Ars nova

French and Italian Music in the Fourteenth Century

Edited by
John L. Nádas and
Michael Scott Cuthbert

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Edited by

John L. Nádas

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA

Michael Scott Cuthbert

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

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Series Preface

This series of volumes provides an overview of the best current scholarship in the study of medieval music. Each volume is edited by a ranking expert or experts, and each presents a selection of writings, mostly in English which, taken together, sketch a picture of the shape of the field and of the nature of current inquiry. The volumes are organized in such a way that readers may go directly to an area that interests them, or they may provide themselves a substantial introduction to the wider field by reading through the entire volume.

There is of course no such thing as the Middle Ages, at least with respect to the history of music. The Middle Ages – if they are plural at all – get their name as the temporal space between the decline of classical antiquity and its rediscovery in the Renaissance. Such a definition might once have been useful in literature and the fine arts, but it makes little sense in music. The history of Western music begins, not with the music of Greece and Rome (about which we know far too little) but with the music of the Latin Christian church. The body of music known as Gregorian chant, and other similar repertories, are the first music that survives to us in Western culture, and is the foundation on which much later music is built, and the basis for describing music in its time and forever after.

We continue to use the term 'medieval' for this music, even though it is the beginning of it all; there is some convenience in this, because historians in other fields continue to find the term useful; what musicians are doing in the twelfth century, however non-medieval it appears to us, is likely to be considered medieval by colleagues in other fields.

The chronological period in question is far from being a single thing. If we consider the Middle Ages as extending from the fall of the Roman Empire, perhaps in 476 when Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustus, into the fifteenth century, we have defined a period of about a millenium, far longer than all subsequent style-periods ('Renaissance', 'Baroque', 'Classical', 'Romantic' etc.) put together; and yet we tend to think of it as one thing.

This is the fallacy of historical parallax, and it owes its existence to two facts; first that things that are nearer to us appear to be larger, so that the history of the twentieth century looms enormous while the distant Middle Ages appear comparatively insignificant. Second, the progressive loss of historical materials over time means that more information survives from recent periods than from more distant ones, leading to the temptation to gauge importance by sheer volume.

There may be those who would have organized these volumes in other ways. One could have presented geographical volumes, for example: Medieval Music in the British Isles, in France, and so on. Or there might have been volumes focused on particular source materials, or individuals. Such materials can be found within some of these volumes, but our organization here is based on the way in which scholars seem in the main to organize and conceptualize the surviving materials. The approach here is largely chronological, with an admixture of stylistic considerations. The result is that changing styles of composition result in volumes focused on different genres – tropes, polyphony, lyric – that are not of course entirely separate in time, or discontinuous in style and usage. There are also volumes – notably those on chant

and on instrumental music – that focus on certain aspects of music through the whole period. Instrumental music, of which very little survives from the Middle Ages, is often neglected in favour of music that does survive – for very good reason; but we do wish to consider what we can know about instruments and their music. And liturgical chant, especially the repertory known as Gregorian chant, is present throughout our period, and indeed is the only music in Western culture to have been in continuous use from the beginnings of Western music (indeed it could be said to define its beginnings) right through until the present.

The seven volumes collected here, then, have the challenge of introducing readers to an enormous swathe of musical history and style, and of presenting the best of recent musical scholarship. We trust that, taken together, they will increase access to this rich body of music, and provide scholars and students with an authoritative guide to the best of current thinking about the music of the Middle Ages.

THOMAS FORREST KELLY
Series Editor

Introduction

More so than for any other period in Western music of the past millennium, our collected knowledge of fourteenth-century music is contained in, and advanced through, scholarly essays. As yet, no monograph gathers the received opinions on the style, composers and works of this period. Books on individual topics (through distinguished) are rare. And even chapters in textbooks tend to be slim.

We could attribute these omissions to the vagaries of chance, of *Fortuna* not yet smiling upon a still young field of inquiry. But perhaps there is something more intrinsic to this material that resists neat summation by a single authorial voice. Contradictions and gaps in understanding abound in the *ars nova* of the fourteenth century (a period we usually expand until approximately 1420 when new ideas of song and mass composition dominate post-Schism Europe). Some of the paradoxes that continue to defy untangling include:

- lower parts are often untexted, yet evidence exists for *a cappella* performance
- motet texts praise major 'masters' who are otherwise unknown
- large repertories of French-texted song come from Italy.

The list could continue, and it *does* continue in the essays that follow. This is not to say that the problems are intractable. The intricacies of the *ars nova* are well met by the ingenuity of the approaches and solutions found by scholars. The 27 essays reflect a broad methodological and chronological span. (Since the full diversity of ideas and methods of fourteenth-century music studies, often in foreign languages, cannot possibly be included in a single volume, a longer though still not exhaustive further reading section is found at the end of this introduction.) Despite the variety of approaches, several recurring themes emerge that group the selected essays by topic.

Periodization and Boundaries

The late medieval period witnessed a number of long-lasting developments – historical, political and cultural – that have encouraged in modern scholarship a periodization of fourteenth-century music worthy of separate treatment. The value is seen particularly in the two areas of Europe – France and Italy – where changes from old to new, conservative to innovative, in the theory and practice of music were most pronounced, prompting self-awareness from the start in contemporary commentaries.

The French polyphonic traditions of the fourteenth century blossomed earlier than the Italian. Perhaps France had a leg up because of its long tradition of polyphony in previous centuries, many sources of which were being copied in the early 1300s. The idea that something new was happening in French music being composed in the new century is not a recent idea. The contemporary view that a 'new art' was being forged was formed by the theorists of the time such as Philippe de Vitry. He, along with Johannes de Muris (Jehan des Murs) and the more

conservative Jacques (commonly 'de Liège'), popularized the idea of an *ars nova*, thereby being among the first musical thinkers to establish the music of the present as a clean break from that of the past. However, the application of the term to all music of the fourteenth century (or even just French fourteenth-century music) appears only in the early twentieth century. (For more on the distinctions between the new and old arts, see Edward Roesner's introduction to volume 5 of this series).

The Italian *ars nova* united many of the strengths of the French tradition with unwritten Italian traditions of sung poetry (see Chapter 1), creating new musical forms and pieces composed from 1330–1420 that came to be written down and anthologized in the last decades of the period. Like the Italian poetic traditions of the slightly earlier *dolce stil novo*, Italian musical traditions of the trecento appear almost out of nowhere, but, as Nino Pirrotta points out in Chapter 2, it would be a mistake to link these two traditions too easily.

Italian music was also a 'new art' in its written form. The Italian notational system took as its starting point the innovations of a French composer, Petrus de Cruce, whose motets divided the breve more deeply than had been done before. However, for the first half of the fourteenth century this notation, along with the music it preserved, developed largely independently from that of the French.

On the Italian peninsula, what were once thought to be the two important musical centres of the trecento – Florence and Padua – have opened up to include the Visconti court in Milan-Pavia and the orbit of the papacy in Rome and, later, Pisa and Bologna. These centres flourished at different points of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and their legacy has been preserved to different degrees, with Florence standing out as the most exceptionally well represented. However, towards the end of the century French influence and French repertories began to spread throughout Italy, particularly in the north. This movement of singers, composers and their music may be seen as somewhat ironic in its timing, since the period of 1378–1417 comprised the Great Schism of the Western Church during which time tensions flared between the Roman and Avignonese territories.

The last two or three decades of the fourteenth century also witnessed a flowering of notational and compositional innovation among some French composers (and Italians setting French and Latin texts). These innovations gave rise to a period that has come to be called the *ars subtilior*. Rather than merely using complex notation for complexity's sake – though the ultimate difficulty of the notational system cannot be denied – these composers and scribes sought to capture the precision of performance in notation. Some of these works are snapshots recording the flexibility inherent in performance, contrasting with earlier fourteenth-century notational systems, much as precise transcriptions of jazz and popular standards do today.

The dating of the *ars subtilior* compositions is a difficult task. In Chapter 4, Ursula Günther, who did much to define and describe the period, cautions us not to look much before 1380 for the beginning of the wave of the *ars subtilior*, for the textual allusions in many of these works point to rulers and events of the period of Schism.

The majority of *ars subtilior* works are contained in two sources of mixed French/Italian pedigree, one currently located in Modena, the other in Chantilly. A third codex, now in Turin but prepared for Cypriot patrons, contains both sacred and secular compositions related to this tradition. Most other manuscripts bear little or no trace of these notationally complex pieces, leaving some to question the ultimate influence of this style. But regardless of whether the *ars subtilior* was the central tradition of late fourteenth-century European music or the work

of an isolated group of eccentrics with little sway, the compelling fascination of the music for performers, scholars and audiences today is undeniable.

Sources

The musical sources of the fourteenth century, like all sources of the time, were written entirely by hand. Each thus is a unique testimony to the musical needs, interests and availability of one group of scribes, usually at one time and place. The principal sources for the first half of the century are nearly all French. The manuscript that first heralds the *ars nova* is not a music manuscript per se, but a collection of beautiful illuminations, narrative and lyric poetry, with interpolations of music both old and new. The authorship of many of the isorhythmic motets of this source, the *Roman de Fauvel*, has long been in dispute (see Chapter 22). A collection of manuscripts containing the complete poetic and musical works of Guillaume de Machaut (*c.*1300–1377) are likewise unusual. No other composer of the period had whole books dedicated to his output. In the effort undertaken to preserve his works, we see evidence of a profound respect for this author (about whom more will be said below) and strong love for his music; at the same time, the constrained circle of distribution of the music suggests at least a tinge of a 'self-published author'.

Polyphonic mass movements abound in two codices, Apt 16bis and Ivrea 115, creating a repertory of French sacred works unmatched in any one Italian source. The sources of music in the French tradition in general extend beyond the modern borders of France, as important sources of French repertory from Flanders (see Chapter 5), Spain, Germany and Austria, Eastern Europe and Italy all attest.

Most of the Italian sources are more recent than the French sources cited above. Nearly all of the intact Italian manuscripts have some connection to Florence. The most beautiful of these, and the most important for posterity, is the Squarcialupi codex, named after a prominent organist who owned it in the fifteenth century. The organization of this manuscript exemplifies the collecting principles seen (albeit to a lesser degree) in the other Tuscan sources: a chronological progression by composer; careful selecting of, and grouping by, genre; and intelligent editorship by the scribes who prepared it it can be considered a critical edition of its time.

Numerous other fragments of Italian music have surfaced, and indeed are still being found with some regularity. Though there are important groups of fragments associated with particular cities, especially Padua and other university dominated towns of the north, the overall distribution of the fragments is wide and suggests a far greater interest in cultivated polyphony than the Florentine codices would indicate.

With the notable exceptions of some of the Machaut manuscripts, the majority of sources created between 1330 and 1410 were retrospective collections of earlier works. This trend is particularly evident in the Italian sources. This tendency dissipates in the early decades of the fifteenth century, when a new inclination towards copying contemporary works emerges, and indeed was not to be displaced before the nineteenth century.

Composers and Theorists

On the French side two names dominate the musical landscape: the composer and theorist Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361), and the poet and musician Guillaume de Machaut. Vitry's reputation as a composer rests on his innovative polytextual, isorhythmic motets – that is, Latin, often celebratory compositions with multiple texts running simultaneously over rhythmically repeating tenors. These motets are as enigmatic as they are captivating. Their texts often praise obscure names or invoke indecipherable, probably symbolic images (see Chapter 23). The mathematical intricacies of isorhythm and the varied origins of the melodies in the tenor beg further investigation. But perhaps the dominant mystery has been identifying motets actually by Vitry. He is lauded widely, but secure attributions of his works are few (see Chapter 22).

Vitry's contributions as a theorist were likewise simultaneously influential and hard to pin down precisely. As noted above, Vitry was at the forefront of designating this new period as the *ars nova*. He, along with other theorists such as Marchetto of Padua, established duple divisions of notes as officially sanctioned alternatives to the triple norms of long-standing. Vitry's writings elevated precision of notation (particularly durations of rhythms shorter than a semibreve) to a principal concern, where it would remain for the rest of the fourteenth century. This precision is a form of *subtilitas*, or subtlety, that would reach its apex in the Avignon/Pavia-centred pieces transmitted in French, Cypriot and Italian manuscripts at the end of the century and the beginning of the next. As in identifying his motets, accurately circumscribing the extent of Vitry's theoretical writings poses many difficulties. Sarah Fuller, in Chapter 6, notes that Vitry's so-called *Ars nova* exists in widely different, fragmentary versions, and on that basis argues that the work may never have been a unified treatise, but rather unconnected fragments representing elements of Vitry's teachings with more or less fidelity.

Problems of attribution play much less of a role in the studies of Guillaume de Machaut. His music comes to us primarily through complete editions of his (and only his) music and lyric. The compilation and copying of many of these editions were likely supervised by the composer himself. The relative stability of this source situation has allowed scholars to focus mainly on interpretation and meaning in the literary and musical texts. Margaret Bent's study of his motet *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus Samblant/Vidi dominum* (Chapter 25) is exemplary of the type of detailed analysis of meaning sought by Machaut's modern interpreters. Still controversial is the composer's biography. Around 1323, Machaut entered the service of the King of Bohemia, John of Luxembourg – a position that explains the courtly aspects of poems such as *Le jugement dou roy de Behaigne* and other *dits*. However, we also know of the ecclesiastical side of Machaut, stemming from his canonry at Reims (beginning in 1338), a context that explains not only the composition and performance of his mass and several (or most) of his motets, but also many late poetic and musical works. The extent to which Machaut's position as cleric influenced the more courtly works, and conversely how long Machaut possessed his canonry without being in residence, is much less evident and in need of further investigation.

The Italian polyphonic traditions flourished later than the French, and the composers we know the most about – biographically and stylistically – reflect this later orientation. After the mid-century masters Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo da Bologna (precise dates for both are unknown) who worked in northern courts, the locus of the best documented and most

commonly transmitted composers moves to Tuscany, and Florence in particular. The most prolific and widely transmitted trecento composer is undoubtedly Francesco, called Francesco of Florence, Francesco of the Organ or Francesco the Blind during his lifetime, but now nearly universally known as Francesco Landini (*c.*1335–97). Though Francesco's ability is manifest in his madrigals, and would have been seen in the motets we know he composed were they not nearly totally lost, his talent is most evident in his 140 ballatas – far more than any other composer – almost all of which fill his section in the Squarcialupi codex. Francesco's fame in his lifetime and beyond is well attested: Villani singles him out among Florence's famous musicians. Further, in his *Paradiso degli Alberti*, Giovanni da Prato exalts not only Francesco's compositional prowess, but also his 'divine intellect … in each of the liberal arts'. Given his intellectual renown, it is not surprising that Francesco's poem on Ockhamism would fit so well in the cultural circles of the elite of Florence (see Chapter 7).

An important turning point in our understanding of the trecento was the discovery that Çacherias, 'cantor of our pope', the composer of several finely crafted, if not especially innovative, songs in the Squarcialupi codex, and Antonio Zachara da Teramo, creator of a mélange of bizarrely experimental sacred and secular works, were in fact the same person (d. btw. 1413 and 1416). Born in the town of Teramo in the Abruzzi, Zachara's compositional career was inextricably bound with the intrigues of the Great Schism (for further on his career, see Chapter 9). Though Zachara was a skilful composer of both rustic song and *subtilior* motets, it was his Glorias and Credos that attracted the interest of his contemporary scribes. All four of the most copied sacred works of the trecento are by Zachara.

The composer who most united the French and Italian traditions – both in biography and in musical style – was Johannes Ciconia (*c.*1370–1412). Born and presumably educated in Liège in Wallonia, Ciconia first emerges as a composer in Italy in the same circles of the papal chapels as Zachara. The end of the century saw his move to the city of Padua where, in the following decade, largely in the service of his patron, the archpriest Francesco Zabarella, Ciconia penned an impressive array of compositions and musical treatises. Padua was a lively musical centre, producing not only the theorists Marchettus de Padua and Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (at the beginning and end of our period, respectively), but also the composers Bartolino, Gratiosus and Rentius from the Paduan quarter of Pontecorvo (on Gratiosus and Ciconia, see Chapter 8). Ciconia's works show equal facility with French and Italian forms, and range in affect from the restrained emotions and new simplicity of 'O Rosa Bella' – undoubtedly an influential work on the next generation of composers – to the intellectual sophistication of canons such as 'Le Ray au Soleyl' and 'Quod Jactatur'. Unique among composers in the Italian tradition, Ciconia left a sizable legacy of dedicatory motets in both free and isorhythmic styles.

While his prestige and influence elevates him among his peers, Ciconia's transnational status was not unique among musicians of the time. Other composers, including the enigmatic (possibly Dutch?) figure of Egardus, would traverse similar paths, paving the way for a wave of migration to Italy from the north that would become the norm in the fifteenth century (see Chapter 3).

If the uncertainties of composers' biographies are ever cleared up, it is extremely likely that the discovery and scrutiny of archival documents will play a major role in the process. In Chapter 10, Andrew Wathey shows the careful scrutiny that the researcher must bring to

these documents to guard against the dangers of viewing archival sources as purely objective testimonies.

Literary Studies and Secular Song

The overwhelming majority of Italian secular compositions are in one of two forms, the madrigal and the ballata. The madrigal of the fourteenth century is unrelated to the Italian and English madrigal traditions of the sixteenth century (nonetheless, word painting and other expressionistic effects are not as unheard of in the earlier period as some writers have asserted). The trecento madrigal generally comprises one or more (often two or three) three-line strophes called terzetti, followed by a rhyming couplet called a ritornello, often in a new metre. Arcadian subjects flourish in madrigal poetry, particularly in works of the earliest generation of madrigalists. Perhaps surprisingly, the madrigal poems of Francesco Petrarch did not attract the interest of musicians, with one important exception, Jacopo da Bologna's *Non al suo amante*. In addition to the value this madrigal and its text holds for music scholars, the variations in its transmission in musical sources may shed light for literary studies on changes and regional variants in the early reception of Petrarch (see Chapter 11). The earliest two-voice madrigals may have been improvised over a simple frame; if so, what survives in the manuscripts is thus an ossification of a more fluid tradition (see Chapter 16).

Despite their small proportion of the total repertoire, the two dozen or so caccias form a major part of our aural image of Italian music. Caccias generally place two canonic voices over a non-canonic tenor; however, some hybrid caccia/madrigal forms omit this lowest voice. Their texts can extol the virtues of good eating or show the frenzy of an impromptu fire brigade, but most often they depict the chase or hunt, with rapid-fire scraps of dialogue exchanged among the hunters, their dogs and (from time to time) the hunted themselves. The closest French equivalent of large-scale canonic works, the chace, is much rarer. However, imitation on a smaller scale pervades French secular and sacred compositions, as Virginia Newes attests in Chapter 24.

The last of the Italian forms, the ballata, is closely related to the French tradition of fixed forms, and in particular the virelai, both of which flourished in the later fourteenth century. The *formes fixes* – that is, the virelai, ballade and rondeau – were not actually as structurally rigid as we commonly believe. The development of these forms from the non-fixed styles of the trouvères was not direct and involved many versions that would later seem anomalous. Understanding this transitional period illuminates not only the history of music but also of poetry and dance (see Chapter 17). Innovation in the form of the virelai/ballata was particularly common in the beginning of the fifteenth century. In Chapter 13, Nino Pirrotta traces this development and shows how it might impact our view of one of the greatest composers of the fifteenth century, Guillaume Dufay. The end of the *ars nova* brought with it a focus on even shorter poems for musical settings. These poems are often quite different from the more extended poems that literary scholars tend to focus on; their neglect leaves musicologists to understand and attribute these poems and, as David Fallows does with Ciconia's settings of Leonardo Giustiniani in Chapter 14, explicate their impact on later music history.

Close analysis of individual works – especially those of Machaut – has played a large role in understanding the development of secular repertories. For instance, a close scrutiny of the counterpoint of Machaut's ballades that are copied with four voices reveals those combinations of voices that are required for a successful performance as well as those that are impermissible

(see Chapter 18). Even units smaller than complete songs can elucidate musical development, as Michael Long's investigation of the 'Landini cadence' in Chapter 17 shows.

Intriguingly, many French works of the late fourteenth century cite and quote each other, creating a web of meaning that extends from composer to composer and manuscript to manuscript. Yolanda Plumley, in Chapter 19, explores these connections in more detail.

Sacred Music and Motets

The most common sacred polyphonic compositions throughout Europe were individual movements of the Ordinary of the Mass. Complete cycles of the Ordinary were not unheard of, and coincided with the rise of such cycles of monophonic chant in Kyriales of the period, but these polyphonic cycles remained the exception rather than the norm. Paired Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus Dei movements were more common than cycles, especially in Italy; but many such pairings may be retroactive creations by scribal editors of the fifteenth-century anthologies.

In France, mass music can be seen as a stylistic sister of the motet – about which more will be said below. In Italy, the influences on the style of the mass were more varied, and included madrigals and ballatas (encompassing direct contrafacts of Francesco's ballatas), French song and motets in both French (that is, isorhythmic) and Italian styles. In both countries' traditions, a distinction must be made between the syllabic styles of the Gloria and Credo and the more melismatic styles of the movements with shorter texts, Kyries in particular.

The motet is best seen as a form that reinvented itself throughout the fourteenth century, albeit with a few stable traits providing long-term continuity. One of the stable elements in French motets is the so-called isorhythmic principle – that is to say a rhythmic element (most often in the tenor, or tenor and contratenor) that could be repeated exactly or transformed by the application of new mensurations, some of which diminish or augment (or approximate those effects on) the tenor. In Chapter 22, David Leech-Wilkinson notes that the early *ars nova* motet, relative to its most immediate predecessor (namely the motets of Petrus de Cruce), is much more likely to use two melodic upper voices over a tenor than a triplum over a two-part accompaniment. Many theorists cite motets by name to give examples of particular mensurations or other musical figures, suggesting that the most popular motets had a reach even beyond what we see in the surviving sources.

It had long been thought that sacred music played only a small part in Italian polyphonic music, but much has changed as a result of the discovery of many new fragmentary sources. In his discussion of the diversity of styles and sources of sacred Italian music in Chapter 20, Kurt von Fischer notes that even by the mid-1970s there were nearly 50 mensural, polyphonic works – not counting compositions by Ciconia, Zachara or Matteo da Perugia, nor fragments or contrafacts. Despite slow growth of the discovery of secular repertory over the past half-century, new sources have continually increased our knowledge of sacred music. As of this writing, there are approximately 60 mensural Italian *Glorias* alone! The relationship between sacred and secular music has also become more complicated. Although the Italian *ars nova*, and Zachara da Teramo in particular, seems to have invented the parody mass movement, each parody movement explored new and myriad ways that sacred works could be based on secular tunes (see Chapter 21).

These fully composed Italian sacred styles, comparable in complexity and variety to the French sacred and Italian secular genres, coexisted with simple or improvised polyphonic styles whose international reach covered not only Western, but also Central and Eastern

Europe. Many of these styles remained the same or changed only slightly over the next several centuries. Chief among these repertories is *cantus planus binatim*: two-voice, non-mensural elaborations of chant melodies (often tropes and *Benedicamus domino* settings) found as isolated works, within theoretical sources or added to chant manuscripts, but only rarely seen with more complex polyphonic compositions.

In urban areas of Italy, and particularly in Tuscany, the laity organized forms of worship distinct from the church. These companies of laudesi collected melodies for performance. Some of these melodies were monophonic and newly composed, but many others adapt the music from the written secular tradition to new devotional texts. Collections of these new laude are often called '*cantasi come*', or 'one sings this (song) like (that song)'. These 'sacred' tunes are a part of the much larger unwritten traditions of the Italian peninsula, extending even to the far south, a region from which no written sources survive (see Chapter 15).

Performance Practice

As much as we know about the notes and rhythms of fourteenth-century music, the actual sound of the works and the contexts for their performances has remained elusive. Even though some sources exist that definitely contain instrumental music, how the instruments were constructed, what their ideal sound was and when they were used has generated much controversy (see Timothy McGee's volume in this series). The lower parts are not texted in most French and many Italian songs. This lack of text, particularly on opening melismas, had long suggested to performers that these sections were to be performed instrumentally. However, in Chapter 26 Christopher Page draws our attention to statements by the poet Eustache Deschamps (Machaut's nephew) concerning the art of singing 'without words' and other suggestive statements implying all-vocal performance. Performing the lower parts vocally (a choice Page takes pains to say is definitely not 'the *only* way in which Machaut's chansons were performed' (p. 543)) still does not solve all the problems of vocal performance. Once one has decided to sing the lower parts, the question of *what* to have the performers sing still remains. Should the text, or at least the vowel sounds, of the texted voice be applied to the lower voice(s)? Or, as Lawrence Earp suggests in Chapter 27, are the few texted sections in the lower voices of French song the only places where the text was to be sung, and in other places would not a pure vocalize be more appropriate?

Research has revealed much about these aspects of performance practice as well as others, such as the tempo of performance, the use of *musica ficta* or unwritten accidentals, the number of performers per part and, extremely important, cultural contexts for performances. Much remains to be done in all areas of *ars nova* research, but the methods and discoveries found in the essays that follow will surely aid in showing ways forward.

Further Reading

Periodization and Boundaries

Three essays in the same volume, James McKinnon (ed.), *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the 15th Century* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), all

give excellent overviews of music of the fourteenth century and the problems of periodization and boundaries: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Ars Antiqua – Ars Nova – Ars Subtilior' (pp. 218–40), Michael Long, 'Trecento Italy' (pp. 241–68) and Reinhard Strohm, 'The Close of the Middle Ages' (pp. 269–312), extended in the author's *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Part I.

Further on the Italian side, see Kurt von Fischer, 'On the Technique, Origin and Evolution of Trecento Music', *Musical Quarterly*, **47** (1961), pp. 42–57, and, on the difficulties of defining Italian music as distinct from French, Anne Hallmark, 'Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400', in Stanley Boorman (ed.), *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 193–225.

The classic essay establishing modern *ars subtilior* studies is Ursula Günther, 'Das Ende der ars nova', *Die Musikforschung*, **16** (1963), pp. 105–20. More recently the meaning and boundaries of the *ars subtilior* have been clarified in Anne Stone, 'Che cosa c'è di più sottile riguardo l'*ars subtilior*?', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, **31** (1996), pp. 3–31, and David Fallows, 'The End of the Ars Subtilior', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, **20** (1996), pp. 21–40.

