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LONG, Michael Paul

MUSICAL TASTES IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY: NOTATIONAL STYLES,
SCHOLARLY TRADITIONS, AND HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

Princeton University

Ph.D.

1981

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**MUSICAL TASTES IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY:
NOTATIONAL STYLES, SCHOLARLY TRADITIONS,
AND HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES**

Michael Paul Long

**A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY THE
DEPARTMENT OF
Music**

January, 1981

**Principal readers for this dissertation were Kenneth Levy
and
Nino Pirrotta**

In memory of Morris Licker

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to determine which aspects of the academic and artistic culture of Trecento Italy exerted a significant influence upon contemporary musical style and music theory.

Chapter I focuses on the growth of a formal theory of vernacular poetry in Italy in the first decades of the fourteenth century. The formulation of rules for scansion, with special emphasis placed on the problems raised by vowel elision, was the most important development in contemporary poetic theory with implications for secular song. The discussions of scansion and elision included in Antonio da Tempo's Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis (1332) are examined with specific reference to trends in musical notation and text inscription in sources of the early and later years of the Trecento. Connections between particulars of French poetic theory (set forth in the group of treatises which constitute the Arts de seconde rhétorique) and the early fourteenth-century theory of Italian vernacular poetry are also discussed. An explanation of the origins of the Franconian definition of tempus (which provided the background for all Italian notation theory of the Trecento) and its relation to poetic theory is suggested.

Chapter II examines theoretical references to the subdivisions of the perfect tempus beyond that of three equal

semibreves in the early years of the fourteenth century, while Chapter III deals with the theoretical crisis engendered by the increasing subdivision of the breve. The ultimate breakdown of the Franconian tempus as implied or expressed in the theoretical language of the third decade of the fourteenth century in both France and Italy is discussed, with a focus on the theoretical concept of temporal quality.

Chapter IV considers the details of a particular solution to the theoretical crisis: the institution of the minimum tempus in the Italian notational system, a technique known as longa-notation. The distinction between Italian longa-notation and French prolation notation is examined in light of contemporary attempts by theorists and notators to equate the two systems.

Chapter V contains an examination of the various methods available in Italian notation for the expression of syncopation at all levels. The specific details of the notation of these syncopations provide grounds for distinguishing the "styles" of the transmission of works in the major Trecento musical manuscripts on geographical grounds. The manuscript sources are grouped with respect to the extent to which they appear to represent the notational intentions of individual composers.

Chapter VI examines those aspects of Florentine society of the middle and late fourteenth century with the most far-reaching implications for musical style and notation. An overview of the socio-economic structure of the Florentine republic and the ways in which it differed from that of other centers of artistic activity is presented in order to clarify the city's unusual bourgeois patronage structure. The role of Francesco Landini as an artist and intellectual is then discussed against the background of this structure. An attempt is made to identify the sources of artistic interest and support closest to Landini both in Florence and abroad. The composer's Latin invective against detractors of the philosopher William of Ockham is discussed at length with an aim to further delineating the segment of Florentine society with which Landini was most intimately associated, and to augment our perception of Landini as a scholar and as a prominent and influential figure in the social world of late Trecento Florence. The section devoted to the manuscripts GB-Lbm29987 (Lo) and I-Fn26 (FP) demonstrates that even non-deluxe musical sources mirror the specific milieu in which they were produced, and may in some ways offer a more revealing picture of their creator(s) than costlier presentation manuscripts commissioned within an aristocratic patronage system. The final section of the dissertation focuses on the role of the Augustinian order in the musical culture of Florence

and Avignon. The Augustinian composers discussed include Guglielmo and Egidius de Francia and Corradus de Pistorio. New documentary evidence is published which aids in establishing the presence of French composers in Florence in the period of the 1360s and 1370s, and strengthens the notion of the existence of a strong cultural bond between the elite artistic circles of Florence and Avignon.

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I. MUSIC AND THE ART OF POETRY AT THE TURN OF THE TRECENTO

A. Tuscan literary supremacy and the origins of vernacular poetic theory

By the turn of the fourteenth century, the Tuscan vernacular had begun to assert itself as the premier literary idiom of Italy. Some of the earliest literary propaganda to advance the claim for the superiority of that dialect was produced, not surprisingly, by natives of the region: Dante Alighieri and Francesco da Barberino. In the Proemio to the latter's Reggimento e costumi di donna (1318-1320), the author is exhorted by Eloquenza to compose his treatise in verse (so that it will be more effective to the ear), and to use primarily the Tuscan vernacular supplemented only by the most pleasing words of non-Tuscan idioms.

E parlerai sol nel volgar toscano
e porrai mescolare alcun volgari,
consonanti con esse
di que' paesi dov'ai piu usato
pigliando i belli, e' non belli lasciando(1).

(1) Francesco da Barberino, Del Reggimento e Costumi di Donna ed. C. Baudi di Vesme (Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare 26) (Bologna, 1875), 15. See E. Migliorini, Storia della Lingua Italiana, (Firenze, 1961), 213-214.

Dante devoted a chapter of his De vulgari eloquentia (c. 1302) to an examination of the relative merits of the Tuscan dialect(2). Although he condemns the civic or municipal vernacular of many of his Tuscan predecessors, he praises the fine literary idiom of his more immediate contemporaries (and, by implication, his own). Trecento literature soon came to be characterized by a self-conscious admiration for the Tuscan, and especially the Florentine dialect. The inclusion of a reference to nostra fiorentina lingua became a formal convention utilized by Boccaccio, Petrarch, Passavanti, and others in their literary prologues(3). By the end of the century, Benvenuto da Imola could assert:

Nullum loqui est pulcrius aut proprius in Italia
quam Florentinum(4).

The increasing dignity of the Tuscan vernacular in general inspired a new appreciation of the literary efforts of the Tuscan rimatore, and led to an important development in poetic theory which bore major implications for the status of secular song in Italy. The position of the rimatore in the eyes of the educated critic underwent a significant

(2) De Vulgari Eloquentia Bk. I, Chapter 13. On the dating of this work, see the introduction to the edition by Aristide Marigo: Dante Alighieri, De Vulgari Eloquentia, (Firenze, 1968), xx-xxi.

(3) See, for example, the Proemium to Passavanti's Specchio di vera penitenza (1354), quoted by Migliorini, op. cit., 213.

(4) Ibid., 214.

change. Dante proposed the following unprecedented notion in Book II, Chapter 4 of the De vulgari eloquentia:

Revisentes igitur ea que dicta sunt, recolimus nos eos qui vulgariter versificantur plerunque vocasse poetas; quod procul dubio rationalibiter eructare presumpsimus, quia prorsus poete sunt, si poesim recte consideremus; que nichil aliud est quam fictio rethorica musicaque poita. Differunt tamen a magnis poetis, hoc est regularibus, quia magni sermone et arte regulari poetati sunt, hii vero casu, ut dictum est. Idcirco accidit ut, quantum illos proximus imitemur, tantum rectius poetemur. Unde nos doctrine operi intendentes, doctrinatas eorum poetrias emulari oportet (5).

For the first time, the appellation poeta, formerly reserved for classical poets (e.g. Virgil and Catullus) was assigned to the vernacular rimatore. By the second half of the trecento this usage had become fairly widespread and was accepted as the standard manner of classifying such masters as Dante and Petrarch (who was referred to by the bishop Giacomo Colonna as florentin poeta). This revolution in nomenclature had spread across Europe by the end of the century (6).

(5) De Vulgari Eloquentia, Marigo ed., op. cit., 186-188.

(6) Compare, for example, the implications of Chaucer's epilogue to Troilus and Criseyde Bk. 5, 1786-1792 (Ed. Robert K. Root [Princeton, 1926], 402). See also K. Brownlee, "The Poetic Oeuvre of Guillaume de Machaut: The Identity of Discourse and the Discourse of Identity" in Machaut's World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 317 (October, 1978), 219-33.

Most important from the point of view of vernacular song, the new outlook inspired Italian literati to apply the theory of classical metrics to Italian poetic composition. From this point forward, a "learned" structure was considered as much a part of fine vernacular poetry as it was of Latin verse. The recognition of a new set of formal poetic principles entailed the need for explication and commentary, giving rise to such works as the well-known Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis of Antonio da Tempo (7).

Although he was a native of Padua (8), da Tempo reiterated the widely-held view of the Florentine vernacular:

Circa finem autem huius operis quare magis utimur verbis Tuscorum in huiusmodi rithimis quam aliorum. Et responsio est in promptu: quia lingua tusca magis apta est ad literam sive literaturam quam aliae linguae, et ideo magis est communis et intelligibilis(9).

(7) The critical edition by Richard Andrews: Antonio da Tempo, Summa Artis Rithimici Vulgaris Dictaminis (Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare 136) (Bologna, 1977) represents a significant improvement over that of G. Grion, Delle Rime Volgari: Trattato di Antonio da Tempo (Bologna, 1869). Page numbers refer to Andrews' edition. The trend toward a vernacular ars poetica was not realized elsewhere in Europe until the French seconde rhétorique and Chaucer's Italian-influenced Troilus (1385). On Chaucer's anglicization of Latin rhetorical concepts, see A. C. Spearing, Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde (London, 1976), 16. On the French development, see section I.B.4, below.

(8) Where he was trained as a jurist: see N. Siraisi, Arts and Sciences at Padua (Toronto, 1973), 44.

(9) Summa, 77:1-5, 99.

In the Proemium to his treatise, da Tempo presents a lengthy discussion aimed at legitimizing its contents. His argument centers on the presence of rhetorical elements and structure in rithimis vulgaris as well as in Latin poetry. Having offered this academic "proof," he proceeds to catalogue the genre included among the rithimis vulgaris, and to analyze each according to the time-honored system of rhyme and (most important) syllable count, providing examples of all allowable combinations of quantitative divisions(10). In order to assist students of the Summa in making their own judgments concerning the metrical structure of vernacular poems, da Tempo includes an extensive set of instructions concerning scansione syllabarum. This section of the treatise, more than any other, bears witness to da Tempo's understanding of contemporary musical style and the relationship between poetry and song.

(10) For a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the theoretical basis of the Summa and medieval Latin metrical theory, see the review of Andrews' edition by M. Pazzaglia in Studi e Problemi di Critica Testuale 17 (Bologna, 1978), 209-225.

B. Da Tempo's Summa and the relationship between poetic and musical quantity

1. The rules for scansion

Da Tempo's discussion of scansione syllabarum cuiuslibet rithimi vulgaris suggests that the most important prerequisite for a vocal composition was the determination of the number of syllables included in each verse. If the computation was performed incorrectly, the music would disturb, rather than enhance the carefully contrived poetic structure; and the disjunction of textual and musical elements would be perceived by the listeners:

Ubi notandum est quod, sicut in quibuslibet versibus litteralibus quibus utimur in nostris carminibus secundum grammaticos, vocalis ante alteram vocalem abicitur de metro in scansione, sic in quolibet soneto et rithimo vulgari abicitur prima vocalis de versu in numero -- quod idem est ac si diceretur quod prima vocalis non computatur in numero syllabarum -- et maxime in rithimis super quibus debet fieri sonus, quia si sonus in huiusmodi rithimis non contingeret ad rectum numerum sillabarum, nunquam bene sonaret auribus audientium secundum musicos et cantores (11).

The major pitfall faced by the composer in scanning a line of poetry, or by a singer attempting to perform a vernacular song which has already been provided with a sonus (or

(11) Summa, 7:5-14, 8.

musical setting(12); was the improper counting of consecutive vowels. Therefore, da Tempo provides a rule for elision, and suggests a number of ways in which the elision may be notated in the text. The first method (which the theorist felt should be reserved for texts which were to be used by readers or singers who were ignorant of the rules of scansion) is of particular interest in that it provides a link between the poetic theory originating in Padua in the first half of the trecento and the practices of Florentine poets and scribes in the latter half of the century.

Si in versu soneti vel rithimi vulgaris... inveniatur una vocalis ante alteram vocalem, quia una dictio finiret in vocalem et sequens inciperet a vocali, nunquam reputarentur illae duae vocales nisi pro una sillaba -- ut in hoc exemplo huius proximi versus vulgaris: <<Chi porze al povro za mai non gli manca>>... Nam illa vocalis littera .E. quae est in fine illius dictionis <<porze>> habetur pro non adiecta quantum ad numerum sillabarum. Et ideo quidam sunt qui ipsas literas, quae abiciuntur de versibus vulgaribus in scansionem seu prolatione, cancellant punctando de subtus in scriptura, idest quando scribunt sonetos vel alios vulgare rithimos... Tamen meo iudicio non est pulchrum ipsas vocales de subtus punctare, nisi propter illos qui nesciunt quid sit abicere vocalem de metro in scansionem (13).

If da Tempo's warning is taken literally, it provides a vital step towards the understanding of the pre-compositional assumptions which formed the background for early secular art polyphony in Italy. In order to demonstrate the

(12) See Andrews, 132: "[da Tempo] adopera la parola [sonus] per indicare l'accompagnamento musicale di una poesia. La parola musica non compare nella Summa."

(13) Summa, 7:20-43, 8-9.

importance of Da Tempo's remarks from a musicological perspective it must be shown that 1) there is indeed a correspondence between syllable count and musical structure in settings of secular poetry emanating from northern Italian centers in the period contemporary with the composition of the Summa (the 1330s) and that 2) musical sources preserve signs of conscious concern for proper textual declamation and syllable/note correspondences.

2. The structure of the earliest works in the
Rossi codex [I-Bvat215/I-OST]

Although the contents of the Rossi codex are often considered to be a fairly homogeneous repertoire (owing in part, no doubt, to the uniformity of textual and musical handwriting throughout the manuscript), the works display varying degrees of stylistic development, and include representatives of the most significant style changes which occurred in the years c. 1330-1360. Appendix 1 includes a suggested chronology of the layers of notational features represented in the manuscript. For the purposes of an examination of da Tempo's remarks as they might have applied to contemporary compositional procedures, we shall concern ourselves with the works included in the earliest group, which probably dates from around 1330.

The madrigal "Quando i oselli canta" is probably one of the earliest surviving works in the Trecento secular repertoire(14). It is written in an extremely simple poetic style on a traditional pastoral theme(15):

Quando i oselli canta
Le pasturele vano a la campagna
Quando i oselli canta

Fan girlande de erba
Frescheta verde, et altre belle fiore,
Fan girlande de erba.

Quest' e quel dolce tempo
Ch'amor mi prese d'una pasturella,
Quest' e quel dolce tempo.

Basar la volsi e deme de la roca.

The poem is unusual (from the perspective of the more advanced madrigal texts of mid-century) in that it includes an internal refrain within each terzetto (verses 1 and 3 of each terzetto have the same text). The poetic structure of the work with respect to syllable count is:

A(7) B(11) A(7) / C(7) D(11) C(7) / E(7) F(11) E(7) //
[Rit] G(11)

(14) Ed. Pirrotta, CMM8/2, 21-22.

(15) Concerning the standard subjects of madrigal poetry see Schulz-Buschhaus, Das Madrigal (Bad Homburg, 1969), 16-17 and T. Marrocco, "The Fourteenth-century Madrigal: Its Form and Contents" in Speculum 26 (1951), 454.

The musical setting of "Quando i oselli canta" is no more complex than the poetry. The poetic refrain is reflected in the melody of the tenor:



Ex. 1.1

The work is notated in .o.[ctonaria] with a shift to .n.[ovenaria] at the ritornello(16). The example shows the number of tempora included in the setting for each verse. There is a clear correspondence (although it is not one-to-one) between the number of tempora and the number of -----

(16) The change of mensuration is in keeping with da Tempo's dictum that the sonus of a madrigal should be altered at the ritornello, along with the rhyme (consonantia). Summa, 55:6-8, 74. This usually accompanies a shift of narrative stance in the poetry. The large-scale poetic framework of the pastoral madrigal is thus clarified through rhyme scheme and musical meter: Terzetti= NARRATION, including description of SETTING, ACTION (within the setting), POET'S RESPONSE (to scene) [+EXPANSION in second terzetto] // Ritornello= CONCLUSION ([1] Shift to vocative: direct address to Beloved, or [2] Moral expressed to audience, or [3] Personal reflection upon scene described in narrative portion).

syllables per verse: (A) 7:7 (B) 11:12 (A) 7:7 //

(Rit.) 11:13.

Another early work, the madrigal "Abrazami, cor mio" (17), represents a style marked by a more florid cantus part, but with a tenor which is structurally quite similar to that of "Quando i oselli canta." The tenor setting for the terzetti of "Quando i oselli canta" and the entire tenor of "Abrazami, cor mio" never exceed the limits of the pentachord $\underline{d-a}$. The poetic text of the latter:

Abrazami, cor mio!
Baxami e po' va' via,
Che dal ziloso sentito non sia!

Zentil anema e bella,
Come poss' io partire,
Ch' i' tegno in brazo tuti i miei dixire?

Se non te parti, amor, [i'] sero morta!
Vita mia dolce, et io te faro scorta!

is again characterized by alternating heptasyllabic and endecasyllabic lines, but here in a different permutation:

A(7) B(7) B(11) / C(7) D(7) D(11) // [Rit.] E(11) E(11)

Once again, the correspondence between temporal structure and syllable count is noteworthy: (A) 7:10 (B) 7:8 (B) 11:15 // (Rit.) 11:10.

(17) Ed. Pirrotta, CMM8/2, 24.

(Terzetti)

Three staves of musical notation, labeled A, B, and C. Staff A contains 9 measures of music, Staff B contains 8 measures, and Staff C contains 14 measures. The notation includes various note values, rests, and ties, illustrating a specific rhythmic or melodic pattern.

Ex. 1.2

The sole example of a rotundellus (18) in the early Italian repertoire, "Gaiete, dolce parolete mie" (19) displays a similar correspondence between poetic quantity and musical structure.

Gaiete, dolce parolete mie,
Dites, de voi che fie,
Partite da gli acesi miei desiri?

(18) See G. Corsi, Poesie Musicali del Trecento (Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare 131) (Bologna, 1970), 26-27. Although the form of "Gaiete" does not correspond precisely to any of the rotundelli presented by da Tempo, it may be considered a variant of the rotundello biseptenario et undenario. The theorist admits that his examples are incomplete: circa rotundellos et eorum formas sciendum est quod plures etiam modi rotundellorum possent compilari. (Summa, 50:4-5, 70).

(19) Ed. Pirrotta, CMM8/2, 27.

The poetic form:

A(11) // A(7) B(11)

is once more reflected in the relative length of the musical phrases.

The image shows three staves of musical notation. The first staff is labeled 'A' and numbered 1-10. The second staff is labeled 'A' and numbered 1-4. The third staff is labeled 'B' and numbered 1-10. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines, illustrating the structure of the musical phrases.

Ex. 1.3

In this case the operative musical unit is modus rather than tempus: the work is notated in quaternaria measures representing one-half of an imperfect long and one-third of a perfect long(20): (A) 11:10 // (A) 7:4 (B) 11:11.

Marrocco's comment that

The irregularity of the early madrigalian verse is not reflected in the form of the music. A poem whose lines are arranged in combinations of seven

(20) For a complete discussion of this aspect of the notation of "Gaiete, dolce parolete mie," see below, Chapter IV.C.

and eleven syllables does not modify the length of the musical phrases, for, the madrigal melody is too highly melismatic to be concerned with or influenced by the number of syllables in each verse(21).

is not supported by the evidence of the earliest extant Italian secular repertoire. And it is highly probable that these works which display a demonstrable relationship between number of syllables and number of tempora more accurately represent the compositional style of c. 1330 with which da Tempo was familiar than do the melismatic madrigals of the early masters Giovanni and Piero(22).

While the length of the early madrigal tenors may have been to some extent predetermined by the syllable count of the poetry, the nature of the constituent tempora was an independent issue. The selection of perfect or imperfect tempus for a song setting was, according to Marchettus, dependent only upon the composer's understanding of the aesthetic union of music and text (armonia), a relationship which was not subject to scholarly analysis. The choice of temporal quality

est relinquendum solum arbitrio auctoris perfecte scientiam musicae cognoscentis...Probatum est enim quod omnis cantus notatus potest cantari de tempore perfecto et de tempore imperfecto. Solum

(21) Thomas Marrocco, "The Fourteenth-Century Madrigal: Its Form and Contents", Speculum 1951/3, 453-54.

(22) For instance, the text of the rotundello "Gaiete" appears to have originated in the decade of the 1330s. See Corsi, Poesie musicali, 27. Giovanni's mature works seem to be products of the early 1350s. See Chapter V, below.

enim talis diversitas cantandi instituitur ab auctore, ratione scilicet armoniae. Et quia hoc solum dependet a voluntate auctoris, et non ex natura cantus, ideo signum [for perfect or imperfect tempus], tales diversitates innuens debet poni ibi, solum secundum voluntatem auctoris: nec potest propria ratio inveniri quare hoc signum plus ponatur quam illud(23).

3. Elision



Although the punti sottoscritti described by da Tempo are not used in the Rossi codex to mark elisions, there are indications that the scribe of that manuscript (or its exemplar[s]) was conscious of elision as an important element in the union of text and sonus. In a number of works, poetic elision is symbolically reflected in the musical notation by means of notes which are ligated in eodem spatio vel in eadem linea (24).

Marchettus' discussion of these "one-pitch ligatures" has often been misinterpreted owing to its inclusion in the fifth chapter of the final book of the Pomerium, a section devoted to Reprobatio Cuiusdam Erroris in Speciali. It is not, as has been asserted(25), illegal within the

(23) Marchettus, Pomerium II:2,37. Ed. G. Vecchi, CSM6 (Florence, 1961), 163-164.

(24) Marchettus, Pomerium III:2,50-1. (CSM6, 196).

(25) Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars

Marchettan system to ligate two consecutive notes of the same pitch. As is made clear by the example drawn in the Milan source for the Pomerium, Marchettus' only objection to the procedure is that often the notes are drawn carelessly, so that one figure intrudes upon the boundaries of the other and their true forms are obscured, e.g. , rather than . He concludes this section of the treatise by stating that the one-pitch ligature may be used as an alternative to the drawing of notes via artis (with tails):

Si autem ad pulchriorem armoniam sit necesse non repercutere (26) plures notas, dicimus quod si in uno corpore possunt includi via artis, ut dictum est, includantur. Sin autem, propinquius figurentur etiam usque ad contactum, ita tamen quod una de spatio alterius nihil tollat, ratione superius allegata (27).


Table 1 includes the occurrences of "notated elisions" in the Rossi/Ostiglia repertoire. The notational configuration is most useful in representing syncopations, particularly when those syncopations extend across the boundary of the tempus (28). Among the occurrences of the one-pitch ligature in the Rossi codex however, several have no apparent

Nova" MD9 (1955), 59n.

(26) Vecchi chooses the minority reading "sit necesse repercutere" in his edition of the Pomerium (CSM6, 200). The manuscripts Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale II.4144, Pisa Bibl. Univ. 606, Roma Bibl. Vat. Lat. 5322 and most important, the primary source Milan D.V inf. all transmit this phrase with the crucial "non." Vecchi's reading makes no sense in the context of this passage.

(27) Pomerium III:2,50 (CSM6, 200).

(28) Chapter V contains a detailed discussion of the notation of such syncopated passages.

rhythmic rationale. The figure  could in some of these cases have been replaced by a simple breve (29). In these instances, the preference for the double semibreve seems to have been motivated by concern for the proper correspondence of poetry and music. The ligation of two consecutive semibreves which retain their identity as distinct corpora in written form, but which are sung as one vox, sine repercussione, was a particularly apposite method of representing the sonus associated with two written vowels which were sung as one.

There is no immediately recognizable governing principle which explains why care was taken to overlay some but not all elided vowels in this manner. The doubled semibreve is used in the case of sinalefe (where two vowels are actually united in one sound as in "E piu me dogli' assay che del mio danno": the diphthong ay is set with the figure (30)) as well as in cases of aferei and elisione (which entail an actual vocal omission of the first or second of two consecutive vowels) (31). A good illustration of the latter is the phrase

(29) For example, the illustrations drawn from "Ogni dilecto" and "O crudel donna" included in Table 1.

(30) In the tenor of the madrigal "O crudel donna" f.22r.

(31) More detailed information concerning the classification of vowel groupings is provided by G. Mari, Risunto e Dizionario di Ritmica Italiana (Torino, 1901), 8-12. The scribal approach to the use of the point of elision (punto sottoscritto) in trecento textual manuscripts is similarly imprecise. See G. Vantelli, "Un Autografo della Teseide," Studi di Filolo-

TABLE 1

Elision in early madrigal settings

8v OGNI DILECTO [Tenor]

·♦♦·
pur v[o]glio~anchora

19v OB QUA COMPAGNI [Cantus]

■ ♦♦ ■ ■
guata, guata~ascosa

22r O CRUDEL DONNA [Tenor]

■ ♦♦ ■♦ ·♦
O crudel donna~o falsa
♦♦ ■
Ch'amando te~avea
■ ♦♦ ·♦ ·♦ ·♦ ·♦ ·♦ ·♦
E pi~ me dogli, assa~v che

25r PESCANDO IN AQUA [Tenor]

■ ♦♦ ·♦ ·♦
dolce~appresso
■ ♦♦ ·♦ ·♦
si mosse~e cum viso

31r IN UN BROLETO [Tenor]

·♦♦·
In un broleto~a l'alba

"soffrir pur v[o]glio anchora" in the tenor part of "Ogni dilecto" (f.8v). Here, the vowel "o" is silent, and the elided syllables -glio-an- are set with the double-semibreve ligature, \blacklozenge . The omission is made clear in the concordant version of "Ogni dilecto" which appears in the manuscript I-Fn26 (FP) (32) through the use of the punctus described by da Tempo. In the two voices of this canonic madrigal, the syllables in question are written in the following manner:

Stave 6: v \dot{o} glio anchora
 Stave 8: v \dot{o} glo anchora

Although the scribes of FP rarely utilized the one-pitch semibreve ligature, the manuscript includes frequent occurrences of the punctus in the text to indicate literas que abi-
 ciuntur in scansione seu prolatione (33). This particular aspect of da Tempo's theory was adopted with enthusiasm by the Tuscan literati of the second half of the Trecento. The autograph manuscripts of Boccaccio are often cited as examples of the use of the punti sottoscritti in practice (34). Dots of elision appear in the autograph manuscript of the Libro delle Rime of Franco Sacchetti (35). They are also prevalent in

(32) Folio 88r.

(33) Da Tempo, see above, 6. Prolatione here bears the meaning of pronunciation: see R. Andrews ed., 127.

(34) See Giuseppe Vandelli, "Un autografo della Teseide," in Studi di Filologia Italiana 2 (1929), 38ff. and Tav. IV.

musical manuscripts from the latter part of the century, e.g. I-Fn26 (FF), F-Pn568 (Pit) and I-Las184 (Mn).

4. The Arts de seconde rhétorique

It was not until the turn of the fifteenth century that French vernacular poetry became subject to the same quantitative mode of categorization which marked the Italian compendia of da Tempo and Gidino da Sommacampagna (36). Eustache Deschamps (in L'Art de dictier, 1392) cites rhyme as the fundamental element which distinguishes verse from prose (37). Beginning with the fifteenth-century treatises of the seconde rhétorique, however, syllable count comes to the fore as the essential element of verse. One of the earliest of these works, Des rithmes et comment se doivent faire by Jacques Legrand, furnishes evidence that some aspects of French vernacular poetry may have been influenced by Italian models (38).

(35) Florence, Bibl. Laur. Ashburnham 574. The puntini are discussed by A. Chiari ed., F. Sacchetti, Il Libro delle Rime (Bari, 1936), 390.

(36) Gidino's Trattato dei Rime Volgari, (ed. G. B. C. Giuliani, Scelta di curiosità letterarie 105. Bologna, 1870), written in the 1380s, is little more than a translation of da Tempo's treatise into Italian.

(37) W. F. Patterson, Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory: A Critical History of the Chief Arts of Poetry in France (1328-1630) (Ann Arbor, 1936), 116.

In addition to its focus on syllable count, Legrand's treatise is noteworthy for its introduction of the use of the point of elision in French poetry:

Tu dois sçavoir que, quant deux voyeux s'entre suyvent, tu peulx deux sillabes tant seulement compter pour une, car le derrenier voyeul comprend le premier, et ainsi deux sillabes se comptent pour une. Exemple: Dame est bonne, la derreniere sillabe de dame se prononce avecques est, et ne font que une sillabe. Toutesfois il est en toy de les compter pour deux sillabes, se tu veulx, mais lors au prononcier on doit fere point entre l'ung voyeul et l'autre, non obstant, l'opinion plus commune, si est que les deux voyeux et les sillabes dessusdictes ne se doivent compter que pour une, mais on doit mettre ung petit point dessoubz le premier voyeul, en significant qu'il ne se doit point prononcier, non obstant qu'il se escripse (39).

Legrand was a member of the Augustinian order (associated with the convent at Paris). A native of Toulouse, he taught philosophy and theology at Padua in the late fourteenth century, and it may have been there that he became acquainted with the principles of Italian versification (40). The fragments which

(38) Legrand's treatise is edited by M. E. Langlois, Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique (Paris, 1902). Des rithmes forms part of Legrand's translation of his own Latin philosophical tract, the Sophologium. L'Archiloge Sophie (the vernacular version) was completed by 1405 and dedicated to Louis, Duke of Orleans (Langlois, 16. W. F. Patterson, op. cit., 115). I am grateful to my colleague Lawrence Earp for calling the Legrand treatise to my attention.

(39) Quoted by Patterson, 117. Of the remaining second rhetoric treatises, only one other (Michel de Boteauville, Art de metrifier français, 1497) suggests the use of the point to mark elisions in the text. Boteauville however, places the point above the vowel in question. See Ant. Thomas Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux V (1883), 351.

(40) For the few known details of Legrand's biography, see Patterson, 115 and J. F. Ossinger, Bibliotheca August-

constitute the manuscript PadA reveal that the use of the point of elision was still practiced in Padua at the turn of the fifteenth century(41). Interestingly, the "Burgundian" repertoire of the last fascicles of the Reina manuscript(42) (which was probably compiled in northern Italy(43)) provide (to my knowledge) the earliest extant examples of the use of points of elision in French-texted musical works(44). The evidence of the Reina manuscript in conjunction with Legrand's activities at the University of Padua suggests that Padua or the Veneto may have been a center for the interaction of the contemporary French and Italian artes poeticae.

iniana (Ingolstadt, 1768), 532-533. See Chapter 6, below, for a discussion of the role of the Augustinian order in European cultural life of the late fourteenth century.

- (41) See, for example, the ritornello of Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal "O cieco mondo": "...volta el summo..." in GB-Ob229, f. 33v.
- (42) F-Pn6771 (PR).
- (43) Concerning the provenance of F-Pn6771 (PR), see K. von Fischer, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nouv. Acq. Frc. 6771" in MD 11 (1957), 53-77 and N. Wilkins, "The Codex Reina: A Revised Description" in MD 17 (1963), 67-73. The fifteenth-century fascicles have a number of concordances with the north Italian manuscripts O and BU. PR is the unique source for Bartolomeo da Bononia's "Mersi chiamando adiuto." Given the rather limited sphere of Bartolomeo's activity, it is improbable that a manuscript produced outside of Italy would transmit a unique composition with an Italian text by this composer. For the details of Bartolomeo's biography, see A. Cavicchi, "Sacro e profano. Documenti e

C. The Franconian concept of tempus

The rules of musical notation presented by Marchettus in the Pomerium and by frater Guido in the Ars Musice Mensurate are based on the breve or tempus as the primary unit of musical time(45). This feature has generally been accepted as the major distinction between the early Italian notational system which proceeds from the division of the breve, and the contemporary French system based on the long and the principle of modus. At the same time scholars have recognized that the roots of Italian notation lay in the French ars vetus system. Marchettus' citations of Franco (and their echo in Guido) and the late thirteenth-century variations on the Ars cantus mensurabilis preserved in Italian sources (a series of treatises with the common incipit Gaudent breuitate moderni) offer ample proof of Italian familiarity with Franco's name and notational tenets (46).

note su Bartolomeo da Bologna e gli organisti della cattedrale di Ferrara nel primo Quattrocento" in Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 10 (1975), 46-71 and "Altri documenti per Bartolomeo da Bologna", RIM 11 (1976), 178-181.

(44) The works which include the elision indications are "Orsus" (f.90v), "La plus iolie" (f.91v), "Se ie vous ay bien" (f.92v), "La plus plaisant" (f.100v), "Ce moys de may" (f.103v), "La belle se siet" (f.108v), and "Jollis ioyeoulx/Or tost" (f.115v).

(45) See Appendix 2 for a discussion of the relationship between the two treatises.

The aspect of Franconian theory with the most far-reaching consequences for Italian notation was his codification of the breve as the unit from which all musical measure derives (47). Although from a modern perspective a simple modal or quasi-modal work which moves in longs and breves appears to be governed by the long and the modus it implies, this level of mensural organization is external and imposed upon the melody by the composer. The long did not represent a fundamental element which could be divided or left whole (or perfect) according to context, but a grouping of the more basic unit of tempus (signified by the breve). Even though from the standpoint of mathematical proportion, long : breve as breve : semibreve,

(the same [proportion as that of breve to long] is true of the valuation of breves and semibreves) (48),

the breve does not represent a fraction of the long in the sense in which the semibreve is part of the breve. Rather, the time value symbolized by the long is a two- or three-fold mul-

(46) See, for example, F. A. Gallo, Storia della musica: Il Medioevo 2 (Torino, 1977), 57 and La Teoria della Notazione in Italia dalla Fine del XIII all'Inizio del XV Secolo (Bologna, 1966), 18ff. Concerning the Gaudent treatises, see below, 40.

(47) Franco's statement that longa perfecta prima dicitur et principalis. Nam in ea omnes aliae includantur, ad eam etiam omnes aliae reducantur refers only to the varieties of the long (perfect, imperfect, duplex) and not to all the figuræ simplices. (Ars Cantus Mensurabilis 4:1-7, ed. G. Reaney and A. Gilles, CSM18 [Rome, 1974]).

(48) Franco, Ars Cantus Mensurabilis, 5. Translated in Strunk, SR1 (New York, 1965), 142.

tiplification of the breve:

The imperfect long signifies two tempora [italics mine](49).

This understanding of the long was amplified by Guido who explained that the long originates ex replicatione brevis (50). Thus, for Franco and his Italian disciples both the long and the semibreve were defineable in terms of the multiplication or division of the tempus (or breve). The formulation of a meaningful definition for this unit, which was to serve as the basis for the entire proportional system of measure, required not only theoretical subtilitas, but also a readily grasped point of reference outside the boundaries of Franco's own mathematically derived theoretical structure. His famous definition of tempus, quoted by generations of theorists, grew out of the contemporary vocabulary of poetry and rhetoric.

Perhaps the most influential treatise on the art of poetry originating in the academic milieu of thirteenth-century Paris (an environment of which Franco himself was a part) (51) was John of Garland's work on Latin metrics, the Parisiana poetria (52). John's work provides an historical witness to

(49) Ibid., 142.

(50) Guido, Ars Musicae Mensurate ed. F. A. Gallo, Mensurabilis Musicae Tractatuli (Bologna, 1966), 19.

(51) See the incipit to the version of the Ars Cantus Mensurabilis in the MS. Milan D.5 inf., in which the theorist is referred to as Magistro Franccone Parisiensis (CSM18, 23).

(52) The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland ed. T. Lawler (New Haven, 1974).

the practice and tradition of the teaching of rhetoric and poetry at Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century.

As Lawler explains,

The title of the work stresses its connection with Paris. Knowing the contemporary practice of calling a book by its incipit, John began it with the word Parisiana purposely. The title Parisiana poetria means not only "The Art of Poetry that begins 'Parisiana'" but also "The Art of Poetry as it is taught at Paris. (53)"

On the basis of textual citations, it is clear that the Parisiana poetria represents a tradition of rhetorical study which focused on three earlier works: the pseudo-Ciceronian Rhetorica ad Herennium of Cornificius, Horace's Ars poetica and the Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi of Geoffrey of Vinsauf (54). The Rhetorica was especially popular in the Middle Ages, and it is unlikely that a musicus as academically sophisticated as Franco would have been unfamiliar with the work. The terms longa, brevis and tempus were the keystones of Latin metrical theory for Garland and his contemporaries (as well as his predecessors):

secundum metristas brevis sillaba solum tenet unum tempus prolationis, longa vero duo (55).

(53) Lawler, xvi.

(54) Lawler, xv.

(55) Trattato di Nicolo Tibino ed. G. Mari in I Trattati Medievali di Ritmica Latina (Bologna, 1899), 99, ll. 177-178. Cf. Garland's Parisiana poetria, 218f. Concerning Tibino's familiarity with Garland's treatise, see Lawler, 268.

Medieval music theory acknowledged its debt to the vocabulary of grammar and rhetoric:

Musica mensurabilis dicitur a mensura sicut grammatica, metrica a metris, quod est mensura, que inquam grammatica, duas mensuras accentuum desinet et importat scilicet longum et breuem, quorum longus est duorum temporum, brevis unius(56).

The term used by Cornificius in the Rhetorica for this long or short quantity of a voiced sound is plenitudo syllabarum (57).

Franco's definition:

Unum tempus appellatur illud quod est minimum in plenitudine vocis (58).

may well reflect his familiarity with the poetic concept of the "fullness" of syllables. For in setting a text to a modal-rhythmic melody, the breve is the smallest value which can carry a syllable. Thus a tempus is that which represents a minimum in plenitudine syllabarum. From the standpoint of music theory, vox (in the sense of a discrete musical sound) is a natural analogy to the grammatical concept of syllable (the smallest grammatical unit representing a sound). The theoretical association of vox with syllable is implied as early as the eleventh century. The De musica of Aribonis (c. -----

(56) H. Sowa ed., Ein Anonymer Glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279 (Kassel, 1930), 25-26. See also Gallo, Storia della Musica, 6. It is also interesting to note that both Franco and the St. Emmeram anonymous identify long and short (brevis) note values by the grammatical term accentus: Et nota quod tria tempora, tam uno accentu quam diversis prolata, unum perfectionem constituunt. (Franco, ACH, CSM 18, 36).

(57) Cornifici, Rhetorica ad C. Herennium ed. G. Calboli (Bologna, 1969), 173.

(58) Franco, Ars cantus mensurabilis (CSM 18, 34).

1070) includes a lengthy discourse on the relationship between neumes and the voces which they represent, and the correspondence between the regularities of musical phrases and the compar numerus syllabarum of Latin rhetoric. Significantly, Aribonis cites the Rhetoricae as his authority (59).

Franco's choice of words may also have been related by analogy to that portion of the Rhetoricae which deals specifically with the qualitative aspects of rhetorical discourse: firmitudine vocis, magnitudine vocis and mollitudine vocis (60). Plenitudine vocis would represent the quantitative aspect of organized discourse.

Marchettus approached Franco's definition from a strictly literal point of view, trying to substantiate the notion that the duration of a tempus is equivalent to the minimal amount of time necessary for the human voice to utter a sound. His hyper-rational physiological explanation, if correct, would preclude the existence of any note value representing a length of time smaller than a complete tempus, for instance the semi-breve (or imperfect breve):

Quando ergo plene dicta instrumenta concurrunt ad formationem vocis et decenter non nimis nec parum, tunc fiet plenitudo vocis. Et istud fiet quando cum canna pulmonis seriose et decenter impleta anhelitu cum decenti inflatione ventris ad hoc exprimendum, emittitur anhelitus feritque sic auditum quod ad

(59) Aribonis, De musica ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe (CSM 2) (Rome, 1951), 50, cited by Gallo in Storia della Musica, 5.

