quoque in libros scribere vehementer conducet, sed tamen magis si sperabunt eas in lucem aliquando prodituras. Attentiores enim ad ea sumus, ex quibus laudem venari studemus." Although glosses are not strictly compilations, they rely upon select passages from authors for their genesis (i.e. they still qualify as "notes"). And indeed, Battista writes about them within the context of compiling: "Let them [students] not be satisfied with listening to the teacher only, but let them study for themselves the commentators on the authors and mark 'down to the roots,' as they say, their maxim and

Battista's father, Guarino Guarini (who was said to have composed his own book of florilegia), published their own commentaries, *florilegia*, or commonplaces.[139]

The humanists' penchant for *florilegia* and commonplace notebooks warrants special attention because, like their classical predecessors, they often discuss the act of compiling them in conjunction with *imitatio* of multiple models. In the first place, authors frequently use the same metaphors to explain both imitation and compilation. For example, Ianus Pannonius and Battista Guarino borrow two metaphors (respectively, the "apian" and "musical") from Seneca's *Epistolae morales* 84 to describe orderly methods of study, note-taking, memorization, and—presumably—compilation, while writers such as Petrarch and Gasparino Barzizza use the same metaphors to talk about stylistic imitation. The result of this is that even the most diverse of these authors explicate both practices in terms of selective gathering, absorption, unity, and transformation. When classical authors and their humanist commentators mention imitation and compilation within the same passage, moreover, the functional distinction between them evaporates,

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the force of the words. Let them look for new maxims with specific applications...Writing [glosses] of this kind wonderfully sharpens the wit, polishes the tongue, produces fluency in writing, leads to precise factual knowledge, strengthens the memory, and, finally, affords students a storeroom, as it were, of commentary and memory aids." *De ordine docendi*, in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. and trans. Kallendorf, 294-95.

[139] "Guarino's pupils put his ideas into practice. They made their meticulous lists of phrases under the headings of form and content, and some of them went so far as to publish what they had compiled. The generation which lived in the middle of the fifteenth century worked at making the Latin legacy available to the public in this convenient notebook form, so that correct composition should be quick and easy, possible not only for the scholar but for the man in the street. Guarino himself is supposed to have composed a book of *florilegia*. His pupil and successor, Sassuelo da Prato, produced his *Commentarii* which according to Prendilacqua classified under suitable heading the finest passages of the Greek and Latin writers on every subject worthy of discussion." Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage*, 270.

and we may ask whether writers of either period conceptualized the two as synonymous—or at least as practices so closely related as to be inseparable from one another. Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola's letters to Bembo effectively illustrate the overlapping nature of both practices: while Giovanni's frequent references to combining, coalescing, or putting things together fit well within the compilation paradigm, his employment of the crucial word *oratio*—i.e. speech, oration, or eloquence—in this context more appropriately alludes to the imitation of an author's rhetorical style. (It is perhaps for this reason that McLaughlin has rendered the Latin *corpus* as "body of style" in English). Indeed, Giovanni writes to Bembo, an ardent Ciceronian, not to expound upon the best methods of compilation, but rather to defend the eclectic paradigm of imitation. (Giovanni's two letters to Bembo are collected, accordingly, under the title *De imitatione ad Petrum Bembum, eiusdem ad d.Ioannem franciscum Picum responsum*.)

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This chapter has provided background for an in-depth examination of the ways Ciconia employs *imitatio* in *Nova musica*, the subject of the following two chapters. It demonstrates that Ciconia and his Paduan contemporaries practiced *imitatio* in a different manner than musicologists have formerly understood the concept. They have heretofore overlooked rhetorical induction, hierarchical principles such as *compositio*, and selective gathering in the imitative process. Drawing specifically from the writings of visual artists such as Cennini and Alberti, this chapter also shows that the practice of *imitatio* was not restricted to the domain of literature. Significantly, Cennini, Alberti, and indeed most of

the humanists cited in this chapter resided in or had close connections to Padua, the city where Ciconia wrote *Nova musica*. In fact, he knew personally several of the major writers discussed above. It therefore comes as no surprise that Ciconia incorporated the latest intellectual thought about *imitatio* in his monumental creation.

Chapter 3

Ciconia and Early Quattrocento Theories of *Imitatio*

Introduction

This chapter proposes that the novelty of *Nova musica* derives (at least in part) from its *renovatio* of music according to the early Quattrocento theories of literacy and *imitatio* expounded upon in chapter two. In the first place, *Nova musica* draws upon a venerated selection of Carolingian and Post-Carolingian music theoreticians of plainchant. Secondly, certain passages from chapter 60 of book one (henceforth referred to as 1.60) evince a typically humanist penchant for rhetorical induction. Like other early fifteenth-century humanist writings about rhetoric and the visual arts, moreover, *Nova musica* adduces classical theories of analysis and composition—wherein an author constructs a work of literature or art by combining increasingly complex constituents into a larger, unified whole. Finally, key passages from the *Epistolae morales* of Seneca the Younger (4 BCE-65 CE), the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius (fl. fifth century), and the *Rerum familiarium* of Petrarch (1304-74) describe the imitation of multiple models in terms of selective gathering, re-organization, and transformation. *Nova musica*, I argue, alludes to those passages.

This chapter explores the extent to which Ciconia created portions of *Nova musica* by applying such procedures of *imitatio*; in particular, I argue that he constructed 1.60 by undertaking a systematic re-ordering and explication of the teachings of music theorists from the Carolingian period (ca. 800-1050). Ciconia's reformulation of the

science of *musica* according to Carolingian doctrines parallels his fellow humanists' endeavors to rebuild the language and even the basic structure of their respective disciplines according to classical—and even Carolingian—models.

Margaret Bent and Ann Hallmark have published pivotal studies that link Ciconia's polyphony with early Quattrocento humanism and humanist rhetoric.[1] By demonstrating that humanist rhetorical concepts such as *imitatio* also inflected Ciconia's music-theoretical thinking, this chapter seeks to unite the seemingly dichotomous personalities of Ciconia the composer and theorist. Although Ciconia was perhaps the first renowned composer and music theorist to appropriate Renaissance theories of *imitatio*, his example broaches the possibility that other fifteenth-century musicians considered it a valuable music-theoretical device.

Nova musica was most likely composed between 1401 and 1411, while Ciconia was resident in Padua, Italy. Comprised of four books plus an appended section, the work is of a size and scope comparable to Marchetto of Padua's *Lucidarium* or Ugolino of Orvieto's *Declaratio musicae disciplinae.* As a reminder, its structure is given here again. The first book, "De consonantiis," treats the etymology of various musical terms, the monochord and its divisions according to the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera

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[1] See Bent,"Ciconia's Dedicatee, Bologna Q15, Brassart, and the Council of Basel," in *Trento. Manoscritti di Polifonia nel Quattrocento Europeo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio 18-19 ottobre 2002.* Ed. Marco Gozzi (Trento: Provincia autonoma di Trento, Soprintendenza per I Beni librari e archivistici, 2004), 35-56; idem., "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," 101-130; Anne Hallmark, "*Protector*," 153-168.

(1.16-20), the intervals from the semitone to the double octave (1.22-45), the divisions of the tone and semitone (1.23), and finally, converging organum in the style of the *Enchiriadis* treatises (1.73-74). The second book, "De speciebus," concerns itself with Berno of Reichenau's theories of the eight modes as octave species, combined from the various species of perfect fourths and fifths. The third book, "De proportionibus," summarily presents Boethius's theory of numerical proportions as they relate to musical pitches. In this regard, the appended "De tribus generibus melorum" reiterates, amplifies, and clarifies the three Boethian genera presented in the body of *Nova musica*. The fourth book, "De accidentibus," proposes a new system of classifying chant according to a novel system of grammatical "accidents" and "declensions."

Ciconia and the Rhetoric of Comparison

In chapter two, I discussed the propensity of various classical and humanist visual artists, writers, and pedagogues to compare their own processes in modeling to those in other disciplines. I showed how "rhetorical induction" (comparison), learned through their youthful studies of rhetoric, would have been a key component of any discussions of *imitatio*. Consequently, their comparative arguments more closely resemble such elementary rhetorical exercises as the *chreia* ("refining of a theme") or the moral *sententia* than any more systematic forensic or political argument.[2]

Humanist writers tended to draw material for their comparisons from a limited repertoire of authoritative sources, including the rhetorical handbooks of Cicero, and

[2] The structure of the *chreia* will be discussed in more detail below.

especially the standard late-antique and medieval commentaries upon these handbooks.[3] And as we have seen, visual artists like Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) drew examples from the ready stock of classical painting and sculpting tropes to justify actual artistic procedures. But just as often, artists turned to one or more of the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) as worthy models. Two arts of the trivium, grammar and rhetoric, especially appealed to them. Once again, I remind the reader of the many comments of Cennino Cennini and, later, Alberti about the benefits of artists aligning themselves with "poets, rhetoricians, and others equally well-learned in letters."[4] Alberti, perhaps, takes his comparisons between the literary and visual arts to the furthest degree with his radical proposal to rebuild the language and even the basic structure of the painting process according to grammatical models.

Ciconia too employed rhetorical induction to support his novel propositions about the science of music—and, in some cases, his idiosyncratic re-interpretations of pre-twelfth-century musical authorities. Chapters such as *Nova musica* 1.60 further incorporate modified forms of elementary rhetorical drills such as the *chreia*. Like his humanist colleagues, Ciconia would have internalized these drills from such fundamental texts as *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of Pseudo-Cicero, the *De inventione* of Cicero, the

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[3] Indeed, recognizing the original sources of such tropes could easily turn into a virtuosic game of citation and allusion. It must be remembered, too, that because humanists spent the greater part of their elementary education repeating and memorizing the most common of these tropes, they could recall them with an ease and fluency that is difficult for us to imagine.

[4] Leon Battista Alberti*, On Painting*, ed. and trans. Grayson, 96-97 (III.54-55).

Praeexercitamenta of Priscian, and perhaps even an incomplete version of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[5] From these texts and especially their commentaries, he also would have known the same repertoire of comparative tropes that fellow humanists employed in their own writings.

Although Ciconia does not cite any of those commonplaces comparing the literary and visual arts (perhaps because they did not meet his immediate music-theoretical needs), I have discovered that he revived—and subsequently revised—at least one "classical" analogy comparing the structures of literature and music (see Table 3.1 for a list of language-music analogies).

[5] Most of Ciconia's contemporaries attributed the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to Cicero. Unlike his humanist colleagues, Ciconia would have received his formative education in Liège, though it is possible that he attended an Italian university (perhaps Bologna or Padua). *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was a standard text in both places. Poggio Bracciolini uncovered a "complete" manuscript of *Institutio* shortly after Ciconia's death (1412), in the monastery of St. Gall in 1416. The parts of the *Institutio* that discussed rhetorical induction (e.g. v.xi.5) were, however, available before Poggio's rediscovery.

Table 3.1 Selected list of language-music analogies as models for *Nova musica*, Book 1, Chapter 60 ("On the Fifteen Modes of Sounds and their Conjunctions")

Author	Work and Date	Incipit
Calcidius	Commentary on Plato's Timaeus (4th c.)	Etinem quem ad modum articulatae vocis...
Anon.	Musica enchiriadis (9th c.)	Sicut vocis articulatae...
Anon.	Scolica enchiriadis (9th c.)	Discipulus: Hi soni qui sunt?
Aurelian of Réôme	Musica disciplina (840-850)	Est autem tonus minima pars...
Hucbald	De harmonica institutione (ca. 885)	Sed eos tantum quos rationabili discretos...
Anon. (Pseudo-Odo)	Musica artis disciplina (ca. 1000)	Ad cantandi scientiam nosse, quibus modis...
Guido of Arezzo	Micrologus (ca. 1026)	Igitur quemadmodum in metris...

The analogy itself ultimately derives from the late-Antique commentary of Calcidius (fl. ca. 321) on Plato's *Timeaus,* and recurs with great frequency in the writings of music theorists active from the ninth through eleventh centuries.[6] It seems to have fallen out of fashion during the heyday of so-called "scholastic music theory," in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[7]

[6] Calcidius wrote his commentary in 356-57 or 358. William Waite was the first scholar to note the origin of this analogy in his review of Smits van Waesberghe's edition of *Micrologus* ("Reviews," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 9, no. 2 [Summer 1956]: 148.)

[7] For a survey of how scholastic logic and new theories of mathematics influenced music theory of the thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries, see Dorit Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking*

Ciconia's revision of the analogy—and more broadly, his comparisons of music and language—beg further examination not merely because they reveal a typically Carolingian affinity for grammar, but because they so closely resemble those of contemporaneous visual artists like Cennini and Alberti. In the first place, both Ciconia and Alberti describe the processes of *compositio*—in music and painting, respectively—in such similar terms that it is worth asking whether the two may have derived their comparison from the same source(s). Because both writers use a similar comparison as an argument for actual musical or artistic procedures (namely, composition and analysis), it is also worth asking whether to do such was a broader humanist practice than art historian Michael Baxandall acknowledges, at least in Padua and its environs.[8] As noted before, Cennini, Ciconia, and Alberti all lived, studied, and worked in Padua during the first third of the fifteenth century.

Nova musica abounds with so many statements that compare the literary arts and music that it is impossible to survey all of them within the confines of this chapter. For our immediate purposes, it is sufficient to say that Ciconia plants the seed from which all subsequent literary-music analogies may grow in the opening pages of his treatise. While preserving the traditional alliance of music with the *quadrivial* art of arithmetic, he forges a new one with the *trivial* arts of grammar and dialectic. As Ciconia states in the prologue to book one, "for its declensions, then, it is paired with grammar. For genera and species,

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Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation, 1250-1400 (Holzgerlingen: Hänsler-Verlag, 1999).

[8] See Baxandall, *Giotto*, 37-38: "Rather more rarely they [classical texts and commentaries] could become a source or confirmation of views on the visual arts themselves…Very rarely indeed they might become an argument for actual procedures."

it is likened to dialectic. For numbers and proportions, it is equated with arithmetic."[9] According to Ciconia's formulation, music becomes the sole liberal art to partake of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*—the "literary" and "mathematical" arts, and as such, transcends them. Another important literary-music analogy occurs in 4.13 ("On the Declensions of Songs"): "After writing about the accidents, it must be noted that just as grammar reasons out the parts of names or letters, so also music treats of the declensions of the accidents of songs."[10]

Nova musica, 1.60: A Case Study

Because it so aptly illustrates the principles of rhetorical induction and imitation, we shall now perform a closer reading of *Nova musica*, 1.60 ("On the Fifteen Modes of Sounds and Their Conjunctions"). Later in this chapter, I will propose that *Nova musica* incorporates elementary rhetorical drills and classical tropes about language and music in a way that closely paralleled the attempts of visual artists to raise the status of painting to that of a liberal art. In fact, 1.60 is structured according to a modified form of the *chreia*. It revives and subsequently transforms a classical language-music trope (transmitted to

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[9] "Pro declinationibus igitur suis comparatur cum grammatica. Pro generibus et speciebus assimulatur cum dialectica. Pro numeris et proportionibus adequatur cum arithmetica." Ed. and trans. Ellsworth (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 52-54. The trivial, or "literary," arts consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the quadrivial, or "mathematical" arts consisted of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Music was traditionally accounted among the quadrivial arts because it could be measured in numerical proportions. These proportions naturally reflected the perfect proportions of the greater cosmos. Music was, in essence, "sounding numbers." In view of Ciconia's later use of rhetorical devices and comparisons, his blatant omission of the third trivial art, rhetoric, is a little surprising.

[10] "Post accidentium descriptionem notandum est quod sicut grammatica de partibus nominum vel litterarum disputat, ita quoque de declinationibus acccidentium cantuum musica tractat." Ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 374-75.

Carolingian music theorists via Calcidius), and—like Alberti and other humanists described in chapter two—promulgates a hierarchical model of composition and analysis.

The *chreia* ("refining of a theme") was one of twelve preliminary exercises—or *progymnasmata*—outlined in standard rhetorical textbooks such as the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (ca. 100 BCE), and the *Praeexercitamenta* of Priscian, a sixth century Latin adaptation of the second century *Progymnasmata* of Hermogenes.[11] It is usually comprised of eight parts: 1) the statement of a theme or proposition, often, but not always, relating an ethical saying or deed of some well-known authority; 2) the reason (*ratio*) for the proposition; 3) a restatement of the proposition, usually with alternate wording, or expanded form; 4) a restatement of the reason for the proposition; 5) an argument from the contrary (*a contrario*); 6) a comparative argument (*simile*; *a comparatione*); 7) an argument from example (*ab exemplo*); and, 8) a conclusion, usually supported by some statement from, or appeal to, an authority.[12] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which Ciconia presumably studied in his youth, defines the *chreia*—or (Latin) *expolitio*—as follows:

> [IV.xlii] Refining [*expolitio*; Gr. *Χρεία*] consists in dwelling on the same topic and yet seeming to say something ever new. It is accomplished in two ways: by merely repeating the same idea, or by descanting upon it. . . [xliii] But when we descant upon the same theme [*res*], we shall use a great many variations. Indeed, after having expressed the theme simply, we can subjoin the Reason [*rationem*], and then express the theme in another form, with or without the Reasons; next we can present the Contrary [*contrarium*]… then a Comparison [*simile*] and an Example [*exemplum*]…[xliv] and finally the Conclusion… A Refinement of this

[11] Baxandall, *Giotto,* 32-33.
[12] Ibid.; *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. and trans. by Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), iv.xli.54-xlv.58; George A. Kennedy, trans., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 76-77.

> sort, which will consist of numerous figures of diction and of thought, can therefore be exceedingly ornate.[13]

The anonymous author of the *Rhetorica* even provides his readers with a sample *chreia* that they may emulate. (It is, in fact, the oldest extant illustration of one.)[14] I have included the full treatment of this *chreia* in Appendix 1.

Like many of his humanist contemporaries, Ciconia employs the *chreia* less strictly than his Greco-Roman predecessors. In the first place, the one from *Nova musica* 1.60 treats a music-theoretical rather than ethical topic—that is, the fifteen modes of conjunctions, or musical intervals. Furthermore, what was typically the sixth step of the *chreia* sequence—the comparative argument—occurs before the initial statement of the proposition. Other than this re-ordering—quite possibly enacted for rhetorical effect—Ciconia's *chreia* proceeds accordingly. Ciconia even uses the same term as the anonymous author of the *Rhetorica*—the Latin *res*—to designate the main topic of his chapter. Finally, it is significant that neither of the two primary music-theoretical models for *Nova musica*, 1.60—the *Micrologus* of Guido and the *Lucidarium* of Marchetto of

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[13] Iv.xlii-xliv.54-56 (pp. 366-71). Ed. and trans. Caplan, 364-71: "[IV.xlii] Expolitio est cum in eodem loco manemus et aliud atque aliud dicere videmur. Ea dupliciter fit: si aut eandem plane dicemus rem, aut de eadem re. [xliii] Sed de eadem re cum dicemus, plurimis utemur commutationibus. Nam cum rem simpliciter pronuntiarimus, rationem poterimus subicere; diende dupliciter vel sine rationibus vel cum rationibus pronuntiare; diende adferre contrarium—de quibus omnibus diximus in verborum exornationibus; diende simile et exemplum—de quo suo loco plura dicemus; [xliv] Diende conclusionem—de qua in secundo libro quae opus fuerunt diximus, demonstrantes argumentationes quaemadmodum concludere oporteat; in hoc libro docuimus cuiusmodi esset exornatio verborum cui conclusioni nomen est. Ergo huiusmodi vehementer ornata poterit esse expolitio, quae constabit ex frequentibus exornationibus verborum et sententiarum."

[14] Ibid., 370, n. *b.*

Padua—organize their sections on the modes of conjunctions (chapter four and treatise nine, respectively) according to the example of the *chreia.*[15]

I therefore proceed with my own exposition of the *chreia* from *Nova musica,* 1.60. I have chosen to number the steps as they would appear in a traditional *chreia* in order to highlight Ciconia's departures from the stricter form. I have also included the complete text of *Nova musica*, 1.60 in Appendix 1.

Comparative Argument (*Chreia* Section 6)

Nova musica, 1.60:

> *Just as the ancient authors in the beginning of writing first invented letters, after letters syllables, after syllables parts, and from the parts they composed written works and books, so the ancient musicians, having imitated the same reasoning, first invented* ptongi*, after* ptongi *syllables, after syllables parts, and from the parts they constructed song and music.*

In the third chapter ("On Chreia") of the *Progymnasmata*, Hermogenes defines the *chreia* as "a recollection (*apomnêmoneuma*) of a saying or action or both, with a pointed meaning, usually for the sake of something useful."[16] Hermogenes then provides brief illustrations for each of the three main types of *chreia*: verbal, actional, and mixed. Verbal chreia (*logikai*) relate only a saying of some authority, usually introduced by an indirect statement, as in the example: "Plato said that the muses dwell in the souls of those naturally clever."[17] Actional ones (*praktikai*), on the other hand, relate only an action of some authority, as in: "Diogenes, on seeing an undisciplined youth, beat his

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[15] Ciconia, however, does not name Marchetto as an authority, and only cites Guido obliquely, via the "Guidonists."
[16] Trans. Kennedy, 76.
[17] Ibid.

pedagogue." As the reader may surmise, mixed *chreia* combine both a saying and action of some authority: "Diogenes, on seeing an undisciplined youth, beat his pedagogue and said, 'Why did you teach him such things?'"[18]

Like the brief illustrations of Hermogenes, *Nova musica* 1.60 begins with a citation drawn from authoritative sources. Although Ciconia does not copy the initial passage (shown above, in italics) verbatim from any single theoretical work, he resurrects and paraphrases a trope that recurs with great frequency in the writings of music theorists active from the ninth through eleventh centuries: namely, the idea that just as the letter was the fundamental unit of language, so was the pitch (*vox, phtongus,* or *sonus*) the fundamental unit of music.[19] Indeed, Ciconia directly or indirectly cites many of the Carolingian authors who reproduce this grammatical analogy—including Aurelian of Réôme, Hucbald of St. Amand, Guido of Arezzo, and the anonymous authors of the *Musica artis disciplina* and the *Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis*—elsewhere in *Nova musica.*[20] The analogy itself ultimately derives from the late-Antique commentary of Calcidius on Plato's *Timeaus*, which became a popular source for Carolingian theorists, and with which Ciconia was undoubtedly familiar. It was rarely cited after the thirteenth century.

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Karen Desmond, "*Sicut in grammatica*: Analogical Discourse in Chapter 15 of Guido's *Micrologus*," *Journal of Musicology* 16, no. 4 (October 1998): 468. Though neither author mentions Ciconia, both Desmond and Blair Sullivan ("Grammar and Harmony: The Written Representation of Musical Sound in Carolingian Treatises," Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1994) discuss this trope and its origins.
[20] Gerbert published the *Musica artis diciplina* as the *De musica* of Odo. Ciconia refers to this treatise as the "Musica sillabarum." *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 17.

Calcidius and the Carolingian musical authorities transmit this language-music "construction" analogy as a simple statement, with much use of the passive voice and the static linking verb *esse* ("to be"). *Musica enchiriadis*, to cite but one example, narrates: "just as the elementary and individual constituents [*partes*] of speech are [*sunt*] letters, from which syllables are put together [*compositae*]…"[21] One would therefore expect Ciconia to render the original statement as a verbal *chreia.* Instead, he transforms it into an actional one, adding specific agents (a concerted body of literary and musical authorities) who accomplish specific deeds (the composition of written books and music). Ciconia's additions necessitate a shift in voice from what was overwhelmingly passive in the originals to active. In other words, the opening passage of *Nova musica* 1.60 becomes not, for instance, "The *Encheridion* states that 'just as the elementary and individual constituents of speech are letters…,'" or—in a more typically Ciconian citation style—simply, "The *Encheridion*: 'Just as the elementary and individual constituents…," but, "Just as the *ancient authors*…first *invented* letters…and *composed* written works and books..."[22]

The *chreia* summarized a statement or deed that was generally accepted (at least for the purposes of the *chreia* at hand) to be true. Although it briefly presents an opposing argument, it was primarily expository or anecdotal in nature. Its main function—

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[21] *Musica Enchiriadis*, trans. Erickson, 1.

[22] Note that Ciconia ascribes both of the *Enchiriadis* treatises to Hucbald of St. Amand. Ellsworth,17. He refers to these texts collectively as the *Encheridion* (Ciconia's preferred spelling). Barbara Haagh notes that Ciconia's citation style of "author: statement" derives from that of the Carolingian encyclopedia [dictionary], *Liber glossarum.* See "Ciconia's Citations," 45.

pedagogically speaking—was to teach a student how to correctly develop a theme; complex forensics was taught only after the student had mastered this fundamental skill. *Nova musica* 1.60 begins not merely with the recounting of a specific deed, however, but with a fully-formed comparative argument—or what was normally the sixth step in the *chreia* sequence. Furthermore, Ciconia's actual proposition—that there are fifteen modes of conjunctions (see below)—seems to have generated some contention among contemporaneous music theorists (above all, the "Guidonists"). Nor could recourse to any single previous musical authority adequately support Ciconia's claim, because they all diverged on the matter of the proper number of conjunctions. (Indeed, Ciconia's number of fifteen may be unique among authorities).[23] By placing the most compelling proof of his proposition at the beginning of his *chreia*, then, Ciconia makes a bold but necessary rhetorical statement.[24] He has consolidated all disparate versions of the Calcidian/Carolingian language-music analogy into one coherent redaction, to give the impression that his musical authorities presented a united front on the matter of constructing music: one composed songs in the same way the authors composed literary monuments, by combining a fixed number of elements into increasingly larger structures. And indeed, the passage directly preceding the language-music analogy (at the end of

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[23] Ciconia seems to reference only the *Micrologus* of Guido, via the "Guidonists" in this chapter, though his initial comparison would also recall the views Carolingians theorists. In *Micrologus*, chapter three, Guido claims that there are only six modes of conjunctions, a view that Ciconia has placed exclusively with the "Guidonists." Because, as Ellsworth has already noted, Ciconia also relies so heavily on the *Lucidarium* of Marchetto—and particularly those sections of Marchetto's work that treat the musical consonances and intervals—the reader may also consider Marchetto's proposed number of musical conjunctions: seventeen.

[24] And it may evince a typically humanist predilection for rhetorical induction.

Nova musica 1.59) censures the "Guidonists" because they did not subscribe to "that which the authors in open, equitable agreement teach."[25] Because the musical authorities had designated fifteen basic elements—or *ptongi* (sounds)—one would logically assume that they also intended there to be fifteen ways of joining these sounds together—or conjunctions. Finally, Ciconia has further strengthened the original analogy by making the musical authorities themselves the agents of musical composition. As we will see below, Ciconia consistently refers back to his initial comparison throughout the remainder of his *chreia*.

Proposition (*Chreia* Section 1) and Reason (*Chreia* Section 2)

Nova musica 1.60:

> *They invented 15 ptongi, by which the union of harmonies is composed by a rational quantity of sounds, as from proslambanomenos to nete hyperbolaion.* [reason]. *For which reason we believe it not to be off the topic if we show—according to the transmitted doctrine of the authors—how many modes there may be that are joined by them. There are fifteen* [proposition]*, like the fifteen ptongi of sounds* [reason reiterated].

The *ptongi* of which Ciconia speaks are simply the musical pitches in the traditional gamut; the conjunctions are the melodic intervals that may occur in plainchant. In what was probably another attempt to bolster the authority of his argument, Ciconia uses Greek names to designate the fifteen *ptongi*.[26] Without acknowledgment of his source, Ciconia also appropriates the names of two of the conjunctions from the

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[25] Ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 210-11: "…conticescat igitur ignorantia Guidonistarum, et ne mendaciter fingant esse tenendem, illud quod auctores in propatulo pari concordia docent non esse credendem."

[26] The Greek names for the *ptongi* are, as Leofranc Holford-Strevens has pointed out, undeclined. See "Humanism," 423.

Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua: the *exaden* and *eptaden*. Marchetto's treatise had in fact introduced these Greek terms—for the numbers six and seven, respectively—to music theory.[27] For a complete list of the Greek *ptongi*, their Latin equivalents, and the modes of conjunctions, please consult Tables 3.2 and 3.3.

Table 3.2 The fifteen *ptongi* (musical pitches)

Greek Pitch Names	**Latin Equivalent**
1. Proslambanomenos	A
2. Hypate hypaton	B
3. Parhypate hypaton	C
4. Lichanos hypaton	D
5. Hypate meson	E
6. Parhypate meson	F
7. Lichanos meson	G
8. Mese	a
9. Paramese	b natural
10. Trite diezeugmenon	c
11. Paranete diezeugmenon	d
12. Nete diezeugmenon	e
13. Trite hyperbolaion	f
14. Paranete hyperbolaion	g
15. Nete hyperbolaion	aa

[27] On the names of Marchetto's intervals, see especially the *Lucidarium*, Treatise 9, chapter 3. On the names of Marchetto's intervals, and Ciconia's adaptation of them, see Holford-Strevens, ibid.; *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua: A Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary*, ed. and trans. Jan W. Herlinger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 309, n. c; and, Fritz Reckow, "Diapason, diocto, octava," 22 in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972-). Both Marchetto and Ciconia seem to use atypical forms of the Latin *hexas/hexados-is* and *heptas/heptados-is.* Marchetto seems to prefer *hexadem* and *hexadem*, even in the nominative singular, while Ciconia opts for the undeclined *exaden* and *eptaden.*

Table 3.3 The fifteen modes of conjunctions (musical intervals)

Latin Interval	**Modern Equivalent**	**Ciconia's Example with Greek Pitch Names**	**Latin Equivalent**
1. semitone	half step	Hypate hypaton to parhypate hypaton	B to C
2. tone	whole step	Proslambanomenos to hypate hypaton	A to B
3. semiditone	minor third	Proslambanomenos to parhypate hypaton	A to C
4. ditone	major third	Parhypate hypaton to hypate meson	C to E
5. diatessaron	perfect fourth	Proslambanomenos to lichanos hypaton	A to D
6. minor diapente (2 tones + 2 semitones)	diminished fifth	Hypate hypaton to parhypate meson; hypate meson to trite synemmenon	B to F; E to b-flat (from the Greek Lesser Perfect System)
7. tritone (3 tones)	tritone (augmented fourth)	Parhypate meson to paramese	F to b-natural
8. major/full diapente (3 tones + 1 semitone)	perfect fifth	Proslambanomenos to hypate meson	A to E
9. minor hexad (3 tones + two semitones)	minor sixth	Hypate meson to trite diezeugmenon	E to c
10. major hexad (4 tones + 1 semitone)	major sixth	Parhypate hypaton to mese; lichanos meson to nete diezeugmenon	C to a; G to e

11. heptad (4 tones + 2 semitones)	minor seventh	Lichanos hypaton to trite diezeugmenon	D to c
12. diapason	octave	Proslambanomenos to mese	A to a
13. diapason-diatessaron	octave plus a perfect fourth	Proslambanomenos to paranete diezeugmenon	A to d
14. diapason-diapente	octave plus a perfect fifth	Proslambanomenos to nete diezeugmenon	A to e
15. double diapason	double octave	Proslambanomenos to nete hyperbolaion	A to aa

Once again, Ciconia has modified the order of the *chreia*: the reason for the proposition (paraphrased: "because the authors invented fifteen *ptongi*") immediately precedes the statement of the proposition itself ("there are fifteen modes of conjunctions") and is reiterated afterwards ("like the fifteen *ptongi*"). Indeed, the slight reversal of the proposition and its reason might lead us to believe that the principal topic of 1.60 is the *ptongi* (and the authors that invented them). The title of the chapter ("On the Fifteen Modes of Sounds and Their Conjunctions") seems to indicate that both *ptongi* and their conjunctions are treated with equal measure. The term *res* (as in "*Quapropter non ab re esse credimus*…," or roughly, "For this reason, we believe it is not off the topic…") poses something of a problem as well; although Ciconia likely meant it in the classical rhetorical sense of "topic," "proposition," or "argument," it is not certain to

which "topic" he refers in this passage.[28] Perhaps the "topic" as outlined in the chapter's title, or perhaps even in the wider sense of the "topic" of the treatise as a whole.

Nevertheless, certain evidence indicates that the actual topic of 1.60 is in fact the modes of conjunctions. *Nova musica* 1.23-1.59 discusses each of the fifteen *ptongi* in some detail, so it is logical to assume that 1.60 will introduce a new music-theoretical topic. And, indeed, 1.60 does not reiterate them because it is assumed that the reader has already committed them to memory. Conversely, 1.60 systematically explicates each of the fifteen modes of conjunctions and their placement on the monochord, and provides musical examples for them. According to Ciconia's logic, too, his proposition is contingent upon its reason: the fifteen conjunctions—and, for that matter, "the union of harmonies"—could not exist without the fifteen *ptongi*; in other words, *ptongi*, the most basic units of musical discourse, must join to form conjunctions, the next element in the musical fabric. The *ptongi* are responsible—the "reason" or "cause," as it were—for the existence of the conjunctions, and have brought them into being.[29] Ciconia's proposition finds its ultimate justification in the initial language-music comparison. The authorities invented the fifteen pitches, and next, the intervals, because they followed the model of writers, who invented letters first, and joined them together to form syllables and parts. The implicit conclusion to Ciconia's line of reasoning is that *ptongi* are to be equated with letters and the conjunctions with syllables and/or parts.