In establishing boundaries and local traditions, certainly the turn of the fifteenth century has received the lion's share of recent scholarship, concentrating on the many musicians who served princely establishments and private papal and cardinalate chapels during the Great Schism. Notable here are studies on the Burgundian chapels and on chapels in the Iberian peninsula: Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420–1467)* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1939; reprinted); Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History*, Musicological Studies 28 (Henryville, Penn.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979); Maria del Carmen Gómez Muntané, 'Musique et musiciens dans les chapelles de la maison royale d'Aragon (1336–1413)', *Musica disciplina*, **38** (1984), pp. 67–86. The chapels of the schismatic popes and the movement of personnel among secular and ecclesiastical establishments throughout Western Europe during this exciting period have also been among the most studied: Andrew Tomasello, 'Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony at the Court of Rome', *Journal of Musicology*, **4** (1985–86), pp. 447–71; Ursula Günther, 'Die Musiker des Herzogs von Berry', *Musica disciplina*, **17** (1963), pp. 79–95; Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony During the Great Schism', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), pp. 44–92.

Sources

Detailed work on physical sources (both individual manuscripts and collections of sources) has played a much larger role in music scholarship than this volume's sole essay on sources might imply. The sheer number of publications prevents us from listing all but a few; however most of these essays contain citations linking them to a much wider web of bibliography. See Lawrence M. Earp, 'Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983); Margaret Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts Vg, B, and E', *Musica disciplina*, **37** (1983), pp. 53–82; John Nádas, 'The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1985); Giulianio Di

Bacco and John Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony During the Great Schism', in Richard Sherr (ed.), *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), pp. 44–92; Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex' (Ph.D. diss.: Harvard University, 2006).

The transcription of sources, once a primary concern for late medieval scholarship, has slowed somewhat since the completion of the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 24 vols (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956–89). Recent editorial work has focused on newly discovered sources (for example Lucia Marchi, 'La musica in Italia durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il codice Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2' (Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2000)) or on refining our knowledge of previously transcribed sources on the basis of more detailed examination of the notation (for example Tiziana Sucato (ed.), *Il codice Rossiano 215: Edizione critica e studio introduttivo* (Pisa: ETS, 2003) or Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005) and Huck and Sandra Dieckmann (eds), *Die mehrfach überlieferten Kompositionen des frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007)).

Composers and Theorists

Machaut's important status has resulted in several book-length examinations of his life and works. Two of the more recent are Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Elizabeth Eva Leach (ed.), *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations* (Rochester: Boydell, 2003). The controversy of court poet/canon can be seen in Roger Bowers, 'Guillaume de Machaut and his Canonry of Reims, 1338–1377', *Early Music History*, **23** (2004), pp. 1–48. Not to be outdone in its mix of bibliography, inventory and original research is Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1995).

Three recent books of essays collect much important scholarship on three important composers active in Italy at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, and contain further bibliographies of other research. On Francesco: Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (eds), *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo* (Florence: Sismel, 1999). On Ciconia: Philippe Vendrix (ed.), *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003). On Zachara: Francesco Zimei (ed.), *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2004).

Further work on important Italian composers, particularly in Florence, is represented by Frank D'Accone, 'Giovanni Mazzuoli, a Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova', *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, **2** (1968), pp. 23–38; Pierluigi Petrobelli, 'Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova', in Harold Powers (ed.), *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 85–112; Ursula Günther, John Nádas and John Stinson, 'Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence', *Musica Disciplina*, **41** (1987), pp. 203–46; John Nádas, 'The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition', in Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (eds), *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno* (Florence: Olschki, 1989), pp. 41–64.

Literary Studies and Secular Song

On the interpretation of the late *ars nova* and *ars subtilior* song repertories, see Yolanda Plumley, 'Citation and Allusion in the Late Ars Nova: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs', *Early Music History*, **18** (1999), pp. 287–363, and Anne Stone, 'A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's "Sus une fontayne"', *Music & Letters*, **82** (2001), pp. 361–90. Ursula Günther's interest in accurately dating late medieval compositions can be seen in her numerous essays, including 'Datierbare Balladen des späten 14. Jahrhunderts', *Musica disciplina*, **15** (1961), pp. 39–61, and **16** (1962), pp. 151–74.

Other influential analyses of individual or small groups of French compositions include Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Machaut's *Rose, lis* and the Problem of Early Music Analysis', *Music Analysis*, **3** (1984), pp. 9–28; Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Death of a Lover and the Birth of the Polyphonic Ballade: Machaut's Notated Ballades 1–5', *Journal of Musicology*, **19** (2002), pp. 461–502; Margaret Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur* and its "Quotations"', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 82–103. Another example of close reading shows the utility of this methodology for Italian works as well: Marco Gozzi, 'Notazione e testo musicale in una singolare composizione del ms. London, British Library, Add. 29987', in Renato Borghi and Pietro Zappalà (eds), *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1995), pp. 233–46.

Sacred Music and Motets

Studies of individual mass cycles have been of particular interest given the later history of the polyphonic mass. See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) and Kurt von Fischer, 'The Mass Cycle of the Trecento Manuscript F-Pn 568 (Pit)', in Jerald C. Graue (ed.), *Essays on Music for Charles Warren Fox* (Rochester: Eastman School of Music, 1979), pp. 1–13 (revised, Italian version in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, **5** (1985), pp. 123–37).

On the French motet, among many essays, see Alice V. Clark, 'New Tenor Sources for Fourteenth-Century Motets', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, **8** (1999), pp. 107–31; Anne Walters Robertson, 'Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet From the Roman de Fauvel', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 52–81. Another view of the motet discussed in Chapter 25 is found in Kevin Brownlee, 'Machaut's Motet 15 and the Roman de la Rose: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus Samblant m'a deceü/Vidi Dominum*', *Early Music History*, **10** (1991), pp. 1–14.

Still of fundamental importance for the study of Italian sacred music is Billy Jim Layton, 'Italian Mass Music from the Ordinary of the Mass, 1300–1450' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960), available online at <http://www.trecento.com/layton/>.

Among the earliest essays to treat in depth the Italian contributions to the motet repertory is Margaret Bent, 'The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet', *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, **6** (1992), pp. 85–125. The collection of essays on *cantus planus binatim* focusing on music in Cividale del Friuli has been a valuable source for researchers: *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli*

e in Europa, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989); see in particular Margaret Bent's contribution to the volume, 'The Definition of Simple Polyphony: Some Questions', pp. 33–42. On the lauda and its performance, see the works of Blake Wilson, including *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) and 'Song Collections in Renaissance Florence: The *cantasi come* Tradition and its Manuscript Sources', *Recercare*, **10** (1998), pp. 69–104.

Performance Practice

The history of the conflict between *a cappella* and instrumental performance of fourteenth-century music is covered in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). On a slightly later period, but still extremely influential for *ars nova* performance, is David Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474', pp. 109–59 in a book that is highly recommended as a whole for the understanding of performance practice: *Studies in the Performance of Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Christopher Page's scholarship on *a cappella* execution complements the many recordings he has made with Gothic Voices in advancing this theory. See also in particular 'The Performance of Songs in Late Medieval France', *Early Music*, **10** (1982), pp. 441–50; 'The English A Capella Heresy', in Tess Knighton and David Fallows (eds), *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1992), pp. 23–29; and 'Going Beyond the Limits: Experiments With Vocalization in the French Chanson, 1340–1440', *Early Music*, **20** (1992), pp. 447–59.

The text declamation of Italian song has been explored in two essays by Kurt von Fischer: 'Text Underlay in Landini's Ballate for Three Voices', *Current Musicology*, **44–47** (1989–1990), pp. 179–97, and 'A Study on Text Declamation in Francesco Landini's Two-Part Madrigals', in H. L. Dittmer (ed.), *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam*, vol. I, Musicological Studies 49 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), pp. 119–30.

Two recent essays on tuning and *ficta* should be lauded for their innovative methods and delightful simplicity for the reader: Ronald Woodley, 'Sharp Practice in the Later Middle Ages: Exploring the Chromatic Semitone and its Implications', *Music Theory Online*, **12** (2006); Jan Herlinger, 'Nicolaus de Capua, Antonio Zacara da Teramo, and *musica ficta*', in Francesco Zimei (ed.), *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2004), pp. 67–89.

On contexts for the performance of medieval song, see Eleonora Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento* (Innsbruck: Studien, 1998) and John Nádas, 'A Cautious Reading of Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*', *Recercare*, 10 (1998), pp. 23–38.

Part I
Periodization and Boundaries

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[1]

Novelty and Renewal in Italy, 1300–1600*

Nino Pirrotta

The New Star

Words change their meaning according to the different goals at which they are aimed and the different contexts in which they are used. I wonder what "tradition" means when applied to a short-lived phenomenon for which neither direct antecedent nor direct consequence is known? The music of the Italian Ars nova (I have not given up that expression) appears to have been the equivalent of a nova in the historical firmament: a sudden flash, a short period of brilliance, and a sudden decline. Watching it from light-years of historical distance, we are left to guess what may have been in the darkness before and after that flamboyance.

Tradition derives from *tradere,* we have been recently reminded, yet it is most often used to designate not the action of the verb but its object—whatever is handed down by an older generation and selectively received by a younger one (although such abstractions as "generations" or "layers" of tradition should not be taken too much for granted). I do not object to this transfer of meaning, which is a common procedure of language, but I find it more expedient, in dealing with the Italian Ars nova, to focus on the act itself of *tradere.*

The music of the Ars nova was bound, by its polyphonic nature, to rely on a written tradition, of which six major manuscripts have reached us, plus a number of fragments.[1] Without trying to give them more precise dates (a subject on which I do not always agree with some of my colleagues), it is safe to say that only one large source (represented by the Vatican and Ostiglia fragments) belongs to the fourteenth century. Two others (the so-called Reina and Panciatichi codices) originated about the

end of that century. The rest all belong to the first two or three (or even four) decades of the fifteenth century, the final phase of the Ars nova. Geographically, the sources are clearly divided into a Florentine group and a group from northern Italy.

The beauty, size, and numerical predominance of the Florentine group, essentially represented by four complete and meticulously preserved manuscripts, induced the scholars who first dealt with the Ars nova to assign to Florence a leading role, a role I have tried to deny, only to revert in recent years to a more cautious and qualified recognition of Florentine merits. Indeed, the numerical predominance of the Florentine sources has been eroded and finally erased by new findings. As of now the northern representation has been enlarged by a host of fragments, some of which outline the profile of at least three large disbanded sources to be added to the two collections already known (the Reina and Modena manuscripts). More important, Florentine music is practically ignored by the northern sources, with the exception of a few works apparently composed in northern Italy by such migrant Florentines as Giovanni da Firenze and Francesco Landini; on the other hand, all Florentine sources are generous in giving place to the leading composers in the north, Iacopo da Bologna and Bartolino da Padova. These facts explain how I may have been tempted to see a strictly local phenomenon in the Florentine polyphony. They do not, however, tell the whole story; other elements need to be taken into consideration before passing judgment on the relative merits of the two branches of the Ars nova tradition.

The northern sources include both secular and sacred pieces, and works with Latin and vernacular texts. They appear to have been formed by accumulation over a relatively short period of time, collecting works of immediate interest to the scribes or owners either for performance or as models. That is to say, they are repertories reflecting the interests of a certain place at a certain time. The Florentine manuscripts, on the other hand, contain almost exclusively secular pieces with vernacular texts and strive in varying degree toward a pattern of organization grouping their contents by composers and, in a way, by genres. In spite of inconsistencies in the realization, their plan usually gives precedence to the older genres of the madrigal and *caccia,* represented by works of the two older masters (Iacopo da Bologna and Giovanni da Firenze) and of a slightly younger group (Gherardello, Lorenzo, Donato, all Florentines); then the composers are entered who also practiced the younger genre of the polyphonic *ballata,* and finally those (including Landini) who were mainly known for their polyphonic *ballate.*[2] With growing clarity and thoroughness, the

Florentines aimed to give a retrospective view of music and of *poesia per musica* between roughly 1340 and 1415. For the sake of completeness they included the major northern masters, while the northern scribes included Florentine works in their manuscripts only for pragmatic reasons of immediate relevance. Neither branch of the written tradition, however, tells us anything about the origins of the Ars nova, because even the history-minded Florentines were interested only in its ripest fruit.

Older theoretical writings, documents, and sparse polyphonic samples (all of which have been reviewed and increased by Kurt von Fischer) indicate that Italy very early adopted the time-honored practice of church polyphony. As early as the first half of the thirteenth century, we also have lively descriptions of Franciscan friars entertaining themselves with the singing of polyphonic pieces which must have resembled French conductus; according to the same source, the chronicle of Salimbene de Adam, secular clergy indulged in similar amusements. Conductus style seems to have left its mark in the strong tendency of Italian Ars nova polyphony toward all-vocal performance and simultaneous delivery of text in the two (seldom three) parts. Yet the possibility exists of a concomitant derivation from organal *clausulae:* a *clausula,* provided with words, became the matrix of a song, called after it a *carmen matricale.* Whether or not these conjectures are correct, the practice from which the Ars nova derived must have existed long before the fourteenth century; already at the beginning of that century the madrigal (*matriale* in Tuscany, *maregal* or *madregal* in the Venetian region) had become an independent composition on vernacular text, and the original meaning of its name had been completely forgotten. Furthermore, a special system of notation (related to, but somewhat different from the contemporary French usage) had been developed, which gave equal status to binary and ternary rhythms independently of the theories of Vitry and Muris; it was described by Marchettus de Padua in his "Pomerium," circa 1320.

We begin to understand the bias of the later Florentine scribes when we see that the earliest references to the madrigal are tinged with contempt. Francesco da Barberino describes it (circa 1313) as *rudium inordinatum concinnum;* as a literary man he may have objected to the poetry, humble in content (pastoral?) and lacking a definite metrical rule.[3] A few years later a treatise on vernacular poetry (circa 1332) by the Paduan judge Antonio da Tempo explained that the "mandrigal" (taking its name from *mandria*) was formerly a shepherd's song, ennobled only recently by courtly polyphonic practice. However, the examples of madrigal texts offered by da Tempo had not yet attained the metrical form which later

came to prevail; nor is it possible to recognize any formal or metrical rule unifying the pieces in the oldest known source of Ars nova music—the above-mentioned Vatican and Ostiglia fragments—a source in which a practice connected with the court of the Scaligeri of Verona is reflected. Such works or their contemporaries do not appear in the late Florentine sources, and similarly excluded are those of a Maestro Piero, who seems to have been the main creator of the genre of the *caccia,* a derivation from and specialization of the madrigal form.[4]

We begin also to realize the fallacy of a unilateral approach based on our experience of music and poetry as independent activities that converge only occasionally. Literature may have provided the impetus which raised the music of a private clerical entertainment to the status of a new art. I have come to think that the rise of the Ars nova was favored by the trends of the *dolce stil novo*—not, of course, by the "tragic" style assigned by Dante to the *canzone* (which rapidly became a purely literary form), but by the "mediocre" style of the *ballata,* enhanced by the poets with all sorts of refinements, to which a similar demand for musical refinement must have corresponded. Most influential (at the time and for the future) was the acknowledgment by Petrarch of the madrigal as an art form; the four madrigals he included in his *Canzoniere* are models of artful variety in the order of rhymes. For one of them we have the music set by Iacopo da Bologna, who was active in Milan from the late 1330s to the 1350s, during which period Petrarch had strong ties with the Milanese court and sojourned in Parma and Milan.[5] A personal relationship is highly probable, but Petrarch's influence was also strongly felt in Florence by poets like Soldanieri, Boccaccio, and Sacchetti, who all contributed texts for the Ars nova composers.

Nor were the musicians merely passive. For one thing, they must have been the authors of many of the texts they set to music (as poets such as Petrarch and Sacchetti are known to have had musical gifts). More important, the earliest-known composers, Iacopo and Giovanni, highly deserved the distinction of being singled out as the "classics" of the Ars nova. Iacopo's skillful control of polyphonic devices and his contrapuntal lines, sharpened with great variety of detail, embody the taste of the northern polyphonists for figuration and contrast.[6] Even Iacopo, however, seems to have derived the overall design of his works from Florentine examples, accessible to him through his personal contacts with Giovanni in Verona and possibly also in Milan. With softer, placidly flowing lines, Giovanni and the Florentines placed the accent on clear definition of each musical phrase (corresponding to a line of text) and on its relationship to

the overall musical design. They thus arrived at a balanced strophic structure, based on the optimum number of three phrase-lines, and sealed, after two or three repetitions, by a two-line *ritornello,* in which the real thrust of the short poem found its expression. Most often this heightened meaning was stressed in the music of the *ritornello* with a sudden change of rhythm and tonality. It is thus apparent that the metrical form refined by the poets was the one which best served fundamental needs of musical expression.

The following short-lived course of the Italian Ars nova was enlivened by the interplay between its two main trends. As the northerners had welcomed Florentine formal suggestions, the Florentines derived figural variety from northern models. One quality they had in common, considered to be typical of most Italian music at all times, was the capacity to engage and capture the listener through such factors as the all-vocal sound, the clear, slightly oratorical delivery of the text, and, last but not least, the sense of direction of melodic lines, aptly stressed by the deliberate contour of the supporting *tenor.* The Ars nova composer, while not averse to *subtilitas* in the form of notational expertise and intellectually controlled construction, never gave up the aim of pleasing with sensible qualities, the *dulcedo* of music.

From a social point of view, the political system of republican Florence gave the local polyphony the advantage of modest but continuous support by a small circle of connoisseurs, mostly men engaged in intellectual occupations; in turn, this determined the unity and continuity of its course from Giovanni to Andrea dei Servi and Paolo Tenorista. The northern tradition, mostly bound to courtly activities, which ensured more luster than continuity, tended to fade whenever the support or the supporter was suppressed. Its two major representatives, Iacopo and Bartolino, probably never met and were flanked by only minor figures. Nevertheless, the northern polyphony also achieved a remarkable degree of stylistic coherence, related in all probability to the intellectual reservoir of academic milieus, above all the universities of Bologna and Padua.

Because of its thin social basis, the Italian Ars nova was not, as it could have been, the fountainhead of a stream of tradition. Paradoxically, the measure of recognition it gained about the middle of the fourteenth century was the starting point for the gradual obliteration of some of its traditional features. Raised ambitions intensified the composers' interest in the technical procedures and artistic achievements of French music. In Florence this rapidly resulted in abandonment of Italian notation in favor of a version of French notation adjusted to the simple needs of Florentine

rhythm; more sporadic symptoms were the attempts to use different texts in the different voices of a piece, to build on a *tenor prius factus,* and to adopt some isorhythmic procedures. Finally, a number of *ballate* were deemed to be in a French style because of the use of 6/8 or 9/8 rhythms, instrumental *tenor* (and sometimes *contratenor*), *ouvert* and *clos* endings, and musical rhyme between the two sections of a piece. In northern Italy the influence of French music had been felt at an even earlier date; the Vatican fragment includes a polyphonic *rondeau* on an Italian text and a monophonic *ballata* "alla francesca." Yet the Italian notation was not discarded but refined, to accommodate, in the case of Bartolino, even some reflection of the so-called French "mannered" style. Furthermore, social circumstances encouraged the composition of a number of motets—a practice which had almost no counterpart in Florence. Beyond these individual features, the adoption of polyphony for the settings of *ballata* texts, common to both Florentine and northern composers, seems to have been spurred by the desire for an Italian equivalent to the lyrical forms of French polyphony (*rondeau, virelai,* and *ballade*); the madrigal and *caccia,* because of their narrative or descriptive texts, were rather counterparts to the French motet. About 1400 the polyphonic *ballata* had almost completely supplanted the two older forms, only to be itself superseded, during the next two or three decades, by adopted French polyphonic forms and techniques, and often French language for the texts.

The Fifteenth Century and the Unwritten Traditions

Dulcedo, the word most commonly used through the centuries to praise music, does not strictly mean a soft blandishment of the ear, nor have I ever implied that it was an exclusive monopoly of Italian music. I should like to redefine *dulcedo* as an appeal (not necessarily lacking some element of novelty) to a set of expectations determined by the habits and previous musical experiences of the listeners. A certain uniformity of habits and musical experiences existed among the people to whom the music of the Ars nova addressed itself; they were either clergymen themselves (to whom the Ars nova was indebted for its origins) or men of culture, who had received the type of education designed for the upper ranks of clergy. This involved some familiarity with musical theory and intensive exposure to liturgical music, polyphonic as well as monophonic. These people may have been a part of what Carducci liked to call the "mondo elegante" of the fourteenth century, but they formed a special group within that world, a group marked by special tastes and activities, cajoled and patronized for

special services they could render or for the luster they could add to a social gathering or a court. What had musical *dulcedo* for them did not necessarily appeal to other people; even the noblest lords did not necessarily have the refined tastes we are inclined to attribute to them. The fact that some Ars nova composers had connections with the Visconti brothers (one of whom was the archbishop of Milan), the Scala brothers, or the Carrara family (one of whose members had been raised for an ecclesiastical career) cannot be taken as indication of a general courtly interest in polyphonic music. Indeed, the musical demands of contemporary society, from its humblest to its most exalted stations, were essentially answered by other types of music and musicians, by singers, players, dancers, and mimes of whose music we have no direct knowledge. We can only define it, because of its more general and regrettably negative feature, as the unwritten tradition of music.

The unwritten tradition embraced a variety of musical activities not always lacking in artistic refinement. One only needs to think of the musical practices descending from the feudal tradition of troubadour art (itself, in my opinion, a part of the unwritten tradition, in spite of the ex post facto notation of a fraction of its music). I have already mentioned the stil novo as an important factor in the rise of the Ars nova. Dante certainly knew some form of polyphony, but he had his lyrical poems set to music by nonpolyphonists and described a performance by one of them (Casella) with touching poignancy. Petrarch, whom I have singled out as having won literary recognition for the madrigal, had friendly relations with practitioners of both the written and unwritten tradition of music: among the former, Ludwig van Kempen (the "Socrates" of his letters), Philippe de Vitry, and possibly Iacopo da Bologna; among the latter, Floriano da Rimini (whom he compared to Orpheus), Antonio da Ferrara, and Confortino (most likely a singer's nickname). Boccaccio had some poems set to music by polyphonists but did not include their way of music making among the musical entertainments described in his *Decameron,* and Sacchetti's more than 250 short stories contain only a single ironic reference to the madrigal, although their author was personally acquainted with the half dozen polyphonists then active in Florence. On the opposite side, I may quote a madrigal text set to music twice[7] by Iacopo da Bologna, "Oselleto salvazo," in which Petrarch's Floriano da Rimini is listed among the highest musical authorities:

> . . . tuti se fa màistri:
> fa ballate, matrical e muteti,
> tut'èn Fioran, Filippoti e Marcheti.

The pattern was not different during the fifteenth century. As before, descriptions of musical performances seldom give any hint of polyphonic music; as before, musicians who left no mark in the written tradition are mentioned or enthusiastically praised. From one point of view the fading of the Ars nova during the first decades of that century may be viewed as a minor, almost unnoticed incident, against the background of a much stronger stream of musical life in the ways of the unwritten tradition. Nor is anything "secret" involved in the gap thus created in the written tradition; if anything, it was the previous sudden blooming of the Ars nova from a very thin humus of specialized and private practices that was surprising.

The written tradition of the Ars nova ends in glory with the Squarcialupi codex. This is not a figure of speech, for it is obvious to me that this largest, most consistent with its plan, and most lavishly decorated of the Florentine manuscripts consciously preserves and glorifies an activity in which the compilers took great pride, but which had reached its end. It is also obvious to me that the object of their pride was not so much the music of the Ars nova as the predominantly Florentine line of poetry with which it had been associated. The inspiration is germane to the brand of civic humanism then developing in Florence, in which the cult of classicism was paralleled by admiration for the great Florentines who had developed the local tongue into a refined instrument of artistic expression. The compilation of the Squarcialupi codex is thus related to the celebration of the *certame coronario* in 1441, although it certainly preceded it.[8] What gave its compilers their nostalgic feeling of finality is made clear by the swiftest glance at two polyphonic collections only slightly more recent than theirs: the ample Oxford codex (Canonici 213, seemingly assembled in Venice) and the much smaller Vatican manuscript (Urbinate lat. 1411), once presented to a friend by Piero dei Medici. Their contents, like that of all other Italian sources from about 1440 to 1490, consist essentially of pieces on French texts (Latin in the case of sacred music), with only scattered samples of Italian pieces, either anonymous or by foreign composers. The tide of French music had already been rising during the previous half century, helped by the frequent influx of foreign prelates during the Great Schism and the Councils. As a matter of fact, some of the most flamboyant examples of late musical Gothicism (the so-called "mannered" phase) were composed by Italians during the first two decades of the fifteenth century. The men who had enjoyed the music of the Ars nova belonged to the segment of society most open to international trends and most inclined to intellectual or musical *subtilitas;* it was easy for them to transfer their

musical interest to pieces using the international language of polyphony, whatever the language of their texts.

From a musical point of view, then, the Ars nova did not die; it merged with other trends: on a higher technical level with the international, essentially French, polyphonic tradition, to which it contributed some features through such mediators as Johannes Ciconia and Dufay; on a lower technical level with some of the practices of unwritten music. Some Ars nova pieces may have been incorporated in the repertory of more popular singers; this was certainly the case for some *ballate* by Landini, whose texts are occasionally found amid a lyrical repertory of a rather popular, even dialectal flavor. It also appears that a number of singers reared in the ways of unwritten music came to develop or adopt techniques of performance in which the vocal line is supported by some kind of polyphonic accompaniment by a string instrument. A few rather peculiar two-voice pieces found in polyphonic collections[9] might be a written record of normally unwritten practices.