(60) Rhetorica ad C. Herennium, 145.

plenum perceptit, proferens hunc prolatum sonum sive
vocem in sui ipsius seu in alterius proferentis pec-
tore ceu in quodam tintinnabulo resonare. Illud ergo
minimum tempus in quo potest plenitudo vocis for-
mari (61).

Marchettus' gloss on the concept of tempus provides a model case of medieval theoretical response to an outmoded issue. By the mid-1320s (the period in which the Pomerium was composed), the division of the breve into as many as twelve semibreves, each capable of bearing a syllable, had made the linguistic model for musical tempus virtually obsolete (62). In a sense, the notational system had become detached from its foundation. The attempt to re-establish the original relationship between musical and textual measure characterized much of the Italian notational development in the generation after Marchettus. Musical notation, despite its abstract and occasionally obscure theoretical trappings, is a practical matter. Notation treatises provide documentation of changing habits in the concrete representation of musical sound. Unfortunately, they usually provide few indications of the practical impetus behind the innovations or elaborations which they promulgate, substituting instead artificial constructions based on formal logic and traditional authorities. Chapters II and III consider the consequences of the trend toward smaller subdivisions of the breve in an attempt to extract from the body of

(61) Pomerium, I/2:5, 1. (CSM 6, 78-79).

(62) On the earliest examples of syllabic semibreves see E. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet" in Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen (Bern, 1973), 536.

European notational theory of the fourteenth century those discussions which are especially illustrative of the vital process of interaction between contemporary theory and practice. Theoretical speculation and manipulation was often employed not toward purely intellectual ends, but toward the practical maintenance of an organic musical system.

II. THE BREVE IN FRENCH AND ITALIAN NOTATION

A. Introduction: brevis- and longa-notation

In 1905 Friedrich Ludwig drew attention to the extensive number of fourteenth-century Italian compositions which survive in brevis- und longa-Passungen, and raised the question of whether the versions with doubled note-values represented the composers' own intentions or later reworkings(63). Kurt von Fischer, in his Studien zur Musik des Trecento provided the first detailed description of these alternate notational techniques based on a systematic examination of the principal manuscript sources(64). Von Fischer concluded that the existence in Italian sources of works notated in a style which utilized the longa as the primary proportional unit was a result of French influence on Italian musical life in the period, particularly in the latter half of the fourteenth century(65). He summarized the notational character of the

(63) In his review of Wolf's Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250-1460 in SIMG6 (1904-1905), 604-605, 635.

(64) Von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento (Bern, 1955), 111-113.

(65) Von Fischer, Studien, 112. Ludwig had already criticized Wolf for suggesting that the activities of Gregory XII's chapel in Rome in the 1370s were the major impetus behind the introduction of French traits in the trecento repertoire. Ludwig pointed out the

alternate versions simply:

Brevis-notation ist italienisch. Longa-notation ist französisch (66).

In his review of von Fischer's work, Gilbert Reaney pointed out that

Most French music of the fourteenth century was not written in longa notation (67).

Reaney's remarks were incorporated into von Fischer's article on the development of fourteenth-century Italian notation (68), in which the latter presented a revised and far more detailed picture of the role of longa notation in Italian sources than in the earlier Studien. It was in this article that von Fischer introduced the concept of "diminution" in referring to the longa-based notation. Ursula Günther reiterated Reaney's position in her article on the use of diminution in the notation of the Chantilly manuscript (69).

In spite of the fact that both von Fischer and Günther have promoted the use of the terms diminution-notation or longa-notation, von Fischer's original formulation of the technique as "French notation" in contrast to the breve-based

strong international cultural currents which pervaded the Italian artistic scene throughout the century.
SIMG6, 600.

(66) Von Fischer, Studien, 112.

(67) G. Reaney in ML37 (1956), 394.

(68) Von Fischer, "Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Trecento-Notation" AfMW16 (1959), 87ff.

(69) U. Günther, "Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047" AfMW17 (1960), 1-2.

"Italian notation" still remains in evidence today (70).

Most recently, Alberto Gallo has attempted to shed more light on the question by relating the concrete evidence of the musical sources to the changing details of theoretical jargon in use among contemporary Italian notation theorists (71). Gallo's work masterfully reduces a mass of complex theoretical material to some basic, intelligible mathematical principles, and furnishes a clear picture of the proportional relationships which served as the foundations for the French and Italian systems of notation. He also discusses some significant contemporary statements concerning the use of the longa- (diminution-) type notation by Italian composers.

It can, I believe, be demonstrated that the introduction of longa-notation in Italy was a response to a particular compositional and theoretical problem, and that the innovations of the Ars Nova in the early decades of the fourteenth century led to a musical-theoretical crisis which provided fuel for theoretical speculation and discussion throughout the century. The issues confronting fourteenth-century notational theory were inextricably interwoven with the rise of longa-notation

(70) See for example, Fellin, "Notation types in Fourteenth-century Italian Music" in L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento 4 (Certaldo, 1973), 211-225. Fellin does, however, distinguish between various gradations of "French" or "Italian" notation types. See also below, Chapter V.D.

(71) F. A. Gallo, La Teoria della Notazione (Bologna, 1966).

in Italy, which was only one manifestation of a situation which transcended national boundaries. References to common notational problems (although clothed in various guises) in the works of French and Italian theorists of the first decades of the fourteenth century demonstrate the international scope of the new movements in notation theory and, implicitly, musical style.

Section II.B will provide an examination of the stylistic developments which formed the substance for much theoretical speculation and justification at the turn of the fourteenth century: the expansion of Franco's original system of dividing the breve (as presented in the Ars Cantus Mensurabilis) to include divisions into seven, eight and nine semibreves, and the performance of these semibreve-groups with special reference to the term equaliter and its interpretations. These factors, when properly understood, help to explain developments in international notational style in the second half of the century.

B. Subdivisions of the breve

Any discussion of the early stages of the Italian system of divisiones must necessarily concern itself with the question of pre-Ars Nova divisions of the breve (or tempus) into four to nine parts, and the manner in which these semibreves were performed. Much of what we know of this post-Ars Cantus system of notation (often referred to as "Petronian" owing to its association with the name of Petrus de Cruce) (72), is, unfortunately, based largely on information transmitted by later theorists, seemingly after its replacement by the systems of Vitry, Jean de Muris, and Marchettus. The issue around which arguments concerning the nature of this transitional system have centered is whether all elements of the four-, five-, seven- or eight-part divisions of the perfect breve were equivalent (in terms of absolute temporal value) within each tempus, or whether the iambic and/or trochaic proportions of alteration and imperfection were utilized at the level of subdivision beyond that of the ternary semibreve group. Al-

(72) The term "Petronian notation" was introduced by W. Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600 (Cambridge, 1953), 318. Most theoretical references to this sort of notation do indeed refer to the motet "Aucun ont trove", attributed to Petrus, but cf. the citation below, wherein Jacobus of Liège says that even Franco used this system in motet tripla. Perhaps a less narrow term, and one more in keeping with contemporary theoretical language, would be semibreves equales notation (concerning which, see below).

though very little evidence in favor of the first interpretation exists, this view of "Petronian" semibreves is still widely accepted(73). Supporters of the equal-value hypothesis have cited a statement of Jacobus of Liège as the clearest indication of the method of performance which contemporary musicians must have applied to these semibreve groups(74). The passage appears in the seventh book of the Speculum Musicae

Illi autem doctores optime ipsas ab invicem discernabant sive pro perfecto tempore duae <semibreves> ponerentur inaequales, sive tres equales, quattuor, quinque, sex, septem, octo vel novem(75).

The understanding of this sentence has been that the term equales refers not only to tres semibreves pro tempore, but also quattuor, quinque etc. More crucial than the syntactic difficulty inherent to this reading is the assumption that equales necessarily refers to the temporal quantity of the semibreves (in absolute time).

In the same book, Jacobus discusses the nine conclusions put forth by Johannes de Muris in the Notitia Artis Musicae (written in Paris in 1321, around three years earlier than the Speculum Musicae of the Liègeois) (76). He cites part of

(73) See Apel, Notation, 318ff. and Ulrich Michels Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris (Wiesbaden, 1970), 106-107.

(74) Apel's use of the phrase "semibreve chains" contains the prejudicial implication of equal "links". "Groups" is preferable for its neutral quality.

(75) Jacobi Leodensis, Speculum musicae 7:17,12. Ed. R. Brigard, CSM3 (Netherlands, 1973), 38.

Muris' conclusion as follows:

Piet ergo cantus ex duabus, tribus, quattuor, quinque, sex, septem, octo, novem semibrevis aequalibus eiusdem figurae, etc (77).

Although this alone would appear to support the theory of semibreve equivalence in these divisions, Muris' fuller discussion of his own ninth conclusion sheds more light on the matter:

Fiet igitur cantus ex 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 semibrevis aequalibus eiusdem figurae. Non est autem multum bene possibile voci ulterius pertransire. Canitur ex tribus aequalibus et ex duobus; duo et tria sunt quinque, bis duo <sunt> quattuor, bis tria sunt sex, quattuor et tria sunt septem, bis quattuor sunt octo, ter tria sunt novem. Haec omnia sunt aequalia. Igitur ex totidem aequalibus potest fieri cantus. Laudabilis autem esset musicus et peritus, qui super idem tempus aequale ipsum dividendo nunc per duas, nunc per tres et cetera partes integre discantaret (78).

After presenting the possibility that a tempus may be divided into as many as nine semibreves equalibus eiusdem figurae, he describes the manner in which such tempora would be sung: all numbers between four and nine inclusive are broken down by factors of two and three and grouped accordingly within the tempus. Thus, five semibreves = two + three; seven = (two + two) + three. Clearly, this indicates that the groups of two are performed either as binaries in contrast to triplets:

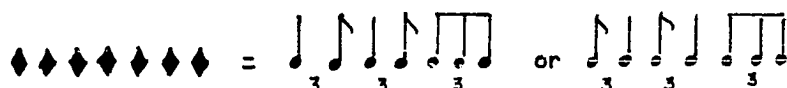
(76) See Michels, 9.

(77) Speculum musicae 7:44, 12 (CSM3, 85-86).

(78) Johannis de Muris, Notitia Artis Musicae I:13,4-7, ed. U. Michels CSM17 (Rome, 1972), 104-105.

e.g., 

or, more likely, in a manner analogous to the two semibreves inequales of the higher-level division of the tempus (whether iambic or trochaic (79))



Muris emphasizes that regardless of the number of semibreves or the nature of the interior groupings, haec omnia sunt aequalia (all [the configurations here described] are equal). That is, the tempus divided into two or three or four parts is equal in quantity (absolute time value) to the tempus divided into seven, eight, or nine semibreves. Muris restates this point in his concluding remark that

Laudabilis autem esset musicus et peritus qui super idem tempus aequale ipsum dividendo nunc per duas, nunc per tres et cetera partes integre discantaret (80). [Italics mine]

(79) On this further confusion of the interpretation of binary untailed semibreve groups, see E. Sanders, "Duple Rhythms and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century" JAMS 15 (1962), 249-291 and M. Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations" in L'Ars Nova Italiana 4, 65-82. The late thirteenth-century Italian anonymous treatise of the Faenza manuscript (see below, p. 40) includes a significant remark concerning one facet of this question: quandocumque due semibreves pro recta brevi inveniuntur in unisono, id est in eadem linea vel in eodem spatio, ad voluntatem cantantis possunt fieri prima vel secunda semibrevis maior pronuntiari. (Anon., Compendium musicae mensurabilis artis antiquae 3, 12 (ed. F. A. Gallo, CSM 15, 69)).

(80) This passage is quoted by Jacobus, Book 44, 14.

There remains the problem of an apparent contradiction between the semibreves aequales of the first part of the passage, and Muris' own gloss upon those configurations. However, the semibreves are in the words of the theorist [equales] eiusdem figurae. The information that these semibreves are all of the same shape is retained in Jacobus' otherwise abridged version of this passage. In Chapter 46 of the same book, Jacobus complains again of the many names "and moreover shapes" which the moderns have introduced in order to distinguish between semibreves (81).

Thus, a possible explanation for the reference to four through nine semibreves aequales in Muris' Notitia might be that regardless of the groupings of those semibreves, all are figured, or drawn, equally: i.e., there is no distinction between the shape of a semibreve worth one-third of a tempus and a semibreve with the value of one-ninth of a tempus. There is no doubt, of course, that this concept of "equality in nature," as it might be termed, originates with the equality in quantity of Franco's triple division of the breve.

(81) Speculum musicae 7:46, 19 (CSM3, 90). Hanboys' Summa includes a remark which may represent a verbalization of a tacit assumption behind the theories of the semibreves aequales of Muris and Jacobus: Tunc sic dicuntur semibreves: scilicet major, minor vel equalis, minorata et minima. CSI, 425b. For Hanboys, then, the equalis is a species of semibreve, having a characteristic shape (i.e., no up or down stem).

As will be seen, the concern over note shapes was not merely a manifestation of a conservative visual aesthetic on the part of Jacobus. For the abandonment of the semibrevis equalis as the universal note form for sub-temporal values possessed troublesome consequences for later mensural theorists (82).

The anonymous Compendium Musicae Mensurabilis Artis Antiquae of the manuscript Faenza 117 cites the quaternary to septenary divisions of the tempora in the triplum of Petrus de Cruce's "Aucun ont trove" as examples of semibreves inaequales (Inaequales sunt quando plures semibreves [quam tres] inter duas longas vel breves inveniuntur) (83). Gallo considers this treatise to be an authentic representation of the "transitional" notation of the late thirteenth century. Significantly, it is one of the group of theoretical works commencing with the phrase Gaudent breuitate moderni (84). If this is a work which was compiled prior to the introduction of the notational innovations of the 1310s and 1320s (i.e., the Moderns' addition of tails and stems to semibreves) which figure so importantly in the treatises of Jacobus and Hanboys, it is not surprising to find the term equales reserved solely for the ternary division of the breve. The notion of "equal in form"

(82) See Chapter III.

(83) Anon., Compendium Musicae Mensurabilis 3,7 (CSM15, 68).

(84) See Chapter I.C.

would have no relevance in a system which included no contrasting semibreve shapes.

Another treatise which seems to have been compiled in this period of transition is the anonymous Ars Musicae Mensurabilis Secundum Franconem (Paris lat. 15129). This work, which is more clearly linked to Franco's Ars Cantus Mensurabilis than the Faenza treatise(85), includes the following description of semibreve groups:

Semibreuium sic formatarum: \blacklozenge , alia minor, alia maior in valore, sed non in figuracione, quarum ponuntur aliquando duae pro tempore, aliquando tres vel quatuor vel quinque vel sex vel septem(86).

If we take the critical theoretical issue to be one of shape and not value, some of the statements made by Jacobus and others are more readily comprehensible. Jacobus, for instance, reports:

Est autem notandum quod Moderni pro perfecto... tempore nunquam ponere videntur quattuor semibreves. Et cum Antiqui pro perfecto tempore nunc quattuor, nunc quinque, septem vel octo ponerent, posset quaeri a Modernis in quarum semibreuium divisionem illas reducerent; et cum hoc non inueniant, oportet ut immediate in divisionem reducantur brevis(87).

Similarly, Hanboys states that in the case of four semibreves per tempus:

(85) See Gilles and Reaney, ed., Ars Musicae Mensurabilis Secundum Franconem CSM15, 33-35.

(86) Ars Musicae Mensurabilis Secundum Franconem 1,10 (CSM15, 42).

(87) Speculum musicae 7:17, 14-16 (CSM3, 38).

Hodie tenet ut pro brevi imperfecta; sed pro brevi perfecta nequaquam (88).

Obviously, the statement can not be taken at face value. The Moderns did put four semibreves for a perfect breve (thus entering the second level of division of the three-semibreve tempus: six minims). Proponents of the equal-quantity interpretation of the semibreves equales would argue that the remark indicates that the Moderns never sing four semibreves of equal length:



for a perfect breve. More likely, and far simpler, is the notion that this passage again refers to note shapes: the Moderns never put four semibreves equales for a perfect tempus: they distinguish (once beyond the ternary division) the major and minor with tails and stems. Jacobus meant to criticize the Moderns for their inability to sing from music notated in undifferentiated semibreves. Without the aid of notated minims, the uneducated modern singers could not, the theorist complains, resolve the underlying sub-temporal proportional relationships within a perfect tempus containing a number of semibreves not divisible by three. The later addition of minim stems to manuscript copies of works originally notated in semibreves equales was symptomatic of the modern trend towards visual differentiation: a modernization which, although it was probably intended to clarify sub-temporal

(88) CSI, 424a.

proportions (and was not, contrary to Jacobus' suggestion, a "crutch" resorted to by musical incompetents) created a theoretical paradox with far-reaching implications. Jacobus was aware of the potential theoretical hazard, and attacked the new use of variant semibreve shapes in order to preserve the theoretical underpinning of the Franconian system (89).

Similarly, Hanboys' examples are intended to demonstrate how the Moderns draw what was understood by the Antiqui (90). The only cases in which the Moderns do not distinguish values by shapes, according to Jacobus, are in the divisions into two (always sung as inequales) and three, six or nine (in which cases there can be no variable semibreves within each group). This interpretation is supported by Hanboys' statement (above) that the Moderns do put four semibreves (i.e. equales) for an imperfect breve, this particular situation corresponding to the equal divisions of the perfect breve into three, six and nine.

The only other evidence one can bring to bear on the question of the interpretation of these semibreve groups is that of implication based on omission. Except for the case of Muris' statement containing the phrase ex... semibrevis equalibus, (which we have seen may refer more to figura than valore) the concept of equality is never unequivocally intro-

(89) See below, Chapter III.

(90) CSI, 427b-430a.

duced with reference to groups of more than three (except in Jacobus' abridged quotation of the passage from Muris). The usual procedure in theoretical compendia seems to have been to demonstrate the divisions into two semibreves: due semibreves inequales, and then the ternary division: tres semibreves equales. Almost as an afterthought, the other possibilities were mentioned (division into four, five, six, seven, eight or nine) without explaining in detail how these might be performed. Possible reasons for the omission of this material are (1) loss of the "secret" of the style of performance of the works of the composers immediately following the Franco-
nian era and (2) concern over economy of space.

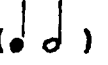
The former possibility has been accepted by a number of scholars(91). However, the notion that musici such as Muris, Vitry and Jacobus of Liège, all having been trained and/or active at the University of Paris (the center for late thirteenth-century theory) would have "forgotten" the details of the notational system which formed the background for their own innovations is unlikely. Jacobus himself expresses familiarity with the late Franconian milieu:

Item videtur mihi Parisius audivisse triplum a magistro Francone, ut dicebatur, compositum in quo plures semibreves quam tres pro uno perfecto ponebantur tempore(92).

(91) See, for example, Michels, 85.

(92) Speculum musicae 7:17, 12 (CSM3, 38).

The second suggestion is more probable, given the amount of parchment and scribal energy involved in writing the examples for Marchettus' Pomerium, Guido's Ars Musice and Hanboys' Summa, each of which describes in detail the interpretations of all possible configurations of semibreves within the tempus. Huris' solution, which was to outline the underlying principle of binary and ternary subdivisions, is economical and at least partially complete (if we discard the "equal-quantity" theory of the semibreves equales notation).

Given the Franconian and post-Franconian interpretation of groups of two semibreves within a perfect tempus () it is not inconceivable that all duple groups were to be interpreted within the same iambic framework. If four semibreves for a perfect tempus were sung as equal in value (the equivalence hypothesis), there is little rationale for maintaining the iambic interpretation of the two semibreves inequales for the same tempus, an interpretation about which there is no question in the Franconian tradition. The 1:2 ratio of the minor to major semibreve implies a ternary understanding of the tempus, a conscious subdivision by three, regardless of whether the "tactus" fell officially on each semibreve or on each breve. The performance of

◆◆ · ◆◆◆◆

as



seems unnecessarily complex, implying an underlying use of the

proportion of sesquialtera not otherwise in use within individual compositions until the second half of the fourteenth century (93). It would also mean that there would have been no way to notate subdivisions of the iambic tempus until the introduction of the minim with upward stem and the downward-tailed semibreve major, a notion which is strongly contradicted by theoretical references to the Antiqui who knew all the modern divisions, but did not need to express them with special shapes (94). It is very likely that French notation immediately prior to the introduction of the new shapes (which were codified by the Ars Nova theorists along with the subtemporal proportions in perfect and imperfect tempus which had probably been in use without their theoretical justification and regulation for some time) corresponded to the system of notation in the noventaria divisio described by Guido and Marchettus (although no shapes other than the semibreves equales were in common use).

Theoretical concern over note shapes in the 1320s and the tendency to focus on this issue in presenting the two sides of the "battle of the ancients and the moderns" was not merely a point of academic subtlety. The introduction of the stemmed minim as a "regular" note shape entailed a very important shift in proportional thinking. The difficulties which this development engendered are evident in the writings of both

(93) See Chapter IV.D.

(94) E.g., Speculum musicae, 7:46.

French and Italian theorists through the turn of the fifteenth century. Chapter III is an examination of the contemporary theoretical response to the modern system of proportions.

III. THE CRISIS OF THE 1320s: PROPORTIONAL UNITS

A. Temporal quality

One of the first indications of the recognition of the aforementioned difficulty is found in Jacobus' seventeenth chapter:

Est autem notandum quod Moderni pro perfecto vel imperfecto tempore nunquam ponere videntur quattuor semibreves, non quinque, non septem, non octo, sed duas, tres, sex vel novem. Et cum Moderni novem quas ponunt pro perfecto tempore, vel sex pro imperfecto, pronuntiant ternarias et sic discernant eas quas vocant minimas, non videntur illae novem esse pro uno perfecto tempore sed pro tribus, ut tribus et tribus unum tempus respondeat perfectum, sicut fuit apud Antiquos. Et illi quidem, cum sex vel novem pro perfecto ponebant tempore, sic aequaliter ipsas pronuntiabant ut ipsas non ternarias, binarias, vel quaternarias discernerent (95).

The remark which lies at the center of Jacobus' theoretical complaints against the Ars Nova is that the Ancients (Franco, Petrus de Cruce, etc.)

when they put six or nine [semibreves] for a perfect tempus sang these equally [i.e., unaccented], so as not to distinguish ternary, binary or quaternary proportions [at the level of minim : semibreve].

Jacobus criticizes the conceptualization of a three-minim group as a tempus:

(95) Speculum musicae 7:17,14-16 (CSM3, 38-39).

non videntur illae novem [semibreves minimes] esse
pro uno perfecto tempore sed pro tribus.

Similarly, when replacing an imperfect tempus with six semi-
breves, the Moderns create, in effect, two tempora (again of
one semibreve each), since the tempus should be the smallest
divisible proportional unit. From a strictly theoretical point
of view, transferring the system of proportions to this level
violates the integrity of the Franconian definition of tempus.
More important from a practical standpoint, the admission of
the minim as a proportional unit (a status enhanced by distin-
guishing it in shape from a minor semibreve) signified the end
of the semibreve/breve relationship as the rhythmic raw mater-
ial from which the musicus et peritus could fashion a cantus.
Interest was now focused on the relation of the divided to the
whole semibreve, implying that the breve would soon lose its
position as the tactus integer in real time, and the tempus
would forfeit its value as a practical concept. The second
treatise (Quoniam musici) of the Berkeley theory manuscript
(olim Phillipps 4450) provides testimony that Jacobus' fears
were eventually realized in theory as well as practice. Fol-
lowing his discussion of note values and proportions (conclud-
ing with the relation of minim to semibreve and the concepts
of perfect and imperfect semibreves) the author declares that
although the breve should properly be called tempus,

Sciendum est eciam quod licet...quelibet figura seu
notula per se posset appellari tempus(96).

(96) O. Ellsworth, "The Berkeley Manuscript (olim Phillipps
4450): A Compendium of Fourteenth-Century Music

If it was this shift in proportional thinking which lay at the root of Jacobus' invective, the passage cited above concerning the six- or nine-fold division of the perfect tempus may be seen as the first warning against the consequences of abandoning the tempus as the lowest level of notational division. The most extreme difficulty arises in the case of the perfect tempus of six semibreves' duration. Whereas the Antiqui maintained a constant value for the breve whether it was divided by six or nine, the pseudo-tempus on the minor semibreve of the Ars Nova destroys that consistency:

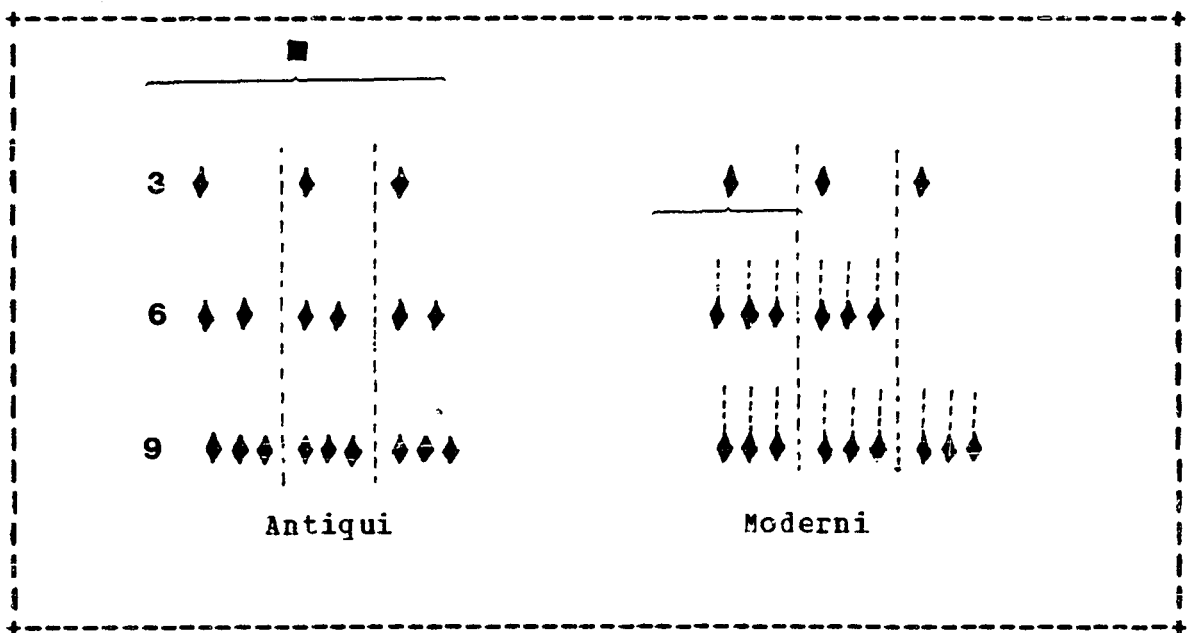


Fig. 3.1

Theory" (Ph.D. diss., UC Berkeley, 1969), 36.

By endowing the minim with a discrete value in real time, the six-fold division of the perfect breve (in which each semi-breve is subject to binary division) takes on a length two-thirds that of the nine-minim breve (in which each semibreve is subject to ternary division). This situation explains Jacobus' remark that the Ancients sang both of these perfect tempora equally (the implication being that the Moderns did not).

The perfect breve of six minims' length (the divisio binaria of which Jacobus complains) was, then, perfect only in concept. In reality, it was equivalent to an imperfect breve (a nine-minim breve minus one-third). By mid-century, this notational paradox was given a theoretical basis in the concept of mutatio qualitatis (97). This theoretical abstraction clearly postdates the notational practice itself (98). It seems to have been introduced in Muris' Libellus, a work written in the middle to late 1340s (99).

Et nota quod quidam cantores... imperficiunt...
breve[m] imperfectam[m] majoris[m] prolationis a duabus min-
imis simul sequentibus vel precedentibus... Et
dicunt illi ibi mutari qualitatem. Capiunt enim ibi
breve[m] perfectam[m] minoris[m] prolationis ac si esset
brevis imperfecta majoris prolationis, et e con-
trario breve[m] imperfectam[m] majoris prolationis ac si

(97) See Ulrich Michels, 6, 36 on this phrase and its use in Muris' Libellus cantus mensurabilis.

(98) See below, 3.B.

(99) Michels, 36, explains that the work probably dates from the decade of the 1340s, on the basis of information provided by Muris concerning notational idiosyncrasies in the works of Machaut which date from that period. On these, see R. Hoppin, "Notational licenses of Guillaume de Machaut" MD14 (1960), 13-28.

esset brevis perfecta minoris prolationis(100).

Jacobus was not the only musicus to point out the basic conceptual contradiction in the invariable [semibreve] minima. Marchettus devoted an entire chapter of the Pomerium to this subject, thus bearing witness to the international scope of music-theoretical issues in notation at the turn of the fourteenth century:

DESTRUCTIO CUIUSDAM ERRORIS: Ex dictis immediate supra surrexit quidam error non parvus in music mensurata. Dixerunt enim quidam: Tu dicis quod possum dividere duas partes temporis imperfecti in tres singulariter, et sic habeo sex; sed sex etiam con-surgebant dividendo tres partes temporis perfecti in duas; ergo, concluderunt ipsi, senaria divisio potest esse media inter perfectum tempus et imperfectum.

Sed responderemus: Dicimus enim quod omnis numerus in divisione duarum rerum semper invenitur, vel potest inveniri, in ambabus; et tamen nulla pars alicuius rei potest esse media inter ipsam et alteram rem, sicut si duae lineae dividantur, divisio binaria, ternaria, quaternaria et omnis divisio potest reperiri in unaquaque; et tamen pars unius lineae nunquam potest esse medium inter ipsam et aliam lineam. Quantumcunque ergo procedis dividendo tempus imperfectum in partes diversas, tu incedis in eundem numerum partium, sicut tu faciebas dividendo tempus perfectum in suas. Nulla tamen pars temporis imperfecti potest esse unquam media inter ipsam et tempus perfectum, nec omnes simul, cum natura temporis imperfecti, de se et essentialiter, sit distincta a natura temporis perfecti: quod maxime patet in modo cantandi de tempore perfecto et imperfecto. Et si dicatur: Tu dicis quod solum imperfectum deficit a perfecto.

Dicimus quod hoc est verum, facta proportione perfecti ad imperfectum; tamen in essentiis sunt duo tempora distincta ad invicem, et separata et opposita, sicut patet per diffinitiones oppositas eorundem: fit enim unam cum plenitudine vocis, aliud vero cum semiplenitudine vocis(101).

(100) Libellus. CSIII, 50a.

Pirrota has pointed out that Marchettus does not even discuss the senaria perfecta as an independent mensuration (102). It may be that the author of the Pomerium purposely omitted that particular division so as not to have to commit himself to describing a two-minim division of the semibreve in perfect time, considering the six-semibreve tempus only as the next higher level of the twelve-semibreve (minim) tempus (duodenaria). Despite the reservations of Marchettus, the practice of mutatio qualitatis was apparently incorporated into northern Italian compositional and notational styles at an early date.

(101) Pomerium II:3,4 (CSM6, 170-171).

(102) Pirrota "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova", 59n.

B. Mutatio Qualitatis in Italian music before 1350

An anonymous madrigal preserved in the Rossi codex (I-VatR 215), "Seguendo un me' sparver" (f.3v-4) furnishes an example of the acceptance of the six-minim equivalence in practice. At the opening of the ritornello the mensuration of the cantus part is indicated by the signature .sp. (perfect tempus, minor prolation or binaria). The tenor voice bears the mensural indication .ç. (imperfect tempus, major prolation or ternaria). The work provides evidence that minim equivalence was utilized in the earliest Italian repertoire.

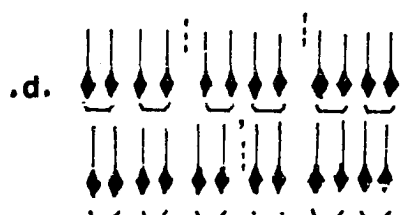
Further indications of mutatio qualitatis in this early repertoire appear in the collection of monophonic ballate for which the Rossi manuscript is the unique source. In these works, small strokes resembling semibreve rests are entered presumably as breath or phrasing marks (103). Whatever the specific performance nuance indicated (104), the implication at -----

(103) The marks were first discussed by Pirrotta, "Lirica monodica trecentesca" La Rassegna Musicale 9 (1936), 322: "Ed è testimonianza significativa di come una continua articolazione di elementi melodici di diversa lunghezza e accentuazione, l'impiego, nel codice Rossi, di segni speciali che verosimilmente erano destinati ad indicare i respiri e il fraseggio del discorso melodico."

(104) The St. Emmeran Anonymous refers to them as breath marks or marks of syllable division (the latter seems to be the case for, e.g., "Lucente stella", m.6): Hic intendit actor de figuris pausationum differentias specificare quantitatem cuiuslibet ostendendo

the sub-temporal level is often that of mutatio qualitatis (for instance, a duple division of a perfect tempus). As these ballate are usually notated in duodenaria, the effect of this transformation is to increase the scope of the "mutation."

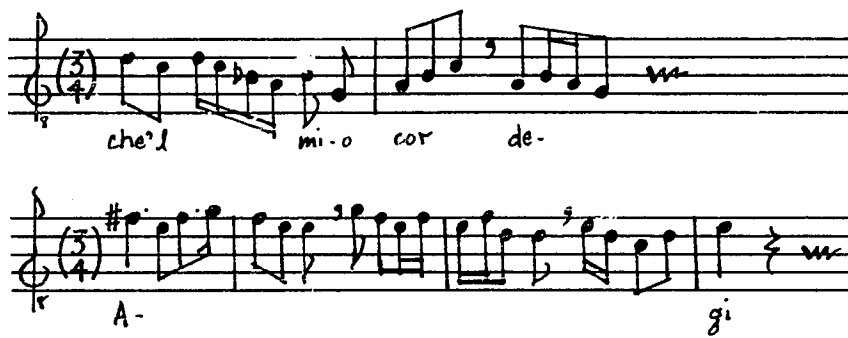
Muris' basic equivalence of 3,2 and 2,3 is in these cases one of 3,4 and 2,6 (or 3,2x2 and 2,3x2):



Ex. 3.1 Non formo cristi (105) mm. 17-19

pariter et figuram, unde imprimis videndum est, quid sit figura pausationis et quot sunt pausationum differentie, et que sit cognitio inter illas. Ad primum dicimus: figura pausationis est signum vel tractus circa divisionem soni: tractus dico factus in debita quantitate sive proportione. Pausationum vel tractuum differentie sunt hec: quedam dicitur semibrevis, quedam recta brevis, vel maior, quedam longa minor, vel maior, quedam dicitur finis punctorum, quedam divisio modorum, quedam divisio sillabarum, quedam suspiratio. (Sowa, 110). The Ars Musicae Mensurabilis of Vat. lat. 15129 uses the term suspirium to refer to a signum breviter hanelitum retrahendi (CSM 15, 53). The suspirium does indeed resemble the indications in the Rossi codex.

(105) Pirrotta CMM8/2, 45.



Ex. 3.2 Lucente stella (106) mm. 5-7, 16-19

This internal grouping again effects the transformation of a perfect tempus into an imperfect one (through binary division).

The Rossi ballate, then, include frequent shifts between .sp. (as the second division of .d.) and .g. (whether notated with the signature letter or through temporal division signalled by phrasing marks). The repertoire thus bears out the accuracy of the description of the ballata given by the anonymous author of the Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis (107):

Volunt etiam esse de tempore perfecto et de aere ytallico, et in aliquibus locis vel puncto de gallico, sed non in principio nec in fine (108).

(106) Pirrotta CMM8/2, 43.

(107) S. Debenedetti, "Un trattatello del secolo XIV sopra la poesia musicale" in Studi Medievali 2 (1905), 58-82.

(108) Capitulum, ll. 16-18.

The mensurations of the Rossi ballate:

"Che ti zova" (f.18)	d[uodenaria]
"Amor mi fa cantar" (f.18v)	n[ovenaria]
"Per tropo fede" (f.19)	d
"Lucente stella" (f.22)	d
"Non formo cristi" (f.23)	[d]/n/d/n/d/g/d/g/d

include only one exception to the regula presented in the Capitulum. The ballata "Amor mi fa cantar" which is composed entirely in aere gallico (i.e. major prolation), a musical illustration of the text: "Love makes me sing a la francescha."

The regrouping of the triple mensuration of duodenaria into a duple mensuration in which each half of the tempus is divided into three (at the first stage of division) or six (at the second level) eventually led to a wholesale revision of the original concept of duodenaria in theory as well as practice. Coussemaker's Anonymous VII, representing the anti-Marchettan orientation of late Trecento notation theory (109), does not consider duodenaria to be a ternary division of the breve at all:

(109) Von Fischer, "Zur Entwicklung", 97. His theory and attitude would place him in the same theoretical tradition as the vernacular anonymous of Florence, Laur. Redi 71, described by von Fischer as "ganz französisch orientiert", and the anonymous dict. Theo. de Caprio of Vat. Barb. lat. 307.

Brevis in ista manerie duodenaria valet duas majores
semibreves, id est sex minims. [*italics mine*](110)

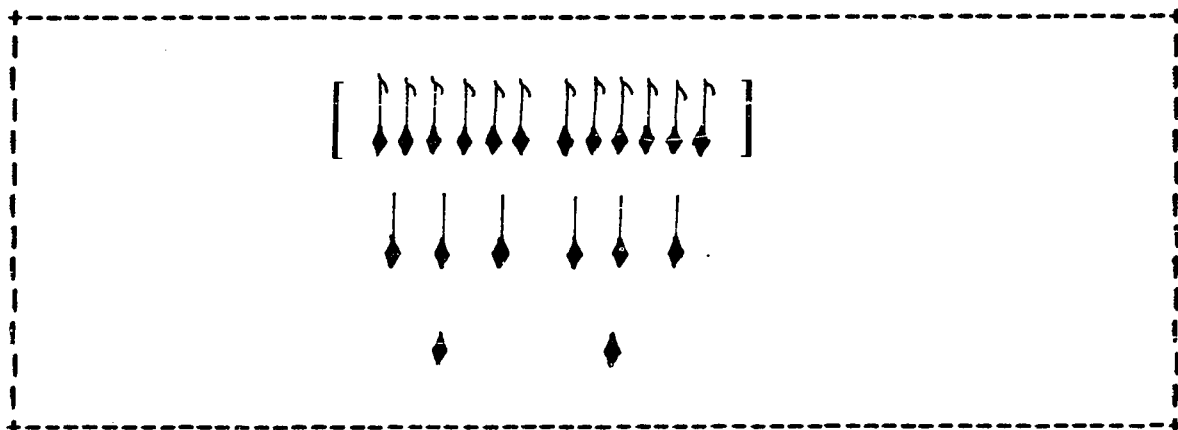


Fig. 3.2

This method of rhythmic organization of the tempus provides the theoretical basis for the "6/16-Gruppen" utilized in the compositions attributed to "Guido" in the Chantilly manuscript(111). One of these works, the ballade "Or voit" is a setting of a text which attacks the system of notation codified by Marchettus(112). Although it is clear that by this time (late in the century) it was the fundamental theoretical nature of Marchettus' duodenaria which was succumbing to the pressures of those who preferred to use note values smaller than the breve as the immutable basis for all proportions (in

(110) CSIII, 405b.

(111) See Günther, "Das Ende der Ars Nova" HF15 (1962), 109. The division at this level is sometimes termed "minor subprolation"; see Hirshberg, "The Music of the Late Fourteenth Century: A Study in Musical Style" (Ph. D. diss. U. Penn, 1971), 176.