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[28] See for instance, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* ed. Caplan, iv.xlii.53-xliv.57 on the *expolitio* or *chreia*. Iv.xliv.57 is included in Appendix 1.
[29] Here one might explore the influence not only of classical and humanist rhetoric, but also classical and medieval logic on Ciconia's reasoning process.

Restatement of the Proposition (*Chreia* Section 3) and Reason, with some refinement (*Chreia* Section 4)

Therefore, there are fifteen modes of conjunctions [proposition]*, just as fifteen ptongi of sounds have been established by the authors* [reason]. *Some of these are syllables, others parts* [refinement of proposition]…*The remaining ones…the authors presented in rules and songs in the same manner as the others on which we reported above* [refinement of reason].

In the refinement of his original proposition, Ciconia's heretofore implicit connection between intervals and syllables/parts becomes more manifest: some of the conjunctions, he tells us, are "syllables" (*sillabe*), and others "parts" (*partes*). The syllables consist of the tone, semitone, ditone, and semiditone, and the parts, the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente, and the double diapason. Some of the conjunctions—the minor diapente, tritone, major and minor hexads, and the heptad—are neither syllables nor parts, but Ciconia has decided to include them because they occur both in the plainchant repertoire and the "rules" of sanctioned authorities.

In previous chapters of *Nova musica* (1.23-1.58, and especially 1.59, "the Demonstration That the Tone and the Semitone, the Ditone and the Semiditone, are Not Consonances"), Ciconia takes great pains to establish that the smaller, non-consonant intervals of the semitone, tone, semiditone, and ditone are but "particles" (*particule*) of the larger, consonant perfect intervals (*symphoniae*) of the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente, and double diapason. In other words, the smaller intervals—or syllables—must join together in various combinations to form the larger consonances—or parts—as in the case of the full diapente (perfect fifth), which

may be formed from the combination of three tones and a semitone.[30] Once we have taken into account previous chapters like 1.59, Ciconia's hierarchical language analogy becomes even clearer. In both language and music smaller parts join to form increasingly larger structures: *ptongi* join to form smaller intervals, which in turn form *consonances*, while letters join to form syllables, which in turn produce words, or even phrases (i.e. "parts").[31] The remaining intervals, neither syllables nor parts, are more difficult to classify; they too, are made up of smaller particles, but unlike the other "parts" they do not constitute perfect consonances.

In the ninth treatise of his *Lucidarium*, Marchetto of Padua (fl. 1305-1319) had already proposed a similar classification of musical intervals. The semitone, whole tone, semiditone, and ditone comprised "conjunctions and syllables" (*coniunctiones et sillabe*); the perfect consonances of the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente a class of "conjunctions and species" (*coniunctiones et species*); and, finally the imperfect diapente (diminished fifth), tritone, major and minor hexads, major and minor heptads, and the imperfect diapason (diminished octave) are called "simply conjunctions" ("solum coniunctiones"). Marchetto relied partially on the example of previous authorities for his classifications of both the conjunctions and syllables and the conjunctions and species. He claims, for instance, to have taken his "syllables in music"—or "members of consonant intervals" (*membra consonantiarum*)—from Berno of Reichenau (ca. 978-1048). Unfortunately, no modern scholar has been able to find the

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[30] See *Nova musica*, ed. Ellsworth, 1.60, 212.1-5.
[31] On the linguistic definition of "parts" (*partes*), see *Nova muica*, ed. Ellsworth, 213, n. 259.

so-called musical syllables in any known works of Berno.[32] Marchetto, ever the progressive theorist, relies neither upon any musical authority nor examples from the musical repertoire to substantiate his simple "intervals."

Ciconia's elaborate classification of musical intervals and their linguistic equivalents derives from a close reading and carefully-considered revision of previous musical authorities. Chief among them was Marchetto, his predecessor at the Padua Cathedral. Ciconia adopted Marchetto's "syllables" as his own, but without citing either Marchetto or Berno as his source. In particular, Ciconia's failure to cite Berno comes as something of a surprise because of his militantly retrospective agenda. We must therefore assume that he disavowed the authorship of Berno because—like some modern scholars—he believed Marchetto's attribution of the syllables to the older theorist to be unfounded or corrupt. Elsewhere in 1.60, Ciconia has painstakingly corrected an attribution to Isidore of Seville. In the treatise nine, chapter 1.7-8, Marchetto had written:

> Ysidorus: [7.] Toni et semitonia sunt particule consonantiarum. [8.] Ditonus enim nil aliud est quam duplex tonus.[33]

Once again, modern scholars have not been to locate this quotation in the works of Isidore.[34] Apparently, Ciconia could not either; he reproduces the passage almost

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[32] *Lucidarium,* ed. Herlinger, 310-311, esp. n. e and f: "De his Bernardus: Sillaba in musica est tonus, semitonium, ditonus, et semiditonus, quae consonantiarum membra proprie nuncupantur." Marchetto has also taken an unsubstantiated quote from the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville to justify that semitones are particles of consonances: "Ysidorus: Toni et semitonia sunt particule consonantiarum."

[33]"Isidore writes, 'The whole tones and the semitones are particles of consonant intervals. The ditone is nothing other than a double whole tone.'" *Lucidarium,* ed. and trans. Herlinger, 310-311.

[34] See ibid., 311, n. f.

verbatim, but ascribes it to Hucbald of St. Amand instead:

> Ubaldus: Toni et semitonia sunt particule symphoniarum, id est consonantiarum. Item ipse: Ditonus autem nil aliud est quam duplus tonus.[35]

Regrettably, no scholar has yet identified the passage in either the *De harmonica institutione* or the *Musica* and *scolica enchiriadis* that Ciconia also ascribed to Hucbald. Barbara Haggh-Huglo has, however, investigated several manuscripts that contain unique variants of *De harmonica*, the *Enchiriadis* treatises, and the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelian of Reômé. She has found that Ciconia reproduced some of these variants, in some cases from passages underlined in the original sources, throughout *Nova musica.* One of these passages occurs in strikingly close proximity to the aforementioned passage (pp. 206.10-13 in the Ellsworth edition). It is therefore possible that Ciconia reproduced the passage above from a manuscript unknown to us but related to the ones Haggh-Huglo has described.[36]

Otherwise, Ciconia's "parts" are identical to Marchetto's "conjunctions and species" in every aspect but name. I would postulate that Ciconia chose to rename this category of intervals (containing the perfect consonances) in order to further strengthen his initial music-language analogy.[37] Finally, Ciconia duplicates all but two of

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[35]*Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 210.1-3.

[36] See Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's Citations," 48-53. Haggh-Huglo's manuscripts include Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Class. Lat. 273 (OxB) and Canon. Misc. 212 (OxC), Cesena, Biblioteca Comunale Malatestiana, MS S XXVI.I, and Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 1965. Haggh-Huglo also contends that Ciconia carefully considered his sources and manner of citation, and that he probably conducted his research for *Nova musica* over a period of years, in places such as Bologna, Rome, Milan, and Venice.

[37] While the term *species* is in fact used in grammar, it neither appears in the analogies that compare the hierarchical process of building literature to that of music, nor is it used in the same sense as *partes* to mean "words or "phrases." Marchetto had, moreover,

Marchetto's simple conjunctions (the major heptad and the imperfect octave), presumably because he could find examples for them neither in the "rules" of the authorities, nor in the extant repertoire of plainchant.

Argument from the Contrary (*Chreia* Section 5)

> *In short, lest they be rejected by those less competent or by the Guidonists, who say that the conjunctions of pitches are made in only six modes…*

Ciconia leveled his most passionate—and brutal—criticisms against the *Guidonistae*, or unnamed followers of Guido of Arezzo. Two of his harshest judgments occur in *Nova musica* 1.59 and 1.60 respectively. In 1.59, Ciconia vehemently attacks the Guidonists' claim that the tone, semitone, ditone, and semiditone are consonances, claiming, rather, that they are particles of them. In support of his counterargument, he adduces multiple passages from ancient authorities—including Boethius, Hucbald, Berno, and the anonymous author of *Musica artis disciplina*—who teach "in open, equitable agreement" that the only true consonances are the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, the diapason-diapente, and the double diapason.[38] In

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begun Treatise 9 with a much more distilled language-music analogy, but does little to carry it out. In *Lucidarium* 9.1.2, for example, Marchetto states: "Coniunctio in musica est dispositio sive ordinatio sonorum sive vocum ad invicem in sillabis et dictionibus." ["An interval in music is the respective disposition or arrangement of pitches or notes in a 'syllable' or 'word.'"] Yet, he calls his category of consonances "coniunctiones et species" rather than "coniunctiones et dictiones." Ciconia probably substituted the roughly equivalent term "partes" in order to rectify this oversight.

[38] *Nova musica,* trans. Ellsworth, 214-15.4-10: "So then, although the authority of the consonances is supported by the credible testimonies of so many authors, judgment is now to be held of the 'Guidonists,' who for want of reason, say that the tone, semitone, ditone, and semiditone are consonances, although the authors maintain and teach that there are not other consonances except the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente, and double diapason. Indeed, they say that the tone and semitone are particles of them. Therefore, so that their saying may more truly be

1.60, after providing a formidable list of authoritative citations and musical examples (see below), Ciconia further censures the "ignorance" and "madness" of the Guidonists because they had recognized only six modes of conjunctions.[39]

In Treatise 9.1.11-12 of his *Lucidarium*, Marchetto had accused Guido himself of mistaking the aforementioned intervals for consonances:

> But if the whole tone, which lies in a musical proportion, is not a consonance, how much less consonant must be the semitone (which is a part of it), the ditone, and the semiditone, for which there are not proportions at all? Guido's ignorance [*ignorantia Guidonis*] is then manifest: he asserted that these intervals are species of consonance, whereas they are only members of consonant intervals, as has been pointed out.[40]

Guido had proposed "sex vocum consonantias," but—as at least one passage from *Micrologus* 4 ("The notes that should be joined to each other by six intervals") intimates—intended them to be melodic, horizontal successions rather than vertical harmonies, and this is the crux of the matter:

> Thus, you have six [melodic] intervals, namely, tone, semitone, ditone, semiditone, diatessaron, and diapente. In no chant is one note joined to another by any other intervals, going either up or down.[41]

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believed, let examples be set down…let the ignorance of the Guidonists cease, and may they not falsely imagine one must hold as not to be believed that which the authors in open, equitable agreement teach." Unfortunately, modern scholars have not located Ciconia's citations of Boethius and Hucbald. It is possible that Ciconia willfully mis-attributed his evidence to these authors to bolster the authority of his counterargument, or he could have consulted a lost exemplar with unique variants.

[39] Ibid., 214-15.2-5.

[40] Trans. Herlinger, 313. "Sed si tonus non est consonantia qui inest in proportione musicali, quanto minus semitonium, quod est pars eius, et ditonus et semiditonus, quorum nulla est proportion? Patet igitur ignorantia Guidonis, qui has coniunctiones, que ut predicitur, membra consonantiarum sunt, esse consonantiarum species asserebat."

[41] Warren Babb, trans. *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978), 61; *Guidonis Aretini Micrologus*, ed. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, Corpus scriptorum de musica 4 ([Nijmegen, Netherlands]: American Institute of Musicology, 1955), 105-06: "Habes itaque sex vocum

As Jan Herlinger notes, Guido's comments make the most sense within the context of his system of monochord divisions, which he has laid out in the preceding chapter, and to a lesser extent, chapter 6 ("Also on the Divisions of the Monochord and Their Meaning"):

> The tone gets its name from *intonandus*, that is "to be sounded," and gives nine units of length to its lower not compared with eight to its higher. The semitone, however, the ditone, and the semiditone, although they connect notes in singing, get no dividing point.[42]

I suspect that Marchetto willfully misinterpreted this passage—which he had referenced in Treatise 9.1.11 (see above)—and Guido's broader thinking about melodic intervals in order to bolster his reputation as a progressive music theorist.[43] At least one subsequent music theorist seemed to recognize the transgressive nature of Marchetto's criticism. Franchinus Gaffurius (1451-1522) left a telling remark in his copy of the *Lucidarium*: "Here [i.e. *Lucidarium* 9.1.12] Guido is arrogantly rebuked by Marchetto."[44]

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consonantias, id est tonum, semitonium, ditonum, semiditonum, diatessaron et diapente. In nullo enim cantu aliis modis vox voci coniungitur, vel intendendo vel remittendo. Cumque [-106-] tam paucis clausulis tota harmonia formetur, utillimum est altae eas memoriae commendare, et donec plene in canendo sentiantur et cognoscantur, ab exercitio numquam cessare, ut his velut clavibus habitis canendi possis peritiam sagaciter ideoque facilius possidere." Available at http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/GUIMICR_TEXT.html.

[42] Trans. Babb 62; Ed. Waesberghe, 116: "Tonus autem ab intonando, id est sonando, nomen accepit qui maiori voci novem, minori vero octo passus constituit. Semitonium autem et ditonus et semiditonus, etsi voces ad canendum coniungunt, divisionem tamen nullam recipient." http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/GUIMICR_TEXT.html.

[43] If this is the case, it is somewhat surprising that Marchetto does not similarly censure him for his paucity of melodic intervals—or "conjunctions." Marchetto proposes 17, and Guido 6. See *Micrologus* 4, above, and *Lucidarium*, Treatise 9.

[44] "Hic a Marcheto superbe increpatur Guido." Regarding the passage in question, see *Lucidarium*, ed. and trans. Herlinger, 313, n. i.

Gaffurius might not have been alone. Ciconia updates the doctrines of his ancient authorities—leaving out "those things that were not appropriate," perfecting "those that were inadequate," and adding "those of which they were unaware"—but he rarely, if ever, censures them as openly as Marchetto had done.[45] He cannot afford to, if he wishes to convince others of his aggressively neo-classical agenda. *Nova musica* 1.59 and 1.60 serve as particularly apt examples of this: here, Ciconia has clearly transformed Marchetto's *ignorantia Guidonis* ("the ignorance of Guido") into the *ignorantia Guidonistarum* ("ignorance of the Guidonists"), thus deflecting the blame from the older theorist onto an amorphous, and presumably contemporaneous, group of musicians. Furthermore, Ciconia harangues the "Guidonists" rather than Guido himself for imagining that there were only six modes of conjunctions, when in fact Guido himself had unequivocally stated, in *Micrologus* 4 (see above), that musicians had at their disposal only "six melodic intervals…in no chant is one note joined to another by any other intervals, going either up or down." Indeed, Ciconia's respect for, and dependence upon, Guido is evinced throughout *Nova musica*; he names his predecessor as an authority on at least twenty occasions.[46]

Ciconia's refusal to acknowledge the "mistakes" of such a venerable authority as Guido broaches the following question: did Ciconia invent the "Guidonists" in order to avoid finding fault with Guido himself? Indeed, he never names individual Guidonists.

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[45] *Nova musica*, Prologue to Book One, ed. and trans. Ellworth, 52-53: "Musicam antiquam antiquorum voto editam, quam ipsi explicare nequiverunt ad plenam scientiam, novo stilo renovere cupimus, et que non errant apta relinquere, et que minus habebat perficere, et inaudita imponere."
[46] Ellsworth, "Introduction," in *Nova musica*, 16.

No other known music theorist has referred to them either collectively or individually, nor have modern scholars been able to ascertain their identities. Perhaps the Guidonists even offered a convenient rhetorical construct for the *chreia* at hand. Although the *chreia* incorporates the contrary argument, its primary purpose was to teach students how to properly develop a theme. As such, the contrary arguments of many *chreia* may be easily refuted. Consequently, Ciconia may have set up the Guidonists as something of a straw man; because they did not actually exist, they could not properly defend themselves against Ciconia's attacks. And if Ciconia intended *Musica nova* 1.60 primarily as an essay in classical *chreia* style and structure, perhaps they weren't meant to.

Yet Ciconia's passionate and unrelenting vituperation of the Guidonists suggests they in fact existed. It is possible that they had leveled similar attacks against Ciconia's writings, or music, or perhaps both, and that Ciconia responded in kind, as a man who had been personally affronted. If such theorists were in inconvenient positions of power, moreover, Ciconia could not openly name them in his text. Finally, Ciconia's counterarguments seem too well-constructed to have constituted merely a rhetorical exercise: much like his humanist colleagues, he punctiliously sought out the most ancient and "authentic" sources possible in order purge his discipline of what he perceived to be its most corrupt teachings. As case in point, *Nova musica* 1.59 and 1.60 set out to correct the faulty readings of both the Guidonists and, implicitly, Marchetto. The Guidonists had erred because they had taken the term *consonantiae* literally to mean "consonant vertical harmonies" rather than horizontal melodic intervals. Because Marchetto had unjustly

ascribed the same error to Guido, Ciconia felt it necessary to transfer Marchetto's censure of Guido to the Guidonists, where it rightfully belonged.[47]

Argument from Example (*Chreia* Section 7)

> *In short, lest they be rejected by those less competent or by the Guidonists, who say that the conjunctions of pitches are made in only six modes, let us make known where they may be found in songs. Therefore, I shall list a few of the many songs.*

As we established in previous paragraphs, Ciconia used certain chapters from the ninth treatise of Marchetto's *Lucidarium* as a point of departure for *Nova musica* 1.59 and 1.60. He had, for example, borrowed fifteen of his predecessor's modes of conjunctions, without comment. However, Marchetto*'s* curious lack of musical examples for the more problematic conjunctions of the imperfect diapente, tritone, major and minor hexads, and the heptad must have irritated one so keen to prove his case against the Guidonists.[48] Ciconia has therefore inserted his own, from the plainchant repertoire, in

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[47] Ciconia would have had a more difficult time attributing Guido's unambiguous statement that there were only six modes of conjunctions to the Guidonists. Ciconia could perhaps argue that, although Guido named only six, he had also intended to add to this number the diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente, and the double diapason since they were a) but compounds of the smaller diatessaron and diapente, and b) as such were necessary for the composition of organum. In this regard, Ciconia may have intended some of the smaller conjunctions as horizontal intervals and some of the largest as vertical intervals—i.e. intervals necessary to make organum. *Nova musica* 1.23-1.59 includes plainchant examples that illustrate the melodic intervals of the semitone, tone, ditone, semiditone, diatessaron, and diapente only. For the diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente, and double diapason, however, he gives only examples of organum. He gives plainchant examples for the remaining, more problematic intervals only in 1.60.

[48] Treatise 9 names no examples from any extant musical repertoire, monophonic or polyphonic. Here, manuscripts give only the intervals themselves in square notation, or occasionally—with the less problematic of them—short, generic melodic formulas outlining them.

order to demonstrate that these intervals did indeed occur in more authoritative sources. For a complete list of the chants outlined in *Nova musica* 1.60, please see Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Plainchant examples for the more problematic modes of conjunctions

Musical Intervals	**Plainchant Title**	**Text where interval occurs**	**Greek Pitch Names**	**Latin Equivalents**
Minor diapente (*diapente minor*)	*Isti sunt sancti qui habebant loricas* (antiphon)	"et clamabant voce magna dicentes 'Sanctus'"	Hypate meson to trite synemmenon	E to b-flat
Tritone (*tritonus*)	*Isti sunt dies* (responsory)	"debetis temporibus suis"	Parhypate meson to paramese	F to b-natural
Minor hexad (*exaden minor*)	*Ego sum Deus patrum vestrorum* (antiphon)	"dicit Dominus videns"	Hypate meson to trite diezeugmenon	E to c
Major hexad (*exaden maior*)	*Protector noster aspice* (gradual)	No text given	Parhypate hypaton to mese	C to a
Heptad (*eptaden*)	*Ecce eicies me hodie* (responsory)	"omnis qui invenerit me occident me"	Lichanos meson to trite hyperbolaion	G to f

Certain evidence suggests that Ciconia sought out the oldest, most "authentic" examples in order to strengthen his argument against the Guidonists. In two recent studies, Barbara Haggh-Huglo has convincingly argued that *Nova musica* resurrected a number of rare or defunct plainchants from Carolingian and Post-Carolingian graduals,

antiphoners, and music-theoretical tracts.[49] At least one of them appears in 1.60: namely, the antiphon *Isti sunt sancti qui habebant loricas*.[50] I would argue, moreover, that Ciconia's rather idiosyncratic way of citing his plainchant examples deliberately recalls the citation style of the earliest Carolingian music-theoretical writings. None of the surviving manuscripts of *Nova musica* have provided musical notation—neumatic, square, or otherwise—for any of the plainchant examples in 1.60. Nor does there appear to have been space left for notation. Rather, the titles of the chants are listed within the body of the text, with only textual cues to indicate the place where the musical interval occurs. These cues are supplemented with the Greek names of the pitches. I include the following excerpt from *Nova musica* 1.60 in order to illustrate Cicona's citation style more clearly:

> The minor diapente is in the Antiphon *Isti sunt sancti qui habebant loricas* in this place: "et clamabant voce magna dicentes 'Sanctus,'" as in hypate meson to trite synemmenon.[51]

A similar citation style may be found in the works of at least two authors whom Ciconia cites elsewhere in *Nova musica:* the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelian of Réôme (fl. 840-850) and especially the *De harmonica institutione* of Hucbald of St. Amand (c. 850-930). In fact, one particular passage from *De harmonica*, which also names plainchant

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[49] "Ciconia's *Nova musica*," 7-24; "Ciconia's Citations," 54-55.
[50] On the sources of this plainchant, see ibid.
[51] "Diapente minor est in antiphona Isti sunt sancti qui habebant loricas in eo loco et clamabant voce magna dicentes Sanctus ut hypate meson ad trite synemenon." Ellsworth, ed. and trans., 214-15. For the complete Latin and English text of *Nova musica* 1.60, see Appendix 1, example 2, below.

examples to illustrate melodic intervals, may have served as a direct model for part of

Nova musica 1.60:

> The first interval [the semitone] occurs when two tones are separated by the smallest distance, so that the space between them is scarcely perceived, as in the antiphon *Missus est Gabriel* at *Mariam* and *Virginem.*The second [the whole tone] is a more perceptible interval, as at *Missus est* and *Angelus*. The third [interval, the semiditone] is a little larger, as in *Missa est* at *Mariam Virginem.* The fourth [interval, the ditone or major third] extends farther than this, as in the antiphon *Beati qui ambulant.* The fifth [interval, the diatessaron] is even greater, as in *Ne timeas, Maria* and *In illa die* at *fluent.* The sixth [interval, the tritone] is still ampler, as in the responsories *Iam corpus eius* at *cuius pater feminam* and *Isti sunt dies quos* at *debetis temporibus.* The seventh [interval, the diapente] too, surpasses these by the due amount, as in the antiphon *Beata Agnes in medio. . . minas.* The eighth [interval, the whole-tone-plus-diapente or major sixth] you will find in *Tu vir Symphoriane suspende in tormentis.* The ninth [interval, the whole-tone-plus-diapente or major sixth] extending over the widest space of all, has the last place among these intervals [*divisionum* (i.e. *monochordi*)], for you will never find one larger than it or smaller than the first. It occurs in the introit *Ad te levavi animam meam: Deus meus in te* and the responsory *Inter natos mulierum non.*[52]

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[52] Trans. Warren Babb, 16; "Inaequalium vero sonorum, qui disiuncti dicuntur, diversae species offeruntur. Inaequales hae appellantur voces, quae binae sibi coniunctae, una acutiori, altera pressiori sono cum quolibet intervallo proferuntur: sed ipsa intervalla in quibusdam minora, in quibusdam maiora existunt. Quae tamen a parvissimo quodam exorsa, gradatimque per singulos ampliatione adiecta, usque ad novem modorum crementa consurgunt. Porro ea numquam perfecte dinosci valebunt, donec series omnium XV. sonorum, de quibus post dicetur, ex integro addiscatur. Ut tamen in praesenti breviter annotentur, geminis unoquoque pro acumine et gravitate monstrabo exemplis. Primus modus est, cum sibi duae voces brevissimi spatii divisione cohaerent, adeo, ut vix discrimen sentiatur inter eas, ut in antiphona Missus est Gabriel ad id loci Mariam. item Virginem. Secundus iam perceptibilioris est, ut in hoc Missus est Item ad Mariam Virginem. Item Angelus. Tertius adhuc parvo diductiori, ut in hoc: Missus est Gabriel ad Mariam Virginem. Quartus hoc quoque protensior: ut in hac antiphona: Beati qui ambulant. Quintus adhuc spatiosior: ut in hoc: Ne timeas Maria et In illa die fluent. Sextus nihilominus amplior: ut in hoc responso: Iam corpus eius. Cuius pater feminam. Item Responsorium Isti sunt dies, quos observare debetis temporibus. Septimus hos quoque spatio proprio supervadit, ut in hac antiphona: Beata Agnes in medio flammarum minas. Octavum vero in hoc reperies: Tu vir Symphoriane suspende in tormentis. Nonus prolixiori super omnes tensus spatio metam huiusmodi divisionum sortitur: nam nec amplius isto, nec strictius primo umquam vocum reperies divisionem; et est ipse in hac antiphona. Ad te levavi animam meam. Deus meus in Te. Responsorium Inter natos

It is especially noteworthy that Ciconia names the same example for the interval of the tritone: namely, the antiphon *Isti sunt dies*. Later in *De harmonica institutione,* Hucbald introduces the Greek pitch names—and alphabetic notation—to illustrate the various intervals in plainchant.[53]

Conclusion and Final Appeal to Authorities (*Chreia* Section 8)

> *Therefore, let the ignorance of the Guidonists cease, since the wisdom of the authors and the ancient authority of their refrains has convicted of folly—if I may say so—those who say that the conjunctions of pitches are made in only six modes.*

Ciconia's complex *chreia* concludes with a final refutation of the Guidonists and, as was typical of many classical essays in the genre, a final appeal to the ancient authorities.[54]

Humanism, Imitation, and the Philosophical Implications of Writing

As we have shown in chapter two of this dissertation, many authors—including Cennino Cennini, Leon Battista Alberti, and finally, Ciconia—sought to reformulate their respective disciplines in accordance with new pedagogical standards of the emerging

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mulierum non." *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum,* 3 vols., ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 1:105. Available on the *Thesaurus musicarum latinarum,* http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/HUCHAR_TEXT.html.

[53] See especially, Gerbert, ed., 1.113/6-121/1.

[54] See, for example, *Progymnasmata,* trans. Kennedy, 77: "It is also possible to bring in a judgment; for example, "Hesiod said (*Works and Days* 289), 'The gods put sweat before virtue,' and another poet says, 'The gods sell all good things for us for toils.'"

studia humanitatis.[55] Visual artists like Cennini, Alberti, and later, Leonardo da Vinci strove to transform painting into a discipline worthy of abstract reasoning and philosophical speculation: in other words, partaking of the very qualities that distinguished the seven original liberal arts studies from more utilitarian crafts. Authors like Ciconia, whose disciplines long had been counted worthy of philosophical speculation, endeavored, rather, to elevate their own art to the apex of the seven liberal studies.[56]

More than a few fifteenth-century humanists regarded the act of fixing abstract ideas in concrete form as an integral part of the mind's reasoning processes.[57] This was, of course, most conveniently accomplished with the pen (i.e. in writing), but also, as visual artists argued, with the paintbrush or the chisel. In this regard, we may note a

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[55] Here, we remind the reader that Padua—where Cennini, Alberti, and Ciconia all studied and/or worked for some time—was a locus of educational reforms in the early fifteenth century. Cennini and Ciconia worked in Padua at the same time, and it is likely that Cennini composed his influential *Libro dell'arte* at roughly the same time that Ciconia composed *Nova musica*.

[56] *Nova musica* includes a great many passages that describe music as superior to the other liberal arts. Some of these will be discussed in more detail below.

[57] This was in some ways an extension of scholastic philosophy, which maintained that a liberal art must be invariable. Regarding Leonardo da Vinci and his comparisons between painting and the liberal arts, Irma A. Richter states: "Leonardo made a point of proving that painting was as lasting as sculpture and more lasting than music because he wished to prove that painting was an equal of the sciences which ranked with the Liberal Arts; and durability or rather invariability was in scholastic circles thought to be a necessary attribute to all science. Compare Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* vi. 3: 'We all suppose that what we know with scientific knowledge is invariable; but of that which is variable we cannot say so soon as it is out of sight whether it is in existence or not. The object of science then is necessary. Therefore, it is eternal: for whatever is of its own nature necessary is eternal: and what is eternal neither begins nor ceases to be.'" In Leonardo da Vinci, *Paragone: A Comparison of the Arts*, trans. Richter (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 74n1.

passage in which Cennino Cennini proposes that painting be elevated to the loftier status of a "theoretical" art because of its ability to bring into material existence what the mind has inwardly contemplated:

> Close to that, man pursued some [occupations] related to the one which calls for a basis of that, coupled with skill of hand: and this is an occupation known as painting, which calls for imagination [*fantasia*], and skill of hand [*operazione di mano*], in order to discover things not seen, hiding themselves under the shadow [*ombra*] of natural objects, and to fix them [*fermarle*] with the hand, presenting to plain sight what does not actually exist. And it justly deserves to be enthroned next to theory [*scienza*], and to be crowned with poetry.[58]

According to the enormously influential *Epistolae morales* 84 of Seneca the Younger (4 BCE-65 CE), writing helped order, and subsequently transform, the jumbled potpourri of facts that the mind had absorbed from its perusal of various sources. Macrobius's recension of the eighty-fourth epistle lavishes particular attention on the kinship between writing, organization, and so-called "mental fermentation":

> We ought in some sort to imitate the bees; and just as they, in their wanderings to and fro, sip the flowers, then arrange their juices to a single flavor by in some way mixing with them a property of their own being, so I too shall put into writing all that I have acquired in the varied course of my reading, to reduce it thereby to order and to give it coherence. For not only does the arrangement help the memory, but the actual process of arrangement, accompanied by a kind of mental fermentation which serves to season the whole, blends the diverse extracts to

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[58] *Il Libro dell'Arte,* ed. and trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932-33), vol. I, 1-3. "Poi seguitò molte arti bisognevoli, e differenziate l'una dall'altra; e fu ed è di maggiore scienza l'una che l'altra; chè tutte non potevano essere uguali; perchè la più degna è la scienza; appresso di quella séguita alcuna discendente da quella, la quale conviene aver fondamento da quella con operazione di mano: e questa è un'arte che si chiama dipignere, che conviene avere fantasia, con operazione di mano, di trovare cose non vedute (cacciandosi sotto ombra di naturali), e fermarle con la mano, dando a dimostrare quello che non è, sia. E con ragione merita metterla a sedere in secondo grado alla scienza, e coronarla di poesia."

> make a single flavor; with the result that, even if the sources are evident, what we get in the end is still something clearly different from those known sources.[59]

As I have already demonstrated, passages from the *Epistolae morales* 84 (and Macrobius's recension of it) counted among the most often-cited classical sources in humanist writings on imitation. One may even discern echoes of Seneca and Macrobius in the prologue to book one of *Nova musica.*

Unfortunately, we have limited space within which to consider the important role that writing played in the organization and memorization of orations.[60] (Rhetoric, we may remember, constituted one of the seven liberal studies.) Standard rhetorical texts like the *De inventione* of Cicero, the Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and the *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian relate elaborate mnemonic systems by which a speech already written in wax or papyrus may be committed to memory.[61] Quintilian, for instance,

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[59] *The Saturnalia*, trans. Percival Vaughan Davies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 27. Latin available at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Macrobius/Saturnalia/1*.html: "Apes enim quodammodo debemus imitari, quae vagantur et flores carpunt, deinde quicquid attulere disponunt ac per favos dividunt et sucum varium in unum saporem mixtura quadam et proprietate spiritus sui mutant. Nos quoque quicquid diversa lectione quaesivimus committemus stilo, ut in ordinem eodem digerente coalescat. Nam et in animo melius distincta servantur, et ipsa distinctio non sine quodam fermento quo conditur universitas in unius saporis usum varia libamenta confundit, ut, etiamsi quid apparuerit unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum noscetur appareat: quod in corpore nostro videmus sine ulla opera nostra facere naturam." This is, specifically, Macrobius's rendition of the so-called "apian" metaphor.