A fact of considerable importance for the history of art polyphony in Italy was a split in the elite minority which had most contributed to its previously rather thin diffusion. With the spreading of humanistic thoughts and attitudes, the new breed of literati came to despise polyphony as a contrived, unnatural form of musical expression, and to see its procedures and theory as typical examples of medieval lore. As a result, art polyphony regressed to its original status of an art entrenched in the most scholastically oriented milieus of monasteries and cathedral chapters, plus, of course, the papal and some princely chapels, for nobody objected to its liturgical uses. For an ornament to their lives and for musical activities better attuned to the fabulous powers attributed to music by classical writers—the power to excite or assuage man's passions, with its ethical implications, and the power to divert his mind from worries and fatigue—the humanists turned to the unwritten tradition. Already in 1429 Ambrogio Traversari praised Leonardo Giustinian for his ability in singing sweet songs to the accompaniment of an instrument, an art which, "contrary to the habit of the ancients, is better known nowadays to the people than to learned men." Giustinian, who had composed his secular songs during the first quarter of the century, soon became a mythical figure; his style was imitated in a category of songs called *giustiniane,* and conversely many later songs (of which, of course, we have only texts) were attributed to him. He is the first in a series of musicians and poets whose names were better known to fifteenth-century Italians than those of Dufay, Ockeghem, or young Josquin. Others were Antonio di Guido in Florence,

Francesco Cieco da Ferrara, Pietrobono dal Chitarrino, and above all Serafino Aquilano; furthermore, it is a frequent occurrence in humanist writings that Latin or vernacular poems of precious texture honor musicians whose names and activities are unknown to us.

Songs named for the dialect of their texts (*siciliana, vinitiana, napoletana,* or *calavrese,* all implying aria or *canzone*) indicate a continuing interest in pieces having popular features of melody or performance, plus the added advantage of exotic appeal. Apart from these, a number of new poetic forms come to the fore: the lyrical single-strophe *strambotto,* only externally related to the narrative sequences of *ottave* (or *ottava rima*); the *capitolo* or *terza rima* (strophes of three lines), closely related to the so-called *sirventese* (with strophes of four lines); finally a simplified, or more popular, form of *ballata,* better known to musicologists as *frottola,* while literary historians tend to call it *barzelletta.* With the exception of *strambotti,* the texts tend to have a large number of strophes (of narrative, gnomic, or even dramatic content), implying an equal number of repetitions in the music with compact strophic structures and fast, predominantly syllabic delivery. Even the singing of a *strambotto,* judging from later examples, was based on four repetitions of the same musical unit (fewer or more may have been needed for *strambotti* having fewer or more couplets). All this agrees perfectly with two basic, intrinsically related features of the unwritten tradition: easy memorization of the musical strophic unit, which eventually enabled the performer to concentrate on the improvisation of new texts.[10]

The names of singers and instrumentalists (another line of musical activities that deserves attention), those of new poetic forms, and even the surviving poems may seem to our distracted ears nothing more than the faint murmur of an underground brooklet. In the daily life of the fifteenth century they, not written music, were the elements of a resounding open-air stream, which gave pleasure and *dulcedo* to every layer of society.

As for sacred music, about which we know more, it continued to have a secluded life and was only marginally affected by the cultural trends which were having an impact on secular practice. Cathedral polyphony, because of its growing complexity, was only possible if the church could afford the highly skilled performers it required, that is, only in some of the larger cities. Of greater moment were the activities of court chapels: that of the Aragonese court of Naples, already in existence before the middle of the century, and those of the Sforza and Este courts, both created early in the 1470s. But the Aragonese and Sforza chapels were disrupted by political events before the end of the century, and only the Ferrarese chapel,

brought to international excellence by the musical and religious fervor of its founder, Ercole I d'Este, was left to serve as a model to similar institutions. In any case, both the repertory of sacred polyphony and, to a large extent, its performers belonged to an international musical culture deeply rooted in the French tradition.

The same applies to the papal chapel, in which, however, two still not well understood customs, or traditions, originated, whose beginnings, perhaps related, may go back to the fifteenth century. These are *a cappella* singing and *falsibordoni*. Both practices must be referred to the demands for ecclesiastical reform expressed by the Councils in the early fifteenth century—demands which seem to have had greater impact on the papal chapel than on the chapels of the staunchest supporters of reform, the French kings and the dukes of Burgundy and Savoy. The same influence may have been the cause of the lesser emphasis placed by the Italians on the performance of paraliturgical motets.

The Sixteenth Century: Traditions Lost, Found, and Mixed Up

Written and unwritten traditions, I wrote once, are broad generalizations or polarizations, between whose extremes there is ample space for exceptions, hybrids, and borderline cases. The exceptions, however, become surprisingly numerous toward the end of the fifteenth century; too many pieces which would seem to belong to the unwritten tradition are written down in polyphonic collections. At first, it is mainly *strambotti,* appearing either in manuscripts which may reflect the practice of the Neapolitan court, or in northern sources, where they still preserve some southern flavor in their texts (one more instance of the recurring interest in exotic pieces). Then it is the turn of *frottole;* "Frottole," at the apex of this trend, is the title of eleven printed collections published in Venice by Ottaviano Petrucci from 1504 to 1514. This, however, is an all-inclusive title, covering many types of compositions, among them the declining *strambotto*. A parallel phenomenon is the appearance in Florence of polyphonic settings of *canti carnascialeschi,* normally found only in manuscripts and mostly belonging to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[11]

In order to assess this large and less than homogeneous body of music from the point of view of tradition, one has to make a distinction between true *frottola* settings, along with masquerade songs and *canti carnasciales-*

chi, and the rest of the repertory. The former group more directly reflects popular custom, taken over and refined for the pleasure of courtiers. The *frottole,* in particular, which outnumber all the other kinds, meet demands for musical entertainment. Set to amorous texts that are either conventionally or caricaturally pathetic, or definitely humorous, their musical interest is centered on the lively rhythm and melodic directness of the upper line, supported by the other parts, sometimes with a certain amount of pseudo-contrapuntal activity, but essentially with a strong chordal and cadential feeling.[12] While the melody lent itself easily to a display of vocal skill on the part of a soloist, the texts often invited gestures or mimicry; accordingly, the one type of performance that still continued the habits of the unwritten tradition—a singer accompanying himself on a stringed instrument—was most often selected from among many possibilities. *Strambotti,* too, met demands for musical amusement and were similarly performed, yet one can easily discern in their texts, alongside a popular vein, a second trend aimed at a more even balance of musical and literary interests. Indeed, the *strambotto* had come to be considered as a suitable form for high poetic expression; those left by Serafino Aquilano, among others, are dismissed by most modern critics as anticipation of baroque bombast, but were praised in their times as precious examples of almost classical epigrammatic brevity.[13] The *strambotto* thus took a middle ground between genres musically motivated and those mainly conceived as vehicles for literary expression. In the latter belonged the *capitolo,* which already in the previous phase had often been charged with sententious content; the strophic *oda* (with either Latin or vernacular texts), whose name and form give a more classical coloration to the older *sirventese;* and finally the sonnet, which for at least the last two centuries had been a purely literary form.

Petrucci further stressed the tendency of some musical genres to be the vehicle for the corresponding poetic form by offering some pieces which he called *aere* or *modo* "per capitoli," "per sonetti," or "per cantar versi latini," and on which all poems having a given metrical structure could be sung. The emphasis was still placed, however, on the performer's effectiveness in delivering music and text—all the more so since poets like Cariteo in Naples, Tebaldeo in Ferrara, and Poliziano in Florence are said to have made their new poems known often through their own singing or through the offices of a professional singer. Nor was there any reason why the settings of such poems should be lacking in musical interest, although the requirement is firmly stated by a contemporary writer that the music be the servant of poetry, its style made simpler the more the quality of the poem deserved attention.

After Naples, whose leading role was soon wiped out by political collapse, the northern epicentrum of the new secular polyphony was Ferrara, whose ruler, Ercole I d'Este, like his brother and predecessor Borso, had been educated in Naples. More than Ercole himself, however (who was mainly interested in sacred music and in the chapel he had created), his children, who had all received good musical training from members of the chapel, took an active role in the new secular trend and were instrumental in spreading it to other allied courts, most directly to those of Mantua, Milan, and Urbino.[14] The composers seldom were foreign members of the local chapels (although men like Compère and Josquin were involved), but rather native musicians, as befitted the very nature of the new polyphony. Nevertheless, they were well acquainted with the technique of international polyphony, having been reared as church singers in such institutions as the "scuola degli Accoliti" in the cathedral of Verona (in which Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara must have been trained) or similar schools in Padua and Venice.

Along with the new brand of secular music went the spread and better appreciation of church polyphony. This must be related to an impassioned interest in all kinds of artistic expression, first activated by humanistic thoughts, now blossoming in the full vigor of artistic life. Another important place where the representatives of the polyphonic culture (which I have often identified with some residual scholasticism) had daily opportunities for contact with learned men, artists, and art patrons was the papal court in Rome. This was the ground where the artistic stature of Josquin des Prez attained general recognition; it is symptomatic, however, that a Ciceronian writer, Paolo Cortese, while bestowing great praise on Josquin's Masses, still reserved highest honors in the field of secular music to Petrarch and Aquilano.

The sixteenth century poses once more the problem of how to apply the word "tradition." Sacred polyphony, long the privilege of chapels and a few cathedrals, was becoming accessible to larger crowds because of the creation of similar institutions (also called chapels) in many churches.[15] Yet its classic hero (no ancient models were available to musicians) was Josquin, not an Italian; later in the century foreigners like Willaert and Rore were among its most influential masters and, being successful teachers, they dominated the field with a large following of gifted pupils. I can mention only two trends which may have been influenced by Italian inborn preferences. One is represented at its best by the neoclassicist master of Italian sacred music, Palestrina, whose economy of polished counterpoint and purity of vocal sound recall features already observed in the meager body of older Italian polyphony; yet even Palestrina's language

is international, and his models are to a large extent French.[16] The same applies, although in a different way, to the practice of polychoral polyphony, in which the distribution of choral groups in different locations contributed to the simultaneous perception of architectural and musical projections. A third trend, the demand for clarity in the enunciation of the liturgical text, was too intertwined with nonmusical factors to be considered as an element of musical tradition. As a whole, sacred polyphony, because of its previous long history and its being rooted in a universal liturgy, was a universal language, hence imposing itself on its listeners and not depending on them or on local traditions. An exceptional artistic personality could have greater impact on its rarefied standards than the taste and expectations of its audiences.

In the field of secular music the surfacing of elements of the unwritten tradition was certainly an impressive phenomenon, even though we have only the vaguest hints about the previous stages of that tradition. Furthermore, the new secular polyphony was associated with another conscious revival, the literary effort to restore the Italian language to the standard of an art medium after the regression it had experienced during many decades of Latin writing. In the new Romance-language humanism, which soon coalesced in a revived Petrarchism, new poets were not content with imitation of the older poet's style and thoughts; they even shaped their collections after the model of the *Canzoniere,* with hundreds of sonnets, plus a number of *canzoni* and a sprinkling of *ballate* and madrigals.[17] Parallel to this was the thought that all these poems could and should be set to music, reviving traditions which, alas, had long been dead and forgotten. We have already mentioned that sonnets were included in the "Frottola" books; settings of *canzoni* and madrigals were discussed in letters and are actually found in prints and manuscripts together with some *ballate.* As a rule, however, the music tended to disregard the internal symmetries of their metrical form; very soon experience taught that the performance of a whole *canzone* with its lengthy strophic repeats was impractical, while even the poets rebelled against the metrical strictures of the old *ballata.*[18] Thus the old forms were replaced by nonstrophic, through-composed settings of new poems, which only occasionally reflected some features of the traditional structures, and all came to be known by the generic name of *canzoni* (songs) or madrigals. The latter name prevailed from 1530 on, and its ascent, as well as the ascent of the genre itself, was not impeded by the further misunderstanding of old traditions it brought with it.

One northern development may have been helped by the 1507 printing

of the fourteenth-century treatise on metrical forms of da Tempo. Composers who used popular tunes—as refrains in some *frottole* (where they are usually placed in the *tenor*), or as material for contrapuntal elaboration in the special type called *villota* (somewhat parallel to some French chansons)—may have thought they were reviving the old "mandriale," which had been derived, according to da Tempo, from shepherd songs. At least on one occasion singers masquerading as peasants performed "madrigali alla pavana," that is, madrigals in the Paduan dialect.[19] Thus a realistic, un-Petrarchan strain was being injected into the composite image of the madrigal, whose Petrarchan line was also being subjected to conflicting impulses. Its traditional origin directed it toward soloistic singing accompanied by instruments, but other concepts invited it to a more contrapuntal texture and all-vocal performance. The main thrust in the latter direction must have come from the Medicean patronage in Florence and Rome and must have been supported by the thought that not only the skillful delivery by a soloist, but all the artistic resources of the composer, should be summoned to interpret and convey the poetic message of the text.[20] This thought, aptly summarized in the definition of the madrigal as a "secular motet," opened the way to all kinds of ventures in the field of madrigal and madrigalisms. It also affiliated its genre to a polyphonic tradition which was not altogether foreign because it had been present at all times, but neither did it have altogether a national character.

I am strongly tempted to suggest that the entire development of Italian music during the sixteenth century, sacred as well as secular, should be considered as a deliberate adoption of a polyphonic *maniera*. Within that larger frame innumerable possibilities for individual manneristic expression were available and often exploited, but they were even more remote from any broad feeling of tradition, since they depended on the artist's personality or the patron's whim. This does not mean that traditional elements of temperament and behavior did not still have a part in the tangle of different motivations, but they can only be detected through psychological and critical analysis of individual artists and works.

More evident are the deviations manifesting themselves behind the façade of the official *maniera,* most often in ways of performance. The interest in and admiration of the qualities and skills of performers had a great outlet in the exploits of lutenists, keyboard players, and other instrumentalists, of which we have only a partial record in written music. Also in the vocal field, recourse was often made to ways of performance in which the upper line was sung and the others given to instruments; or else forms were created, like the *villanella* and *canzonetta,* in which the vocal

line is specifically conceived to prevail on a subdued, rather chordal accompaniment, be it vocal or instrumental. Even more important, the basic humus of the unwritten tradition was still present to give incentive to new musical forms, of which the *villanesca alla napoletana* is a most typical example. All this and much more (for instance, ostinato bass patterns, new harmonic definitions of tonality, and the protean concept of aria) finally came to converge in a rebellion against the polyphonic *maniera*. Thus the beginning of the seventeenth century brought with it a resounding assertion of the established tradition (or historical delusion?) that each new century be marked by a *nuova musica* of a sort.

Notes

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1. An incomplete list may suffice for the purpose of this essay. Of Florentine origin are the mss. Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centr., Panciatichi 26; London, Br. Mus., add. ms. 29987 (I am aware of an opinion assigning it to Umbria); Paris, Bibl. Nat., it. 568; Florence, Bibl. Laur., Palat. 87 (Squarcialupi codex). Of northern origin are Paris, Bibl. Nat., n.a. frç. 6771 (Codex Reina, from the territory of Venice; the last section belongs to a phase later than the Ars nova)

and Modena, Bibl. Est., M. α. 5.24 (olim lat. 568, probably from Bologna). The major fragments, all of northern origin, are Vatican, Rossi 215, and Ostiglia, Opera Pia Greggiati, both belonging to a disbanded ms. markedly older than all the others; Padua, Bibl. Univ., mss. 1475 and 684, both fragments of a Paduan source to which Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Can.Pat.lat. 229 also belonged. Probably of local origin, but strongly influenced by northern musicians, was the ms. of which a considerable number of leaves are preserved in Lucca, Arch. di Stato. For further reference, see K. von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Bern, 1956).

2. The plan is strictly observed in the latest source, the Squarcialupi codex, and still detectable in, going back in time, the mss. Paris, Bibl. Nat., it. 568, and London, Br. Mus., add. 29987. The first half of the oldest source, the Panciatichi codex, is entirely dedicated to Landini; the second half begins with Giovanni and Iacopo (plus Piero, named only in this source), and continues as usual, although with fewer works by fewer composers and late additions of older pieces.
3. The latter feature is not easily reconciled with a derivation from conductus, while it better fits an origin in the madrigal texts parallel to that of motet texts.
4. The court referred to by da Tempo is that of Alberto della Scala, lord of Verona with his brother Mastino, and ruler also of Padua (an inept ruler but, according to contemporary sources, a music lover). The repertory of the Vatican and Ostiglia fragments is probably related to the court of the Scala brothers and includes (anonymously) works by Giovanni and Piero. We also have reports, confirmed by some texts of madrigals and *cacce*, that Giovanni and Iacopo competed at the court of Verona; Piero, too, must at some time have entered that contest.
5. Petrarch sojourned, among other places, in Verona, where Iacopo had court connections.
6. This had already been present in cruder ways in the anonymous pieces of the Vatican and Ostiglia fragments, and will be found again in the later madrigals and *ballate* of Bartolino da Padova, the other major representative of the northern tradition, who eventually applied his figural inventiveness to effects of expressive poignancy.
7. As a regular madrigal and as a *caccia*.
8. The *certame coronario* was a poetic contest, held in the Florentine cathedral and presided over by Piero dei Medici, to prove the artistic validity of Italian verse. For this ideological reason more than anything else, I am inclined to give most Florentine sources later dates than those commonly accepted.
9. More particularly, but not exclusively, in the Codex Reina.
10. The aspect of improvisation (the extent of which we tend to exaggerate) also applies to the musical formula, in which the performer could introduce ornamentation and rhythmic change for the sake both of variety and better adjustment to the accentual and expressive needs of each strophe of text.

11. It is a mistaken notion that the existing music of *canti carnascialeschi* originated under Lorenzo dei Medici; most of it belongs to the Medicean restoration, which began in 1513.
12. Even when intended as a joke or a caricature, the *frottola* was meant to be a lyrical poem and had no relation to dance music.
13. Although no settings of *strambotti* exist that are attributed to Serafino, it is known that he received musical training from a Gulielmo Fiamingo, that is, Guillaume Garnier.
14. Of the Este brothers, Alfonso succeeded Ercole in 1505 and continued to improve the chapel; Ippolito became a cardinal; Isabella married Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, in 1490; and Beatrice married in 1491 Ludovico Sforza, then still unofficially the lord of Milan. Related to the Este sisters by family ties and a common education was Elisabetta Gonzaga, later the duchess of Urbino.
15. Best known is the institution of the so-called Cappella Giulia in St. Peter's in Rome, followed by chapels in the major basilicas. During the fifteenth century chapels had served the private religious services of great lords; even the papal chapel was essentially meant for private functions.
16. This can also be taken literally if one notices that a number of his parody masses are based on French motets (seldom chansons) of the first part of the century.
17. This is true of the collected poems, for instance, of Cariteo (*Endimione*, 1506) and Sannazzaro (*Rime*, 1530, but mostly written before 1504). In the collection of Tebaldeo's poems (first published in 1498) sonnets still associate with *strambotti* and *capitoli*; in Bembo's *Rime* (collected for publication in 1530) the Petrarchan dosage is applied, but neither madrigals nor *ballate* still observe the old rules.
18. See n. 17 for Bembo's madrigals and *ballate*. The participants of his long dialogues on the subject of platonic love (*Asolani*, 1505) occasionally sing short poems, but always recite the long texts of their (Bembo's) *canzoni*.
19. *Villote* and French *chansons* are often associated in prints and manuscripts of the period preceding the ascent of the madrigal; they probably met the demand for polyphonic pieces to be sung *a libro* by dilettanti, a habit which may have contributed to the all-vocal development of the madrigal.
20. All the surviving Medici had developed sophisticated tastes in the field of music through their education and through long sojourns in France. Giuliano was the owner of the Squarcialupi codex (did this possession affect his ideas about madrigals?) and his nephew, the younger Lorenzo, was the recipient, as a wedding present, of the ms. now called the Medici codex. Above all, the two clergymen in the family, Giovanni (Leo X) and his cousin Giulio (Clement VII) had great impact on Roman musical life. Giovanni, the author of some polyphonic pieces, was quoted by Cortese as a great authority in musical matters. He was the first pope who retained a whole group of *musici secreti* (that is, for private entertainment) in addition to the papal chapel.

[2]

Ars Nova and Stil Novo

Nino Pirrotta

Musicology is a recent word—one that would have surprised Dante and one many people are not too happy with. It is modeled, as others are, after the old and glorious name of philology. But whoever invented the older name set the accent on love—love of beauty in speech; every subsequent derivation has emphasized instead the *logos* component, with inelegant verbosity and, in the name of objectivity, with a detached, almost aggressive attitude toward its purported subject. Lovely and loving Philology was deemed by a poet the worthy bride of Mercury; I can think of Musicology only as a maiden, whose secret love for no lesser deity than Apollo will never have a chance until she gets rid of her heavy glasses, technical jargon, and businesslike approach and assumes a gentler, more humanistic manner.

To be fair to my lady Musicology, I must admit that the magnifying glasses, the analytical approach, even statistics, are at present indispensable tools to her work. She acquired her status among the historical disciplines as late as the second half of the last century, at which time, alas, euphoric generalizations and rationalizations were made, quite often on the basis of only scanty documentary evidence. Musicology and musicologists are still reacting to those generalizations, and that is why we are so strictly bound to the document, to the manuscript source, to the early music print, of which an enormous quantity still must be inspected before we can establish new values.

It is refreshing, then, to raise my head from the microfilm reader, if only for a short while, and I am grateful to the Dante centennial for the opportunity to glance at a wider horizon. But the brief respite brings with it a concern which has haunted my musicological career from its very

beginning, a concern with the dangers implied in our bondage to the written document.

The history of music, as outlined by our founding fathers and also as we are now trying to rewrite it, is essentially the history of written music. Now it is true that the development and extensive use of a system of notation is one of the important features of our musical tradition; it is true that notation, originating as a guide and an aid to the performer, often reacted on the composer himself and conditioned his musical thinking; it is even true that at times elaborate notation has become almost more important to the composer than the actual sound of his music. Yet we fail to recognize that for all its importance, written music represents only one aspect, and a very special one, of our musical tradition. The fact that we have little hope of reconstructing what music existed beyond it is no justification for ignoring the gap that exists in our knowledge. To reach a proper balance in assessing what we know, we should make every possible effort to explore the extent of that gap. Instead, we tend either to forget it or, in the most favorable case, to minimize it by assuming that the unwritten tradition was the expression of inferior layers of culture. I do not need to consider how valid this assumption would be, if it were true. I know it is untrue, at least for the Middle Ages and most of the Renaissance.

In a paper delivered at a musicological convention I tried to dramatize this view by stressing the difference between the obscurity in which fifteenth-century Italy kept—for almost thirty years—one of the greatest composers of all time, Josquin des Prez, and the fame, at the time, of a certain Pietrobono dal Chitarrino, as shown by the medals cast by Pisanello and by the scores of Latin epigrams and vernacular poems written in his honor.[1] Josquin, as everybody knows, was a composer of polyphonic—written—music; Pietrobono was a singer and a lutenist of whose repertory not a single note has reached us. Nor is this case an exception. Poliziano, having described in a letter to Pico the accomplishments of his former pupil Piero dei Medici, tersely added: "Canit etiam, vel notas musicas, vel ad cytharam carmen."[2] Obviously he considered at least equal in importance to written music (*notas musicas*) the unwritten songs of the kind Piero, like Pietrobono and many others before and after them, used to sing "ad citharam," "ad lyram," or "ad violam"—to the accompaniment of a string instrument.

If we go back to the fourteenth century, we find a similar dichotomy between the written tradition of the so-called Italian Ars nova and the widespread custom of sung poetry, which not only was cultivated without

the help of any kind of notation, but seems to a certain extent to have intentionally avoided the strictures of notation.

The written tradition of the fourteenth-century polyphonic Ars nova was one of the most dazzling meteors in the history of music. The sudden outburst of creative energy it represented, with about six hundred settings of secular vernacular texts, has been accepted as natural only because it happened in the century that was inaugurated by Dante and Giotto and then resounded with the voices of Petrarch and Boccaccio. For the preceding centuries, a recent important discovery has doubled the number of early polyphonic pieces in Italian manuscripts, bringing the total to some two dozen, all on Latin religious texts and many of recognizably French provenance.[3] Yet this lack of any important manifestation of polyphonic activity preceding the Ars nova does not seem to have much disturbed the historians; it has been all too easy, although certainly mistaken, to find an explanation for it in the torpor of medieval life. Only the falling of a new curtain of darkness after the short act of the Ars nova has aroused surprise; only a new lapse of silence, covering almost completely the century of Alberti and Leonardo and dividing the island of the Ars nova from the solid continent of later Italian music—only this has come to be considered a disquieting puzzle or, to quote the title of a well-known book, "the secret of the Quattrocento."[4]

It is not surprising to me that no attempt to solve the case of the missing Quattrocento music has led to a satisfactory answer. It has been my contention that the secret, if there is one, is in the island, not in the gap that divides it from the continent. For the island is largely a mirage of our historical perspective, a tiny object magnified by our faith in the written tradition, at best a floating island, not only surrounded but also supported by the waves of a sea now opaque to our eye, once full of light, of life, and of sound—the sound of unwritten music.

I am said to be a specialist of the Italian Ars nova, though a very special one, who has been planning to write a book to reduce the topic to size. Let me state briefly then, the main features and positive values of the Ars nova, in my opinion. It was essentially a polyphonic art or, as they said, *cantus mensuratus*; it required that the length of every sound be precisely determined so that the different voices could proceed on schedule and fall precisely into the combinations of sound and rhythm desired by the composer. As a polyphonic art it was heavily indebted for its technical equipment to the French tradition of artistic polyphony. In spite of this, however, the Italian Ars nova was able to find its own sound and its own solutions to both technical and artistic problems. At the end of its short

life, those solutions, having been absorbed by several foreign musicians who were active in northern Italy during the early decades of the fifteenth century, had a modest impact on the development of the artistic polyphony, again French-dominated, of the following century.

The highest merit of the Italian Ars nova was in reaching and maintaining a rare balance between refinement, even subtlety (though never complexity) and freshness and directness of expression. Nevertheless, it is my strong conviction that its polyphony remained practically unnoticed by contemporaries. A few Ars nova texts do refer to such lords as Luchino Visconti and his brother the archbishop Giovanni or to the brothers Alberto and Mastino della Scala, but these references might only be signs of sporadic interest on their part, not evidence of a continued custom of courtly polyphonic performances. In fact, in any reference to music in contemporary sources or any description of a musical performance, the reference is never to polyphonic madrigals or *cacce*, but to the many genres of unwritten music, from the street song to the troubadour lyric, from dance music to religious vernacular *laude*, from the *canto camerale*, restrained in expression and sound (which Francesco da Barberino described as proper for a young lady of high station) to the narrative and satirical tirades of mountebanks, through which shrewd politicians spread rumors and popular commotion. Casella, the musician conjured with deepest affection by Dante in the second canto of *Purgatorio*, was not a polyphonist; nor was Floriano da Rimini, to whom Petrarch addressed two of his *Familiares,* extolling him as a new Orpheus; nor did Boccaccio, describing the social entertainments that frame the telling of stories in the *Decameron*, include any music that could possibly be construed as polyphonic.