(112) Günther, 108.

this case, as with many of the "mannerist" pieces of the later fourteenth century, it is the relationship of *minim* to [binary] *semiminim* which remains constant), Günther's statement that Guido's twelve-fold divisions of the breve

entsprechen ganz eindeutig nicht der von Marchettus eingeführten duodenaria (113)

may be too inflexible. For the performance nuances preserved in the monophonic ballate of the Rossi Codex indicate that from a practical point of view, the 6+6 organization in duodenaria (as a technique for effecting a short-term mutatio qualitatis) was used to full advantage in the early Trecento repertoire. Since there was no sextenary division of a semi-breve possible within the contemporary system, the transformation of duodenaria did not entail the theoretical problems encountered in the double meaning of *senaria*.

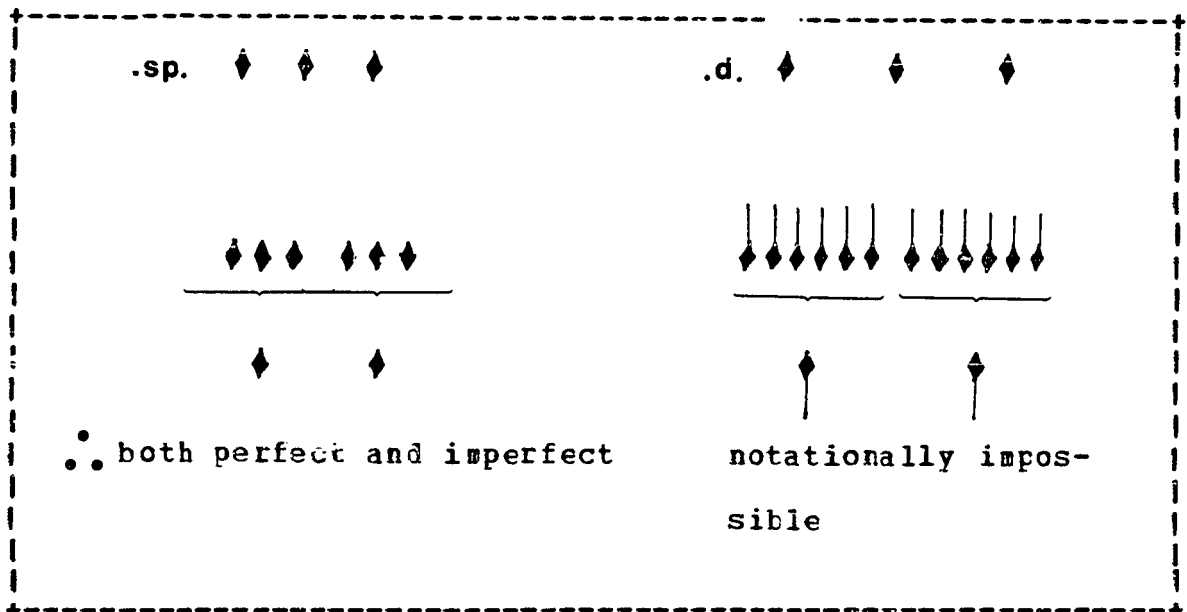


Fig. 3.3

(113) Günther, 108.

Thus the duple aspect of the division into twelve may have been utilized even in Marchettus' time, for it (unlike the French mutatio qualitatis) preserved the quantity of the breve, the proportional core of Marchettus' system. Indeed, in the case of a configuration such as the following:



Ex. 3.3 Lucente stella m. 40

precisely the same effect (the implication of imperfection within perfection) is produced without sacrificing the constant measure of the breve.

It is difficult to determine when Muris' concept of mutatio qualitatis might have been introduced into written Italian notational theory. It was an integral part of theoretical works by the end of the century. The anonymous Capitulum de modo accipiendo of the manuscript Catania D39 is very clear in stating the temporal equivalence of the binary and ternary interpretations of the six-minim group in discussing the senaria perfecta:

prolacio minor perfecta ex qua habetur modus binarius seu ternarius qui idem sunt in actu et figura
 [italics mine](114)

(114) F. A. Gallo, Mensurabilis musicae tractatuli 1

Another late fourteenth-century Italian treatise (Vat. lat. 5129) notes that

Item, est sciendum quod quadratus maioris prolationis temporis imperfecti valet sex minimas, ut hic: ↓↓↓↓ ↓↓↓↓) ↓↓↓↓ ↓↓↓↓ , et quando est minoris prolationis temporis perfecti, valet totidem (115).

The constant quantity of the perfect breve as a meaningful unit in real time (at both the second and third levels of division) had, then, been totally abandoned even as a theoretical concept by around 1370 (116).

Still another transformation of the duodenaria measure was utilized late in the century: an interpretation which combined both levels of mutatio qualitatis, i.e. a higher-level binary division (6+6) coupled with a subdivision into two groups of three rather than three groups of two (the original transformation introduced by Muris) within each half-tempus:



This grouping of the mensuration could be notated in practice

(Bologna, 1966), 59.

(115) Anonymus Ex Codice Vaticano lat. 5129, ed. A. Seay, CSM9 (Rome, 1964), 42.

(116) The first level is, of course, the division into three, the second into six and the third into twelve. The division into nine was always considered a special case, owing to its gallic origins. Neither Marchettus nor Guido assign it an ordinal position among the divisions of the perfect breve.

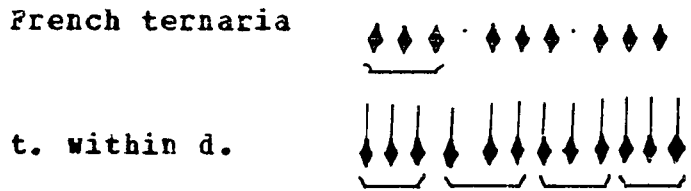
with the indication for ternaria (117). The use of .t. to indicate yet another special form of duodenaria is symptomatic of the practical and theoretical interest which was increasingly focused upon this particular division of the perfect breve, at the expense of the simpler division of senaria. The growing use of "longa-notation" in Italy after around 1350 was essentially another manifestation of this same compositional/theoretical tendency.

(117) Pirrotta suggests that the .t. in Rossi no. 16 ("Du occhi ladri") may mean a reorganization of the minims of duodenaria in groups of three, instead of in groups of four." CMM8/2, iii.

IV. SUBDIVISIONS OF DUODENARIA AND LONGA-NOTATION

A. Ternaria and tempus minimum.

The use of the indication .t. to signify not so much an independent mensuration as a particular subset of the "generic" term .d.[uodenaria] must be carefully distinguished from the casual use of the term ternaria by French and Italian theorists. As an element within a set of concrete notational symbols, .t.[ernaria] bears the specific meaning of a mutatio qualitatis within .d. with no change of quantity. The theoretical concept of ternaria is merely a proportional one, and operates at any level. Thus, the application of the term ternaria to the triple subdivisions of the nine-semibreve tempus does not carry the same practical meaning as ternaria as a form of duodenaria(118):



(118) See for example, Jacobus' statement, above, for the proportional use of the term ternaria.

A semibreve minima of .t. (in relation to .d.) is not equal to the semibreve minima of the ternaria division of perfect tempus, perfect prolation (= Ital. novenaria). Rather, it is in sesquitertial proportion to the other, just as the minima in the usual 4x3 variety of duodenaria is sesquitertial to a minima of novenaria. The Italian .t. could be used (at least originally) as a sign of quality rather than quantity.

In the minds of some, however, .t.[ernaria] acquired the status of an independent division of the breve, not necessarily associated with duodenaria. This approach to ternaria obscured its usefulness as a means of achieving a change of quality within the framework of an invariable perfect tempus

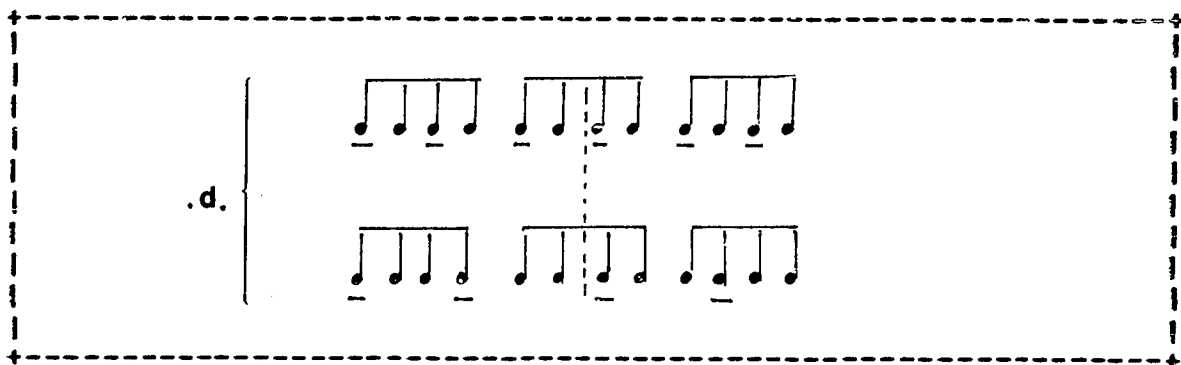


Fig. 4.1

by making it a division of a variable breve: a perfect tempus with a value in real as well as theoretical time of three minims. Prosdocimus complains of these musicians

Notandum tamen quod aliqui ponunt tempus ternarium pro una alia mensura inter alias et dicunt illud esse tempus ternarium quod ponit brevem in

valorem trium minimarum. Et dicunt ulterius quod ille cantus est ternarius, in quo omnes breves de sui natura valent tres minimas, et inter quelibet duo puncta immediata vel sibi con forma tale tempus dividenda, reperitur valor trium minimarum. Et dicunt quod pro tanto dicitur tempus ternarium quoniam quelibet brevis in tali mensura reperta de sui natura valet tres minimas. Sed hoc dictum videtur michi satis absurdum duabus de causis, quarum prima est quia nunquam visum est aliquam notam aliquo modo pervenire posse ad valorem note recte minoris valoris sed bene maioris ut notum est quia per alterationem. Secunda est quia daretur tempus quod non esset perfectum nec imperfectum: hoc namque tempus ternarium primo non esset perfectum, eo quod tunc brevis de sui natura valeret tres semibreves quod non est hic, nec esset tempus imperfectum eo quod tunc brevis valeret duas semibreves quod etiam non est hic. Et si diceres quod tempus ternarium est tempus perfectum eo quod brevis de sui natura valet tres minimas dico ad hoc quod talis valor perfectionis non pertinet ad perfectionem temporis seu brevis, sed ad perfectionem semibrevis ut supra habitum est. Et ergo hanc mensuram dimittamus tanquam superfluum et contra rationem positam (119).

The origins of this independent form of ternaria lie, not surprisingly, in that same difficult period of the 1320s which witnessed so many other attempts to grapple with the problems caused by the lack of agreement concerning the selection of the integer valor of the perfect tempus. And once again, we find unmistakable evidence of the interaction between French and Italian theory and practice.

Philippe de Vitry offered an early description of the three-minim tempus in his Ars Nova:

Unde sciendum est quod tempus perfectum est triplex, scilicet minimum, medium et maius. Minimum tempus posuit Franco. Unde notandum est secundum Magistrum Franconem, et sicut visum est superius, <quod>

(119) Prosdocius de Beldemandis, Tractatus ed. C. Sartori (Florence, 1938), 42-43.

minimum tempus non est nisi tres continens semibreves, quae quidem adeo sunt strictae quod amplius dividi non possunt, nisi per semiminimas dividantur (120).

Vitry sets forth the three divisions of the perfect tempus: minimum (3 semibreves minimae), medium (6 semibreves minimae) and maius (9 semibreves minimae). Importantly, he associates the first with Franco, pointing out that Franco's semibreves were sung quickly (strictae): more quickly, we may assume, than the Moderns (who now have a special shape for the minim) sing an unstemmed semibreve in the more common divisions of medium or maius tempus perfectum.

In a passage possibly derived from Vitry, Jacobus of Liege reiterated the fact that tempus minimum posuit Franco, although he did not follow Vitry in admitting the possibility of further division into semiminims:

Dicendum igitur quod, ubi dixerunt. Antiqui tempus perfectum non esse divisibile in plures semibreves quam tres, intelligunt de cita mensuratione, et hoc approbat quidam modernus doctor de Francone. Dicit enim quod tempus minimum posuit Franco cum brevis in tres semibreves dividitur adeo strictas ut ulterius sint indivisibiles. Et quod sic intelligat Franco patet. Nam, cum dixisset semibrevium plures quam tres non posse accipi, statim exponens se subdit: eo, inquit, quod huius modi semibrevis de qua loquor est minima pars brevis (121).

Jacobus amplified his discussion of Franco's cita mensuratione by outlining the proportional relationship between Franco's tempus and that of the Moderns:

(120) Philippi de Vitriaco Ars Nova, ed. G. Reaney, A. Gilles and J. Maillard, CSM8 (U.S.A., 1964), 29.

(121) Speculum musicae 7:17,2 (CSM3, 36).

Idea igitur intelligit ibi Franco per semibreve, quae tertia pars est brevis perfectae, quod intelligunt Moderni per minimam vel atomam quam ponunt partem <nonam> temporis perfecti, et communiter indivisibile(122).

Jacobus' statement supports the suggestion made earlier that the independent ternaria mensuration represents one-third of the French novenaria (i.e. three of nine minims) and is not equivalent in terms of quantity to .t.[ernaria] as a qualitative subset of duodenaria. This is not to say that Italian composers never utilized the ternaria division in the French sense. Prosdocius' complaints make it clear that they did. The pseudo-Marchettan Rubricae breves(123), includes a discussion of this form of tempus minimum(124). More influential with regard to international musical style was the form of ternaria in which .t. was introduced within a framework of duodenaria, and the sesquitertial nature of the minim (in relation to the French minim of constant value: minimum = 1/2 medium = 2/3 maius in quantitative time) was not lost. It was this category of the twelve-minim division which became popular among French composers in the last quarter of the fourteenth century(125).

(122) Speculum musicae 7:17,3 (CSM3, 36).

(123) Rome, Vat. Lat. 5322.

(124) Rubricae breves, GSIII, 188. See also Pirrotta, MD9 (1955), 59n.

(125) Cf. the discussions of Guido's ballade "Or voit" (Chantilly 564, f.25v) above, and section D.2, below.

B. Quaternaria and longa-notation

The quaternaria divisio is the most difficult mensuration to deal with from a theoretical perspective. Part of the problem arises from the fact that Marchettus makes no specific reference to quaternaria as an independent division in the Pomerium, considering it no doubt as a category within the division of octonaria (126).

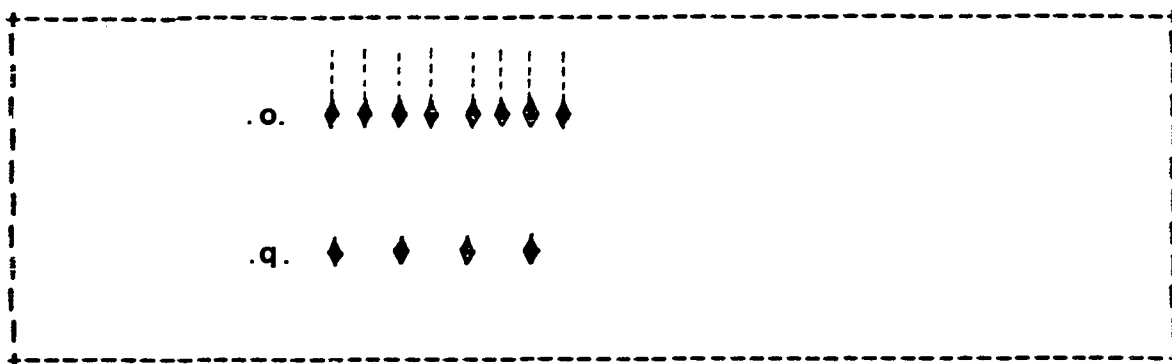











Fig. 4.2

By around 1350, however, it had become perhaps the most practicable of all the Italian divisions, and the basis for the system now known as longa-notation. The network of relationships which constitute this notational style is illustrated in Table 2 (see next page).

(126) Pirrotta, MD9 (1955), 59n. Marchettus refers to these levels of division as primum and secundum gradum.

TABLE 2. Longa Notation [1]

quaternaria (=French tempus imperfectum minimum)	
"tempus"	
duodenaria	
[Marchettan perfect tempus]	
"modus"	
octonaria	
[Marchettan imperfect tempus]	
"modus"	
(novenaria)	

Since the system as I have presented it here centers around the three:one proportion of duodenaria and quaternaria, a problematic statement made by Prosdocius which flatly contradicts this proportional view of longa-notation must be clarified. In describing the quantity of the minims of octonaria and duodenaria Prosdocius writes that they are special cases, in sesquitertial proportion to the "normal" minims of senaria and novenaria:

Unde scire debes, quod due sunt fractiones rationabiles, et dulciter cantabiles, reperte inter minimam et semiminimam que in dupla proportione ad minimam cantatur, scilicet fractio ad minimam sexquialtera, propter quam fractionem invente sunt semiminime cum cauda retorta et ad superius reflexa de quibus facta est superius mentio, et fractio ad minimam sexquitertia, propter quam invente sunt iste due mensurae iam recitate scilicet mensura octenaria et mensura duodenaria quas si bene considerabimus, et ipsas aliquantulum stricte cantabimus, inveniemus octenariam mensuram ad senariam reduci, et duodenariam ad novenariam, que ambe mensurae maiores, ad ambas mensuras minores, in sexquitertia proportione se habent, ut apparet, et sic tales mensurae non posite sunt sine necessitate, cum talem proportionem sexquitertiam satis necessarium habere non possemus absque istarum duarum mensurarum positione. Sed bene posite fuissent sine necessitate si sub suo proprio esse cantate fuissent et non stricte ut octenaria duplex quaternaria et duodenaria triplex quaternaria pro ut quandoque faciunt ignorantes cantores Italici qui dicunt quod non semper tempus octenarium et tempus duodenarium ad senarium et novenarium cantari habent in proportio sexquitertia, sed quod aliquando octenarium sub modo duplicis quaternarii et duodenarium sub modo triplicis quaternarii cantari habent. Sed istis non est attendendum quia male et false loquuntur propter rationes iam adductas.

Sed si contra hoc obstaret aliquis probando mensuras iam recitatas scilicet octenariam et duodenariam adhuc positas fuisset sine necessitate, retenta adhuc tali proportione sexquitertia, eo quod ad hoc sufficisset mensura quaternaria stricte cantata, ...fuisset sufficiens pro proportione sexquitertia. Sed dico quod propter hoc non est dicendum

alias duas mensuras iam recitatas fuisse positas absque necessitate, et hanc mensuram quaternariam pro tali proportione sexquitertia poni debuisse, quoniam si tales due mensure posite non fuissent, et talis mensura quaternaria aliquando pro proportione sexquitertia stetisset, tunc semper, quando nobis presentatus fuisset aliquis cantus quaternarius, fuisset nobis dubium an ipsius figuras cantare debuissimus in suis propriis valoribus sive large, an stricte sive in proportione sexquitertia; et propter hanc obscuritatem sive dubietatem fugere, invente sunt alie due mensure pluries nominate, scilicet octenaria et duodenaria; et hoc ut sciamus quod quaternarium tempus semper sub modo quaternario cantare debemus, octenarium vero et duodenarium ad senarium et novenarium in sexquitertia proportione, et sic habes quomodo tales mensure posite non sunt sine necessitate quod declarare volebamus (127).

This passage may be seen as a rational complement to Prosdocius' earlier invective against those who consider ternaria to be a true tempus (i.e., a division of the breve). The quaternaria divisio if it were one-third duodenaria or one-half octonaria would be in proportio sesquitertia to ternaria. Since ternaria is not a valid mensuration (128), its sesquitercial counterpart (equal in absolute quantity) can not logically exist as an independent mensuration. Therefore, Prosdocius appears to have been in agreement with Marchettus in considering quaternaria to be a fourfold division of the same imperfect breve which constitutes the measure of octonaria (see Fig. 4.2 above).

(127) Sartori, 48-49.

(128) See above, p. 65.

There is theoretical support for the opposing view (that of the ignoranti). The anonymous Capitulum de modo accipiendo of the MS. Catania D39 gives a clear description of longa-notation as we find it in the musical sources:

Modus autem duodenarius sive octonarius per se modi secundum istas figuras et prolationes quia non sunt aliquae ipsarum est modus quod dictus est; sed in cantu reducuntur ad modum quaternarium, dicitur de prolatione minori imperfecta, hoc modo quia major qui ponitur in modo duodenario et per talem reductionem perficitur longa, et eodem modo videmus de octonario (129).

The basis for the system as it was practiced, then, was an imperfect tempus (actually a theoretical construct: a pseudo-tempus) with a duration of two minor semibreves (four semibreves minimae, or minims). This four-minim tempus was equal in quantity to one-third of the tempus duodenaria. Thus, the quaternaria unit operated at two levels simultaneously. It constituted a theoretical tempus (and therefore was represented by the notational symbol of the breve) but in real time represented one-third of an invariable perfect tempus. Similarly, it was equivalent to one-half of the invariable eight-minim "real" imperfect tempus. However, since the "real" imperfect and perfect tempora (octonaria and duodenaria) were theoretically conglomerates of two or three breves (each of four minims' duration) they had to be represented by the imperfect or perfect longa, respectively. The end result is that the division of duodenaria was expressed by a longa of

(129) Gallo, MMT1, 59. The passage is discussed by Gallo, La Teoria della Notazione in Italia, 85.

twelve minims' length. Octonaria was expressed by a longa of eight minims' length.

From the point of view of Marchettan theory, the system (based as it is on hypothetical tempora and double meanings) is a bit unorthodox. From a practical point of view, however, it provides a solution for the very problem which Marchettus (and Jacobus) raised with regard to the six-semibreve tempus(130). Table 3 illustrates the relative advantages of the longa system over traditional Marchettan notation.

TABLE 3. Longa Notation [2]

<u>Marchettan system</u>	<u>Longa notation</u>
Length in real time	(<u>De modo accipiendo</u>)
■ → (perfect)	┌■┐ ┌■┐ ┌■┐ (imperfect)
◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	┌──■──┐ (perfect)
◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ (ternaria)
◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	

The proportional difficulties engendered by the six-minim tempus of the 1320s are ameliorated in this system of "minimal"

(130) See above, Chapter III.A.

breves(131). The "mutation" from 3,2 to 2,3 in the new system takes place at a level above that of tempus. Thus, the "quality" of the breve is not affected(132). Mutatio qualitatis represents, again, contrasting interpretations of duodenaria, as in the case of the monophonic ballate with phrasing indications(133), so that the shift from 3,2 to 2,3 is actually a shift from 3,4 to 2,6 (or more precisely 3,4/2 to 2,6/2). The introduction of the French punctus augmentationis(134) allowed for the division of the twelve-minim group into two units of six without resort to special note shapes(135).

By reducing the absolute value of the breve, there was little need for note forms which represented unusual semibreve values and combinations (e.g. ♪ ♪ ♪). In addition to simpli-

(131) See the preceding section on tempus minimum. Quaternaria was, then, equivalent to Vitry's hypothetical tempus imperfectum minimum: Minimum tempus [imperfectum] est illud quod continet in se duas semibreves, quarum quaelibet duas valet minimas, et sic minimum tempus imperfectum non nisi quatuor minimas valere debet, nisi per semiminimas dividatur. (Ars Nova) Ch. 23. CSM9, 30. Whether Vitry's tempus minimum was ever used in practice is questionable. Frobenius' interpretation (art. "Frolatio" in Handwörterbuch der Musikalischen Terminologie [Wiesbaden, 1979], 4) of the notation of Vitry's motet, "Tribum quem non abhorruit" (Pn146 f.41v) can not be accepted with certainty. See also Schrade, PMFC1, Commentary (Monaco, 1956), 92.

(132) One might argue that this solution merely transfers the problem to another level: i.e., an imperfect long may now equal a perfect long (in theory). But this situation would not entail the same theoretical consequences as shifting tempus quality. Mode is an artificial construct (see above, Chapter I.C) consisting of units (tempora) which have an essential "reality" about them, and are defined in physical,

fyng this technical aspect of notation, the institution of the short tempus as an immutable standard invested that unit with real meaning in the Franconian sense once again (136). Tempus and tactus (or mensura) were to some extent, then, reunited in theory and practice (137).

not numerical, terms.

(133) See above, Chapter III.B.

(134) First described in the anonymous In arte motetorum (CSIII, 92), a treatise of the first half of the fourteenth century which was formerly ascribed to Muris. See Ū. Michels, 42-47.

(135) It should be emphasized that the punctus augmentationis is the only element of Italian longa-notation which can validly be termed "French". The use of the quaternaria division (which existed theoretically in Vitry's system) and the twelve-minim longa were not in use in France. Nor was the eight-minim imperfect long (the longa-notational equivalent to Marchetto's octonaria). This is substantiated by the anonymous MS. Pavia 450 which attempts to translate the Italian divisions into French Fragmentum de proportionibus of the tempora and prolations. The anonymous theorist refers to octonaria as proportio [=tempus] quatuorpla [prolatio minor] noting that this mensuration non est in usu secundum magistrum Johannem de Muris. (F. A. Gallo, MST1, 55).

C. The use of quaternaria and implied modus in the earliest Italian repertoire

We have seen that the notation of Italian works in longa-notation may have been a response to musical situations which had become increasingly troublesome from both practical and theoretical points of view. Theoretical witnesses for the existence of these problems date from the earliest recorded stages of Italian notational development (e.g., Marchettus' exposition on the six-minia tempus), but discussions of longa-notation have focused on its use in the last third of the Trecento (chiefly in the Florentine sources FP and Sq). Von

(136) In this regard it is interesting to reconsider Vitry's and Jacobus' statements that tempus minimum posuit Franco (see above, pp. 65,66).

(137) See Th. Göllner, "Die Trecento-Notation und der Tactus in den ältesten deutschen Orgelquellen" in L'ARS NOVA ITALIANA del Trecento 3 (Certaldo, 1969), 176ff, on connections between the German terms tactus and mensura, and the Italian divisiones of the tempus. Wolf originally suggested that some elements of German notation were derived from Italian practice (in Geschichte der Mensural-Notation (Leipzig, 1904), 377-380). The identity of tempus and mensura is suggested by (1) the longa mensura and curta mensura discussed by Hanboys: Si sit de semibreui imperfecta, distinguendum est an sit de curta mensura: quatuor equales pro brevi: vel de longa mensura, videlicet octo equales pro brevi, (CSI 428a), which seem to be equivalents of quaternaria and octonaria tempus. Bent, however, considers Hanboys' measures to be totally independent of international influence: "This would seem to be an English rather than a French idea, and examples occur in English sources"

Fischer wrote of the French influence on Italian notation in the 1370s and 1380s:

Dieser Einfluss ist jedoch nicht so zu verstehen, dass die Italiener die in Frankreich ja auch noch selten (und gerade nicht in weltlichen Liedern) anzutreffende Longanotierung nachgeahmt hätten. Es handelt sich vielmehr um den Versuch einer Umschrift der italienische in die französischen Notation(138).



While this observation is certainly borne out by the numerous theoretical attempts to establish equivalences between the Italian divisiones and the French quatre prolaciones, it does not take into account the repertoire of the Rossi manuscript which, it will be demonstrated, provides evidence of an embryonic form of longa-notation which must have been in use in northern Italy by the period of the late 1340s, and which enables us to more satisfactorily bridge the apparent gap between theoretical concerns and practical response to the same issues.

Several works in the Rossi/Ostiglia collection are notated in a quaternaria divisio which does not correspond to the description of quaternaria given by Prosdocius, or to the understanding of that term implied by the discussion of octonaria in the Pomerium(139). A clear illustration of the fact

(M. Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations) in L'ARS NOVA Italiana 4, 69).

(138) Von Fischer, "Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Trecento-Notation" AfMw 1959, 97.

(139) See above, . The works in question are I-Bvat215 f.1r ("De soto 'l verde"), f.1v ("Lavandose le mane"), ff.4v-5 ("Gaiete, dolce"), f.5v ("Lavandose 'l mai-

that quaternaria as it is utilized in the Rossi/Ostiglia manuscript is equivalent not to the imperfect breve of octonaria (the Marchettan interpretation) but represents rather a theoretical breve which is one-third the length of the division of duodenaria is furnished by the madrigal "Vaguca vaga" (140). The rhythmic figure  appears in the cantus part four times. In each case it fills an entire tempus (i.e., it falls between two dots of division), and is notated . This breve of four minims' duration corresponds to Vitry's tempus imperfectum minus.

Minimum tempus [imperfectum] est illud quod continet in se duas semibreves, quarum quolibet duas valet minims, et sic minimum tempus imperfectum non nisi quatuor minims valere debet, nisi per semiminims dividatur (141).

A similar configuration appears in the first work of the Rossi ms, "De soto 'l verde" (cantus, stave 2, on the word Che (142):



Although the composer of this work can not be positively identified, "De soto 'l verde" is very likely by Giovanni da Cascia. All of the works in the Rossi manuscript which have concordances in other sources (Nos. 14, "Quando l'aire comenca", 16, "Ogni dilecto", 20, "Nascoso el viso", and 29, "La bella stella") are attributed to Magister Piero (14, 16) or Giovanni (20, 29) in those sources. "De soto 'l verde" appears on f.51r of Panciatichi 26, where it is surrounded by other works by Giovanni (ff.47-58

tino"), and I-OST f.26r ("Vaguca vaga").

(140) Facsimile in G. Vecchi, Monumenta Lyrica Medii Aevi Italica III:2, Tav. 31.

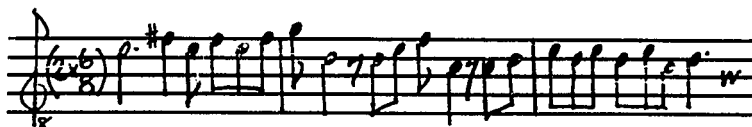
(141) Ars Nova Ch.23 (CSM8, 30).

(142) Vecchi facs. Tav. 1.

of FP are devoted primarily to his oeuvre). The work is related stylistically to a number of madrigals known to have been written by him. Most striking is the resemblance between the melodic sequence at the end of the ritornello of "De soto 'l verde" (143):



and similar sequences built upon the descending fourth leap which appear in Giovanni's "Sedendo all ombra" (144):



and "Appress' un fiume" (145):



The position of "De soto 'l verde" as the opening piece in the Rossi collection may also indicate that it was the work of one of the two better-known magistri.

As Pirrotta has suggested, many works which survive in versions notated in quaternaria are later "manipulations" of original duodenaria and octonaria versions (146). One motiva-

(143) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/2, 17-18, nn. 46-50.

(144) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/1, 41, nn. 24-26.

(145) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/1, 9, nn. 17-21.

(146) Pirrotta CMM8/3, iii.

tion for notating a work in quaternaria rather than in the two larger measures might have been a desire to alternate between higher level (i.e., higher than the level of prolation) binary and ternary groupings. Pirrotta cites the use of .q. in the monophonic ballate of Lorenzo Masini as examples of this procedure(147). The opening of Lorenzo's ballata "Non se qual i' mi voglia"(148) serves to illustrate the means by which an alternation between duodenaria and octonaria measures is achieved without need for puncti divisionis or mensuration signs through the use of longa-notation or implied quaternaria:



Ex. 4.1

This technique of "playing with the larger rhythm" is usually associated with the middle generation of Italian ars nova composers centered in Florence between 1350 and 1365(149). However, there is evidence of this same compositional rationale behind the use of quaternaria in the notation of one of the pieces in the Rossi collection of early northern Italian works. In the case of the rotundellus "Gaiete, dolce parolete

(147) Pirrotta CMM8/3, iv.

(148) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/3, 20.

(149) Pirrotta CMM8/3, v.

mie" the alternation between implied duodenaria and octonaria measures emphasizes the poetic structure(150). The shift between ternary and binary groupings underlines the alternation between the eleven- and seven-syllable lines:

2 x .g. Gaiete, dolce parolete mie, [11]
 3 x .g. Dites de voi che fie [7]
 2 x .g. Partite... [11]

There is not a single occurrence of a notated alternation between the duodenaria and octonaria mensurations (.d. and .o.) within a structural section (e.g., within the terzetti of a madrigal) of any work in the Rossi repertoire, although alternation between one of these divisions and the modo gallico divisions (.sg., .n.) is common and, according to the Capitulum de vocibus, encouraged(151). It may be that quaternaria was traditionally used to create the illusion of a tempus shifting between .d. and .o., and was already common in the earlier Italian repertoire. "Gaiete, dolce parolete mie" provides, then, an example of the use of first-stage longa notation within the early northern school of composition/notation. If the puncti were removed from the tenor part,

(150) Concerning which, see above Chapter I.E.2. Ed. Pirrotta, *CMR8/2*, 27. Vecchi facs. Tav. 9.

(151) Regarding the madrigal, for instance, the anonymous theorist wrote: Volunt etiam esse de tempore perfecto et aere italico: si quis aliquando miscetur aliquod tempus aeris gallici, bonum esset. Debenedetti ed., ll. 56-58.

it would certainly resemble a voice re-formed from an earlier version in octonaria, here with doubled note values. There are no stemmed minims in the Rossi version of this piece (152).

The most telling case in support of the idea that the early use of quaternaria was a product of the same compositional and theoretical concerns as was the later fully-developed longa-notation is provided by the second work in the Rossi manuscript, the madrigal "Lavandose le mane" (153). The piece is notated in .q. throughout, and these quaternaria measures group quite regularly into larger binary units. There is no apparent reason why quaternaria was preferred here over octonaria. The version preserved in the Rossi ms represents nothing more than a literal "translation" of a madrigal conceived in octonaria, here with most note values doubled (the semibreves naturales could have been written in the same manner in an octonaria version, although their temporal value would be that of minims). The probable reason for the notational transformation of "Lavandose le mane" lies in the -----

(152) In his description of the rotundellus form, the author of the Capitulum de vocibus wrote of these pieces that they should always be notated de semibrevis minims vel minoribus sed melius de minims. Et in aliquo loco si fuerint due vel tres breves, melius [semibreves] minime discernerentur. (Debenedetti ed., ll. 23-25). This explanation of the notation of the rotundellus implies that such works were often transmitted in longa-type notation. If one finds groups of two and three breves in a melismatic work, one may assume that the notational integer valor has been augmented, and that the semibreves should be sung at the speed of minims (as in "Gaiete, dolce").

(153) Ed. Pirrotta CMNS/2, 18. Vecchi facs. Tav. 2.

rhythmic structure of the ritornello. The opening of the ritornello (notated in .s[enaria] p[erfecta].) is marked by an unusual notational configuration in the cantus voice:



The part opens with the symbol for an imperfect long or, more precisely, a longa created ex brevi his replicata (154). One rarely encounters this figure in the practical sources. It occurs in only one other work in Rs (155). Marchettus describes this symbol and its proper use in the third treatise of Book Three of the Pomerium. This section (III.3) of the Pomerium is devoted to the concept of modus and reveals that rhythmic organization at the supertemporal level was an integral part of the Italian notational system as formulated by Marchettus. His explanation of the longa duorum temporum corresponds exactly to its use at the opening of the ritornello of "Lavandose le mane:"

Ut autem sciatur quis cantus cantari debeat de modo imperfecto, dicimus quod in principio cantus ipsius modi imperfecti, si ibi sit nota longa, vel ubicumque in ipso primo occurrerit ipsi notae longae, debeat ei addi cauda in sursum a latere sinistro.
(italics mine) (156)

(154) Guido, Ars musicae 2.5. (MMT 1, 19-20).

(155) At the opening of the second line of the terzetto in the tenor voice of "Pyance la bella yguana" f. 6v (Vecchi facs. Tav. 12).

(156) Marchettus also suggests the use of the two-stemmed longa in cases of works which alternate between perfect and imperfect modus: Si autem cantus sit mixtus, puta de modo perfecto et imperfecto, cuilibet notae longae de modo imperfecto dicimus debere addi signum

Although the ritornello is notated in .sp., there are no stemmed minims. The consistent grouping of breves of senaria perfecta into binary longs indicates that we are dealing with a work in modus imperfectum (indicated by the longa caudata in sursum), tempus perfectum, prolatio minor. The unusual modus-notation probably represents a transformation of an original version in senaria gallica, with an imperfect tempus corresponding to the imperfect modus of the extant version (Fig. 4.3).

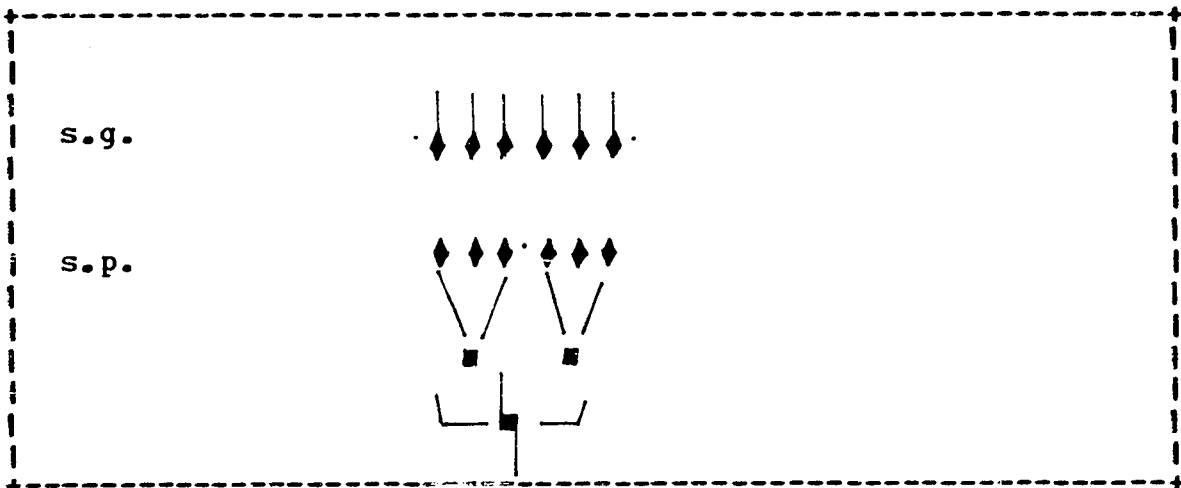


Fig. 4.3

superius nominatum (et hoc est proprius quod tales cantus diversis coloribus figurentur). [Pomerium, III:3,4]. This passage implies that Marchettus was familiar with the French Ars Nova technique of coloration. However, the parenthetical phrase et hoc... figurentur is not included in the best source for the Pomerium (Milan D.V inf.), but does survive in four other manuscripts. The important question of the chronological relationship between Marchettus and the French Ars Nova theorists has yet to be satisfactorily resolved. For a discussion of the passage in question, see K. von Fischer, "Philippe de Vitry in Italy and an Homage of Landini to Philippe" in L'Ars Nova del Trecento 4 (Certaldo, 1978), 225-226.

The justification for this augmented notation lies in the seemingly abstract theoretical issues which plagued the musici of the second decade of the Trecento. The upward-stemmed longa at the opening of the ritornello of "Lavandose le mane" is followed immediately by another unusual note group:



The second long of the ligature is imperfed by the two semibreves which follow it:



In a version notated in the usual tempus notation, this rhythm would have implied the imperfection of a breve by two minims within an imperfect tempus. This is precisely the musical situation which gave rise to Muris' introduction of mutatio qualitatis: the effect of perfection (and its associated properties, namely the possibility of imperfection) within an imperfect tempus:

Et nota quod quidam cantores, scilicet Gulielmus de Mascandio, et nonnulli alii imperficiunt breves perfectam minoris prolationis ab una sola minima. Et breves imperfectam majoris prolationis a duabus minimis simul sequentibus vel precedentibus...Et dicunt illi ibi mutari qualitatem(157).