[60] For a more detailed account of how medieval rhetorical texts were laid out for memorization, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[61] See, for example, Quintilian, *Instiutio oratoria,* XI.ii, and Anonymous, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III.

recommends the recopying of portions of the written speech on a wax tablet in order to more fully memorize it:

> There is one thing which will be of assistance to everyone, namely, to learn a passage by heart from the same tablets on which he has committed it to writing. For he will have certain tracks to guide him in his pursuit of memory, and the mind's eye will be fixed not merely on the pages on which the words are written, but on individual lines, and at times he will speak as though he were reading aloud.[62]

The anonymous author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for his part, has constructed an elaborate analogy between the images and *loci* (i.e. "places" or "backgrounds") of memory and script:

> Those who know the letters of the alphabet can thereby write out what is dictated to them and read aloud what they have written. Likewise, those who have learned mnemonics can set in backgrounds [*in loci*] what they have heard, and from these backgrounds deliver it by memory. For the backgrounds are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like script, and the delivery is like the reading.[63]

If the aforementioned passages (and many others not cited here) tell us anything, it is that classical and humanist writers conceptualized the mental processes of reasoning and memory in highly visual terms. Indeed, Quintilian and the anonymous author of the *Ad Herennium* often describe rhetoric as "vivid speech," and encourage orators to bring the facts, events, and language of their orations before the very eyes of their listeners.

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[62] Ed. and trans. Butler, 228-31 (XI.ii.32-33): "Illud neminem non iuvabit, iisdem quibus scripserit ceris ediscere. Sequitur enim vestigiis quibusdam memoriam, et velut oculis intuetur non paginas modo, sed versus prope ipsos, estque cum dicit similis legenti."
[63] Ed. and trans. Caplan, 208-09 (III.xvi.30): "Quemadmodum igitur qui litteras sciunt possunt id quod dictator eis scribere, et recitare quod scripserunt, item qui mnemonica didicerunt possunt quod audierunt in locis conlocare et exi his memoriter pronuntiare. Name loci cerae aut chartae simillimi sunt, imagines litteris, disposition et conlocatio imaginum scripturae, pronuntiatio lectioni." For further reading on classical and medieval mnemonic systems, see especially Carruthers, *The Book of Memory.*

Furthermore, many medieval and Renaissance authors regarded the eyes as the primary sense through which knowledge from the material world was transmitted—via an incorporeal, "airy" substance called the *spiritus*—and imprinted upon the higher intellective faculties of the soul.[64] In his famous commentary on Plato's *Symposium,* philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) describes the transmission of sensory information to and from the soul in language heavily laden with visual metaphors:

> Without doubt three things are in us: soul [*anima*], spirit [*spirito*], and body [*corpo*]. The soul and the body are very different in nature; they are joined by means of the spirit, which is a certain vapor, very thin and clear, produced by the heat of the heart from the thinnest part of the blood. Spread from there through all parts of the body, the spirit receives the powers of the soul and communicates them to the body. It also takes up through the organs of the senses the images of bodies outside, images that cannot be imprinted directly on the soul because incorporeal substance, which is more perfect than bodies, cannot be formed by

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[64] In a recent study, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001),18, author Madeline Harrison Caviness comments upon the pervasiveness of the visual from medieval to modern times: "Most European languages are very rich in words that have to do with sight and also serve as metaphors for cognition, or 'seeing with the inner eye' as the Victorine canons called it in the twelfth century (Caviness, 1983, 115). Jacques Lacan noticed that Augustine's child, reacting with jealousy to his sibling, was described as seeing (*vidit*), observing (*intuebatur*), and having a fixed stare (*aspectu*) (Lacan, 1977, 20). Envy (*invidio*) is related to seeing. So too is evidence, a seeing that is so material that it is hard and can be weighed (Jay, in Brennan and Jay, 10). In English, whereas aural experience is divided only into simple passive and active forms (hearing and listening), we see (sometimes passively), but we actively glance, look, perceive; view, observe, inspect; spy, peek, eyeball; gaze, scrutinize, contemplate; watch, stare, glare; gawk, gape, leer; eye, ogle, and hypnotize. We engage actively in these ocular behaviors as viewers, spectators and scopophiliacs, voyeurs and observers, watchmen and visionaries (though phrases 'looking well' and 'good lookers' are oddly passive). We also take a good look, give a black look, exchange glances, make eyes at, fix our eyes upon each other, devour each other with our eyes, and stare each other down. Metaphorically, we regard one person as an enemy and have regard for another, we observe rules and rituals, we envision or speculate about the future, we make revisions to our texts, we reflect or look back on the past, we look to important transactions, and we look after our children. Such a linguistic investment in looking is an indicator of its importance in the culture, and many of the terms divulge the power at stake in ocular behaviors."

> them through the reception of images. But the soul, being present in all parts of the spirit, easily sees the images of bodies as if in a mirror shining in it, and through these judges the bodies; such cognition is called "sense" by the Platonists. While it looks at these images, by its own power the soul conceives in itself images similar to them, but much purer; and such conception is called imagination or phantasy [*imaginatione e fantasia*].[65]

In a 1366 letter to Boccaccio, regarding the copying of his *Familiar Letters*, Petrarch implies that the eyes serve as a gateway through which some inner essence may apprehend knowledge from the outside world. The script of his amanuensis (Giovanni Malpaghini), he tells Boccaccio, affects "more than the eyes" (*ultro oculis ingerente*)—or, perhaps more literally, "draws one in to something beyond the eyes":

> God willing, you will see them sometime, written in his [Giovanni Malpaghini's] hand, not with that wandering and self-indulgent [*vaga quidem ac luxurianti*] lettering so typical of contemporary scribes or rather painters that from a distance appeals to the eyes but from up close confuses and wearies them—as though it were destined for something other than reading, and, to cite the prince of grammarians [Priscian], as though the word *litera* does not derive from *legitura*—but in neat and clear lettering, affecting more than just the eyes and lacking, you might say, nothing in orthography and nothing at all in grammatical skill.[66]

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[65] *El libro dell'amore* (VI, 6): "Tre cose sanza dubio sono in noi: anima, spirito e corpo; l'anima e 'l corpo sono dio natura molto diversa: congiungonsi insieme per mezzo dello spirito, el quale è un certo vapore, sottilissimo e lucidissimo, generato pe 'lcaldo del cuore della più sottile parte del sangue, e di qui essendo sparso per tutti e membri piglia le virtù dell'anima, e quelle comunica al corpo. Piglia ancora per gli instrumenti de' sensi le imagine de' corpi di fuori, le quale imagine non si possoni appiccare nell'anima, però che la sustantia incorporea, che è più excellente ch'e corpi, non può essere formata dalloro per la receptione delle imagine, ma l'anima, essendo presente allo spirito in ogni parte, agevolmente vede le imagine de' corpi come in uno specchio in esso rilucenti, e per quelle giudica e corpi, e tale cognitione è senso da' platonici chiamata. E in mentre ch'ella riguarda, per sua virtù in sé concepe imagine simile a quelle, e ancora molto più pure, e tale conceptione si chiama imaginatione e fantasia." Cited in Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: Chicago Univesity Press, 1993): 106, 258. Ficino's faculties of the soul, inherited from the Greek philosopher Plotinus, are (from highest to lowest) the *mens*, *ratio*, and the *idolum*, which includes the *fantasia* and/or *imaginatione.*

[66] *Rerum familiarum*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, vol. 3, 300-01 (XXIII, 19). Latin in Bertold Louis Ullman**,** *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Roma:

Slightly later in the same letter, Petrarch waxes further about the eyes and their apparent proximity to an individual's "air" (*aer*). The passage in question frames one of Petrarch's most famous discourses on imitation (it is in fact an allusion to the "filial" metaphor from Seneca's *Epistolae morales* 84):

> An imitator must take care to write something similar yet not identical to the original, and that similarity must not be like the image to its original in painting where the greater the similarity the greater the praise for the artist, but rather like that of a son to his father. While often very different in their individual features, they have a certain something [*umbra quedam*] our painters call an "air," [*aer*] especially noticeable about the face and eyes, that produces a resemblance; seeing the son's face, we are reminded of the father's, although if it came to measurement, the features would all be different, but there is something subtle [*nescio quid occultum*] that creates this effect. We must thus see to it that if there is something similar, there is also a great deal that is dissimilar, and that the similar be elusive and unable to be extricated [*lateat ne deprehendi posit*] except in silent meditation [*nisi tacita mentis indagine*], for the resemblance is to be felt rather than expressed [*ut intelligi simile queat potiusque dici*].[67]

Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960), 13: "Non vaga quidem ac luxurianti litera—qualis est scriptorium seu verius pictorum nostri temporis, longe oculos mulcens, prope autem afficiens ac fatigans, quasi ad aliud quam ad legendum sit inventa, et non, ut grammaticorum princeps ait, litera 'quasi legitera' dicta sit—sed alia quadam castigata et clara seque ultro oculis ingerente, in qua nichil orthographum, nichil omnino grammatice artis omissum dicas." This passage also makes clear that Petrarch considered correct orthography and grammar as falling withing the scribe's province.

[67] *Rerum familiarum*, trans. Bernardo, vol. 3, 301-302. Latin in Baxandall, *Giotto*, 33: "Huius hic amore et illecebris captus, sepe carminum particulas suis inserit; ego autem, qui illum michi succrescentem letus video quiqueeum talem fieri qualem me esse cupio, familiartier ipsum ac paterne moneo, videat qui agit: curandum imitatori ut quod scribit simile non idem sit, eamque similitudinem talem esse oportere, non quails est imaginis ad eum cuius imago est, que quo similior eo maior laus artificis, sed qualis filii ad patrem. In quibus cum magna sepe diversitas sit membrorum, umbra quedam et quem pictores nostri aerem vocant, qui in vultu inque oculis maxime cernitur, similitudiem illam facit, que statim viso filio, patris in memoriam non reducat, cum tamen si res ad mensuram redeat, omnia sint diversa; sed est ibi nescio quid occultum quod hanc habeat vim. Sic et nobis providendum ut cum simile aliquid sit, multa sint dissimilia, et id ipsum simile lateat ne deprehendi posit nisi tacita mentis indagine, ut intelligi simile queat potiusque dici."

Petrarch's "air" accords well with other philosopher-writers' concepts of the *spiritus.* The *Epistolae morales* 84 of Seneca the Younger had maintained that bees make honey with juices culled from various flowers "by blending something therewith and by a certain property of their breath (*proprietate spiritus*)."[68] Petrarch, of course, cites Seneca's "apian metaphor" in the sentences immediately following his discussion of "air" ("It may all be summarized by saying with Seneca, and Flaccus before him, that we must write as the bees make honey…"). Marsilio Ficino, writing approximately one hundred years after Petrarch, characterized the *spiritus* as "a certain vapor, very thin and clear," that functions as the primary mediator between the soul and the body:

> Spread from there [the heart] through all parts of the body, the spirit receives the powers of the soul and communicates them to the body. It also takes up through the organs of the senses the images of bodies outside…[69]

In other words, the Ficinian *spiritus* flits between Plato's realm of abstract Forms and the sensory world, impelling the higher, intellective faculties of the soul to conceive its own similar, but more perfect images of knowledge and reality:

> But the soul, being present in all parts of the spirit, easily sees the images of bodies as if in a mirror shining in it, and through these judges the bodies; such cognition is called "sense" by the Platonists. While it looks at these images, by its own power the soul conceives in itself images similar to them, but much purer; and such conception is called imagination or phantasy.[70]

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[68] Ed. and trans. Gunmere, vol. 2, 278-79: "De illis non satis constat, utrum sucum ex floribus ducant, qui protinus mel sit, an quae collegerunt, in hunc saporem mixture quadam et proprietate spiritus sui mutent." The humanists reproduced Seneca's "apian" metaphor many times in their discourses on imitation.

[69] *El Liber dell'Amor*, VI, 6. Cited in Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 106.

[70] Ibid. According to Plato's Theory of Forms, "Forms and not the material world of change known to us through sensation, possess the highest and most fundamental kind of reality. Only knowledge of the Forms constitutes real knowledge." Watt, Stephen, "Introduction: The Theory of Forms (Books 5–7)," in *Plato: Republic* (London:

Petrarch's "air" is a similarly intangible (non?-) substance: it is, in his words, "a certain shadow" (*umbra quedam*), secret and unknowable (*nescio quid occultam*). Nor can one describe it in words; instead, the senses transmit their impressions of it to the mind, which may track down its essence only in silent meditation (*tacita mentis indagine*). It exhorts writers to use their rational faculties not only to intuit the similarities between an exemplar (the metaphorical father), and its imitation (the son), but to produce a more perfect, and ultimately different, version of that exemplar:

> Thus we may appropriate another's ideas as well as his coloring but we must abstain from his actual words; for, with the former, resemblance remains hidden, and with the latter it is glaring, the former creates poets, the second apes… we must write as the bees make honey, not gathering flowers but turning them into honeycombs, thereby blending them into a oneness that is unlike them all, and better.[71]

The *Libro dell'Arte* of Cennino Cennini provides a final witness to the close relationship between the visual, *spiritus/aer*, and the soul. As art historian Andrea Bolland has convincingly shown, Cennini's novel *aria* is likely the first vernacular rendering of the Latin *aer/spiritus.*[72] Moreover, frequent references to *fantasia* recall Ficino's later formulations of the term as a component of the soul. In the first chapter, Cennini specifically implicates the *fantasia* in the visual apprehension of objects and—in what is likely a reference to Plato's allegory of the cave—their "shadows":

> …and this is an occupation known as painting, which calls for imagination [*fantasia*], and skill of hand [*operazione di mano*], in order to discover things not

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Wordsworth Editions, 1997), xiv–xvi. For a telling explanation of Plato's Theory of Forms, see his Allegory of the Cave, from the *Republic.*

[71] *Rerum familiarium,* trans. Bernardo, vol. 3, 301-02. This passage directly follows Petrarch's comments about the "silent tracking down of the mind."

[72] Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 481-82.

> seen [*non vedute*], hiding themselves under the shadow of natural objects [*cacciandosi sotto ombra di naturali*], and to fix them [*fermarle*] with the hand, presenting to plain sight what does not actually exist [*dando a dimostrare quello che non è*]. [73]

Nearly all of the writers surveyed above ascribe a significant amount of creative autonomy to the soul (and, for that matter, its intermediary, the *spiritus*): it decides which forms to imitate, how to combine those forms, and ultimately, how to transform them into something new and different. Ficino's soul "conceives in itself images… much purer; and such conception is called imagination or phantasy." Cennini's painter is likewise "given the freedom to compose a figure, standing seated, half-man, half-horse, as he pleases, according to his *fantasia.*[74] And, as Cennini makes clear in the twenty-seventh chapter of the *Libro*, one's *fantasia* helped one acquire "a style" or "manner of his own" (*una maniera propria per te*).[75]

Naturally, writing (and as visual artists would argue, painting) functioned as the primary medium through which the eye both accessed, transmitted, and ultimately

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[73] *Il Libro dell'Arte,* ed. and trans. Thompson, vol. 1, 1-3. "…e questa è un'arte che si chiama dipignere, che conviene avere fantasia, con operazione di mano, di trovare cose non vedute (cacciandosi sotto ombra di naturali), e fermarle con la mano, dando a dimostrare quello che non è, sia. E con ragione merita metterla a sedere in secondo grado alla scienza, e coronarla di poesia. La ragione è questa: che il poeta, con la scienza prima che ha, il fa degno e libero di poter comporre e legare insieme sì e no come gli piace, secondo sua volontà. Per lo simile al dipintore dato è libertà potere comporre una figura ritta, a sedere, mezzo uomo, mezzo cavallo, sì come gli piace, secondo suá fantasia."

[74] Ibid. "E con ragione merita metterla a sedere in secondo grado alla scienza, e coronarla di poesia. La ragione è questa: che il poeta, con la scienza prima che ha, il fa degno e libero di poter comporre e legare insieme sì e no come gli piace, secondo sua volontà. Per lo simile al dipintore dato è libertà potere comporre una figura ritta, a sedere, mezzo uomo, mezzo cavallo, sì come gli piace, secondo suá fantasia."

[75] "Poi a te interverrà che, se punto di fantasia la natura t'arà conceduto, verrai a pigliare una maniera propria per te, e non potrà essere altro che buona…" Cited in Bolland, "Art and Humanism," 471.

transformed knowledge to and from past, present, and future generations.[76] English philosopher John of Salisbury (c. 1120-1180) explicates the link between the written word, the eyes, and the longevity of knowledge: "Fundamentally letters are shapes indicating sounds. Hence, they represent things which they bring to mind through the windows of the eyes. Frequently they speak voicelessly the utterances of the absent."[77] Indeed, in spite of their metaphorical language, both the Seneca and Petrarch passages cited above are concerned primarily with how one should properly write. As John intimates, writing encompassed not only the syntax or style, but also the shapes of letters themselves.

Writing not only gave authors a visual template with which they could compose their thoughts, but also allowed readers to grasp their entire reasoning and/or creative process in plain view. It is partially through this lens, so to speak, that we should regard

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[76] Writers like Cennini and Alberti would make similar arguments about the equally visual mediums of painting and sculpture.

[77] Cited in Leo Treitler, "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music," *Speculum* 56, no. 3 (July 1981): 490. We may note that while sound is an equally valid medium through which information may be passed on to the soul, it is ephemeral, and thus, in the minds of some humanists, inferior to vision. Certainly John seems to have allowed speech sound to be subsumed by the eyes (in the form of written signs). John studied in Paris with Peter Abelard and William of Conches, among others, and was the first scholar of note to possess the complete *Organon* of Aristotle. Through the influence of the disciples of Bernard of Chartes, with whom he also studied, his work may be characterized by its Neo-Platonic tendencies and knowledge of classical Latin authors. Nevertheless, his work bears an early witness to the incipient scholastic philosophy that, in its more fully realized form, would come to dominate medieval thinking in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In this regard, Salisbury's comments on "signs" of letters, and their particular signification, can also be read through the lens of medieval semiotics. See Kevin Guilfoy, "John of Salisbury," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, article published July 6, 2005, modified Fall 2008, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/john-salisbury/.

humanists' clarion calls for simplicity and/or transparency in written language and style. Even Cicero and Quintilian, the humanists' most beloved paragons of writing, had recommended a simple, seemingly unpremeditated style in order to render audiences receptive to their orations.[78] Ideals of simplicity would extend to the script itself; indeed, clarity of handwriting presupposed clarity of style or reasoning process. Simple writing allowed one's legacy—perhaps even one's soul—to be transmitted more easily to future generations of readers.

Classical and humanist writers often imbued the act of viewing—and by extension, writing —with ethical overtones. We may recall Ficino's remarks, deeply redolent of Platonic philosophy, about the superior ability of the soul not merely to "view" and assess "images" from the outside world, but to generate its own similar, but more perfect redactions of such images. We may also point out that the primary venue for the classical oratory of Cicero or Quintilian was the Roman senate, where questions of ethics were treated as a matter of course. Although Trecento and Quattrocento humanists had themselves long ceased to tread the floors of the Roman senate, they retained at least some awareness of Roman law: many were trained as lawyers or notaries and displayed their knowledge of ethics and classical rhetorical style in notarial documents and letters.

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[78] See, for example, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (which most Quattrocento humanists ascribed to Cicero) I.iv.7 and I.vii.ii, and *Institutio oratoria* IV.i.28, 54, 60. For a useful summary of both, see Patrick Macey, "Josquin's *Miserere mei Deus:* Context, Structure, and Influence" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 123-25. Quintilian and the anonymous author of *ad Herennium* most frequently speak about simplicity of style with regard to the *exordium* of a speech. The reader may recall that orations were most often written down, either on wax tablets or papyrus, before being memorized and spoken to audiences.

We must therefore be aware of implicit moral judgments in humanists' censure of the unnecessarily florid, opaque writing style of scholastic philosophers, or the corruption of various thirteenth and fourteenth-century manuscript exemplars. In this regard, the opacity and/or corruption of writing mirrors moral degradation or depravity of one's intellective faculties—and, ultimately, one's soul.

Selected works of Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370-1444) and, once again, Petrarch illustrate this humanist preoccupation with reading, writing, and ethics. As we saw earlier, in his educational tract, *De studiis et Litteris*, Bruni warns his female correspondent, Battista Malatesta of Montefeltro, of the dangers of reading corrupt texts. Bruni contends that vice and corruption in reading adversely affect the soul [*anima*]—and in particular that intellective part of the soul called the *mens.* (The *mens*, according to Ficino, and Plotinus before him, constituted the highest component of the soul, above the *ratio* and *fantasia*.) Earlier in the same tract, Bruni had stated that those who lack a knowledge of good literature will not be able to write their own works without making a laughingstock of themselves.[79]

Petrarch's multiple verbal assaults on Gothic script betray a similar preoccupation with bad writing and its relationship to depravity. One of them, from an aforementioned 1366 letter to Giovanni Boccaccio, concerns Giovanni Malpaghini's copying of Petrarch's *Familiar Letters*:

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[79] Ibid., 94-95: "Nam neque doctorum hominum scripta satis conspicue intelligent, qui non ista fuerit peritia eruditus, nec ipse, si quid litteris mandabit, poterit non ridiculus existimari." ["The one who lacks knowledge of literature will neither understand sufficiently the writings of the learned, nor will he be able, if he himself, attempts to write, to avoid making a laughingstock of himself."]

> God willing, you will see them sometime, written in his [Giovanni Malpaghini's] hand, not with that wandering [indeed] and [also] self-indulgent [*vaga quidem ac luxurianti*] lettering so typical of contemporary scribes or rather painters that from a distance appeals to the eyes but from up close confuses and wearies them—as though it were destined for something other than reading, and, to cite the prince of grammarians [Priscian], as though the word *litera* does not derive from *legitura*—but in restrained and clear [*castigata et clara*] lettering, affecting more than just the eyes and lacking, you might say, nothing in orthography and nothing at all in grammatical skill.[80]

Petrarch implies that the "restrained and clear" (*castigata et clara*) handwriting of his amanuensis is but a material manifestation of his virtuous character. Earlier in the same letter, Petrarch had described Malpaghini as "modest," "serious," "virtuous," and "unselfish," among other things. In contrast, the handwriting of contemporaneous scribes is *vaga quidem ac luxurianti*—"wandering indeed, and even self-indulgent"[81]—and, moreover, specious: its superficial beauty ensnares the senses, but ultimately frustrates their attempt to transmit knowledge to the soul/mind. Petrarch's censure of contemporary scribes probably extends to their writing style and modes of argumentation: indeed, they seem to lack Malpaghini's proper orthography and "grammatical skill." We may reasonably assume that the questionable handwriting and style of contemporaneous scribes reflected poorly on their characters as well: according to the estimations of

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[80] *Rerum Familiarium*, trans. Bernardo, vol. 3, 301 (XXIII, 19). I have slightly modified Bernardo's translation. Latin in Ullman, *Origin,* 13: "Non vaga quidem ac luxurianti litera—qualis est scriptorium seu verius pictorum nostri temporis, longe oculos mulcens, prope autem afficiens ac fatigans, quasi ad aliud quam ad legendum sit inventa, et non, ut grammaticorum princeps ait, litera 'quasi legitera' dicta sit—sed alia quadam castigata et clara seque ultro oculis ingerente, in qua nichil orthographum, nichil omnino grammatice artis omissum dicas." In 1366, Petrarch was 62. This passage also makes clear that Petrarch considered correct orthography and grammar as falling within the scribe's province.

[81] Note that Petrarch intensifies his apparent disgust with scribes' handwriting with qualifiers like *quidem* and *ac.*

Petrarch, they were also perhaps inconstant, self-indulgent, lazy, and somewhat pretentious.

With Petrarch's 1366 letter in mind, I would like to say a few words regarding the apparent coincidence between humanists' calls for transparency and their decisive adoption of a Neo-Carolingian script. Classical scholar B.L. Ullman credits the resurgence of Carolingian script to the failing eyesight of humanist luminaries such as Petrarch and Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406).[82] In their later years, both complained that the cramped, ornate, and excessively abbreviated script of the various Gothic hands taxed their eyes.[83] According to Ullman, Carolingian manuscripts served as the palliative for the ailing eyes of Petrarch and Salutati, and simultaneously helped quench their thirst for Greek and Roman literature. (Ancient learning, it must be remembered, was transmitted to fourteenth and fifteenth-century readers by manuscripts copied primarily in the ninth through twelfth centuries. Because the contemporaries of Petrarch and Salutati showed comparatively little interest in the Greek and Roman texts, many of these manuscripts languished in Western European monasteries until their rediscovery by Petrarch, Salutati, and, most notably, Poggio Bracciolini.[84]) Heartened by the legibility of the Carolingian script, Petrarch, Salutati, and their younger followers began to emulate the handwriting of

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[82] For a more detailed account of what follows, see Ullman, *The Origin*, 11-20.
[83] Although the Italian scripts were generally more legible than the French, Petrarch, Salutati, and others sought to reform their own, comparatively clearer Italian scripts as well. See ibid.
[84] Poggio rediscovered a complete version of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* in the monastery at St. Gall in 1416.

Carolingian exemplars. Thus, out of practical exigency, the Neo-Carolingian/humanistic scripts were born.

While practical exigencies undoubtedly expedited the shift from Gothic to humanistic script, I would like to propose that the humanists' concomitant fascination with clarity, longevity, visual mediums (like painting and writing), and the philosophical and ethical implications thereof, sealed their wholesale endorsement of a neo-Carolingian script. In other words, their ancient manuscript exemplars presented a style of handwriting that met both their material and metaphysical needs.

The Durability of *Musica*

By the time Ciconia completed *Nova musica*, music had for centuries numbered among the seven liberal arts. As a *quadrivial* (i.e. mathematical) art, it concerned itself with the manner in which sounding harmonies emulated the more perfect "harmony" of Platonic-Christian cosmos. Both the earthly and celestial harmonies were expressed in the Pythagorean ratios of 2:1 (the octave), 3:2 (the perfect fifth), 4:3 (the perfect forth), and—although it was not a vertical consonance—9:8 (the major second). Thus, the speculative study of music as number did not necessarily include the study of musical notation.[85] As a case in point, most medieval universities mandated the study of music as a science, but that did not mean that every *magister* could properly read it or write it down.

[85] A survey of innumerable medieval music theory texts indicates that, until the fourteenth century at least, many theorists excluded those with the knowledge of latter without the former from the ranks of the true musician.

Many early fifteenth-century humanists prized an art's ability to fix complex philosophical ideas into concrete form. After all, one could not imitate an exemplar if it did not exist as a fixed entity. The most common means of fixing something was with writing, and writing was, of course, the province of the trivial arts. One may imagine that humanists' subsequent valorization of grammar, rhetoric, and logic generated some anxiety among those musicians who sought to include music in the emerging *studia humanitatis.* So might have those visual artists who fought for the recognition of painting as a liberal art, even at the expense of music. Multiple passages from the *Paragone* of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) rank painting higher than music, because the former lasts, while the latter quickly fades away:

> Music cannot be better defined than as the sister of Painting, for she depends on hearing, a sense inferior to that of the eye… But Painting surpasses and outranks Music since it does not die instantly after its creation as happens to unfortunate Music; on the contrary, it stays on [remains in existence] and so shows itself to you as something alive while in fact it is confined to a surface… (Treatise 29: How Music Should Be Called the Younger Sister of Painting)[86]

> … That thing is more noble which has longer duration. Thus Music, which withers [fades] while it is born, is less worthy than Painting, which with the help of varnish renders itself eternal… Thus, since you have given a place to Music among the Liberal Arts, you must place Painting there too, or eject Music… (Treatise 31b)[87]

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[86] "La Musica non è da essere chiamata altro, che sorella della pittura, conciosiach' essa è subietto dell' audito, secondo senso al occhio… Ma la pittura eccelle e signoreggia la musica, perch' essa non more imediate dopo la sua creatione, come fa la sventurata musica, anzi resta in essere e ti si dimostra in vita quel, che in fatto è una sola superfitie…" Quoted in Emanuel Winternitz, "The Role of Music in Leonardo's Paragone," in *Phenomenology and Social Reality: Essays in Memory of Alfred Schutz*, ed. Maurice Natanson (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), 280-81.

[87] "Quella cosa è più nobile, che ha più eternità. Adonque la musica, che si va consumando mentre ch'ella nasce, è men degna che la pittura, che con uetri si fa eterna… Adonque, poi chè tu hai messo la musica infra le arti liberali, o tu vi metti questa, o tu ne levi quella." Quoted in ibid., 285-86. In the same treatise, Leonardo acknowledges that

I propose that Ciconia incorporated comparative music-language tropes, rhetorical drills like the *chreia*, and classical theories of *compositio* and analysis into the fabric of *Nova musica* in order to prove that music was as enduring an art as grammar, rhetoric, or painting. In the prologue to the fourth book ("De accidentibus") of *Nova musica*, for instance, Ciconia informs his readers that before he had arranged music according to a system of grammatical "declensions" (*declinationes*) he "grieved for an art [music] of such extent and character…since it was veiled in its own arguments (*argumentis*)."[88] Though Ciconia's "arguments" may refer to scholastic modes of argumentation (see below), I would like to propose that they may also refer to the comparative proofs used to support a rhetorical theme or proposition. *Institutiones oratoria*, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, *De inventione*, and other standard rhetorical texts use the Latin *argumentum* in a way that harmonizes with Ciconia's own use of the term. If I have correctly interpreted this passage, Ciconia cannot fully explain the true nature of music as long as he relies on musical evidence ("arguments") alone. Instead, he must incorporate evidence from other fixed disciplines, including grammar and rhetoric. The resultant alliance of music to these disciplines elevates it to the apex of the seven liberal arts, and—Ciconia likely hoped—the emerging *studia humanitatis*.

Of course, in order to bequeath the "scepter of the seven" to music, Ciconia also had to expose the flaws in the other liberal arts. The use of negative comparisons to extol

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music may last longer if it is written down: "And if you should say that music also lasts for ever if written down, we are doing the same here with letters."

[88] *Nova musica,* ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 362-63: "Quapropter condolui de tanta ac tali arte que in cello et in terra modulatur, quod in se suis argumentis occultabatur."

one's own art was a typical device of the *Paragone*—or "comparison." The *Paragone* had a long tradition among Italian Renaissance writers, including Leonardo da Vinci; Ciconia, it would seem, engaged with this tradition throughout *Nova musica.*[89] In the treatise's preface, for instance, he contends that the trivial arts lack the powerful alliance with the perfect harmony of the cosmos. In support of his claim, he cites some of the most venerable and highly regarded authorities on music and philosophy, including Isidore, Plato, Pythagoras, and Boethius:

> Isidore: Without music no discipline can be perfect, for there is nothing without it. As the world is inclined to be ordered under the sound of harmony, so heaven revolves under the modulation of harmony. Again: Heaven and earth and all things that are fulfilled in them by higher dispensation do not become disciplines without music. Pythagoras gives witness that this world was founded and can be governed by music. But whatever we say or moves within us through the beating in our veins can be shown to be sounded by musical rhythms through the powers of harmony. Plato says: Through the agreement of music the soul of the world was joined together, for when it was joined and agreeably fitted together within us, we extracted that which was joined together fittingly and suitably in sounds, and in that we take delight. Boethius: Music thus is naturally joined together within us, so that we could not indeed be free of it if we wished.[90]

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[89] The most famous example of this tradition was Leonardo's eponymous *Paragone*, in which he champions painting above all the arts.

[90] Ellsworth, ed. and trans., 42-45: "Ysidorus: Sine musica nulla disciplina potest esse perfecta. Nichil enim sine illa. Nam et mundus sub armonia sono fertur esse compositus, et celum sub armonie modulatione revolvitur. Item: Celum et terra et omnia que in eis dispensatione superna peraguntur non sine musica fiunt disciplina. Pythagoras hunc mundum per musicam conditum esse et gubernari posse testatur. Sed et quicquid loquimur vel intrinsecus venarum pulsibus commovetur, per musicos rithmos armonie virtutibus probatur sonatum esse. Plato dicit: Mundi animam musice convenientia fuisse coniunctam. Cum enim eo quod in nobis est iunctum convenienterque coaptatum, illud excipimus quod in sonis apte convenienterque coniunctum est, eoque delectamur. Boetius: Musica ita nobis naturaliter est coniuncta, ut eo quidem carere nec possimus si velimus."