The composers of the Ars nova were all monks, priests, canons, or church organists, although the texts they set to music were secular, or even amorous. I have come to consider their activity as a private hobby, appreciated only by a few connoisseurs. The most conspicuous exception was Francesco Landini, mentioned and praised in a number of literary sources; he too was a church organist in Florence, but he was also the friend of such early humanists as Filippo Villani, Coluccio Salutati, and Leonardo Bruni. To his merits as a gifted and prolific composer we may possibly add that through such connections he helped preserve most of the music of the Ars nova; almost all the manuscripts containing it are Florentine, and they belong, with one exception, to the fifteenth century, thus coinciding in time and place with the trend of ideas in defense of Dante and of vernacular poetry, which ran from Bruni's dialogues "ad Petrum Istrum" to the *certame coronario* of 1441.

The term Ars nova is one of those expressions which, once hit upon by a writer, seems to become indispensable. The term was actually the title—or, better said, part of the title—of a treatise by Philippe de Vitry; for this reason it has been proposed recently that it be applied only to the French music of the fourteenth century, excluding the Italian. For my part, I can think of a few good pedantic reasons to strip it away not only from Italian but also from French music, but I shall continue to use it as an extremely useful and convenient label for both.[5]

I must add that Hugo Riemann, who first introduced the term Ars nova at the beginning of this century, spoke of Florence as its cradle; in choosing the term he was probably influenced by its assonance with the "dolce stil novo." I like that assonance, and I shall defend it. However, this does not mean that I am too easily inclined to accept Riemann's implicit suggestion of a factual connection between the two phenomena. In fact, I have denied that connection for many years, and only in recent times have I become more amenable to consider it a possibility.

Let us review first the circumstances that seem to exclude any connection. The first should be evident, after all I have said about the two traditions of music, for the Ars nova belongs to the tradition of written music, while the music to which the poems of the stil novo were sung has long since disappeared, swallowed up in the oblivion of all things unwritten. The next reason is the discrepancy in time. The ideals of the stil novo had already received full formulation in the last twenty years of the thirteenth century, but only by stretching can we set the date of the earliest known Ars nova compositions at just after 1330. Those fifty years of difference meant little to Riemann fifty years ago, but today they seem significant to us, thus indicating how great a difference fifty years can make; the difference becomes even greater if you add that Florence, far from being the cradle of the Ars nova, came relatively late into its picture. The last, but not least compelling, reason is the discordance between the metrical forms used in the stil novo and the Ars nova. We may dismiss the sonnet, which, in spite of its musical name, was no longer a musical form; but *canzoni* and *ballate* often suggested to the poets of the stil novo the image of tender, trembling new creatures waiting to receive from the musician their final attire. Against these essentially lyrical forms, the main form of the early Ars nova was the madrigal, a short epigrammatic, encomiastic, or satirical text, objective even when its topic was love, with a tendency for description which found an even better outlet in the *caccia*, a modified form of the madrigal.

If I were considering only the discrepancies, I would have no excuse for bringing the topic of the Ars nova into a Dante celebration. But I have

listed them to justify my previous skepticism and to indicate that even now my attempt to find a different solution can be only a tentative one. Reflections of the still novo abound in the poetry of the Ars nova, but they have no meaning, indicating only that a new poetical fashion had been established as common property. What we may want to know is whether the sudden emphasis on musical creativity represented by the Ars nova received any impulse from the original thoughts and aspirations of the stil novo. For this I must dare, even though I am not a historian of literature, to look at the stil novo.

It seems evident to me that we can find but little help in the consideration of what Dante called *stile tragico* and of the poetic form in which it was to be used, the *canzone*. Although all that is said about them in the incomplete second book of *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is full of musical references and expressions, we must be extremely cautious and discriminating in interpreting them. Some are undoubtedly metaphoric—the eternal metaphors of poetry as song and of the poet's tools as plectrum and strings, which are insidious traps to any musicological investigation. A few others are obviously references to, let us say, *musical* music. But most of them, along with Dante's quest of the *volgare illustre*, and all his poetical work, as well as that of the other poets of the stil novo, clearly point out the concept of poetry as primarily verbal music. With this we are no longer on metaphorical ground but on that of a persistent medieval doctrine, only too frequently overlooked by those theorists who had a professional interest in *musical* music. No words of mine could better express it than a short quotation from Roger Bacon's *Opus tertium*. "If we consider that part of music that consists in sound produced by man (musica de sono humano)," he wrote, "well, it is either *melica*, or *prosaica*, or *metrica*, or *rhythmica*."[6] Only *melica musica*, he then explains, consists in singing; prose, metrical verse, and rhymed poetry are also music "because they conform themselves to the singing and to the instruments, in similar [temporal] proportions, for the pleasure of the ear (quoniam conformantur cantui et instrumentis proportionibus consimilibus, in delectationem auditus)."

Some scholars have gone so far as to interpret Dante's theory of the *canzone* as completely excluding actual music;[7] to me, the details he gives about repetition or lack of repetition in the melody of the stanza and about the *diesis*, that is, the passage from one melodic phrase to another at the conjunction of the two parts of the stanza, indicate that he considered it not only possible and normal, but even desirable, to have a melody added to the poem.[8] I must admit, however, that the depth and intensity of

thought Dante entrusted to the *canzone*, and its various levels of interpretation as discussed and exemplified in his *Convivio*, strongly favor, as equally important alternatives, not only spoken recitation but also the purest and most spiritual of all sounds, that of mental recitation by an admiring and thoughtful reader. Whether that mental recitation might have included the accompaniment of an equally spiritualized mental melody, I do not know. All I know is that if and when music was added to the *canzone*, the length of the poems and the need for clear perception of the words must have imposed a strictly syllabic and, in a certain sense, recitative style.

What is said of the *stile tragico* does not need to be extended to the mediocre or comic style or to the humble, elegiac style. We would have a better basis for judgment if Dante had written the missing book of *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, which was to have dealt with the *ballata*. As it is, the regular, refined *ballata*, whose stanzas are a miniature replica of those of the *canzone*—interlaced, however, with a refrain unknown to the *canzone*—would seem to be on the whole a more elaborate form; yet it is considered inferior to the *canzone* by Dante and implicitly by all the other poets of his group.

According to a theory of mine, the regular *ballata*, as we know it, is essentially a creation of the stil novo, a creation at the same time poetic and musical, giving an artistic rule to the unruled, even chaotic practice of the earlier dance song. On purely literary grounds the complex structure of the *ballata* would be a strange and unnatural accomplishment for the stil novo, for a school, that is, which professes to repudiate the twisting of thoughts determined in the older style by some traditional or self-imposed canon of rhyme and verse. Actually, the new *ballata* was first introduced as a literary translation of the alternation between soloist and chorus, as a refinement of the dance song, soon transferred to purely lyrical poems mainly because of its musical effectiveness.

Dante himself at least once went out of his way just for the sake of music. This is the case of the *ballata* "Per una ghirlandetta," admittedly written to take advantage of the graceful melody of another poem, as stated in its final stanza:

> Le parolette mie novelle,
> che di fiori fatto han ballata,
> per leggiadria ci hanno tolt'elle
> una veste ch' altrui fu data:
> però siate pregata,
> qual uom la canterà,
> che li facciate onore.[9]

> These few novel words of mine, / forming a *ballata* about flowers, / for the sake of beauty have accepted / a [musical] dress once already given to another: / for this reason I pray you, / whoever will sing it, / that you do honor to it.

There must have been among the graces of the unknown composition a change of rhythm between the refrain (*ripresa*) and the beginning of the stanza and again, within the stanza, between its first part and the *volta* which resumed the melody of the *ripresa*; but the repeated shift between seven-syllable and nine-syllable lines, divested of the melody for the sake of which it was introduced in the *ballata*, produces to my ear rhythmic disharmony and inconvenience of parts.[10]

Even though we cannot have too much faith in a tradition crediting Dante with musical skills, there can be no doubt that he was extremely receptive to music. The *Comedia*, alas, is not the place to look for the evidence we are after: not the *Inferno*, by definition the realm of disharmony and discordance; not the *Paradiso*, where idealized song and dance poetically replace the concept, discarded by Dante as a philosopher, of the music of the spheres; not the *Purgatorio*, resounding with liturgical melodies in which the words of penance and hope are stressed by the poet far more than the musical sound. Yet the only occasion on which Dante indulges in his deepest feeling for music is clearly enough to show the nature of that feeling. This happens, of course, in the second canto of *Purgatorio*, when the meeting with Casella reminds him once more of a most poignant musical experience. Highly significant are the words with which he first addresses his friend and then describes the singing of one of his own most famous *canzoni*:

> . . . Se nuova legge non ti toglie
> Memoria o uso all'amoroso canto
> Che mi solea quetar tutte mie voglie,
> Di ciò ti piaccia consolare alquanto
> L'anima mia, che con la sua persona
> Venendo qui, è affannata tanto.
> "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona"
> Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente
> Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.
>
> If the memory or skill has not been taken / away from you of that singing of love / by which all my desires were once appeased, / be kind to give with it / some respite to my soul, which coming here / within her body has made so full of grief. / "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona" / He then began, and was his song so sweet / that the sweetness rings within me still.

The following ecstatic pause, the spell that the singing casts not only on Dante, but on Vergil and on the other listeners, the souls who have just landed on the shore of Purgatorio who should have been hastening toward their penance, is best explained by Dante himself, although in a quite different context. In *Convivio*, book II, chapter 13, he attempts to describe the effects of music in terms of medieval psychology:

Ancora, la musica trae a sè gli spiriti umani, che sono quasi principalmente vapori del cuore, sicchè quasi cessano da ogni operazione; si è l'anima intera quando l'ode, e la virtù di tutti quasi corre allo spirito sensibile che riceve il suono.

Besides, music summons to herself the spirits of man, which essentially are the vapors of his heart, so that they almost desist from any action; his soul is all united the while he listens, and the power of all the many spirits rushes, as it were, to join the sensitive spirit that receives the sound.

Those two passages, unavoidable whenever the question arises of Dante and music, provide more than we need to prove that the highest standards of the most severe among the "faithfuls of love" accepted music, and not only verbal music, as a most desirable ornament, as long as it was fit and proper to the nature and to the aim of each poem. We may also agree that the preference accorded to the *ballata* by the other representatives of the stil novo indicates that the pleasure of music was possibly less highly praised, but certainly more eagerly sought after than the raptures of philosophical meditation. The next and more conclusive point to be made is whether or not the other representatives may also have accepted and sought to add more musical ornaments to the ornament of music.

I have already indicated that the proper melodic style for a *canzone* must have been a very simple one, nearly consistent with its poetic rhythm. Was it possible that other genres allowed greater expansion to the flowing of melody? I see evidence for this in the growing fashion of short lyrical poems, at first in the form of isolated strophes of *canzone*—such as Guido Cavalcanti's *Se m' à del tutto obliato Merzede* or Dante's *Lo meo servente core* and *Madonna, quel signor che voi portate*—and later, when the possibility arose of using the *ballata* as a lyrical piece, also in the form of short *ballate*: either a single stanza preceded and followed by its *ripresa* (rather frequent among the poems of Cino da Pistoia), or a few miniature strophes of the kind called by later theorists *ballata minore* and *minima*. The first of Dante's two *coblas esparsas* (*Lo meo servente core*) has an accompanying sonnet (*Se Lippo amico se' tu che mi leggi*) with which the

poet sent it to another of his musician friends (probably Lippo Pasci de' Bardi), requesting him to give the poem its proper musical setting.[11] Dante also wrote a single-strophe *ballata, Deh, Violetta che in ombra d'amore*, with which the name, or surname, of a third musician is associated, that of Scochetto.[12]

I cannot see any other reason for this reduced poetic scope than the need or desire to make allowance for the slower pace of recitation associated with a florid, melismatic melody. Support for this assumption comes also from other quarters. Only two manuscripts have preserved melodies of the religious vernacular songs called *laude*, for the singing of which hundreds of companies or congregations were founded in almost all Italian towns. In the older *laudario* from Cortona, partially reflecting the practice of the last decades of the thirteenth century, syllabic melody prevails—one note for each syllable; in the Florentine *laudario*, some thirty years younger, syllabic recitation very often alternates with chains of melodic flourishes that must have required considerable virtuosity on the part of the performers.[13]

The form of the *ballata*, principal vehicle of musical expression in the stil novo, is also the only common ground with the Ars nova. I have listed the madrigal and *caccia* as the most typical forms of Ars nova, yet its earliest surviving repertory also includes a small but significant group of *ballate*. However, they are not polyphonic *ballate*, although their known composers were polyphonists; they are one-voice pieces, requiring the help of mensural notation because of their melodic floridity and rhythmic refinement. Being monophonic and sung by a single performer, they still preserved the flexibility of delivery and the sensitivity to nuances that were needed in a lyrical genre. Only much later, around 1370, did the polyphonists dare to write polyphonic *ballate*, at first with some hesitation, then with such great enthusiasm that the practice of madrigal and *caccia* soon became obsolete.

The line I have traced between written and unwritten tradition may be too sharp. On one hand the composers of written music had their ears open also to unwritten music; on the other, the quest for melodic refinement, as well as the desire to discard the old blind rules of usage and to establish new rules according to "art" and reason, may have led the representatives of the stil novo to seek an unprecedented contact with the depositaries of the "art" of music. The main feat of the Ars nova, French as well as Italian, was its merging of formal elements and expressive ideals deriving from the old feudal tradition of troubadour song with the more

technical tradition—more "artistic" in medieval terms—of polyphonic music.

The main ground for this merging was the university. I have for many years characterized polyphony as an ecclesiastical art, but again I must confess a slight but not insignificant shift in my thinking. I have come to consider artistic polyphony a scholastic tradition—not scholastic in a strictly philosophical sense, of course, although some of that sense is there, but in the sense of the tradition connected with the type of education imparted in the universities or similar institutions. What place music held in an academic curriculum is hard to determine. As one of the mathematic arts, the principles of numeric relationship behind every musical phenomenon, as well as their neo-Pythagorean implications, must have been quickly dispatched by the instructors in charge of the Quadrivium—mathematicians, astronomers, physicians, or, more often, a mixture of all those. A second set of rules, concerned with the analysis and classification of plainchant melodies, had probably been absorbed by the young clerics as part of their training as choirboys, long before they were sent to any university. Most difficult to place, although most important to our purpose, is *musica mensurabilis*, the part of music theory concerned with the length of each sound and with the signs by which their length could be precisely indicated on paper. Although it is difficult to place it in the curriculum, the theory of *musica mensurabilis* was certainly fostered by the sudden glowing and growing of an impressive tradition of artistic polyphony mainly centered in Paris. This tradition was represented by a chain of theorists mostly connected with Paris and its university, from Johannes de Garlandia to Philippe de Vitry and Johannes de Muris.

For the Italian Ars nova, is it just a coincidence that its earliest theorist was Marchettus de Padua, and that the most famous composer in its first generation was one Jacopo da Bologna, both of whom derived their names from the sites of great Italian universities? Two sonnets by a minor poet of the stil novo, Nicolò de Rossi, who lived in Treviso after graduating from Bologna in 1317, gives a list of musicians, including the best-known names of the unwritten tradition, from Garzo, an ancestor of Petrarch, to Casella, Lippo, and Scochetto, all connected with Dante, to Confortino and Floriano, later associated with Petrarch. Highest in Rossi's opinion is one Ceccolino, whom he knew in Bologna and whom he praises, significantly, as "plen d'aire nuovo a tempo et a mesura" (full of new melody with precise rhythm and measure) and describes in the act of "notare," of writing down the music of his *ballate*.[14] Also in Bologna, Giovanni da Ravenna was reported to have felt strongly encouraged to show his

prowess as a singer of vernacular songs, including madrigals, and to have become famous for it.[15] On the side of Ars nova, the confluence of the two traditions finds confirmation in a madrigal set by Iacopo da Bologna that mentions Floriano da Rimini as an authority along with Philippe de Vitry and Marchettus de Padua; the text of the madrigal complains that at the time too many singers boasted supreme mastery, so that "tutti èn Floran, Filipotti e Marchetti" ("they all [think they] are a Floriano, a Philippe, a Marchettus").[16]

All the major figures of the stil novo had contacts with scholastic milieus. Brunetto Latini, if we may include him, lived in Paris for several years; Guido Guinizelli from Bologna certainly studied there, and Cino da Pistoia not only studied but also taught there; Dante may not have attended the university, but he must have visited Bologna in his early youth; at any rate, he and his "first friend," Guido Cavalcanti, must have attended either the Franciscan schools or the Dominican *studium* in Florence, which must have reflected much of the Parisian curriculum.

Even in scholastic milieus, deep involvement with the rules of *musica mensurabilis* may have been reserved for those few who intended to become either performers or composers of polyphonic music. All the layman needed was some general knowledge of the kind given in the only surviving chapter of an anonymous and compendious tract on music. Its author somehow mistreats the technical terms, but manages to describe for each poetic form, although in a rather confused way, the rules of its correspondence to musical phrases. Interestingly enough, he starts with the dance forms—*ballate*, so-called "quia ballantur" ("because they are danced"), and *rondeaux*; he then goes on to the French polyphonic motet, and traces his way through polyphonic madrigal and *caccia*, back to the *ballata* form, now called "sonus," and described this time as a freer lyrical monophonic song unrelated to dance.[17] This was probably the work of an Italian grammarian at the beginning of the fourteenth century; some of the most remarkable writing on *musica mensurabilis* of the preceding century had also been the work of a grammarian, Johannes de Garlandia.[18]

I may not have reached a conclusion, but I must come to a final cadence. Only through conjectural work, taking leave for a while from my lady Musicology's stern rule of objectivity, I can suggest that a connection existed between the creative impulse of the stil novo and the quickening activity of the Ars nova. Only a possible connection, but one deserving attention, for it adds urgency to the need to consider the Italian and French *Artes novae* as parallel expressions of a single, basically united spiritual

process. As Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* has its counterpart in the French writings on *seconde rhétorique*, which trace their point of departure back to Vitry, similarly a hint of Dante's proclamation of the stil novo may be found in a French motet by one of the forerunners of the Ars nova. Says Pierre de la Croix, in a work which is an intentional assertion of new musical trends:

> Aucuns on trouve chant par usage
> Mais a moi en donne occasion
> Amour qui resbaudit mon courage.[19]
>
> Many have found their songs just by usage/but to me the occasion is given/by Love who enhances my daring.

The fact that in both cases the Italian manifestation preceded the French, thus reversing a long tradition of dependence, is a mark of the burning flame of Dante's passion, will, and knowledge.

Notes to Ars Nova and Stil Novo

This essay was first presented as a lecture at Johns Hopkins University on January 7, 1965. It was published in Italian as "Ars nova e stil novo" in *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966).

1. "Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy," included as essay 7 in this volume.
2. *Epistole inedite di Angelo Poliziano*, ed. L. D'Amore (Naples, 1909), pp. 38–40.
3. I am referring to the polyphonic repertory contained in the mss. once belonging to the Chiesa Collegiata of Cividale, now preserved in the Museo Archeologico of that town.
4. Fausto Torrefranca's book was aimed at a more restricted problem: tracing the origins of the madrigalian style. His title, however, is indicative of a general attitude toward the problems of fifteenth-century music.
5. My thinking on this problem is explained in "Cronologia e denominazione dell'Ars Nova italiana," in *L'Ars nova. Recueil d'études sur la musique du XIV^e siècle. Les colloques de Wégimont. II, 1955*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule CXLIX (Paris, 1959), pp. 93–104.
6. R. Bacon, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1859), I, 230–231, beginning with a distinction between instrumental and vocal music: "Omnis igitur sonus vel est ex collisione duri cum duro, vel ex motione spirituum ad vocalem arteriam. Si est ex collisione, tunc est musica instrumentalis . . . Si vero sit musica de sono humano, tunc vel est melica, vel prosaica, vel metrica, vel rhythmica."
7. According to Aristide Marigo's comment on Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Florence, 1938), paragraph II, viii, 5, p. 236, "Dante sees the composition of *canzoni* without music as being not only possible . . . but most usual, and the poet as being distinguished from the musician." As a matter of fact, Dante's main concern in this passage is to establish "utrum cantio dicatur fabricatio verborum armonizatorum, vel ipsa modulatio," that is, beyond the question of names, whether the essence of the *canzone* consists in its text or in its music. His conclusion that the *canzone* is so named even when unaccompanied by a melody, while the melody itself is called "sonus, vel tonus, vel nota, vel melos," does not deny the existence of a melody; on the contrary, the question

could not have arisen without the habit of associating poetry and music in the *canzone*. A different point of view is expressed by W. T. Marrocco, "The Enigma of the Canzone," *Speculum* 31 (1956), 704–13, especially 710: "It appears very unlikely that a *canzone* by Dante Alighieri, the greatest Italian poet of his day, with a musical setting by Pietro (?) Casella or another equally capable musician would have been allowed to disappear." I do not need to repeat here what I think must have determined the silence of written tradition.

8. *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, x, 2–4.
9. Dante Alighieri, *Rime*, ed. G. F. Contini (Turin, 1939), pp. 43–44.
10. I do not think that the other version we know of this text (in eleven- and seven-syllable lines) is "di tutta eleganza e correttezza," as it appeared to G. Carducci, "Della varia fortuna di Dante," III, 11, in *Studi letterari* (Leghorn, 1874), p. 354. As for the original version, I am sure it seldom occurs in the sources because of its difficult meter.
11. Dante Alighieri, *Rime*, p. 33: "E priego il gentil cor che 'n te riposa / che la rivesta e tegnala per druda, / sì che sia conosciuda / e possa andar là 'vunque è disiosa." See also *Lo mio servente core* and *Madonna, quel signor che voi portate* (*ibid.*, pp. 35 and 45), two one-stanza *canzoni* with *piedi* and *volta*, that is, with both *fronte* and *sirima* divided into two symmetrical parts.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 46. See also, pp. 101–03, the *ballate, I' mi son pargoletta* (in which, according to Contini, "two typical stil novo themes" are transferred "from the tragic style of the *canzone* . . . to the mediocre style, musically more pleasant and accessible, of the *ballata*") and *Perché ti vedi giovinetta e bella*. About Scochetto see N. Pirrotta, "Due sonetti musicali del secolo XIV," in *Miscelànea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés* (Barcelona, 1958–1961), II, 654.
13. See F. Liuzzi, *La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana* (Rome, 1935), and C. Terni, "Per una edizione critica del Laudario di Cortona," *Chigiana* 21 (1964), 111–29.
14. Pirrotta, "Due sonetti musicali." Codex Vatican Barberini lat. 3953 was written for Nicolò de Rossi between 1325 and 1335.
15. See the following passage from his *Rationarium Vitae*, reported by R. Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna* (Como, 1924), p. 144: "Accedebat vanitati juventus et corporis haud usquequaque contemnenda species, vocis canor . . . Canciones balatas sonicia madrigalia ac vulgaris reliqua note deliramenta mira ingenii facilitate pro omnium voto explicaram. Undique cantabar passimque diffamatus eram." This refers to the years during which Giovanni studied in Bologna (1364–1365).
16. This line from the madrigal *Oselleto salvaço*, set to music twice by Iacopo da Bologna, is usually read "tutti enfioran Filipotti e Marchetti." Its correct interpretation is suggested by the variant reading found in Codex Panciatichi 26: "fansi Fioran, Filipotti e Marchetti." For the two letters addressed to Floriano by Petrarch, see the latter's *Poesie minori . . . volgarizzate* (Milan, 1831), II, 110–17.
17. This is a *Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis*, given this title by S.

Debenedetti, "Un trattatello del secolo XIV sopra la poesia musicale," *Studi medievali* 2 (1906–07), 59–82, and later included in the same author's *Il "Sollazzo"* (Turin, 1922), pp. 179–84. Of the three articles I have written on the *Capitulum*, the following more particularly deal with its nature and the personality of its writer: "Una arcaica descrizione trecentesca del madrigale," in *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler* (Leipzig, 1962), pp. 155–61; and "Ballate e *soni* secondo un grammatico del Trecento," *Bollettino del Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* 8 (1962), 42–54.

18. Although the identification of the music theorist with the grammarian is not definitely proved, we are sure of their identical name, evidently derived from the name of one section of the university quarters in Paris.
19. This is the *triplum* of the motet *Lonc tens me sui tenu de chanter—Annuntiantes* in Codex Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, H 196, fols. 273r–275r; its programmatic nature is underlined by the choice of the unusual *tenor*.

[3]

MAGISTER EGARDUS AND OTHER ITALO-FLEMISH CONTACTS

Reinhard Strohm
(Yale University)

Nothing is positively known about the life of Magister Egardus or Engardus, a composer who may have been active in Northern Italy around 1400, to judge from the distribution of his three surviving works. They are two Glorias, both represented more than once in the Paduan fragments, and a canonic motet in the Modena codex (I-MOe 5.24),[1] where also one of the Glorias appears. This Gloria apparently shared the travel to Poland, into the Krasinski manuscript,[2] with works by Ciconia and Antonio Zacara da Teramo. Only the other, fragmentary, Gloria with the trope *Spiritus at alme*, is confined to the Paduan fragments. I have found a concordance for this piece, with the

1. For manuscript sources quoted in this article, see *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM), vol. B IV^2: *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1440)*, ed. by G. Reaney, Münich-Duisburg 1969; vol. B IV$^{3-4}$: *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by K.v. Fischer and M. Lütolf, Munich-Duisburg 1972.