(157) CSIII, 50a.

The choice of a longa-based notation for "Lavandose le mane" allowed for the circumvention of the troublesome problem of contradictory temporal qualities by applying the distinctions of quality to the less fundamental level of modus, thereby maintaining the quality of the breve(158).

The roots of longa-notation are more firmly planted in traditional Marchettan theory than has previously been supposed. The use of a notation based on regroupings of small (minima) tempora did not represent the abandonment of Italian notational principles in favor of the French system, "a revolt against the tyranny of the barline [punctus divisionis]" (159). It was more an effort to smooth the theoretical wrinkles which were appearing with increasing frequency in a compositional milieu devoted to rhythmic variety. Its goal was reformation without sacrifice of the original Franconian foundation of a legitimately international theoretical system.

The most characteristic element of the traditional Italian notational system, the ability to express proportio sesquialtera at the level of the minim without the use of unusual or hybrid note shapes, was left unaltered by the introduction

(158) The imperfection of a breve in imperfect tempus was officially accepted by the French-oriented Italian theorists of the last quarter of the Trecento, e.g. Coussemaker's Anonymous VII who explained that in senaria imperfecta: Si iuxta breves sit minima, tunc brevis valet quatuor minimas. (CSIII, 405b). See von Fischer, "Die Entwicklung", 98.

(159) R. Hoppin, Medieval Music (New York, 1978), 435.

of longa notation. And it is this detail which more than any other underscores the conceptual distinction between French modus notation and the Italian longa notation of mid-century.

D. French vs. Italian tempus and proportio sesquitertia

1. Lorenzo Masini's "Ita se n'era a star"

The portion of the Squarcialupi codex devoted to the works of the Florentine Lorenzo Masini opens with two nearly-identical versions of the same madrigal, "Ita se n'era a star." The distinction between the versions is for the most part a notational one: the first version is entered in brevis-notation with numerous unusual note forms representing various divisions of the breve and (more often) the semibreve; the second version appears in longa-notation with occasional divisione indications. It is impossible to judge whether the juxtaposition of the two forms of this unusual piece is the idea of the manuscript scribe or compiler, or whether it represents the faithful transmission of an exemplar which preserved Lorenzo's own intentions. The latter is not unlikely in light of Lorenzo's penchant for musical experimentation as well as his didactic bent (160). In either case, this unique example provides an ideal model of the differences between French notation and Italian modus notation around 1365 (161). Although

(160) See Pirrotta CMN8/3, i-ii. Also F. A. Gallo, "Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo" Studi Musicali 4 (1975), 61.

(161) This is, of course, a conjectural dating for the composition. Lorenzo died in 1370 (see Gallo, op.cit.). The work is stylistically quite advanced in comparison with, for example, "Sovra la riva", Lorenzo's setting of a text by Sacchetti which dates from c.

the first version is in brevis notation, there is nothing Italianate about it save the indication .p. (senaria perfecta) at the opening of the cantus voice. This "Italian" detail is, paradoxically, a key to the recognition of this version as an attempt to express an Italian work (with the sesquitercial proportions which the Italian style entailed) in the French manner. For the second tempus in the cantus:

Ex. 4.2

is clearly a transformation of an original conception in

duodenaria(162):

Since in the French system no fourfold "prolation" was available, an Italian work in duodenaria would have to be translated into its nearest equivalent, the only perfect tempus with binary divisions: tempus perfectum, prolatio minor (=senaria perfecta). The minims of the Italian duodenaria become semiminims in the French senaria. This sort of "translation" might work perfectly well in the case of an extremely simple piece, but the frequent shifts between the aere italico of duodenaria






1355 (See Chiari, ed. Il Libro delle Rime, 24, Pirrotta CMM8/3, ii, and LiGotti-Pirrotta, Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale [Florence, 1935], 75).

(162) See also Pirrotta CMM8/3, iii, where he suggests that "the madrigal is conceived in a basic frame of duodenaria."

and the aere gallico of novenaria which characterized the more florid Italian vocal style since the early decades of the fourteenth century (163) introduce sesquitertial proportions (4[.d.]:3[.n.]) which can not always be expressed with simple note forms in brevis notation. This presents difficulties at two levels in the French-style reworking of the piece (164). At the broad level of the 12:9 proportion, the senaria notator faced the problem caused by the unavoidable use of the semiminim as the proportional unit (rather than the sesquitertial minim of duodenaria). This creates a handicap from the start: any subdivisions of the primary twelve or nine notes have to be expressed by values smaller than the binary or ternary semiminim (\downarrow , \downarrow). In this particular case, the Squarcialupi notator (or the creator of his exemplar) chose the hybrid form \downarrow to express one-half of the ternary semiminim (\downarrow) and \uparrow to represent one-half of the binary semiminim (\downarrow). In the version in longa-notation [.q.(3)=.d.], since the divisions into twelve and nine are represented by minims, no value smaller than the semiminim was necessary, and since there was no ternary division of the minim involved, only one form of semiminim (the basic binary type: \downarrow) was called for.

(163) See above.

(164) It is likely that the second version is, if not Lorenzo's original conception, the model upon which the first is based. This is revealed by occurrences of note shapes appropriate to the longa-notation version in the brevis version (e.g., the longa--which should have been a breve-- in the cantus, m. 90). See also Pirrotta CMM8/3, iii.

The use of *tempus perfectum*, minor prolation, as the notational framework for the first version of the piece is even more problematic in terms of combinations of units within the *tempus*. The most frequent and troublesome of these is the division of one-third of the *novenaria* into a trochaic pair (). In the ordinary *novenaria* division of the second version of "Ita se" this rhythm is expressed quite simply as a minor (or imperfect) *semibreve* and *minim*:  . Since the sesquitercial proportion in the *senaria* version occurs at the next smaller level, and has to be notated with different *semiminim* types, the *minims* which stand in binary or ternary relationships to these *semiminims* had also to be distinguished notationally. The configuration  would be essentially meaningless in *senaria perfecta* ( = 2.5 *semibreves*). Thus the longer element of the trochaic couplet (with a value of two-ninths of a *tempus*) is represented by the figure  in order that it may be distinguished from the ordinary *minim* (with a value of one-sixth of a *tempus*).

The advantage of using *quaternaria* rather than *duodenaria* in the second version is, of course, that it allows for the notation of sesquitercial contrasts within the *tempus-turned-modus* (see IV.C above), as shown in Figure 4.4. This permitted the composer to express in simple form the relationship that represented, for all practical purposes, the highest level of metrical complexity and variety obtainable within one

voice part (165).

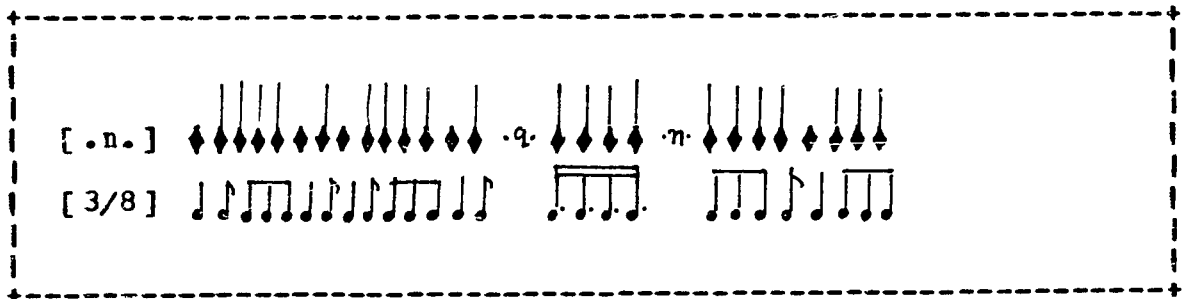


Fig. 4.4

2. Italian music at Avignon, 1370-1380

Having examined one explicit illustration of the difficulties involved in fitting an Italian work permeated with sesquitertial contrasts into the mold of tempus/prolation notation, one can sympathize with the frustration which might have inspired the composer Guido's invective against the followers of Marchettus (166). Guido's ballade "Or voit tout en aventure" (Chantilly 564, f.25v) was most likely composed in the decade of the 1370s (167). Hirshberg has paraphrased the

(165) The notation of "Ita se n'era a star" provides us with an example of the use of ternaria (in the sense of a three-minim complete tempus equivalent in value to the four-minim quaternaria tempus) which Prosdociamus so determinedly attacked in his 1412 treatise (see above). Measures 21 and 83 of Lorenzo's madrigal include the following proportions within the space of one longa: .t. / .q. / .q.

(166) See above.

poem as follows:

All has become haphazard to write in the new manner, which displeases everyone. It is completely contrary to the good art that is perfect. Certainly it is not done well./ We compose against nature, and thereby destroy that which is done well, for which Philippe [de Vitry], who is no longer alive, gave us a good example. We do all these things because of Marchettus, who does the opposite of what everyone else does. Certainly it is not done well./ The art of Marquet is not measured and it can never be perfectly understood. Great boldness is needed to follow and draw these notational symbols. It deforms the good art, and that which is proportionate is modified. Certainly it is not done well (168).

Hirshberg, following Günther's interpretation, sees Guido's attack upon Marchettus as possible evidence that Italian composers at Avignon in the last quarter of the fourteenth century invoked the Paduan theorist's name as auctoritas, and that the attack is directed in fact towards these musicians.

It seems that Guido was not influenced by Italian music of the time of Marchettus, but possibly by the practice of contemporary Italians active in France, like Philipoctus de Caserta, who indeed was one of the most advanced composers in the 1380s. Guenther suggests that these Italians might have used Marchettus' name as authority. Even more convincing is her interpretation of Guido's claim that L'art de Marquet n'a mesure as a reference to the frequent change of mensuration which characterized Italian music of the trecento. Such practice, however, was

(167) Günther suggested a dating c. 1380 ("Das Ende der Ars Nova" MF16, 1962). Hirshberg ("The Music of the Late Fourteenth-Century: a Study in Musical Style" Ph.D. diss. U. Penn, 1971, 204) places the composition somewhat earlier on the basis of its relatively simple style. His suggestion that the work "could have been composed in the 1370s, even before the death of Machaut" accords well with archival evidence which documents Guido's presence in the chapel of Pope Gregory XI in 1374 (see Günther, "Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars Subtilior" AfMH 21 (1964), 177).

(168) Hirshberg, 199-200.

not unknown in French music of the 1360's and 70's, so that Guido could easily have made compositions like De Narcissus with its changes of mensuration, or Dane doucement with its long phrases in hemiolas target for his criticism. Another possible interpretation is that Guido's criticism might be directed against the Italian practice of division of the breve, meaning that the short values have no fixed measure (169).

Neither Günther's nor Hirshberg's interpretations of this passage are wholly satisfactory, as Hirshberg himself admits. Günther points to the resemblance between Guido's remark concerning l'art de Marquet and a similar declaration made by the anonymous author of a treatise formerly attributed to Theodoricus de Caprio (dict. de Campo) (170) that plurimum cantus in Italia cantatur sine mensura (171). However, this citation is drawn from Coussemaker's inaccurate transcription of the passage (172). The correct reading of the passage, in which the theorist complains about the Italian division of duodenaria, indicates that the author was addressing himself to a rather specific theoretical issue:

Magister vero Philippus, flos et gemma cantorum,
aliter distinguit dictum tempus, quia de talibus
tribus temporibus quantum ad eorundem prolationem
secundum dictum Franconis, unum tempus instituit

(169) Hirshberg, 203-204.

(170) Casimiri first pointed out that the attribution (as presented in CS III) was incorrect: "Teodono de Caprio non Teodorico de Campo, Teorico Musicale Italiano del Sec. XV, Un suo Trattato Inedito" in Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale 19 (1942). See also G. Reaney, "The question of authorship in medieval treatises on music" MD 18 (1964), 8-9.

(171) Quoted by Günther, "Das Ende der Ars Nova", 108.

(172) CS III, 191.

quod recte suae divisionis partes ejus et tot per trinarium numerum distinguitur; quae quia trinitas perfectionem denotare videtur, tempus perfectum appellat. Sed Marchettus de Padua, volens artem tradere qualiter cantus de Italia cantaretur, distinguit tempus perfectum in duodecim partes equales, quod si bene attenditur respiciendo partes, potius posset dici imperfectum quam perfectum: nam si predictum tempus volumus imperfecticere, dempta tertia parte ipsius temporis, remanebunt due quibus multiplicatis per binarium numerum sessies habebimus tempus dicti Marchetti, et quantum ad valorem et quantum ad ipsius cantus prolationem; quia ut plurimum cantus Italici cantatur sine mistura, cantus Gallici, cantatus proportionabiliter, ad binarium numerum reducitur; et binarius numerus imperfectus esse ab omnibus diffinitum est (173).

As did Vitry and Jacobus of Liège before him, this theorist equates Franco's tempus with the prolation of the Ars Nova (i.e. one Franconian tempus=three modern minims). He points out that the true (modern) perfect tempus is equal to the three-minim Franconian tempus multiplied by three (i.e., nine minims). If you imperfect this tempus, you are left with six minims which, when multiplied per binarium numerum produce the twelve minims of duodenaria. Therefore, he argues, duodenaria is more an imperfect than a perfect mensuration (174). If we assume that Guido's reference to Marchettus' "lack of measure" means essentially the same as pseudo-Theodoricus's reference to the lack of proportion in Italian music, the grounds for the composer's lament are illuminated. The former contrasts the Italian style which is sine mistura with that of French music. The French when faced with the twelve-minim group

(173) CSM 13, 52 (ed. C. Sweeney. [n.p., 1971]).

(174) Cf. Gallo, La Teoria della Notazione, 83-84.

would, since they sing proportionabiliter, consider it reducible ad binarium numerum (175). The meaning which seems to be implied in the theorist's use of the word proportionabiliter, then, is that of a consistent proportion (originating in the relationship between the old tempus and the new), i.e. prolation and in the case of duodenaria, subprolation. Since the four-minim semibreve of duodenaria does not have a Franconian counterpart (a four-semibreve breve), the Italians sing without prolation. And since it was the use of prolation units (minims) as the basis for mensural proportions that encouraged the development of the technique of mutatio qualitatis, the Marchettan manner of singing the divisions of the perfect tempus (based on the immutable perfect breve) would necessarily have been free of such mutations, or sine mistura. Clearly, it was the existence of this four-minim group equivalent in temporal value to the three minims of major prolation which so rankled adherents to the French notational theory. As was demonstrated above in the case of Lorenzo's "Ita se n'era a star," it was the expression of this aspect of Italian style (proportio sesquitertia) which created the difficulties in the French tempus/prolation notation which found resolution only in new (and largely unstandardized) note shapes (referred to in the first stanza of Guido's ballade) (176). Thus Guido

(175) Cf. Gallo, La Teoria della Notazione: (84) "Consequentemente quantum ad prolationem la misura duodenaria risulterebbe in un sestuplo della prolatio minor."

(176) "Or voit tout en aventure: Puis qu'[a]insi me con-

(along with pseudo-Theodoricus) was fully justified in choosing Marchettus himself (and not merely the modern purveyors of musical subtleties) as the object of his invective.

This interpretation sheds a different light on the role of the Italian Philipoctus de Caserta, whose compositions are usually considered to be the most influential factor in the introduction of new note values in the works of contemporary French composers. It is more likely that Caserta's Tractatulus de diversis figuris (177) was an effort to codify the attempts to express sesquitertial proportion (minor subprolation) through unusual note shapes (which must have been numerous and varied among the international circle of composers at Avignon in the late 1370s and early 1380s) into a coherent, standardized system. Philipoctus did not import the system from Italy, for the new note forms are not described in the final section of the treatise (de figuris et temporalibus ytalicis) but are included in the discussion of de figuris francigenis (178).

vient fayre a la nouvelle figure" (italics mine).

(177) Six out of the seven manuscripts which contain this treatise attribute it to Egidius de Morino. However, the MS. Seville 5-2-25 includes a version (ed. Gallo MMT I, 78-85) attributed to Philipoctus, and it is this attribution which has generally been accepted (see Clercx and Hoppin, "Notes biographiques sur quelque musiciens français," Les Colloques de Négimont [1955], 83, 89, 90). Hirshberg, 219, points out that "the strongest argument in support of the authorship of Philipoctus is the fact that most of the various caudata figures described in the treatises are used in Philipoctus' compositions, but not in those of Egidius."

(178) Tractatulus 4, 1 and 3, 21 (ed. Gallo, MMT I, 84).

V. SYNCOPATION IN THE ITALIAN MADRIGAL: NOTATIONAL DIALECTS

A. The introduction of syncopation in major prolation: "La bella stella"

Since the Rossi manuscript contains the earliest mainstream Trecento repertoire, we may assume that those pieces which have the least in common notationally and stylistically with the bulk of the works in the manuscript, and the most in common with extant works from the latter half of the century, represent the "pivotal" style marking the transitional period between the "first" and "middle" generation (to use Pirrotta's terminology), c. late 1330s - c. 1350 (179).

- (179) Oliver Strunk suggested a dating of 1320-1325 for the Rossi ms and its repertoire ("Intorno a Marchetto da Padova" *RAM* 20 (1950), 312ff.). It is conceivable that a good portion of the anonymous works originated in this period (see Appendix 1). However, notational and stylistic features such as the use of semiminims (in eight works, four attributable to either Giovanni or Piero on the basis of concordant sources) and rather advanced syncopations (cf. the discussion of "La bella stella" below) point to the compositional techniques of the middle or late 1340s. These works, not as advanced as the those of the later Florentines, suggest a dating of 1350-1360 for the compilation of the collection. This date ("um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts") was proposed by von Fischer, "Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Trecento-Notation" *AfMw* (1959), 88. His hypothesis is now supported by the knowledge that Giovanni's "La bella stella," perhaps the most advanced work in the collection from a stylistic and notational point of view, was composed sometime between 1350 and 1355.

Clearly representative of this transitional style is the madrigal "La bella stella," the most widely transmitted of Giovanni's extant compositions(180). In addition to notated semiminims, it includes the earliest surviving example of an extended syncopated passage (beyond the limit of one tempus) in the Italian polyphonic repertoire:



Ex. 5.1 "La bella stella" (cantus) mm. 16-17

Giovanni's use of syncopation "across the bar line" in major prolation was highly innovative, and the advanced compositional technique may be in part responsible for the popularity which "La bella stella" seems to have enjoyed.

"La bella stella" is also unusual in that some of the circumstances surrounding its composition are known, making it an historical rarity among other Trecento secular works. In the year 1354, the poets Antonio da Ferrara and Lancillotto Anguissola (a native of Piacenza) participated in an exchange of sonnets while both were residing in Padua(181). Antonio

(180) It is preserved in I-Fn26, F-Pn568, I-F187, I-Bvat215 (cantus only), I-Rvat1790 (tenor only) and I-Fc1175 (cantus only). Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/1, 18-19.

(181) F. Alberto Gallo, "Antonio da Ferrara, Lancillotto Anguissola e il madrigale trecentesco," Studi e problemi di critica testuale 12 (1976), 42.

responded to Anguissola's poetic request for relief from the sufferings of passion with the sonnet "La dolce passion che va martella." The poem focuses on the consolation provided by the planet Venus. The final lines refer to the two-voice setting of Anguissola's madrigal "La bella stella:"

e questo ven da la terza fasella
celeste, la cui forza e 'l cui dolzore
fa si vago el sovrano al bel tenore
del vostro madrial La bella stella.

On the basis of this 1354 reference to the musical composition, Gallo suggests that Giovanni's setting probably dates from around 1353(182). The terminus ante quem of 1354 provides a surprisingly early date for the appearance of high-level syncopation as a compositional technique in Italian music (and in European music in general). As Gunther has pointed out, syncopation in major prolation is extremely rare in the works of Machaut (183). The only Machaut work dating from before 1355 which utilizes major prolation syncope-chains is Rondeau 10, "Rose, liz, printemps." The original version of the work was probably composed around 1350. However the tripulum, which is the voice containing the supertemporal syncopations, is not found in the earliest redaction of the piece

(182) As Gallo points out, the use of the word "tenore" to refer to the foundation voice of the two-part madrigal is precisely in keeping with the terminology of the Capitulum de vocibus which explains that the slower-moving lower voice "appellatur tenor." Gallo, n. 17.

(183) U. Günther, "Die Mensuralnotation der Ars Nova in Theorie und Praxis" AfMW 19-20 (1962-1963), 27. Also Hirshberg, 107, and Hoppin, "Notational licenses" MD 1960, 16.

(transmitted in the MS. F-Pn1586 [Machaut C]), and probably dates from no earlier than 1351 or 1352(184). The only other work produced during the decade of the 1350s which explores the possibilities of syncopation beyond the limit of the tempus is Johannes Vaillant's isorhythmic rondeau "Pour ce que je ne say gaire. (185)" This work probably originates in the latter half of the decade, however.

Although the exact chronological relationship between "La bella stella" and "Rose, liz printemps" is uncertain, they must have been composed within a year or two (if not months) of each other. Clearly, it can not be maintained that such syncopations were impossible within the Italian system of notation nor that major prolation syncopations across tempora were a particularly French innovation(186). The first experiments with syncopation chains in major prolation were being attempted almost simultaneously at the courts of Paris, Avignon and Verona(187).

(184) Lawrence M. Earp, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Transmission of Fourteenth-Century Music" (Ph.D. diss. in progress, Princeton University) and personal communication.

(185) See Hirschberg, 187; Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 1047" MD9 (1954), 79, and Günther "Johannes Vaillant" in Speculum Musicae Artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann (Munich, 1970), 182.

(186) As has been suggested by Günther, "Die Mensuralnotation," 24.

(187) Where Giovanni da Cascia is believed to have been employed. See Gallo, op.cit., 44. Also von Fischer, Studien, 24, where he claims that the text of "La bella stella" "bezieht sich auf die Scaliger [lords

The means utilized to express the rhythmic configuration involved in this sort of syncopation within the Italian system of notation is the ligation of two consecutive notes of the same pitch (188) with the dot of division signifying the end of the tempus placed between the two elements of the figure: \blacklozenge . The scribe of the MS. F-Pn568 (Pit) used the same notational form (see Table 4) to express the syncopation. In the manuscripts Sq and FP, however, the ligature is broken up into two distinct notes, each within its appropriate tempus (see Table). A superficial reading of this variant might lead one to the conclusion that FP and Sq actually transmit an earlier version of the work than the earliest manuscript source, Rs. In such a case, the FP-Sq variant would be taken as an "embryonic" syncope chain, an implied syncopation which is either not yet "acceptable" in style or else too complex to be represented within the contemporary notational system (189). But on the basis of the evidence provided by similar variations in the transmission of works containing syncopated passages (at various levels), this explanation seems not as likely as one in which the FP-Sq reading represents the notational transformation. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the characteristic details of these variations in

of Verona]".

(188) Cf. the discussion of da Tempo and poetic elision, Chapter I.B.

(189) The concept of the "embryonic" syncopation is discussed by Günther in "Die Mensuralnotation der Ars Nova", 24.

notation.

TABLE 4. Notational variants among sources preserving essentially identical musical readings

	Rs	Pit	FP	Sq	Lo
Giovanni "La bella stella" Rs 23v-24 Pit 19v-20 FP 47v-48 Sq 1v-2					
Gherardello "Sotto verdi fraschetti" Pit 26v-27 FP 88v-89 Sq 26v Lo 45v		a b 	melodic/ rhythmic variant		melodic/rhythmic variant
Lorenzo "Nel chiaro fiume" Pit 22v-23 FP 77v-78 Sq 48v-49		a b 			
Jacopo "Nel bel giardino" Pit 7v-8 FP 63v Sq 9v-10					
Jacopo "O cieco mondo" Pit 5v-6 FP 65 Sq 11v-12		a b c 			
Vincenzo "Ita se n'era star" Pit 31v-32 Sq 35v Lo 45		a b 			
Bartolino "La fiera testa" Pit 40v-41 Sq 104v-105					

B. Gherardello and Lorenzo da Firenze

The Florentines Gherardello and Lorenzo (active in the 1350s and 1360s(190)) are usually considered the heirs of the new techniques and compositional advances originating in the period of the 1340s. Gherardello died in 1362 or 1363(191), so the bulk of his activity (late 1340s - c. 1360) coincides with that of Jacopo da Bologna(192). On the basis of the repertoire transmitted by the extant sources, it is clear that the possibilities of syncopation "across the bar line" became an increasingly important compositional issue among these "middle generation" Italian polyphonists. As we have seen, the gradual shift to longa notation, the introduction of French symbols such as the punctus additionis, and the implications of modus in works in mixed notation(193) were results of the growing need for a representational system in which rhythmic complexities and variety could be unambiguously expressed. Gherardello's madrigal "Sotto verdi fraschetti"(194) provides a

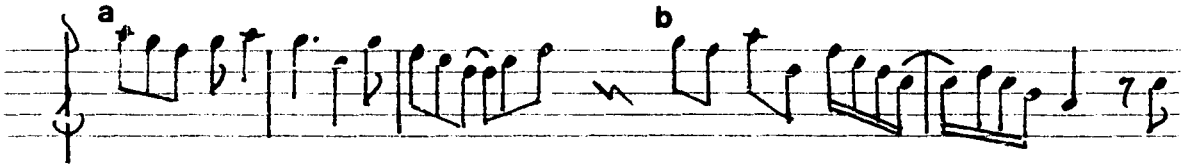
(190) See Pirrotta, introductions to CMM8/1 and CMM8/3; F. D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine monastery of Santa Trinita" Quadrivium 12 (1971), 131ff. and F. A. Gallo, "Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo" Studi Musicali 4 (1975).

(191) D'Accone, 148.

(192) Pirrotta CMM8/4.

(193) I.e., works displaying inconsistent use of the division letters and the point of division or French notational symbols within a version which includes Italian division signs.

model of the way in which Florentines transformed Italian notation after the middle of the century. Two phrases of relative rhythmic complexity:



Ex. 5.2 "Sotto verdi fraschetti" (canto) mm. 13-14, 44-45

are clarified through the use of the dragma, the void semi-breve (195), the punctus demonstrationis (to prevent alteration) (196), and by dispensing with the Italian punctus divisionis (see Table 4). The same notational devices obtain in all the sources (with the exception of FP, which introduces significantly different rhythmic/melodic variants at these points; the above-mentioned characteristics do permeate the works of Gherardello as transmitted in FP, however). "Sotto verdi fraschetti" displays the characteristic notational style of Florentine polyphony of the 1350s and 1360s, and was chosen as an example on the basis of its use of syncopation. The madrigal "Nel chiaro fiume" (197) serves as an illustration of -----

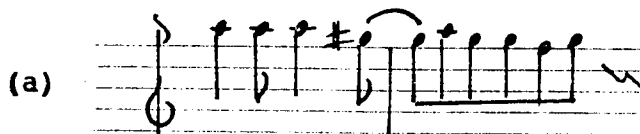
(194) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/1, 70-71.

(195) This form becomes a prevalent feature in Florentine notation of the 1380s and 1390s (it is particularly common in the works of Landini).

(196) See CS III, 42a.

(197) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/3, 11-12.

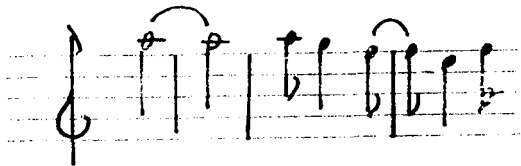
similar tendencies in the notation of the works of the other local Florentine composer, Lorenzo. Not only do the sources use the punctus demonstrationis and abandon the punctus divisionis (a) in order to effect syncopations extending over a number of tempora, but the French punctus additionis is also utilized as a representation of the semibreve of three minims' duration (b) within minor prolation (see Table 4):



Ex. 5.3 "Nel chiaro fiume" (cantus) mm. 22-23, 15-16

C. Jacopo da Bologna and Vincenzo da Rimini

In contradistinction to these Florentine works, the notation of the madrigals of Jacopo da Bologna and Vincenzo da Rimini is not uniform from one source to another, and the nature of the variants suggests a possible means of dealing with the question of the relative "authenticity" of one version over another. The situation is basically the same as that for "La bella stella" (written by Giovanni, a Florentine active in the North). Once again, the madrigals which include syncopation beyond the boundary of the tempus serve as the most telling examples. Jacopo's "Nel bel giardino" (198) includes the following syncopated passage:

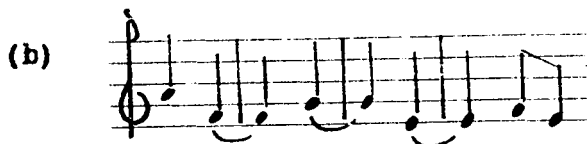


Ex. 5.4 "Nel bel giardino" (cantus) $\text{m} = \text{c}$. 1-4

The scribe of Pit utilized the one-pitch ligature with the dot of division in the middle (as did the scribe of Rs in the case of "La bella stella") to represent the syncopation. FP and Sq, however, break the figure into its component units (see Table 4). The Paris ms again stands alone (and in the

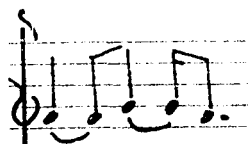
(198) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/4, 14-15.

tradition of the Rossi ms) in its version of another work by Jacopo, "O cieco mondo" (199). Two passages:



Ex. 5.5 "O cieco mondo" (tenor) m. 9, (cantus) mm. 29-30

are notated with the one-pitch ligature in Pit, are broken up into individual tempus units in Sq, and are represented as syncopations within the modus unit in FP, through suppression of the punctus divisionis (see Table 4). Of further interest is the symbol for the three-minim semibreve found in the following passage:

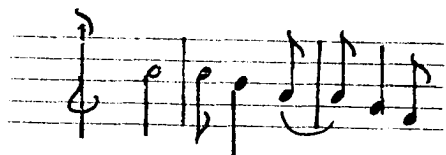


Ex. 5.6 "O cieco mondo" (tenor) m. 43

(199) Ed. Pirrotta CMM8/4, 17.

The version in Pit makes use of the lozenge with a descending oblique left-hand tail: ♪ . FP breaks the syncopation down into its simplest units, while Sq transmits the same version as Pit (see Table 4). The tailed semibreve is the notational equivalent of the semibreve with punctus additionis found in the works of the Florentines Gherardello and Lorenzo, and is characteristic of the notation of Jacopo's works in Pit and Sq (200).

In the case of Vincenzo, one discovers the relationship among the sources to be essentially the same as in Jacopo's works. Pit includes the one-pitch ligature as an expression of the following syncopation from Vincenzo's "Ita se n'era" (201):

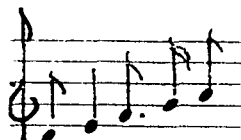


Ex. 5.7 "Ita se n'era" (cantus) mm. 14-16

(200) This form of obliquely-tailed semibreve is discussed by C. Sartori, La Notazione Italiana del Trecento (Firenze, 1938), 119. Although it is not specifically explained in Prosdocimus' Tractatus, the note-shape does appear in the examples included in the Bologna ms of the treatise (Bologna, Civ. Mus. A.56). See Sartori, 27b.

(201) Ed. Pirrotta, CHM8/4, 47-48.

while the mss. Sg and Lo divide the phrase into individual tempora (see Table 4). Pit and Sg use the tailed three-minim semibreve (♩) in the following passage from the same work:



Ex. 5.8 "Ita se n'era" (cantus) m. 42

The London ms (GB-Lb29987) does not, although in places where the figure is called for, an attempt has been made to approximate it with the following shape: ♩ .

Details regarding the biography of the composer Vincenzo da Rimini have thus far been sorely lacking. Some confusion has arisen due to the apparently conflicting appellations which appear in the musical sources: Frate Vincenzo (Lo 29987), Magister Abbas Vincentius de Arimino (Sg), and L'Abate Vicencio da Imola (Pit). Marrocco points out that Vincenzo must have been a member of the Benedictine order, basing his conclusion on the evidence provided by the composer's portrait in the Squarcialupi codex (202). Both Pirrotta and Marrocco have suggested a dating within the years 1345-1370 (i.e., the "middle-generation" of Trecento composers) as the most probable period of Vincenzo's compositional activity, largely due

(202) T. Marrocco ed., Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 7, ix.

to stylistic links with the works of Jacopo da Bologna (203). Some documentary evidence does exist, though, which clarifies the identity of the mysterious Vincenzo. Unfortunately, these documents provide no information concerning the composer's musical activities.

The first set of documents are catalogued in a fifteenth-century inventory of the Benedictine abbey in Imola, S. Maria in Regola (204). They establish the presence of a Benedictine Abbot Vincentius in Imola in the period between c. 1350 and 1413 (the date of the compilation of the inventory):

- [1] ...quaternus sine alipa, rogationum fr. vincen-
tii abatis (205).
- [2] Instrumentum renovationis per abatem vincen-
tium (206).

(203) Marrocco, op. cit., and Pirrotta, CMNS/4, ii-iii. Neither Pirrotta nor Marrocco discuss the specific stylistic features which link Vincenzo's works with the style of Jacopo. These include: independent and fairly elaborate ("soloistic") tenor parts, use of "bridges" between verses of the *terzetti* of the madrigals in which one voice sings alone (or each voice in alternating solo passages), extended *melismas* utilizing triple subdivision of the *semibreve*, occasional syncopation beyond the limit of the *tempus*, and quasi-imitative passages in non-cantonic works. Vincenzo's compositional expertise in the handling of these devices is no less impressive than Jacopo's. These same techniques, which represent one step beyond the style of the anonymous Rossi compositions, are carried a degree further by the Florentines Gherardello, Lorenzo, Donato and the Paduan Bartolino (see discussion, this chapter).

(204) Gaddoni, "Inventari dell'Abbazia Imolese di S. Maria in Regola," Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna Ser. 4.6, (Bologna, 1916), 316ff.

- [3] Processus cuiusdam questionis inter dictum d. abatem et binum de tripaldis (207).
 [4] Aliud privilegium innocentii s. pont., electionis abatis vicentii, bulatum bulla plumbea (208).
 [5] Aliud privilegium eiusdem, creationis eiusdem d. abatis, bulatum (209).
 [6] Aliud privilegium eiusdem, confirmationis dicti d. abatis vicentii, bulatum (210).

That the pope referred to in documents 4-6 is Innocent VI (r. 1352-1364) and not Innocent VII (r. 1404-1406) is indicated by the following payment recorded in the papal Obligaciones et Soluciones for 1362:

- [7] Abb. mon. S. Marie in Regula Inolen. o.s.B. (33 1/3 flor.)...Vincencius 1362. I 19. p.m. Andree Thicci (de Pistorio merc. Avinionem)...pro. tot. 16 fl. 16s + 3 fl. 8 s. absol (211).

The combined evidence of the dates of these documents, the attribution in Pit, and the portrait in the Squarcialupi codex suggests that the composer must have been abbot of S. Maria in Regola, for a period beginning some time after 1352 (the date of the elevation of Innocent VI) and terminating in 1365, in which year the abbacy was assumed by Uberto da Novara (1365 - 1405) (212). It is conceivable that Vincenzo was a victim of -----

(205) Ibid, 334, no. 114.

(206) Ibid, 339, no. 183.

(207) Ibid, 339, no. 187.

(208) Ibid, 341, no. 216.

(209) Ibid, 341, no. 217.

(210) Ibid, 341, no. 218.

(211) H. Hoberg, ed. Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Innocent VI. Zweiter Teil: Die Servitienguttungen des päpstlichen Kammerars. (Munich, 1972), 178, no. 667.

the plague which devastated the Romagna in the year 1365 (213). In view of the evidence, Pirrotta's suggestion that Vincenzo may have been attached to the household of Pandolfo Malatesta at Milan as late as 1356 seems unlikely (214). That Vincenzo's interest in secular polyphony might have been inspired by musical activity at the Malatesta households in Rimini (in a slightly earlier period, c. 1345-50) remains a distinct possibility. Vincenzo may originally and technically have been a citizen of that town, despite his residence in Imola (215). Another possible source of artistic patronage in the area was the Alidosi family, papal vicars in Imola throughout the latter half of the fourteenth century (216). Connections between the Alidosi and the Benedictines are attested to by the mention of Alidosi family members in the abbey inventories. Any definite conclusions concerning polyphonic activity in the area must await examination of local archival records.

(212) See Gaddoni, *op. cit.*, 318. Uberto was, according to the inventories, succeeded by the abbots Johannes (1405-1413) and Antonio (1413-?). Gaddoni, 322, 323, 343.

(213) J. Larner, The Lords of Romagna. (New York, 1965), 73.

(214) See Pirrotta, *CMM8/4*, iii.

(215) See B. Z. Kedar, "Toponymic Surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views," Viator 4 (1973), 127.

(216) Larner, *op.cit.*, 87-88.

D. Bartolino da Padova

Although the works of Jacopo, Vincenzo, Gherardello and Lorenzo all belong to the same chronological period, it might still be maintained that Bs and Fit simply transmit earlier versions of the works of the northern/Romagnol composers than Pit or FP do in the case of works of the Florentines; and that the notational idiosyncrasies of the works of Jacopo, Vincenzo and Giovanni were ironed out of the system by the turn of the fifteenth century. However, one important body of evidence remains: the works of Bartolino da Padova. Petrobelli has established that Bartolino must have been active in the period around the turn of the fifteenth century (217). A syncopated passage in his madrigal "La fiera testa" (218)



Ex. 5.9 "La fiera testa" (tenor) mm. 1-3

(217) P. Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova" in Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk (Princeton, 1968), 94-112.

(218) Ed. Marrocco PMFC9, 31-33.

appears in Pit in the characteristic northern/Romagnol notation. The Squarcialupi codex dispenses with both the syncopation and the distinctive semibreve form (see Table 4). Thus it would appear fairly reasonable to rule out date of composition as an explanation for the appearance of the two distinct dialects in the extant sources(219). The northern/Romagnol forms persist from the Rossi collection through to the early fifteenth century madrigal repertoire(220).

I have chosen the term northern/Romagnol(221) rather than simply northern to designate the system in question for a number of reasons. There is no evidence of Vincenzo's presence outside of Imola or Rimini. Jacopo da Bologna may well have been trained in his native city before seeking a position in

(219) The conclusions drawn by E. Fellin (whose approach was based on a comparison of "French" vs. "Italian" notational characteristics) did not take into account geographical characteristics. As a result, he mistakenly names Bartolino da Padova (along with Giovanni and Jacopo) as a "relatively older composer." See "The Notation-Types of Trecento Music," L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento 4 (Certaldo, 1978), 218.

(220) The works of Paolo Tenorista, as they appear in Pit, also make use of some of these northern notational forms. Günther, "Die Anonymen Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N. fonds. it. 568 (Pit)" AfMW23 (1966), 82, suggests that Florence was not the center of this Florentine's compositional activity, due to his travels with Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli, and that his absence is the grounds for the exclusion of his works from the Florentine sources PP and Sq. Von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex" (Quadrivium9 [1969]), has proposed that the musician Don Paolo is to be identified with the abbot of Putzuoli who is mentioned in documents from the years 1407-1409 (Florence Archivio di Stato Cavaldoli 88,89). Frank D'Accone ("A Documentary History of

the courts of Verona and Milan. In this regard, it is important to bear in mind the fact that Cesena, in the Romagna, was the site of the composition of the great pedagogical work of Italian notation, Marchettus's Pomerium. In addition, Romagna (and Imola in particular) was perennially hostile to the French papacy(222), and this may account for some of the resistance to French influence in the area.