Therefore, Ciconia concludes (via Isidore of Seville, Berno of Reichenau and others):

> Without music, no discipline can be perfect, for there is nothing without it. . . We perceived that man exists not by means of grammar but of music.[91]

Elsewhere, in 2.57 ("On the Beauty of Music"), Ciconia informs us that:

> Music is the more beautiful among the arts, and thus it should be sought after with the greatest enthusiasm. The other arts are ruled by this one through the sounds of its pitches, but this one is ruled by none, as Isidore reports. The other ones are based on speech and letters; that of speech, by the voice and sweet modulation.[92]

At the same time, Ciconia calls more attention than contemporaneous music theorists to the fixed, durable nature of music by placing more emphasis on specifically written exemplars. In several cases, Ciconia cites respected Carolingian musical authorities to remind his readers that the literate tradition of music extended back into ancient times. For example, *Nova musica* 1.38 ("On the Seventh Conjunction of the *Ptongi*, Which is Called the Diapason"), instructs the reader to "consign to memory what the authors felt about [the octave] and left behind in their codices [*codicibus*]."[93] A search on the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* (henceforth known as the *TML*), reveals few hits

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[91] Ibid. "Ysidorus: Sine musica nulla disciplina potest esse perfecta. Nichil enim sine illa. . . Bernardus: Non enim grammatica, sed musica hominem consistere percepimus."
[92] Ibid., 334-35: "Pulchrior in artibus musica est, ideo cum summon studio appetenda est. Relique autem per vocum sonos reguntur ab ista. Hec vero a nemine regitur, ut Ysidorus refert. Relique constant sermone et littera. Hic autem sermone voce et dulci modulatione."
[93] Ellsworth, ed. and trans., 162-63: "Cum enim sit diapason mater symphonarium iustum quidem esse arbitror ut ad memoriam deducamus illud quod auctores de ea senserunt et in suis codicibus relinquerunt."

for *codex* in its various permutations, and of these even fewer use the word to refer to specifically written music-theoretical texts.[94]

Even more unusual is the term *artigraphi*—meaning perhaps "those who write about the [seven liberal] arts."[95] I have found that the term occurs in the works of only two music theorists besides Ciconia: significantly, the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelian of Réôme (fl. c. 840-850) and the *De harmonica institutione* of Hucbald of St. Amand (c. 840 or 850-930). In fact, Ciconia seems to have lifted the term directly from Aurelian's treatise; as evidence, I present parallel passages from *Musica disciplina* and *Nova musica* for comparison:

> *Musica disciplina*, I:41:
>
> Igitur affirmant artigraphi, omnes musicae artis consonantias aut ex multiplicibus numeris, aut sesquialteris, aut sesquitertiis, vel certe sesquioctavis.[96]
>
> *Nova musica*, 3.7:
>
> Artigraphi affirmant omnes consonantias musice artis in numeris proportionum constare.[97]

Given that both authors mention it in conjunction with *ars musica*, the term *artigraphi* may be interpreted, at least in this specific context, as "those who write about the [liberal

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[94] http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/start.html. The *TML* is the largest online repository of Latin music theory treatises. Its contents span from the third to the seventeenth centuries.
[95] Cf. *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 345n11.
[96] Ed. Gerbert. Available online at *TML*, http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/AURMUS_TEXT.html.
[97] Ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 344-45: "The musicographers claim that all the consonances of the art of music are established in the numbers of proportions." Ciconia, however, ascribes this passage to an unidentified "Hieronymous."

art] of music"—or in Oliver Ellsworth's rendering—"musicographers."[98] If this is the case, then it is clear that both Aurelian and Ciconia are here invoking the ancient, literate tradition of music theory.

Furthermore, Ciconia updates a Calcidian language-music trope from the fourth century A.D. in a way that indicates he quite consciously engaged with early fifteenth-century conceptions of literacy and, more specifically, *imitatio.* The trope, which we have already examined in some detail, inaugurates *Nova musica*, 1.60:

> Just as the ancient authors in the beginning of writing first invented letters, after letters syllables, after syllables parts, and from the parts they composed written works and books, so the ancient musicians, having imitated the same reasoning, first invented *ptongi*, after *ptongi* syllables, after syllables parts, and from the parts they constructed song and music.[99]

Unlike either Calcidius or the Carolingians, Ciconia casts his rendition of the trope in language that privileges the durability of the written word, and the agency of individual authors. In this respect, Ciconia employs not only the active voice, but verbs that emphasize literate products: ancient authors in the beginning of writing (*scripturarum*) composed written works (*scripturas*) and books *(libros*). Further evidence that Ciconia's updated language-music comparison describes the imitative process is his use of the verb

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[98] Cf. ibid., 345n11. While Ellsworth comments on the uniqueness of the term, he does not note its occurrence in Aurelian or Hucbald: "The term *artigraphus* is not a familiar one. It may simply mean 'someone who writes about the [seven liberal] arts', such as Boethius and Remigius themselves, but in this context, it would seem to mean one writing about music—a musicographer."

[99] Ibid., 210-11: "Quemadmodum enim antiqui auctores in exordio scripturarum primum litteras invenerunt, post litteras sillabas, post sillabas partes, de partibus vero scripturas et libros composuerunt, ita antiqui musici, eandem rationem imitati, primum ptongo invenerunt, post ptongos sillabas, post sillabas partes, de partibus vero cantum et musicam construxerunt."

imitare (*ita antiqui musici, eandem rationem imitati*)[100] None of Ciconia's sources use this verb. Ciconia's revisions call attention to the conundrum of all humanists who engaged in imitation: one could not imitate models if they did not exist in some concrete form.

Finally, Ciconia uses the Latin *stilus* in a way that accords well with more humanistic conceptions of the term. Oliver Ellsworth's translation of the passage, from the prologue to book one, reads thus:

> The ancient music, produced by the will of the ancients, which they themselves were unable to expand into a complete doctrine, we wish to revive in a new style [*in novo stilo renovere cupimus*], to leave out those things that were not appropriate, to perfect those that were inadequate, and to add those of which they were unaware.[101]

Certainly, Ciconia repeatedly draws attention to his own contributions: he has perfected ancient musical doctrine by correcting previous authors' mistakes, and by adding musical concepts of his own invention. Ciconia is particularly keen to let us know that his most notable invention—the accidents and declensions of music—is inspired by the literary art of grammar:

> Who among the authors, in imitation of [*ad exemplum*] the art of grammar, has discovered the declensions of music that are in songs? Or who before has heard of these? Who would have believed it to have accidents and declensions like grammar…?[102]

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[100] For a fuller reading of the passage, see Appendix 1, example 2.
[101] "Musicam antiquam antiquorum voto editam, quam ipsi explicare nequiverunt ad plenam scientiam, novo stilo renovere cupimus, et que non erant apta relinquere, et que minus habebat perficere, et inaudita imponere." *Nova musica,* ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 52-53.
[102] Ibid.: "Quis enim auctorum ad exemplum grammatice artis declinationes musice que sunt in cantibus invenit? Aut quid dudum audivit? Quis putaret hand habere accidentia et declinationes sicut grammatica…?"

Among Ciconia's humanistic precedents, Petrarch uses the term *stilus* to suggest something similarly permanent and personal. In another letter to Giovanni Boccaccio, he uses the metaphor of individually tailored clothing to describe his personal "style" of writing:

> I like to embellish my life with sayings and admonitions from others, but not my writings unless I acknowledge the author or make some significant change in arriving at my own concept from many and varied sources in imitation of the bees. Otherwise, I much prefer that my style be my own [*meus michi stilus sit*], uncultivated and rude, but made to fit, as a garment, to the measure of my mind, rather than to someone else's, which may be more elegant, ambitious, and adorned, but deriving from a greater genius, one that continually slips off, unfitted to the humble proportions of my intellect. Every garment befits the actor but not every style the writer [*scribentem stilus*]; each must develop and keep his own lest either by dressing grotesquely in others' clothes or by being plucked of our feathers by birds flocking to reclaim their own, we may be ridiculed like the crow. Surely each of us naturally possesses something individual and personal in his voice and speech as well as in his looks and gestures that is easier, more useful, and more rewarding to cultivate and correct than to change.[103]

Petrarch's *stilus* contrasts with more superficial metaphors of "style" such as *modus*, (French: *maniere* or *contenance*; Italian: *maniera*), which more properly refers to one's bearing or comportment. One's *modus* was socially dictated, feigned, and could be

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[103] Note that Petrarch makes yet another reference to Seneca's "apian" metaphor. *Rerum familiarum,* trans. Bernardo, vol. 3, 213 (XXII, 2). Latin in *Le familiari* ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1942), 4: 106-107: "Vitam michi alienis dictis ac monitis ornare, fateor, est animus, non stilum; nisi vel prolato auctore vel mutatione insigni, ut imitatione apium e multis et variis unum fiat. Alioquin multo malim meus michi stilus sit, incultus licet atque horridus, sed in morem toge habilis, ad mensuram ingenii mei factus, quam alienus, cultior ambitioso ornatu sed a maiore ingenio profectus atque undique defluens animi humilis non conveniens stature. Omnis vestis histrionem decet, sed non omnis scribentem stilus; suus cuique formandus servandusque est, ne vel difformitur alienis induti vel concursu plumas susas repetentium volucrum spoliati, cum cornicula rideamur. Et est sane ciuque naturaliter, ut in vultu et gestu, sic in voce et sermone quiddam sum ac proprium, quo colere et castigare quam mutare cum facilius tum melius atque felicius sit."

changed at will, like the clothes of Petrarch's actors. Unlike Petrarch's naturally inherent *stilus*, moreoever, one's *modus* could be cultivated and taught.[104]

Given Ciconia's rather close association with members of the "cult of Petrarch" in early fifteenth-century Padua, it is entirely possible that he is making a direct allusion to Petrarch's *stilus.* But *novus stilus* of *Nova musica* may also allude to an even earlier Italian literary tradition, of which Petrarch was the heir: namely, the *dolce stil novo* of Guido Guinizelli (c. 1230-76), Guido Cavalcanti (between 1250 and 1259-1300), and the great Dante Alighieri (1265-1321).[105]

Ciconia may have been one of the earliest theorists to use the phrase *novus stilus* in such a specific sense. As case in point, I reproduce the Introduction to that anonymous collection of music-theoretical treatises known as the Berkeley Manuscript (c. 1375):

> Since in past times diverse authors have said so much (both practically and theorectically) in diverse ways about songs—ecclesiastical as well as other types (such as motets, ballades, rondeaux, virelais, and others)—and about the understanding of them, I intend to proceed (by the grace of God), following their footsteps when they agree with reason, taking up some of their sayings, dismissing others, and presenting some other things concerning the practice of all the aforesaid songs…[106]

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[104] Rob C. Wegman, personal communication, 12 February 2012. I kindly thank Dr. Wegman for his clarifications of *modus, maniere,* and *contenance.*

[105] Ibid., personal communication. The earliest known attestation of *dolce stil novo* occurs in Canto 24 of Dante's *Purgatorio.* The practioners of this style are called *stilnovisti.*

[106] *The Berkeley Manuscript,* ed. and trans. Oliver Ellsworth (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 30-31: Quoniam in antelapsis temporibus quamplures de cantibus, tam ecclesiasticis quam aliis, utpote de motetis, baladis, rondellis, vreletis, et aliis, atque eorum cognicione practice videlicet et speculative diversi diversimode sunt locuti, quorum vestigia prout congruent racioni sequendo, capiendo aliqua de ipsorum dictis, aliqua dimittendo, et ponendo nonnulla alia circa practicam omnium catuum predictorum, reviter tractarus."

Unusually similar in content to Ciconia's prologue, it nevertheless lacks the latter's aggressive bid for musical reform, let alone any reference to a *stilus novus.*[107] Ciconia's preference for *stilus* over the more transient *modus* may also be telling. Contemporaneous writers used the metaphors of *modus, maniere,* and *contenance* to describe the way in which one performs rather than writes music.[108] As Rob C. Wegman notes, references to "manner" with regard to written music—or indeed written works about music—are rare.[109]

By the last quarter of the fifteenth century, musical *stilus* had come to designate something durable enough to be emulated. The *Liber de arte contrapunctus* (1477) of Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511) was in fact the first music theory treatise of note to explicitly discuss a composer's *stilus componendi* is terms of classical and Renaissance theories of *imitatio*. In particular, Tinctoris tells his readers that, just as Virgil had used Homer as a model, so had he imitated the way such composers as Dufay or Ockeghem had "composed"—or arranged—their concords on the musical page.[110] Although

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[107] One wonders whether Ciconia had the introduction to this particular treatise in mind when he wrote the prologue to book one of *Nova musica.* The Berkeley Manuscript itself is of Parisian provinence, but it is possible that Ciconia consulted other manuscripts that contained the treatises, particularly during his formative years in Liège.

[108] The most obvious example is the so-called *contenance angloise.*

[109] Personal communication. 12 February 2012.

[110] "Unde quemadmodum Virgilius in illo opera divino Eneidos Homero, ita iis Hercule, in meis opusculis utor archetypis. Praesertim autem in hoc in quo, concordantias ordinando, approbabilem eorum componendi stilum plane imitatus sum." ["Just as Virgil took Homer as his model in his divine work, the Aeneid, so by Hercules, do I use these {composers: Ockeghem, Regis, Busnois, Caron, Faugues, Dunstable, Binchois, Dufay} as models for my own small productions; particularly have I plainly imitated their admirable style of composition insofar as the arranging of concords is concerned."] Cited in Honey Meconi, "Does *imitatio* Exist?," 164. Elsewhere, in his *Diffinitorum musice*, Tinctoris has equated *cantus compositus*—via *res facta*—to written music, so we can be

Ciconia's *stilus novus* precedes Tinctoris's *stilus componendi* by nearly seventy years, one wonders whether it in any way alludes to contemporaneous theories of *imitatio.* After all, the *stilus novus* of *Nova musica* uses as its primary model the art of grammar (*ad exemplum grammatice*).

Themes of Transparency and Probity

Multiple passages from *Nova musica* indicate that Ciconia heeded his fellow humanists' calls for clarity of reasoning process, writing style, and even script. In the Prologue to book one, Ciconia seems to allude to various redactions of Seneca's *Epistolae morales* 84 on the kinship of writing, organization, and so-called "mental fermentation." Ciconia defines his "New Music" as an accretion of authoritative sayings that he has reordered and transformed into a new entity:

> It is necessary, therefore, in this work for the mind to run through many things [*animum per multa discurrere*] and yet hold in the mind the sequence of speech and introduce the many sayings of the authorities to such an extent that the New Music, unified from the many sayings of the authorities, may grow, and that it may maintain the appearance of antiquity in speech and in knowledge, and on account of this fact—that it is being renewed—it will be better that the newly-ordered [*ordinata*] music be called new.[111]

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fairly certain that he means specifically written music: "Res facta idem est quod cantus compositus…Porro tam simplex quam diminutus contrapunctus dupliciter fit, hoc est aut scripto aut mente. Contrapunctus qui scripto fit communiter res facta nominator. [Counterpoint, whether simple or florid, is of two kinds: written or mental. Written counterpoint is commonly called res facta; but that which is mentally conceived we call counterpoint absolutely, and those who it are *vulgariter* said to 'sing upon the book.'"] Cited in Wegman, "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 247.

[111] Translation is my own. Latin in *Nova musica,* ed. Ellsworth, 54: "Opportet igitur in hoc opera animum per multa discurrere et seriem locutionis tenere mulatque dicta auctorum introducere quatinus nova musica de multis dicis auctorum adunata crescat et in locutione et in scientia antiquitatis speciem teneat et ob hoc quod novitur melius erit ordinata nova sit nuncupata."

His repeated insistence upon order and unity most closely recalls Macrobius's redaction (cited above); both authors use some permutation of the Latin (*ordinare*) to describe the process of written arrangement. I venture that the phrase *animum per multa discurrere* owes something to Petrarch's "silent tracking down of the mind" (*tacita mentis indagine*), from his 1366 letter to Boccaccio (also cited above). Petrarch and Ciconia both seem to describe the silent, Platonic meditation that precedes the fixing of abstract ideas in concrete form. Invariably both involve the intellective soul—in Petrarch's case, the *mens*, and in Ciconia's, the *anima.*[112]

In any case, Ciconia emphasizes the unified body of knowledge, and clear trajectory of argument that must result from the combination of so many sources in one work. The *anima* must sift through a vast repository of information, while the pen, the eye—and even the voice—demand one "continuous sequence of speech" (*seriem locutionis tenere*).[113] Ciconia further mandates a consistency of writing (and speaking) style, and like his fellow humanists, he judges the style of the "ancients" to be the best (*et in locutione et in scientia antiquitatis speciem teneat*). In this regard, the use of the word *species* may be telling; it may be translated, variously, as "sight," "appearance,"

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[112] We recall that, according to Ficino/Plotinus, the *mens* designates the highest faculty of the soul, and the *anima* soul in its entirety.

[113] Ciconia's use of the Latin *locutio* implies that his work was spoken as well as written. At this point, we should remember that the ears also transmitted information to the soul. Indeed, as John of Salisbury had noted, the eyes and the ears worked closely together. During the time of both John and Ciconia, people often read aloud, even to themselves. Reading aloud, and speaking in general, both demanded one "continuous sequence of speech," because the voice could only produce one sound at a time. But it was more transient than writing, because the sounds disappeared once they were spoken. So—Leonardo da Vinci argued—it was in the case of music.

"splendor" or "beauty."[114] Ciconia therefore implies that such style must not only be spoken, but visible to the eyes—and perhaps also inherently beautiful.[115]

Ciconia's most passionate entreaties for transparency occur in the prologue to book four ("De accidentibus"):

> Music is a worthy and pleasing art [*ars spectabilis et suavis*], as we reported in the first book, the sound of which is modulated in heaven and on earth [*in celo et in terra modulatur*]. Up to now, it has been veiled in arguments by God [*obscura in argumentis fuit a Deo*], and so it was hardly recognized. For this reason, I grieved [*condolui*] for an art of such extent and character [*de tanta ac tali arte*], which is modulated in heaven and on earth, since it was veiled in its own arguments [*in se suis argumentis occultabatur*]. Behold now, therefore, by a gift of the Most High, in the following book, when the accidents found in songs have been given and arranged [*ordinatis*] in declensions, this art is revealed fully. What more? Behold, therefore, the art that was long veiled [*obscura*] shall now shine and hold the scepter among the seven arts.[116]

As we previously suggested, Ciconia's arguments may refer to the comparative proofs—or "evidence"—used to support a rhetorical proposition. Consequently, he cannot fully explain the true essence of music without marshalling "evidence" from the other liberal arts. But Ciconia's "arguments" may also refer to the very structure of *Musica* itself. The prologue to book one defines *(Nova) Musica*, in part, as a vast body of knowledge acquired from previous texts, which—taken together—form a "science." As Ciconia

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[114] William Whitaker, *Whitaker's Words* (University of Notre Dame, 1993-2010), http://archives.nd.edu/words.html, accessed 3/10/12.
[115] *Species* may also be translated as "kind" or "type." Ibid.
[116] Ellsworth, ed. and trans., 362-63: "Musica est ars spectabilis et suavis, ut in primo libro rettulimus, cuius sonus in celo et in terra modulatur, que hactenus obscura in argumentis fuit a Deo, ut vix cognosceretur. Quapropter condolui de tanta ac tali arte que in celo et in terra modulatur, quod in se suis argumentis occultabatur. Ecce nunc igitur per altissimi donum in subsequenti libro datis accidentibus in cantibus repertis in declinationibus ordinatis, he ars ad plenum patescet. Quid plura? Ecce igitur ars que dudum fuit obscura, iam splendebit, et inter septem sceptrum tenebit."

implies in book one, and again in book four, this body was in disarray and needed to be re-ordered [*ordinata*]. According to 1.60, *Musica* also comprised the entire chant repertoire.[117] Although the ancient musicians had, in their wisdom, composed chants according to the hierarchical model of grammar, they could not boast an adequate system of classifying various chant types. Without such a system it would have been difficult to teach, learn, and memorize a body of chants in any systematic fashion. Ciconia's system of accidents and declensions superseded older classification systems because it provided multiple criteria by which one could organize, judge, and appreciate the worth of individual chant specimens.[118]

With a rhetorical skill worthy of the most accomplished orators of his day, Ciconia exhorts us to embrace his system of accidents and declensions.[119] Indeed, the prologue to book four reads as if it could be declaimed aloud to an audience. As classical orators like Cicero and Quintilian recommend, Ciconia stirs the emotions of his readership with powerful statements like *condolui de tanta ac tali arte.* The verb *condoleo* means to "feel severe pain," "grieve," or, more specifically, to "suffer greatly with another person," or "feel another's pain."[120] Perhaps Ciconia hoped that his audience would share his acute pain about the degraded state of *Musica.* In addition, Ciconia

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[117] "Ita antiqui musici, eandem rationem imitate, primum ptongos invenerunt…de partibus vero cantum et musicam construxerunt" (ed. Ellsworth, 210).
[118] In Ciconia's words: "In quibus per varias significations omnis cantus declinatur [Every song is declined in them {the accidents} by various meanings" (Ibid., 364)]. Mode, by which Carolingian authorities classified their chants, comprises only one of Ciconia's twelve accidents.
[119] Francesco Zabarella, Ciconia's patron from c. 1401-1410, was one of them.
[120] Whitaker, *Whitaker's Words*, accessed March 10, 2012.

repeats several key turns of phrase of his "speech" in order to make them more memorable—and perhaps to more clearly highlight certain dichotomies within them. Music is, for instance "worthy and pleasing" (*ars spectabilis et suavis*) and "of great extent and character" (*de tanta ac tali arte*), but nevertheless "veiled in its own arguments" (*obscura in argumentis*; *in se suis argumentis occulabatur*; *ars que dudum fuit obscura*). In other words, Ciconia would like his audiences to distinguish between what music is presently (obscured in its own arguments), and what it has the potential to be (worthy and pleasing) once he fixes it. Ciconia draws another distinction between music that is "modulated in heaven and on earth" (*in celo et in terra modulatur*). According to Christian doctrine (which Ciconia cites throughout *Nova musica*), heavenly music was necessarily perfect because God had created it. Earthly music, on the other hand, was corruptible, because the humans who made it were corruptible.

Like the orations of his classical predecessors and humanist contemporaries, Ciconia's mini-"speech" imparts a moral lesson: namely, one should strive to write about music in the most transparent manner possible. Ciconia further implies that those who so strive are more virtuous and are rewarded by God. Those who willfully obscure *Musica* with their faulty reasoning are foolish and are punished. As a reward for faithful service, God has designated Ciconia as his musical prophet: he has received the accidents and declensions of songs "by a gift of the Most High" (*per altissimi donum*). Before Ciconia, God had veiled music "in its own arguments" (*obscura in argumentis fuit* ***a Deo***), presumably because Ciconia's predecessors had somehow proved unworthy to receive his

wisdom. Like Plato's cave-dwellers, they were doomed to experience the "shadows" of music rather than the heavenly music itself.[121]

Those "cave-dwellers" for whom Ciconia harbored the most contempt were undoubtedly the so-called "Guidonists"—or (unnamed) followers of Guido of Arezzo (991/992-1050). According to Ciconia, the Guidonists had obfuscated the teachings of the "original" musical authorities: namely, Carolingian theorists (c. 800-1050) of plainchant and organum, among whom Guido was one. Cantankerous barbs peppered throughout *Nova musica* excoriate the Guidonists' faulty interpretations of Guido's work—in matters such as monochord tuning, hexachordal solmization, and especially the number of musical consonances and their "modes of conjunctions."[122] Indeed, Ciconia condemns the Guidonists with the haughty, self-righteous, and oddly unrestrained tones of one who has been morally wronged. The word "Guidonists" (*Guidonistae*) is almost always coupled with the word "ignorance" (*ignorantia*); indeed, the "ignorance of the Guidonists" (*ignorantia Guidonistarum*) becomes something of a rhetorical trope throughout the first book of *Nova musica.*[123] Moreover, Ciconia consistently contrasts the "wisdom" or "prudence" (*prudentia*) and "openness" (*in propatulo pari concordia*) of the

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[121] Ciconia's "veiled" or "shadowy" music resembles the "shadowy" *aer* that connects the father to his son—or, more literally, a writer's text to its various sources—in Petrarch's 1366 letter to Boccaccio, cited above. Both authors suggest that such shadows must be intimated, and are incapable of being clearly described with words. Indeed, both authors use the Latin *occulto* to describe the "hidden" nature of both (cf. Petrarch's *nescio quid occultum*). However, Petrarch's *aer* enables him to successfully transform his source into something new, while Ciconia's contributes to music's demise.

[122] See, respectively, *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 88.5, 208.5, 210.11, 214.5, 216.3, and 302.6.

[123] The *ignorantia Guidonistarum* is an adaptation of Marchetto of Padua's *ignorantia Guidonis.*

ancients with the "ignorance" (*ignorantia*), "lack of reason" (*penuria rationis*) or "sound understanding" (*usurpaverunt non sano intellectu*) and "insanity" or "mad extravagance" (*insania*) of the Guidonists. Finally, the Guidonists are "judged" (*nunc habendum iudicium est de Guidonistis*) and "convicted," (*auctorum prudentia…convincunt*) first by the ancients and, then by Ciconia's readers—for, with the impassioned tones of the skilled orator, Ciconia directly urges his readers to exact judgment on the Guidonists with the vocative "O wise reader" (*O prudens lector*). I have included Ciconia's various diatribes against the Guidonists in Appendix 2 for closer study.

As we observed earlier in our analysis of *Nova musica*, Ciconia painstakingly corrects what he perceived to be the greatest errors of the Guidonists and offers his own solutions to persistent music-theoretical problems with the sensitivity, imagination, and moral imperative of fellow humanist exegetes. Although she does not discuss Ciconia's methods of citation and analysis in conjunction with early fifteenth-century theories of literacy, exegesis, or *imitatio*, Barbara Haggh-Huglo does note the forward-looking nature of Ciconia's citation style:

> Ciconia's treatises do not merely cut and paste from older writings, as has been shown. His recognition and reconciliation of shades of meaning in different definitions of the same word and in the writings of different authors was new, and it paved the way for other, more idiosyncratic and personal confrontations with the past, like those of Ramos. Ciconia's new "compositional style" also requires new sensitivities of modern editors. He worked from memory, manuscripts, and even from texts within texts; he rarely cited treatises verbatim or used the titles we assign them today; and he often invented terms in the style of his predecessors, all procedures with counterparts in medieval music.[124]

[124] "Ciconia's Citations," 56.

Haggh-Huglo has also shown that Ciconia sought out the oldest, most "authentic" manuscript exemplars possible, in places such as Rome, Bologna, and Venice.[125] I would add that Ciconia's research efforts paralleled those of such humanists as Francesco Petrarch, Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, Leonardo Bruni, and Pier Paolo Vergerio, who avidly collected the oldest, most "authentic" manuscript copies of classical sources on rhetoric available to them. Like many of Ciconia's music-theoretical exemplars, a considerable number of them were produced in the ninth through twelfth centuries.[126]

Like Salutati and Bracciolini, moreover, Ciconia pioneered—or rather renovated—a new, "Neo-Carolingian" (or rather, Neo-Guidonian) "script" for the notation of liturgical chants.[127] Ciconia's idiosyncratic musical notation may be his attempt to "maintain the semblance/beauty" of the "spoken style and doctrine of antiquity"—or, to understand the Carolingians on their own terms, rather than with interpolated musical examples in an anachronistic square notation.[128] In this regard it is

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[125] Ibid., 54-56.

[126] Approximately one-third of Petrarch's and Salutati's extant libraries consist of sources from the tenth through the twelfth and ninth through twelfth centuries. See Ullman, *The Origin*, 15-16.

[127] The only witness to Ciconia's peculiar Neo-Carolingian notation is Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, ms. 734, copied sometime in the early fifteenth century. Curiously, the neumes resemble those found in central Italian or Beneventan chant manuscripts.

[128] *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 55 (Prologue to Book One). Although Ciconia makes no statements regarding his contemporaries' faulty notation of monophonic exemplars, his preface to *De proportionibus* (1411) indicates that he thought the many complexities of polyphonic notation needed clarification. To his dedicatee, Johannes Gasparus, Ciconia writes: "Considering your knowledge in greeting you, most beloved brother, and how many and to what extent differences arise today throughout the whole world among so many musicians in composing their songs—and not only in investigating

perhaps significant that Ciconia uses square notation only once in *Nova musica,* to "decline" a sample chant; Ciconia's "accidents and declensions" were, after all, his own invention, and would therefore fall outside the province of ancient "spoken style" and doctrine.

Although Ciconia may be unique among his music-theoretical contemporaries in his application of Quattocento theories about literacy and *imitatio*, his example broaches the possibility that other musicians operating especially within Padua and its environs employed it in their own writings about music. Furthermore, Ciconia's use of comparative argument and the *chreia* form to support such basic music-theoretical propositions as, for instance, the number of musical intervals, offers a creative but pointed response to the Guidonists, as well as a novel reinterpretation of Guido himself as well as Marchetto of Padua, Ciconia's predecessor at the cathedral there.

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Like Cennini, Alberti, and other humanists in his orbit, Ciconia appropriates the structural principles of rhetorical induction, composition, and selective gathering to rebuild his "new music" from the ground up. This is most clearly illustrated in *Nova musica* 1.60, which is constructed in the form of the *chreia* ("refining of theme"), an elementary exercise originally designed to teach novice students how to construct a good

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in detail the proportions but also in understanding the ancient ciphers, signs, and names (and then in placing them, if indeed they do, in their songs, often improperly)—, therefore, so that one may be able to avoid such an error, we have resolved in a friendly rather than critical way to record this doctrine in a short volume… and we have planned it so that if you have been adept at diligent study and committed it to memory, your labor will not be in vain, but the fruit therefrom may most favorably be taken and you will understand a great deal" (Ellsworth, trans., 413).

rhetorical argument. Ciconia chose the *chreia* not only because of its associations with rhetoric, the liberal art most cherished by his fellow humanists, but also because its structural framework was flexible enough to accommodate the highly specialized technical vocabulary of music theory. In other words, Ciconia chose the *chreia* not simply to show off his mastery of rhetorical forms, but also to articulate sophisticated arguments about the most pressing music-theoretical issues of his day. For Ciconia's readers were not novices. If they lacked his musical skill or knowledge of obscure music theorists such as Aurelian of Réôme or Hucbald of St. Amand, they were almost certainly familiar with the works of Guido of Arezzo, Marchetto of Padua, and perhaps even the mysterious "Guidonists" whose teachings Ciconia so vehemently opposes.

Ciconia nevertheless had a lot to prove. Like Cennini, Alberti, and others deeply invested in humanist debates about which authors or, more broadly, which disciplines were most worthy of study, he also wanted to ensure that his discipline secured a place in the burgeoning *studia humanitatis.* Although music had belonged to the *quadrivium* since antiquity, its more informal relationship to the literary arts of the *trivium* had not been fully exploited since the Carolingian Era. Music was also more ephemeral than the other arts of the *studia humanitatis*; without musical notation or, in the case of music theory, a defined set of rules about how to describe, record, and transmit it to posterity, music "fades as soon as it is born."[129]

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[129] Leonardo da Vinci, *Paragone,* Treatise 31b: "… la musica, che si va consumando mentre ch'ella nasce…" Quoted in Winternitz, "The Role of Music," 285-86.

Ciconia addresses these problems by reviving those works of Carolingian theorists that most emphasize the relationship between music and grammar, defined as the art of "writing and speaking correctly."[130] *Nova musica* 1.60 in particular revives an analogy much beloved by Carolingian music theorists about the parallel processes of composing music and grammar and casts it in language that foregrounds the indispensable role of writing in that process. By calling attention to the enduring nature of music, then, Ciconia endeavored to elevate it to the apex of the liberal arts. As Ciconia proclaims in the prologue to Book 4, "Behold, therefore, the art [i.e. music] that was once veiled now shall shine and hold the scepter among the seven arts!" [131] We can only hope that such bold pronouncements were enough to enlist fellow humanists to his cause.

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[130] "… recte scribendi et loquendi..." Cf. Margaret Bent, "Sense and Rhetoric in Late-Medieval Polyphony," in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature in the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas J. Mathiesen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 56; Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory 350-1100*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), esp. 53, 288, 320; and G.L. Bursill-Hall, "A Check-List of Incipits of Medieval Latin Grammatical Treatises: A-G: To Richard Hunt, On the Occasion of his Retirement," *Traditio* 34 (1978): 457, 469, and especially 472-73.

[131] *Nova musica,* ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 362-63: "Ecce igitur ars que dudum fuit obscura, iam splendebit, et inter septem sceptrum tenebit."

Chapter 4

Ciconia and the Medieval Parsing Grammar

This chapter proposes that Classical and especially Carolingian theories of grammar provided both the conceptual foundation and structural framework for Ciconia's novel system of "accidents and declensions of music," introduced in the fourth book ("De accidentibus") of *Nova musica.* In particular, I argue that Ciconia models the dialogue style of Book 4, Chapter 13 ("De declinationibus cantuum") on two elementary parsing grammars, *Dominus quae pars* ("Remigius") and *Ianua sum rudibus* ("Donadello"). Ciconia's self-conscious choice to emulate these grammar treatises harmonizes well with his apparent preference for earlier music-theoretical authorities throughout Books 1-3 of *Nova musica.* It also links him to contemporaneous humanists, who emulate the same late antique and Carolingian authorities even at the most basic levels of education.

A Short History of the Parsing Grammar

Parsing grammars owe their genesis to the revival of Latin learning during the Carolingian Renaissance, when scholars in Charlemagne's circles sought out, copied, and imitated forgotten classical and late-antique texts. A few—including Alcuin of York, Charlemagne's famed advisor and later Abbot of Tours—engaged in "textual criticism, comparing manuscripts to arrive at more accurate readings."[1] Alcuin and his colleagues soon realized that such endeavors required a mastery of Latin no extant grammar manual

[1] Vivien Law, "Linguistics in the earlier Middle Ages: the Insular and Carolingian Grammarians," in *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1997), 82.

could provide. While they admired the *Ars minor* of Donatus (fl. 4th century), for instance, at least a few were troubled by current, "corrupt" redactions of the treatise, which had accumulated several centuries of accretions that obscured its essential, catechetical framework.[2] More importantly, the *Ars minor* was designed for native Latin speakers, and lacked comprehensive rules for the recognition of word forms for those Carolingians learning Latin as a second language.