2. Warsaw, National Library, Ms III. 8054, n° 35. Edition in: *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia vol. 14/15: Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500*, ed. by M. Perz, Warsaw 1976.

help of the incipits in RISM, in the Netherlandish source NL-Uu 37 I. That page, the second of the fragment, provides us with most of the Cantus primus and a large part of the Tenor, whereas the Cantus secundus and the Amen of the Tenor are contained (in more or less identical versions) in I-Pu1475 and I-Pu1225. By matching a left-hand-page from the Netherlands with a right-hand page from Italy, I was able to reconstruct most of this composition (see music example). As can be seen, the work is isorhythmic, without repeat of *color* but with four *taleae* in ☾ mensuration and an Amen in ⊙ which stands outside the isorhythmic scheme. Here, I-Pu 1225 has the correct mensuration signs against the Cantus secundus which is the only voice where minims occur: «•O•» and «•n•». Apparently, the copyist was uncertain about the mensuration, and applied both the French sign for *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori* and the Italian sign for *novenaria.* It is possible that he was not familiar with all four of the 'Quatre prolations'. Otherwise, there are no notational usages employed in the piece which would necessitate different uses of signs in a Netherlandish and an Italian source, and the voices match each other exactly. The frequent use of the imperfection of the breve *a parte ante et post* in the ⊂ sections, each unit being set apart by dots on both sides • ♦ ■ ♦ •, could not have been notated differently in an Italian source, although the rhythm itself would perhaps not have been composed by an Italian before 1400. This motive also occurs, for example, in the Gloria *Qui sonitu melodie* of I-IV (no. 50), which was widely distributed, appearing in sources from Strasbourg, Vienna and Padua itself.[3] The style of Egardus's Gloria is clearly indebted to Vitry's isorhythmic motets rather than to Machaut's. The composer's interesting task was to distribute the words in such a way that the upper voices could sing the verses of irregular length within a strict pattern; Egardus succeeds in making them almost isorhythmic. He also makes the text leap from one voice to the other in the *a versi* manner. How he exercises rhythmic

3. Gloria no. 27 in H. STÄBLEIN-HARDER ed., *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France,* CMM 29 and Critical Text (MSD 7), pp. 126-132. For the Viennese source (D-Nst 9/9a), see p. 61 below.

alternation, imitation and simultaneous declamation from verse to verse, is really rather beautiful. The syllabic passages treat the Latin text very efficiently and with regard to word – accents and – divisions; the melismatic passages, where the more virtuosic syncopated rhythm occurs, use deliberate dissonances between the upper voices and also with the Tenor. As regards isorhythm, there is an isorhythmic Gloria in I-MOe 5.24 which Fano wants to attribute to Matteo da Perugia;[4] this work is not entirely unlike that of Egardus in its approach to text setting, but built on a much more complicated scheme, and more syncopated in detail, using coloration which Egardus avoids. He seems a more conservative composer, having perhaps received his training while Vitry was still alive. Or should one say that his style, which also in the other two works is rhythmically simple but texturally ingenious, looks forward to the more light-hearted fluency and variety found in Ciconia?

Not only the age of the composer is in question, but also his nationality. His name is definitely not common in Italy. The Utrecht concordance makes it most unlikely that he was an Italian; this manuscript, which contains five pieces with Flemish texts, surely originated in the Low Countries before 1400, and I know of no other case of a work of Italian origin having been transmitted so far North, while the reverse did happen. In the case of Egardus, not only his works but also his name were well-known in Italy: he himself may have travelled to the South, just like Johannes Ciconia.

According to Pirrotta, Egardus may have been one of the musicians active at the papal court of Bologna in 1409-1410, because two of his works are in those sections of I-MOe which seem to have been compiled in that environment.[5] Even if this were the case, we would still have to

4. G. CESARI-F. FANO, *La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Milano,* pt. I: F. FANO, *Le origini e il primo maestro di cappella: Matteo da Perugia,* Milano, Ricordi 1957 (IMAMI vol. I, nuova serie), p. 48 (Gloria no. 8).

5. N. PIRROTTA, *Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400,* «Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Palermo», ser. IV, vol. V, pt. 2, 1944-45, p. 43; see also N. PIRROTTA, *'Dulcedo' e 'Subtilitas' nella pratica polifonica franco-italiana al principio del '400,* RIdM, II, 1948, p. 125, nota 1.

assume that the two works were composed well before that time. The evidence of I-MOe as to Egardus' whereabouts is exactly matched by the Paduan fragments – one unicum in each group, one concordant work. But the Paduan sources are older than I-MOe, perhaps by more than a decade (I believe that 'PadA' is an earlier assembly, followed by the more systematic collection compiled in 'PadD' by Rolandus da Casale who copies the two Egardus-Glorias on consecutive openings, signing them both).[6] It seems logical to assume that Egardus was active in Padua before he joined the papal chapel (if he did).

As I said, the Utrecht fragment was written in the Netherlands, and, as I suggest, in Bruges. The liturgical references (Gloria tropes for the Assumption, a motet with the tenor *Salve sancta parens*, an allusion to the 'Tree of Jesse' and another to the Great Schism), the format, handwriting as well as the spelling of the Flemish songs all point to a Flemish choir-school, and there is a steet-cry-motet with topical references to the vicinity of Bruges. NL-Uu 37 I may actually have been part of the *liber motetorum* which the collegiate church of St. Donatian in Bruges owned by 1377.[7] We know the names of some of its early succentors. One of them, appointed in 1370, was 'Magister Johannes Ecghaerd'. The minutes of the appointment (16 August 1370) state that he received, beyond all distributions accorded to the *clerici installati*, L. 24 p.a. for a chaplaincy for which he had to say Mass only two or three times per week, very favourable terms for the period. The chapter even promised to obtain for him a *littera absencie* from the Bishop of Cambrai, for an unnamed parish in that diocese of which he was the beneficiary. One of the witnesses for the document seems to have been Johannes Ondach, who is documented from 1384 as organist of the Burgundian court and later as a canon of St Donatian's.[8]

6. On Rolandus da Casale and the Paduan fragments, see G. CATTIN, *Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento*, I: *Il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato*, AnnMus, VII, 1964-77, pp. 17-41.

7. See R. STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford UP 1985, pp. 105 ss.

8. *Acta Capitularia Sint-Donaas*, Bisschoppelijk Archief Brugge, Reeks A no. 48: 16.8.1370 (fol. 15v).

It seems that Johannes Echgaerd was originally from the diocese of Cambrai, then, and that he was born not later than c. 1340. He also had a chaplaincy in St Nicholas of Dixmuide near Veurne (latin 'Furni') in West-Flanders, which he gave up in 1371; in that year, he obtained one of the four chaplaincies of St Basil's in Bruges, the most prestigious positions there below the rank of canon. It is uncertain when he gave up the succentorship in Bruges; a new succentor is named in 1387. A list of chaplains of 1394 does not contain his name (the earlier lists are lost); so he may have left Bruges by then at the latest.[9]

It already seems most likely that Magister Johannes Ecghaerd was, in fact, Magister Egardus, but there is more evidence to come, and of the most curious kind. This concerns Egardus' canonic motet *Furnos reliquisti quare* in I-MOe.[10] The work must be a joke. It addresses a certain 'Frater Buclarus', reproaching him for having left 'Furnos' in order to find better financial support for his music from parishioners on the shores of the Black Sea ('Novi Pontus'). All the lines of the text end on '-are', and the solmisation syllables are represented in the pitches of the music, as the work itself is mainly about music. Now this work has a companion piece, which was composed by the little-known Thomas Fabri.[11] His canon *Sinceram salutem care, mando vobis, o Buclare* has all the features of Egardus' composition: canon, rhymes on '-are', address to Frater Buclarus, frequent play on the solmisation syllables (see text example) and, in general, the nature of a slightly irreverent joke. Fabri seems to indicate that Buclarus is or was his teacher in grammar and music (which would befit the role of a succentor), and he explicity states that he wishes to meet him in Bruges and have a good time with him. Needless to say, there seems to be no Buclarus in the records of St. Donatian's, although 'Bouclers' is a frequent Flemish family name.

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9. *Acta Capitularia*, Reeks A no. 48: 26.3.1371; 21.5.1371; 22.5.1387. A no. 49 (1394-) fol. 1r.

10. See U. GÜNTHER, *Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α M 5.24* (olim. lat. 568 = *Mod.)*, MD, XXIV, 1970, pp. 17-67, with partial edition; completely edited in W. APEL ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, CMM 53, III, 1970-72, no. 295.

11. See R. STROHM, *Music* cit., pp. 111 ss. and music ex. 4.

Of Thomas Fabri, we do know that he was a student of Jean de Noyers, called Tapissier, perhaps in Paris; and that he himself was succentor of St Donatian's in 1412-1415.[12] Now if these two compositions both address the same real person, this could be Tapissier, but I thing this is unlikely. Egardus seems to speak to Buclarus as a person younger than himself, perhaps his pupil: is 'Buclarus' not rather a fictitious person, and Egardus and Fabri really address each other under this code-name? I also suggest that 'Furnos' is not 'the hearths', although a double meaning may be intended, but ostensibly the Flemish town Veurne (latin: Furni), which had a respectable musical tradition in its collegiate church of St. Walburga. Fabri could have held a position there at some earlier stage in his career. The allusion to the shores of the Black Sea, if not fictitious as well, could mean that Fabri participated in the splendidly equipped but disastrous crusade of Burgundy against the Turks in 1396, when Jean sans Peur was captured at Nicopolis in Bulgaria and had to be freed for an enormous ransom put up by the Lucchese merchants of Bruges under the direction of Dino Rapondi.

Whatever may be the truth about that, Fabri was away from Bruges when he wrote his musical letter, as its text implies. In comparison with the work by Egardus, Fabri's canon is by all means the later composition, and very much in the 'French' style – the influence of Fabri's *new* teacher, Tapissier? This work survives, together with two Flemish songs, also attributed to Fabri, and three anonymous chansons (two French and one Flemish), in a fragment of the Abbey of Heiligenkreuz near Vienna (A-HEI). One of the other Fabri songs in that source ('Ach Vlaendere vrie') actually comments on the political situation of the Country of Flanders as it was in the 1390s.[13] The 'international' features of the fragment A-HEI are striking. Dott. Michelangelo Lupo (Trento) kindly informed me that he regards the illuminations of the fragment as possibly Umbrian, c. 1420-1430. But the native language of the copyist was not Italian nor Flemish nor

12. See also C. WRIGHT, s.v. *'Fabri, Thomas'* in *New Grove*, 6, p. 347.

13. See R. STROHM, *Music* cit., (n. 7), pp. 109 ss. and music ex. 2 and 3.

French but German. I would suggest that such a manuscript – obviously a chansonnier – could have originated in the atmosphere of the Council of Constance. Fabri himself may have gone to the Council when he left Bruges in 1415 without leaving further trace. One cannot rule out, however, that he was in Italy as well as at some stage.

Magister Egardus and Thomas Fabri stand for a larger number of Netherlandish musicians who went to the South well before the Dufay era, as did, of course, Johannes Ciconia. What caused this migration, which was to become the well-known pattern of the musical Renaissance, and why did Italy play such an important role in it?

The connections between Italy and the Low Countries in the later Middle Ages were, first of all, of a commercial nature. By about 1400, merchants from Lucca were the largest and most prosperous foreign community in the Flemish cities, to be superseded shortly after by the Florentines.[14] But also merchants from Venice, Genoa, Lombardy and Piedmont were present in Flanders, often having obtained high social status: as courties, diplomats, prelates and canons, or simply as powerful individuals who had settled in the large Flemish cities. Two examples may illustrate how these Italians could become involved in the musical life of the Low Countries. Simone de Mirabello, the son of a Piedmontese banker, was the receiver-general of the Count of Flanders, Louis de Nevers. In or shortly after 1331, he founded the choir-school at the collegiate church of St Pharahilde, Gent, with the conspicuous endowment of L. 300 annually.[15] Dino Rapondi of Lucca, the banker in Burgundian service to whom Richard Vaughan attributes the financial foundation of Burgundian power around 1400, was a known patron of the arts.[16] This is testified not only by his funeral

14. R. DE ROOVER, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges*, Cambridge/Ma. 1948, chapter 2: *The Italian colonies in Flanders*; L. MIROT and E. LAZZERESCHI, *Un mercante di Lucca in Fiandra: Giovanni Arnolfini*, «Bollettino Storico Lucchese», XII, 1940, pp. 81-105.

15. See P. ROGGHE, *Simone de Mirabello in Vlaanderen*, Appeltjes van het Meetjesland, IX, 1958, pp. 1-21; GB-Lbm add. ms. 16954: *Cartularium* St. Pharahilde, fol. 123 ss.

16. R. VAUGHAN, *Philip the Bold*, London 1962, pp. 220 ss.

monument in Dijon, created by Claus Sluter, but also by the polyphonic Mass service which he founded for himself at St Donatian's, Bruges (1417).[17] Several Rapondis lived in Bruges at the time; one of them, Jacques Rapponde, became a choirboy of St. Donatian in 1422.

Italian merchants in Flanders were generally interested in the local musical culture. Their confraternity chapels in the major churches and friaries reflected their social standing in lavish liturgical-musical ceremonies. The Florentine merchants were leading members of the exclusive confraternity of the 'Dry Tree' in Bruges, which from before 1396 observed the custom of performing a Lady-Mass with discant every Sunday in the chapel. Individual names of members are first known in 1426 when the Altoviti family controlled the group.[18]

It is important that these Flemish-Italian contacts, established well before Dufay's time, were a continuous pattern, with many repercussions for music in both countries, and for the secular as well as the sacred sphere. One of these repercussions can have been the presence in Florence of Giovanni di Daniele di Fiandra, who in 1402 had taught two boys to sing at the dinner-table of the Signoria of Florence.[19] What the boys performed were most probably Italian secular songs, which were thus not outside the range of their Flemish teacher. It is documented that the famous 'tenorista' Jean Cordier of Bruges stayed in the household of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici (in 1467/68), where he entertained the young Lorenzo by singing upon the 'lira'.[20] Cordier had come to Florence in February 1467 on the request

17. R. STROHM, *Music* cit., pp. 15 and 187 ss.

18. R. STROHM, *Music* cit., pp. 70-73; R. STROHM, *Muzikaal en artistiek Beschermheerschap in het Brugse Ghilde vanden Droghen Boome*, «Bieklorf», 83, Bruges 1983, pp. 5-18.

19. G. CORTI, *Un musicista fiammingo a Firenze agli inizi del Quattrocento*, in *L'Ars Nova* IV, pp. 177-181.

20. L. PARIGI, *Laurentiana: Lorenzo de' Medici cultore della musica*, Firenze 1954 (*Historiae Musicae Cultores*, vol. 3), p. 103 n. 6, quoting from ASCANIO CONDIVI, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarrotti*, Roma 1553: «Praticava in casa di Piero un certo, chiamato per soprannome Cardiere, del quale il Magnifico molto piacere si pigliava per cantare in sulla lira all'improvviso meravigliosamente, del che anch'egli profession faceva; sicché ogni sera dopo cena in ciò si esercitava».

of Tommaso Portinari, the Medici banker in Bruges. Portinari, and the even more renowned Giovanni Arnolfini of Lucca, were both leading members of the confraternity of the 'Dry Tree' in Bruges.[21] But already in 1448, the Medici agent Angelo Tani had sent Flemish singers to Florence, and it is well-known that another Medici agent in the North, Francesco Sassetti, was personally acquainted with Dufay.[22] Giovanni Arnolfini commissioned the Lucca Choirbook, written in Flanders c. 1470, for his home town.[23] Musical instruments and instrumentalists from the Low Countries were often sent to Italy; the 'pifferi' of the Signoria of Florence included many Flemings.[24] There is no reasonable objection to the belief that Petrus Bonus de Burcellis, the famous lutanist of the Estense court, came indeed from Brussels as is suggested by his name, although this may have been in his early youth.[25] These are not isolated cases. The improvised singing of vernacular poetry with instrumental accompaniment (or without), and virtuoso performances on lute, harp and gittern, were by no means a prerogative of Renaissance Italy, but had been practised for a long time at the Flemish-Burgundian court, and in the Netherlandish towns, as shown by the impressive documents collected by L. Gilliodts - Van Severen[26] and C. Wright.[27]

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21. R. STROHM, *Music* cit., pp. 37 ss.

22. See A. GRUNZWEIG, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Médici*, Brussels 1931; ID., *Notes sur la musique des Pays-Bas au XV^e siècle*, «Bulletin del l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome», XVIII, 1937, pp. 73-88.

23. R. STROHM, *Music* cit., pp. 120-123.

24. K. Polk kindly shared some of his unpublished research on this subject with me. See also M. BATTISTINI, *La confrérie de Sainte-Barbe des Flamands à Florence*, Brussels 1931.

25. See L. LOCKWOOD, s.v. *Pietrobono* in *New Grove, 14, p. 444* (with further literature). That 'Pietro Bono de Burcellis' (or 'Petrus Bonus d. B.') consists of a first name, a family name and and indication of origin, is the only logical assumption. Neither the existence of 'middle names', nor of the Christian name 'Bono' nor of the family name 'de Burcellis', in 15th century Italy has ever been proved.

26. L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménéstrels de Bruges*, Bruges 1912.

27. C. WRIGHT, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History*, Henryville - Ottawa - Birmingam, Institute of Medieval Music 1979 (Musicological Studies, XXVIII).

As regards the transmission of written polyphony, commercial contacts may account for some transfers of the so-called 'French' repertory to Italy. Kurt von Fischer has suggested that the 'Reina' codex may owe its existence to merchant patronage of the Veneto.[28] In this codex, the Italian scribe made a rather successful attempt at transcribing two Flemish texts, which may mean that he had himself been to the North, or had close contacts with Flemish musicians.[29] The 'Mancini codex' and F-Pn 568 both seem to have been compiled in Lucca shortly after 1400, as suggested in the latter case by Ursula Günther.[30] To musicians connected with Lucchese patrician families, Flemish exemplars can very well have been available, even if the music itself was 'French'.

'French' music found in Italian manuscripts did not necessarily arrive there from the geographically nearest point of the French cultural orbit. The assumption that the music of the 'Ars subtilior' found its way to Italy from Southern France can be challenged even in the case of the Chantilly Codex.[31] It seems generally agreed that the scribe worked for a Florentine patron, and that his native language was not French. But his spellings are generously sprinkled with Picard elements, even for texts which must have originated in Southern France. I would think that a person who did not command proper French but used the Picard dialect was either a Fleming or an Italian living in Flanders. (This leaves open the question where the manuscript was actually compiled).

Italo-Flemish contacts before 1400 can help solve more riddles than these. The Foligno fragment (I-FOL) is surely Italian, whether it

28. K. V. FISCHER, *The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. frç. 6771*, MD, XI, 1957, pp. 38-78.

29. R. STROHM, *Music* cit., p. 107.

30. U. GÜNTHER, *Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi, Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B. N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)*, AfMW, XXIV, 1967, pp. 99-119.

31. For literature on F-CH, see art. *Sources* in *New Grove*, 14, p. 663; in a recent, unpublished conference paper (Neustift/Bressanone 1982), Ursula Günther has investigated the connections between the codex and the Florentine banking family of the Alberti.

comes from Northern Italy or from the orbit of the Roman popes. It contains three Glorias, one of which is English, the other two probably French. Such a combination is certainly unusual. In the concordant source I-GR 197 which is perhaps from Padua, the English Gloria is also combined with French Mass movements, and with the other Gloria by Magister Egardus.[32] It is not sufficient, I feel, to point to Italian-English contacts to explain the phenomenon. Could the English work not have reached Italy via the Low Countries – open to both French and English influences – where such collections may originally have been put together? I recently discovered a late fourteenth- century fragment in Gent which also contains three Glorias, the first of which is probably English, the other two 'French'.[33]

An even bigger puzzle is the fourteenth-century sheet discovered by Federico Ghisi in Cortona. He reported on it in 1974, but with an erroneous description of its contents.[34] To judge from his facsimile, the page does not contain a four-part 'Inno-Lauda all'Assunta' but two items: the triplum of the motet *Almifonis melos* (I-IV no. 18), and the almost complete rondeau *Amis, tout dous* by P. de Moulins (I-IV no. 3), labelled 'Amis Molin'. This is perhaps the earliest French chanson which survives in an Italian source. It was widely known, particularly as an instrumental piece. Simone Prudenzani of Orvieto (very near to Cortona) refers to a performance of 'El Molin de Paris' on 'organi framegni' (i.e. 'organi fiamminghi'),[35] and the Strasbourg sources

32. On I-GR 197 and I-FOL see, in particular, U. GÜNTHER, *Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata*, in *L'Ars Nova* III, Certaldo 1969, pp. 315-397, with edition of the Gloria no. 1. The discovery of an English concordance for this work is due to Ernest Sanders.

33. See R. STROHM, *The Ars Nova fragments of Gent*, TVNM, 1985 (forthcoming).

34. F. GHISI, *Inno Lauda all'Assunta ritrovato nell'Archivio Comunale di Cortona*, «Quadrivium», XV, 1974, pp. 105-110. A recent contribution by A. Ziino, with remarks on the Cortona fragment, in *L'Ars Nova* V, was not yet available to me.

35. S. DEBENEDETTI ed., *Il 'Sollazzo' e il 'Saporetto' con altre rime di Simone Prudenzani d'Orvieto*, GSLI, Suppl. 15, Torino 1913, p. 109. The often-quoted passage seems also to refer to the piece known as 'Shack' (i.e. 'exchiquier'?), another keyboard arrangement (of the rondeau *Qui contre fortune*). Prudenzani praises the instrumental playing of Sollazzo with the words 'pari a un pifero venuto da Fiandra' (Sonnet 3).

CS-Pu XI E 9 and F-Sm 222 have it as 'Di molen van Pariis' and with instrumental elaborations of the top part. Certainly, the piece was popular in the Low Countries by about 1410, together with a number of other originally French compositions which formed an 'international repertory' and found their way to Italy from the Flemish-Burgundian orbit.[36] The Cortona fragment, if at all related to this transmission pattern, would be its earliest documentation, as it was copied in Italy not long after the mid- fourteenth century. It seems to have come from a large codex which was perhaps arranged alphabetically. Obviously, there is some connection with the Ivrea codex – but what kind of connection?

Perhaps the most significant data concerning Italo-Flemish contacts in music are biographical in nature. The migration of Northern musicians really started with the Great Schism (1378). For the Southern Netherlands, which were a battlefield of Avignon- and Roman-oriented forces, it is known that many clerics had to emigrate because of their beliefs, or chose to do so for their career interests.[37] Before 1378, a musician from Liège, for example, would obviously go to Avignon as the best place to further his career. In the 1380s and 1390s, however, he would rather go to countries of Roman obedience, if he wanted to obtain or retain a benefice in his home-country for his old age, because Liège was a solidly Roman-oriented diocese. In the County of Flanders, Philip the Bold tried to bring the Flemings round to Avignonese obedience – rather unsuccessfully at first; the diocese of Cambrai was curiously divided. Both popes were busy to promise benefices to their supporters in the contested areas. Many clerics used the situation to provide themselves with better benefices by changing sides.

The Great Schism served to strengthen the cultural ties between allied countries: France, the Spanish kingdoms and to some degree the Duchy of Milan on the one hand; England, much of the Holy Roman

36. See R. STROHM, *The Ars Nova fragments* cit.

37. N. VALOIS, *La France e le Grand Schisme d'Occident,* II, Paris 1896/1902, voll. 4.

Empire and Italy on the other. This must have influenced the itineraries even of the lower clergy. The organist of St. Donatian's in Bruges (then 'Urbanist'), Karolus Saarlot, went to Rome in 1381, probably for studies;[38] the organist of Our Lady's, Courtrai, Ghiselbertus Cockere, was paid a reward when returning from Bologna in 1410/11 – probably after having taken a degree.[39] The clerics and singers Johannes Sauvage and Bartholomeus Scavere of Bruges also went 'ad curiam Romanam' in 1410, and Sauvage returned to Bologna in 1420 for study.[40]

While such cases may just show how ambitious clerics from the Low Countries reacted to the Schism by seeking higher education in Italy rather than in Paris, there is ample documentation for careers which included longer, significant periods of activity in Italy. Only one major centre need concern us here – the curia of the Roman popes, whose musical personnel has already been researched by F. X. Haberl;[41] together with the monumental research programs of the *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* and the *Repertorium Germanicum,* from which A. Ziino has excepted many data about musicians, and new material published by R. Sherr, we have a valuable set of information from which music-historical conclusions ought to be drawn sooner or later.[42] On the following pages, I shall mainly try to reassemble the in-

38. R. STROHM, *Music* cit., p. 188.

39. Rijksarchief Kortrijk, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw no. 3 (fabrica accounts 1406-1450), 1410/11 fol. 3v.

40. *Acta Capitularia...* Reeks A no. 49, 22.6.1410.

41. F. X. HABERL, *Die römische 'Schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts,* Leipzig 1888 (= VfMW, III, 1887), pp. 189-206.

42. G. GASTOUÉ ed., *Suppliques et lettres d'Urbain VI (1378-1389) et de Boniface IX (1389-1394: cinq premières années),* in *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica,* XXIX, 1976, Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome 1976. See also voll. 8, 10-15, 20, 25, 30 (here: AVB). G. TELLENBACH ed., *Verzeichnis der in den Regesten und Kameralakten Urbans VI., Bonifaz IX., Innozenz VII und Gregors XII vorkommenden Personen... des Deutschen Reiches... 1378-1415,* 3 voll., in *Repertorium Germanicum,* II, Berlin 1961. A. ZIINO, *Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo: Alcune date e molte ipotesi,* RIdM, XIV, 1979, pp. 311-348. R. SHERR, *Notes on some Papal Documents in Paris,* StudiMus, XII, 1983, pp. 6-8.

formation given in the works cited above, occasionally adding material found in other sources.

The many Netherlanders documented in the *familia* of the Roman popes during the Schism served in a variety of functions, of course; we may concentrate at first on those actually named 'cantores capelle... pape'. It is striking how many chaplains and other servants of the popes Urban VI (1378-89) and Boniface IX (1389-1404) held prebends in the diocese of Liège; but in fact they had often come from other areas in the Low Countries over which the Roman pope had no control of benefices, such as Brabant and Flanders. The *magister capelle* or Urban VI was Johannes Volcardi, from Oerderen near Antwerp (dioc. Cameracen.), who had already served Cardinal Anglic Grimoard in 1368, and had entered the chapel of Gregory XI in 1374. Most of his benefices in Renaix, Antwerp, Maastricht (St Servatius) and Cologne were acquired then; he lost most of them when joining the Roman chapel of Urban VI in 1378.[43] He could not even take possession of the deanship at Our Lady's, Antwerp, given to him by Urban in 1381 – because his hometown had unilaterally declared itself 'Clementist'. It is possible that he was compensated with several benefices in Gent if he was identical with Johannes Volatoris who succeeded Petrus Beyle de Molendino (d. 1391 'in curia Romana') as canon of St Pharahilde's, Gent. He died in 1396. Theodoricus Bona was not actually a papal singer, but magister capelle of Franciscus, card. S. Eustachii, in 1378; he held a benefice at St Denis, Liège, and he was dead by 1379. Egidius de Leyns (i.e. Lens near Lille?), a canon of the cathedral of Liège, etc., had also been a 'familiaris commensalis' of Cardinal Anglic in 1371; he is named as 'cantor' of Boniface IX on 1.12.1389, but was dead by 29.8.1390. A 'cantor' of Urban VI was Eligius de Bray, cler. Morinen. dioc., who studied in Paris and later Cologne (!) and was mentioned as 'cantor' in 1384 when recommended for a canonry at St Donatian's, Bruges. He held this benefice from 1387 until his death before 7.2.1396, possibly after having changed obedience again.[44]

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43. See also A. TOMASELLO, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309-1403*, UMI Research Press 1983 (Studies in Musicology), p. 251.