In his final treatise, Prosdocimus converts from his former championship of the cause of Muris and French notation to a declaration of his link with the Marchettan past(223). Particularly interesting with regard to the issue of northern/Romagnol vs. Florentine notation is the chapter on synco-
pation in which the theorist gives the only description of the

Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry during the Fifteenth Century" [Ph.D. diss. Harvard, 1960], 75) has uncovered a 1408 reference to a singer in the Florentine baptistry by the name of do[m]pnus Paulus Monachus, and suggests that this Paolo may be the composer in question. See also Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista in a new Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova (Palm Springs, 1961), 20-26. It might be mentioned (especially in light of the notation of Paolo's works in Pit) that a Don Paolo was abbot of the Camaldolite monastery of S. Teonista in Rimini in 1388. See Florence, Archivio di Stato, Camoldoli 17, 20 November 1388.

(221) The designation Romagnol is a convenience. Bologna is technically part of the bordering region of Emilia.

(222) See Peter Partner, "Florence and the Papacy 1300-1375" in Europe in the Late Middle Ages (ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield, B. Smalley: Evanston, 1965), 86, and Augusto Vasina, I Romagnoli fra Autonomie Cittadine e Accentramento Papale nell'Era di Dante (Florence, 1965), *passim*.

over-tempus syncopation within the system of Italian divi-
siones reflecting the evidence of the sources for the works of
Giovanni, Jacopo, Vincenzo and Bartolino:

Circa hanc ergo sincopam musicalem est hec solum
notandum quod quando figura aliqua per sincopam
reducitur ultra plures notas ipsa maiores transcen-
dentes in numero complementum illarum figurarum mai-
orum mensurarum tunc ubicumque ad partem alicuius
illarum figurarum completur mensura illa supra ipsam
figuram maiorem ponere debemus unum punctum ad deno-
tandum quod ibi talis mensura sit complementum. Et
potest in omni mensura fieri talis sincopa (224).

Prosdocius, the last enthusiastic spokesman for the northern/
Romagnol tradition of notation, does not utilize the double-
semibreve ligature, however, in illustrating this procedure:



His system, which might be termed "reformed Marchettan" nota-
tion is represented largely in the MS. Paris nouv. acq. fr.
6771 and in some works by northern composers included in the
Squarcialupi codex.

(223) A Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the
Italian Manner (MSD 29), 58.

(224) Prosdocius, Tractatus ed. C. Sartori, 64.

E. Conclusion

Of the central sources containing both northern and Florentine works (PP, Pit, Lo and Sq), the Paris ms contains the greatest number of distinct notational "systems." All sources utilize the same basic forms and theoretical concepts in the representation of the works of the middle generation Florentine composers. The works of Jacopo da Bologna, Vincenzo da Rimini and Giovanni da Cascia (225), are characterized by a different notational situation. Among the major sources, the one-pitch ligature as a symbol expressing syncopation across the tempus boundary is found only in Pit and Rs (226). The tailed three-minim semibreve is used only in Pit and Sq for the notation of the works of Jacopo and Vincenzo (227). The French forms of dragma, punctus demonstrationis and punctus additionis are found only in the works of Florentine composers. Mixed notation, characteristic of syncopated works in

- (225) Whose "La Bella Stella" was composed outside of Florence (see above, 99).
- (226) This notational symbol is also found in the incomplete MS. Lucca, Archivio di Stato 184 which, significantly, displays scribal concordances with Paris 568: see Pirrotta-Ligotti, "Il Codice di Lucca - Part I" MD3 (1949), 124.
- (227) This form of the semibreve is also found in Paris nouv. acq. fr. 6771 which transmits the works of northern composers for the most part in the "reformed Marchettan" notation of Prosdocius (i.e., with divisions but without resort to the one-pitch ligature).

the Florentine repertoire (228), is utilized for the works of northern and Romagnol composers in Florentine manuscripts devoted for the most part to the local composers of the second half of the century. Two groups, then, are suggested on the grounds of notation. The first consists of Florence-centered manuscripts representing local scribal and stylistic practice. The other consists of "historically"-oriented anthologies (the Squarcialupi codex to some extent, but primarily Paris 568) which presumably preserve the regional notation system common to the polyphonic circles around Milan, Pavia, Verona, Padua, Bologna and Rimini in transmitting works composed in those areas.

It is not surprising that those idiosyncratic details of Marchettus' notational system which had no counterparts in contemporary French notation are little in evidence in the works of Florentine composers as transmitted in Florentine manuscripts. Neither a scholastic university tradition such as that of Padua (where Marchettus no doubt devised and taught his theories) (229), nor a courtly tradition (characteristic of the Veneto and Lombardy) were factors in the constitution of Florentine cultural life in the latter half of the fourteenth

(228) On the "mixed" notation, see the categorization of the works of Florentine composers included in Fellin's table ("Notation Types", op.cit., 213-217).

(229) F. A. Gallo, "Marchettus in Padua und die 'franco-venetische' Musik des frühen Trecento" AfM#31 (1974), 49. Concerning the status of the University of Florence in the Trecento, see below.

century. In a sense, Florence was socially and culturally "isolated" from the rest of northern Italy by its uniqueness. At the same time, its role in international affairs, particularly those involving France and the Avignon curia, was far greater than that of any other Italian center. Chapter VI is an examination of those aspects of the Florentine polis which were most influential in determining the fashions and styles of late Trecento artistic expression.

VI. THE STRUCTURE OF FLORENTINE SOCIETY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

A. The audience: the economics of the arts

Unlike contemporary North Italian despotisms at Milan, Verona, Pavia, etc., fourteenth-century Florence was a republic. The lack of a dynastic residence or central court at which cultural events and activities could receive official encouragement meant that Florentine musical life was somewhat more fragmented than that of other centers. Musical composition and performance tended to be more a response to personal or group interest than to material support. The identification of the sources of that interest and the relationship of those interested parties to composers and musical style will serve as the focus of this chapter.

The organization of Florentine government and society was based on a foundation of middle-class enterprise. Artisans and financiers served equally important functions in the political and economic machinery of the patria, and were themselves acutely aware of that fact. This self-conscious pride in the uniqueness of their political/economic lifestyle encouraged Florentines to uphold (to a point) the theory of republicanism

in daily practice. The political equality of free citizens which was the theoretical basis of the Florentine republic did not, however, preclude the formation of economically-determined subgroups within the citizenry. In contrast to the stratification of feudal agrarian societies in which aristocracy and political power are legitimized by the non-secular concept of an inherited "divine right," the Florentine political elite was supported by a system of practical values which were directly related to Florence's highly urbanized environment.

What made Florence different from Pisa, Lucca, Siena and other Tuscan republics, as well as from Genoa and Venice, was her great wealth and her industrial development. The combination of banking with the manufacture and processing of cloth, especially woollens, had made a large number of Florentines rich, and had turned an even larger number into proletarians. No other town in Italy could produce this particular social mixture, for at Venice, where comparable, perhaps greater, wealth was to be found, an entirely different economic development had precluded the development of large-scale manufacturing industry, while socially the Venetian merchant became "noble" (230).

- (230) D. Hay, The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background (Cambridge, 1970), 89. For an illuminating comparison of Trecento Florence with modern urban centers (e.g. New York and London), see G. Salvemini, "Firenze ai Tempi di Dante" in Studi in Onore di Armando Saporì 1 (Milano, 1957), 470-471. Florence's geography was perhaps the most crucial factor in the growth of its urban population. The prevalence of malaria and other diseases characteristic of marshy regions which proved especially problematic for Pisa and other lower Arno centers was not a factor in Florence due to the city's elevation. At the same time, the presence of river water substantially reduced the threat of water shortages such as those experienced by the other hill towns of Siena, Perugia and Cortona. Availability of water from the Arno also contributed to the growth of the city's cloth industry--- by far the largest in the region. See G. Brucker, Renaissance Florence (New York, 1969), 2-3.

Since the feudal aristocracy (the magnati) had been deprived by statute of their political rights in 1293, the most influential group in the city consisted of

descendants of an affluent rural bourgeoisie who had migrated into the city, invested capital in commerce and industry, while retaining land and social contacts in the district from which their ancestors had emigrated (231).

Members of the rural nobility who wished to regain their right to political representation often changed their family name and took on the status of popolani (232). Whether a family's origins were noble or bourgeois, political and social status in Trecento Florence was largely determined by economic success and enterprise within a middle-class urban framework. What was true of the Boston and Philadelphia patriciates in early industrial America was equally characteristic of medieval Tuscany:

Power, solidarity, and continuity enable urban elites to expand their original domain (usually commercial) into social, intellectual, cultural and political areas, to increase group cohesion by monopolizing leadership roles, and to develop an aristocratic dimension by bequeathing predominance to descendants (233).

(231) G. Brucker, Renaissance Florence (New York, 1969), 5.

(232) M. Becker, Florence in Transition I, (Baltimore, 1967), 5-8.

(233) Frederic C. Jaher, "Style and Status: High Society in late Nineteenth-century New York" in The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History, ed. F. Jaher (Urbana, 1973), 259.

Although financial status (derived from commercial activities) was the primary criterion for social "honor," public office, favorable marriages and family tradition carried some weight in the public eye (234). Richard Trexler has attempted to define the characteristics of the urban elite of the late fourteenth-century Florentine republic:

The late medieval and Renaissance Italian equivalent of the term "elite" was uomini di stato and, in a looser sense, uomini da bene. The stato, or status, extended to these men's families: they had held political office, paid taxes, were entitled to ambassadorial work, figured in the ceremonies of the communes, and so forth. In Florence they were citizens [cittadini], sometimes noble but commonly popolani. Unlike a modern member of an elite, whose appurtenance is not clear from his dress or bearing, his medieval and early modern counterpart was distinguished by his honorable deportment and bearing and the customary deference accorded him by the lower middle class and the ignoti. Such an individual was not necessarily powerful in any measurable form. Yet his physical presence marked him as a member of a group of honorable men, the group that embodied secular authority and social order. This "honor elite," therefore, was more visible and no less socially crucial than a contemporary elite. Lower ranks deferred to its right to rule and represent, to embody the honor and power upon which the commonwealth was based (235).

It was this (fairly large) circle of elite families that supported the arts in Florence, whether behind the gates of their palazzi, or in their official capacities as public agents of the Signoria. Members of these clans without political rights or responsibilities (women and ecclesiastics) were a vital

(234) L. Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists (Princeton, 1963), 10.

(235) R. Trexler, "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes" in The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful, 64-65.

part of the artistic life of the Florentine honor elite, as is illustrated by contemporary descriptions of performances of musical works at bourgeois homes (236). The Florentine convents and churches (e.g. San Lorenzo, Santa Trinita, Santo Spirito) which served as centers for all forms of artistic activity, including music (237), housed numerous representatives (in general, younger sons and daughters destined for ecclesiastical careers) of the families which constituted the culturally-informed haute bourgeoisie. The urban convents of Tuscany were able to provide an increasingly comfortable lifestyle for their members after mid-century, when the Black Death inspired numerous legacies and bequests to religious institutions which became (in the words of the city council of Siena) "immensely enriched and indeed fattened" (238). Cardinalates were generally held by a member of one of the "honorable" bourgeois families (239).

The pastoral character of the madrigal text, popular in the noble houses of the north, was somewhat ill-suited to the practical urban temperament of the Florentine bourgeoisie. The Florentine madrigals of mid-century are more likely to have

(236) For instance, Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's Il Paradiso degli Alberti, and Boccaccio's Decameron. See Hanns Gutman, "Der Decamerone des Boccaccio als musikgeschichtliche Quelle" ZfMw 11 (1928), 397-401.

(237) See below, Section VI.D.

(238) W. Bowsky, "The Impact of the Black Death upon Sienese Government and Society" Speculum 39 (1964), 16.

(239) For example, the Adamari and Corsini families.

moralistic, humorous or even autobiographical texts than their northern counterparts (240). Similarly, the Florentine social and political climate was not conducive to the traditional forms of ceremonial music which were generally associated with public displays of gratitude for the generosity of a noble benefactor. As has been noted, the exurbanite landed nobility had been stripped of their right to political representation on the Florentine city councils by the middle-class legislators. To sing their praises within the city limits would probably have been viewed as revolutionary, if not in violation of the sumptuary laws which, albeit feebly, discouraged public displays of personal wealth or power (241).

By around 1370, the polyphonic ballata had replaced the madrigal as the most popular musical genre in Florence. Ballata texts are more often vocative than narrative, often addressed to the beloved or to Amor himself. Self-revelation replaces narration. The poet's assessment of his emotional

(240) A clear example of this tendency in Florentine madrigal poetry is Lorenzo Masini's "Dolgom' a voi," the composer's complaint to singing-teachers. Ed. Pirrotta *CMH* 8/3, 6-7.

(241) For similar reasons, the use of music and musicians as a "symbol" for political power and prestige was restricted to the civic governing institution, the Signoria. Private citizens could not maintain ceremonial pifferi in imitation of the feudal nobility. Wind players and singers performed for the glory of Florence, and were designated as the pifferi and chantori della Signoria or del Comune. See G. Villani, Istorie Fiorentine, Bk. 11, Ch. 92 (Milan, 1803: Societa Tipografico de Classici Italiani), vol. 7, p. 200, and A. Molho, Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance (Cambridge, 1971), 202.

state becomes the subject matter of the entire poem. Accordingly, the musical settings conform more to the meaning than to the structure of the poetry. Intense textual moments are reflected musically by the careful use of dissonances, suspensions, leaps, appoggiature. The ballata settings exhibit almost no mensuration changes, a feature so common in the madrigal(242).

Historians of art and literature have discussed the striking increase in subjective content of Florentine artistic endeavor in the second half of the Trecento, emphasizing the abandonment of impersonal and abstract medieval conventions in favor of more personal, self-oriented modes of expression(243). The shift from the "poetic" to the "empirical" I (i.e., from the medieval poet as Everyman, the common detached observer of life to the poet as an individual engaged in self-analysis) has been cited as the most telling poetic manifestation of this change in artistic temperament(244). The growing popularity of the poetically and musically expressive ballata form may be seen as a result of these general artistic tendencies.

(242) See Pirrotta, art. "Ballata" in MGG I, 1162.

(243) F. Antal, Florentine Painting and its Social Background (London, 1947). L. Spitzer, "Note on the Poetic and the Empirical 'I' in Medieval Authors", Traditio 4 (1946), 414-422. Schulz-Buschhaus, Das Madrigal, 14-27.

(244) Spitzer, 416-417.

The economist Yves Renouard has suggested that it is not by chance that a sudden turn towards le subjectif in the arts occurred in Florence specifically, and not, for instance, in Visconti intellectual circles. He stresses the fact that artistic expression was financed by the cosmopolitan bourgeois elite, the members of which were generally "self-made men" with little or no university training (and thus no ideological commitment to time-honored modes of medieval literary and poetic rhetoric and form associated with the course of study offered at the universities in Padua and Bologna) (245). Documentary evidence reveals that musicians were offered (in return for music lessons) both monetary payment and hospitality at the family palazzi of the Alberti and Adimari (246), families representing quite different degrees of status within the Florentine elite. The Alberti firm was the most powerful banking house in western Europe for most of the Trecento, serving as papal bankers in the latter half of the century (247). The Adimari were also bankers (though on a smaller

(245) Y. Renouard, "Affaires et culture à Florence au XIVe et au XVe siècle", in Études d'histoire médiévale 1 (France, 1968), 495. By "financed" I refer to remuneration for the copying of books or the composition of poems, or for devotional paintings in family chapels within public churches (a form of patronage with the professed aim of civic improvement rather than self-aggrandisement): See F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977), 100.

(246) D'Accone "Music and Musicians at S. Trinita" Quadri-
vium 12 (1971), 145 n.53, 147. Also Da Prato, Il Par-
adiso degli Alberti, ed. A. Lanza (Rome, 1975), pas-
sim.

scale). Twelve members of the family joined the bankers' guild in Florence between 1343 and 1378. On the basis of their tax returns they seem to have been "moderately prosperous" (248). As international dealers and financiers, "the elite corps of the Florentine business community" (249), these businessmen were in constant contact with foreign centers of culture, especially Paris, Bruges and Avignon (250). Often entire branches of Florentine bourgeois families set up housekeeping for extended periods at these transalpine centers (251). An aspiring young businessman who intended to follow a career as a foreign trader or banker was required to undertake a lengthy training program which usually included years of residence abroad (252). A knowledge of French became an indispensable asset to the Florentine businessman (253). Renouard views this fact of economic life as one of the prime reasons for the

- (247) R. de Roover, "The Story of the Alberti Company of Florence, 1302-1348, as Revealed in Its Account Books" Business History Review 32 (1958), 15.
- (248) G. Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378 (Princeton, 1962), 34-35.
- (249) G. Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 68.
- (250) Renouard, "Affaires et culture," 484.
- (251) Renouard's "Le compagnie commerciali fiorentine del Trecento" in Etudes 1, 519-526, includes a list of the Alberti houses throughout Trecento Europe. See also the biographies of Diamante and Altobiancho degli Alberti in Passerini, Gli Alberti di Firenze, (Firenze, 1870), 79, 89.
- (252) Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 69.
- (253) Renouard, "Affaires et culture", 487, and Brucker, 70.

great influx of gallicisms into the Tuscan vernacular in the second half of the Trecento. It was no doubt to some extent also responsible for the ready acceptance of gallicisms (such as the ouvert and clos endings, certain cadential formulas, and even the use of French texts) in contemporary Florentine ballate (254).

Although the madrigal suffered a decline in popularity among Florentine musicians, it remained an important genre among first-rank composers in the north, and occasional madrigal settings were composed in Florence as late as the first decade of the fifteenth century. These settings continue to display the change of sonus at the ritornello, and other conventional "figures" characteristic of the earlier northern madrigal (255). However, these works are no less impressive than contemporary ballate from the viewpoint of melodic and contrapuntal complexity. The late madrigals emanating from Florence are often marked by a clearly moralistic, polemical or propagandistic tone (256). Polemical poetry experienced a

(254) The most extreme case is Landini's virelai "Adieu, dous dame." Ed. Schrade, *PNFC4*, 192.

(255) For instance the descent from 5-3# over the temporary modal center at the beginning of melodic phrases which delineate poetic units (for instance the opening of the ritornello) as in Giovanni's "Appress' un fiume" (ed. Pirrotta *CMM8/1*, 8-10 mm. 12-13, 32-33) and "La bella stella" (ed. Pirrotta *CMM8/1*, 18-20 mm. 42-43). For a later example of a similar use of the chromatic third, see the opening of the ritornello of Landini's madrigal "Non a Narcisso" (ed. Schrade *PNFC4*, 199, mm. 42-44).

(256) The well-known example of the last is Paolo's "Godi

general upsurge in popularity after the decade of the 1370s. The proletariat revolt (of the Ciompi) of 1378, factionalism in the government, and economic depression gave way to domestic stability and a renewed sense of civic unity in the face of the common Visconti enemy(257). This civic pride was a source of inspiration for a great deal of literary propaganda of the last decades of the fourteenth and the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Firenze" written to celebrate the 1406 victory of Florence over Pisa. Paolo's madrigal may be viewed as another element in the string of Florentine/Visconti propaganda which characterized much poetic endeavor of the first decade of the Quattrocento. Concerning this propaganda war, see Baron, Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance (Princeton, 1966), 37-40 and passim.

(257) Brucker, Renaissance Florence, 237.

B. Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural elite

1. Landini's intellectual profile

One of the most artistically satisfying examples of polemic in music (in this case the propaganda is theological and not political) originating in the latter years of the Florentine Trecento is the three-voice ballata by Francesco Landini, "Contempar le gran cose." On stylistic grounds we may presume that the work was written no earlier than 1375. The disposition of the voice parts, and various rhythmic and contrapuntal features are characteristic of the three-voice settings of love poems composed by Landini in the latter decades of his career (i.e. the 1380s and 1390s) (258). Although from a strictly musical point of view this is an outstanding work, its historical value lies in its textual content. The text:

It is good to meditate upon the great works of God, but it is unnecessary to explain them. Why spend time in subtle reasoning, searching for something which is ultimately impossible to know? Simple faith is the answer, faith which lifts us from sadness, and then we are content.

is an exposition of the basic tenets of the logical philosophy of William of Ockham. Ockham was an English Franciscan born in the last decade of the thirteenth century. He died in the late 1340s or 1350, leaving behind a collection of

(258) Cf. K. von Fischer, "Ein Versuch zur Chronologie von Landini's Werken" MD20 (1966), 42.

philosophical works characterized by novelty and subtilitas. As a result of the highly individual nature of Occham's thought, his writings have been the source of scholarly disputes for six centuries. Still, the underlying principle of the system is clear:

Logic...is not a means of ascertaining absolute truth, but a useful tool for explaining facts otherwise learned...Universals...have no existence apart from the mind that conceives them. They are only general ideas, which have no rational validity except in so far as they are derived from the experience of the individual. The articles of the Christian faith, Ockham declared, should be accepted as such. They cannot be proved by reason; nor can they be made the basis of knowledge. In other words, science is science and theology is theology; the two are essentially different and must not be confused(259).

Landini's ballata expresses in simple poetic form his fundamentally Occhamist Weltanschauung. In light of all existing testimony to Landini's temperament and talents, it is not at all surprising to find among his works examples which reflect his strongly intellectual cast of mind. Contemporary references to the composer rarely fail to mention this aspect of his personality. For instance, Giovanni Gherardi da Prato wrote in the Paradiso degli Alberti:

Il quale, cieco quasi a natività, si mostrò di tanto intelletto divino che in ogni parte più astratta mostrava le sottilissime proporzioni de' suoi musicabili numeri, e quelle con tanta dolcezza col suo organo praticava ch'è cosa non credibile pure a udilla. E non istante questo elli con ogni artista e filosofo già disputando non tanto della sua musica, ma in tutte l'arti liberali, perché di tutte quelle in buona parte erudito si n' era(260).

(259) Carl Stephenson, Medieval History, (New York, 1943), 602.

Cino Rinuccini wrote of

Francesco, cieco del corpo, ma dell'anima illuminato, il quale così la teorica come la pratica di quell'arte [musica] sapea (261).

The most important witness to the intellectual side of Landini's personality is his lengthy invective written in Latin verse against detractors of Occham, which is preserved in the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 688, folios 132r-135v. This document reveals a fascinating picture of the personal convictions of one of the most important composers of the Middle Ages, as well as providing evidence of the extent of his scholarly familiarity with classical literature (sections of the poem are modelled on classical Latin works) (262). More important, it enables us to delineate more clearly Landini's place in Italian intellectual and artistic circles of the late fourteenth century.

(260) Da Prato, Il Paradiso ed. A. Lanza (Rome, 1975), 165.

(261) Quoted in Lanza, Polemiche e Berte Letterarie nella Firenze del Primo Quattrocento (Rome, 1971), 40.

(262) Landini's praise of Dialectic is modelled on Lucretius' descriptions of Epicurus in the De rerum natura. I am indebted to Professor David Blank of the University of California at Los Angeles for this information. E. Grassi in "Nota a Francesco Landino", Atene e Roma N.S.6 (1961), 149-150, suggested that some specifics of Landini's language reflect a knowledge of Greek word forms.

LANDINI'S DREAM VISION OF OCCAM (263)

"(Here) begin the verses of Francesco, organist of Florence, sent to Lord Antonio parish priest of Vado, the most worthy teacher of grammar, logic, rhetoric, and composed in praise of the logic of Occam."

The dark night, rushed along by its chariot, just reached
the middle of the Pole (i.e. middle of the heavens)
while all the stars in the
whole sky burned more brightly (than usual) with
redoubled fires,
when--perhaps the softest dream had bound
5 my limbs, but my mind within me was wide
awake--marvellous from afar and venerable with age,
a crowd of old men, frightening in dress and visage,
appeared to enter my private chambers. Ugly--and
reverence breathes from
his serious visage--was one of them and filthy in his
muddy cloak,
10 a young man of bright face, whom a long robe covered,
(hanging) down to his feet and tied with a knotted
cord.
As I study these men more closely, trembling with the
dizzying look
of things, I noted that their eyes were suffused with
a groan
and that they fixed their sad gaze on the ground.
15 Without delay they argue about who is most deserving
of
beginning the talking: the discord is long, long
are the grumbles, but finally the whole group unites
on that young man and all push him quietly forward,
though he is reluctant and says again and again with
trembling voice
20 he is unworthy. Finally he speaks with sorrowful ton-
gue thusly:
"Not because it befits me, with the venerable council
of my elders
and with the great authors, whence

(263) Translation by Prof. David Blank, Department of Clas-
sics, University of California at Los Angeles. The
full Latin text of the poem is included as Appendix
3, p. 219.

fame will always be remembered under the heavenly
 pole,
 gathered round, to speak first or to share sad words
 with you,
 25 but because reverence for such great elders forces me
 to,
 shall I speak. O son who art always sweet above all
 others,
 who art already long beloved of me, great William,
 torn
 with the teeth of envy, a Franciscan and your brother
 Occam,
 30 to you do I now come, and with me those whom you see
 standing by. I in particular, whom the ignorant
 crowd's
 hasty tongue rips, and the tumult of the laymen,
 and the jealous, most unlearned mob
 outside rips, but nonetheless in its heart of hearts
 praises me and contrives to possess my book
 35 and keep it hidden, with the name at the front of the
 book
 erased, seeks me with all its might and errs com-
 pletely (in the attempt).
 Oh! how the dark blue-blackness of envy commands poor
 mortals, how it makes them totally irrational
 and clouds-over the clear eyes of the mind!
 40 On these men do I bring nothing in just repayment
 than, after I've made them sweat in eternal labor,
 that they know nothing and, in the last analysis, can-
 not discover
 my intention at all, and that they expend their labor
 in vain.
 Then I laugh myself as they tear me apart.
 45 Then the crowd calls me over and again sacrilegious
 and with its all-too-sinful tongue (calls me) unholy.
 Whoever wants to, coming-up roughly with his unyield-
 ing proofs,
 converges on me, whom the eternal silence makes
 mute: for each one boldly proves all things (to me)
 50 and I don't respond--the page of proofs
 is furrowed with heaped-up mounds. One hour alone is
 allowed
 (for me) to respond to these men, in which I may find
 words to retaliate!
 How many syllogizers, how many empty sophisms
 could I destroy with a soft breath! But unavoidable
 fate
 55 stands in the way, and these fellows will be able
 freely to
 snap at corpses and breezes, proving things to one
 mute and not responding.
 However these stumbling-blocks of ancient disease must
 be tolerated,

nor does the biting tongue spit out air in any way
 more
 familiar to me (patience makes me hard)--
 60 Let a layman has arisen, most inexperienced [ydiota
 rudissimus] in our arts,
 who rages and raves, a dangerous enemy for us as well.
 His Patience, with its ancient countenance, could not
 tolerate
 any further, the unlearned fellow: Vexed and with
 anger
 glowing have I come here: that man forced my peaceful
 mind into it.
 65 This crowd emerged from Tartarus' caverns
 offended and at once pushed forward by a fool's bel-
 lowing.
 Oh great crime! This backward, impudent layman
 [ydiota] bitterly
 accuses you, o Dialectic, whom he has no hope of
 knowing as long as he lives, you who rule all
 70 the Arts, and without whom it is thought that no art
 can be known perfectly. Sole queen, nobility, mistress
 and teacher of her sisters,
 she (Dialectic) teaches the access to the lovely
 palace of your realm,
 Philosophy. She alone (teaches us) to climb to the
 fortress
 of Heaven and to serve the single-and-triple king.
 75 She conceives of forms lacking motion and structure
 (matter),
 bodies and (of how) to resolve the subtle knots of
 proofs
 does she teach, and how to discern the false mixed-up
 with truth.
 Without her all men babble, nor can they correctly
 tell what follows
 in the order of nature and what does not follow.
 80 She directs the battle-line above the high peaks of
 the sky
 and everywhere finds out the forms and nature of
 things.
 She levels out the vacillating tops of mountains,
 the peaks which threaten the heavens, difficult
 entrances and rough
 pavements. She directs her pace through doors every-
 where
 85 wide open. She lowers mountains and cliffs.
 She alone carries the mind to the inaccessible peak.
 Nor is the shadowy prison of Tartarus' realm
 not split open (for her): she traverses the Stygian
 swamp.
 Finally she fixes her gaze on the hidden shadows and
 deep

90 night, she seeks the causes hidden beneath the world--
 the night becomes day.
 Even her--see how unspeakeable!--does that backward
 layman
 dare to rip apart and to savage with his dog's jaws:
 he vomits up his bark at the moon and terrifies the
 shades
 of night and, with day coming on, trembles at the
 sound.

95 That man, severe with his superciliousness and proud
 of his open
 mouth, seeks to resound through the uneducated masses
 of
 the rabble and philosophizes among the effeminate
 crowds. If by some malignant chance he comes upon
 learned men, suddenly he flees, as one terrified with
 fear,

100 but usually, just as the deer with the hunters' nets,
 unseen in the dark recesses,
 he cannot get away--his swift limbs held fast:
 thus it is that this backward layman, overcome by his
 fate, often
 comes upon groups of wise men and,
 his words dying on his tongue, his mouth trembling,

105 does not know what he should do, where he might flee
 to be in safety,
 and timidly utters--with many pauses--generalities, in
 no way suited to the
 responses of the audience.
 But since such great ignorance never has been able to
 be concealed
 by a useless cover, but rather when caught flows out
 everywhere, spread-out

110 over the effusive utterance
 while it denies what has been accepted and rashly
 affirms what was previously
 denied, and the terrified fellow hates logicians like
 he hates death
 and calls them tricksters and argumentative sophists.
 And especially me does this criminal tear up

115 with his sinful tongue, me and my books and my unholy
 mind
 and he spits a snake's poison from his peevish breast.
 Me, whom the untamed, brash, rough
 indeed steely, untrained, harder than eternal diamond,
 screeching throat does not catch with words, while I
 treat of the highest

120 matters, and every moment of his life
 he despairs in his vain attempt to handle my book
 and despairs because he will grow pale in vain over
 our pages.
 I should exult or rather cry (fulsome proclamations of
 praise
 come to you from this excessive clamor,

125 but had cause for complaint been given, it would have
 been even greater praise).
 This poor fellow here is Marcus (Cicero), glory of the
 Roman language,
 whose talents golden Rome has long held equal to pow-
 erful Empire and whom
 this brazen man (oh what a crime!)
 counts to his own credit, for he
 130 cites divine books, recites them, though they are not
 understood by the rabble
 or by himself: he runs through all your books, Marcus,
 and calls you his very own Cicero, and with your name
 frequently cited
 he names now this book and now that--with scabrous
 countenance.
 The unfamiliar words terrify the crowd:
 135 with great praises he extols Cicero to the skies.
 But, Cicero, these proclamations of praise vex you
 more
 than if he should cut you with unjust blame, as he
 does me;
 these tongues ignorantly sully with praises all the
 great books
 you stayed up nights over, Marcus.
 140 The unyielding justice of Antony did not harm you
 more,
 Antony who caused your neck to be cut with a fierce
 sword,
 than your own words, which fly about around the con-
 fused crowd
 (for he cites them) and are not understood.
 Obscure Seneca hates the great fame he left behind in
 the world
 145 and which he long sought by the utmost virtue,
 when this backward layman confesses that he is--and
 even names him (Seneca)--
 his father: he (Seneca) denies it and blushes
 hidden in a dark cave, condemning each of his own
 works in turn.
 But far more miserable, far more indeed than all of
 them, is this man
 150 who is groaning over here--whose famous and revered
 name he has not
 mentioned, as well as his by-name--.
 Why should I mention the ancestor, torn apart by
 bites,
 of this old uneducated hick and boorish satellite?
 How gross and unmaneuverable is his tongue
 155 in every sound it makes! How often does one hear in
 competition
 "That's a barbarism and a solecism!", and that a shor-
 tened syllable
 is pronounced long and

a lengthened one short! Often he blushes and stares
 for a long time dumbfounded,
 noting that a transitive verb takes an accusative, a
 term in the neuter
 160 fears being joined to a moveable feminine term.
 Furthermore he has a heavy gait and proud speech.
 He ponders all things beneath his feet, then he brings
 in the names of
 a thousand authorities, whose names are all he knows,
 and he spews-out against the logicians the deadly
 venom
 165 of his serpent's heart and pours-forth criminal obju-
 rations.
 Oh! his foolishness is more pitiful than it is detest-
 able--
 such great stupidity casts him into darkness,
 so much does pitiful error about the facts distract
 him!"

His mind, excited by a furor outside, by the joyous
 clamor
 170 of the artisans heralding the daybreak, did not allow
 him,
 though he had more to say, to delay any longer.
 The venerable shadow, shattered by the unwanted day-
 light,
 fled from my eyes at the same time as the group dis-
 solved
 into the air and vanished before my eyes.
 175 I myself, long terrified by these great shades,
 I was dumbstruck, disturbed by the image of this won-
 derful dream.

2. The battle of the humanists and the subtilizers

Landini's poem has appeared in print several times since
 the late nineteenth century (264). The most recent scholarly

(264) It was first published by A. Wesselofsky in his edi-
 tion of the Paradiso degli Alberti (Bologna, 1867),
 I(2), 295-301. Unfortunately, certain passages are
 rather corrupt in the one surviving source for the
 work. This has inspired no less than three scholars
 to publish their revised versions of the complete
 Latin text. Ph. Böhner, "Ein Gedicht auf die Logik

edition is included in Antonio Lanza's work on literary polemic in early fifteenth-century Florence (265). Lanza, like others before him, attempts to place this poem in its proper historical perspective (266).

For many years, Landini's invective was considered to be addressed in general to the growing circle of humanists in Florence in the last quarter of the Trecento. It was viewed simply as yet another manifestation of the age-old theme of the battle between the ancients and the moderns, in this case medieval scholasticism and its associated philosophies vs. Renaissance humanism. It was Giovanni Saitta who first pointed out that Landini's attack seemed to be directed towards one specific individual (267). Saitta proposed that the object of Landini's scorn was Luigi Marsili, prior of the Augustinian monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence in the 1380s (268). Marsili, whom Hans Baron refers to as a "semi-humanist" (269), was indeed known and criticized for his enthusiastic discussions of theology and classical

Ockhams", Franziskanische Studien 26 (1939), 78ff. C. Vasoli, "Polemiche occaniste", Rinascimento 3 (1953), 137-141.

(265) A. Lanza, Polemiche e Berte Letterarie nella Firenze del Primo Quattrocento (Rome, 1955), 235-238.

(266) See below.

(267) Il Pensiero italiano nell'Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento (Bologna, 1949), I, 143ff.

(268) On the role of Santo Spirito in the cultural life of Florence, see Section VI.C, below.

(269) Baron, op. cit., 82.

literature with laymen who had not (in the eyes of the academic churchmen) received the requisite scholastic training to enable them to deal properly with such esoteric matters. It was this tendency to bring theology to the masses (along with his championship of the cause of nationalization of the Italian church) that kept Marsili from being appointed Bishop of Florence in the 1380s(270). However, Marsili and Landini seem, on the basis of all available evidence, to have been friends. They appear side by side on excellent terms in the Paradiso degli Alberti, a work which describes the fourteenth-century "salon" held regularly at the Alberti family villa outside of Florence, where artists and intellectuals gathered for discussion and entertainment(271). In addition, scribal notes in Riccardiana 688 (the source for Landini's work) indicate that the poem must have been entered in the manuscript in 1381 or 1382(272). Marsili was absent from Florence throughout most of the 1370s (he was attending the University of Paris), and his pedagogical activity in Florence seems not to have begun until the middle of the 1380s(273).

In a 1953 article in the journal Rinascimento, Cesare Vasoli proposed that the objects of Landini's attack were Niccolò Niccoli and Coluccio Salutati(274), who is commonly known

(270) See below, and Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists (Princeton, 1963), 307-308.

(271) See especially Il Paradiso III, 8-30 (Lanza ed., 164-170), and Lanza, Polemiche, 47n.

(272) Riccardiana 688, ff. 3r, 113v.

(273) See below, p. 150.

as "the first of the great humanist chancellors of the [Florentine] Republic. (275)" Salutati held this extremely important position for over a quarter of a century (1375-1406), during which time he established a reputation as an excellent diplomat and formidable scholar. He produced a voluminous body of correspondence which includes numerous expositions on classical authors and political philosophy addressed to members of the contemporary Florentine intellectual and political elite (276). Salutati's humanism was, however, primarily political. He represents what historians refer to as Florentine "civic humanism." Salutati was more interested in demonstrating Florence's descent from the ancient Roman republic than in the theological disputes of the clerics (277). More important, he also seems to have been a friend and admirer of Landini. In September of 1375, Salutati wrote a lengthy and eloquent letter to Piero Corsini, Cardinal of Florence, recommending Landini for a position at the hospitale of San Giovanni, or Santa Reperata (278). The bitter tone of Landini's language hardly seems an appropriate response to a friend and supporter, and the use of the word ydiota in connection with a man noted for his scholarly achievements seems just

(274) Vasoli, "Polemiche occhamiste," 126.

(275) Martines, 147.

(276) Salutati, Epistolario, ed. F. Novati (4 vols.) Rome, 1891-1911.

(277) See Baron, Crisis passim.

(278) Reproduced in Wesselofsky I(1), 323-326.

as unlikely.

Lanza, who has published the best and most recent edition of Landini's poem, supports the theory that the invective is directed at Niccolò Niccoli (279). Of all the "first generation" / "semi-" / "proto-" humanists (depending on whose terminology one favors), Niccoli was certainly the most outspoken opponent of the "scholastic vices." In addition, his abrasive personality inspired public response on the part of many of his contemporaries, including his own friends. He has been described as intolerant, caustic and touchy (280). In addition, Niccoli was a bourgeois-turned-scholar; to some extent, it would appear, an over-achiever and a dilettante. He might, then, be the perfect target for Landini's biting criticism. Niccoli, however, was born in 1364. Even if the Landini poem had been entered in the manuscript immediately after it was written, its composition would have occurred when Niccoli was at most seventeen years old. Niccoli did not even embark upon his academic training (partly under Marsili's tutelage) until he quit the family wool-business after the death of his father around 1385 (281). Thus, he can hardly be the "old uneducated hick" attacked by Landini.

(279) Lanza, Polemiche, 48ff.

(280) Lanza, 48-49.

(281) Martines, *op. cit.*, 160, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, Le Vite [degli Uomini Illustri] ed. A. Greco (Firenze, 1970), II, 225.

Turning to the text, we see that Occham complains primarily of his detractor's opposition to the use of dialectic. In a letter contra dyaleticos written around 1350, Petrarch made his first literary attack on the English school of dialectical logicians(282). With the passing of time, his criticism became increasingly pointed and outspoken. In the fourth book of his Invective contra medicum written in the mid-1350s, the poet complains of physicians who fancy themselves philosophers. He argues that these "doctors" have adopted a dialectical rhetoric which is based on "lame..., ridiculous and confusing syllogisms"(283). Petrarch's hostility is even more clearly expressed in a letter sent from Venice to Boccaccio in Florence in the year 1364. The letter is included in the collection entitled Epistolae seniles (letters of later years). Petrarch, in order to "discharge my spleen and anger" writes to his friend that

Lately a school of dialecticians has arisen, not so much ignorant as mad. Like a black army of ants, they have emerged from the recesses of some old rotten oak, devastating all the fields of sound doctrine [i.e. Aquinas]... I don't want to give this school a name; they have done nothing to deserve one, though their nonsense has caused a great stir. I don't want to class as philosophers those I have seen among these insignificant thinkers(284).