The *Institutiones* and *Partitiones* of Priscian (fl. 500), which (thanks in no small part to Alcuin) enjoyed a sudden resurgence in popularity in the early ninth century, provided ample material for non-native speakers.[3] The *Partitiones duodecim uersuum Aeneidos principalium* in particular employed a traditional Roman technique called parsing—or the rigorous analysis of a word in terms of its part of speech, declension, properties, and function in a sentence—that appealed to the Carolingians.[4] In the

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[2] For instance, the anonymous author (fl. early 9th century?) of the *Cunabula grammatica artis*, cited below.

[3] Of Alcuin's crucial contribution to the Carolingian rediscovery of Priscian, Law writes: "Up until the end of the eighth century the work through which Priscian was best known was the *Institutio de nomine*; the great *Institutiones grammaticae* was known to only a very few scholars, while there is no sign at all of the *Partitiones.* The rediscovery of these two works is associated with Alcuin's stay on the Continent. Of the late-eighth- and early-ninth-century copies of the *Institutiones* of known provenance, three are from Italy (a country in which the study of the *Institutiones* enjoyed an uninterrupted tradition), two from Irish-influenced and two from Anglo-Saxon influenced centres on the Continent, and several from northern France, including three from Alcuin's monastery of Tours. Alcuin's own writings on grammar reveal a lively interest in what Priscian had to offer" Law, "The Study of Grammar under the Carolingians," in *Grammar and Grammarians*, 136-137. See also Law, "Linguistics," 84: "None of the surviving copies of the *Partitiones* antedates 800… nor is there any indirect sign that it was being read. In the first half of the ninth century copies begin to appear, and again manuscripts from northern and north-eastern France predominate."

[4] Priscian's *Partitiones* "parses" the first verse of each book in Virgil's *Aeneid.*

characteristic example given below, the pupil is asked to identify various properties—or *accidentia*—of the noun *Regina*:

> *Regina* "queen" is what part of speech? A noun. What is a noun? A part of speech, etc. How many properties does a noun have? Six: quality [proper/common], derivational status, gender, number, simple/compound status, case. What is its derivational status? Derived. Tell me its base form. *Rex* "king." Where does *rex* come from? From the verb *rego* "I rule."
>
> [Regina quae pars orationis est? Nomen. Quid est nomen? Pars orationis et cetera. Quot accidunt nomini? Sex, qualitas species genus numerus figura casus. Cuius est speciei? Deruatiaue. Dic primitiuum. Rex. Hoc quoque unde nascitur? A rego uerbo.][5]

By the very end of the eighth century Carolingian teachers invented a genre of grammar manuals that incorporated the most useful elements of Donatus's *Ars minor* and Priscian's *Partitiones.* Divided into eight sections for each of the eight parts of speech, and cast in catechetical form, the so-called parsing grammar adopts the underlying framework of the *Ars minor*.[6] Rather than pose general questions about the parts of speech, as in Donatus's text, however, the parsing grammar poses a series of questions about a single head-word chosen to exemplify each part of speech, in a manner that more closely resembles the *Partitiones*.[7] The nucleus of each of the eight sections consists of questions and answers about accidence (numbers, case, gender, etc.).[8]

Parsing grammars proliferated in the ninth century and well into the later Middle Ages, remaining a staple of the elementary curriculum until at least the sixteenth

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[5] Quoted in Law, "The Study of Grammar," 135, 148n13.
[6] Black, *Humanism and* Education, 45. The eight parts of speech are the noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, preposition, conjunction, and interjection.
[7] Ibid., 45. Law, "Linguistics," 84. Some grammarians also incorporated material from Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae.*
[8] Black, *Humanism and Education*, 45.

century.[9] They endured so long at least in part because their simple catechetical framework—which could incorporate as much or as little additional information as the teacher needed—could easily be adapted to diverse student populations and skill sets. Vivien Law notes that many teachers "continued to produce their own versions of this versatile genre, in some cases custom-made for a particular pupil."[10] Such inherent flexibility, as we shall see, allowed the parsing grammar to cross disciplinary boundaries, and even to accommodate the technical vocabulary to music theory.

Two Medieval Favorites: *Ianua* and *Remigius*

Without a doubt the two most popular parsing grammars of the later Middle Ages and early Renaissance were the so-called *Ianua sum rudibus* and *Dominus quae pars*. The latter was otherwise known as *Remigius*, after its purported author, Remigius of Auxerre (ca. 841-908).[11] The two texts may have come from the same source, or from one another.[12] In any case, manuscripts of both were circulating in France, Germany, and

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[9] For a short list of ninth- and tenth-century parsing grammars, see Vivien Law, "Memory and the Structure of Grammars in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in *Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 16-23 October 1997, as the 11th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, ed. Mario de Nonno, Paolo de Paolis, and Louis Holtz (Cassino, Italy: Edizioni dell'Università degli studi di Cassino, 2000), 28-30.
[10] Law, "Memory," 31. Law cites "Petrus quae pars," and other texts that use a proper name as their headword as possible examples of these.
[11] Jan Pinborg, *Remigius, Schleswig 1486: a Latin Grammar in Facsimile Edition* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1982), 65.
[12] For summaries of the origins of the two texts, see ibid., 65-68; Black, *Humanism and Education*, 46; Wolfgang O. Schmitt, *Die Ianua (Donatus) – ein Beitrag zur lateinischen Schulgrammatik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde, Series 3, vol. 4 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), 71; and Federica Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 23-24.

Italy by the second half of the twelfth century.[13] A vast majority of *Remigius* manuscripts come from Northern Europe, and Germany in particular.[14] *Ianua*, on the other hand, became the elementary grammar of choice in Italy, where it probably originated.[15]

The two parsing grammars exhibit certain differences that reflect the divergent structures of the Northern and Southern grammar curricula.[16] *Remigius*, for instance,

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[13] Black, *Humanism and Education*, 48, 369. The earliest known manuscripts of *Ianua*, both dating from the second half of the twelfth century, are British Library, Manuscript Harley 2653, from Southern Germany (or Austria or Switzerland); and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15972, of Northern French, probably Parisian origin. Although Harley 2653 is Germanic in origin, it includes many post-antique Italian place-names, suggesting that the text had been circulating in Italy for some time. Moreover, the elementary grammar *Donatus* of Italian grammarian Paolo da Camaldoli, itself datable to the later twelfth century, also cites *Ianua*.

[14] Ibid., 48. Of 39 documented manuscripts of *Remigius* (*Dominus quae pars*), 21 are German, 8 British, and 1 Flemish-Italian.

[15] Ibid. Of 34 extant manuscripts of *Ianua,* at least 29 are Italian.

[16] The most obvious difference, of course, is the verse prologue that begins *Ianua*, from which the treatise draws its name:

> *Ianua sum rudibus primam cupientibus artem,*
> *Nec prae me quisquam recte peritus erit.*
> *Nam genus et casum speciem numerumque figuram*
> *His quae flectuntur partibus insinuo.*
> *Pono modum reliquis quid competat optime pandens*
> *Et quam non doceam dictio nulla manet.*
> *Ergo legas, studiumque tibi rudis adice lector.*
> *Nam celeri studio discere multa potes.*
>
> [I am a door for the ignorant desiring the first art; without me no one will become truly skilled. For I teach gender and case, species and number, and formation of their parts, which are inflected. I put method into the remaining parts of speech, explaining what agrees the best. And no use of the word remains that I do not teach. Therefore, unskilled beginner, read and dedicate yourself to study, because you can learn many things with rapid study.]

Quoted in Ciccolella, *Donati Graeci*, 20-21. Translated in Paul Gehl, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University

presents the eight parts of speech according to the order set forth in Donatus's *Ars minor*—a work that retained a significant following in medieval Germany.[17] By contrast, *Ianua* follows the order in Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae.* (Only in Italy had there been a continuous manuscript tradition of Priscian's works since antiquity.)[18] Moreover, each text uses different headwords, as in the following example for the noun:

Ianua: *Poeta* quae pars est? Nomen est.[19]
Remigius: *Dominus* quae pars? Nomen.[20]

During the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Ianua* shed excessive paradigms, definitions, and even mnemonic verses to become much more streamlined than its northern European counterpart. Robert Black and Paul Gehl attribute this change to the increasing differentiation of the Italian elementary school curriculum: as Italian grammar masters focused ever more on intermediate Latin instruction, they left *Ianua* to reading teachers—or *doctores puerorum*—whose duties were to instruct students in the alphabet, prayers, and the deciphering and memorizing of texts.[21] *Ianua* therefore became more of an introductory text than a grammar manual—or in the words of Gehl, "more and more… a skeleton grammar, a series of rules to be memorized without much immediate

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Press, 1993), 88-89. The earliest surviving manuscript of *Ianua*, Harley 2653, lacks the introductory prologue, indicating that it was added in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, when mnemonic verse grammars like Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale* and Eberhard of Béthune's *Graecismus* became extremely fashionable.

[17] Black, *Humanism and Education*, 61.

[18] Ibid., 48.

[19] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 74.

[20] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 80.

[21] Gehl, "Pseudo-Donatus (2.03)"; Black, *Humanism and Education*, 34-35, 61. In the fifteenth century the *doctores puerorum* became known as *maestri di leggere e scrivere* or *maestri di fancuilli.* The reading teachers were men and occasionally women of little education, drawn from the artisan class, and seem to have known little or no Latin.

understanding or application. For students who went on with the Latin course, it provided the basic terms and paradigms, but little more; for many others it was in fact the last Latin text they would ever see."[22] In northern Europe, on the other hand, elementary texts like *Remigius* remained part of a fuller, more integrated grammar curriculum. Indeed, of thirty-eight northern manuscripts of *Remigius*, all but one form part of anthologies of other grammatical works.[23] A majority of Italian manuscripts of *Ianua* do not.[24]

In spite of their differences, even among individual manuscript exemplars, *Ianua* and *Remigius* share the same essential structure: a more or less fixed, hierarchical series of questions and answers for each part of speech and its corresponding attributes, called accidents (*accidentia*). This hierarchy comprises three progressively specific levels of interrogation, each of which is initiated by the following sequence of "cue" words:

Table 4.1 Levels of interrogation in *Ianua* and *Remigius*

Level I:	… quae pars? … Quare? Quia…
Level II:	… quot accidunt? … Quae? …
Level III:	… Cuius … ? … Quare? Quia …
	(… Cuius … ? Da…)
Level I:	[What part of speech is … ? … Why? Because…
Level II:	How many accidents does the … have? … What are they? …
Level III:	Of which … is it? … Why? Because …
	(Of which … is it? … Give …)

[22] Gehl, ibid. Cf. Black, *Humanism and Education*, 58-59.
[23] Black, *Humanism and Education*, 62.
[24] Ibid., 62-63. Black notes that "most surviving texts of *Ianua* from the beginning of the fourteenth century form a pair with Cato's *Distichs.* The *Distichs* had provided simple reading material for pupils throughout the middle ages, and its manuscript coupling with *Ianua* confirms that this one-time grammar manual was seen primarily as an introductory reading text."

The initial sequence of cue words (Level I) prompts the student to recite basic information about one of eight parts of speech (noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, preposition, conjunction, interjection).[25] First, the student is asked to identify the part of speech of a Latin headword. These headwords are often drawn from a relatively stable repertoire of examples.[26] (See Table 4.2.)

Table 4.2 Common headwords for the eight parts of speech[27]

Noun:	*poeta*, *dominus*, *Petrus*
Pronoun:	*ego*
Verb:	*amo*, *lego*
Adverb:	*hodie*
Participle:	*amans*, *legens*
Conjunction:	*et*, *atque*
Preposition:	*ad*
Interjection:	*heu*, *hei*

[25] For more on the eight medieval parts of speech, see Vivien Law, "Grammar," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 291. For much of the Middle Ages, the adjective was regarded as a type of common noun rather than a part of speech in its own right.
[26] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 66.
[27] Cf. Pinborg, *Remigius*, 66.

Indeed, the most distinctive feature of the *Ianua* and *Remigius* manuscript traditions is their fixed headwords for the noun—*poeta* and *dominus*, respectively:

Ianua:	*Poeta* quae pars est? Nomen est.[28]
Remigius:	*Dominus* quae pars? Nomen.[29]
Ianua:	[What part of speech is "poet"? It is a noun.]
Remigius:	[What part of speech (is) "master"? A noun.]

The student is then asked to define the part of speech at hand—in this case, the noun:

Ianua:	*Poeta* quae pars est? Nomen est. Quare? Quia significat substantiam et qualitatem propriam vel communem cum casu.[30]
Remigius:	*Dominus* quae pars? Nomen. Quare? Quia significat substantiam vel qualitatem proprium vel communem.[31]
Ianua:	[What part of speech is "poet"? It is a noun. Why? Because it signifies substance and quality, either proper or common, through case.]
Remigius:	[What part of speech (is) "master"? A noun. Why? Because it signifies substance or quality, either proper or common.]

The next sequence of questions and answers (Level II) concerns the characteristic properties—or "accidents"—of a given part of speech, which were said to "affect" or

[28] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 74
[29] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 7492, f. 113rb-114ra, transcribed in Pinborg, *Remigius,* 80.
[30] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 74.
[31] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 80.

"happen" (*accidere*) to it.[32] In the following example, the student is asked how many accidents "happen" to the noun, and what they are:

Ianua:	Nomini quot accidunt? Quinque. Quae? Species genus numerus figura et casus.[33]
Remigius:	Nomini quot accidunt? Quinque. Quae? Species genus numerus figura casus.[34]
Ianua:	[How many accidents "happen" to the noun? Five. What are they? Species, gender, number, figure, and case.]
Remigius:	[How many accidents "happen" to the noun? Five. What are they? Species, gender, number, figure, case.]

Contemporary readers may recognize the properties of gender (*genus*), number (*numerus*), and case (*casus*) from their own elementary or secondary studies of grammar. In fact, these and a number of other such accidents remain integral components of twentieth- and twenty-first century grammatical doctrine.[35] More problematic are *species* ("appearance, form") and *figura* ("shape, appearance"), whose literal meanings are ambiguously defined. According to Vivien Law, *species* may designate the types of proper or common nouns. In this particular instance, however, it refers to the property of being non-derived (*primitiva*)—i.e. a base form—or derived (*derivativa*) from another

[32] Law, "Grammar," 291.
[33] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 74.
[34] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 80.
[35] Law, "Grammar," 291.

word form.[36] *Figura* signifies whether a word is of simple (*simplex*) or compound (*composita*) construction.[37]

The third, most refined sequence of questions and answers (Level III) provides information about the characteristic properties of each accident. In this example, the student is asked to identify and then define the masculine gender (*genus*) of the noun:

Ianua:	Cuius generis? Masculini. Quare? Quia praeponitur ei in declinatione unum articulare pronomen hic.[38]
Remigius:	Cuius generis? Masculini. Quare? Quia praeponitur ei in declinatione articulare pronomen quod est hic.[39]
Ianua:	[Of which gender? Masculine. Why? Because the pronoun that is placed before it in declining is *hic.*]
Remigius:	[Of which gender? Masculine. Why? Because the pronoun that precedes it in declining is *hic.*]

The cue word *Da*—"Give"—commands the student to give examples for those parts of speech that are uninflecting (the adverb, preposition, interjection, and conjunction) and/or have only one accident. Here is a typical catechism for the interjection (*interiectioni*), which possesses the accident of signification (*significatio*)—or "meaning":

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., 292.
[38] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 74.
[39] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 80.

Ianua: Interiectioni quot accidunt? Unum. Quid? Significatio tantum. Cuius significationis? Dolentis. Da dolentis ut *heu hei*.[40]

Remigius: Interiectioni quot accidunt? Unum. Quid? Significatio tantum. Cuius significationis? Dolentis. Da dolentis ut *heu hei*.[41]

Ianua: [How many accidents "happen" to the interjection? One. What (is it)? Meaning only. Of which meaning? Grief. Give (interjections of) grief, such as "Oh," "Alas."]

Remigius: [How many accidents "happen" to the interjection? One. What (is it)? Meaning only. Of which meaning? Grief. Give (interjections of) grief, such as "Oh," "Alas."]

According to Jan Pinborg, the aforementioned series of questions and answers constitute the essential structure of *Remigius* and *Ianua*, and return in almost the same wording in all manuscript versions.[42] He extracts what he believes to be the skeletal catechism for the noun from a representative manuscript exemplar of *Remigius,* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7492 ff. 113r-114r. I have reproduced Pinborg's catechism in full, noting to which hierarchical level each series of questions and answers belongs, in Table 4.3. For clarification, I have emboldened the standard cue words, and have italicized the headword (*dominus*) in its various inflections as well.[43]

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[40] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 79.
[41] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 83.
[42] Ibid., 65-66. Pinborg considers *Ianua* to be an early sub-group of the *Remigius* tradition, though Robert Black contests this in *Humanism and Education*, 46.
[43] Pinborg discusses neither standard cue words nor hierarchical levels of dialogue.

Table 4.3 The essential structure of the Paris 7492 *Remigius*

Level I:	*Dominus* **quae pars?** Nomen. **Quare? Quia** significat substantiam vel qualitatem, propriam vel communem.
Level II:	Nomini **quot accidunt?** Quinque. **Quae?** Species, genus, numerus, figura, casus.
Level III:	**Cuius** speciei? Derivative. **Quare? Quia** ab alio derivatur. Quod est illud? *Dominor*, *dominaris.* **Cuius** generis? Masculini. **Quare? Quia** preponitur ei in declinatione articulare pronomen quod est *hic*. **Cuius** numeri? Singularis. **Quare? Quia** singulariter profertur. **Cuius** figurae? Simplicis. **Quare? Quia** non potest dividi in duas intelligibiles partes, sensum quarum habeat. **Cuius** casus? Nominativi. **Quare? Quia** in tali casu declinando reperitur et eius sensum retinet. **Cuius** declinationis? Secunde. **Quare? Quia** mittet genetivum suum singularem in *i.* Quomodo declinatur? Nominativo *hic dominus*…[44]

While the sequences of Q&A in Levels I-III recur nearly verbatim in all recensions of *Ianua* and *Remigius*, they are nonetheless separated from each other by lengthy interpolations.[45] Though fluid by nature, these interpolations almost always include Latin paradigms, ancillary questions and answers about accidence or morphology, and even mnemonic verses like those at the beginning of *Ianua*. They also tend to fall into several distinct categories, two of which are worth mentioning here: 1) multi-form interpolations; and 2) "filler" interpolations. It is important to note, however, that one category may not necessarily preclude the other. Depending on the

[44] Cf. Pinborg, *Remigius*, 66-67, 80-81.
[45] Ibid., 66.

momentary needs of the scribe, teacher, or student, a given interpolation may oscillate between the two categories.

Whereas Pinborg's skeletal catechism consists of questions and answers about the form of a particular headword, the multi-form interpolation introduces additional questions that prompt a respondent to provide definitions for all possible forms of an accident or its corresponding properties. Table 4.3, for instance, includes only those forms that pertain to its headword. In other words, *Dominus* is a second-declension noun of derivative species, masculine gender, singular number, simple construction (*figura*), and in the nominative case. By contrast, a Pavian incunabulum of *Ianua* provides all accidental forms of the noun, regardless of its headword, *poeta*. The following excerpt from Wolfgang Schmitt's well known edition of it enumerates two species (primitive and derivative) and seven genders (masculine, feminine, neuter, common, inclusive, ungendered, and epicene) of the noun:

> *Poeta* quae pars est? Nomen est. Quare est nomen? Quia significat substantiam et qualitatem proprium vel communem cum casu.
>
> Nomini quot accidunt? Quinque. Quae? Species genus numerus figura et casus.
>
> Cuius speciei? Primitivae. Quare? Quia a nullo derivatur.
> Cuius speciei? Derivativae. Quare? Quia derivatur a *poesis*.
> Cuius generis? Masculini. Quare? quia praeponitur ei in declinatione unum articulare pronomen *hic*.
> Cuius generis? Feminini. Quare? Quia praeponitur ei in declinatione unum articulare pronomen *haec*.
> Cuius generis? Neutri. Quare? Quia praeponitur ei in declinatione unum articulare pronomen *hoc*.
> Cuius generis? Communis. Quare? Quia praeponuntur ei in declinatione duo articularia pronomina *hic* et *haec.*
> Cuius generis? Omnis. Quare? Quia praeponuntur ei in declinatione tria articularia pronomina *hic* et *haec* et *hoc*.

> Cuius generis? Incerti. Quare? Quia nulla ratione cogente sed sola auctoritas veterum sub diverso genere protulit.
> Cuius generis? Promiscui. Quare? Quia sub una voce et uno articulo utrumque sexum significat.[46]

[What part [of speech] is *poeta*? It is a noun. Why is it a noun? Because it signifies substance and quality either properly or generically through case.
> How many accidents "happen" to the noun? Five. What [are they]? Species, gender, number, figure, and case.
> Of which species? Primitive [i.e. non-derived; a base form]. Why? Because it is derived from no other [word].
> Of which species? Derivative. Why? Because it is derived from *poesis*.
> Of which gender? Masculine. Why? Because one articular pronoun, *hic*, precedes it in declining.
> Of which gender? Feminine. Why? Because one articular pronoun, *haec*, precedes it in declining.
> Of which gender? Neuter. Why? Because one articular pronoun, *hoc*, precedes it in declining.
> Of which gender? Common. Why? Because two articular pronouns, *hic* and *haec*, precede it in declining.
> Of which gender? Inclusive. Why? Because three articular pronouns, *hic* and *haec* and *hoc*, precede it in declining.
> Of which gender? Ungendered. Why? Because it expresses a distinct gender for no compelling reason other than long-standing tradition.[47]
> Of which gender? Epicene. Why? Because it signifies either sex with one word and one article.]

Multi-form interpolations may also command the respondent to provide copious examples for the four indeclinable parts of speech (adverb, preposition, interjection, and conjuncton). In one interpolation for the adverb, also from the Pavian incunabulum of *Ianua*, the respondent must "give" (*Da*) multiple examples for each of the twenty-eight

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[46] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 74-75. For an example of a multi-form interpolation from the *Remigius* tradition, see Pinborg, *Remigius*, 67: "Quae pars regit?… Quia commune est multorum naturaliter."
[47] This is a very loose translation of "quia nulla ratione cogente sed sola auctoritas veterum sub diverso genere protulit."

(!) "significations" of the adverb. Examples for the adverbs of time, place, prohibition, interrogation, negation, and affirmation are reproduced here:

> Cuius significationis? Temporis. Da temporis ut *hodie heri nunc nuper cras aliquando olim*, *tunc*, *quondam*, *iam*, et *semper*.
> Da loci ut *hic* vel *ibi illuc* vel *inde intro foras longe procul*.
> Da prohibendi ut *ne.*
> Da interrogandi ut *cur quare quamobrem.*
> Da negandi ut *non nihil nec neque haud minime nequaquam.*
> Da affirmandi ut *profecto quippe videlicet quidni nam* et *certe.*[48]

> [Of what signification? Time. Give (the adverbs) of time, as *today*, *yesterday*, *now*, *recently*, *tomorrow*, *sometime*, *once*, *then*, *formerly*, *already*, and *always.*
> Give (the adverbs) of place, as *here* or *there*, *thither* or *thence*, *within*, *out*, *far*, *far off*.
> Give (the adverbs) of prohibition, as *not.*
> Give (the adverbs) of interrogation, as *why*, *how*, *wherefore.*
> Give (the adverbs) of negation, as *not*, *nothing*, *neither*, *nor*, *not at all*, *by no means*, *least of all*.
> Give (the adverbs) of affirmation, as *assuredly*, *of course*, *namely*, *why not*, *surely*, and *certainly.*]

"Filler" interpolations, on the other hand, replace specific headwords or forms with open-ended "filler" words such as *ista* ("this one"), *ille* ("that one"), or *cuiuscumque* ("whatever"). Filler interpolations serve multiple purposes. They may help conserve space on expensive parchment or paper, and therefore lower the cost of producing and purchasing manuscript or print copies of grammars intended primarily for heavy use at school. They may also grant a reprieve to the tired scribe who no longer has the time or energy to copy detailed examples or paradigms. Perhaps more importantly, filler

[48] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 79.

interpolations allow teachers to insert their own headwords, forms, or paradigms. Vivien Law has discovered an eleventh-century teacher's formulary with "filler" words of this sort.[49] For example, the opening catechism begins not with a particular headword like *poeta* or *dominus*, but with *Que pars orationis ista?*—"What part of speech is *this*?"—instead. In fact, the formulary offers the teacher various options from which to choose throughout. In the following dialogue about noun declension, for instance, both the question and answer contain open-ended fillers that prompt the teacher (and student) to select an appropriate headword and declension:

Student: Cuius declinationis est istud nomen?
Teacher: Primae aut secundae vel cuiuscumque.

Student: [What declension is this noun?
Teacher: First or second or whatever.][50]

Mnemonic and Performative Aspects of *Ianua* and *Remigius*

Paul Gehl and Robert Black discuss how medieval pupils relied on sound as well as sight to learn how to read Latin. Black in particular enumerates two stages of reading introductory manuals like *Ianua*: 1) with the aid of a written text (*per lo testo*) and; 2) by heart (*per lo senno*). In the first stage (*per lo testo*), teachers taught their pupils how to read phonetically; in other words, their pupils sounded out (*sillibicare* or *compitare*) words directly from a written text. The next stage (*per lo senno*) focused on memorization—i.e. pupils learned *Ianua* so thoroughly that they could recite it without

[49] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7570, fols. 68r-108v.
[50] Law, "The Study of Grammar," 148n18.

the aid of a written text.[51] Black seems to imply that pupils could not fully master *Ianua* without performing it—i.e. without reading it out loud. More specifically, performing *Ianua per lo testo* helps students internalize the relationship between phonemes and their visual representation on a wax tablet, manuscript, or print. For those reading *Ianua per lo senno*, performance works in conjunction with a host of other mnenonic devices to help them learn it by heart.

In fact, the *Ianua* and *Remigius* catechisms both utilize numerous mnemonic devices that are most effective when read aloud. For dialogue, especially in the form of a catechism, is by its very nature performative, and has been used as a powerful teaching tool since antiquity.[52] In performance, then, the catechetical framework of *Ianua* and *Remigius*—constructed from a relatively fixed hierarchy of cue words, questions, and answers—becomes an auditory analogue to the ancient rhetorician's "memory palace"—in which signs or objects to be memorized are placed at fixed loci within an imaginary palace. Performance enhances the efficacy of even the most basic mnemonic components of this framework: namely, cue words. Like the loci in a memory palace, cue words such as *cuius*, *quare*, *quia*, and *da* prompt students to recall requisite names, definitions, or forms from their memory banks. With dozens—perhaps hundreds—of repetitions, this recall becomes so automatic that the recitation of dialogue begins to sound almost

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[51] Black, *Humanism and Education*, 58-59. Cf. Gehl, "Pseudo-Donatus (2.03)."
[52] "Dialogue" comes from the Greek *dialogos*, "conversation" (literally, "through speech"). "Catechism" and its Latin antecedent *catechismus* ultimately derive form the Greek *katēkhein*, "to instruct orally, make hear." A catechism is a series of fixed questions, answers, or precepts used for instruction. *Oxford Languages Online*, s.v. "dialogue," "catechism," and "catechize," accessed November 29, 2020 via Google's English Dictionary, https://www.google.com.

ritualistic, like a Catholic litany. Alliteration also helps students memorize the placement of cue words within the catechetical frameworks of *Ianua* and *Remigius*. Students of all levels are drawn to alliterative sequences precisely because they deviate from conventional speech or writing patterns. But for those desperately trying to master *Ianua* or *Remigius*, alliterative sequences of cue words like those in Tables 4.1 and 4.3 above may become audio-visual anchors in a sea of unfamiliar terminology, word-forms, and definitions.

Ciconia and the Parsing Grammar

As will be seen below, Ciconia appropriated the *Ianua* and/or *Remigius* catechisms precisely because they were ideal vehicles through which he could disseminate his novel system of musical accidents and declensions. The flexible structure of the catechism allowed him not only to incorporate specialized music-theoretical vocabulary, but also to insert a varying number of musical "paradigms"—which, moreover, students could drill on their own, in small groups, or in a classroom setting. The framework is also flexible enough to incorporate/accommodate live performance—i.e. in addition to recitation, students could potentially sing certain musical examples. Finally, the catechisms—which deploy an arsenal of mnemonic devices, and which were designed to be seen (on paper) as well as heard (read aloud) ensured a more thorough inculcation of Ciconia's accidents and declensions than other conventional texts could provide.

Ciconia may have also chosen the *Ianua* and *Remigius* catechisms because they were so familiar. His audience comprised fluent Latinists (some even with Humanistic

aspirations), who had probably learned how to read from *Ianua*, *Remigius*, or some similar parsing grammar. Some of them may have even taught music and/or grammar for their respective cathedral or church schools, or monastic orders. Ciconia himself would have had ample opportunity to become familiar—even intimately so—with one or both of these texts. As a choirboy at the collegiate church of St. Jean l'Evangéliste in Liège, he in all likelihood studied *Remigius*. Humanists in Ciconia's circles, several of whom were grammar teachers, may have introduced him to *Ianua* and other Italian grammar textbooks, which Ciconia himself may have used to teach grammar and music.[53] And if Ciconia became the cantor of the Padua Cathedral (as several contemporaneous documents imply), he helped the master of the boys (*magister scolarum*) instruct choirboys there.[54] It is conceivable that his duties included elementary grammar and singing lessons. Jason Stoessel has uncovered circumstantial evidence that Ciconia mentored young clerics: in his July 1405 will, tenor Guillielmus Kemp de Linder names

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[53] At least two potential candidates exist: Guarino of Verona and Gasparino Barzizza, both of whom wrote their own grammar texts.

[54] No documents list Ciconia as the master of the boys, however. For Ciconia's position and duties as cantor, see Barbara Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's *Nova Musica*," 13-14: "It is not known when or if Ciconia became cantor at Padua Cathedral. Certainly no documents call him master of the boys. The April 1403 document describing him as cantor and *custos* must use the former term to mean 'singer', since the position of sexton, with its heavy workload, would have been incompatible with the cantor's responsibility for the choir… It is possible that Ciconia was cantor by 6 February 1408, when he examined a candidate for the office of *mansionarius*, a singer Orpheus presbyter, in the sacristy of the cathedral in the presence of Francesco Zabarella, archpriest of the cathedral, and Johannes de Plebe, then *mansionarius.* Ciconia evidently had the authority to judge the musician and is called 'cantor' in this document. On 13 July 1412, Luca da Lendinaria was appointed cantor of Padua cathedral following Ciconia's death, so presumably Ciconia did become cantor before he died, although earlier readings of the document interpret this word as *custos*."

Ciconia trustee and ward of his adopted son and cleric.[55] Stoessel suggests that Kemp entrusted his cleric-son to Ciconia because they were close friends, but it is also likely that Kemp valued Ciconia's experience as a mentor or teacher.

Ciconia's unusual penchant for Carolingian and Post-Carolingian sources has been discussed by Barbara Haggh-Huglo, Stefano Mengozzi, and elsewhere in this dissertation. Haggh-Huglo in particular demonstrates how Ciconia borrowed several definitions, as well as the citation style (in which every quote or paraphrase is preceded by the author's name or source and a colon), from the *Liber glossarum*, a late eighth-century lexicon likely compiled at Corbie or Chelles under the auspices of Charlemagne and Alcuin.[56] Haggh-Huglo further conjectures that, sometime in the 1390s, while employed at the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti (1351-1402), Ciconia consulted I-Ma, B 36 inf., a mid-ninth-century copy of the *Liber glossarum* housed in the nearby Duomo of Milan.[57] It is therefore possible that Ciconia also sought the oldest, most "authentic" exemplars of Carolingian and Post-Carolingian parsing grammars like *Remigius* and *Ianua*. In fact, I will present evidence below that during his Visconti sojourn, Ciconia consulted Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 7492, one of the two earliest surviving manuscripts of *Remigius.*

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[55] Padua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile, reg. 342 (Rossi), fol. 74r-v. Cited in Stoessel, "The Emotional Community of Humanists and Musicians in Johannes Ciconia's Padua" (paper presented at the Conference of The Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Brisbane, July 14, 2015), 2, 9, https://www.academia.edu/14380839/The_emotional_community_of_humanists_and_musicians_in_Johannes_Ciconias_Paduahttps://www.academia.edu/14380839/The_emotional_community_of_humanists_and_musicians_in_Johannes_Ciconias_Padua.
[56] Barbara Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's Citations," 46.
[57] Ibid., 46-47.