44. *Acta Capitularia...* Reeks A no. 48: 5.1.1387; no. 49: 7.2.1936.

One of the oldest 'cantores' appointed by Boniface IX (before 30.6.1389) was the Carthusian Johannes Sapiens (Le Sage) of Malines, canon of Liège cathedral in 1362, d. 1391. He was succeded in Liège about 1374 by Henricus Desiderii (Dezier) de Latunna (Latines), a 'familiaris commensalis' of Petrus card. S. Laur. in Damaso. Dezier was 'cantor' on 3.11.1389; he died as cantor of St Paul's, Liège, in 1412. He is said to have composed the music for the office of the Visitation (probably the one with the text by Cardinal Adam Easton), a feast instituted by Urban VI and approved by Boniface IX.[45] Henricus Tulpijn was appointed 'cantor' on 15.5.1390, then holding benefices in the diocese of Liège; he died before 14.10.1394 'extra curiam'. Johannes Bunman was 'cantor' on 30.7.1391; he had held benefices at St. Servatius, Maastricht, and elesewhere in the diocese of Liège, already in 1383 and 1389; he died before 13.5.1401. His successor at St Servatius was Petrus Post (or Pont), mentioned as 'capellanus' (not 'cantor') in 1408 under Gregory XII, then also provided at St Victor, Xanten, and in the diocese of Utrecht. A 'familiaris et capellanus' of Boniface IX in 1389 was Johannes Blondeel, with benefices in Liège, Tongres and Gent, where a local source mentions him as curate of St James.[46] Christianus Grave, cler. Morinen. dioc., was appointed 'cantor, scriptor et abbreviator' (the combination seems significant) on 5.9.1390; he was given canonries at St Servatius, Maastricht in 1389, at St Donatian's, Bruges in 1392 and Our Lady's, Maastricht, in 1394; it is not clear whether he held the Bruges benefice, as well as others in Veurne and Bulscamp (Flanders) only nominally. He may have been from Ypers or Veurne; two musicians named Grave are documented at Our Lady's, Courtrai, about 1410-1440. Michaele de Wettere, cler. Tornac. dioc., is named as 'cantor' in 1394; his benefices included St Servatius, Maastricht, and others. As beneficiary of the parish church of Wareghem near Gent he was, like Volatoris, a successor to the

45. O. J. THIMISTER, *Nécrologe du clergé du diocèse de Liège 1801 à 1894. Précédé de la biographie des dignitaires de la Collégiale de Saint-Paul 960 à 1798*, Liège 1894, pp. 127 ss.; *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* cit., XX, p. 590 ss.; AH, XXIV, pp. 89-94.

46. Kerkarchief Sint-Jacob, Gent, Rekeningen Cotidianen, 1385/86.

above-named Petrus Beyle de Molendino in 1391. Before 1394, Wettere had been a 'familiaris commensalis' of Pileus card. ep. Tusculan., papal nuntius to Germany.

With one exception, these are *all* those known today as 'cantores' of the Roman popes before 1400. All these men came from the Low Countries. Among the other 'capellani' and the 'scriptores et abbreviatores', the share of Netherlanders is not much smaller, and it cannot be without significance that this was the personal environment for Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo, the composer. A. Ziino[47] discovered the document according to which he was 'cantor', and appointed to the post of 'scriptor litterarum apostolicarum' on 1.2.1391. One of his colleagues in the latter capacity was a certain Eckardus, who on 14.5.1394 signed a papal letter in favour of a curate of St James, Gent.[48] The connection with Flanders, as well as the fact that no other Eckardus or Egardus appears anywhere else in the published documentation, suggest that he might be identical with Magister Egardus, the composer. The name is extremely rare even in Flanders itself.

The singers of the Roman popes from 1400 are known to us through the researches of Haberl, Ziino and Sherr. The list of 1400, published by Sherr, shows a clean sweep among the Flemings, who were then probably too expensive for Boniface IX; only Wettere was retained, albeit at the highest salary of 4 fl. cam. The other 'cantores' came partly from the immediate neighbour-hood within the Papal states (as did Antonius Zacara). Shortly later, however, new singers from the North were appointed: Willelmus Willelmi Nicolai de Hildernisse and Daniel de Aken in 1403, Nicolaus Hughe under Innocent VII, 1404-1406 (this singer came probably from North

47. A. ZIINO, *Magister Antonius* cit., pp. 311 ss.

48. *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* cit., XXIX, no. 884: Wilhelmus dictus Kesel, 'rector alterius portionis parrochie S. Jacobi Ganden.' (i. e. a successor of J. Blondeel) is appointed papal collector in the province of Reims; signed 'Eckardus'. According to F. VERSTRAETEN, *De Gentse Sint-Jacobsparochie,* I-III, Gent 1976, vol. 1, pp. 98 ss., Jan Blondeel was still curate of that parish 1422-1427. According to the same source, p. 41, the church had a *liber motetorum* as early as 1387.

Germany), and Jacobus de Romendin (1408?), Thomas de Namurco (1408?) and Nicolaus Simonis de Leodio (1410?) under Gregory XII, who also retained Hildernisse, Aken and Hughe.

This pope also employed Italian singers, no doubt. With his move to Cividale in 1407, he might have had a reason to employ the composer Antonius de Civitate in some capacity. A 'scriptor et abbreviator pape', already in 1400, was Antonius Baldassaris who had a benefice at Our Lady's, Cividale, another in the diocese of Aquileja as well as one in Padua.[49] It is unclear at present whether there could have been more composers among the 'scriptores' of the pope. Certainly, this group of papal servants also consisted largely of Netherlanders, as witnessed by the names of the 'scriptores' Georgius de Pala (vander Paele) of Bruges, Anselmus de Breda of Gent and Petrus de Bruxella (all in 1407/8).

The suggestion made by Agostino Ziino that Antonius Zacara joined the chapel of pope Alexander V in Pisa seems now confirmed by John Nádas' discovery of further lists of singers under John XXIII (1410-1415), where Antonius is in fact mentioned.[50] Our knowledge about this chapel is still somewhat sketchy, particularly for the earliest years, 1409-1410. Going back to the evidence of local sources, I may suggest two names. Robertus Sandewin received a clerkship, and a canonry soon after, at St Donatian's, Bruges, in 1410. This was *in absentia*, and on the strength of letters by Pope Alexander V, written before 30.12.1409. We must note that the Duke of Burgundy had recognised the Pisan pope, making the rich prebends of Flanders available to that curia (and apparently negotiating more collation rights for himself as well). Sandewin, who was from Boterschem in the diocese of Liège, later accumulated many benefices in Bruges, where he died as cantor of St Donatian's in 1453.[51] He served as 'cantor' in the chapel of Pope Martin V in Constance: appointed on 23.12.1417, he belonged to a group of singers who were simply re-appointed, as they

49. *Repertorium Germanicum* cit., I, col. 81.

50. Unpublished conference paper for the *Colloquium 'Internationaler Stil'*, Neustift/Bressanone 1984.

51. R. STROHM, *Music* cit., pp. 20 ss. and 188.

had already served John XXIII and perhaps Alexander V (the others were Johannes de Semeriaco alias Jonatas, Matheus Hanelle, Matheus Thorote alias Bruyant, Johannes Frederich alias Bourdon).[52] In 1410, Sandewin had neither a univerity degree nor even was in holy orders, and can hardly have served the pope in another function than that of a singer.

Another canonry at St Donatian's was given, *in absentia,* to Jacobus Vide, cler. Tornacen. dioc., on 27.10.1410. This was on the strength of 'littere pape moderni' (i. e. John XXIII), dated 29.5.1410, immediately after the pope's accession. Vide is surely identical with the known composer Jacques Vide, who later joined the Burgundian chapel.[53] In 1410, he had neither a university degree nor was in holy orders ('non erat in sacris').

If we add these two names to the lists of singers under John XXIII as compiled by Haberl, Schuler and Nádas, we have a chapel of feasible size, mostly constitued of Northern French and Flemish musicians, one of whom is known as a composer. Nádas has now also added the name of Antonius Zacara or 'Magister Zacharias'. He served in an environment which was just as Northern-influenced as that under the Roman popes. With the exception of Antonius himself, however, none of these singers is represented with compositions in the manuscript I-MOe 5.24, the older fascicles of which were compiled at the papal court in Bologna, according to Nino Pirrotta and Ursula Günther.[54] Moreover, the one composer whose works dominate the earlier as well as the later layer of manuscript, Matheus de Perusio, has not yet been identified in any papal document. The same is the case with Anthonellus de Caserta, represented with eight works in the earlier layer. Our Magister Egardus, as shown above, must have been too old to serve the Bologna popes, and of Corrado da Pistoia it has been assumed that he is

52. M. SCHULER, *Die Musik in Konstanz während des Konzils 1414 bis 1418,* ActaMus, XXXVIII, 1966, pp. 150-168; ID., *Zur Geschichte der Kapelle Papst Martins V,* AfMW, XXV, 1968, pp. 30-45.

53. *Acta Capitularia...* cit., Reeks A no. 49: 6.10. and 27.10.1410.

54. N. PIRROTTA, *Il codice estense* cit.; U. GÜNTHER, *Das Manuskript Modena* cit., n. 10.

identical with a singer appointed at S. Reparata of Florence in December 1410.[55] Barholomeus de Bononia cannot have been an actual member of the chapel, although he composed a work for it.[56] As for Antonius Zacara, his five works in I-MOe (in the older layer only) must have existed before about 1410 to judge from their concordances, except perhaps the unicum *Sumite karissimi*. For a widely-known composer like him, his share in I-MOe is surprisingly small if the codex originated in the chapel to which he belonged. Pirrotta and Günther had good reason to expect that names like those of Matheus de Perusio, Egardus, Bartholomeus and Corradus would at some time turn up in the list of papal singers, but they have not.

All this makes me suspect that the fascicles 2-4 of I-MOe were not compiled in and for the chapel of John XXIII. Or should one assume that none of his 'cantores' besides Antonius Zacara was a composer, and that Antonius contributed almost only earlier works? Pending the problem of Matheus de Perusio and Anthonellus, the contents of these fascicles can better be reconciled with a slightly earlier origin, in the entourage of Cardinal Filargo and up to his coronation in Pisa (7.7.1409) at the latest.[57] For that event, the topical works by Bartholomeus and Corradus could well have been written. The collection seems retrospective, carrying forward works from the Avignonese repertory, with strong Milanese and Paduan admixtures, and with works written under the Roman popes (Antonius; perhaps Egardus). That fascicles 2 and 3 are illuminated in a style dependent on the school of Niccolò di Giacomo of Bologna does not prove that they actually originated in that town, nor for a chapel residing in that town.[58]

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55. A suggestion by F. D'Accone, accepted by GÜNTHER, *op. cit.*, p. 33 n. 51.

56. On him, see A. CAVICCHI in RIdM, X, 1975, pp. 46-71, and RIdM, XI, 1976, pp. 178-181. Cavicchi believes that the papal work 'Arte psalentes' was composed for a ceremony on 10.2.1410.

57. C. SARTORI, *Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut: i due primi maestri di cappella del Duomo di Milano*, ActaMus, XXVIII, 1956, pp. 12-27, proposed an origin around 1406/07 in Pavia for Pietro Filargo. Although he dismisses the division between older and younger layer in the manuscript, the idea that the codex has to do only with Matteo da Perugia and Pietro Filargo (and not with John XXIII) seems still attractive.

58. For the references, see U. GÜNTHER, *Das Manuskript Modena* cit., p. 19.

I imagine the repertory of the chapel of John XXIII to have been different. It may have contained those sacred works by Antonius Zacara (including his 'parody' movements,[59] and those of Bartholomeus?) which survive in *later* sources. Nino Pirrotta has also hinted in a different direction.[60] His suggestion that music of the chapel of John XXIII must have been distributed from the Council of Costance (1414-1418), where it was certainly heard, makes us ask for sources which reflect the music of the Council. I suggest that the lost Strasbourg codex F-Sm 222 was such a source. It seems to have been compiled at Strasbourg cathedral from about 1420, and the music available in Constance may actually form the basis of the collection.[61] Pirrotta believes that the bishop of Teramo, Marino di Tocco, who played an important role at the Council and who visited Strasbourg cathedral in 1416, was a patron of Antonius Zacara. In fact, there are three or four works by him in F-Sm: the caccia *Cacciando per gustar* (no. 7); the Gloria no. 59, already tentatively attributed to Antonius by Reaney, for which von Fischer has now proposed to interpret the heading 'Zeltenpferd' as a misreading of 'Z. de Teramo';[62] the ballata *I'ardo in un fogo* as it is ascribed to 'Anthonius clericus apostolicus' (no. 159) and perhaps also the ballata *De bon parole* (no. 149) entitled *Nucella* which could be a misreading of *Micinella*. Besides Antonius Zacara, there may be two works by another papal singer, Johannes de Semeriaco (Comeriaco), under the headings 'Cameracy' and 'Cameraco' (nos. 126 and 194).[63]

F-Sm 222 is partly a reflection of the encounters between the

59. K. Von Fischer has recently suggested (unpublished conference paper, *Colloquium 'International Stil'*, Neustift/Bressanone 1984), that the three 'parody' movements by Antonius were composed for John XXIII. None of them was entered into I-MOe.

60. N. PIRROTTA, *Zacharus Musicus*, «Quadrivium», XII, 1971, pp. 153-174, especially pp. 160-165.

61. R. STROHM, *The Ars Nova fragments* cit.

62. In the conference paper cited in n. 59.

63. The identification, rejected by others, is perfectly possible as the musician's *unusual* name would have been 'corrected' into the familiar Latin name of Cambrai.

Germanic North and the Italian South which had already occurred in Italy in the preceding decades (although it also shows independent links with the Low Countries). Its share of the French Ars Nova repertory is surprisingly often concordant with the earlier Italian sources F-Pn 6771 (for chansons) and the Paduan fragments (for sacred works). A similar statement could be made about the other Strasbourg source, the chansonnier CS – Pu XI E 9, which may have been copied even a little earlier than F-Sm, perhaps 1415-1420. Here we find pieces by Donato da Firenze (nos. 1) and Landini (nos. 8) together with others from the 'international' repertory already circulated in Italy (no. 11, 14, 16, 18, 20) and several genuine Flemish pieces. It also seems time to reassess the sources which might have been available to Oswald von Wolkenstein for his polyphonic arrangements, the texts of which have almost all been dated by literary scholars in the years 1415-17 when he was present at the Council and in the area on the Upper Rhine.[64] I suggest that he drew on the same sources as the compiler of F-Sm 222 - mainly Italian manuscripts which contained Italian, French and Flemish songs. That the chansonnier fragment A-HEI may have been compiled in Constance has been suggested above. The last item in our survey are the fragments D-Nst 9/9a and Melk 749 (olim 542). These were most probably part of the same original codex, a choirbook copied for Stephen's, Vienna.[65] Although I previously believed that the manuscript may have been written as early as c. 1400, I am now inclined to date it c. 1415-1420, interpreting it as yet another reflection of the repertory available in Constance. This would fit excellently with the occurrence of two mass movements by Antonio Zacara (Gloria *Ad ongni vento* and Credo *Cursor*) alongside older Ars Nova works, one of

64. N. MAYR, *Oswalds von Wolkenstein Liederhandschrift A in neuer Sicht,* in *Gesammelte Vorträge der 600-Jahrfeier Oswalds von Wolkenstein,* Seis am Schlern 1977, ed. by H. D. Mück and U. Müller, Göppingen 1978, pp. 351-371 (especially pp. 368-371).

65. R. STROHM, *Einheimische und fremde Mehrstimmigkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Österreich,* conference paper *Colloquium* Neustift/Bressanone 1982 (forthcoming); ID., *Music* cit., pp. 104 ss.

which (*Comes Flandrie*) was definitely composed for Bruges, 1381/82. F. Harrison had already suggested that the motet *Deo gratias papales* actually originated at the Council.[66]

The older French-Flemish pieces, however, may have come to Constance from Italy once more, as results of the Italo-Flemish contacts around 1400 which this paper has attempted to describe.

I believe it is an oversimplification to interpret the musical repertory in Italy around 1400 as a combination of 'native' and 'French' elements. Direct contacts with the Low Countries must have been just as important, providing Italy's chapels with what was already a mixture of French and Netherlandish works. Would it not have been natural for musicians who came from the North like Ciconia and Egardus, to take some of their native music with them when heading for more lucrative appointments in Italy? The Gloria *Spiritus et alme* by Egardus may be just such a work. Its relative remoteness from the style of the 'Ars subtilior' is, at least in this case, not an Italian but a Flemish trait. A fuller investigation of Netherlandish music towards 1400 might tell us a great deal more also about the development of Italian music.

66. F. HARRISON ed., *Motets of French Provenance*, PMFC XXI, p. XV.

TWO CANONS FOR FRATER BUCLARUS

Magister Egardus (I-Moe)

Cantus:

Furnos reliquisti quare
Quaeso: frater dic,
Buclare!
Optabam tecum cantare,
Ut-re-mi-re-fa-sol-la-re,
Sicque Musam frequentare,
Jubilando recreare
Sensus et refocilare.
Sed audivi garrulare
Quod mansisti super mare
Novi Pontus, ubi stare
Tibi placet. Nam spectare
Cives norunt ac oblare
Pisces, carnes ad altare,
Cum jocunde vis potare.
Solent enim propinare
Bona vinaque pagare.
...
Nunc ergo cane, Buclare,
Sane vivas et letare;
Festina, noli tardare
Jacobum, Saulum vocare,
Te solentes visitare,
Setios accumulare.
Egardum non ignorare,
Musice tripudiare,
Dulciter organizare

Tenor:

Equum est et salutare
In primis te salutare.
Salve, vale, frater care,
Pedibus qui super mare
Ambulavit se purgare
A peccatis et sanare
... Quare
Nam fugisti me, Buclare?
Precor hanc fugam cantare
Dulciter et non amare.
Namque nosti me amare
Diligenter gama-ut-are,
Ex quo scimus satis clare
Cunctam Musam emanare.
Quam ut matrem amplexare,
Quae te consuevit lactare,
Quantum potes honorare,
Frequenter harmonizare.
Noli melancholizare,
Plaude, plange, modulare:
Contristatos consolare,
Velut tuba resonare,
Dei cultum augmentare,
Pias mentes excitare,
Hymnos dulces personare,
Christi matrem venerare,
Trinitatem adorare,
Cum sanctis Deum laudare,
Si cum illo vis regnare.

Thomas Fabri (A-HEI)

Sinceram salutem care
Mando vobis, o Buclare,
Ob amorem gama-ut-are
Velis haec armonizare.

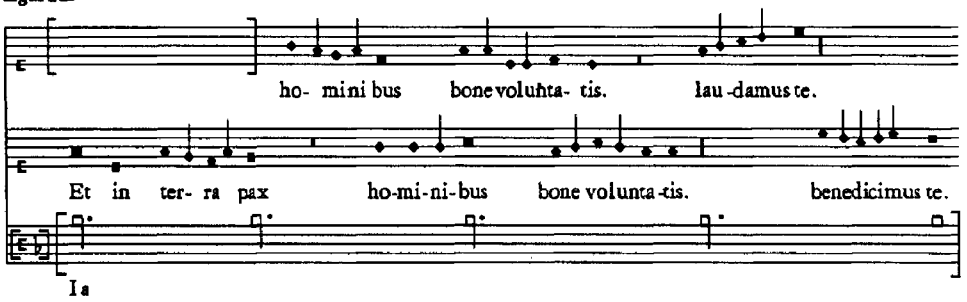
O ros Bachi me rorare,
Veni tibi supplicare -
Nostis me - quod vis migrare
Fugam illam prope mare.
Melodiam te man(d)are,
Haec quisque investigare
Potest perscrutando, quare
Facta probant satis clare.

Vos intendo visitare,
Tecum Bachum lacerare,
Brugis meque recreare
Et ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la-re.

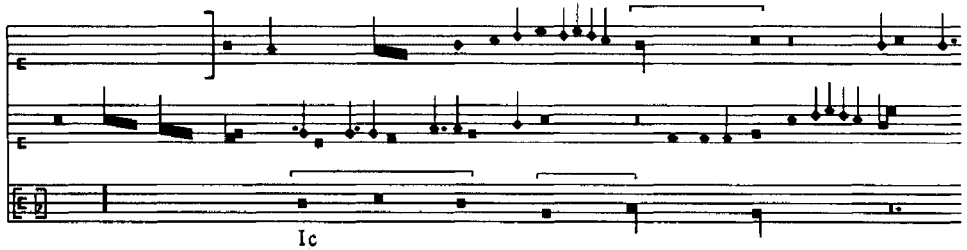
Tu cum fare nil temptare (?)
Atque carmina grammare
Docet alpha gubernare,
Te dignare quod salvare.

Sinceram salutem care
Mando vobis, o Buclare,
etc. hin ist hin

Egardus

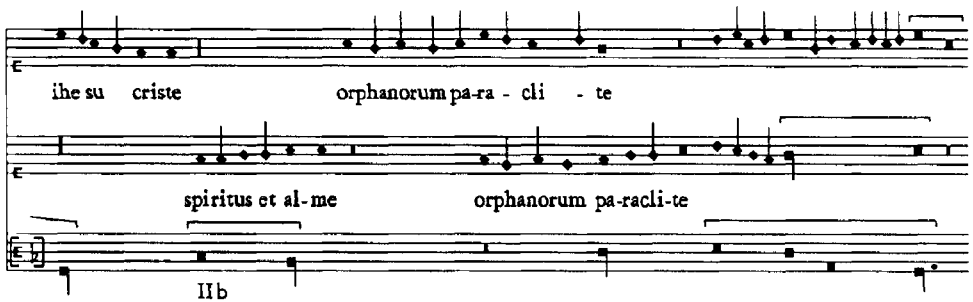

ho- mini bus bone voluntа- tis. lau -damus te.
Et in ter- ra pax ho-mi-ni-bus bone volunta-tis. benedicimus te.
Ia

adoramus te. Gratias a gimus ti-bi
glorificamus te. Gra- tias a-gimus ti-bi
Ib

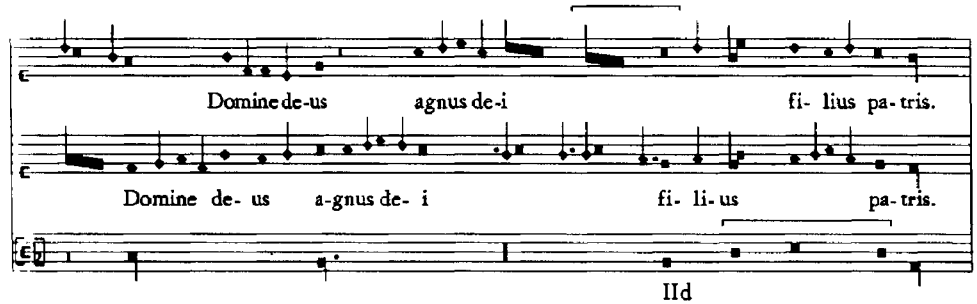

Ic

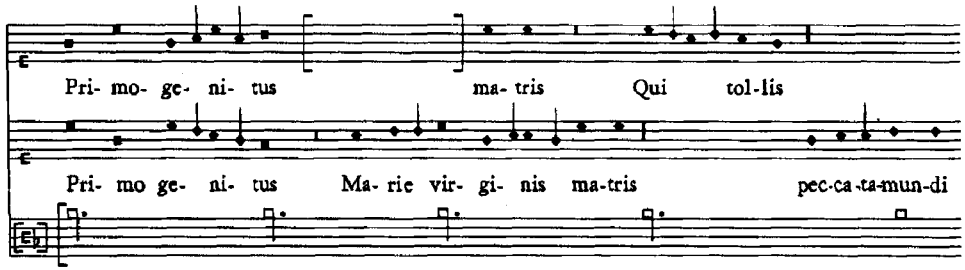
propter magnam glori-am tu-am.
propter magnam glori-am tu-am.
Id

Do- mi- ne us pater omnipotens domi-ne fi- li
Do- mi- ne deus rex ce- le stis de- us pater om- nipotens u ni ge ni-te
IIa

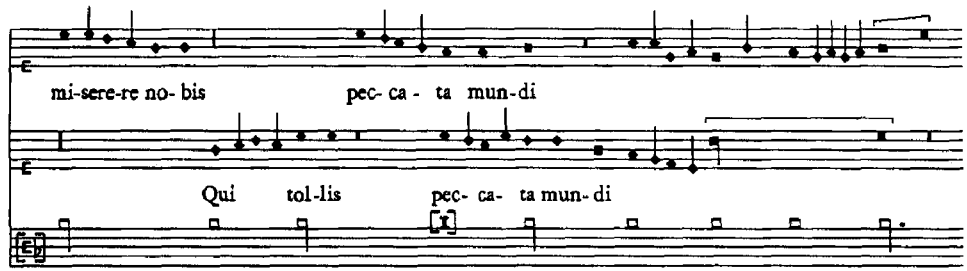

ihe su criste orphanorum pa-ra - cli - te
spiritus et al-me orphanorum pa-racli-te
IIb

IIc


Domine de-us agnus de-i fi- lius pa- tris.
Domine de- us a-gnus de- i fi- li- us pa- tris.
IId