(282) Familiarum Rerum I,7 (ed. V. Bossi, Francesco Petrarca: Le Familiari 1 [Firenze, 1933], 35-38). On the dating of this letter, see E. Wilkins, Petrarch's Correspondence (Medioevo e Umanesimo 3: Padova, 1960), 50.

(283) Invective contra medicum 4,33-38. Ed. Pier Giorgio Ricci (Rome, 1950), 82.

(284) Epistolae rerum senilium 5,2 (28 August 1364). Trans=

Returning to Landini's text, one notes that in the first ten lines (ll. 60-70) of Occham's diatribe, the man in question is referred to as an ydiota (i.e., an ignorant man). Although from our perspective, the notion of applying such a term to one of the great lights of literary history may seem bizarre, there is corroborative evidence that Petrarch was viewed in this way by some of his contemporaries. While in Venice in 1366, Petrarch met with his friend Donato Albanzani, who informed him that many Aristotelians (and Occham considered himself to stand firmly within the Aristotelian tradition; in fact his dialectic theory arose out of his explication of Aristotle's Logic) said of him: "Virum bonum, ydiotam ferunt," i.e. a good man, but ignorant (285).

At line 126 in Landini's poem, the focus shifts to a condemnation of this man's relationship with (and misunderstanding of) classical authors, Cicero in particular. Occham introduces the "ghost" of Cicero and complains that

This brazen man (oh what a crime!) counts [you, Cicero] to his own credit, for he cites divine books, recites them, though they are not understood by the rabble or by himself: he runs through all your books, Marcus, and calls you his very own Cicero, and with your name frequently cited he names now this book and now that...

lated by M. Bishop, Letters from Petrarch (Indiana, 1966), 246.

(285) E. Wilkins, Petrarch's Later Years, (Cambridge, 1959), 92.

Although Cicero's works were frequently used by the proto-humanists and later Italian humanists as a source for quotations, Petrarch had a passionate attachment to his writings. The nature of Petrarch's affinity for Cicero is revealed in a number of his Epistles. In 1374, he wrote a long autobiographical letter explaining his lifelong attachment to the classical author (286). He describes how as a youth he "wanted nothing but books by Cicero" (287). The letter makes frequent reference to specific works of Cicero, and the Invective against Physicians includes extensive citations of the ancient author. The most striking characteristic of Petrarch's references to Cicero is their personal tone. In the 1374 letter he refers to "my friend Cicero" (288). In 1359, he described an accident which occurred in his study:

[To Neri Morando]. Listen to the trick Cicero played on me -- Cicero, whom I have loved and cherished since boyhood! I have a great volume of his letters, which I wrote out some time ago with my own hand, since it was too hard for the scribes. (My health was then poor, but my love and delight and eagerness to possess the book surmounted the body's incommodities and made light of the toil). As you have seen, I kept the book standing on my library floor, right next to the door, in order to have it always at hand. So then I came into the room, thinking of something else, and the edge of my gown happened to catch on this book. It fell down, and gave me a slight wound on the left leg, not much above the heel. "What's this, my Cicero?" I said. "Why are you wounding me?" He didn't say a thing; but the next day when I entered the room he smote me again (289).

(286) Epistolae rerum senilium 16,1. Transl. M. Bishop, op. cit., 292-299.

(287) Bishop, 295.

(288) Bishop, 296.

In 1354, Petrarch addressed an epistle to the object of his literary admiration. It opens with "Franciscus sends his greetings to Cicero" and closes with "Farewell, my Cicero" (290).

This is highly reminiscent of Landini's description of the man who speaks of "his very own Cicero." Petrarch also referred frequently to the works of Seneca, although I have found no evidence that he "names Seneca his father." It is not at all unlikely that he did, though (whether in writing or speaking), for in 1360 he wrote that he "loved Cicero as if he were my father" (291). The image of Seneca as father is also implied in Petrarch's discussion of imitatio and the humanist's approach to what Nancy Struever has termed the "construction of his own literary personality" based on classical models. She writes

Petrarch uses a succession of metaphors, some of them derived from Seneca, to express [this]...insight. For example the writer must take care to strive not for identity, but for similitude: "For the likeness should not be as that of a portrait to its subject...but as a son to his father, where...a certain semblance...most easily discerned in the face and eyes, creates that kind of likeness that the sight of the son at once brings to mind the father" [Petrarch, Fam. XXIII, 19, 11-12](292).

(289) Le Familiari, 21,10. Transl. M. Bishop, 170.

(290) Le Familiari, 24,3. Transl. M. Bishop, 206-207.

(291) Le Familiari 21/10. Transl. M. Bishop, 191.

(292) N. Struever, The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism (Princeton, 1970), 146-147.

One more detail exists which may or may not have some bearing on the identification of the "ydiota" in question as Petrarch. In line 133, Landini uses the phrase rugosa fronte. This may be variously translated as wrinkled, furrowed, warty or scabrous face. In Autumn of 1364, Petrarch contracted a debilitating case of scabies which afflicted him for at least five months. The disease recurred throughout his later years, until his death in July of 1374 (293). Landini's description might conceivably refer to the poet's skin condition.

The tentative identification of Petrarch as the object of Landini's diatribe does not necessarily provide the definitive solution to the problem. In fact, for a number of historical reasons, Luigi Marsili would be an ultimately more satisfactory suggestion. Unfortunately lack of concrete evidence makes the identification (for the moment) impossible. We know nothing of Marsili's activities between 1378 and 1382 (294). Most scholars agree that he did not return to Florence (from Paris) before 1382. Marsili devoted the years 1382 and 1383 to diplomatic missions on behalf of the Florentine Signoria (295). In addition, none of Marsili's writings have survived except for two moralistic commentaries and a few letters (296). It is clear that

(293) Wilkins, Petrarch's Later Years, 77, 81.

(294) U. Mariani, Il Petrarca e gli Agostiniani (Rome, 1946), 83.

(295) D. Hay, The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background (Cambridge, 1970), 93, and Martines, 307.

(296) For a list of manuscript sources, see U. Mariani, Il

Petrarch and Marsili were great friends, and shared a similar vehement distaste for the scholasticism of the "northern barbarians" and the Avignonese papacy (297). In fact, Petrarch considered Marsili to be his "spiritual heir" and ideological successor (298). A further consideration in identifying the object of the invective is Landini's dedication of the poem to Antonio de Vado, who came to Florence in 1381, and was named a teacher of grammar there in the following year (299). If Landini's poem was intended as a complaint against Marsili's political and theological rhetoric, which one may assume was for the most part borrowed from the speeches and writings of his mentor Petrarch, we will most likely never know (given the absence of evidence concerning the specifics of Marsili's works) (300). But even if the poem were aimed at Marsili its position as an element in a broad historical scheme and as a documentary witness to one

Petrarca e gli Agostiniani (Rome, 1946), 92-96.

(297) For Marsili's views on the Avignon curia, see his letter of 20 August 1375 (Florence, Bibl. Ricc. 1080, ff. 36v-39r).

(298) D. Hay, 93, 120-121. See also Mariani, 66-92.

(299) See F. Novati, ed. Salutati, Epistolario II, 52 n.1.

(300) No works by classical authors are included among the books bearing Marsili's ex libris in the 1450 inventory of the Santo Spirito library. However, he would have had ready access to a rich stock of classical literature in the libreria parva bequeathed to the convent by Boccaccio in 1364. See D. Gutierrez, "La Biblioteca di Santo Spirito in Firenze nella metà del Secolo XV" in Analecta Augustiniana 25 (1962), passim, and A. Mazza, "L'inventario della <parva libreria> di S. Spirito e la biblioteca del Boccaccio" in Italia Medioevale e Umanistica 9 (1966).

aspect of Landini's biography would remain the same. The composer considered himself to be a representative of a venerable academic tradition(301), a tradition which was being maintained and encouraged by the circle surrounding the papal curia in France, and which was facing a host of vociferous opponents in his native Florence.

3. The Manuscript Riccardiana 688: Florentines in Avignon

The inclusion of Landini's poem in Riccardiana 688 is explainable by the circumstances surrounding the copying of the source. The manuscript was, according to the scribe's own inscriptions, begun in the year 1381 and completed in 1382. The entire document was written at the papal court in Avignon by a Florentine cleric, Johannes de Empoli, a member of the retinue of Piero Corsini, Cardinal of Florence(302). The manuscript is an anthology of short works, many characterized by the literary and academic subtilitas which was the hallmark of the ecclesiastical artistic style cultivated at Avignon in the 1370s and 1380s(303). Johannes utilized the point of elision

(301) Cf. the conservative sentiments which Landini expressed in his tri-textual madrigal "Musica son" (ed. Schrade PMFC4, 213-215).

(302) The scribe identifies himself as Johannes de Empoli clericum florentine diocesis et cubicularium Reverendissimi in Christo patris et Domini mei Domini Petri de Corsinis de florentia Portuensis et s. Rufine episcopi S. Romane ecclesie Cardinalis (f. 49).

(occasionally to excess) to clarify the declamation of Italian texts in the manuscript. One of Landini's moralistic Latin poems:

Quidam terrenis curis, magnoque labore
Labitur ambiguis limphis, et montibus auro.
Quidam cum studio Musarum nomen habere
Quaerit, et felix habito putat esse quod optat,
Quidam sic bello fore sublimatus et armis
Concupit, atque illis animo spem ponit inani,
Quidam dat placitum, quo multi sensibus errant.
Nos crimen caecum conducit ventur et Orbis.
Nullus in excelsum Caelum, mentemque revolvit,
Quo bona pro iustis regnant, summaeque salutes.
Nullus amore illas charitate videtur habendas,
In quibus est veris, et tutis vita proemis.
Nullus ab ore tegens oculos scit tollere velum,
Cernere quo nostrum melius tam tegmine durum est (304).

is immediately followed by Johanes's rubric: Supradicti versus exponuntur sonetto inferius hic scripto and a vernacular version of Landini's sentiments, liberally dotted with puncti elisionis:

Chi cerca possedere oro, et argento
Et pero s'affatica in Mare, et in Terra:
Chi scienza acquistare studia, erra,
Che pensa auta quella essere contento.
Chi pone la speme, et tutto il suo talento
Nel senso sciocco, per cui tanto si erra,
Chi cerca essere famoso in arme, et in guerra,
Questa ci da del Mondo el vizio, el vento.
Nessuno volge la mente inverso el Cielo,
Ove e la gloria, el nostro bene futuro:
Nessuno per carita con fermo zelo
Pare camino quello, che e si certo, et sicuro:
Nessuno dinanzi ad se sa torre il velo,
Onde cernere il meglio e tanto oscuro.

(303) An inventory (though incomplete and often incorrect) is given in Bohner, op.cit., 79-80. Some of the authors whose works are included in the manuscript are discussed in L. Mehus, Historia Litteraria Fiorentina (Florence, 1769), 207, and A. Coville, La Vie Intellectuelle dans les Domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435 (Paris, 1941), 369ff.

(304) Riccardiana 688, f. 125v.

Clarification of the position of Cardinal Corsini and his retinue at the papal court in the period during which the manuscript was compiled affords an illuminating glimpse of the international cultural exchange which characterized relations between the French papacy and Italian artists and intellectuals in the last quarter of the Trecento.

The decade of the 1360s witnessed a solidification of the temporal authority of the Pope in the papal states in Italy(305). By the early 1370s, Florentines began to fear that the papal states to the south and east, and the powerful Visconti to the north might form an alliance to crush the city Republic. In the summer of 1375, a plot was uncovered, a plot which would have involved the delivery of the nearby town of Prato into the hands of the English mercenary John Hawkwood (who was in the employ of the Pope). Richard Trexler described the Florentine reaction to this discovery:

On a wave of public outrage, the hopeless plotters, one of whom was a monk, were tried in the courts and then put to a horrible death. The offices of the bishopric were broken into, and the clergy of the city terrified; the populace was convinced that the Florentine church was a tool of Avignon and traitorous to the city(306).

(305) The historical material in this section is drawn largely from Richard Trexler's "Economic, Political and Religious Effects of the Papal Interdict on Florence, 1376-1378" (Inaug. diss., Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1964), 20-45, 105-130 and 143-155.

(306) Trexler, 24.

In July, the Florentines signed a military pact with Bernabo Visconti (a good example of the changeability of Italian politics in the period) to be extended, if necessary, against the Pope. When Gregory XI heard about the alliance he was shocked. Feeling that he had been shamefully betrayed by his strongest supporters (307), he imposed unreasonable taxes and fines upon the Florentine colony in the papal capital, and finally expelled a number of Florentine merchants and bankers who had been residing in Avignon (308). On May 11, 1376 he went so far as to impose an Interdict on the city of Florence. The results were devastating. The ringing of church bells was prohibited. The public was barred from mass, except for a very simple service to be performed on Christmas, Holy Saturday and Easter. In any event, the host was not to be viewed by the populace. By mid-October, flagellants began to appear in the streets. More important from a music-historical point of view, there was a sudden increase in the numbers of companies of laudesi (309). Since they had been excluded from mass, thousands of Florentines began to attend the prayer meetings held by the singers of laude (310).

(307) Control of papal finances and investments had always been in the hands of Florentine bankers. See above, section VI.4.

(308) Upwards of 500 merchants and clerics were expelled. See B. Guillemain, La Cour Pontificale D'Avignon (1309-1376), (Paris, 1962), 605.

(309) Trexler, 125-130.

(310) The striking increase in public interest in lauda-singing and mass prayer is documented by the contemporary chronicler Stefani. Cronaca fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo ed. N. Rodolico. RIS (N.S.) 30, 1

The reading and singing of monophonic and two-voice laude essentially replaced the liturgy in Florence for almost two years. This set of circumstances may be to some extent responsible for the increased interest in the composition of laude and lauda-style works by serious composers, a tendency which continues into the early fifteenth century (311).

Finally, the government (fearing mass chaos) encouraged the breaking of the Interdict. They offered bribes to priests (who were afraid to perform the mass before an excommunicate congregation). High-ranking clerics, who were usually members of wealthy Florentine families (and therefore hardly in need of such questionable gains), left the city in defiance (312). Cardinal Corsini went to Avignon. In March 1378, Pope Gregory XI died suddenly. To placate the new Pope, Urban VI, Florence resumed observance of the Interdict (which was officially removed by Urban in August of that year) (313). In September, the French cardinals elected the schismatic Pope Clement VII. Corsini, whose intellectual ties to Avignon were very strong, defected to the French camp, leaving his seat in Florence vacant (314). He

(1903-1955). rubric 757.

(311) For example, the works of Andrea Stefani. See E. Li Gotti, "Per la biografia di due minori musicisti italiani dell' 'Ars Nova'" in Restauri trecenteschi (Palermo, 1947), 99-103. Also G. Tognetti, "Sul moto dei Bianchi nel 1399" in Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano 78 (1967), 260.

(312) Trexler, 147-148.

(313) Trexler, 154-155.

continued to be referred to by the French as the Cardinal of Florence, however(315).

In light of these circumstances it would not be surprising to find an invective against Petrarch included in a manuscript written for a circle of Florentine exiles six years after the poet's death. For the memory of Petrarch was far from sacred in Avignon, which had been immortalized in infamy by his numerous descriptions of it as the novissima Babylon. In fact, he devoted an entire work, the Liber Sine Nomine, to exposing the vices of the papal court. This work no doubt provided a model for Marsili's own diatribes against the French papacy(316). After 1378, the humanist element in Florence led by Salutati, Niccoli, and Marsili, began to identify strongly with Petrarch's "pre-humanist" attacks on ecclesiastical scholasticism and the effetism of the Avignon curia. Landini's sentiments were more in keeping with those of the Florentine expatriates in Avignon, who continued to flourish throughout the fourteenth century.

This international group of artists and intellectuals was to some extent responsible for the lack of distinction between Florentine and Avignonese musical style and notation in the

(314) See G. Brucker, The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1977), 117.

(315) See A. Meier, "Ein Leihregister aus der Bibliothek des letzten Avignonese Papstes Benedikt XIII" Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia 20 (1966), 314.

(316) See, for example, the letter to Guido del Palagio al tempo della guerra tra i fiorentini et la chiesa. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1080, ff. 36v-39r.

1380s and '90s. The same manuscript which contains Landini's poem also transmits a treatise ascribed to Philippe de Vitry. The text of this previously unpublished treatise is included as Appendix 4. Whether it actually represents Vitry's work or not is unimportant. What matters is that the last generation of Florentine Trecento composers (aside from those like Andrea Stefani, who cultivated the simpler lauda-related style) saw themselves as heirs of the French tradition of Franco and Vitry. Florentine treatises of the late 1300s almost always include some reference to Vitry or Muris as an auctoritas (317). Marchettus, codifier of the distinctly northern/Romagnol school of notation, is never mentioned. There is little evidence to indicate that the details of Marchettan notation were ever basic to the Florentine style. Economic ties with France and especially the papal curia at Avignon were exceptionally strong. The interests of the Florentine bourgeois elite and their families (including members of the religious orders) were well-served by continuous support of and contact with the Avignonesse papacy. As the University of Florence in mid-century was having difficulty establishing itself as a rival to the northern institutions at Padua and Bologna (318), most Florentines interested in pursuing academic training (and this necessarily meant ecclesi-

(317) See especially the anonymous vernacular Notitia del valore delle note in the MS. Florence, Laurenziana Redi 71, 13r-24r. The citation of French theorists are discussed by Carapetyan in his edition of the Notitia (CSM5: Holland, 1957), 27-28.

(318) See Hay, 120.

astics) went to Paris or Avignon. The Universities of Padua and Bologna, where Marchettus' teachings no doubt formed a part of the course of musical study, were declared off-limits to Florentines by a city ordinance which aimed (unsuccessfully) to boost enrollment at the local institution(319). Until the explosion of civic humanist polemic on the Florentine scene, Foscari's remark (made some two centuries later) was already valid: "In the heart of every Florentine, if it could be cut open, there would be found in the very center a lily of gold" (320).

It must be emphasized that the composition of a poem or song with a propagandistic text, be it political or philosophical, was not an empty academic exercise(321). A poem such as Landini's dream vision of Occham was no doubt taken quite seriously in its sentiment by the parties with a vested interest in the defense of scholastic dialectic: i.e., the Franco-Florentine ecclesiastical elite residing in Avignon. Adherence to the tenets of the northern school of philosophical subtilitas meant, in

(319) G. Voigt, Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums (Berlin, 1960: reprint of original 1893 ed.) I, 340.

(320) The lily of gold was, of course, the armorial sign of France. See Baron, Crisis, 97.

(321) Such writings were often quite effective in practice. Baron points out that the massive expansion of Visconti control over northern Italy in the late fourteenth century was in few cases effected by the use of outright force. Propaganda was employed to inspire treachery and defection in the ranks of Visconti opponents. Writers churned out poetic celebrations of each successive Viscontean political conquest, praising them as steps towards the glorious goal of a unified and stable Italy. See above and Crisis, 38-39.

effect, ideological support of the established international cultural milieu which existed in its most vital form at the papal court. Defense of the "international style" implied support of the Florentine economic and cultural status quo: a social organization based on familial elitism, an organization which faced the substantial threats of proletarian revolt, religious nationalism and popular philosophies in the last quarter of the Trecento.

C. The manuscripts Lo and FP: a sociocodicological overview

1. London, British Library Additional 29987 (Lo)

Although it was the haute bourgeoisie that supported the institutions, ecclesiastical and secular (i.e., their own villas) at which artistic activity flourished, few composers whose works survive seem to have been scions of this patriciate. Francesco Landini was himself the son of a painter(322), Lorenzo Masini the offspring of a Florentine junk-dealer(323). Aside from cleric-composers whose family names are generally unknown(324), most musicians whose works are included in Florentine manuscripts belong to this social stratum, which lies somewhere between the popolo minuto(325) and the elite cittadini discussed

(322) Concerning his father, Jacopo del Casentino, see below.

(323) F. A. Gallo, "Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo" Studi Musicali 4 (1975), 58.

(324) Although Pirrotta and Becherini have speculated that Don Paolo Tenorista was a member of an elite Florentine family. Pirrotta suggests that Paolo was a Capponi. Beccherini believes him to have been a member of the Leoni family. See Pirrotta, Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Ars Nova and B. Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi e il Codice Mediceo-Palatino 87" in L'Ars Nova Italiana 1 (Certaldo, 1960), 161-163.

(325) This group "included skilled and semiskilled, but also the mass of unskilled, labor in the medieval city. The minuti were not considered part of the political fabric of the city at all." Trexler, "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites", 65.

in the preceding section. The manuscript London, British Library Add. 29987 reflects the musical interests of this element of the Florentine polis, from the standpoint of repertoire and as a physical document.

Lo transmits several works by other composers belonging to the Florentine artisan class, composers whose musical expertise does not approach that of their social peers Landini and Masini. The least sophisticated of these petit bourgeois composers is Jacopo Pianelaio, who is represented by one ballata, "Come tradir" (f.47). As Pirrotta points out, this "unskilled amateur" was, judging by his name, a slipper-maker by trade (326). The non-musical aspects of the life of the composer Bonaiutus Corsini are, on the other hand, reasonably well-documented. He was a painter (the ascriptions in Lo are to Bonaiutus Chorsini pitor) (327), specifically a decorator of wooden chests (328). Bonaiuto was very likely a pupil of the organist Andrea de Servi in the 1370s (329). The decades of the 1370s and 1380s constituted a period during which Andrea and Francesco Landini were in frequent professional contact with one another. New organs were being built (or planned) for the Santissima Annunziata as well

(326) Pirrotta, CMM8/5, iii.

(327) Folios 32, 33v, 34.

(328) Pirrotta refers to fiscal documents in which Bonaiuto is described as a cofonario. CMM8/5, iii.

(329) Pirrotta, CMM8/5, iii, mentions a document which records a payment made by Corsini to Andrea pro solutione in docendum ipsum Bonaiutum.

as the Cathedral of Florence, and the two composer-organists were involved in both projects. It is likely that Bonaiutus was also a regular figure among this segment of Landini's musical circle. Further opportunities for contact between Corsini and Landini, beyond the influence of their mutual colleague Andrea, would have been as a result of the activities of the composers' fathers. Bonaiutus's father, Corsino di Bonaiuti, was the founder of the family bottega: the workshop which produced the ceremonial cassoni, or chests, mentioned above. He was also one of the six original capitani of the confraternity of painters founded in Florence in 1350. Another of the six was Jacopo di Casentino, father of Francesco Landini (330). Although, unlike Corsino, Jacopo was more an artist in our modern sense than an artisan, he was a painter with an unquestionably middle-class style and audience. Although he was quite successful locally,

Jacopo's was among the most provincial styles in Florentine art of the period, a quality detectable in the relative crudeness of his technique, the schematic nature of his modelling and the frequent gaucherie of his compositions (331).

His circle (as witnessed by his active participation in the painters' confraternity) was no doubt composed largely of artists and craftsmen with similarly local orientations. And this milieu was probably one with which both Francesco Landini

(330) Giovanni Gaye, Carteggio Inedito d'Artisti dei Secoli XIV. XV. XVI. (3 vols. Florence, 1840), vol. 2, 33.

(331) Marvin J. Eisenberg, "A Florentine Madonna and Child". Record of the Art Museum: Princeton University 14 (1955), 8. I am grateful to Hattie Ganet of the Princeton University Art Museum for calling this article to my attention.

and Bonaiutus Corsini were intimately acquainted(332).

A third little-known composer, represented by one work in Lo (the madrigal "Tremando piu che foglia" ff. 71v-72), is Rosso da Chollegrano. Since Rosso's name bears no ecclesiastical identifier such as prete or frater, and no title of distinction or honor such as ser or magister, it is probably safe to assume that he, too, was a bourgeois with an amateur interest in composition. Rosso's toponymic surname has been regarded as somewhat problematic(333). On the basis of contemporary documents referring to another visitor da Chollegrano, it appears that Chollegrano is a fourteenth-century Florentine transformation of the name of a small town outside of Venice: Conegliano(334). This orthographical variant may be taken as evidence in support of Florentine provenance for the manuscript(335). The replacement

(332) As Levi put it (albeit dramatically): "Chi sa quante volte il prodigioso fanciullo [Landini] non avrà varcato la soglia della bottega di Corsino cofanaio." Ezio Levi, Botteghe e Canzoni della Vecchia Firenze (Bologna, 1928), 14. Levi also provides a valuable list of former owners of the London manuscript (1860-1876), p. 16n.

(333) "Rosso da Collegrano is indeed a shadowy figure...Nor has the editor been able to trace Collegrano as a place either in Tuscany or elsewhere." Pirrotta, CMMS/3, ii.

(334) A number of documents originating at the University of Florence in the 1380s refer to a certain student named Francesco as being da Conigrano, Collegrano, and Conegliano. See Statuti della Universita e Studio Fiorentino ed. A. Gherardi (Firenze, 1881), 290, 304, 332. Whether "Rosso" might have been a familiar name for Francesco remains in the realm of pure speculation.

(335) Reaney suggested Florentine provenance for Lo on the

of the letter l by r in Collegrano is symptomatic of an orthographical tendency which surfaces throughout the manuscript. Florenzia is often spelled Frorenzia, the word influenza in the first line of Landini's "Per la influenza di Saturn e Marte" is written as [lnfruenca, and even the French ablement (alt. eblement) is transformed into ebrament. This style of orthography is, according to Migliorini, a characteristic of certain Florentine texts of the early quattrocento.

Il fenomeno forse più interessante di questo periodo è la reazione popolare alla copiosissima accettazione dei latinismi, specialmente per quei gruppi che non esistevano nel sistema fonologico toscano. Resta sempre mal digeribile il gruppo au, che si continua a sostituire con al o a semplificare in a, e così pure i gruppi di consonante seguita da l: cripeato <<clipeato>> (Gherardi, Paradiso degli Alberti), compressione <<compressione>> (Alberti), Prinio, exempri (in una lettera del Bisticci) (336).

It is particularly interesting in light of the nature of the repertoire of Lo (as well as its physical features discussed below) that this mode of orthographical and phonological transformation was a response at the popular level to the increasing

basis of dialectal similarities with the Florentine vernacular theory treatise, the Notitia del valore delle note del canto misurato, Laurenziana, Redi 79: "With regard to the dialect of the texts, Professor von Fischer, perhaps influenced by the number of compositions in Lo by Nicolo da Perugia, suggested Umbria and South Tuscany. This is possible, but Florence may still be admissible. Certainly we can find in the treatise published by Dr. Carapetyan dialectal traits also noticeable in Lo, such as the stressing of hard consonants by an 'h' and the doubling of consonants like 's'." G. Reaney, The Manuscript London B. M. Additional 29987, A Facsimile Edition MSD 13 (1965), 9.

(336) Migliorini, Storia della Lingua Italiana (Florence, 1961), 286.

admission of Latin words into the native dialect of Tuscany (a process fostered by the marked increase in the popularity of classical studies which characterized Florentine intellectual circles of the last quarter of the trecento) (337). Thus, the language of the manuscript reflects the style of the popular (i.e., lower middle-class) artistic circle which it represents.

The modest physical appearance of *Io* completes the picture of a manuscript meant for the use of one or more members of the popular segment of Florentine artistic society. The collection seems to have been assembled out of practical interest: the codex is not a deluxe collector's item. Apparently, works were entered as they became available -- there was no attempt made to plan the physical disposition of the contents before the actual inscription of the manuscript. As a result, some works were entered more than once (Jacopo's "O dolc' appress' un bel per-laro fiume" ff.1v-2 and 3v-4, Bartolino's "Quando la terra" ff.13v-14 and 20v-21, and Vincenzo's "In forma quasi" ff.31 and 49v-50) and often additional staves were drawn freehand at the bottom of a page to accommodate overflow of notes or text (ff. 8v-9, 9v, 23r (text), 24v-25r). Individual works seem to have been entered hastily, a process which gave rise to the need for large-scale corrections (for example, an entire line was entered incorrectly in Guglielmus de Francia's "La neve el ghiaccio," then recognized as an error and immediately corrected by the

(337) Encouraged by Petrarch, Marsili, Salutati, et. al.
See Section VI.B above.

scribe) (338). These corrections, which often involve text underlay or music overlay, are effected by erasure (scraping) in contemporary parchment manuscripts. Even though Lo is a parchment manuscript and erasure was an available method of making corrections, more often changes are entered visibly: music is crossed out (as in the case of "La neve el ghiaccio" in which an entire stave is deleted by cross-hatching) or lines are drawn connecting notes and the syllables to which they are properly sung (for example, f.33v staves 1 and 4, f.76 stave 1 and passim). The nature of these corrections, which are for the most part in the same hand and/or ink as that of the scribe responsible for copying the pieces in question (339), indicates that despite the large number of copying errors, the main scribe was a musician (or at least could interpret the rhythms represented by the notation: a process necessary to the proper linking of syllables to notes). They are corrections which improve the quality of the musical readings, but at the same time detract from the aesthetic value of the codex as a physical object. Despite the Medici coat-of-arms on the first folio (see below), the manuscript was not originally intended to grace the shelves of a

(338) Folio 45v, stave 5.

(339) The manuscript contains a number of "hands," but it is difficult, owing to the carelessness of the scribe(s), to determine whether the apparent scribal differences might not be illusions created by inconsistent speed of writing, varying widths of pen nibs, etc. Reaney (MSD13, 8) aptly describes the main hand as "erratic." For a case in which the original copyist and the perpetrator of the corrections in a manuscript are not the same, see the discussion of FP below.

wealthy citizen's library.

In most manuscripts of the fourteenth century, particularly deluxe or presentation copies, the texts were entered before the music. After the music is copied (or as it is copied) text corrections can be made (340). This may have been true of the copying of some of the works in Lo. However, most corrections involving text/note correspondences in this manuscript point to the opposite conclusion. The critical piece of evidence which supports the notion that the music was in most, if not all, cases entered before the text is the nature of the lines drawn between the notes and their corresponding text syllables. In all but a few isolated cases, these lines slant towards the left. For example, a clarification of the declamation at the end of the fourth stave, folio 33v (Bonaiuto Corsini's ballata, "Piata ti nova") is entered as shown in Figure 6.1. The notes in this case were entered too close to one another to allow for the fitting-in of the text syllables underneath. Consequently, the words had to be squeezed together in order even to fit them under the correct staff. The underlay lines were then drawn

(340) For an exhaustive discussion of the question of the sequence of events involved in the copying of French musical manuscripts of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, see Lawrence M. Earp, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Transmission of Fourteenth-Century Music", Chapter 3.

(341) One might counter that the text was indeed entered first (without consideration of the number of notes), followed by music entered by a scribe who did not understand the notation. A hypothetical corrector

in (341).

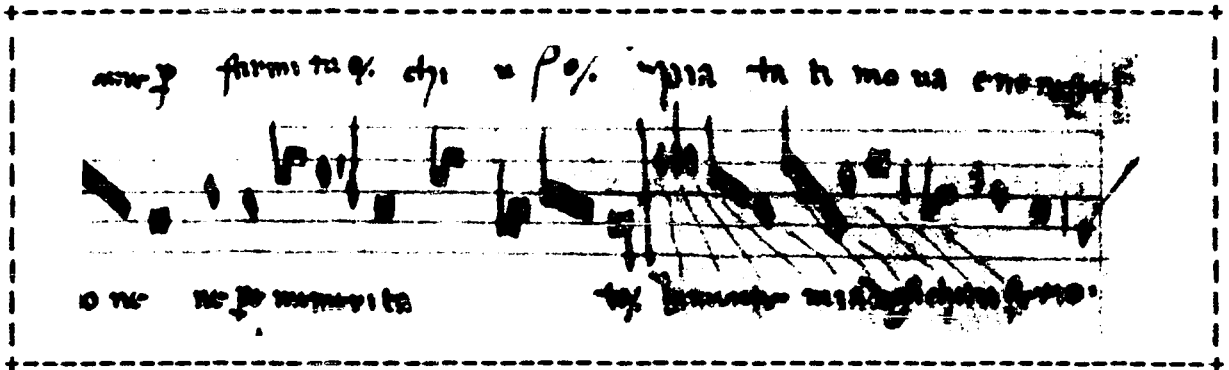


Fig. 6.1

A more extreme situation, one in which the attempt to include all the necessary words under the proper staff failed, is illustrated by the first attempt to enter Vincenzo da Rimini's caccia "In forma quasi" in the manuscript on folio 31. For whatever reasons, the scribe discontinued his copying of the music after stave 7, and began to enter the text underneath. By the end of the first line a problem had arisen. The text runs on well into the right margin, and a line is drawn between the second semibreve a and the last syllable of the word "disio" (see

would then necessarily be posited, someone who later added the underlay lines. That this was not the case is evident from the many works in which final syllables of words containing interior melismas (over spaces in the text) are located directly beneath the proper note.

Fig. 6.2).

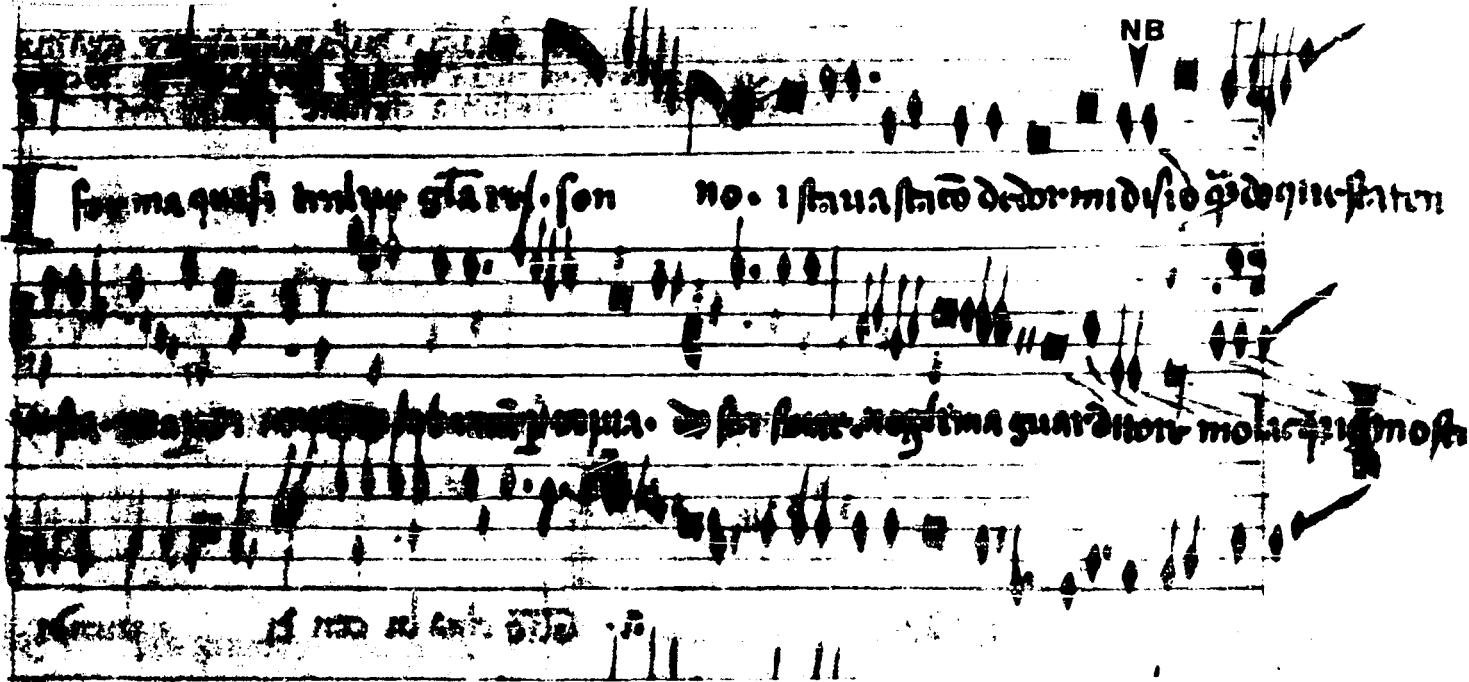


Fig. 6.2

At the end of the next* staff the difficulty of fitting the entire, highly syllabic caccia text under the music had become insurmountable. The slope of the underlay lines running from the notes to the syllables in the margin begins to approach the horizontal (see Fig. 6.2). At this point, the scribe apparently realized that the copying of the piece with the present disposition of notes was impossible. The caccia was re-entered on the present folio 68v, in a "different" hand. Significantly, the work is entered immediately following the section of the manuscript devoted to a unique collection of dances, Lorenzo Masini's "L'Antefana" and the "Dies irae" (ff.55-68). This suggests the possibility that the piece was rewritten on the first

available page and, by inference, that the sacred and dance pieces were already written (in the same hand as the new version of "In forma quasi"). Confusing the determination of the sequence of events is the appearance of a number of works in this same "later" hand (i.e., the hand which predominates in the second half of the codex) on folios preceding the original aborted copying of Vincenzo's caccia. Any ready explanation for this complex scribal situation is obscured by the probability that the manuscript has undergone at least one (and most likely more) major re-ordering of its contents since its original compilation. Unfortunately, the present binding is too tight to allow for any conclusions regarding incomplete fascicles, tip-ins, and similar codicological idiosyncrasies.

The most obvious aspect of *Lo* with bearing on the question of re-ordering and conflation is the appearance of one complete and one partial work on the first openings of the manuscript (ff. 1v-2v), written in an elegant textual and musical hand vastly dissimilar from the hasty and rather primitive style which marks the bulk of the codex (342). The recto of the first folio bears the Medici coat-of-arms, undoubtedly entered in the manuscript no earlier than the last portion of the fifteenth century (343). Reaney claims that "this was the original f. 1,

(342) To my knowledge, it has never been pointed out that these pages provide a scribal concordance for the fragmentary manuscript Florence, Bibl. Conserv. D1175 (FC). Compare in particular, the identical versions of Jacopo's "O dolc' appress' un bel perlaro."

(343) The fleurs-de-lys in the central palla at the top of

though it was probably blank at first. (344)" A careful examination of this folio indicates that it was not originally blank at all, and further that it could not have been the original first folio of any complete manuscript. An ultraviolet photograph reveals that five lines of music (staves 1-5) and two lines of text (staves 4 and 5) have been scraped off around the circular coat-of-arms. Text and music are in the hand of the main scribe. The erasure must have been made after the arms were painted. This is indicated by textural differences in the otherwise uniformly smooth gold area of the shield, where the text letters and noteheads have been overpainted, and by a portion of a notehead visible where some paint has flaked off over stave 5. The text under the last two staves of music is that of the Confiteor (see transcription, Fig. 6.3). The rhythmic variety of the mostly textless music rules out the possibility that this is a monophonic work. In addition, the ten notes at the beginning of the first staff are more likely the closing passage of another voice (probably the tenor) than of another section of the work, a notion supported by the long rhythmic values which characterize the phrase (mostly breves and longs). If this is in fact the case, the piece would close on a a-e' sonority. If the fragment is part of a three-voice composition, the C3 clef suggests that the extant voice is a contratenor part (the upper voice and most

the device were granted by the French King Louis XI in 1465. See A. Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonier (Part I: Commentary) (Brooklyn, 1975), 16.