Certainly, Ciconia's repeated calls for order echo those of Carolingians like the anonymous author of the *Cunabula grammatica artis*, one of the earliest known parsing grammars:

> Donatus's grammars have been so vitiated and corrupted by everyone's adding declensions, conjugations and other stuff of that sort just as he fancies, or cribbed from other authors, that they are hardly to be found as pure and whole as when they left his hand except in ancient manuscripts. In order not to appear to be doing the same ourselves, we have decided to explain briefly at the outset why we have composed the present work. All those who have gone more deeply into this subject than we have are aware that Donatus couched his first grammar [i.e., the *Ars minor*] in question-and-answer form for the instruction of children, pitching it at a level he thought appropriate for the intellect and inclinations of his time.[58]

Ciconia has composed *Nova musica* in response to what he perceives to be the corrupt state of early fifteenth-century musical thought, which was "veiled in its own arguments," and "hardly recognized."[59] Like the author of the *Cunabula*, he must expunge centuries of inappropriate accretions ("to leave out those things that were not appropriate.")[60] Both authors subsequently recast their disciplines' essential teachings in the form they believe to be most logically ordered, and thus most accessible for their audiences: the question-and-answer form derived from "classical" elementary treatises as Donatus's *Ars minor* and Priscian's *Partitiones*. For it is only "when the accidents found in songs have been

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[58] Cited in Law, "Memory," 25-26; and Law, "The Study of Grammar," 133, 147n5.
[59] *"...* in se suis argumentis occultabatur… ut vix cognosceretur." Ciconia, *Nova musica and De proportionibus*, ed. and trans. Oliver B. Ellsworth (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 362-363 (prologue to the fourth book of *Nova musica*, "De accidentibus").
[60] "… que non erant apta relinquere." Ibid., 52-53 (prologue to the first book of *Nova musica*, "De consonantiis").

given and arranged in declensions"—i.e., in *Nova musica*, Book 4, Chapter 13 ("On the Declensions of Songs")—that Ciconia's *musica* will be most "fully revealed."[61]

While humanists who came of age after the rediscovery of *De institutione oratoria* and *De oratore* (of Quintilian and Cicero, respectively) may have dismissed the grammars of Donatus, Priscian, or the Carolingians as jumbled, unwieldy, and therefore unworthy of emulation, the humanists of Ciconia's generation accorded them an honorable place in their pantheon of ancient authorities. Post-Carolingian parsing grammars such as *Ianua* and *Remigius*, derived in large part from the grammatical treatises of Donatus and Priscian, also benefited from their models' *auctoritas*. Widely known (at least in Quattrocento Italy) as *Donato* or *Donadello* ("Donatus" or "Little Donatus"), *Ianua* was often misattributed to the eponymous grammarian. At some point in the late Middle Ages, *Dominus quae pars* was similarly misattributed to Remigius of Auxerre, as noted above.

An Analysis of Ciconia's Catechisms

Ciconia's first catechism lays out the general framework/template within which the accidents and declensions present all (or most) of the available answers to a question. It reviews how many declensions are possible for each accident. The style is reminiscent of the parsing grammar in the Carolingian manuscript Paris BN lat. 7570 mentioned

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[61] "Ecce nunc igitur per altissimi donum in subsequenti libro datis accidentibus in cantibus repertis in declinationibus ordinatis, hec ars ad plenum patescet." Ibid., 362-363 (prologue to the fourth book of *Nova musica*).

above. It also contains "filler" words/interpolations like *illis.* Here is the parallel situation in *Nova musica,* book four, chapter 13 ("On the Declensions of Songs"):

> Quot coniunctiones habet? Quatuor aut quinque aut tot. Quas? Illis vel illas, quarum prima talis est: illis.[62]
>
> Cuius speciei? Diatessaron, diapente, diapason. Que? Prime, secunde**,** tertie, vel illis. Quare? Quia componitur ex ea.[63]
>
> Ex quibus proportionibus constat? Ex duabus, vel tribus, aut quatuor vel tot. Quibus? Illis vel illis. Prima que est? Sequioctava, vel illis.[64]
>
> [How many conjunctions does it have? Four or five (or so many). Which ones? These or those, of which the first are these.][65]
>
> [Of which species? Diatessaron, diapente, or diapason. Which one? First, second, third, or these. Why? Since it is composed of it.][66]
>
> [In which proportions is it established? In two, three, four, or so many. In which ones? These or those.][67]

Ciconia's second catechism utilizes the same catechetical style (i.e. the same cue words, sequences of questions, etc.), but this time includes only one possible answer for each question—i.e. One paradigm/example—namely, the well-known chant, *Ad te levavi animam meam.* This paradigm/example is akin to the well-known headword "poeta" in *Ianua.* Because the second catechism is limited to a specific example, the student, having

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[62] Ibid., 376 (lines 3-4).
[63] Ibid., 378 (lines 1-2).
[64] Ibid., 380 (lines 14-15).
[65] Ibid., 377 (lines 3-4).
[66] Ibid., 379 (lines 1-2).
[67] Ibid., 381 (lines 15-16).

memorized all possible declensions of an accident, must now choose the correct declension for *Ad te levavi* in particular.

Again, we find the same structure and use of cue words in *Nova musica*:

Nova musica:

Cuius ordinis? Differentis. Quare? Quia differentis ordinis cantus est qui assumit plagalem depositionem et caret autentica elevatione, ut hic cantus.
Cuius qualitatis? Perfecte. Quare? Quia perfecte qualitatis cantus est qui implet modum suum, ut hic.
Cuius quantitatis? Ogdoaden. Quare? Quia odgoaden quantitatis cantus est, qui de octo sonorum quantitate componitur, ut hic.
Cuius speciei? Diapason. Cuius? Octave. Quare? Quia componitur ex ea.
Cuius figure? Simplicis. Quare? Quia simplicis figure est cantus, qui de simplici specie componitur, que non recipit augmentum vel detrimentum, ut hic.[68]

Paris Remigius:

Cuius speciei? Derivative. Quare? Quia ab alio derivatur. Quod est illud? "Dominor, dominaris."
Cuius generis? Masculini. Quare? Quia preponitur ei in declinatione articulare pronomen quod est "hic."
Cuius numeri? Singularis. Quare? Quia singulariter profertur.
Cuius figure? Simplicis. Quare? Quia non potest dividi in duas intelligibiles partes, sensum quarum habeat.[69]

[68] Ibid., 386.
[69] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 80.

Nova musica: [Of which arrangement? Different. Why? Because a song of a different arrangement is one that takes a plagal descent and lacks an authentic ascent, as this song.
Of which quality? Perfect. Why? Since a song of the perfect quality is one that fills its mode, as is this song.
Of which quantity? Ogdoaden. Why? Since a song of the quantity of an ogdoaden is one that is composed of the quantity of eight sounds, as is this one.
Of which species? Diapason. Which one? The eighth. Why? Since it is composed of it.
Of which configuration [?] Simple. Why? Since a song of a simple configuration is one that is composed of a single species, which receives no increase or reduction, as is this one.][70]

Paris Remigius: [Of which species? Derivative. Why? Because it is derived from another (word). Which (word) is that? *Dominor, dominaris.*
Of which gender? Masculine. Why? Because the articular pronoun *hic* precedes it in declining.
Of which number? Singular. Why? Because it is expressed in the singular.
Of which configuration? Simple. Why? Because it cannot be divided into two intelligible parts that would have meaning.]

[70] Ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 387.

"Who Before Has Heard These?" Performative Aspects of "De accidentibus" and the Parsing Grammar (*Ianua* and *Remigius*)

Ciconia writes in *Nova musica,* the Prologue to Book 1: "Who among the authors, in imitation of the art of grammar, has discovered the declensions of music that are in songs? Or who before has heard these?"[71]

As it happens, not only can one recite the mantra-like succession of "da" commands, but one can sing them as well. Musical examples (in notation) are provided within the second catechism—i.e. chants (*Ad te levavi* and others) and especially their intonation and ending formulas—which are reminiscent of the Carolingian tonary, with its reliance on musical mnemonics.[72] Ciconia is, in essence, reviving the tonary, whose importance had faded by the fifteenth century.

The catechism and its musical examples thus exist in two realms that mutually reinforce one another, and that work together to more thoroughly inculcate Ciconia's concept of the "accidents" for the student/teacher/reader: the visual (text and musical notation), and the sonic/aural/oral (singing, hearing, reciting). The catechisms of *Ianua* and *Remigius* work in a similar manner, minus the musical examples. Further, in the age of the tonary—i.e. the Carolingian and post-Carolingian era—the alliance of music and grammar reigned supreme. Music was often taught alongside grammar and described in

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[71] "Quis enim auctorum ad exemplum grammatice artis declinationes musice que sunt in cantibus invenit? Aut quis dudum audivit?" Ibid., 52-53.

[72] A tonary is a liturgical book that classifies Western plainchant according to the Gregorian system of eight modes. It typically includes text and/or musical incipits of individual chants, as well as additional material needed for the performance of the liturgy.

grammatical terms. Ciconia thus revives the Carolingian alliance between grammar and music.

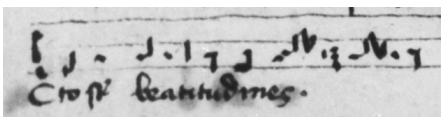
Ciconia's reliance on "Da" commands is seen in the example given below.

Ianua (Adverb)

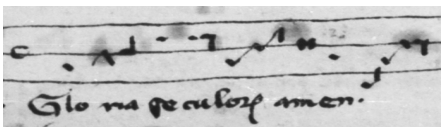
> Da temporis ut hodie heri nunc nuper…
> Da loci ut hic vel ibi illuc…
> […]
> Da qualitatis ut bene male docte pulchre…
> Da quantitatis ut multum parum modicum…
> […]
> Da ordinis ut inde deinde deinceps…[73]

Nova musica, 4.13

> Da modum: [*Octo sunt beatitudines.*]

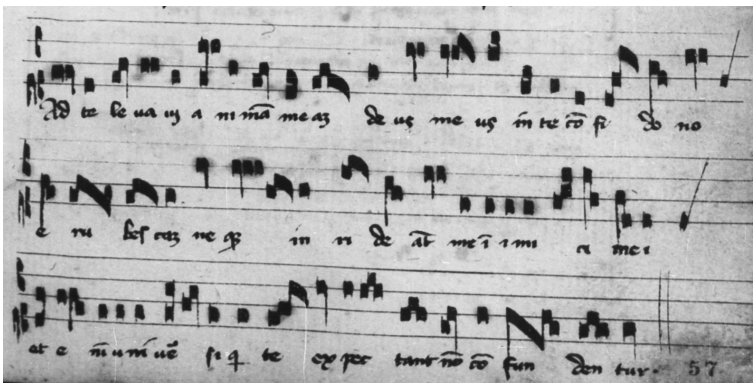


> Da Gloria. *Seculorum, amen.*

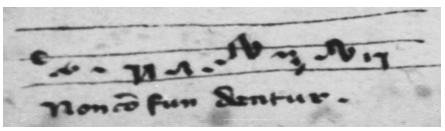


[73] Schmitt, *Die Ianua*, 79.

Da cantum *Ad te levavi* usque in finem.



Da melodiam: [*Non confundentur.*]



Da inceptionem: Lychanos meson.
Da elevationem: Paranete diezeugmenon.
Da finalem vocem: Lychanos meson.

[Give the mode: (*Octo sunt beatitudines.*)
Give the Gloria. *Seculorum amen.*
Give the song: *Ad te levavi*, up to the end.
Give the melody: (*Non confundentur.*)
Give the beginning: Lichanos meson.
Give the ascent: Paranete diezeugmenon.
Give the descent: Lichanos hypaton.
Give the final pitch: Lichanos meson.][74]

[74] Ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 388-391. The musical examples for *Octo sunt beatitudines*, *Gloria seculorum amen*, *Non confundentur*, and *Ad te levavi* come from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, ms. 734, f. 57r-v. (Used with permission.) The Florence scribe does not include a notated example for *Ad te levavi* here, perhaps because his readers already knew it by heart, or because he has already written it in square notation at the beginning of the chapter. I have inserted an image of the latter after Ciconia's command to sing the chant in order to give the reader a better sense of how his students may have performed his catechism (with or without notated examples).

The Case of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7492

Now that we have established models for the "De accidentibus" catechisms, we may ask whether it is possible to ascertain which manuscript exemplars of *Ianua* or *Remigius* Ciconia may have consulted. Such a task seems daunting when we consider the large number of extant *Ianua* and *Remigius* manuscripts and the apparently infinite variants among them. Fortunately, discoveries by John Nádas and Agostino Ziino allow us to confine our search to those manuscripts that fit Ciconia's career trajectory. Nádas and Ziino have determined that Ciconia probably spent time in Pavia at the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti in the late 1390s,[75] where he composed three of his best known works: the madrigal *Una panthera in conpagna de Marte*;[76] the *ars subtilior*-style virelai

[75] John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 43.
[76] Nádas and Ziino suggest that the madrigal's text probably "refers to a visit, much discussed at the time, by Lazzaro Guinigi (then representing the strong governing faction in oligarchical Lucca) to Giangaleazzo's court in Pavia during May and June of 1399 for the purpose of drawing up an alliance between the two powers in the face of concerns over the Milanese takeover of Pisa in the same year." Ibid., 42-43.

Sus une fontayne;[77] and the sumptuous mensuration canon *Le ray au soleyl*.[78] Using Nádas and Ziino's findings as a springboard, I suggest that Ciconia also conducted research for his *Nova musica* at Giangaleazzo's renowned library, which—according to a 1426 inventory—housed nearly 1000 volumes.[79]

One such volume, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7492—hereafter known as Paris 7492—contains one of the earliest exemplars of *Remigius*. Copied in France or Italy in the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century, Paris 7492 was owned

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[77] Ursula Günther and Reinhard Strohm had previously proposed that *Sus une fontyane* "must be taken as an homage to an older and esteemed composer at Pavia, Filippotto da Caserta, and that the 'fountain' in its first line of text makes explicit reference to Giangaleazzo's court." Ibid., 43-44; Ursula Günther, "Problems of Dating in *ars nova* and *ars subtilior,*" in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento IV: Atti del 3 Congresso internazionale sul tema "La musica al tempo del Boccaccio e i suoi rapporti con la letteratura" (Siena-Certaldo 19-22 luglio 1975), sotto il patrocinio della Società Italiana di Musicologia*," ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull' ars nova italiana del Trecento, [1975]), 294; idem., "Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior," *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 62-68; Reinhard Strohm, "Filippotta da Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia," in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80º compleanno*, ed. by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1989), 71.

[78] Nádas and Ziino believe that Ciconia composed *Le ray au soleyl* at the Visconti court, not in the least because it is copied on the same page as *Una panthera*: "Surely the fact that *Le ray* and *Una panthera* should be found together in the MS suggests not only Ciconia's authorship of the former, but also the manner in which this repertory was disseminated: two works tied to the Visconti were copied together because they had already been so related in the scribe's exemplar." Ibid., 44-45.

[79] Ibid., 36, especially. n. 49. The inventory, Biblioteca Braidense, MS AD XV 18.4, is published in transcription in Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle* (Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1955). Giangaleazzo was a great patron of the arts, and seemed to favor the Gallic/French style in particular. According to Nádas and Ziino, "Giangaleazzo's love of learning was manifested most visibly in his support of the university of Pavia." Because Ciconia was already called a *magister* upon his arrival in Padua in 1401, it is possible that he also attained a degree at the University of Pavia. (Other possibilities are the University of Paris and the University of Cologne.)

and annotated by none other than Petrarch and sometime after his death, acquired by Francesco I "il Vecchio" da Carrara, ruler of Padua. When Giangaleazzo defeated Francesco I in 1388, he seized Paris 7492 and many other items from the Paduan lord's library.[80] Paris 7492 was therefore in Giangaleazzo's library during Ciconia's sojourn at the Visconti court, and it is quite likely that he examined it and other manuscripts formerly belonging to Petrarch because of their distinguished provenance. Indeed, the Paris 7492 copy of *Remigius* includes possibly unique interpolations that resurface in Ciconia's catechisms.

Table 4.4: Contents of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 7492 (late 12th or early 13th century)

1-67v	Anon. [Osbernus Glocestriensis], *Derivationes*
67v-103v	Ibid., *Repetitiones*
104-113	Donatus, *Ars minor*
113-114	**Anon., *Dominus quae pars?* ("Remigius")**
114-115v	Anon., *Expositio orationis dominicae*
115v-116v	Anon. *Expositio Symboli*
116v-118	Anon., *Fragmenta ad officium ecclesiasticum pertinentia*

[80] Louis XII evidently took possession of Paris 7492 after his conquest of Pavia in 1499-1500, and sometime thereafter it made it to the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris where it is presently housed. A fuller description of Paris 7492 may be found in Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque*, 95; and Pellegrin, "Un manuscrit des 'Derivationes' d'Osbern de Gloucester annoté par Pétrarque (Par. lat. 7492)," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 3 (1960): 264-65. Jan Pinborg has transcribed and published the Paris 7492 *Dominus quae pars* in *Remigius*, 80-83.

Textual Concordances between the Paris 7492 *Remigius* and Ciconia's Catechisms

In his study of a 1486 print edition of *Dominus quae pars*—the so-called Schleswig-*Remigius*—Jan Pinborg contends that *Ianua* and *Dominus* (*Remigius*) belong to a "family of more or less interconnected treatises rather than… different versions of the same text."[81] By analyzing various layers of added material, Pinborg attempts to extract an original "kernel" text for *Ianua, Remigius,* and their siblings. According to Pinborg, elements of this kernel "return regularly and in almost the same wording in all later versions, but [are] separated from each other by long sections of interpolations… While the kernel of the *Remigius* goes back at least to the twelfth century, the interpolations reflect various layers of the later developments within grammar."[82] Pinborg concludes that the Paris *Dominus*—with one exception, the eldest known member of the *Remigius* subgroup, with relatively few interpolations—comes closer to an *urtext* than any extant recension of *Remigius* and *Ianua*,[83] and for this reason his study includes a complete transcription of the Paris *Dominus,* with what he considers to be interpolations in smaller type and within brackets.[84]

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[81] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 65. This view has been disputed by Robert Black, *Humanism and Education,* esp. 47.
[82] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 66, 68.
[83] Dating from the twelfth century, Paris 7492 and Douai, Bibl. Municip. 752 (fols. 220v-224v) contain the oldest known copies of *Dominus quae pars.*
[84] Pinborg, *Remigius,* 66.

I have discovered that one of these potentially unique interpolations, concerning the "form" (*forma*) of the noun-headword *Dominus,* resurfaces nearly verbatim in Ciconia's second catechism. Here are both texts for comparison:

Paris 7492:	Cuius forme? Pentaptote. Quare? Quia habet quinque casus dissimiles inter se.[85] [Of which form? Pentaptote. Why? Because the form has five different cases…]
Nova musica:	Cuius forme? Odgoaptote. Quare? Quia ogdoaptote forma est cantibus que habet octo dissimiles ptongos, ut hic. [Of which form? Ogdoaptote. Why? Because the form of the ogdoaptote is the one that has eight different *ptongi* in songs, as in this one.][86]

Ciconia alters the original passage only slightly, to reflect the music-theoretical orientation of his treatise. Thus, *casus* ("cases") becomes *ptongi* ("pitches"), a term specific to music theory. *Ad te levavi animan meam,* the well known introit for the first Sunday of Advent, replaces the exemplary headword *Dominus*; and because the chant contains eight pitches rather than five, it is renamed an *odgoaptote.* The insertion of *cantibus* ("in chant") further directs Ciconia's readers to the plainchant repertoire.[87] In

[85] Pinborg, *Remigius*, 81.
[86] Book 4, chapter 13 ("De declinationibus cantuum"), ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 386-387.
[87] "Cantibus"—literally "in songs." I have translated the passage "in chant" to reflect Ciconia's use of the term throughout *Nova musica.* Ciconia uses the term *cantus* to refer specifically to plainchant in multiple passages.

fact, Ciconia's alterations are anticipated already in "De accidentibus," chapter 10 ("De decimo accidente, in formis cantuum"), in which Ciconia explicitly aligns the types and numbers of grammatical cases (*casus*) with those of *ptongi*:

> ***Nova musica* 4.10, "De decimo accidente, in formis cantuum"**
>
> Notandum vero est quod tetraptota forma in grammatica quatuor casuum dicitur. In musica autem quatuor ptongorum intelligenda est. Nam tetraptota quasi tetraptonga, sic et relique forme.
>
> [It must be noted that the form of the tetraptote is said to be of four cases in grammar, but in music it must be understood to be of four *ptongi.* The tetraptote is, as it were, a "tetraptonga," and so on for the remaining forms.][88]

While Ciconia seems to have derived his concept of musical "case-forms" (*formae casuales*) from late antique texts such as the *Ars maior* of Donatus*,* the *Institutiones* of Priscian*,* and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, the language he uses to describe them (not to mention his catechetical style) has much more in common with the Paris 7492 interpolation. In particular, the "case forms" (forms of the *pentaptote* and *ogdoaptote*) in Paris 7492 and *Nova musica* have, respectively, five and eight *casus/ptongos dissimiles* rather than *diversos casus* or *varietates casuum*—two turns of phrase that Donatus, Priscian, Isidore, and many other grammarians not listed here seem to prefer. And while I have consulted parsing grammars that do include dialogues about the so-called *formae casuales*—and in at least one instance *dissimilitudines uel uarietates*

[88] Ibid.*,* 372-373.

casuum—I have yet to encounter one that closely resembles the Paris 7492 interpolation or its countepart in *Nova musica.*

Certain congruences between Ciconia's second catechism and another one of Pinborg's interpolations support my assertion that Ciconia used the Paris 7492 *Dominus quae pars* as a model. Both utilize a question-answer sequence featuring the verb *regere* ("Que/Quis… regit? … Quare? Quia… regit…"): in the Paris manuscript, to establish the "governing" verb conjugation of the headword *dominus*; and in Ciconia's catechism, to establish the "governing" pitch—i.e. the final—[89]of his chant paradigm, *Ad te levavi animam meam.*

Paris 7492:	Que pars regit? "Venit." Quare? Quia tertia persona verbi est et regit nominativum casum.[90]
	[Which part {of speech} governs {*dominus*}? *Venit* ("comes"). Why? Because it is the third person of the verb and it establishes the nominative case.]
Nova musica:	Quis eum regit? Lychanos meson. Quare? Quia in lychanos meson, qui est eius finalis, regit tetrardum plagalem.
	[Which one establishes/governs it? Lichanos meson. Why? Because lichanos meson, which is its final, governs the plagal tetrardus.][91]

[89] I.e. the pitch G, the final of mode 8, or the plagal tetrardus.
[90] Pinborg, *Remigius,* 80.
[91] Book 4, Chapter 13 ("De declinationibus"), ed. and trans. (slightly modified) Ellsworth, 386-87.

While such "regit" sequences are not unprecedented in the grammatical literature, their placement in the Ciconia and Paris texts—within the aformentioned dialogue about cases, pitches, and form is unusual, and quite possibly unique in either grammatical or music-theoretical sources.

*¶ * *

This chapter has demonstrated that Ciconia borrowed multiple features from Carolingian and Post-Carolingian parsing grammars in his *Nova musica*. *Nova musica* and parsing grammars such as *Ianua* and *Remigius* utilize the same essential framework—namely, a hierarchical series of questions and answers for each accident and its properties. This includes a nearly identical sequences of cue words ("cuius… quare… quia") and "da" commands, as well as similar kinds of interpolations ("multiform" and "filler"). *Nova musica* also uses the musical equivalents of headwords and paradigms. In addition, the catechisms of both are inherently performative; in the case of *Nova musica*, accidents, their declensions, and notated musicals can be recited as well as sung.

Ciconia chose Carolingian and Post-Carolingian parsing grammars such as *Ianua* and *Remigius* because they fulfilled his classicizing agenda. For Carolingian authors not only served as the primary conduits through which Ciconia and fellow humanists accessed classical sources, but were also recognized as authorities in their own right. Furthermore, Ciconia's appropriation of the parsing grammar model follows the principles of *imitatio* laid out in chapter two. Its flexible structure allowed it to cross disciplinary boundaries and to accommodate the specialized technical vocabulary of

music theory. We will turn to further discussion of the significance of Carolingian authorities to Ciconia and his humanist contemporaries in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

"The Matter of France": Ciconia, the Carolingians, and the Legacy of Antiquity

In Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation, I explored the myriad ways in which Ciconia and other humanists in his extended network appropriated classical theories of *imitatio*. Chapter 4 demonstrates that Ciconia emulates Carolingian models as well. His reliance on Carolingian models reflects the fact that neither a substantial music-theoretical repertoire nor a practical system of musical notation existed before the reforms of Charlemagne. This chapter suggests, moreover, that Paduan humanists not only borrowed from Carolingian models more frequently than was previously assumed, but also proudly claimed them as part of their Italo-Roman heritage. Consequently, Ciconia's seemingly idiosyncratic preference for Carolingian models is perfectly consonant with the practice of his humanist colleagues in Padua.

We turn first to a brief consideration of the historical context that informed Ciconia's preferences. In 1416, Poggio Bracciolini, an enterprising notary-turned-classical-scholar (1380-1459), unearthed a complete copy of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* —"still safe and sound, though filthy with mold and dust"—from the dungeons

of the St. Gall monastery.[1] Poggio's discovery and earlier ones[2] generated a furor among humanists who sought to model their own Latin orations, poems, and prose after those of Quintilian, Cicero, and other Golden Age authors. The humanists' clarion calls for a revival of classical texts resonated in musical circles as well. Magister Johannes Ciconia was among the first musicians to heed such calls. Ciconia's polyphonic compositions abound with classical references and rhetorical devices that link them to the neo-classical orations of Ciconia's patron Francesco Zabarella, Pierpaolo Vergerio, and other contemporary humanists. But the *Nova musica* most clearly evinces his commitment to the humanist movement. Most notably, the prologue to the first book proposes a large-scale revival and renovation of ancient musical authority:

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[1] Poggio details his discovery of *Institutio* and other manuscripts in a letter from about 1416 to fellow humanist and book hunter Guarino Veronese (1374-1460): "And so several of us went there [to the monastery of St. Gall], to amuse ourselves and also to collect books of which we heard that they had a great many. There amid a tremendous quantity of books which it would take too long to describe, we found Quintilian still safe and sound, though filthy with mold and dust… Beside Quintilian we found the first three books and half of the fourth of C. Valerius Flaccus' *Argonauticon*, and commentaries or analyses on eight of Cicero's orations by Q. Asconius Pedianus, a very clever man whom Quintilian himself mentions. These I copied with my own hand and very quickly, so that I might send them to Leonardus Aretinus [i.e. Leonardo Bruni] and to Nicolaus of Florence [i.e. Niccolò Niccoli]; and when they had heard from me of my discovery of this treasure they urged me at great length in their letters to send them Quintilian as soon as possible. You have, my dearest Guarinus, all that a man who is devoted to you can send you just now. I wish I could send you the book itself but I had to satisfy Leonardus; but you know where it is, so that if you want it and I expect that you will want it as soon as possible, you can get it easily. Farewell and love me as I do you. At Constance, 15 December, A.D. 1416." *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, trans. Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan, Records of Western Civilization (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 195-96.

[2] Including Petrarch's discovery of Cicero's *Ad atticum* (in 1345), and Coluccio Salutati's discovery of Cicero's *Epistolae ad familiares* (in 1392).

> The ancient music, produced by the will of the ancients, which they themselves were unable to expand into a complete doctrine, we wish to revive in a new style… to put forth many sayings of the authors so that the new music may grow by adding to the many sayings of the authors and may maintain their semblance in both the spoken style and doctrine of antiquity… [3]

Indeed, the treatise names no authors or repertories more recent than the eleventh century. Like Bracciolini and other humanist collectors, moreover, Ciconia seems to have scoured Italian libraries for the oldest, most "authentic" manuscript exemplars of his sources.[4]

Yet a closer inspection of *Nova musica* reveals that many of its authorities hail not from ancient Rome, but from the period following the Carolingian Renaissance (i.e. ca. 800-1050). Table 5.1 provides a list of Ciconia's named authorities; with ninety-six citations, Boethius is the most referenced authority.

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[3] "Musicam antiquam antiquorum voto editam, quam ipsi explicare nequiverunt ad plenam scientiam, novo stilo renovere cupimus… multaque dicta auctorum introducere quatinus nova musica de multis dictis auctorum adunata crescat et in locutione et in scientia antiquitatis speciem teneat…" *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 52-55.
[4] For examples of this see Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's Citations," 45-56.

Table 5.1 Named sources in Ciconia's *Nova musica* (in chronological order)[5]

Date	**Author** (and # of citations)	**Work(s)**
fl. ca. 350	Donatus (1)	*Ars grammatica*
354-430	Augustine of Hippo (2)	*De doctrina christiana*
fl. early 5th century	Martianus Capella (1)	*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*
ca. 467-532	Fulgentius (4)	*Mitologiarum libri tres*
ca. 480-524	Boethius (96)	*De institutione musica*
ca. 490-ca. 583	Cassiodorus (1)	*Institutiones*
fl. ca. 500	Priscianus (1)	*Institutiones grammaticae*
ca. 540-604	Gregorius (The Great) (1)	*Homiliae in Ezecheliem*
ca. 559-636	Isidore of Seville (38)	*Etymologiae*
673-735	Bede (2)	Unknown
ca. 775-ca. 850	Amalarius of Metz	*Liber officialis*
ca. 840-930	Hucbald of St. Amand; Anonymous (20)	*Inchiridion* (*De harmonica institutione; Musica enchiriadis; Scolica Enchiriadis*)
fl. 862- ca. 900	Remigius of Auxerre (51)	*Commentum in Martianum Capellam*
ca. 991/2-after 1033	Guido of Arezzo (22)	*Micrologus* (21); *Epistola de ignoto cantu* (1)
ca. 1000	"Hieronymus" (Anonymous) (15)	*Quid est cantus?* (2/3 of entire treatise); unknown

[5] Adapted from Ellsworth, "Ciconia's Sources for the *Nova musica*," in *Nova musica*, 13-18.

Date	**Author** (and # of citations)	**Work(s)**
ca. 1000	Anonymous (11)	*Musica sillabarum* (*Musicae artis disciplina; published by Gerbert as De musica* of Odo)
d. 1048	Berno of Reichenau (22)	Prologue and Tonary
Unknown	Anonymous (6)	*Liber argumenti*
Unknown	"Augustinus" (Anonymous) (7)	*Liber breviarius*

Ciconia copiously borrows from the *De harmonica institutione* of Hucbald (ca. 850-930), both the anonymous *Enchiriadis* treatises (ca. 9th century), the *Prologus in Tonarum* of Berno of Reichenau (ca. 978-1048), Pseudo-Odo's *Musica artis disciplina,* and Guido's *Micrologus.* Remigius of Auxerre's music-philosophical commentary on the ninth book ("On Music") of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* is cited more times than any author other than Boethius. Ciconia also acknowledges the *Liber officialis* of Frankish liturgical scholar Amalarius of Metz (ca. 775-ca. 850). Recently, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, Michael Bernhard, and Stefano Mengozzi have uncovered several more unacknowledged borrowings from the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelian of Réôme (fl. ca. 840-850), Regino of Prüm's (d. 915) tonary, the anonymous eleventh-century treatise *Quid est cantus* (ca. 1000), and especially the *Liber glossarum*, a ninth-century lexicon closely associated with Charlemagne's court.[6]

[6] Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's Citations," 51; Mengozzi, "The Ciconian Hexachord," 283-84n11.

Ciconia's musical examples exhibit a similarly "Carolingian" bias: rare chants and intonation formulas from the earliest graduals, antiphoners, and tonaries;[7] parallel organum reminiscent of the *Enchiriadis* treatises; and, as I have discovered, didactic songs like *Diapente et diatessaron* (11th century).[8] See Figure 5.1 (music) and Table 5.2 (text).[9]

[7] Barbara Haggh-Huglo, "Ciconia's *Nova Musica*," 12.

[8] *Diapente et diatessaron*, one of the most popular didactic songs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is transmitted in more than thirty manuscripts. For more information about *Diapente et diatessaron* and other so-called "interval" songs, see: Anna Maria Busse Berger, "Teaching and Learning Music," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 475-99; Charles M. Atkinson, "The Other *Modus*: On the Theory and Practice of Intervals in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West: In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffery (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 233-56; and Michael Bernhard, "Parallelüberlieferungen zu vier Cambridger Liedern," in *Tradition und Wertung: Festschrift für Franz Brunhölzl zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Günter Bernt, Fidel Rädle, Gabriel Silagi (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989), 141-45. Neither of the two surviving manuscripts of *Nova* musica—Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, 734 (henceforth Fl 734**)**; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5320 (henceforth Va 5320**)**—appear on Bernhard's list of sources for *Diapente et diatessaron.*

[9] Although the Fl 734 version of *Diapente et Diatessaron* (in Figure 5.1) begins with the text "Tonus, semitonus," etc., other sources typically begin with the "Diapente et diatessaron" text and music.