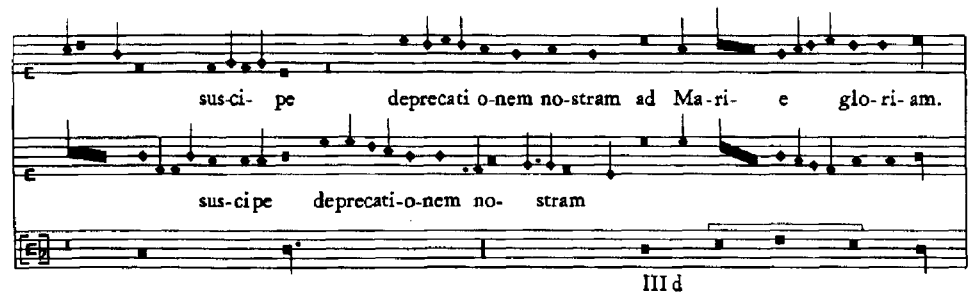


III a



III b

III c



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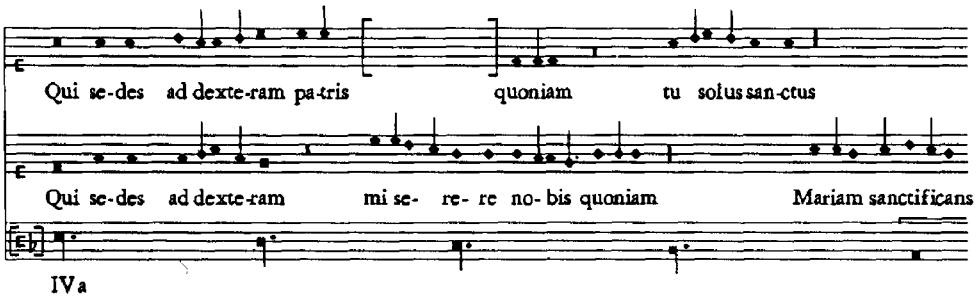
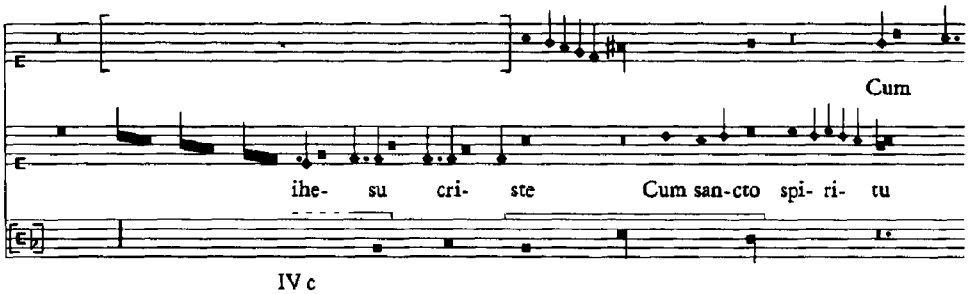


IV a

IV b



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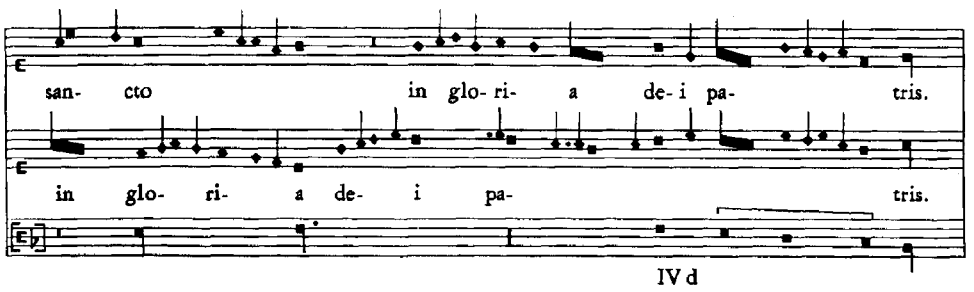

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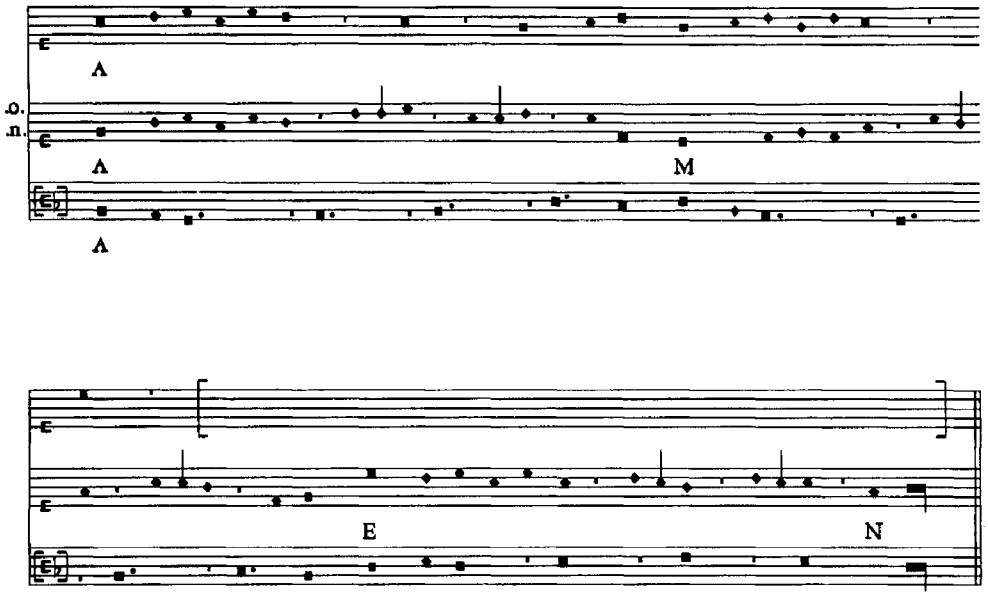
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[4]

PROBLEMS OF DATING IN ARS NOVA AND ARS SUBTILIOR

URSULA GÜNTHER
(GÖTTINGEN)

In 1950, in his *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*, Willi Apel published 81 compositions from the second half of the century, dividing them into three stylistically differentiated groups which were to correspond to three phases of development:

Machaut Style 1350-1370
Manneristic Style 1370-1390
Modern Style 1390-1400.[1]

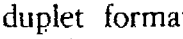
This division has been criticized, primarily with reference to its second period, on the one hand because of the astonishingly early date with which it begins, on the other because of its somewhat derogatory designation as « manneristic ».[2]

In 1972, on completing his impressive *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, with 304 individual items, Apel decided in the epilogue of his third volume to speak henceforward of five style-periods, but in so doing to fix only the date at which they began, since the various phases of the development tended to overlap to some extent.[3] In an essay published in *Musica Disciplina* for 1973, Apel sought to justify this revision of his original stylistic chronology.[4] Here, too, he distinguished five style-phases, fixing the dates at which they began as follows:

1300 Pre-Machaut style
1335 Machaut style
1350 Post-Machaut style
1360 Manneristic style = *ars subtilior*
1380 Modern style

Apel believes that the dates at which the various phases ended can only be conjectured: « The style of Machaut may have been cultivated by some conservative composers after 1380 and later (Machaut died in 1377), decades after some of the progressives had explored novel possibilities in the field of notation and rhythm. The influence of the post-Machaut style may have continued into the modern style (it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between these two styles), so that manneristic style would appear as a lateral development confined to the southern part of France, as has been suggested by O. Gombosi. The latter style certainly continued to be cultivated in the early decades of the 15th century ».[5]

The decisive novelty of this new sheme lies obviously in its introduction of a transitional period between the style of Machaut and the highly complicated *ars subtilior*. In principle, the idea is sound. Indeed, Besseler had already pointed out that the rise of a form of musical expression and notation as richly differentiated as this one would be unthinkable without a certain time for development.[6] And in my own dissertation of 1957, after having painstakenly studied this style-change on the basis of compositions which might be dated, I had concluded that in Machaut's works and to a still greater extent in the chansons of his contemporaries one could find syncopation chains, changes of time signatures, and the simultaneous use of contrasting forms of measure, style traits until then regarded as primarily characteristic of works of the later time.[7]

Yet one may doubt whether one must actually assign 117 items from the repertoire which Apel has published (roughly 40%)[8] to this transitional phase, which he illogically dubs post-Machaut style. To this group Apel reckons works with « small note values (16th-notes of the transcription), duplet formation (e.g., ), single red or white notes, *color prolationis*, fairly extended syncopation passages, imitation, extended sequences, strict isorhythm, c-minor tonality » and « realistic texts ».[9]

Apel places the four *chaces* from Ivrea among the works with realistic tendencies. Yet Machaut must have known the chace *Se je chant mains que ne suelh* at a very early date, for he quotes the first line of the piece in the refrain of his twelfth ballade, *Pour ce que tous mes chans*,[10], a youthful work for two voices that must in any case belong before the year 1349.[11] To reckon these chaces to the hypothetical post-Machaut style amounts to standing the course of musical development on its head. In

view of their underlying movement in longs and breves, Besseler had already classed these chaces as belonging among the oldest secular pieces of the Ivrea repertory.[12]

Then, too, the mere presence of imitation and strict isorhythm is an insufficient basis for dividing the style of the period after 1350 from that of earlier pieces approximating the Machaut style. Machaut himself seems to have been the man who for the first time applied to the song forms the isorhythmic technique developed in the motet. His first ballade, known to be an early work from before 1349[13], is laid out in strict isorhythm, yet in the late rondeau No. 19, *Quant ma dame*, as in many of his motets, he has used the device less schematically.[14] But isorhythm itself, and the degree of its strictiness, offers no support of any kind for a chronological ordering of undated works.

The same is equally true of the presence of imitation. This rarely occurs in Machaut's music, but instances of imitation are nonetheless present in the rondeau from the early *Remède de Fortune.*[15] Why, for example, is as simple a piece as the virelai *Venés a nueches*[16] from the Cambrai fragments to be classed as belonging to the so-called post-Machaut style on the strength of a single imitation in each section affecting altogether only four measures of the triplum? The presence of a triplum instead of a contratenor, as usual later on, points in the opposite direction toward an early date, and it may be added that the piece shows no trace of rhythmic complication. I refer also to the imitation in Vitry's Ivrea motet *Petre Clemens*[17] on Clemens VI, Pope from 1342 to 1352.

But the most astonishing thing about Apel's new theory is his assumption that the rhythmic complication observed in the music of Machaut's contemporaries had by 1360 already reached such a high point that one was obliged to see in it the beginning of the « manneristic style » by 1360, that is, not « by 1370 », as Apel had originally held, to say nothing of « by 1380 », the date I had attempted to establish on the basis of datable compositions.

Apel's new date is based primarily on his assumption that a rhythmically complicated rondeau of the manuscript Ivrea had already been entered about 1360 and that Ciconia's even more complicated virelai *Sus un' fontayne* may therefore be dated around 1370,[18] as Suzanne Clercx and Richard Hoppin had decided. Arguing in this way, Apel seems not to have noticed that Besseler's old date for the codex Ivrea[19] is no longer tenable.

The fact is that *IV* contains two motets on Gaston Fébus de Foix et Béarn and that these two pieces must be later than Besseler assumed[20]. In both motets one encounters the sobriquet *Fébus* which Gaston III de Foix began to use in 1357-1358 at the time of his expedition into East Prussia. In my motet edition of 1965 I pointed out that the French historian Pierre Tucoo-Chala first found Gaston signing himself *Febus* in 1360.[21] But the use of the sobriquet only became more frequent after 1365.[22] Frank Ll. Harrison, who has published the two motets,[23] applied to Tucoo-Chala for an interpretation of their texts. In this connection the one thing that interests us is that in the three-voice motet *Febus mundo oriens - Lanista vipereus - Cornibus equivocis* Tucoo-Chala finds unmistakable allusions to an historical event in 1365: these refer to a meeting between Fébus and Edward III's successor, the Black Prince, who was then asserting a claim to sovereignty over Béarn. In a chronicle we read that, in defiance of the English and in order to show where his sympathies lay, Fébus wore a cloak embroidered with *fleurs de lis*.[24] This interpretation is applied to the following lines of the text:

Sic dum comes floreus
ostendit se Guallicum,
perit sermo felleus
eum dicens Anglicum.

and

... nam aqueus
flos ad modum apicum
inest et equoreus
dalphinus qui unicum
reputat.

Tucoo-Chala believes that the reference to the Dauphin is clear, since following the treaty of Brétigny (in 1360) France was under his control; in addition he thinks that these texts were written by someone favorable to the French cause.[25]

The motets on Fébus stand almost at the beginning of the manuscript as Nos. 3 and 4, after a troped Kyrie and an older motet on the French king Philipp VI and his son, the duc Jean, since 1350 Jean II.[26] The Kyrie on fol. 1 is barely legible, but the first owner of the manuscript must have insisted on having this piece, for it recurs first on fol. 56 and again on fol. 61. It is a Kyrie with the trope *Sol iusticie*, invented, of course, as a praise

of the Christian God. But at the court of a prince who had chosen the name of the sun-god Phoebus Apollo, this text may have served at the same time as an hommage to Fébus, the more so since Gaston Fébus appears to have taken an enormous satisfaction in his role as chief justice of his country. Tucoo-Chala devotes a whole chapter of his thesis to the reorganization of law and justice by Gaston Fébus in Béarn.[27] He states that « Gaston III a rendu justice avec un soin minutieux: parfois même il n'hésita pas à sacrifier une partie de son temps pour trancher des cas d'importance minime. En agissant ainsi, en intervenant sans cesse dans la vie quotidienne de ses sujets, il accroissait son emprise sur eux ».[28]

The three occurrences of the *Kyrie Sol iusticie* and the prominent placing of the two motets on Gaston Fébus suggest, in my opinion, that the manuscript *IV* comes from the court of the prince of Foix and Béarn. The motet on Pope Clemens VI (1342-1352) appears only as the fifty-first item in the contents and offers no more support for Avignon as provenance than the concordances with the manuscript Apt. The sacred repertory from Avignon might in any case have been known at the court of Foix and Béarn.

The rondeau *Fortune fause* of Matheus de Sancto Johanne, which is so important for Willi Apel's theory, belongs according to Besseler[29] to the most recent additions to *IV*, written by the scribe who is responsible for the last gathering and those textless pieces which use semiminims and dragmas. To date *Fortune fause* 1370 or even 1375 instead of 1360 would probably be more appropriate, especially since Matheus de Sancto Johanne cannot be traced with assurance before 1378. He wrote a piece on Pope Clemens VII and served in his chapel in Avignon from 1382 to 1386.[30] A further argument which confirms the late date for *Fortune fause* is the rhythmically simpler style of all those works which must have been written before 1376 because their incipits occur in the index of the lost manuscript *Trem*, which is dated.[31]

Much more complicated than the rondeau by Matheus de Sancto Johanne is Apel's example for the prevailing trend of 1370, Ciconia's virelai *Sus un' fontayne*, again an untenable argument for the new theory. Those who have read my article on « Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der ars nova und ars subtilior » in *Musica Disciplina* XXVI of 1972 may recall that Apel obviously did not understand the text of this piece and therefore did not solve all problems of the transcription, especially in respect

to the unusual form which is a result of musical quotations.[32] The text of this virelai is an hommage to an admired composer. Suzanne Clercx[33] and Richard Hoppin[34] have shown that this composer must be Philipoctus de Caserta, for he is honored by three quotations from three of his works. Apel, however, thinks that three pieces by Philipoctus and Galiot quote three different sections from one virelai by Ciconia, written in Avignon.[35] One of the works quoted by Ciconia is Philipoctus' *En atendant souffrir m'estuet*. During the Certaldo meeting in 1969, Geneviève Thibault showed that this must be an hommage to Bernabò Visconti († 1385) while Ciconia's proportional canon *Le ray au soleil* was written for Gian Galeazzo Visconti, probably between 1387 and 1390.[36] The similarly complicated *Sus un' fontayne* might have been composed at the same time and could therefore be used as an example for the prevailing trend of 1390.[37] As in Philipoctus' *En atendant* the *fontayne* might be a veiled allusion to the court of the Visconti at Milan. Both pieces make clear that the *ars subtilior* cannot be a « lateral development confined to the southern part of France », as Apel thinks.[38] Indeed, the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5,24 contains a great number of highly complicated works composed by Italians who, according to Nino Pirrotta,[39] might have acted around 1410 in the entourage of Pope Alexander V and his follower, John XXIII, namely Matteo da Perugia, Magister Zacharias, Egardus, Corradus de Pistoia and Bartholomeus de Bologna. Willi Apel himself observed that one of these works, *Sumite karissimi* by Zacharias, « represents the ultimate degree of syncopation, and today could be performed only with the help of electronic equipment ».[40] But following Suzanne Clercx, he thinks that the whole manuscript *Mod* might have been written at the end of the 14th century in Avignon.[41] In 1970, in my own study concerning this manuscript, I tried to prove that both theories about the origin of this source can be perfectly reconciled.[42] A part of the *Mod* repertory did certainly originate in Avignon or at least in France, but the actual compilation of the manuscript must have taken place in Italy. The strongest evidence for this comes from two Italian compositions: one of them, *Ore Pandulfum*, must have been written after 1399, because it mentions the pilgrimage to the Holy. Land by Pandolfo Malatesta III;[43] the other, *Imperial sedendo* by Bartolinus de Padua, celebrates, according to Pierluigi Petrobelli,[44] the appointment of Francesco Novello da Carrara to a high military position at the court of the Emperor (1401).

It is unlikely that a composition honouring Pandolfo Malatesta III would have been included in an Avignonese manuscript since this prince was a loyal follower of the Roman Popes Boniface IX and Gregory XII.[45] Moreover, how could pieces written after 1399 have reached the papal court at Avignon? From 1398 to 1403 Pope Benedict XIII, who had lost the support of the King of France, was virtually a prisoner in his own palace, and after his secret escape he never came back to Avignon but went to Marseilles and, in 1405, to Genoa, where he spent three years in the territories governed by the Maréchal de Boucicaut. Pope Benedict was accompanied by the *capellani* of his private chapel, who must of course have known the old repertory from Avignon.[46]

In 1408 the great gathering of Italians and French cardinals in Pisa for the council which was to put an end to the schism might have provided an excellent opportunity for collecting pieces from the several hostile factions. The council of Pisa lasted over a year and ended with the election of Cardinal Pietro Filargo, the protector of Matheus de Perusio. Since Matheus, the main composer of the new fascicles 1 and 5 of *Mod*, is also represented in the old ones, he himself might have been responsible for the compilation of these in the entourage of Pope Alexander V, which probably means 1410-1411, as Nino Pirrotta had already suggested in 1946.[47] It seems logical that the latest compositions of Matheus de Perusio should appear in the late gatherings 1 and 5 of *Mod*, written probably before his death in 1418.[48] But in spite of all our knowledge about Matheus' career, Willi Apel gives the obviously late and certainly progressive rondeau *A qui fortune* from fascicle 5 (fol. 43) as example for the so-called « modern style » of about 1390.[49]

For the proposed beginning at 1380 of this simpler style Apel offers no other explanation than « the earlier date for the beginning of the manneristic style ».[50] Indeed, it is impossible to find a convincing proof for a style close to Dufay's as early as 1380. Most of the twenty-nine pieces which Apel assigns to this period[51] are from *Mod*: mainly works by Matheus de Perusio, some anonymous pieces and one virelai by Ciconia, namely *Aler m'en veus*, written according to Suzanne Clercx in a style musically and textually close to Machaut.[52] Furthermore Apel mentions in this context only four compositions from the Lucca manuscript of about 1420, two from the Leiden fragments and one from *Bol*. That Apel's list does not include one composition from earlier sources, such as *PR, Ch,*

Pit and *FP*, speaks clearly against his new date for the so-called « modern style ». Apel obviously overlooked the only composition which should have been mentioned in this connection: it is the simple rondeau *Va t'en mon cuer*,[53] probably written in the late 1390's by Gacian Reynau,[54] who served from 1398 or earlier until 1429 at the court of Aragon.[55]

Furthermore, one might consider whether the two conductus-like pieces from the Leiden fragments, which Apel labeled in « pre-Machaut style » should not be placed in this category, together with the two other pieces of the same source. To be sure, they seem to have been composed in a more primitive style, but they show correspondingly short sections of equal length with syllabic text underlay and others progressive traits.[56] According to its text, one piece is a *dit de Hasprois*, a song from Haspre as Apel correctly translates[57], and it might well be by the composer Hasprois known by four pieces from the manuscripts *Ch* and *O*. He can be traced from 1378 to 1428[58] and one may scarcely suppose that he can have composed before 1335 in a « pre-Machaut style ». In the Leiden fragments, these primitive pieces stand next to more complicated ones in the same gathering.[59] This shows clearly how different styles cultivated at the same time can be.

Finally, I have to confess that I feel myself responsible for an untenable hypothesis which might have influenced Willi Apel[60]: it concerned the composer Johannes Vaillant and his identity with the papal capellanus Johannes Valentis (or Valhant) who died in 1361.[61]

A recent discovery made by Israel Adler[62] in a Hebrew manuscript[63] seems to contradict this suggestion and makes it much more likely that the composer Vaillant was a man of the late fourteenth century.[64] This favours my first hypothesis on Vaillant.[65] The composer could be the Jean Vaillant who held different high positions at the court of the Duc de Berry between 1377 and 1387,[66] or the « Poitevin Jean Vaillant », who, in 1391, had to write an « abrégé du roman de Brut ».[67]

Apel's new scheme, though working with largely overlapping periods and therefore more flexible than the old one, is nevertheless unacceptable because it is based on a series of untenable hypotheses. Moreover it works with terms which are either unsuitable or incorrectly applied, as for instance the expression « Machaut style ». This term should designate the personal style of the composer, not that of the whole period.

And one should always bear in mind that Machaut's earliest composi-

tions date from the 1320's, his latest from about 1370.[68] The style of his late songs, though much more complicated than his early style,[69] is still far removed from the rhythmic complexities of the *ars subtilior*.

NOTE

1. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

2. Cf. URSULA GÜNTHER, « Das Ende der ars nova », *Die Musikforschung*, XVI (1963), pp. 106 and 112-117.

3. *CMM* 53, III, pp. XIII-XV.

4. « The Development of French Secular Music during the Fourteenth Century », *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), pp. 41-59.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

6. HEINRICH BESSELER, « Hat Matheus de Perusio Epoche gemacht? », *Die Musikforschung*, VIII (1955), pp. 19-22.

7. « Bereits in den Werken Machauts und in noch stärkerem Masse in den Liedsätzen seiner Zeitgenossen sind Stilmerkmale zu finden, die bisher als vornehmlich für Werke der Folgezeit charakteristisch angesehen wurden, nämlich längere Synkopenketten, Taktwechsel und die gleichzeitige Verwendung verschiedener Taktarten ». See URSULA GÜNTHER, *Der musikalische Stilwandel der französischen Liedkunst in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Hamburg 1957, p. 277, partly published as « Datierbare Balladen des späten 14. Jahrhunderts », I, *Musica Disciplina*, XV (1961) and II, *MD*, XVI (1962), p. 173.

8. See *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 53.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

10. Cf. the detailed discussion of this quotation in my article « Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der ars nova und ars subtillor », *Musica Disciplina*, XXVI (1972), pp. 54-55.

11. Cf. GILBERT REANEY, « Towards a Chronology of Machaut's Musical Works », *Musica Disciplina*, XXI (1967), pp. 87-96, and URSULA GÜNTHER, « Chronologie und Stil der Kompositionen Guillaume de Machauts », *Acta Musicologica*, XXXV (1963), pp. 96-114. In « A new Chronology of the Ballades of Machaut », *Acta Musicologica*, XLVI (1974), pp. 192-207, Anne Swartz did not mention these two articles. Furthermore she obviously misunderstood Reaney's article of 1952, for Reaney never supposed « that almost all of Machaut's ballade texts and hence their musical settings all date from within a short period toward the end of the poet's life » (*op. cit.*, p. 193), but suggests an activity of about 30 years, « extending from c. 1340 to c. 1370 » (cf. *Musica Disciplina*, VI (1952), p. 34).

12. Cf. « Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts », *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1925), pp. 193-194.

13. See note 11.

14. Cf. URSULA GÜNTHER, « Die Mensuralnotation der Ars nova in Theorie und Praxis », *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XIX/XX (1962/1963), pp. 18-20.

15. As Apel says himself in *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, *CMM* 53, III, p. XIV and in *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 48.

16. Edited by Apel in *CMM* 53, III, pp. 73-74, no. 233, and classed among the post-Machaut compositions in *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 49.

17. Ed. by LEO SCHRADE, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, I, Monaco, 1956, p. 97.

18. Cf. *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), pp. 45-46.

19. Besseler wrote in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1925), p. 194: « Die Motettensammlung kann erst nach 1356 abgeschlossen worden sein ».

20. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

21. *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5,24 (olim lat. 568)*, *CMM* 39 (1965), p. LXII, note 1.

22. Cf. PIERRE TUCOO-CHALA, *Gaston Fébus et la Vicomté de Béarn 1343-1391*, Bordeaux, 1960, p. 107.

23. Cf. *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, V, 1968, pp. 7-13; see also the remarks concerning the texts in the *Supplement*, pp. 2-4.

24. Cf. TUCOO-CHALA, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

25. Cf. Harrison's remarks in the *Supplement*, p. 4.

26. Cf. Gilbert Reaney's description in *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music* (c. 1320-1400), *RISM B* IV² (1969), pp. 283-284.

27. *Op. cit.*, pp. 161-167: La vie judiciaire.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

29. Cf. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1925), p. 186.

30. Cf. URSULA GÜNTHER, « Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior », *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXI (1964), pp. 179-185.

31. Cf. URSULA GÜNTHER, « Das Ende der ars nova », *Die Musikforschung*, XVI (1963), pp. 113-114, and *Der musikalische Stilwandel der französischen Liedkunst in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts dargestellt an Virelais, Balladen und Rondeaux von Machaut sowie datierbaren Kantilenensätzen seiner Zeitgenossen und direkten Nachfolger*, Diss. Hamburg, 1957, p. 164-205.

32. Cf. *Musica Disciplina*, XXVI (1972), pp. 62-67.

33. *Johannes Ciconia Un musicien liégeois et son temps*, Bruxelles, 1960, I, pp. 74 and 96-99.

34. See Hoppin's review of Clercx's book in *The Musical Quarterly*, XLVII (1961), p. 417.

35. See *CMM* 53, I, p. XXXIV, commentary to no. 14.

36. Cf. « Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du Trecento », *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, III, Certaldo, 1970, pp. 152-159.