(344) Reaney MSD13, 8.

of the tenor would have appeared on the facing verso). The part might on the other hand represent the upper voice of a two-voice composition (in the style of Bartolo's Credo) (345).

This first folio, containing as it does an interior fragment of what appears to have been a polyphonic Pater (346) could not have been the original front page of the manuscript. The ultraviolet photograph (Fig. 6.4) discloses the erasure of at least one two-digit folio number in the upper right-hand corner (either a 68, a 9-, or both). An examination of all the present folio numbers under ultraviolet light would probably lead to a clearer understanding of the original structure of the codex (347). But the discovery of a fragment from a polyphonic liturgical work bears implications concerning the nature of Lo more far-reaching than the codicological questions it raises. It is not unlikely that this Pater formed part of a group of liturgical works, now lost, which constituted a portion of the original manuscript's repertoire. This, when viewed in conjunction with the number of liturgical and para-liturgical works in the manuscript (348), highlights the unusual emphasis placed on

(345) Ed. Pirrotta, CMM8/1, 1-5.

(346) I have been unable to identify the work.

(347) There are two surviving sets of foliation: an older one in ink, entered over the erasure(s) in question, and a more recent one in pencil beneath. All references here are based on the older foliation.

(348) There are eight in all: 1 motet-madrigal, 1 Kyrie, 1 Gloria, 1 Credo, 1 "antiphon", 2 sequences and 1 hymn. With the addition of the fragment, the total is raised to nine, with more probably lost.

these genres in this collection. No other fourteenth-century Italian source contains such a large or varied collection of liturgical works in a primarily secular repertoire. This implies that someone with an interest in clerical matters had a hand in the compilation of the manuscript. The eccentricities of the collection: the relatively large amount of space devoted to monophonic liturgical pieces, the "motet" which is actually a vernacular troped Sanctus in madrigal style (349), and the didactic mutation exercise entitled "L'Antefana" all point to a level of clerical interest quite different from that of the elite ecclesiastics who formed the Florentine contingent at the papal court. The consciousness is academic, but not scholastic, and not particularly concerned with subtleties.

A Medici inventory of 1495 includes three music books: two Libri in musica and one Libellus in musica (350). Might the London manuscript be the "Libellus" listed in the inventory? It is certainly smaller than the typical fifteenth-century sources containing liturgical works. If the holdings of the Medici chapels and household libraries were being consolidated and inventoried in 1495, this would provide a reasonable occasion for the painting of the fifteenth-century Medici arms over the contents of a small manuscript of little artistic value or interest. We have seen that the repertoire of Lo points to origins in a

(349) "Cantano gli angioletti" f.55.

(350) E. Piccolomini, "Inventario della Libreria Medicea privata compilato nel 1495" ASI s.3,20 (1874),76: item no. 590.

popular clerical milieu, that of the secular clergy. The presence in the manuscript of the priest Lorenzo Masini's unusual monophonic "Antefana" (the work is unique to this source) may indicate a connection between that composer and the contents of the manuscript (or its exemplar(s)) (351). Gallo has uncovered documentary evidence which demonstrates that Lorenzo was a canon of San Lorenzo (a possible place of origin of a Medici codex) in the years 1348 to 1370 (352). A portion of Lorenzo's tenure at S. Lorenzo overlaps with the period of Francesco Landini's early service as capellano (353), and Lorenzo may have instructed Landini in some of the elements of practical music theory. As a cleric, but not a Religious, Lorenzo must have encountered the art and craft guildsmen frequently (Corsino di Bonaiuti resided in the parish of San Lorenzo until the 1350s) and probably played the role of music-master to a number of amateur singers and composers from middle-class artisan families (354).

- (351) On possible solutions for the riddle of the "Antefana" see N. Pirrotta CMM8/3, i, E. Lowinsky, Preface to H. Colin Slim, Musica Nova (MRM1: Chicago, 1964), xi-xiii, and A. Seay, "The Beginnings of the Coniuncta and Lorenzo Masini's <L'Antefana>" in L'Ars Nova Italiana 2 (Certaldo, 1969), 51-65. Lorenzo had been dead for at least twenty years before the actual compilation of the manuscript. A terminus post quem of 1396 is suggested by the presence of Bartolino's "Alba colunba" (ff. 11v-12). See E. LiGotti, La poesia musicale italiana del secolo XIV (Palermo, 1944), 88.
- (352) F. A. Gallo, "Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo" in Studi musicali 4 (1975).
- (353) Landini entered service at S. Lorenzo in 1364. Gallo, p. 59.
- (354) Lorenzo's pedagogical bent is reflected in the nature of "L'Antefana" and the contents of its text: "Let

Fig. 6.3 Transcription of GB-Lb29987, f.1r

the singers be most careful lest the empty boast of [their] mouth should through ignorance involve [their] mind, heart and breasts. Rather should they sing me three and four times, fearful of tritone; and, if they will not infringe the prescriptions of the rule [here] underlying, soon will they be accepted in the sodality of [true] singing, forever, Amen." (translation by Pirrotta, *CMM8/3*, i). His humorous madrigal "Dolgom' a voi," in which Lorenzo offers advice to singing-teachers, is most likely based on personal experience.

2. Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr. f. Panciatichiano 26 (FP)

The Panciatichiano manuscript stands in marked contrast to the style and appearance of Io. FP represents the musical tastes and interests of that segment of the Florentine "honor elite" which played an active part in the arts. As was the case with the London ms, the origins of FP are reflected not only in the contents of the manuscript, but by its organization and appearance as well.

Scattered throughout the codex (particularly at the end) are later musical additions to the main corpus, made by various hands. The bulk of the manuscript was written, however, by two scribes. The first main scribe was responsible for the inscription of most of the two-voice ballate (with text in both voices) by Francesco Landini, which appear in the first fascicles of the manuscript. The second scribe, whose role was more significant in determining the form and contents of the collection as it now stands, entered most of the ballate with untexted tenors and contratenors (355). These are the works containing the indication andare at the beginning of the piede in untexted voices. Schrade referred to these works as "the andare group" (356), although he was uncertain as to the meaning of the indication:

(355) For another view of the roles of the main scribes of FP, see Schrade, Commentary to Vol. 4 of PMFC (Monaco, 1958), 13-15.

(356) PMFC suppl. to vol. 4, 64.

The tenor of [Landini's ballata "I' non ardischo" f.41v] is instrumental, as also in other later entries, thus indicating a certain preference among later entries for the younger, "French" form of the B[allata]. [The] T[enor] has merely [the] inc[ipit] "I' non ardischo", but the beginning of [the] Pi[ede] is marked by "Andare." This word, which does not belong to the text, cannot be explained; it occurs at beginnings of [the] Pi[ede] of the instrumental, accompanying part (or parts) in all such compositions in [the manuscript] (357).

The second scribe of FP might best be referred to as "the andare scribe". The word most likely serves the same purpose as a secunda pars or residuum indication. If the text had been entered before the music, the andare could have served as a guide to where the notes of the piede should begin in a voice with no text. It might also have served as a quick point of reference in a performance which would have involved repeating the music from the point marked andare. In any case, the term must mean to "go on," or the continuation (or Residuum). The andare scribe not only entered this word under the staves containing the music for textless voices, but also added it (and "tenor" voice designations) in the bottom space of staves which had already been underlaid with text (358). The term most often occurs in ballate in conjunction with verte and chioso indications (Italianizations of the French ouvert and clos), and may have been influenced by the French practice of entering secunda pars at the opening of the B section of the formally identical virelai. Indeed, one wonders if the selection of this peculiar term was

(357) Schrade, 59.

(358) See, for example, ff.6v, 13.

in some way related to its visual similarity to the indication 2ndaps (*Andaps*). The andare scribe's French orientation is also revealed in his arrangement of the manuscript's contents. The first four fascicles are devoted to ballate (in various dispositions of two and three voices, entered by both hands). The section's last folio (40v), which divides the ballate from the madrigal collection which occupies (with blank pages and later interpolations) the next five fascicles, contains a French virelai, "Le doulz printemps." The piece is unique to FP, and is entered in the hand of the andare scribe. The French text is exceptionally good for an Italian manuscript, and there is even an underlay correction (stave 1) which indicates that the piece was not merely entered as a curiosity. On folio 90v, at the end of the main madrigal section, and separating it from a group of caccie and canonic madrigals, is another French work in the same hand. The text, "Quan je voy le doulz temps" is identical to that of a thirteenth-century trouvère chanson (359). The musical form is that of a caccia (appropriately, since it introduces the caccia group in the manuscript): two canonic voices over an untexted tenor (unlike the French chace which is canonic in all voices). This unusual "hybrid" seems, then, to have been written by an Italian (360).

(359) See T. Karp, "The Textual Origin of a Piece of Trecento Polyphony" JAMS20 (1967), 469-473. A number of Florentine private libraries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries included manuscripts of provençal poetry in their collections.

(360) Pirrotta proposed that "Quan je voy" was "an attempt made by a French composer to use the Italian canonic

The appearance of the two French-texted unica as "organizers" for the Italian repertoire of FP suggests that they may have been created specifically for the occasion, and furthermore, that the composer may have been the compiler himself (the andare scribe). The scribe has cleverly supplied the information that he was a composer in the final note of the contratenor part of the first section of Jacopo's madrigal "Si come al canto" (f.95). This is a two-voice work in its concordant versions (except that preserved in the later non-Florentine MS. PR) (361), but a third voice (designated "Contratenor," but more precisely a triplum: its range is the same as that of the cantus) has been added in FP. The final maximae in several of the works entered by the andare scribe are decorated with a filigree in red ink. The final maxima of the unique contratenor of "Si come al canto" bears within its black notehead the inscription (in red): musicha mia. The added voice must, then, have been composed by the andare scribe, who has provided his own attribution. A comparison of the cantus and added contratenor of "Si come al canto" with the canonic voices of the caccia "Quan je voy" reveals a striking stylistic likeness in the two works (Ex. 6.1-2).

form" (CMM8/2, ii), but in view of the identification of the scribe as a musician (see below) and the particular placement of the French works in FP, this seems unlikely.

(361) Sq 19v-20, Lo 8v, PR 33v.

Contra

Cantus

The image displays a musical score for two parts: Contrabass (Contra) and Cantus. The score is written on ten staves, with the first two staves labeled 'Contra' and 'Cantus' respectively. The time signature is 2x6/8, and the key signature is one sharp (F#). The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The Cantus part is primarily melodic, while the Contra part provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, and some measures contain repeat signs. The notation includes clefs, time signatures, key signatures, and various note values and rests.

Ex. 6.1 Si come al canto (contra, cantus)

Ex. 6.2 Quan je voy: Ritornello (cantus 1, 2)

Attestations to the composer-scribe's musical expertise are provided by a number of corrections made by the andare scribe in both his own and the previous scribe's work. One noteworthy example is furnished by the final tenor melisma of Landini's madrigal "O piana vaga" (362). The rhythm of this passage:



Ex. 6.3

was originally written: B. S[^]S S[^]S B S S[^]S L (363). The second c.o.p. ligature (which was correct with regard to pitch) was eradicated and replaced by two distinct semibreves (on these same pitches). The scribe must have felt there was a danger that the ligatures, falling as they did between two breves, would have been misinterpreted as separate and complete tempora:



Ex. 6.4

(362) Folio 44. Ed. Schrade, PMFC4, 196-7.

(363) B=Breve, S=Semibreve, L=Long, ^=ligature.

This sort of change, one involving notational clarification more than correction, bespeaks the unusual amount of care invested by the scribe in the faithful representation of works with which he was undoubtedly familiar. Given the French bias of the manuscript's repertoire and notation (see Chapter V above), the scribal mastermind behind the compilation of FP must have belonged to the elite circle surrounding Landini in the company of the culturally-informed representatives of Florence's first families (364). As has been mentioned (365), the Italian texts often include the points of elision which were in fashion in manuscripts emanating from the intellectual cliques of late Trecento Florence (the London manuscript, with its markedly popular orthography, is devoid of any such textual subtleties).

The fact that FP is a paper rather than a parchment manuscript may be related to its probable origin in Florentine haute bourgeois circles. While parchment remained the typical medium for clerical manuscripts throughout the Trecento, paper had become (by mid-century) the most indispensable tool of the Florentine banking class, acquiring a nearly symbolic quality as the embodiment of the elite bourgeoisie, for whom record-keeping was a way of life (366).

(364) As Schrade points out (PMFC4: Commentary, 5), "On the basis of the proportional part belonging to Landini in relation to the rest of the contents in any of the [major Trecento] manuscripts, [FP] is the main Landini source... The arrangement of [FP]... testifies to the compiler's attention to place Landini in the center of the collection."

(365) Chapter I.B.3.

A further link between the Panciatichiano ms and the musical tastes of the upper stratum of the Florentine citizenry is provided by the collection of French works found in the last fascicle of the manuscript. Although these were no doubt added by a later hand than that of the andare scribe, the repertoire which they represent is one in which turn-of-the-quattrocento Florentine culture elitists would have typically been interested. Folios 101v-108 contain six works which have concordances in the manuscript Chantilly 564 (367). One third of the twenty-four French works in FP are represented, then, in the collection which more than any other characterizes the trends in French music (specifically that of the Foix-Aragon-Avignon orbit) of the last decades of the fourteenth century. Several theories concerning the provenance of Chantilly 564 have been advanced. Scholars have suggested that the manuscript was compiled in Avignon, Aragon, Foix and even Italy (on the basis of its containing six-line staves) (368). Regardless of the place of origin of Ch, the manuscript was in Florence by the middle decades

(366) A typical attitude is expressed in an anonymous compendium of practical suggestions for the successful businessman: La cartta costa pocho, e spesso ne recha buono profitto. G. Corti, "Consigli sulla mercatura di un anonimo trecentista" ASI 110 (1952), 118.

(367) See Günther, "Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047" AfMW 17 (1960), 3. In addition, FP contains two other isolated works which are concordant with Ch (see Hirshberg, "The Music of the late Fourteenth Century", 16).

(368) See Hirshberg, 13-15, for a review of these hypotheses.

of the fifteenth century. One of the flyleaves bears an inscription stating that in the year 1461, the codex was presented as a wedding gift by Francesco di Altobianco degli Alberti to his son:

A di xviii di luglio 1461 Francescho d'altobiancho degli alberti dono questo libro...a Reccholo Lancalao suo figlioio.

Whether or not the eight concordant works in FP were copied directly from the Chantilly manuscript (369), by around 1450, there existed two important sources for French ars subtilior works in Florence. It is not surprising that of all Florentine families it should have been the Alberti who possessed the Chantilly codex. More than any other Florentine family, they played a significant role in the economic and political affairs of France (and particularly the papacy: see above). They maintained branches of the family banking firm (and consequently households) in Avignon, Paris, Bruges, Brussels, London, Brabant, and Barcelona(370). More to the point here, Francesco di Altobianco belonged to the Paris limb of the Alberti clan. His father, Altobianco di Niccolo, was exiled from Florence in 1401 owing to the influence of his enemies in the powerful Albizzi faction. After a brief respite at Bologna, Altobianco and his wife Madalena(371) settled in Paris, where he directed that branch of -----

(369) As Günther points out ("Die Anwendung", 3-4), the notation differs between the two sources.

(370) See the list of directors, factors, and correspondents included in Renouard, "Le compagnie commerciali fiorentine del Trecento" in Études d'histoire médiévale, 513ff.

the banking house(372). This segment of the Alberti had strong ties to France: Altobianco's father, Niccolo, carried out several political and fiscal missions at the Avignon curia in the 1350s and 1360s.

Francesco di Altobianco, the first documented owner of the Chantilly manuscript, was born three months after his parents' departure into exile. He returned to Florence in 1428 after the ban on his family was lifted at the urging of Pope Martin V(373). It is not certain whether Francesco was the first Alberti to possess the manuscript. It may well have entered the family through the agency of his father or grandfather. Francesco was, however, the most culturally-inclined of the three. He was a poet (his works survive in several manuscripts) and was involved in the certame coronario of 1441(374). On the basis of

(371) Maddalena was an Albizzi, the daughter of Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo. The marriage was a source of irritation to the Albizzi family, who unsuccessfully urged Maddalena to leave her husband. See Passerini, Gli Alberti di Firenze: Genealogica Storia e Documenti (Firenze, 1870), 89.

(372) Maddalena died in Paris in 1405, Altobianco in 1417. See Passerini, op.cit. and R. Spongano, "Brevi cenni biografici degli uomini di casa Alberti" in L. B. Alberti I Primi Tre Libri della Famiglia (ed. R. Spongano: Firenze, 1946), xxxv.

(373) Passerini, 91.

(374) See P. Rajna, "Le origini del Certame Coronario" in Scritti Varii di Erudizione e di Critica in Onore di Rodolfo Renier (Torino, 1912), 1027-1056. For a possible connection between the certame and the compilation of the Squarcialupi codex, see Pirrotta "Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600" in Studien zur Tradition in der Musik (Munich, 1973), 54, 61n. 8.

the reminiscences of Leon Battista Alberti in the Libro della Famiglia, it appears that Francesco was a familiar figure at the villa Paradiso (see above) in the second quarter of the Quattrocento (375).

The relatively large number of French works in FP suggests that the manuscript reflects the international tastes of the Florentine bourgeois elite of the last quarter of the Trecento. The high proportion of concordances with Ch among the later French additions to the main corpus indicates that the manuscript remained in the hands of a member or members of that same circle through the beginning of the fifteenth century.

(375) See the Proemium to the third book of L. B. Alberti, Libro della Famiglia Spongano ed., 228-235.

D. French musicians in Florence: The Augustinian Hermits

1. The Augustinian order in Florence and abroad

Of all the civic and ecclesiastic institutions contributing to the peculiar ambience of the late Trecento Florentine republic, none exerted so strong an influence in so many spheres of activity: sacred and secular, local and international, political and cultural, as the Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito. The monastery was founded in 1250 (376). Throughout the last half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century its library and studium generale had increased in scope and reputation (377), and by the last quarter of the fourteenth century had developed into a paradigm for the ideal humanist society, forming a sort of urban counterpart to the bucolic villa Paradiso of the Alberti family, where the same intellectual circle met to discuss politics, philosophy and culture. The worldly monks of Santo Spirito participated actively in the political, spiritual and artistic life of Florence, functioning as

(376) On the history of Santo Spirito see G. Richa, Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine 9, (Firenze, 1761), 1 ff.

(377) See D. Gutierrez, "La Biblioteca di Santo Spirito in Firenze" in Analecta Augustiniana 25 (1962), 6-7, and R. Weiss "An English Augustinian in Late Fourteenth-Century Florence" in English Miscellany 9 (1958), 18.

eine freie Akademie..., keiner Autorität unterworfen, unabhängig von Kirche und Universität (378).

The Santo Spirito circle came to include such men as Niccolo Niccoli, Roberto Rossi, Coluccio Salutati, Martino da Signa, Luigi Marsili and peripherally, Petrarch and Boccaccio (379). Marsili and his followers served as ambassadors and political counsellors for the Florentine republic (380). The Augustinians exhibited an international mobility significantly greater than that of other contemporary orders. Guillemain points out that of the Italians residing in Avignon in the 1360s and 1370s, approximately 50% were Florentine, and that among these "la majorité du groupe clérical non curial était formée par des frères Augustins" (381).

Many of the most important positions in the pontifical household were traditionally assigned to Augustinians (382). In addition, the fratres eremitani were particularly active in the

(378) Hedwig Vonschott, Geistiges Leben im Augustinerorden am Ende des Mittelalters und zu Beginn der Neuzeit (Berlin, 1915), 23.

(379) For the relations between a number of these men and Francesco Landini, see above, Section VI.B. See also Vonschott, 22-23.

(380) Marsili conducted embassies to Louis of Anjou and Charles of Durazzo in 1382 and 1383. See L. Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists (Princeton, 1963), 307 and Becker, Florence in Transition 2, 55.

(381) B. Guillemain, La Cour Pontificale d'Avignon (1309-1376) (Paris, 1962), 598-601.

(382) For instance, that of Chamberlain. See Guillemain, 372.

cultural projects of the international ecclesiastical elite. Several of the foremost manuscript illuminators at the Avignone court were members of the large group of resident Augustinians (383). The role of the Augustinians in the musical activities at the papal court is documented by the motet "Alma polis religio / Ave polis cum arctica" which appears as an unicum in the manuscript Chantilly 564 (384). The work offers a catalogue of musical Augustinians: composers, performers and theorists, praising their piety and musical accomplishments. Most of those named are known to have been connected with the households of northern French cardinals or the Avignon curia (385). Included among this international roll-call of distinguished musicians are the Augustini de florentia, testifying once again to the Florentine presence on the international cultural scene (386).

(383) P. Pansier, Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon du XIVe au XVI siècle I (Avignon, 1922), 6-7, 22, 33-34.

(384) Edited by Gunther, The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly 564 and Modena a.M. 5, 24. CMM39 (1965), 40-45. The work is attributed to Egidius of Orleans, an Augustinian.

(385) U. Gunther, The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly 564 and Modena a.M. 5, 24, xliii-xlv.

(386) It is perhaps significant that the Parisian theorist Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, whose name heads the list of Augustinian musicians in the motet, is the only French theorist to include the Italian symbol for the imperfect long ($\bar{\text{L}}$) among the basic note shapes. See his Tractatus de musica, 23, 31 (ed. U. Michels, CSM17 [n.p., 1972], 164-165).

2. Guglielmus and Egidius de Francia

The role of Santo Spirito and the Augustinians as determinants of musical style in Florence in the latter half of the fourteenth century has never been explored beyond Pirrotta's suggestion that Guglielmus de Francia (whose music appears in the Florentine manuscripts Sq, Pit, FP and Lo (387))

may have contributed to the strains of French influence that are easily perceptible in Landini's and Andrea's music (388),

and that his presence in Santo Spirito should be dated c. 1365, the approximate date for Sacchetti's autograph of the text for Guglielmo's madrigal, "La neve, el ghiaccio" (389). The identity of the other French Augustinian in Florence, Egidius (who shares an attribution with Guglielmus in the Squarcialupi codex) has been a matter of musicological speculation for years (390). Pirrotta suggests that Egidius was not a musician at all, but rather the poet who provided Guglielmus with the texts for his ballate. He feels that the corpus of works attributed to the two men in Sq is stylistically unified, both musically and

(387) The attributions to Guglielmus are: Sq, M. Frater Guilelmus de Francia, Pit, Frater Guglielmo di Francia, FP, Frater Guglielmo di Santo Spirito, and Lo, Frater Guglielmo di Santo Spirito.

(388) Pirrotta CMM8/5, ii.

(389) Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana Ashburnham 573, f.21v.

(390) See the extensive discussion of the "Egidius question" in R. Hoppin and S. Clercx, "Notes biographiques sur quelques musiciens français" in Les Colloques de Wéqimont 2 (1955), 83-91.

textually, and assigns all of the musical settings to Guglielmus (391).

Any attempt to augment the slim biographical data for Guglielmus (which consist of attributions in musical sources which identify him as de Francia and di S[anto] Spirito, the illumination in the Squarcialupi codex, where he appears dressed as an Augustinian with the master's beret (392), and the rubric in Sacchetti's autograph (393) for "La neve" which identifies him as Mag[ister] Guilielmus Pariginus frater romitanus) is complicated by the fact that the Santo Spirito record book (the Memoriale) for the period in question (394) was destroyed in the devastating flood of 1966. The remaining documentary evidence is scanty, but some tentative conclusions concerning Guglielmus' and Egidius' activities in Florence may be offered on the basis of a few extant references (which are, unfortunately, of no inherent musical interest).

The first mention of a French Guglielmus at the convent occurs in a volume of contracts and testaments (395). The will of Dominus Andreas natus quondam nobilis militis domini Raynerii

(391) Pirrotta CMM8/5, ii.

(392) See below, fig. 6.6.

(393) Sacchetti, Il Libro delle Rime, ed. A. Chiari (Bari, 1936), 122.

(394) Firenze, Archivio di Stato Conventi Soppressi 122,36.

(395) Firenze, Archivio di Stato Conventi Soppressi 122,76. Contratti e Testamenti C.

de buondel montibus was witnessed by several residents of the convent, among them a frater Guglielmo de Narbona (396). The testament is dated 1360. Narbona is an Italian orthographical variant for Narbonne, a city and province near Avignon. An immediate identification with the musician is frustrated by Sacchetti's use of the qualifying Pariginus. However, a University of Paris document from the year 1362 (397) includes among the nomina magistrorum provincie Parisiensis one Magistro Guillermo Pagesii, alias de Narbona, Parisiensi. Therefore, Guglielmus de Narbona and Guglielmus Pariginus may well be the same man. Guglielmus does not appear among the extant documents from Santo Spirito again until the year 1371 (398), where his name is found (along with three other Frenchmen) in a list of witnesses as Guilielmus de Francia. Whether Guglielmus received his master's degree in absentia or returned to Paris sometime after 1360, but before 1362, is unknown. If he did leave Florence and return (399), the date of that return can only be conjectured. With this information, augmented by his setting of Sacchetti's

(396) Conv. Soppr. 122,76 f. 14.

(397) Rotulus facultatis artium Parisiensium ad Urbanam V
missus. Included in H. Denifle, Chartularium Univer-
sitatis Parisiensis 3 (Paris, 1894), 82 no. 1265.

(398) Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Museo Diplomatico Pergamene di S. Spirito 16. Giugnic. 1371. Elezione di Sindaci & Procuratori.

(399) This situation was not at all unusual for the mobile and cosmopolitan Augustinians. See, for example, R. Weiss "An English Augustinian in Late Fourteenth-century Florence" in English Miscellany 9 (1958), passim.

"La neve," it is probably safe to assume that his compositional activity in Florence was confined largely to the years 1360-1362 and 1363-1371, after which date his presence there is no longer recorded (400).

The identification of the Squarcialupi Egidius de Francia is, of course, also hindered by the loss of the Santo Spirito Memoriale. However, no Egidius, de Francia or otherwise, turns up in the extant fourteenth century volumes or parchments in the S. Spirito holdings of the Florentine archives. A document dated 1425 concerning the spedale of Ss. Iacobus and Michael de Certaldo, witnessed in Santo Spirito by what appears to be the entire studium generale of the convent, contains the name of a fr[ater] Egidius Egidii de Francia (401). The name appears under the heading Studentes. Regardless of whether one accepts that this very late Frater Egidius could be the composer in question, the apparent temporal anomaly may at least serve to underline the fact that the "connection" between Guglielmus and Egidius exists only pictorially and is nothing more than an historical assumption. There is much to be said for Pirrotta's suggestion,

(400) Nor is he mentioned in Luigi Marsigli's letters from Paris (1373-1374), documents which refer to two of Guglielmus' compatriots who appeared in the 1371 pergamena. The letters are found in the MS. Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 1080, ff. 35r-36v. Marsigli's name is also included among the fratri in residence in 1371 and therefore must have been acquainted with Guglielmus. The composer may have died or returned to France shortly after 1371. On Marsigli's letters, see above, Section VI.B.

(401) Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Conv. Soppr. 122,75 f. 117v-118.

and indeed there does not exist a great deal of stylistic evidence to contradict it. But a reasonably strong case may be made for the identification of Egidius as an independent composer. The evidence starts with the illumination in the Squarcialupi codex. Although the attribution reads Frater Egidius et Guilielmus de Francia, the cue to the illuminator which is visible in the manuscript in the upper margin of f. 174r reads the reverse: Ghilielmo & Egidio de francia. The illumination reveals that the man on the left is a magister; he wears the master's beret. He is also evidently a good bit older than the other monk. The master's hair is grey, while the figure on the right is blonde and appears to be a youthful and tonsured novice. The figures are holding a book of music, possibly meant to represent the Squarcialupi codex itself (see Fig. 6.5). The novice points with his right index finger to the top half of the recto page. The corresponding piece in the layout of the Squarcialupi codex is "Alta serena luce," one of the three pieces in this section not attributed to Guglielmus in concordant sources, and one of the two works of the Guglielmus/Egidius corpus unique to Squarcialupi. The illumination in Sq provides evidence that Guglielmus and Egidius, though both French nationals at the Florentine Augustinian convent, were of different generations. It should be noted that the Avignon-centered Egidii(402) were masters well before the compilation of Sq. In addition, the rather static

(402) E.g. Egidius Aurelianus and Egidius de Morino, proposed by Hoppin and Clercx as possible candidates for identification with the Egidius of Squarcialupi (see note 390 above).

style of these small Italian ballate is vastly removed from the subtleties which characterize the works of Egidius de Morino and Egidius de Aurelianus (403). Only Egidius de Francia of Santo Spirito would still have been a novice at the time of the compilation and illumination of the manuscript. The third work not elsewhere attributed to Guglielmus ("Mille merze, Amore") has a concordance in London 29987 (404). A late date of composition is not ruled out in this case, since the ballata is entered in Lo in a hand and ink different from those of the pieces which surround it.

Although, as Pirrotta points out, the three ballate not attributed specifically to Guglielmus ("Alta serena luce," "Donna s'amor m'invita," "Mille merze, Amore") offer little in the way of musical grounds to distinguish them from Guglielmus' "Piacesse a dio" and "Tutta soletta" (405), there is one detail which may prove of some consequence in dealing with the question of authorship: cadential formulae. Both of Guglielmus' known ballate rely heavily upon the "Landini sixth" type of cadence,

(403) Egidius was an extremely popular name among the Augustinians (as is evident from a glance at the index of Ossinger's Biblioteca Augustiniana [Ingolstadt, 1768]). This was no doubt due to the Augustinians' respect for Egidius of Rome as their Doctor. See F. Coplestone, Late Medieval Philosophy I (New York, 1963), 137.

(404) Folio 13r.

(405) All five ballate are edited by Pirrotta, CMM8/5, 30-32.

particularly in the chiuse ending (406):

Ex. 6.5

"Piacesse a dio" mm. 19-20



Ex. 6.6

"Tutta soletta" mm. 16-17



The unattributed ballate, however, exhibit a variety of (occasionally eccentric) cadential patterns:

Ex. 6.7

"Alta serena luce" mm. 26-28



(406) Guglielmus's madrigal "La neve" (ed. Pirrotta, CMMS/5, 28-29) offers no basis for comparison in as much as it displays a very different type of conventional cadence at the end of the terzetto and ritornello: a stepwise descent (sometimes ornamented) from the fifth above the final in the cantus over a stepwise ascent (usually with a raised leading tone) from the fourth below the final in the tenor (see "La neve" mm. 52-53, 79-80). This was one of the most frequently used formula for final cadences in madrigals throughout the Trecento.

Ex. 6.8

"Donna, s'amor m'invita" mm. 23-24



Ex. 6.9

"Mille merze, Amore" mm. 30-31



The second cadential formula does include a move from a sixth to a final octave, but the sixth appears as a lower auxiliary tone owing to its position on the weakest portion of the tempus. In addition, the expected sixth which would normally constitute the antepenultimate sonority is avoided by the unusual move from the seventh directly to the fifth in the cantus. The final example represents the anonymous composer's closest approximation of the ornamented sixth-to-octave cadence which characterized the works of Guglielmus and Landini. However, the cadence is inverted: a third moves to a unison. Moreover, the voices are in an abnormal disposition, with the cantus moving beneath the tenor (both are written with a C2 clef in the manuscript). These somewhat awkward cadences, representing a departure from the conventions generally associated with the Florentine ballata of the 1370s and 1380s, may provide a basis for distinguishing two styles in the works attributed jointly to Egidius and Guglielmus in Sq.

The combined weight of musical idiosyncrasies, pictorial representation and documentary evidence indicate that the supposed relationship between Guglielmus and Egidius should be reconsidered. A further factor to be recognized is the situation of the representation of the composers' works in the sources. Only Guglielmus' name is to be found outside of Squarcialupi. Though his output was apparently small, it is transmitted in all the major Florentine sources, all of which must have been compiled before 1425. Only the Squarcialupi ms may have been assembled at a late enough date to include the works of a French student in Florence in the early decades of the Quattrocento. The very inclusion of a few unique works of questionable musical value in this source may point to a close temporal connection between Egidius' presence in Florence and the compilation of the codex.

The image shows a page from a medieval manuscript. On the left side, there is a large, ornate initial letter 'G' decorated with intricate floral and foliate patterns. To the right of the initial, there are several staves of musical notation. The notation consists of square neumes on a four-line red staff. Below the notation, there are lines of Latin text in a Gothic script. The text includes phrases such as 'Iace se acie chinon fossi ma na', 'D. Q. laffa w lezo sa. fressa son pu el', 'Et uenoma unuechio marri in', 'lenti son uaghe go. conca. Et ramos fono', 'nello spetio luanciobri ma. Quigo rura', 'Dno pugo ubi de gram uentura. Sicut ricta mario', 'mi tie de gualfente. e taluo kansi obiana tuentia', 'cesacta: - Cluulo: -', 'Amoco let', 'Dno: -', 'Secund pars: -', 'Vno: - Cluulo: -', and 'Ille merca a mo re dactatno ma ... y. Ue pe neinnallease ca messo ma v'.

Fig. 6.5 Guglielmus and Egidius de Francia (Sq)

3. Corradus de Pistorio and Johannes de Janua

Whereas the works of Guglielmus and Egidius de Francia as transmitted in Florentine manuscripts are examples of French musicians writing in a slightly gallicized Italian idiom, the body of works by ecclesiastical musicians emanating from the Avignon court contains illustrations of the inverse situation: Italian composers working with French musical genres, often with French texts. The primary source for this repertoire is the manuscript Modena, Bibl. Est. a.M.5,24 (fascicles 2-4) (407). The early fascicles of Mod were most likely compiled during the papal residence in Bologna, January 1410 to March 1411. The manuscript includes works which could have originated in as many as five centers (Avignon, Genoa, Milan, Padua and Bologna), but clearly reflects the musical tastes and interests of the corps of musicians and aesthetes attached to the curia of the schismatic popes (408). The Italian Corrado of Pistoia is represented by two ballades in the Modena collection. The first, "Se doulz espour" bears an attribution to Fr. Corradus de Pistoria (409). The attribution of the second, "Veri almi pastoris" (410)

(407) U. Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense a.M.5,24 (olim) Lat. 568 = Mod)" in MD24 (1970), 17-67. Fascicles 1 and 5 are later interpolations.

(408) Günther, 45.

(409) Folio 31v.

(410) Folio 36v. The text refers to the papal chapel. See Günther, 25-26.

indicates that Corrado was a member of the Augustinian order: Fr. Coradus de Pistorio ordinis heremitarum. Günther suggests that the composer is probably identifiable as the Curradus Ser Gualandi de Bracilionis de Pistorio who was enrolled as a singer at Santa Reparata in Florence in the year 1410 (411). The cathedral record does not refer to this Curradus as an Augustinian. However, the identification may now be substantiated on the basis of a document dated 1385, originating at the Florentine convent of Santo Spirito. Among the witnesses to the document is one Fr. Curradus ser qualndj de pistorio (412). Corrado was present at Santo Spirito at the height of the controversy surrounding Luigi Marsili's attempts to nationalize the Italian church and purge the studium generale of the barbarisms of dialectic, during which time

divisions in the Augustinian convent were so intense ...that the Signoria was forced to solicit the intervention of the General of the Order (413).

In light of Corrado's taste for the international Avignonese style and his probable period of residence at the papal court, it may be assumed that he formed a part of the same circle of artists and intellectuals which included Landini, Johannes de Empoli and Piero Corsini (414), and that his sympathies would

(411) Günther cites a document published by Frank D'Accone in A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery during the Fifteenth Century (Diss. Harvard University, 1960), 76.

(412) Florence, Archivio di Stato, Museo Diplomatico, Pergamene di S. Spirito, 11. January 1385.

(413) L. Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 308.

have lain with the anti-Marsili elitists (415).

Another name appearing among the list of Augustinians residing at Santo Spirito in 1385 is that of a Fr. Johannes de Janua. *ModA* includes a virelai and a ballade by a Fr. Johannes Janua [f.12r] (alternatively, J. de Janua [f.27v]). Günther has speculated that the composer of these works may be one of the two new singers bearing the name Johannes enrolled in the papal chapel in 1405 (Johannes Burec and Johannes Desrame) (416). The names Burec and Desrame, however, are almost certainly French. The frater Johannes from Genoa may well have been Corrado's contemporary at the Florentine convent mentioned in the 1385 document.

Whether or not Corrado and Johannes are specifically the Augustini de florentia referred to in Egidius of Orleans' motet, it is certain that the musical ties between the Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito and the Augustinians of Paris and Avignon

(414) When Corsini died in 1405, his funeral ceremony and burial were conducted at the Augustinian convent in Avignon, suggesting a further link between the conventual elite surrounding the pope and the Florentine ecclesiastical patriciate. See Passerini, Genealogia e Storia della Famiglia Corsini (Firenze, 1858), 74.

(415) It seems that the anti-Marsili forces won out (at least temporarily) in the period c. 1388-1394, during which time Marsili's final bid for the Florentine bishop's chair was rejected, and an English Occhamist lecturer was brought to Santo Spirito to teach logic and philosophy. See Martines, 308 and R. Weiss "An English Augustinian", 18-19.

(416) Günther, 42.

were in existence throughout the last four decades of the Trecento, and constituted an important strand of the broader fabric of artistic interaction between the cultural elites of those centers.

CONCLUSION

This study has dealt with those aspects of the musical culture of fourteenth-century Italy which were most susceptible to influences originating outside the realm of pure music. It has been seen that theorists concerned with developing a system of visual representation of musical sounds which was not hopelessly bound to the vicissitudes of compositional style often turned to historically sanctioned tradition in an attempt to deal intellectually with the inconsistencies of contemporary popular practice. The focus of such a theoretical/historical approach to notation was largely determined by external circumstances: the presence or absence of a local academic tradition of music theory and the pervasiveness of transalpine cultural influence. In the case of Trecento Florence, the rather late establishment of a local university and its failure to attract top scholars and students, coupled with the especially strong economic bonds which tied the culturally-oriented elite of Florentine bourgeois society to the financial centers of Paris, Bruges and Avignon, encouraged a level of musical interaction with France (in the realms of both theory and composition) unmatched by any other Italian center. Intertwoven with the economic dealings of prominent Florentine families abroad was the constant flow of ecclesiastics, many involved in the arts, between Paris, Avignon and Florence.

The success of Francesco Landini as a composer and a contemporary cultural phenomenon must be viewed against this historical background. Although the mental processes which determined the development of Landini's musical genius and exceptional style and technique are unapproachable by way of historical scholarship, certain aspects of his poetic and musical output are illuminated by an understanding of the contemporary society which valued his intellectual cast of mind and praised his musical prowess. The composer's scholarly conservatism as expressed in his own musical and literary texts allied him with a segment of Florentine society which was in constant contact with French culture, and much involved in the encouragement of cultural activity in Florence. On the other hand, he was a product of a lower middle-class upbringing, with strong ties to that stratum of the Florentine populace. The late fourteenth-century manuscripts Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale fondo Panciatichiano 26 and London, British Library Additional 29987 are to some extent representative of these layers of society, and provide an unusual opportunity of studying two Florentine musical collections which are essentially contemporary, but are characterized by intriguing differences in overall style with regard to repertoire and layout.