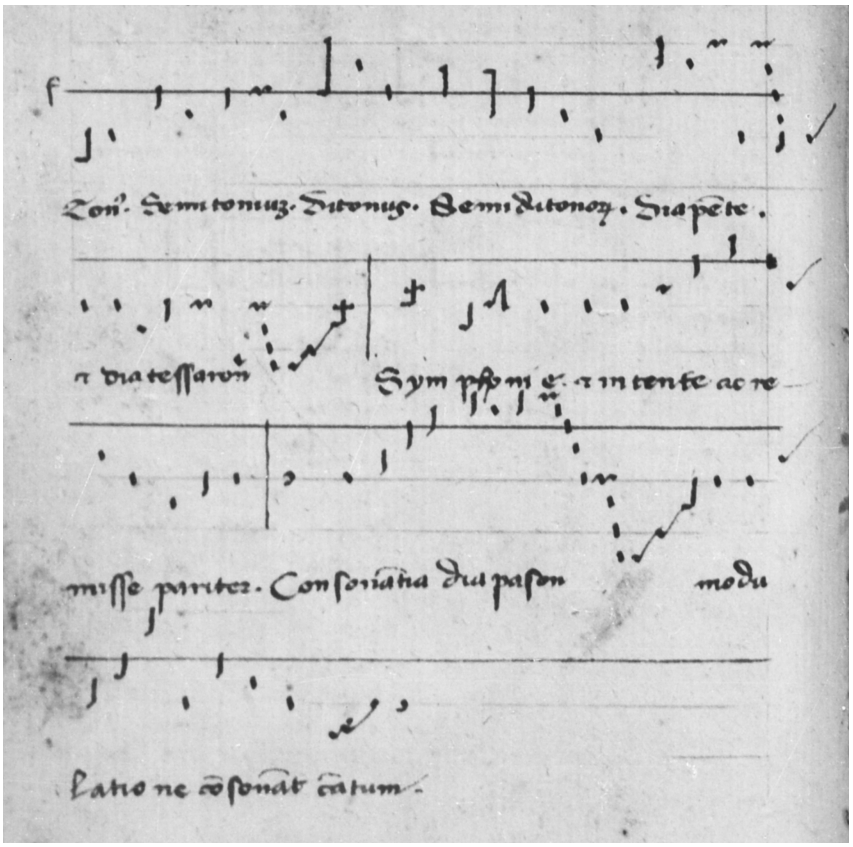

Figure 5.1 *Diapente et diatessaron* (didactic song). Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, ms. 734, fol. 40v. Used with permission.

Table 5.2 *Diapente et diatessaron* (text)[10]

Diapente. Et diatessaron. Symphonie et intente ac remisse pariter. Consonantia diapason modulatione consonant cantum.	Diapente. And diatessaron. Symphonies both intense and remiss together. Consonance of the diapason by modulation makes the song consonant.

[10] Ciconia, *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 306-307.

Such examples are notated in a musical "script" that is best described as proto-Guidonian—with central Italian neumes on one or two rudimentary staff lines with F and/or C clefs.[11] Considering Ciconia's remarkable penchant for Carolingian and Post-Carolingian authorities, musical examples, and notation, we are compelled to ask: is *Nova musica* truly a product of humanistic reforms if its authorities are not primarily "classical"?

This chapter shows that Paduan humanists and their Carrara patrons not only possessed some historical awareness of the Carolingian legacy, but claimed it as a part of their Italo-Roman heritage as well. Francesco I "il Vecchio" da Carrara (1325-1393) and his son Francesco II "il Novello" (1359-1406) cultivated oral legends about the Carolingian origins of their family to legitimize their rule over Padua.[12] They gave generous stipends to writers, visual artists, and musicians who could glorify their family's origins in elegant, humanistic Latin, in public and private artworks, and ceremonial madrigals and motets. I will explore the possibility that Giovanni Conversini da

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[11] At least in Fl 734, the only extant copy of *Nova musica* with notation. Although scribal initiative may account for the Italian-style neumes, I do believe Ciconia himself intended some form of neumes. As evidence we see the crossing out of square notation and replacing it with neumes in his example for the tone. See Fl 734, fol. 9r and *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 103n81. Further, in Va 5320 we have one instance of notation that is a Carolingian-style neume—which is, moreover, crudely drawn, indicating that perhaps the scribe was unfamiliar or unskilled with this kind of notation.

[12] This chapter is an expanded version of "'The Matter of France': Ciconia, the Carolingians, and the Legacy of Antiquity" (paper, Eighty-first Meeting of the American Musicological Society, November 14, 2015). For an abstract of this paper, please see *Program and Abstracts of Papers Read at the American Musicological Society Eighty-first Annual Meeting, 12-15 November 2015, Galt House Hotel, Louisville, Kentucky*, ed. Daniel Goldmark (American Musicological Society, 2015), 166, https://cdn.ymaws.com/ams-net.site-ym.com/resource/resmgr/files/abstracts/2015-Louisville.pdf.

Ravenna's (1343-1408) *Familie Carrariensis natio* ("The Birth of the Carrara Family")—a humanistic chronicle that traces the Carrara family's origins to none other than Charlemagne himself—served as the source for Ciconia's well-known "Carrara" madrigal *Per quella strada,* probably composed for the Holy Roman Emperor-Elect's investiture of Francesco il Novello as Imperial captain in November, 1401. Although several Renaissance historians have published studies about the *Familie Carrariensis natio,* it has not been discussed in the musicological literature, let alone in conjunction with Ciconia's works.[13]

Also overlooked is the fact that Francesco il Vecchio and his son bolstered their Carolingian identity via astronomical symbolism (to be explored below) as well as popular chivalric epics about Charlemagne and his paladins—the so-called "Matter of France." These epic narratives, mostly in verse, dealt with Charlemagne, Roland, and the knights of France. All of them trace their roots to a single narrative, *The Song of Roland* (whose versions first appeared in the eleventh century). They were transmitted to Italy via minstrels. Originally in French, they increasingly appeared in Franco-Venetian and Franco-Italian.[14]

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[13] For more on Conversini's chronicle, see *Giovanni Conversini di Ravenna, 1348-1408: L'origine della famiglia di Carrara e il racconto del suo primo impiego a corte*, ed. Libya Cortese and Dino Cortese (Padua: Centro studi Antoniano, 1980); and Benjamin Kohl, "Chronicles into Legends and Lives: Two Humanist Accounts of the Carrara Dynasty in Padua," in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin, and Duane J. Osheim (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

[14] Marco Dorigatti, "Reinventing Roland: Orlando in Italian Literature," *Roland and Charlemagne in Europe: Essays on the Reception and Transformation of a Legend*, ed. Karen Pratt (London: King's College, Centre for late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1996), 106.

Using Conversini's *Familie Carrariensis natio,* the "Matter of France" epics, and Paduan astronomy as points of departure, I will argue that Ciconia incorporated allusions to Charlemagne into his music, and that he composed *Nova musica* at least in part to curry favor with the Carrara family. I will also consider how Ciconia's own status as a citizen of Liège—the reputed birthplace of Charlemagne—may have influenced his decision to cite so many Carolingian and Post-Carolingian authorities.

Triumphs and Chariots: Conversini's *Familie Carrariensis natio* and a Madrigal for the Carrara Court

In the *Familie Carrariensis natio* ("The Birth of the Carrara Family"), Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna recounts how the Carrara are descended in the matriline from Charlemagne. Landolfo, a French knight, and Elizabeth, Charlemagne's daughter, fall madly in love. But because of Landolfo's lower social status, Elizabeth cannot secure her father's permission to marry him. The couple elopes, and eventually settles in a dense forest near Padua, where Landolfo makes a living building oxcarts, or wains (*currus*). Years later, Charlemagne visits Padua, and discovers Landolfo and Elizabeth. He forgives them, and grants their descendents—the first Carrara lords—rule over Padua and its surrounding lands.

The pivotal moment in Conversini's narrative occurs when Landolfo learns that Charlemagne has arrived in Padua. Fearful of the emperor's wrath, he flees into the woods to escape discovery and punishment. Overcome by fatigue, he lies down and falls asleep. He then has a wondrous vision: he is lifted up to the stars on a red chariot-wain (*currus*; *plaustrum*) on fire, and appears before an ancient pagan king who calls himself

Vitelimo. Vitelimo assures Landolfo that Charlemagne will forgive him and grant his descendents the lordship of Padua. He exhorts Landolfo to behold the red chariot-wain that has brought him into the heavens and from which he may see the whole globe and the lands that will become his. In triumphal Roman processions, such a chariot brought Roman emperors to the summit of the Capitol, and for this reason, Vitelimo concludes, it is a fitting family emblem for Landolfo. See Figures 5.2 and 5.3.

Figure 5.2 The chariot-wain of the Carrara. Francesco Caronelli, *De curru carrariensis*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6468, fol. 9v. Used with permission.

Figure 5.3 The crest of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara with chariot-wain and gold-winged Saracen.[15] *Liber cimeriorum.* Padua, Biblioteca Civica, cod. B.P. 124/XXII, fol. 20r. Used with permission.

Under its auspices, Landolfo's descendents will annihilate their enemies and transform Padua into a verdant and bustling utopia renowned for its liberal arts, wealth, and civic harmony. Vitelimo then cedes his authority as the Prince of the Euganeans to Landolfo, and the vision abruptly ends. In closing, Conversini offers his own assessment of the red chariot emblem: while some historians maintain that the Carrara family adopted it in

[15] The Saracen was a heraldic device originally adopted by Ubertino da Carrara, ruler of Padua from 1338-1345. According to family lore, Ubertino's observation of a horned Moor and infidel armies inspired it. For more information see Sarah M. Carleton, "Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 176.

memory of their origins as wain builders, others assert that it was adopted as a result of Landolfo's vision—"given and received from the heavens."[16]

However the Carrara received their family device, they proudly emblazoned it wherever they could. Francesco il Vecchio and his son Francesco il Novello commissioned coins, seals, Roman-style medallions, and public and private artwork with the stylized red chariot-wain.[17] See Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4 Cast bronze medallion featuring Francesco il Vecchio and the chariot-wain of the Carrara. Italy, ca. 14th century. © The Trustees of the British Museum.[18]

[16] Conversini, *L'origine della famiglia di Carrara*, 49.
[17] Carleton, "Heraldry," 177-79.
[18] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1924-0804-1.

It is also described in works of poetry, literature, and music closely associated with the courts of both lords.[19]

Several of these works also describe the ascent of one or more chariots into the heavens (an event that often occurs within the context of a vision) and allude to a Roman triumph. This has led certain musicologists to propose direct or mediated connections between one or more these works and Ciconia's madrigal, *Per quella strada*.[20] In particular, Sarah M. Carleton argues that Altichiero's painting *The Triumph of Fame*, based on Petrarch's poem of the same name, served as the primary source for Ciconia's madrigal. Although the *Familie Carrariensis natio* also features a vision of an ascending chariot and a Roman-style triumph, neither Carleton nor other musicologists mention Conversini's narrative, let alone in conjunction with *Per quella strada.*

In fact, Altichiero, Ciconia, and Conversini are probably drawing upon shared family lore and a network of cultural symbols, allusions, and classical sources current at the Carrara court. Nevertheless, the texts of Ciconia and Conversini share specific similarities that suggest that Conversini's narrative directly inspired Ciconia's madrigal: namely, the idiosyncratic description of a single red chariot-wain on fire ascending to the starry heavens; the ascent to the summit of the Capitol in the manner of a Roman

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[19] Carleton, "Heraldry," 180-81.

[20] See for example Carleton, "Heraldry," 204-14; Jason Stoessel, "A Wain, Arthur and Scipio's Triumph: The Last Carraresi and Humanist Music in Early Fifteenth-Century Padua" (paper, Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Bangor, UK, July 24-27, 2008), 3, 7-10, https://www.academia.edu/1705059/A_Wain_Arthur_and_Scipios_Triumph_The_last_Carraresi_and_Humanist_Music_in_Early_Fifteenth_Century_Padua; and Silvia Lombardi, "'Per quella strada lactea del cielo': Un madrigale per le esequie nella Padova carrarese," *Revista internazionale de musica sacra* 30, no. 2 (2009): 137-64.

triumph; the narrative arc that shifts the imagery from the carro to the triumph; and the strikingly similar vocabulary to describe the fiery chariot-wain, starry skies, and Roman triumph. See Table 5.3 (text) and Example 5.1 (music) below for Ciconia's madrigal; Table 5.4 highlights the similarities between Ciconia and Conversini in boldface.

Table 5.3 *Per quella strada* (madrigal text)

Per quella strada lactea del cielo Da belle stelle ov'è'l seren fermato Vedeva un carro andar tutto abrasato	Through that milky way of heaven, where serenity is fixed among fair stars, one saw a wain go all ablaze,
Coperto a drappi rossi de fin oro Tendea el timon verso ançoli cantando. El carro triumphal vien su montando.	covered in red drapes of fine gold; it steers towards the singing angels. The triumphal wain climbing upwards.
De verdi lauri corone menava Che d'alegreça el mondo verdeçava.	It brought crowns of green laurel that from joy turned the world green.[21]

Table 5.4 Parallel passages in Ciconia and Conversini

(a) Ciconia, *Per quella strada* (madrigal)

Per quella **strada lactea del cielo** Da belle **stelle** ov'è'l seren fermato Vedeva un **carro andar tutto abrasato**	Through that **milky way of heaven**, where serenity is fixed among fair **stars**, one saw a **wain go all ablaze**,
Coperto a **drappi rossi** de fin oro; Tandea el timon verso ançoli cantando. **El charro triumphal vien su montando**.	Covered in **red drapes** of fine gold; it steers towards the singing angels. **The triumphal wain climbing upwards**.
De **verdi lauri corone** menave Che d'**alegreça** el mondo verdeçava.	It brought **crowns of green laurel** that from **joy** turned the world green.

[21] Translation (slightly modified) Stoessel, "A Wain," 8.

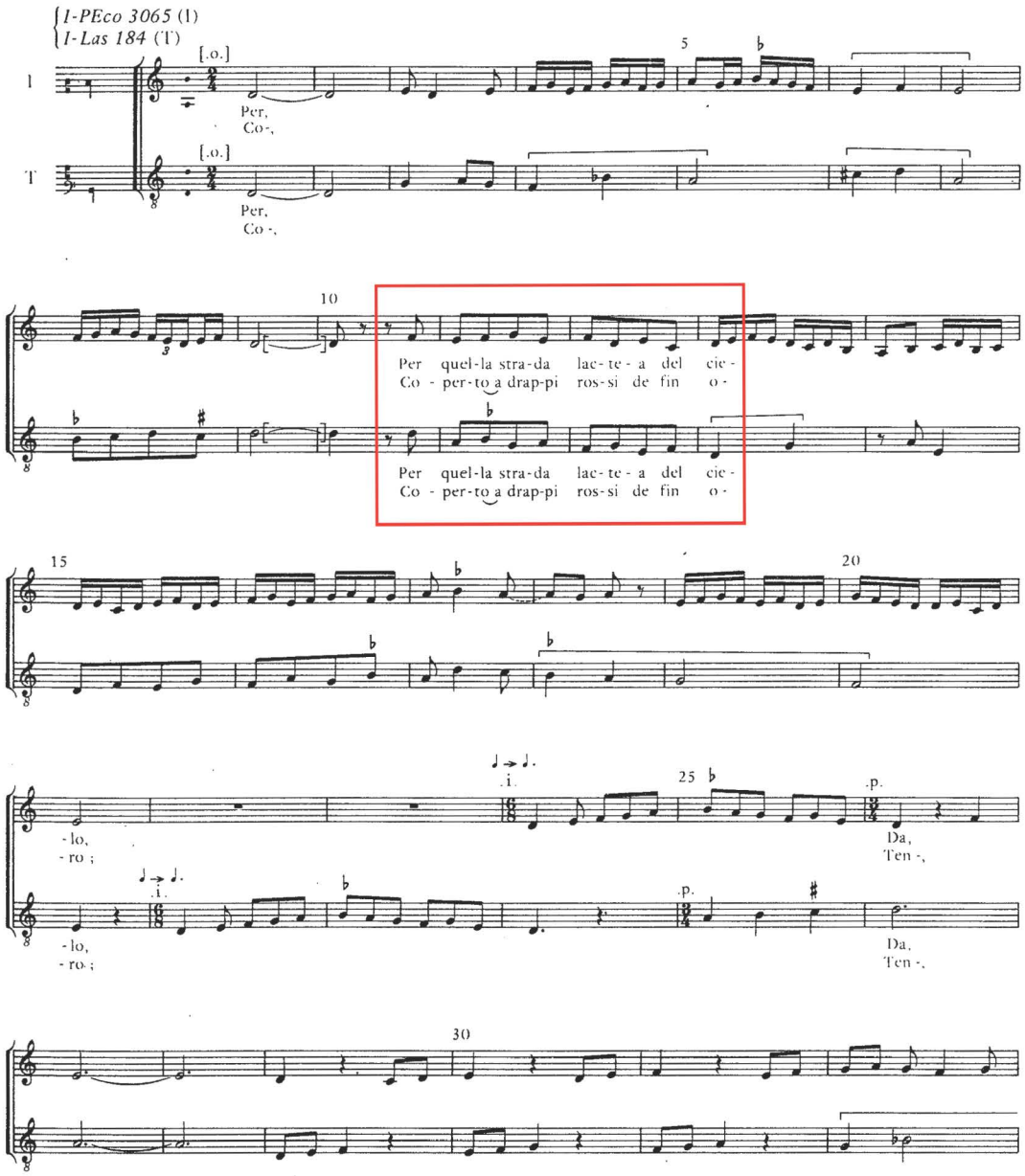
(b) Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *Familie Carrariensis natio* (Landolfo's Vision)

Ast dum curarum metuque solicitus ornos inter et arbusta solus agit ex egritudine animi sompnus ut fit interdum obreptare cepit florea que in humo nemorea sub umbra stratus per quietem **igneo se curru ad astra uehi** quali codices sacri mondanis obtutibus sublatum testantur heliam cernit, et astare grandeuo ad modum regi cui plurima sanctitas in ore statuque magiestas inerat…	And while [Landolfo], full of worry and fear, was passing alone through ash trees and shrubs, sleepiness began to torment him, as often happens to those who are greatly distressed. Lying on the ground in the shade of the woods in bloom, **he seemed to be lifted up to the stars in a wain of fire**, just as the sacred books tell of Elijah…
Quo uero arcanorum plenior cercior que animos erigas **uidens hoc rubens pla[u]strum quo uectatus in cellam** omnem terre molis conglobacionem oramque hanc olim tuam conspicaris inuictissime glorie presagium est.	And so that you have greater certainty of these arcane things, **behold this red wain that brought you into the heavens**. From it you can see the whole globe and the region that one day will be yours. It is an omen of undefeated glory.
Cuius quidem auspicijs uelut cuncta ignis absumit, sic hostes indefecta uirtute comminues.	Through the protection of this wain, as the fire that consumes everything, you will annihilate your enemies with courage that will never fail you…
Hoc **triumphalium ducum summa ad capitolia uehiculum** hoc racione perpetuum felicitatis indicium. **Hoc reges ducesque cum populis romanis misit ad pompam.** Hoc magnificentie splendore clarorum animos uirorum rem que ciuilem ausit et erexit.	This **vehicle** [wain] **of victorious military leaders [on their way] to the summit of the [Roman] Capitol** is consequently an everlasting sign of success. This [wain] **brought kings and military leaders to processions with the Roman people.** This [wain], by the splendor of its greatness, augmented and lifted up the spirits of famous men and also [augmented and lifted up] the state.
Huius itaque simulacrum moneo successuris insigne nepotibus sacrum stet… Arbitrantur hinc gentis **insigne quasi tractum habitum que celitum** nutu alii uero quoniam opera plaustrificij summa nobilitas delitescens faustos adeo euentus sortita fuisset, in perpetua ellementorum generis monimenta susceptum seruatumque.[22]	Therefore I order that its image become the sacred insignia [i.e. coat of arms] of succession for your descendants… Some think that from this [vision] came the **insignia** [i.e. the red wain] of the family, given and received **from the heavens**…[23]

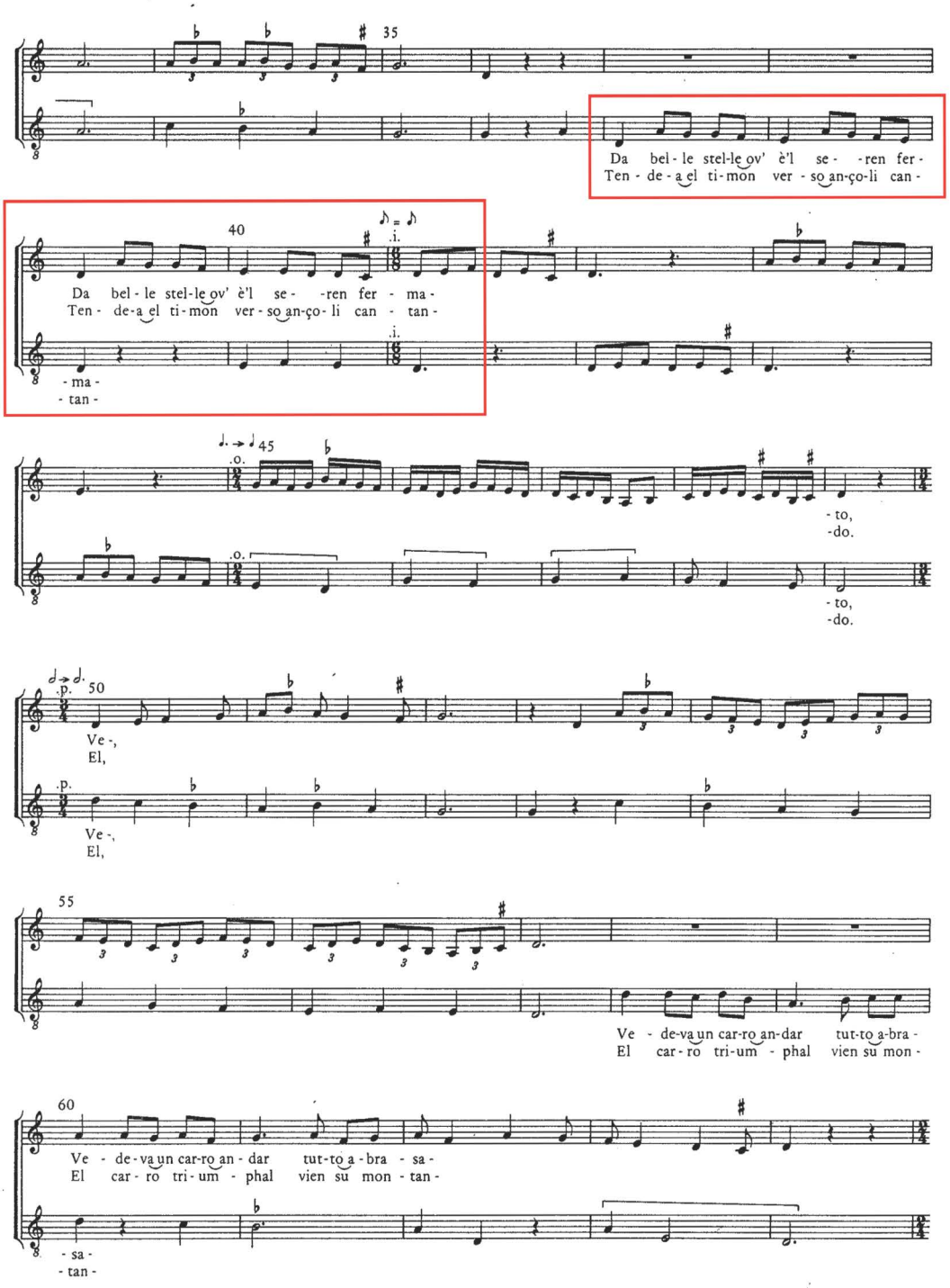
[22] *L'origine della famiglia di Carrara*, 47, 49.
[23] The English translation is my own.

Ciconia's music also uses sudden changes of texture and repetition to enhance the *Per quella strada* narrative: short bursts of syllabic declamation, often reiterated, punctuate a predominately melismatic texture. Shifts from florid writing to rapid declamation are a standard feature of the Trecento madrigal. In this instance, the sudden change of texture draws the listener's attention to the chariot-wain and its triumphal ascent. See Example 5.1, where passages of syllabic declamation are marked with boxes.

Example 5.1 Ciconia, *Per quella strada* (madrigal)[24]



[24] *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Bent and Hallmark, 123-124.


35
Da bel - le stel-le ov' è'l se - -ren fer -
Ten - de - a el ti - mon ver - so an-ço-li can -
40
Da bel - le stel-le ov' è'l se - -ren fer - ma -
Ten - de-a el ti - mon ver - so an-ço-li can - tan -
- ma -
- tan -
45
- to,
-do.
- to,
-do.
50
Ve -,
El,
Ve -,
El,
55
Ve - de-va un car-ro an-dar tut-to a-bra -
El car - ro tri-um - phal vien su mon -
60
Ve - de-va un car-ro an - dar tut-to a - bra - sa -
El car - ro tri-um - phal vien su mon - tan -
- sa -
- tan -

I suggest that Conversini, or someone close to him, authored the *Per quella strada* text. Or perhaps Ciconia himself wrote it, with access to some version of Conversini's *Familie.* There is no documentary evidence that directly links the two men, but they were, so to speak, in the right place at the right time, and shared at least two mutual acquaintances. Conversini's second sojourn in Padua—from 1393 to 1401—overlapped with Ciconia's stay there from ca. 1401-1412. Moreover, Conversini worked at the Carrara chancery alongside a former student, Pierpaolo Vergerio (ca. 1370-1444), who in 1401 served as first witness for two documents concerning Ciconia's first benefice in Padua.[25] Conversini also knew Ciconia's patron at the Padua Cathedral, Francesco Zabarella (1360-1417).[26]

Although the *Familie* itself was not "published" until 1404, shortly after Conversini settled in Venice, he may have circulated a relatively polished draft of it among Paduan humanists like Vergerio, Zabarella, and even Ciconia himself as early as 1401. Indeed, Vergerio's own chronicle of the Carrara family (*De principibus Carrariensibus*), written between 1403 and 1405, cites several passages from the *Familie*,[27] and discusses their Carolingian origins. Other humanists and at least one Carrara family member had eagerly awaited its appearance for two decades. In 1385 and ca. 1390, respectively, Marco Giustiniani and Conte da Carrara—a *condottiero* and

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[25] Dated 11 and 14, July, 1401. Hallmark, "Johannes Ciconia," 269.
[26] Benjamin Kohl, "The Works of Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna: A Catalogue of Manuscripts and Editions," *Traditio* 31 (1975): 362, 364. Three letters from Conversini to Zabarella survive. For more on the activities of Conversini, Vergerio, Zabarella, and other humanists active in and around the Carrara court, see idem., *Padua under the Carrara, 1318-1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
[27] On Vergerio's knowledge of the *Familie,* see Kohl, "Chronicles," 231, 244.

illegitimate son of Francesco il Vecchio—both asked Conversini for a copy, though in vain.[28]

In any case, the *Familie Carrariensis natio* is important for two reasons: 1) it is the first known humanistic text that explicitly associates the Carrara family with Charlemagne; and 2) it provides a demonstrable "Carolingian" context for at least one of Ciconia's works—which strengthens the claim (advanced by Pierluigi Petrobelli, Anne Hallmark, and especially Jason Stoessel) that *Per quella strada* was performed in November 1401, when the Holy Roman Emperor-Elect, Rupert of Bavaria (1352-1410), granted Francesco il Novello the title of Imperial Captain.[29] But in order to find further connections between Charlemagne, Ciconia, and the Carrara, we must turn our gaze to the stars.

In two recent studies, Jason Stoessel linked *Per quella strada* to "a culture of astrological allusions emanating from the Carrara court, known to poets, composers, painters, and illuminators celebrating the family hegemony"[30] (properly speaking, these are astronomical rather than astrological allusions). In particular, Stoessel proposed that

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[28] Benjamin Kohl, "The Manuscript Tradition of Some Works of Giovanni da Ravenna," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis: Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Amsterdam, 19-24 August, 1973*, ed. P. Tuynman, G.C. Kuiper, and Eckhard Kessler (Munich: W. Fink, 1979), 617; Kohl, "Chronicles," 227-28. Conversini refused Conte because he felt that his teaching duties had not allowed him enough time to revise the work.

[29] See Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 99-100; Hallmark, "*Protector*," 165; and Stoessel, "A Wain," 2-3, 9-11.

[30] Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo fra più stelle*: The Illuminator of Mod A," *The Journal of Musicology* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 34; Stoessel, "A Wain," 4-12.

the first tercet—"through that milky way of heaven, where serenity is fixed among fair stars I saw a chariot go all ablaze"—conflates the Big Dipper, a seven-star asterism[31] in the constellation *Ursa major,* with the Carrara chariot; for, in classical and medieval writings (such as Dante's *Divina Commedia*), our contemporary Big Dipper was most often known as *Il carro* in Italian and *currus* or *plaustrum* (i.e. wagon, wain) in Latin. See Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5 Ursa Major and the Big Dipper (in red).[32]

[31] An asterism is a group of stars that may be part of a fixed constellation or consists of stars from several constellations.

[32] Screenshot (slightly modified) from Fabien Chéreau and Guillaume Chéreau, *Stellarium Web Online Star Map*, https://stellarium-web.org, accessed April 15, 2021. See also G. Zotti, S.M. Hoffmann, A. Wolf, F. & G. Chéreau, "The Simulated Sky: Stellarium for Cultural Astronomy Research, *Journal of Skyscape and Archeaology* 6, no. 2 (2021): 221-58.

In support of this, Stoessel adduces another "Carrara" madrigal, *Inperiale sedendo*, believed to be by Bartolino da Padova. (See Table 5.5 for the text of *Inperiale.*) In one manuscript source for the madrigal—Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria α.M.5.24 (hereafter Mod A)—seven stars are painted in the illuminated initial of the Cantus part, above the Carrara crest, a Saracen with gold wings. See Figure 5.6.

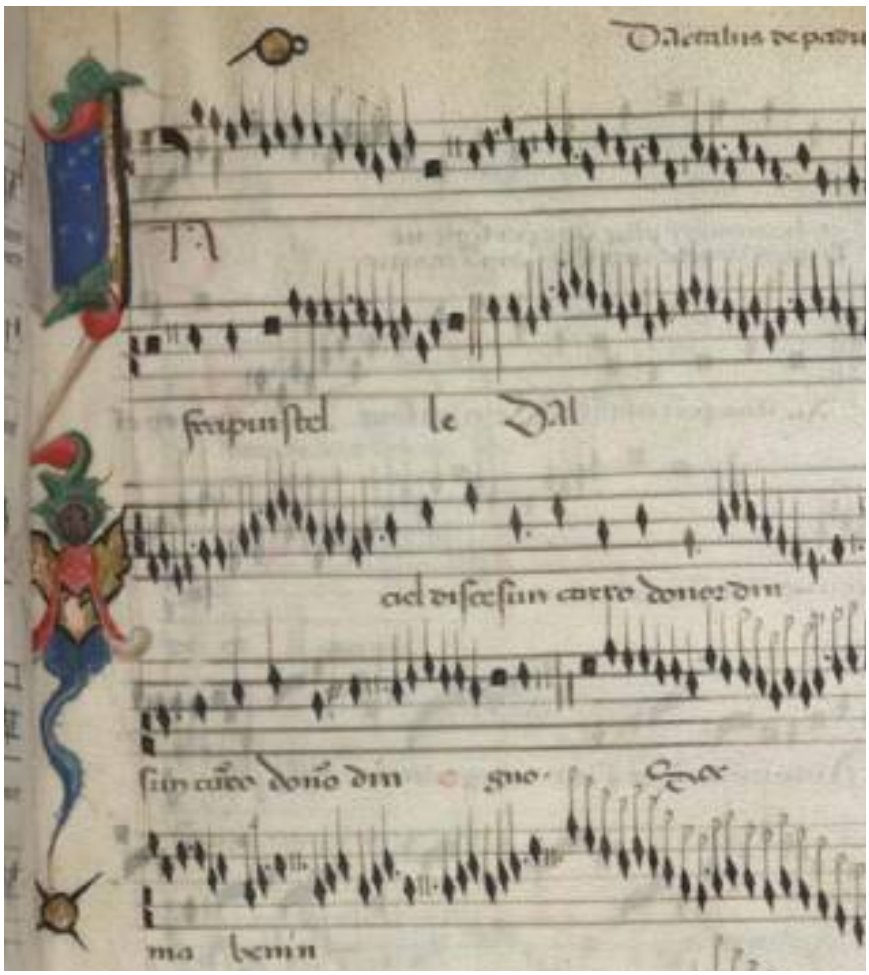

Figure 5.6 *Inperiale sedendo* (cantus part) with the Big Dipper asterism. Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (Mod A), fol. 31r. Imaging by DIAMM. Used with permission.

Table 5.5 *Inperiale sedendo* (madrigal text, first tercet and ritornello)[33]

Inperiale sedendo fra sedendo fra piu stelle Dal ciel descese un carro d'onor degno Sotto un segnor d'ogn'altro ma benegno…	Imperial, sitting among **many stars**, a **wain** descended from the **heavens**, worthy of honor, beneath a lord kinder than any other…
Nel meço un saracin con l'ale d'oro Tene 'l fabricator de so thesoro.	In the middle a Saracen with gold wings Held the maker of his treasure.

With the help of contemporaneous star maps, Stoessel concludes that the seven stars do in fact depict the *carro-plaustrum* asterism in what is known as external projection.[34] Further allusions in the madrigal's text to a heavenly chariot-wain and the Carrara crest leave little doubt that the illuminator equated the *carro* asterism to the Carrara chariot device.

Stoessel notes further allusions to the heavenly chariot and the Carrara family in two Ciconia motets. In *O Padua sidus preclarum,* Padua is called a "bright constellation, supported by shining Boötes," an adjacent constellation.[35] One strain of classical and medieval astronomy portrays Boötes as the driver of his nearby wain, *plaustrum.*[36] The second motet, *O felix templum,* addresses the motet's dedicatee, Stefano da Carrara, Bishop of Padua and illegitimate son of Francesco il Novello, as *genitoris… plaustriger*

[33] Edited and translated in Stoessel, "A Wain," 2.
[34] On external projection, see Stoessel, "A Wain," 5: "It is shown in both Modena A and the three star maps discussed above drawn in what is called external projection, that is, following the cartographical practice whereby a constellation is drawn from the perspective opposite to that of an earth-bound viewer of the celestial orb: a so-called 'God-view'."
[35] Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy," 112.
[36] Stoessel, "A Wain," 10-11.

illustrissime—or, "most illustrious wain-driver of your father")[37]—who has, moreover, "prepared a way to the stars."[38]

In his *Familie Carrariensis natio,* Conversini also writes about how Landolfo received the Carrara family emblem "from the heavens" (*celitum*). If Conversini is alluding to the *carro-plaustrum* asterism, then he has implicitly linked it not only to the Carrara family device, but to Charlemagne as well. Considering the pivotal role that Charlemagne played in Carrara family history, I suspect that Conversini was not the only writer, visual artist, or composer at the Carrara court to do so. In fact, I wonder whether the Carrara cultivated another, primarily English association between Charlemagne and the *carro-plaustrum* asterism as a potent symbol of their family origins. English sources dating back to ca.1000 refer to the asterism as *Caroli plaustrum,* or in the vernacular, Charlemagne's Wain. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the so-called

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[37] Stoessel, "Arms," 32.

[38] Stoessel, "Music, Imagination and Place in Late Medieval Music at Padua," (paper, 32nd National Conference of the Musicological Society of Australia, Newcastle, Australia, September 27, 2009), 10, https://www.academia.edu/1705063/Music_Imagination_and_Place_in_Late_Medieval_Music_at_Padua. The text is:

Tu genitoris Stephane,
o **plaustriger illustrissime**
virtutes splendidissime
sunt tuis factis consone…

fano novo et multis aris
superis quas dedicasti
ad astra iter iam parasti
tibi et cuncti tui laris.

"Charles-Wain-Star" (*carle wensterre* or *carwaynesterre*) may also refer to Arcturus, the brightest star in Boötes.[39] See Figure 5.7.

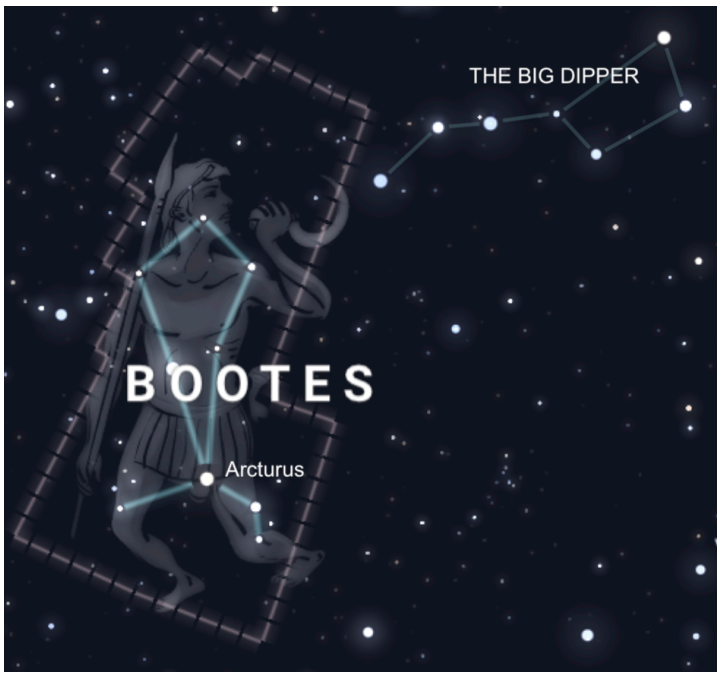

Figure 5.7 Boötes and *Plaustrum* (the Big Dipper).[40]

The Carrara—or for that matter, Ciconia—may have learned about Charlemagne's Wain from numerous English scholars, officials, and musicians who exerted a considerable influence on Paduan cultural and intellectual life. Even in the early fifteenth century, the University of Padua was regarded as the Italian center of English scholastic

[39] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Charles's Wain," accessed December 1, 2020, https://www-oed-com.ezp.lib.rochester.edu/view/Entry/30751?result=1&rskey=tYj0p6&: "The name appears to arise out of the verbal association of Arthur and Charlemagne; so that what was originally the wain of Arcturus or Boötes… became at length the wain of Carl or Charlemagne."

[40] Screenshot (slightly modified) from Chéreau and Chéreau, *Stellarium Web*, https://stellarium-web.org, accessed April 15, 2021. Used with permission.

philosophy. English music was also transmitted in Bologna Q15 and other important early fifteenth century sources from the Veneto.[41]

So far I have found no explicit links between Charlemagne's celestial Wain, the Charles-Wain-Star (*Arcturus*), and the Carrara *carro.* Perhaps this is not surprising in a culture so enamored of symbolism and allusion. Further examination of Italian literary, visual-artistic, and, above all, musical sources may yet reveal an explicit connection.

Fortunately, there exists a link between the Carrara *carro* and a more earthly wain of Charlemagne, this time in a manuscript long known by scholars of the chivalric epic. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. Francese Z. 21 (257) contains the sole surviving copy of the *Entrée d'Espagne,* one of the earliest offshoots of the *Song of Roland* to be written in the Franco-Venetian dialect. (The author, perhaps Giovanni da Nono, is thought to have been from Padua.) André de Mandach, a noted scholar of the chivalric epic, has demonstrated that the Venice manuscript was probably copied for Francesco il Vecchio.[42] He notes that a significant number of its 375 miniatures depict wains, even though the epic's text does not necessarily refer to them. One example, on fol. 140v, portrays a mobile fortress that Charlemagne has built for the final assault on Pamplona. See Figure 5.8.

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[41] For more on Bologna Q15 and its repertoire, see Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, 2 vols., Nuova serie 2 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2008).

[42] André de Mandach, "Chanson de geste et héraldique: Francesco Gonzaga de Mantoue, le voleur de l'*Entrée d'Espagne* Venice fr. XXI des Carrara?," in *Echoes of the Epic: Studies in Honor of Gerald J. Brault*, ed. David P. Schenck and Mary Jane Schenck (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1998), 161-173.

Figure 5.8 *Entrée d'Espagne*. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Francese Z. 21 (257), fol. 140v. Used with permission.

No other known manuscripts of chivalric epic poetry are illuminated with wains, leading Mandach to conclude that those in the Venice manuscript were inserted in homage to the Carrara. If this is the case, then the Carrara *carro* becomes indelibly linked with Charlemagne not only in writing and music, but in iconography as well.

Given the importance of Charlemagne for the Carrara dynasty in Padua—and in Ciconia's music for the Carrara—I propose that Ciconia's *Nova musica* may have been written between circa 1401 and 1405 at least in part to curry favor with the Carrara family. Ciconia was newly arrived in Padua, and surely wished to show off his considerable musical erudition, especially if he hoped to keep up with the heady assemblage of humanists—which included Conversini and Vergerio—at the Carrara court. Neither surviving source of *Nova musica* includes a dedication (let alone an ascription), but this is not surprising given that Ciconia undoubtedly wished his treatise to outlast the fall of the Carrara in 1405. (Both manuscripts were almost certainly copied after 1405.)

Ciconia's apparent devotion to the Carrara must also be understood within the context of his own origins. Ciconia is called a "citizen of Liège" in multiple Paduan documents, as well as in the preface to his second music-theoretical work, *De proportionibus* (1411). Liège owed its allegiance to the Holy Roman Emperor, and was, according to local legend, the birth- and deathplace of Charlemagne. Consequently, both Ciconia and the Carrara must have regarded Charlemagne as an important part of their heritage. Indeed, the Carrara may have valued Ciconia precisely because he himself—as a citizen of Liège—served as yet another symbolic link to their Carolingian past.

One passage from *Nova musica* may shed light on Ciconia's dual identity as a Liègeois citizen and Carrara devotee. See Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 *Nova musica*, Book 2, Chapter 12 ("On the Addition of Four Tones to Eight")[43]

Unde pius Augustus paterque patrie nostre imperator Karolus quatuor augeri iussit quorum nomina sunt hec: Anan, nonoeane, noannoeane, noeane.	On which account, the just and venerable emperor and father of our homeland, Charlemagne, ordered that four be added, of which the names are these: Anan, nonoeane, noannoeane, noeane.

In a chapter about the eight church modes, Ciconia—citing a unique variant[44] from Aurelian of Réôme's ninth-century treatise, *Musica disciplina*—calls Charlemagne *pius Augustus paterque nostre imperator karolus*—"the just and venerable emperor and *father of our homeland*, Charlemagne."[45] This passage generated confusion among musicologists like Suzanne Clercx-Lejeune and Oliver Ellsworth, who thought it "would be strange for an audience in Padua to regard Charlemagne as the father of their country."[46] Ciconia's choice, however, was very likely deliberate: Charlemagne, as the supposed progenitor of the Carrara clan, was as much a father of their homeland as he was of Liège. In this regard, it is also significant that Ciconia chose not to acknowledge Aurelian's authorship of the passage, perhaps because he was not aware of it—or perhaps because it would undermine his topical reference to the Carrara. Ciconia's emphasis on

[43] Ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 262-63.
[44] Ciconia's citation of the unique variant was discovered by Barbara Haggh-Huglo. See "Ciconia's Citations," 51.
[45] Ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 262-263.
[46] Ellsworth, "The Life of Ciconia and the Dating of His Theoretical Works," in *Nova musica*, 7.

the dual "homelands" of Padua and Liège also lends an air of geographical specificity that is lacking in other Carolingian and even humanist texts. For example, other sources of Aurelian's treatise call Charlemagne *pater totius orbis*—"father of the whole world." Similarly, Conversini's *Familie Carrariensis natio* uses the term *cosmarcha* to describe him.[47] With the substitution of the crucial phrase "father of our *homeland,*" however, Ciconia has designated Liège and Padua as two privileged *loci* in Charlemagne's "global" empire.

Italian Humanism and the Carolingians

Let us return to the conundrum posed at the beginning of this chapter. *Nova musica* seems to endorse the central tenet of Italian humanism: neo-classicism. Like contemporary humanist writings, *Nova musica* incorporates classical rhetorical devices, proposes a large-scale renovation of "antique" musical authority, and names no authors or repertories more recent than the eleventh century. But is it truly a product of humanistic reforms if many of its authorities are Carolingian rather than "classical"?

As this chapter has demonstrated, Ciconia could indulge in his own fascination with Carolingian and Post-Carolingian music theory precisely because it so closely aligned with the Carolingian identity of the Carrara lords—an identity that humanists like Pierpaolo Vergerio and especially Giovanni Conversini helped cultivate. Furthermore, the literary tastes of Vergerio, Conversini, and others of their generation were far more eclectic than those of humanists active in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They

[47] "Cosmarcha" is a Latin term of Greek origin that (according to the Oxford English Dictionary) has no English equivalent. Conversini uses it in the sense of "ruler of the whole world."

emulated Cicero, Quintilian, and other "Golden Age" authors; encylopedists such as Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636); the church fathers, the Carolingians, and even the chivalric epic with equal aplomb. Ciconia's use of Carolingian and Post-Carolingian models was therefore perfectly legitimate within the context of contemporaneous humanist revivals.

The Carolingian legacy extended well beyond the confines of Padua. Even if Quattrocento humanists occasionally expressed disdain for the chivalric epics about Charlemagne and Roland, they could not escape their immense influence on Italian culture. Like nearly all of their Italian compatriots, they read them, heard *canterini* declaim them in piazzas, or composed them. (Indeed, as historian Paul Grendler notes, such chivalric epics "probably comprised the largest measurable corpus of secular vernacular literature to be found in the Renaissance.")[48] For example, Andrea da Barberino's *Reali di Francia*, the most significant Italian epic of the early Quattrocento, attempts to trace Charlemagne's origins to the Roman emperor Constantine, and even tells the story of his conception in a wain (*carro*). Barberino's genealogical epic anticipates more traditional historical chronicles like the mid-century *Life of Charlemagne* (ca. 1462) by Florentine humanist Donato Acciaiuoli (1429-1478).

What is more, the libraries of Petrarch, Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, and Niccolò Niccoli contained a significant number of Carolingian and Post-Carolingian manuscripts. Many of these transmitted lost works of Cicero, Quintilian, and other

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[48] Paul F. Grendler, "Chivalric Romances in the Italian Renaissance," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (1988): 59.

classical authors. Indeed, the famed copy of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, which Bracciolini discovered at St. Gall in 1416, dates from the 10th century. But if the contents of the newly discovered manuscripts attracted Trecento and early Quattrocento humanists, so did the Carolingian minuscule with which they were written. Petrarch and his followers—chief among them Giovanni Malpaghini and Salutati—tentatively began to incorporate elements of these scripts into their own handwriting. By the first decade of the fifteenth century, Niccolò Niccoli and Poggio—both disciples of Salutati in turn—had developed fully-fledged humanistic scripts based upon their Carolingian and Post-Carolingian exemplars.

Of course, we may never know how old the early humanists judged these manuscripts or their scripts to be. In the words of distinguished paleographer James Wardrop: "It is scarcely to be supposed that Niccolò Niccoli or Poggio believed the St. Gall manuscripts to have been written by the contemporares of Cicero; but at any rate those lay closet to the classical world whose spirit they were so zealously bent on resurrecting, and the script was for that reason venerable and good."[49] As demonstrated in this chapter, Ciconia's authorities, although not "classical" in the typical sense, were just as "venerable and good"—and carefully chosen, moreover, to glorify the Carolingian heritage of both his native and adopted lands.

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[49] *The Script of Humanism: Some Aspects of Humanistic Script, 1450-1560* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 4-5.

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined some of the ways in which Ciconia revived "the ancient music… in a new style"[1] to create a "New Music" more sweeping in scope than that of any other art.[2] In order to realize his goal, Ciconia heavily utilized not only "ancient" music-theoretical authorities, but grammar and rhetoric textbooks as well. Ciconia used these textbooks to forge more than a symbolic alliance between music and the so-called "literary" arts of the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic)—or even to legitimize the novel system of musical accidents and declensions that he conceived "in imitation of the art of grammar."[3] He adapted their hierarchical framework as a model to compose new monophonic or polyphonic works. Indeed, Ciconia's methods parallel those of visual artists in his Paduan orbit, who emulated similar grammatical and rhetorical models to create new paintings or sculptures. Like other humanists in his Paduan network, moreover, Ciconia heavily relied upon Carolingian and Post-Carolingian sources. Ciconia likely appropriated these sources in part to curry favor with the Carrara Lords of Padua, influential patrons of humanism and the arts who claimed their descent from the Carolingians.

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[1] "Musicam antiquam antiquorum… novo stilo renovere cupimus." *Nova musica*, ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 52-53.
[2] Cf. ibid., Prologue to Book 4, 362-63: "What more? Behold, therefore, the art that was long veiled now shall shine and hold the scepter among the seven arts."
[3] "Quis enim auctorum ad exemplum grammatice artis declinationes musice que sunt in cantibus invenit?" Ibid., Prologue to Book 1, 52-53.

These conclusions have numerous implications. In the field of musicology, they raise the possibility that humanist thinking inflected the work of other music theorists. This dissertation offers a possible template for further investigation along those lines. They also suggest that Ciconia's ideas about modeling influenced his compositional thinking, and this provides an additional avenue for the analysis of his musical works. Furthermore, these conclusions encourage musicologists to reconsider the nature and scope *imitatio* (especially with regard to what constitutes a properly "classical" model) in the early fifteenth century. Finally, the findings of this dissertation support a growing consensus among scholars in other fields that humanism extended far beyond rhetoric and the public forum to encompass not only the realm of literature but the visual and performing arts as well.

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Appendix 1

Examples of the *Chreia*

1. Anonymous (Pseudo-Cicero), *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV.XLIV.57 (Harvard Loeb Edition and Translation)

The following, then will illustrate a treatment in seven parts—to continue the use of the same theme for my example, in order that you may know how easily, by the precepts of rhetoric, a simple idea is developed in a multiple manner.

The wise man will, on the republic's behalf, shun no peril [*theme, simply expressed*]. Because it may often happen that if a man has been loath to perish for his country it will be necessary for him to perish with her. Further, since it is from our country that we receive all our advantages, no disadvantage incurred on her behalf is to be regarded as severe [*reasons*].

I say, then, that they who flee from peril to be undergone on behalf of the republic act foolishly [*expression of theme in a new form*], for they cannot avoid the disadvantages, and are found guilty of ingratitude towards the state [*reasons*].

But on the other hand, they who, with peril to themselves, confront the perils of the fatherland, are to be considered wise, since they render to their country the homage due her, and prefer to die for many of their fellow citizens instead of with them. For it is extremely unjust to give back to nature, when she compels, the life you have received from nature, and not to give to your country, when she calls for it, the life you have preserved thanks to your country [reference to Cicero, *Phil.* 10.10.20.]; and when you can die for fatherland with the greatest manliness and honor, to prefer to live in disgrace and cowardice; and when you are willing to face danger for friends and parents and your other kin, to refuse to run the risk for the republic, which embraces all these and that most holy name of fatherland as well [*argument from the contrary*].

He who in voyage prefers his own to his vessel's security, deserves contempt. No less blameworthy is he who in a crisis of the republic consults his own in preference to the common safety. For from the wreck of a ship many of those on board escape unharmed, but from the wreck of the fatherland no one can swim to safety [*argument by comparison*].

It is this that, in my opinion, Decius well understood, who is said to have devoted himself to death, and, in order to save his legions, to have plunged into the midst of the enemy. He gave up his life, but did not throw it away; for at the cost of a very cheap good he redeemed a sure good, of a small good, the greatest good. He gave his life, and received his country in exchange. He lost his life, and gained glory, which, transmitted with highest praise, shines more and more every day as time goes on [*argument from example and testimony of antiquity*].

But if reason has shown and illustration confirmed that it is fitting to confront danger in defense of the republic, they are to be esteemed wise who do not shrink from any peril when the security of the fatherland is at stake [*conclusion*].

It is of these types, then, that Refining consists. I have been led to discuss it at rather great length because it not only gives force and distinction to the speech when we plead a cause, but it is by far our most important means of training for skill in style. It will be advantageous therefore to practice the principles of Refining in exercises divorced from a real cause, and in actual pleading to put them to use in the Embellishment of an argument, which I discussed in Book II.

Sapiens nullum pro re publica periculum vitabit ideo quod saepe, cum pro re publica perire noluerit, necesse erit cum re publica pereat; et quoniam omnia sunt commode a patria accepta, nullum incommodum pro patria grave putandum est.

Ergo qui fugiunt id periculum quod pro re publica subeundum est stulte faciunt; nam neque effugere incommode possunt et ingrati in civitatem reperiuntur. At qui patriae pericula suo periculo expetunt, hi sapientes putandi sunt, cum et eum quem debent honorem rei publicae reddunt, et pro multis perire malunt quam cum multis. Etenim vehementer est iniquum vitam, quam a natura acceptam propter patriam conservaris, naturae cum cogat reddere, patriae cum roget non dare; et cum possis cum summa virtute et honore pro patria interire, malle per dedecus et ignaviam vivere; et cum pro amicis et parentibus et ceteris necesariis adire periculum velis, pro re publica, in qua et hae et illud sanctissimum patriae nomen continetur, nolle in discrimen venire.

Ita uti contemnendus est qui in navigio non navem quam se mavult incolumem, item vituperandus qui in rei publicae discrimine suae plus quam communi saluti consulit. Navi enim fracta multi incolumes evaserunt; ex naufragio patriae salvus nemo potest enatare.

Quod mihi bene videtur Decius intellexisse, qui se devovisse dicitur et pro legionibus in hostes immisisse medios. Amisit vitam, at non perdidit. Re enim vilissima certam et parva maximam redemit. Vitam dedit, accepit patriam; amisit animam, potitus est gloriam, quae cum summa laude prodita vetustate cotidie magis enitescit.

Quodsi pro re publica decere accedere periculum et ratione demonstratum est et exemplo conprobatum, ii sapientes sunt existimandi qui nullum pro salute patriae periculum vitant.

In his igitur generibus expolitio versatur; de qua producti sumus ut plura diceremus quod non modo cum causam dicimus adiuvat et exornat orationem, sed multo maxime per eam exercemur ad elocutionis facultatem. Quare convenient extra causam in exercendo rationes adhibere expolitionis, in dicendo uti cum exornabimus argumentationem, qua de re diximus in libro secundo.

2. Johannes Ciconia, *Nova musica*, 1.60 (ed. and trans. Ellsworth, 210-217)

Just as the ancient authors in the beginning of writing first invented letters, after letters syllables, after syllables parts, and from the parts they composed written works and books, so the ancient musicians, having imitated the same reasoning, first invented *ptongi*, after *ptongi* syllables, after syllables parts, and from the parts they constructed song and music. They invented fifteen *ptongi*, by which the union of harmonies is composed by a rational quantity of sounds, as from proslambanomenos to nete hyperbolaion. For which reason we believe it not to be off the topic [*ab re*] if we show—according to the transmitted doctrine of the authors—how many modes there may be that are joined by them. There are fifteen, like the fifteen *ptongi* of sounds. The first of these is the semitone, as in hypate hypaton to parhypate hypaton; the second the tone, as in proslambanomenos to hypate hypaton; the third the semiditone, as in proslambanomenos to parhypate hypaton; the fourth the ditone, as in parhypate hypaton to hypate meson; the first the diatessaron, as in prolambanomenos to lichanos hypaton; and the sixth the minor diapente, as in hypate hypaton to parhypate meson or hypate meson to trite synemmenon. Concerning this, it is stated in the *Musica syllabarum*: The mode that consists of two tones and two semitones is found songs, but rarely. It is called the minor diapente because it is less than a full diapente, since the latter consists of three tones and semitone, the former of two tones and two semitones. The seventh mode is the tritone, which consists of three tones, as in parhypate meson to paramese. The eighth is the major—that is, the full—diapente, as in prolambanomenos to hypate meson. The ninth is the minor hexad, which consists of three tones and two semitones, as in hypate meson to trite diezeugmenon. The tenth is the major hexad, which consists of four tones and a semitone, as in parhypate hypaton to mese or lichanos meson to nete diezeugmenon. The eleventh is the heptad, which consists of four tones and two semitones, as in lichanos hypaton to trite diezeugmenon. The twelfth is the diapason, as in proslambanomenos to mese. The thirteenth is the diapason-diatessaron, as in proslambanomenos to paranete diezeugmenon. The fourteenth is the diapason-diapente, as in prolambanomenos to nete diezeugmenon. The fifteenth is the double diapason, as in prolambanomenos to nete byperbolaion. Therefore, there are fifteen modes of conjunctions, just as fifteen *ptongi* of sounds have been established by the authors. Some of these are syllables, others parts. The syllables are the tone, semitone, ditone, and semiditone. The parts are the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente, and double diapason. The remaining ones—that is, the minor diapente, tritone, minor hexad, major hexad, and heptad—the authors presented in rules and songs in the same manner as the others on which we reported above. The minor diapente in the *Musica syllabarum* is presented in the rules. Bernard established the tritone, the minor hexad, and the major hexad. Boethius and Remigius invented the heptad. In short, lest they be rejected by those less competent or by the Guidonists, who say that the conjunctions of pitches are made in only six modes. let us make known where they may be found in songs. The minor diapente is in the Antiphon *Isti sunt sancti qui habebant loricas* in this place: "et clamabant voce magna dicentes 'Sanctus,'" as in hypate meson to trite synemmenon. The tritone is in the Responsory *Isti sunt dies* in this place: "debetis temporibus suis," as

in parhypate meson to paramese. The minor hexad in the Antiphon *Ego sum Deus partum vestrorum* in this place: "dicit Dominus videns," as in hypate meson to trite diezeugmenon. The major hexad is in the Gradual *Protector noster aspice*, as in parhypate hypaton to mese. The heptad is in the Responsory *Ecce eicies me hodie* in this place: "omnis qui invenerit me occident me," as in lichanos meson to trite hyperbolaion. Therefore, let the ignorance of the Guidonists cease, since the wisdom of the authors and the ancient authority of their refrains has convicted of folly—if I may say so—those who say that the conjunctions of pitches are made in only six modes.

Quemadmodum enim antiqui auctores in exordio scripturarum primum litteras invenerunt, post litteras sillabas, post sillabas partes, de partibus vero scripturas et libros composuerunt, ita antiqui musici, eandem rationem imitati, primum ptongo invenerunt, post ptongos sillabas, post sillabas partes, de partibus vero cantum et musicam construxerunt. Nam quindecim ptongos invenerunt, per quos armoniarum concentus rationabili quantitate sonorum componitur, ut a prolambanomenos usque ad nete hyperboleon. Quapropter non ab re esse credimus si iuxta traditiones auctorum ostendamus quot sint modi qui per eos coniunguntur. Sunt enim quindecim sicut quindecim ptongi sonorum. Quorum primus semitonium est, ut hypate hypaton ad parhypate hypaton. Secundus tonus, ut prolambanomenos ad hypate hypaton. Tertius semiditonus, ut proslambanemenos ad parhypate hypaton. Quartus ditonus, ut parhypate hypaton ad hypate meson. Quintus diatessaron, ut proslambanomenos ad lychanos hypaton. Sextus diapente minor, ut hypate hypaton ad parhypate meson, vel hypate meson ad trite synemenon. De quo dicitur in Musica sillabarum: Modus qui constat ex duobus tonis et duobus semitoniis invenitur in cantibus, sed raro. Nam ideo nuncupatur diapente minor, eo quod sit minus diapente plena, cum illa constet tribus tonis et semitonio, hec autem duobus tonis et duobus semitoniis. Septimus vero modus est tritonus, qui constat tribus tonis, ut parhypate meson ad paramese. Octavus diapente maior, id est plena, ut proslambanomenos ad hypate meson. Nonus exaden minor, qui constat tribus tonis et duobus semitoniis, ut hypate meson ad trite diezeugmenon. Decimus exaden maior, qui constat quatuor tonis et semitonio, ut parhypate hypaton ad mesen, vel lychanos meson ad nete diezeugmeon. Undecimus eptaden, qui constat ex quatuor tonis et duobus semitoniis, ut lychanos hyptaon ad trite diezeugmenon. Duodecimus diapason, ut proslambanomenos ad mesen. Tertiusdecimus diapason diatessaron, ut proslambanomenos ad paranete diezeugmenon. Quartusdecimus bis diapason, ut proslambanomenos ad nete hyperboleon. Igitur quindecim sunt modi coniunctionem, sicut quindecim ptongi sonorum constituti ab auctoribus. Ex quibus alii sunt sillabe, alii vero partes. Sillabe sunt tonus, semitonium, ditonus, et semiditonus. Partes autem sunt diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason diatessaron, diapason diapente, bis diapason. Reliquos vero, id est diapente minorem, tritonum, exaden minorem, exaden maiorem, et eptaden, eodemmodo auctores dederunt in regulis et cantibus quemadmodum et ceteros de quibus supra retulimus. Nam diapente minor in Musica sillabarum datur in regulis. Bernardus vero constituit tritonum et exaden minorem et exaden maiorem. Boetius autem et Remigius invenerunt eptaden. Denique

ut non repudientur a minus capacibus neque a Guidonistis, qui dicunt coniunctiones vocum solummodo sex modis fieri, ideo notificemus in quibus cantibus reperiantur. Igitur de pluribus pauca apponam. Diapente minor est in antiphona Isti sunt sancti qui habebant loricas in eo loco et clamabant voce magna dicentes Sanctus ut hypate meson ad trite synemenon. Tritonus vero est in responsorio Isti sunt dies in eo loco debetis temporibus suis ut parhypate meson ad paramese. Exaden minor in antiphona Ego sum Deus partum vestrorum in eo loco dicit Dominus videns ut hypate meson a trite diezeugmenon. Exaden maior est in Graduale Protector noster aspice ut parhypate hypaton ad mese. Eptaden est in responsorio Ecce eicies me hodie in eo loco Omnis qui invenerit me occidet me ut lychanos meson ad trite hyperboleon. Igitur conticescat ignorantia Guidonistarum, quoniam auctorum prudentia et antiqua auctoritas cantilenarum convincunt eorum ut ita dicam insaniam qui dicunt coniunctiones vocum solummodo sex modis fieri.

Appendix 2

Ciconia's Statements about the *Guidonistae*[1]

***Nova musica*, 1.20** ("On the Three Types of Monochords")

> **(pp. 88-89)** So, therefore, the greater ignorance of all the Guidonists is proven, through the prudence of Boethius, by means of these three types [of monochords], which they took over from many authorities of ancient refrains without sound understanding. Therefore, O prudent reader, if in any song the position of the tones is changed to the locations of the semitones or the order of the semitones is altered to the locations of the tones, you will not have changed the ancient, well-established refrain on the spot until you have tested it by each of the monochords and have the proven truth…
>
> [Sic itaque omnis Guidonistarum magis ignorantia convincitur Boetii prudentia per hec tria genera qui multam antiquarum cantilenarum auctoritatem usurpaverunt non sano intellectu. Igitur, o prudens lector, in quocumque cantu positio tonorum in loco semitoniorum permutatur vel semitoniorum ordo in locis tonorum variatur, non ilico antiquam cantilenam bene moratam permutaveris, donec per unumquemque monocordum eam probaveris et probatam veritatem inveneris…]

***Nova musica*, 1.59**

> **(pp. 208-09)** So then, although the authority of the consonances is supported by the credible testimonies of so many authors, judgment is now to be held of the Guidonists, who, for want of reason, say that the tone, semitone, ditone, and semiditone are consonances, although the authors maintain and teach that there are no other consonances except the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapent, and double diapason.
>
> [Igitur cum sit fulcita tantorum auctorum probabilibus testimoniis auctoritas consonantiarum, nunc habendum iudicium est de Guidonistis, qui ob penuriam rationis dicunt tonum, semitonium, ditonum, et semiditonum consonantias esse, cum auctores non alias esse consonantias preter diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason diatessaron, diapason diapente, bis diapason affirment et doceant.]

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[1] Translations from *Nova musica and De proportionibus*, ed. and trans. Oliver B. Ellsworth (Lincoln:
University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

(pp. 210-11) If the diatessaron, diapente, diapason, diapason-diatessaron, diapason-diapente, and double diapason are consonances, and tones, semitones, ditones, and semiditones are members and spaces or particles of them, let the ignorance of the Guidonists cease, and may they not falsely imagine one must hold as not to be believed that which the authors in open, equitable agreement teach.

[Si diatessaron, diapente, diapason, et diapason diatessaron, diapason diapente, et bis diapason sunt consonantiae, et toni, semitonia, ditoni, et semiditoni sunt membra et spatia vel particule earum, conticescat igitur ignorantia Guidonistarum, et ne mendaciter fingant esse tenendum, illud quod auctores in propatulo pari concordia docent non esse credendum.]

***NM,* 1.60**

(pp. 214-15) In short, lest they [modes of conjunctions] be rejected by those less competent or by the Guidonists, who say that the conjunctions of pitches are made in only six modes, let us make known where they may be found in songs.

[Denique ut non repudientur a minus capacibus neque a Guidonistis, qui dicunt coniunctiones vocum solummnodo sex modiis fieri, ideo notificemus in quibus cantibus reperiantur.]

(pp. 216-17) Therefore, let the ignorance of the Guidonists cease, since the wisdom of the authors and the ancient authority of their refrains has convicted of folly—if I may say so—those who sy that the conjunctions of pitches are made in only six modes.

[Igitur conticescat ignorantia Guidonistarum, quoniam auctorum prudentia et antique auctoritas cantilenarum convincunt eorum ut ita dicam insaniam qui dicunt coniunctiones vocum solummodo sex modiis fieri.]