Trecento musical style (in so far as it may be determined by the tastes of the musical audience) and its notational representation have been seen to have been in part a reflection of certain tendencies present in contemporary society (a word which

I take to encompass traditions and conventions in arts and letters, economic and political structure, and the particular details of social aggregations which characterize a specific place and time). An understanding of the historical circumstances surrounding musical activity enhances our perception of individual works and accomplishments. At the same time, the physical remnants of fourteenth-century musical life (theoretical treatises and musical manuscripts as well as literary and documentary evidence of the presence of or interest in a composer in a particular place at a particular time) illuminate the society which created them. As Michael Baxandall has written of Quattrocento painting:

A society develops its distinctive skills and habits...these visual skills and habits become part of the medium of the painter: correspondingly, a pictorial style gives access to the visual skills and habits and, through these, to the distinctive social experience(417).

The same may be said of the extant musical works and sources originating in Trecento Florence. Their form and substance were significantly affected by historical and social circumstances, and thus they serve as vital witnesses to aspects of contemporary "social experience."

(417) M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy (Oxford, 1972), 152.

APPENDIX 1: NOTATIONAL FEATURES IN I-RVAT215/OST

	<i>no minims add ea</i> <i>minim stems tempo & c.</i> <i>more semibreves equalis</i>												
De soto 'l verde					•	•						•	•
Lavandose le mane	•				•	•					•		•
Bella granata													
Dal bel castel				•	•						•		
Quando i oselli													
Seguendo un me'													
Abracami cor mio													
Du occhi ladri		•	•		•								
Gaiete dolce	•												
Levandome 'l maitino												•	
Su la rivera													
Piance la bella													•
Involta d'un bel			•										
Quando l'ayre				•	•					•			•
Chiamando una				•									
Suso quel monte				•		•							
Cgni diletto					•					•			
Nel mio bel					•								

	<i>No minims added</i> <i>minim stems</i> <i>tempora of T or</i> <i>more semibreves etc.</i>												
Che ti cova					•								
Nascoso el viso					•								•
Amor mi fa					•								•
Per tropo fede	•		•	•									
Oi qua compagni			•						•	•			
Cum altre ucele			•	•				•	•				
O crudel donna		•								•			
Lucente stella				•					•				
L'anticho dio				•	•				•				
Non formo cristi				•									
La bella stella	•	•	•		•				•	•		•	
Pescando in aqua				•					•	•			
I'vidi a l'umbra	•		•									•	
Vaguca vaga				•									•
Canta lo gaillo					•			•					•
In un broleto	•							•					
La desiosa				•									•
E con chaval	•				•	•							
A l'alba			•			•					•		
		•			•							•	

If the Rossi codex is in part a retrospective compilation (at least with regard to the earliest works of the corpus), it is to be expected that some aspects of notational chronology have been clouded by conscious changes and choices on the part

of the scribe/compiler of the 1350s. A certain number of notational features may, when viewed in relation to musical style, still furnish a clue to the probable period of origin of a work or group of works. The following list of provisional criteria for such chronological groupings is not intended to provide a flawless or complete methodology for approaching questions of compositional chronology. It is meant merely as a possible interpretation of a portion of the data included in the table above, and should only be used in conjunction with a careful stylistic analysis of any work.

Group I: c. 1325-1335. Marked by absence of unusual note forms (including stemmed minims), presence of added minim stems, plicas.

Group II: c. 1335-1345. Some semiminims, some syncopations (expressed by use of single-pitch ligatures), plicas.

Group III: After 1345. More frequent appearance of semiminims and syncopations, few plicas.

APPENDIX 2. A. Textual comparison of Marchettus' Pomerium and Guido's Ars musicae mensurate

Marchettus, POMERIUM

Cum igitur in praesenti opere nostrae intentionis sit cognitionem tradere per rationes essentiae musicae mensurate, igitur primo de accentibus sive de accidentalibus concurrentibus in musica mensurata principaliter est tractandum, deinde de essentialibus musicae praelibatae.[2:2]

Si enim duae semibreves accipiuntur pro tempore imperfecto, tunc, et secundum Gallicos et secundum Italicos, aequaliter proferuntur. Et quia ipsae sunt primae partes divisionis temporis imperfecti, ideo dicuntur maiores naturaliter eo quod comparantur duabus primae divisionis temporis perfecti.[43:1-2]

Per artes vero potest ipsarum una caudari, ut hic: (Ex.) et tunc, secundum Italicos, transitur ad secundam divisionem temporis imperfecti, quae est in quattuor semibreves aequales. Et quia haec secunda divisio imperfecti temporis comparatur subtractive ad secundam divisionem temporis perfecti, quae est

Guido, ARS MUSICE

Et quia in compendiosa doctrina solet delectari animus auditoris, ideo resecatis superfluis et obmissis rationibus quae hinc et inde possent fieri causa brevitatis, praesens opusculum ad laudem Dei et amore aliquorum fratrum mei ordinis volentium in arte musicae delectationem cantus habere, a me indigno cantore extitit compilatum.[11:1]

Tempus enim imperfectum deficit a perfecto ad minus in tertia parte sui, et dividitur primaria divisione in duas semibreves aequales quae in valore equivalent duabus de tribus primae divisionis perfecti temporis, et ideo similem figurationem in tota natura temporis imperfecti servabimus quemadmodum supra in tempore perfecto, ut hic de duabus: (Ex.) et equaliter proferuntur secundum ytalicos et secundum gallicos.[10:2]

Sed si per artem una in deorsum caudetur, transitur ad secundam divisionem temporis quae est in quatuor, et tunc caudata tres de quatuor secunde divisionis continet, non caudata in una parte de quatuor permanente, ut hic: (Ex.) secundum ytalicos. Sed secundum gallicos caudata quinque partes de sex continet

in sex, ideo vocantur minores
via naturae. Et tunc caudata
de dictis quattuor, quae dicitur
maior per artem, tres
partes continet, non caudata
remanente in sua natura. Sec-
undum autem Gallicos, si ipsa-
rum una caudetur, statim tran-
simus ad tertiam divisionem
temporis imperfecti, quae est
in sex semibreves aequales,
quae vocantur minimae in primo
gradu, eo quod ultra divi-
sionem minorum semibrevium
dividuntur. Et tunc caudata
de sex partibus quinque conti-
net via artis, non caudata in
sua natura sistente.[43:3-7]

Si vero tres semibreves
fuerint pro tempore imper-
fecto, ut hic: (Ex.) tunc,
Italice cantando, ultima, eo
quod finis, aequivalet duabus
aliis in valore. Modo autem
Gallico, ut inveniatur propor-
tio et perfectio totius mensu-
rae omnium sex partium, prima
continet tres, secunda duas,
tertia vero unam, et vocantur
maior, minor, minima. Et sic
semper debet intelligi quando
dicitur quod Gallici ponunt
perfectionem a parte princi-
pii. [43:8-9,21]

via artis, non caudata in
sexta parte temporis perman-
ente.[10:3]

Si vero tres ponantur pro tem-
pore imperfecto, tunc ytalice
cantando ultima in eo quod
finis medietatem temporis con-
tinet, aliis sistentibus pro
alia medietate, ut hic: (Ex.).
Modo autem gallico, quia pon-
unt perfectionem a parte prin-
cipii et imperfectionem a
parte finis, prima medietatem
temporis vel tres de sex par-
tibus mensurabit, secunda
duas, tertia vero unam.[10:4]

Si autem quattuor, ut hic:
(ex.) tunc, Italice cantando,
aequaliter proferuntur. Modo
autem Gallico, eo quod ipsi
non excedunt senarium numerum
(licet possent in divisione
temporis imperfecti), ipsarum
quattuor prima duas partes
continet de sex, secunda unam:
et illae duae simul medietatem
perfectionis instituunt: ter-
tia iterum duas, et quarta
unam, quae faciunt aliam
medietatem perfectionis. Et
iste modus proportionandi
quattuor notas in sex partes
temporis fuit omnino necessar-
ius, servando formam Gallicam.
[43:10-15]

Si vero fuerint quattuor natu-
rales, ytalice cantando equal-
iter proferuntur, ut hic:
(ex.). Modo autem gallico ine-
qualiter eo quod non excedunt
senarium numerum, prima enim
duas de sex, secunda vero unam
et sic ambe medietatem tem-
poris continet, tertia iterum
duas, quarto vero unam, quae
faciunt aliam medietatem tem-
poris, et istum modum profer-
endi habemus a galli-
cis.[10:5-8]

Si autem quinque, ut hic: (Ex.) tunc, secundum Italicos, ad quartam divisionem temporis imperfecti pertinent, quae est in octo: quae comparantur divisioni temporis perfecti, quae est in duodecim, scilicet subtractive: quae vocantur minimae in secundo gradu. Et tunc duae primae dicuntur minimae, reliquis remanentibus in secunda divisione ipsius temporis imperfecti. Per artem vero possunt ipsae minimae aliter locari in ipsis quinque, ut hic: (Ex.). Secundum autem Gallicos, tres primae, via naturae, sunt aequales minimae, quarta continente duas, ultima vero unam. Semper enim cum transeunt ultra quattuor semibreves, accipiunt tres primas minimas pro medietate temporis: post hoc ponunt perfectiorem, et proportionant eas ad invicem.[43:16-21]

Si vero septem extiterint naturales, sex primae sex de octo partibus temporis continebunt, ultima vero duas, ut hic: (Ex.). Sed possunt per artem aliter distinguantur, ut hic: (Ex.). Si autem octo, ut hic: (Ex.) tunc omnes minimae aequaliter proferuntur.[43:26,27]

Si quinque ponantur naturales, duae primae dicuntur minime in tertia divisione continentes duas de octo, reliquis in secunda divisione sistentibus, ut hic ytalice cantando: (Ex.). Sed gallice tres primae equaliter minime proferuntur, quarta duas, quinta unam de sex continet: et possunt per artem aliter variari, ut hic ytalice: (Ex.) et hic gallice: (Ex.).[10:9]

Si vero septem fuerint, ut hic: (ex.) tunc, Italice modo, sex primae sex partes temporis continebunt, ultima vero duas, nisi forte artificialiter variari, ut hic: (Ex). Si autem fuerint octo uniformiter figurate, minime nominantur et equaliter proferuntur, ut hic: (Ex.) et sic habetur eorum perfecta divisio ytalicorum que est in octo.[10:11,12]

B. Commentary

Gallo originally suggested c. 1310 as a probable date for the composition of Guido's treatise. He considered the contents of the Ars musica to represent an embryonic stage of Marchettus's more fully-developed system of notation(418). He later

revised this theory, proposing that Guido was probably a student of Marchettus, and that the Ars musicae was very likely a work composed by Guido on the basis of lecture notes taken in the course of his studies at Padua (419). Textual details in Guido's treatise, however, indicate that it was probably written after the Pomerium (thus placing the date of its composition in the middle to late 1320s), and that it is actually a derivative work: a simplified version of Marchetto's masterwork. The first clue is provided by Guido himself in the proemium to the treatise. He described the practical nature of his work

Et quia in compendiosa doctrina solet delectari animus auditoris, ideo resecatis superfluis et obmissis rationibus que hinc et inde possent fieri causa brevitas, presens opusculum ad laudem Dei et amore aliquorum fratrum mei ordinis volentium in arte musicae delectationem cantus habere, a me indigno cantore extitit compilatum.

The reference to the "omissions" points to the notion that the treatise is based on a more complete model, one whose directing principle was not that of brevity.

The striking similarity in the ordering of material and the use of certain key expressions in the two works also supports the theory that Guido had access to a complete version of the Pomerium. One of the clearest cases of this occurs in the discussions of the three-semibreve imperfect tempus. In previous sections, the differences between the Italian and French methods of interpreting the various notational configurations described

(418) F. A. Gallo, La Teoria della Notazione, 25.

(419) Gallo, "Marchetus in Padua" AfMW31 (1974), 49.

in the treatises were introduced by the phrases

secundum Italicos...secundum autem gallicos

in both theoretical works. Simultaneously, Marchettus and Guido abandon the use of this phrase in favor of

tunc, Italice cantando...modo autem Gallico

The likeness must be more than coincidental. Such microscopic similarities suggest very strongly that the Pomerium served as the exemplar for Guido's "Brevis compilatio." A examination of the other sections extracted from the two works (presented above in parallel format for ease of comparison) serves to further substantiate the hypothesis, and supports a dating for Guido's treatise of c. 1325-1330. The lack of subtlety in his language and theory is not a function of chronology (i.e., it does not represent a less advanced stage of Italian notation than that presented in the Pomerium), but rather is a conscious choice on Guido's part, made in order to present Marchettan notation theory in a practical and easily understood form to any interested amateur.

APPENDIX 3: LANDINI'S DREAM VISION OF OCCAM

Florence, Bibl. Ricc. 688, 132r-135v

Incipiunt versus Francisci organiste de Florentia, missi ad
Dominum Antonium plebanum de Vado, gramatice, loyce, rethorice
optimum instructorem, et facti in laudem loyce Ocham.

Vix bene dimidium bigis raptata tenebat
Nox obscura polum, longe amplius omnia toto
Sidera dum celo geminatis ignibus ardent,
Cum -- si forte meos sompnus tenuissimus artus
Strinxerat, aut nondum completo exterrita sompno
Mens vigil intus erat -- thalamos intrare latentes
Admiranda michi longo et venerabilis evo
Turba senum visa est, habitu facieque verenda.
Difformis, spiratque gravi reverentia vultu,
Unius inter eos luteo squalabat amictu
Arguta facie juvenis, quem longa tegebat
Usque pedes vestis nodoso fune recincta.
Hos dum stupida tremefactus ymagine rerum
Intueor propius, gemitu suffusa notavi
Luminaque et nestos ad terram figere vultus
Inter se querulo strepitantem murmure turbam.
Nec mora, disceptant quis dignior ante loquendi
Initium sumat: longa est discordia, longa
Murmura, sed juvenem demum turba omnis in illum
Conveniunt, placideque impellunt agmine cuncti
Sepe reluctantem et tremula se voce fatentem
Indignum. Tandem mesto sic ore profatur:
Non quia me deceat, reverendo astante meorum
Concilio, patrum, et magnis autoribus, unde
Fama sub ethereo semper memorabitur axe,
Ante loqui, aut nestas tecum diffundere voces:
Sed quia tantorum cogit reverentia patrum,
Eloquar. O semper pre cunctis dulcis alumne,
Jam dudum dilecte michi, lacer ille Guillermus
Morsibus invidie frater minor et tuus Ocham,
Ad te nunc venio, simul hii quos undique cernis
Astantes. Ego precipue, quem nescia vulgi
Lingua procax lacerat, ydiotarumque tumultus,
Emulaque assidue fratrum indoctissima turba
Externis lacerat, tamen in penetralibus ymis
Me probat atque meum scrutatur habere volumen
Occultumque tenet, rasoque in margine libri
Nomine, me totum querit, totumque pererrat.
Heu quantum imperitat miseris mortalibus ater
Invidie livor, quantum rationis inermes
Efficit, et claros offuscat mentis ocellos!
His nil aliud digne justeque rependo

Quam, sub perpetuo postquam sudare labore
 Hos feci, quod nil sapiunt, nil denique possunt
 Intentum reperire meum, frustra que laborem
 Expendere suum. Tunc me lacerantibus illis
 Rideo. Sacrilegum tum crebro nomine vulgus
 Me vocat, et lingua nimium scelerata prophanum,
 Quilibet insurgens duris rationibus asper
 In me congregitur, quem eterna silentia mutum
 Constitunt: audacter enim probat omnia quisque
 Non respondentem, rationum pagina longis
 Sulcatur cumulis. Tantum, o, brevis hora daretur
 Respondere illis, qua et verba rependere possem!
 Quot syllogizantes, quot vana sophismata levi
 Destruerem vento! Sed ineluctabile fatum
 Obstat, et exanimis mordere licenter et auras
 Hii poterunt, mutum nil respondente, probantes.
 Hec toleranda tamen antiqui scandala morbi:
 Nec modo plus solito clamore exasperat aures
 Mordax lingua michi (fecit patientia durum),
 At novus in nostras ydiota rudissimus artes,
 Qui furit et sevit, nostri quoque pestifer hostis.
 Hunc non antiquo potuit patientia vultu
 Indoctum tolerare magis: stomachatus et ira
 Fervidus huc veni: mentem impulit ille quietam
 Hec de Tartareis emersit turba cavernis
 Indignata simul stulto que impulsa boatu.
 Heu scelus magnum! Rudis hic ydiota protervus
 Quam se scire suo toto desperat in evo
 Acriter impugnat te, te, Dialectica, cunctis
 Artibus imperitans, sine qua non creditur ullam
 Posse artem sciri perfecte. Sola tuarum
 Regia nobilitas domina atque magistra sororum,
 Philosophia, tui: sola hec conscendere in arcem
 Etheream atque unum trinumque attendere regem.
 Concipit hec formas motu et compage carentes,
 Corpora et tenues rationum solvere nexus
 Edocet, et veris mixtum secernere falsum.
 Hac sine balbutiunt omnes, nec in ordine rerum
 Quid sequitur, quid non, recte discernere possunt.
 Dirigit hec aciem super ardua culmina celi
 Naturamque super rerum abstrahit undique formas.
 Hec apices montium dubius, ininitantia celo
 Culmina, difficiles aditus et strata viarum
 Aspera plana facit: per apertas undique portas
 Dirigit illa gradum, montes scopulosque supinat:
 Hec ad inadcessum mentem advehit, unica, culmen.
 Nec non Tartarei tenebrosa ergastula regni
 Rimatur, Stygiam pretervehit illa paludem,
 Denique in occultas latebras noctemque profundam
 Intuitum figit, causas sub orbe latentes
 Inquirit, sibi cuncta licet, nocturna diescunt.
 Hanc tamen, ecce nephas, ydiota rudissimus unus
 Dilacerare audet, rictu et scelerare canino:
 Evomit in lunam latratum et territat umbras

Nocturnas, sonitumque, die veniente, tremiscit.
 Ille, supercilio gravis elatoque superbus
 Ore, per indoctas vulgi reboare catervas
 Queritat, atque inter muliebria phylosophatur
 Agmina. Si doctis casu fortasse maligno
 Occurrit, subito fugit ut perterritus angue,
 Sed plerumque tamen, venantum ut retia cervus,
 Evitare nequit, cecisque ignara latebris,
 Dum ruit incaute, velocia crura tenentur:
 Sic circumstantes prudentum sepe catervas
 Hic ydiota rudis, casu superatus iniquo,
 Incidit, et verbis tremulo morientibus ore
 Quid faciat, quo se fugiens tutetur asylo,
 Ambigit, et timide generalia verba, nec ullis
 Congrua responsis, perque intervalla profatur.
 Sed quia tanta diu nequit ignorantia vano
 Tegmine celari, deprensa sed affluit omni
 Parte per effusam late patefacta loquelam,
 Dum concessa negat, dumque ante negata protervus
 Affirmat, loycos ceu mortem exterritus odit,
 Fallacesque vocat altercantesque sophystas.
 Me quoque precipue lingua sceleratus iniqua
 Dilapidat, librosque meos mentemque prophanam
 Vipereumque vomit truculento pectore virus:
 Me, quem indomita temeraria duraque cervix
 Ferreaque, indocilis, nec non adamante perempni
 Durior, horrisonis tractantem altissima verbis
 Non capit, atque sue per singula tempora vite
 Desperat frustra meum tractare volumen,
 Atque super nostras frustra impallescere cartas.
 Glorier an lacrimam potius (preconia laudum
 Ampla tibi ex isto nimium clamore resultant,
 Justior ad laudes esset data causa querele):
 Hic miser est Marcus, Romane gloria lingue,
 Ingenium cujus dudum aurea Roma potenti
 Par tulit Imperio, sibi quem temerarius iste
 (Proh scelus) ascribit, divina volumina namque
 Allegat, recitat non intellecta popello
 Nec sibi: percurrit tua cuncta volumina, Marce,
 Teque suum appellat Ciceronem, et nomine crebro
 Nunc hoc nunc illud rugosa fronte volumen
 Nominat. Exterrent ignota vocabula vulgus:
 Laudibus immensis Ciceronem ad sidera tollit.
 Te magis hec, Cicero, laudum preconia pungunt,
 Quam si te obprobriis, ut me, laceraret iniquis:
 Hec vigilata tibi preclara volumina, Marce,
 Laudibus indocte sordescunt omnia lingue.
 Non magis immitis te Antoni iniuria pulsat,
 Qui tibi cervicem fecit sevo ense rotari,
 Quam tua que vario volitant circumsona vulgo
 (Allegat quidem) non intellectaque verba.
 Odit eam obscurus, quam liquit in orbe celebrem
 Quesivitque diu virtutum limite famam
 Seneca, quando suum rudis hic ydiota fatetur

Appellatque patrem: negat ille, antroque rubescit
 Conditus obscuro, sua quoque volumina damnans.
 Sed longe cunctis, longe infelicior iste
 Qui gemit hic -- cujus clarum et venerabile nomen
 Siluit, impositum tanquam cognomen eiden--.
 Quid memorem prisca laceratum dentibus avum
 Indocti agricolae durique satellitis hujus?
 Cujus quam grossa est atque intractabilis omni
 Lingua sono! quotiens occurrunt agmine facto
 <<Barbaris et soloe>>, correptaque syllaba longa est
 Et producta brevis! activum sepe rubescit
 Miraturque diu verbum subponere cernens
 Accusativum: neutralis dictio substans
 Mobile feminine circumsociata pavescit.
 Preterea gravis incessu, sermone superbus,
 Omnia sub pedibus reputat, tunc nomina mille
 Autorum allegat, quorum nisi nomina tantum
 Nescit, et in loycos vomit exitiale venenum
 Viperei cordis, scelerataque iurgia fundit.
 Heu miseranda magis quam detestabilis hujus
 Stultitia est, tanta hunc insania mentis obumbrat,
 Tantum eum de re miserabilis occupat error!>>
 Plura locuturum mens experrecta tumultu
 Exteriore, diem leto clamore vocantum
 Artificium, spatio nequit ulteriore morari:
 Ingrato percussa die venerabilis umbra
 Aufugit ex oculis, simul et gratissima turba
 Ante meos oculos tenues resoluta per auras
 Vanuit. Ipse diu magnis esterritus umbris
 Obstupui, miri turbatus ymagine sompni(420).

(420) After Lanza, Polemiche e Berthe letterarie (Rome,
 1971), 233-238 (with emendations based on manuscript
 source).

APPENDIX 4: DE MUSICA SECUNDUM FILIPPUM DE VITRIACO.

Florence, Riccardiana 688, f. 142

// Item de tono et cantus et consonantiis et de speciebus discantus domini filippum de vitriaco [title as given in ms index]//

Primus tonus et secundus finitur in .re. Tertius et quartus finitur in mi. Quintus et sextus finitur in .fa. Septimus et ottavus finitur in sol.

Primus tonus ascendit quinta. Secundus tertia. Tertius sexta. Quartus quarta. Quintus quinta. Sextus tertia. Septimus quinta. Ottavus quarta.

Nota quando cantus incipit super .g. totus cantus est per .b. quadrum. Super .c. non est [nisi] naturalis. Super .f. est per .b. mole. Universus [?] natura .c. vult .f. mole .g. quoque quadrum.

Nota quod sicut per vii dies revolvitur omnes tempus. sic per vii consonantias revolvitur omnis musicalis cantus. Consonantia verbo dicitur quia simil sonantia. Quia nisi due vel plures consonaverunt voces consonantia essere non potest.

Sunt autem consonantie vii. Tonus, Semitonus, ditonus, semiditonus, Dyatesseron, Dyapente, Dyapason. Et dicitur tonus ab intonando.

Tonus est ubicumque inveniens ut. re. mi. fa. sol. la.

Semitonus est quasi dividiã vox.

Ditonus constat ex duobus tonis.

Semiditonus constat ex uno tono et semitono.

Diatesseron grece dicitur latine quatuor.

Diapente grece [scribal error here] dicitur latine quinque quia constat ex tribus tonis et duo semitono.

Diapasson grece latine dicitur otto un passon est littera cum littera ut .a. cum .a.

Vel consonantie sunt .vi. videlicet unisonus, quinta, ottava, duodecima, quintadecima et decimanona.

Dissonantie sunt .vi. scilicet tertia, sexta, decima, tertiadecima, decimasepta et vigesima.

Sex sunt species discantus scilicet Tertia, quinta, sexta, ottava, decima et duodecima. quod iii ipsa non potest finiri sed bene incipit. Quarum quidem specierum iiii sunt principales scilicet quinta, ottava, decima, duodecima Quia per ipsas incipit discantus et finitur excepta decima.

Notandum est quod cantus et discantus in nona ascendit et descendit simul nisi aliquando per sextas et tertias vel decimas et hoc propter melodiam magis descendendo. Item notandum est quod post tertia debet ponitur quinta vel unisonus. Et post sextam est ottava. post decima duodecima. hoc est dictum quod post aliquam istarum trium scilicet tertie, sexte et decime debet ponitur aliqua principalium. Et hec quia opposita intra se posita magis elucescunt, hoc de puncto contrapunctum sufficiat.

De floritima tamen possumus habere per regulas supradictas. et
sic de aliis.

Expliciunt floritima domini philippij de vitriaco.

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APPENDIX 5

TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN THEORETICAL CITATIONS

Page 2. Benvenuto da Imola.

No way of speaking in Italy is more fine or consistent than the Florentine.

Page 3. Dante.

Therefore, looking back over what has been said, I recall that several times I have called the vernacular rimatori: poeti. And I have dared to utter this word without doubt for a reason: because they are indeed poets if we consider the true meaning of poetry, which is nothing other than the making of a poem (a creation of the imagination) according to the principles of rhetoric and music. But they [the vernacular poets] differ from the great [classical] poets in that the great poets composed according to an established system of language and style, and these [new poets] compose at random. For that reason it happens that when we try to imitate the great poets more closely, we compose poetry more properly. And I, who aim at writing a work on the rules of [vernacular] poetry, ought to emulate the rules of the great Latin poets.

Page 4. Da Tempo.

In closing, [one may ask] why we use more Tuscan words than any others in these poems. And it is readily answered: because the Tuscan language is more suited to writing and literature than other tongues, and is more universal and understandable.

Page 6. Da Tempo.

Whereby it has been acknowledged that just as in any learned verse which we use in our poetry (according to grammarians) a vowel which precedes

another vowel is excluded from the metrical count in scanning, so in any sonnet or [other] vernacular poem the first vowel is excluded from the numerical count of the line (that is to say that the first vowel is not counted among the number of syllables), especially in a poem upon which a musical setting will be made, because if the music does not correspond to the proper number of syllables, the piece will never sound well to the ears of the listeners, according to the masters of the art of music and singers.

Page 7. Da Tempo.

If in a line of a sonnet or vernacular poem a vowel is found which immediately precedes another vowel, because one word ends in a vowel and the next begins with a vowel, those two vowels should always be counted as one syllable (as in this example of the following line: "Chi porze al povro za mai non gli manca") ...for the vowel e which is at the end of the word "porze" adds nothing to the syllable count. And therefore there are those who cancel these letters which are excluded from a vernacular verse in scansion and pronunciation by putting a dot beneath them in writing, that is, when they write down a sonnet or other vernacular poem... But according to my judgment it is not visually pleasing to mark these vowels with a point beneath them, unless it must be done for the sake of those who do not know which vowel is excluded from the poetic meter.

Page 14. Marchettus.

[The choice of temporal quality] is left to the judgment of the composer, who knows the art of music thoroughly. Indeed, it is accepted that every notated song may be sung in both perfect tempus and imperfect tempus. Such differences in the manner of singing are in truth created solely by the composer, for reasons of armonia, of course. And because this depends solely upon the inclination of the composer, and not upon the nature of the song, a sign [for perfect or

imperfect tempus] ought to be placed there [in the music] to indicate these differences, according to the inclination of the composer. And indeed, it is impossible to find a proper reason beyond this as to why such a sign is put in the music.

Page 16. Marchettus.

If however it is necessary for the sake of the beauty of the harmony not to re-articulate several notes [of the same pitch] we say that they may be included in one figure via artis [i.e., through the addition of a tail]. If not by this method, they are drawn so close together as to be just barely touching, but yet so that one takes nothing of the space of the other, for the reason set forth above.

Page 26. Tibino.

According to metrical theorists, a short syllable lasts but one tempus, a long syllable lasts two.

Page 27. St. Emmeram anonymous.

Musica mensurabilis derives from measure just as does grammar, (metrica deriving from metris, i.e. measure). And indeed grammar includes just two measures of accents, namely long and short, of which the long is two tempora, and the short is one.

Page 27. Franco.

That which is a minimum in fullness of voice (sound) is called a tempus.

Page 26. Marchettus.

When the necessary means fully and properly engage in the formation of an utterance (not too much nor too little) then there will be produced a fullness of sound. And this will be produced when the wind-pipe of the lung having properly and in earnest filled up with a breath (through proper inflation of the stomach) forces it out and the breath being expelled strikes the hearing so that it fully perceives it, bringing forth this prolonged sound or voice to resonate in its breast or in another like a bell is made to resonate. That then is the minimal period of time in which a fullness of voice may be formed.

Page 36. Jacobus.

Now, those masters best distinguished among these semibreves whether for a perfect tempus they put two unequal semibreves, or three equal semibreves, or four, five, six, seven, eight or nine.

Page 37. Jean de Muris.

A song will be made from 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 semibreves equales of the same shape. It is moreover vocally impossible to exceed this number. They are sung by groups of three (equal semibreves) and by twos. Two and three are five, twice two are four, twice three are six, four and three constitute seven, twice four are eight and thrice three are nine. All of these are equal. Therefore it is possible to make a song out of just as many [as here described] equal [tempora]. But most praiseworthy is the expert musician who correctly fashions a discant over the same constant (equal) tempus, dividing it at one point into two parts, in another three, and so on.

Page 41. Anon: Paris, BN lat. 15129.

A semibreve drawn thus: ♪ may be sometimes minor in value, sometimes major in value but not in shape; two of these may be put for a tempus, or three or four or five or six or seven.

Page 41. Jacobus.

It has been observed that the Moderns never seem to put four semibreves for a perfect tempus. And when the Old Masters put four, five, six, seven or eight for a perfect tempus, it may be asked of the Moderns to which division of the semibreve these are reducible; and when they can not find the solution it is necessary that they be reduced to divisions of the breve [as the Old Masters understood].

Page 44. Jacobus.

It seems to me that I heard at Paris a triplum composed, it was said, by Magister Franco in which more than three semibreves were put for a perfect tempus.

Page 48. Jacobus.

It has been observed that the Moderns are never seen to put for a perfect or imperfect tempus four, five, seven, or eight semibreves, but only two, three, six or nine. And when the Moderns put nine of these for a perfect tempus, or six for an imperfect tempus, they sing them by threes, and thus distinguish those which they call minims, not considering those nine to equal one perfect tempus, but rather three; so that thrice three corresponds to one perfect tempus of the Old Masters. And those, when they put six or nine for a perfect tempus, pronounced these

equally so as not to distinguish ternaria,
binaria, or quaternaria (within the tempus).

Page 49. Berkeley anonymous.

It is understood that indeed any figure or
note shape may of itself be called tempus.

Page 51. Jean de Muris.

And observe that certain cantores imperfect an
imperfect breve of major prolation by two minims
preceding or following it. And they say that they
are changing its quality. Indeed, they take a
perfect breve of minor prolation as if it were an
imperfect breve of major prolation and vice
versa.

Page 52. Marchettus.

ERADICATION OF A CERTAIN ERROR: What was said
above has raised an error not insignificant in
mensural music. For some have said: You say that
I may divide the two parts of an imperfect tempus
into three each, and thus I have six. But six
also serve to divide the three parts of the per-
fect tempus into two each. Thus, they have
argued, the senaria division can serve as the
point in common between perfect and imperfect
tempus.

But we respond: We say indeed that every number
in the division of two things is always found or
may be found in both; and nevertheless no part of
some thing can be the mean between this and
another thing, just as if two lines are divided,
the divisions into two, three, four or any number
of parts can be found in one as in the other. And
still a part of one line may never be a mean
between that and the other line. However much you
proceed to divide the imperfect tempus into dif-

ferent parts, you will come upon the same number of parts as you made dividing a perfect tempus into its parts. Still, no one part (nor all together) of the imperfect tempus may ever itself be the mean between this imperfect tempus and a perfect tempus, since the imperfect tempus is essentially distinct in nature from the perfect tempus, as is most clear in the [different] manners in which tempus perfectum and tempus imperfectum are sung. And if it is said: you say that the imperfect only lies short of the perfect [is only the perfect made less], we say that this is true, with regard to the proportion of the perfect to the imperfect. Still, they are in essence two tempora, distinct, separate and opposite from one another, as is clear from their opposite definitions: for one is produced with a fullness of sound, the other with a half-fullness of sound.

Page 56. Capitulum de vocibus.

They [the ballate] are inclined to be in perfect tempus, aere ytalico [i.e., senaria perfecta or duodenaria] with some places or phrases in aere gallico [i.e., senaria imperfecta or novenaria], but not at the beginning nor at the end of the piece.

Page 61. De modo accipiendo.

Tempus perfectum, minor prolation, from which may be derived the binary and ternary divisions [3 x 2 and 2 x 3] which are equal in both performance and in the way they are drawn.

Page 61. Anonymous, Vat. lat. 5129.

Likewise, it is known that a breve in imperfect tempus, major prolation, has the value of six minims and when it is in perfect tempus, minor prolation, it has just the same value.

Page 64. Prosdocius.

Now, it must be noted that there are those who set up a tempus ternarium as another mensuration in addition to the others. They say that tempus ternarium is that which assigns to the breve a value of three minims. They say, then, that that piece is ternaria in which all breves have by nature a value of three minims and in which, between any two successive puncti or their equivalents marking off such a tempus, there is enclosed the value of three minims. But all this seems quite absurd to me for two reasons. The first is that no note is ever seen to acquire the value of a nota recta (unaltered note) of lesser value, although as we know, a note can readily acquire the value of a note of greater value, i.e. through alteration. The second reason is that we would have a tempus that is neither perfect nor imperfect. Tempus ternarium would not be perfect for, if it were, the breve would have the value of three semibreves, which it also does not have in this case; nor would it be imperfect for, if it were, the breve would have the value of two semibreves, which it also does not have in this case. And were you to say that tempus ternarium is perfect because the breve has by its nature the value of three minims, I would say in reply that a perfection of this value does not pertain to perfection of the tempus, or breve, but to perfection of the semibreve, as explained above. Therefore let us dismiss this mensuration as superfluous and contrary to reason (1).

Page 65. Vitry.

It is known that there are three types of tempus perfectum: namely minimum, medium and maius. Minimum tempus was set forth by Franco. Whence it is understood according to Magister Franco and as was seen above, that a tempus is not minimum

(1) Translation by J. Huff, MSD29, 20.

unless it contains three semibreves, which are so brief that it is impossible to divide them further, unless they are divided into semiminims.

Page 66. Jacobus.

Therefore it may be said that the perfect tempus of the Old Masters, by which is understood a rapid meter, is not divisible into more than three semibreves, and this is accepted by a certain modern teacher [Vitry?] of Franco. He says indeed that Franco set forth the minimum tempus which is divided into three semibreves which are so rapid that they may not be divided further. And it is clear that this is the way in which Franco perceived the tempus. And it having been said that no more than three semibreves may be accepted [for such a tempus], and this having been firmly demonstrated, I must say that this sort of semibreve of which I speak is the smallest [possible] part of the breve.

Page 67. Jacobus.

Accordingly, Franco understood as the semibreve, which is one-third of a perfect breve, that which the Moderns understand as a minim or atom, which they put as one-ninth of a perfect tempus, and which is similarly indivisible.

Page 70. Prosdocius.

The other is sesquitertial to the [normal] minim, and for this value the two mensurations just mentioned were invented, i.e., octenaria and duodenaria. If we calculate these mensurations carefully and [then] sing them somewhat fast (aliquantulum stricte), we will find the octenaria mensuration reduced to the senaria, and the duodenaria to novenaria. The two larger measures, you see, are in proportio sesquitertia

[respectively] to the two smaller. Therefore, these mensurations have not been set up unnecessarily, because we could not have this sesquitertia proportion without them. But of course they would have been set up unnecessarily if they were sung as notated (sub suo proprio esse) instead of faster, that is, octenaria as double quaternaria, and duodenaria as triple quaternaria, as they are sometimes sung by ignorant Italian musicians. These men claim that tempus octenarium and tempus duodenarium do not always have to be sung in proportio sesquitertia to senarium and novenarium, but that sometimes octenarium should be sung as double quaternarium and duodenarium as triple quaternarium. But no heed should be paid to such people, because what they say is improper and untrue, for the reasons already adduced. And if someone should yet insist, in rebuttal to this, that the mensurations in question, that is octenaria and duodenaria, have still been set up unnecessarily since the quaternaria mensuration, if sung faster, would suffice to produce the proportio sesquitertia, as any intelligent person can see, it would certainly have to be conceded in reply that the quaternaria mensuration, if sung faster, would be sufficient for the proportio sesquitertia. But I say that you must not on that account maintain that the two mensurations in question have been set up unnecessarily and the quaternaria mensuration ought to be used for proportio sesquitertia; because, if these two mensurations were not provided and the quaternaria mensuration were sometimes to stand for the proportio sesquitertia, then every time we were confronted with a piece of music in quaternaria mensuration, we would be in doubt whether the notes should be sung according to their own values, that is, full length, or whether they should be sung shorter, that is, in proportio sesquitertia. It was in order to avoid this ambiguity that the two mensurations in question, octenaria and duodenaria, were invented. In this way, we know that tempus quaternarium is always to be sung as quaternaria, and octenaria and duodenaria always in proportio sesquitertia to senaria and novenaria. And now you know why these mensurations have not been set up unnecessarily, which is what we wanted to make clear (2).

(2) Ibid, 27-28.

Page 72. De modo accipiendo.

The duodenaria and octonaria measures are in themselves measures only according to the way in which they are drawn and their lengths, because neither is [a true] measure: in singing, they are reduced to the quaternaria mensuration (and said to be in imperfect tempus, minor prolation) because the duodenaria measure is larger and by such a reduction is created a longa. And we perceive octonario in the same way.

Page 78. Vitry.

Tempus imperfectum minimum is that which contains two semibreves, each of which has the value of two minims, and thus tempus imperfectum minimum must have the value of four minims, unless it is divided [further] into semiminims.

Page 83. Marchettus.

In order for it to be known which piece of music ought to be sung in imperfect mode, we say that at the beginning of such a piece in imperfect mode, if there is a longa, or wheresoever in the piece a longa first occurs, there should be added to it an ascending tail on the left side.

Page 85. Jean de Muris.

See page 51.

The respected master Philippe, flower and jewel of singers, in another way divided the said tempus because he, his tempus with regard to its performance being equal to three tempora according to Franco, introduced a tempus which because it appears to call to mind the perfection of the Trinity, is called perfect tempus. But Marchettus of Padua, wishing to harden down the art of song as sung in Italy, divides a perfect tempus into twelve equal parts, a tempus that if carefully considered with regard to these parts may rather be called imperfect than perfect. For if we wish to imperfect the perfect tempus, after having subtracted one-third part of this tempus, there will remain two parts which, increased by twos sixfold, produce the tempus of Marchettus with regard to its value [twelve semibreves minime] and with regard to its performance; because while Italian songs [in this division into twelve] are for the most part sung without mixture [of perfect and imperfect], the singing [in this division into twelve] of the French, who sing proportionally, is reduced to a binary proportion. And the binary number is by all definitions, imperfect.

Whenever any note-value divided by syncopation is completed after a number of longer notes, and cuts across the end of any measure of those longer notes, above that note we need to place a punctus to show that the end of the measure is there (3).

(3) Ibid, 49.