37. See my more detailed remarks in *Musica Disciplina*, XXVI (1972), pp. 65-67.

38. See *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 51.

39. « Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400 », *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, Serie IV, Vol. V, Parte II (1944/1945), offprint 1946, p. 43.

40. Cf. *CMM* 53, III, p. XXIX, commentary to no. 303.

41. Cf. *CMM* 53, I, p. XX.

42. See « Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5,24 (*olim* lat. 568 = *Mod*) », *Musica Disciplina*, XXIV (1970), pp. 17-67.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-41.

44. Cf. « Some dates for Bartolino da Padova », *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, Princeton University Press, 1968, pp. 94-100.

45. Cf. *Musica Disciplina*, XXIV (1970), p. 41.

46. Cf. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXI (1964), pp. 191-195, and *Musica Disciplina* XXIV (1970), pp. 41-45.

47. *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

48. Cf. *Musica Disciplina*, XXIV (1970), pp. 45-47.

49. Cf. *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 52.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

52. Cf. *Johannes Ciconia*, I, p. 82.

53. Ed. by Apel in *CMM 53, I, p. 166, no. 87.*

54. See my remarks in « Eine Ballade auf Mathieu de Foix », *Musica Disciplina,* XIX (1965), pp. 80-81.

55. Cf. HIGINI ANGLÈS, « Gacian Reyneau am Königshof zu Barcelona in der Zeit von 139... bis 1429 », *Studien zur Musikgeschichte, Festschrift für Guido Adler*, Wien, 1930, pp. 64-70.

56. A forthcoming volume of the *Monumenta Musica Nerlandica*, edited by J. van Biezen and J.P. Gumbert, will contain correct transcriptions of the pieces in question. Especially *Ho ho ho* will differ considerably from Apel's no. 287, where, in measures 1-16, the upper voice is given a third too low. M. 19-20 should form the *clos*-ending, replacing m. 17-18 where no text is missing. In the refrain, the upper voice should enter one breve later (m. 22) to form a rhythmic imitation.

57. *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 58.

58. Cf. *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXI (1964), pp. 186-194, and my article on « Hasprois » in *Dictionnaire de la musique*, ed. by Marc Honegger, Paris (Bordas) 1970, I, p. 470.

59. The nos. 285-287 of *CMM* 53, III, correspond to folios 4v-6 of the manuscript NL Lu 2720. In the manuscript these pieces are preceded and followed by the more complicated nos 272 (fol. 4) and 255 (fol. 6) of the same edition. See Reaney's description in *RISM* B IV², p. 311, where he mentioned a notation « employing all the subtleties of late 14th century rhythmic technique ».

60. Cf. *Musica Disciplina*, XXVIII (1973), p. 45.

61. Cf URSULA GÜNTHER, « Johannes Vaillant », *Speculum musicae artis Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, München, 1970, pp. 171-185.

62. Cf. *Hebrew Writings Concerning Music*, RSM B IX², München, 1975, pp. 55-67.

63. Anonymous Florence (Fn, Magl. III, 70).

64. According to Adler, fol. 1a-4b contain student's notes of lectures on music written by an anonymous disciple of Jean Vaillant in Paris. Adler stresses (p. 58), that the context in which Vaillant's name is always quoted would imply that his activity « extended into the late XIVth century », a judgement which seems convincing because Galiot's complicated ballade *Le sault perilleux* from *Ch* is mentioned to illustrate the proportion 9:8, a stylistic trait of the ars subtilior.

65. Cf. URSULA GÜNTHER, « Die Musiker des Herzogs von Berry », *Musica Disciplina*, XVII (1963), pp. 82-83.

66. In May and July 1377 he had been « clerc des offices de l'ostel », in 1385 secretary and in 1387 « secretarius ac custos sigilli excellentissimi principis Johannes et Biturie et Avernie ducis ».

67. Mentioned by L. DELISLE in *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale*, vol. I, Paris 1868, p. 167.

68. See articles mentioned in note 11.

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69. In the nearly isorhythmic rondeau *Quant ma dame* Machaut used not only two three different combinations of *tempus* and *prolatio* at the same time 6/8 in the cantus 2/4 in the tenor and 3/4 in the contratenor. But this does not result in conflicting rhythms, since the minima has always the same length.

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THE ARS NOVA FRAGMENTS OF GENT*

Reinhard Strohm

What were the origins of the 'Art of the Netherlanders'? Did the so-called 'Franco-Flemish' or 'Franco-Netherlandish School' originate in a musical void? Is it possible that the practice of polyphony in the Low Countries – from Cambrai to the North Sea – before the fifteenth century was limited to sporadic imports of music from great centres such as Paris and Avignon? The sources seem to tell us otherwise. Already at our present state of knowledge, we must assume that the Ars Nova fragments of Utrecht, Leiden, Brussels and Liège (not to speak of the Mass of Tournai)[1] are only a few remaining witnesses of a wider cultivation of polyphony, which existed at the various courts (Flanders, Brabant, Holland/Hainaut), at the episcopal sees (Liège, Tournai, Utrecht) and in the commercially flourishing cities (Bruges, Gent, Antwerp and many others). The Netherlandish origins of the fragments now in Utrecht and Leiden seem attested by the presence of Dutch/Flemish songs in these sources; there are, however, also other *unica* with Latin and French texts which may have originated in this area. One may add the c.20 compositions on Dutch/Flemish texts which appear in sources abroad (Strasbourg, Prague, Reina Codex) and which pre-date the work of Binchois and Dufay, if not Ciconia; and again, works with Latin and French texts may be extant in those sources which did not come from the area of modern France.[2] If one admits that the French Ars Nova did provide stylistic models for sacred and secular music also further North, and that modern nationalist concepts have little meaning for the ancient Netherlands, it is nevertheless legitimate to search for regional developments there, as Smijers, Van den Borren, Wagenaar-Nolthenius and others have done.[3]

The musical culture of Flanders before 1400 has attracted surprisingly little interest. The very fact that this County was, in the fourteenth century, politically most dependent on France (Philip the Bold of Burgundy already concentrated his dynastic interests there when he married the daughter of Count Louis de Male in 1369) – this fact seems to have made Flanders almost invisible to music historians. But Flanders was more than an appendix of Burgundy, and not all the musical activities happened at court.

In my attempts to reconstruct musical life in late medieval Flanders from the evidence of ecclesiastic and civic archives, I recently visited the Rijksarchief of Gent,[4] the largest city of the ancient Low Countries on whose music we know nothing at all. I was not really surprised to find more than archival evidence for the cultivation of polyphony there: some actual music, indeed, which is the main subject of this contribution.

The catalogue of the archive of the Abbey of the Groenen Briel in Gent (Augustinian canonesses of the congregation of St. Victor) indicated, as no. 133, an

item described as "Kerkelijke muziek, 15de eeuw, met interlineaar Romaans minnevers". This item turned out to be a bifolio from a polyphonic codex of the late fourteenth century (I shall refer to it as B-Gr 133). When I explained the importance of this kind of document for the music historian, the archivists were quick to present me with another fragment of fourteenth-century music of which I had never heard before: one bifolio and one single sheet from a chansonnier of about the same period. This item had been well-known at the Rijksarchief and had apparently been kept in a showcase for some times. As I learned later, it had been known to François-Joseph Fétis, and discussed by Friedrich Ludwig and Charles Van den Borren, both of whom regarded it as lost. This fragment comes from the Gent Abbey Ter Haeghen (Cistercian nuns) and is presently kept under the shelfmark 'Varia D.3360'; I shall refer to it as B-Gr 3360.

B-Gr 133 is a parchment bifolio of c.32 x 22 cm per single folio, which must be nearly the original size; no significant trimming occurred when the material was apparently used as flyleaves for a rent register of the abbey, except that an upper outer corner (c.4 x 3 cm) of one folio was cut out, obviously in order to remove the decorated initial. Also, the folios were folded horizontally in the middle. Both these operations resulted in the loss of some music; the bifolio is otherwise well preserved. It may have been removed from the volume in the 17th or 18th century, when somebody noted in the lower margin of the first page: "OUDEN ONTFANCK BOECK VAN PACHTEN EN RENTEN VAN DIT KLOOSTER".

The written area on each page measures c.24,6 x 18 cm; there are red vertical frame-rules, and 10 red pentagrams of 15 mm height each. In the u.l. corners of three pages, there are initials ('E') decorated in red and blue ink, ending in ornamental branches along the margins, with tracings of *grotesques* (faces, animals). Secondary initials are also coloured blue and red. The decoration is rather standard for 14th-century liturgical manuscripts in the French-Flemish area.

The bifolio was originally the centre of a gathering. The recto pages are numbered 'IIII' and 'V', respectively, in the middle of the top margins. (I shall refer to 'IIII' as 'fol.1' and to 'V' as 'fol.2'.) The main contents are three polyphonic Glorias, each of which originally covered one full opening; they are all written by the same hand. A different but probably contemporary hand added two secular songs on free staves at the bottom of fol.1v-2r ('Espirance') and fol.2v ('Dame par vos douch plazier'). Possibly a third hand added an alternative contratenor for 'Espirance' at the bottom of fol.1v on an extra staff drawn for the purpose; the label 'contratenor de espiranche' could have been written by the copyist of the Gloria texts. The first hand uses a relatively round gothic book-script, as often found in Netherlandish literary codices of the 14th century; the single letters of the word 'AMEN' are alle elaborate capitals. The second hand is more uneven but retains the book-script. Both hands have much in common, e.g. the rounded foot of the long 's', the long, diagonally ascending 'i'-strokes, the very round final 's' with open upper loop. (For a description of the musical contents, see below.)

B-Gr 3360 consists of one bifolio and one single folio of parchment, which come from the same codex. The original size per single folio was close to 31 x 23 cm and has been insignificantly trimmed on the upper margins. One of the sheets of the bifolio, however, has been cut into almost half vertically, resulting in measurements of c.31 x 13 cm. The remaining sheets have been folded vertically in the middle. Obviously, these operations occurred to make the material fit as outer covers of a rather narrow upright volume (c.30 x 12 cm).

The written area is c.22,5 x 18,9 cm; there are eight red pentagrams per page, each 16,5 mm high, but no frame-rules. Decoration is limited to the use of blue and red ink for the plain initials, each about 20 mm high. The contents are all written by one hand, which uses a formal gothic book-script as is typical for the Northern French and Netherlandish area, with more elongated letters than in B-Gr 133. Spellings might indicate a Flemish scribe (see also below).

Of these six pages, three have served as outer covers and are, therefore, badly soiled and rubbed, whereas the other three are perfectly legible. I shall refer to the sheet cut in half as fol.1, the other sheet of the bifolio as fol.2, and to the single folio as fol.3. Several pages contain later scribblings and headings, which show that they served for a rent register like B-Gr 133: Fol.1r, upper margin: "JAN PORC(?) III LB XVI S./MARTIN JAN(S) VAN D(ER) CAPELLE IV LB . . . XXX/ . . . WEDE(N)(?) . . . XXXII/". Fol.1r, lower margin: "PACHT BOUC VA(N) ET IAER XC". Over staves 2-3, there was a large title inscription (now erased by the archive): "HANDTBOECK VANT' CLOOSTER TER HAEGHEN 1496. QQ 3." On fol. 2r, amidst the original text under staff 2, a 15th-century-hand wrote one illegible word, another "IT(EM) MIIN LIEVE(N) HER(E)". Fol.3r contains several similar notes of account; the earliest one reads: "DIT LANT DREEF IN THEERE(N) HANT INT JAER XIIII^{c} LXXXVII OF QUA(M) WED(ER) INT CLOOSTERS HANDE(N) XV^{c} ALSOET BLIJCT BIJD(ER) PAIGE . . .". The largest inscription, across the music, is the title "DIT IS DEN ANDTBOUCK VANDEN JARE LV EN(DE) LVI. 1555 V.Q.Q.9". Above this, we read: "DIT ES DEN HANTBOUC VANDE(N) JAERE XV^{c} VA(N) MEYE IN GAE(N)DE TOTTE(N) JAERE VA(N) . I .". A 15th-century-hand also wrote under staff 2: "BROER JAN VAN MALO". It seems, therefore, that the bifolio was used for binding purposes at Ter Haeghen in 1490 and again in 1496, the single folio in 1500 and again in 1555.

It may be the hand of F.-J. Fétis which noted in the top margin on fol.3v: "NOTICE SUR LES COLLECTIONS MUSICALES DE LA BIBL. DE CAMBRAI PAR E. DE COUSSEMAKER, P. 129".[5] Fétis referred to B-Gr 3360 in three publications; Van den Borren has studied these, and also discovered, among Fétis' papers now in the Brussels Conservatoire, diplomatic transcriptions of two chansons in the fragment, plus a modern transcription of one of them (*De ce que fol pense*).[6] Also Friedrich Ludwig knew of the Fétis discovery and reported on it on the basis of Fétis' publications.[7]. In the first of these, the *Biographie Universelle,* vol.1 (1835), Fétis acknowledges that he had been informed of the existence of two parchment folios, with French chansons of the fourteenth century, by members of "une société établie à Gand, pour la conservation des monuments historiques de la Belgique".[8] He identified the provenance of the

fragment as the monastery of Ter Haeghen, and quoted one of the chansons as *Pour ma dame que Dieu gart*. In his *Esquisse de l'Histoire de l'harmonie* of 1840, Fétis referred to "deux chansons françaises à trois voix du XIV[e] siècle, que j'ai découvertes au parchemin de la couverture d'un registre des archives de Gand", and quoted two short extracts from one chanson (*De ce que fol pense*) which he, however, did not identify. The same reference and quotations occur in another of his publications, of 1847.[9] Evidently, Fétis had, by 1840, received the diplomatic copies of two pieces which were later found among his papers; these were *De ce que fol pense*, the text of which he then found in Coussemaker's 'Notice' of 1843, and another chanson, which he thought as beginning with the words *Pour ma dame que dieu gart*.The diplomatic copy, however, gives only the first letter of the superius, which is 's', and the piece is, in fact, the ballade *Se Lancelos* (fol.2r), the second part of which starts with the words "pour ma dame que dieus gart". Van den Borren reported all this in 1929, and even printed a full transcription of *Se Lancelos* without text according to the diplomatic copy, arguing that *Pour ma dame* was a different piece which Fétis had confused with this ballade.[10] Thus the 'Fragment de Gand' became known to musicology as containing only two chansons, one without text – these happen to be the two compositions of B-Gr 3360 which survive complete – and it was assumed to be lost, as Van den Borren had only Fétis' careless indication 'archives de Gand' to go on, and must have asked his helper in Gent (Paul Bergmans) to search in the City Archives rather than in the State Archives.

Now it is most tantalising that Fétis later claimed to have known yet another Gent fragment. In his *Histoire générale de la musique*, vol.5 (1876), p.324, he quoted a "volume des archives de Gand, où se trouvent deux chansons françaises à deux voix, avec d'autres pièces dont une porte la date de 1417. Les premières paroles de ces chansons sont: tant vaut mon amy, et est'il autre mercy: leur notation est noire." Neither the date of 1417 nor any of these words appear anywhere in B-Gr 3360. My enquiries for any music fragments that might contain them – in both archives of Gent – had no positive result. The date of 1417 is most unlikely to have referred to the music, but may well be that of another rent register. Considering Fétis' carelessness and errors of memory, it is possible that this unknown fragment actually survives in a place other than Gent; but the matter is by no means settled.

Here now follows a description of the musical contents of B-Gr 133 and B-Gr 3360.[11]

B-Gr 133

1. Fol.1r ('IIII'): *Et in terra*
   (Motetus) c^3; (T) F^3 (only "domine fili" – "AMEN"). Both voices fully texted. No conc.
   Metre 2/3. Rhythm predominantly in pf.SB and ipf.B. No rests at all but simultaneous L. Subdivisions 'trochaeic' or 'dactylic'; at "qui tollis" SB-M-M

fill a B, the M to be read long-short? Homorhythmic declamation; some voice-crossing; there must have been a Tr on opposite page. Many parallel 6-3-chords? The piece could be English, transcribed from score notation. Similarities with the Gloria I-GR 197 no. 2 = I-FOL no. 1 = GB-Lbm XXIV no. 3.

2. Fol.1v-2r ('V'): *Et in terra*
(Tr) c^1; (Motetus) c^3; 'Tenor' c^4.
Upper v. fully texted.
No conc.
Metre 2/2. Staggered entries of all v. but no imitation.
Simple rhythmic style with many dotted SB+M; some syncopations within a B. Motet-style declamation. The T is the antiphon ad Bened. in Nat.Dom. "Gloria in excelsis" without the "alleluia". The melody is repeated once but with different rhythm: 'isomelic' technique.

3. Fol.1v-2r ('V'): *Espirance qui en mon cuer* (R) Apel 245
Added by hand 2 on staves 8-11 on fol.1v (S c^3, Tr c^1, Ct F^2, 'Item contratenor de espiranche' F^3) and on staff 10 of fol.2r (end of Ct F^2, 'Tenor' F^3).
The two consecutive text lines are underlaid to the first and second section, respectively (as in GB-Cu 5943).
Conc.: F-Pn 568 fol. 7r-6v; CS-Pu XI e 9 no. 2; A-VO 380; F-Sm 222 no. 117; GB-Cu 5943 fol.165.
The only other source with text is GB-Cu (missing in Apel); musical readings are closest with CS-Pu and F-Pn 568 for the S. The T is similar but not identical with conc. sources; the two Ct are different from all of them, and the Tr is *unicum*. Only one of these three v. can be performed with S and T at a time; they may be local additions. As nos. 4 and 5 (see below), this piece has SB rests crossing the line.

4. Fol.2v: *Et in terra*
(Tr) c^1, complete except for 1-2 notes missing at the beginning. Text incomplete as Motetus would sing remaining words.
No conc. Metre 2/3; no syncopations but hoqueting passages. Beginning seems to quote Gloria IX (de BMV). Long, hoqueting AMEN. SB rests are crossing the line if perfect: correct use of an English notational device. (The same occurs in no. 5, whereas no. 3 inappropriately uses this rest in minor prolation, there being equivalent to the normal SB rest.) The style of the piece could be French as well as English.

5. Fol.2v: *Dame par vos douch plazier* (V) Apel 189
Added by hand 2 on staves 7-10.
(S) c^3; 'Triplum' c^1; Ct F^2; T F^3.

Text fully underlaid, including the line for 'clos' (missing in conc.).
Conc.: F-Pn 6771 fol.14v-75r; CS-Pu no. 27 (incipit "Scone es si boven allen vrouwen"); F-Sm no. 70 ("Dame plaisir").
Like no. 3, the piece is provided with a unique Tr, written in an ambitious, syncopated style (series' of dots) but with many clashes against the S. The T is less similar to other sources than in no. 3; the Ct is an *unicum*. Like no. 3, probably a local arrangement. The S corresponds more closely to F-Pn 6771 than to CS-Pu and F-Sm. But at least CS-Pu must be derived from a source close to B-Gr 133 where the Flemish substitute text was introduced.

B-Gr 3360

1. Fol.1r: *Orsus vous dormes trop* (V) Apel 212
(T) c^3b (frg. beginning at m.28); Ct c^3b (frg.). Hasselman 28
T texted from m.70.
The rest of the piece occupied the full opposite page.
Conc.: I-IV fol.15r-14v; F-Pn 6771 fol.78v-79r; F-Pn 568 fol. 122v-124r; GB-Lbm 29987 fol.76v-77r; I-Pu 1115 no. 2; F-Sm no. 127; I-FZ no. 28; DK-Kk 17 see JAMS 27, 1974, p. 163). The text in T from m.70 also in I-IV, missing in other sources. T m.81: Gent erroneously omits the last two notes as do F-Pn 6771 and F-Pn 568. Ct m.67-68: Gent sides with F-Pn 6771, F-Pn 568 and GB-Lbm against other sources. Apparently, Gent or its model mediates between I-IV and the Italian sources.

2. Fol.1v (lines 1-4): (textless ballade)
(S) (c^3?) and c^2; T F^3; (Ct) (F^3?). (All frg.)
Cadences in S: ouvert d', clos c', end c'; no musical repetition at the end. The cadences in the S, the opening ligature in the T, and the final descent c'-c in the T recur in CS-Pu no. 30, *Ich sach den meygen*, conc. F-Sm no. 71. These two sources differ greatly from each other. F-Sm has 3/2 metre, CS-Pu 2/3 (as has Gent). CS-Pu is obviously a garbled version with unlogical internal repeats of the T; it lacks the Ct which existed in F-Sm. The Ct in Gent (line 4), last 7½ mm., fits the first 7½ mm. of the T in line 3. In rhythmic style, the piece resembles J. Cuvelier's B *Se Galaas* (Apel 18).

3. Fol.1v (lines 5-8): *Je languis d'amère mort* (V) Apel 199
(S) (c^3?) and c^2; T "Je languis" (c^4?). (Frg.)
No text.
Conc.: F-Pn 6771 fol.70v (4v., with Tr "quod fecit Petrus de Vigiliis"); F-Pn 568 fol.132v-133r; I-Fn 26 fol.69r; CS-Pu no. 12; F-Sm no. 106 (copied by Coussemaker); CH-Bst fol.1v; I-PAas 75 no. 7. Gent could have had a Ct on the opposite page. The two existing v. show no significant common variants with

other sources, perhaps siding most often with F-Sm (despite retaining SB in syncopated passages, see Apel 199). The added Tr in F-Pn 6771 reminds of the Tr in B-Gr 133 nos. 3 and 5; it could have been composed by a Fleming who used a source close to B-Gr 3360.

4. Fol.2r: *Se Lancelos* (B)
(S) c^4; T F^3; Ct c^4 (all complete).
Conc.: index of F-SERRANT no. 50. Text printed in *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, Paris 1501 (repr. 1910), fol.65r. Gent has a more correct text version, but "ie vinre" (line 1) must be emendated to "genèvre", "ano et" (line 3) to "juno et". Confused text underlay in second section. Otherwise, a reasonably good copy, perhaps copied by a Fleming ('Pariis') from F-SERRANT itself. The piece clearly belongs to the group of mythological ballades, often beginning with 'Se', with strings of names of famous heroes and lovers, known from F-CH and similar sources. This composition, however, is the simplest one in style, perhaps an early work of J. Cuvelier to whose *Se Genèvre* the text resembles closely. The musical style recalls *Martucius* (Apel 164). *Se Lancelos* was printed by Van den Borren, without text, after a diplomatic copy from B-Gr 3360 which had been owned by Fétis (see above).

5. Fol.2v (lines 1-6): *Je Fortune fay a tous* (B) Apel 151
(S) c^3; T F^3; Ct F^3 (all complete).
S fully texted; no conc. source has text.
Conc.: F-Pn 568 fol.121v; CS-Pu no. 14; F-Sm no. 69. Apel underlaid the text from the Rohan chansonnier. There are other text MSS (see Ludwig p. 13*f.); reasonably close is the text reading in CH-BEb 218 ('MachK') fol.98r. This MS was copied in 1371 by Guiot de Sens (for the court of Burgundy?); other Machaut MSS do not have this ballade, which is surely not by Machaut, but seems to have been composed during his lifetime. The text of Gent is corrupt in several places. The musical readings conform best with F-Pn 568, including a conjunctive error at m.19, S (Gent and F-Pn 568 a third too low; emendated by Apel). But there are other significant variants in common with CS-Pu; Gent can have been the model for both these other sources. The Ct is an *unicum* in Gent.

6. Fol.2v (lines 7-8): *Madame que . . .* (R)
(S) c^3; T F^3 (incomplete; the end was on opposite page).
Text almost illegible: "Madame que . . . a . . . forter./ Son . . . qes . . . vegier . . ."
Musical style: S has many groups of 3 M in neighbour-note motion (metre is 2/3); T mostly in B and SB. Perhaps 1370–80.

7. Fol. 3r (lines 1-3): G. de Machaut, *Se vous n'estes* (R) Ludwig R 7
T c^4; Ct c^4 (both complete, but partly illegible).
Text incipit only. The S was probably on top of opposite page.
Conc.: Machaut MSS (see Ludwig); I-Fn 26 fol. 60r; F-CA 1328 (*CaB*$_2$, Hasselman) fol. 13v = no. 23; US-NYpm 396 fol. 214v; F-Sm no. 119; I-MOe a.M.5.24 no. 66 and 7a (Ct). All Machaut MSS except *MachE* have two v. only; the Ct of *MachE* conforms closely with Gent. It stands also in F-CA 1328 and I-Fn, and probably was in F-Sm. Close readings connect Gent with *MachE* (mm. 18, 19, 30, 31) and a little less so with I-Fn: Gent may be an intermediate source between the model of *MachE* and Italy. *MachE* was copied for Duke Jean de Berry c. 1400, perhaps from a Machaut MS existing in Flanders.

8. Fol. 3r (lines 5-8): G. de Machaut, *De petit peu* (B) Ludwig B 18
(S) c^4; 'Tenor de petiit peu' c^5. (Both complete but partly illegible).
Text incipit only. There was probably no Ct but perhaps a Tr on the preceding page.
Conc.: Machaut MSS (see Ludwig); F-CA 1328 (Hasselman *CaB*$_2$) no. 30 = fol. 15; F-CH fol. 18v; I-Fn 26 fol. 100; F-Pn 568 fol. 124; F-SERRANT no. 45; CS-Pu no. 32; I-MOe no. 46; D-Nst 9 no. 4.
If Gent had a Tr, this would conform to the original Machaut tradition as opposed to the sources with Ct (F-CH, F-Pn 568 and I-Fn 26 which in this last section is closely related to F-CH). If Gent had two v. only, this would be the version of CS-Pu and D-Nst. Ludwig (p. 19) gives a conspectus of the ligature-writing in the T: Gent is identical with *MachA*, *MachG* and *Vg*.

9. Fol. 3v: P. des Molins, *De ce que fol pensé* (B) Apel 84
(S) c^1; T c^4b; Ct c^3b (all complete). Hasselman 24
No further text.
Conc.: GB-Lbm 41667 no. 2; F-CA 1328 (Hasselman *CaB*$_3$) no. 1 = fol. 16; F-CA 1328 (Hasselman *CaC*) no. 3 = fol. 18v; F-SERRANT no. 26; F-Pn 6771 fol. 71v; F-Pn 568 fol. 124r; F-CH fol. 53v; I-Fn fol. 86v-87r; D-Mbs 15611 fol. 229v; F-Sm no. 52 ('W. de Maschaudio'); I-FZ no. 11.
Gent is the twelfth source of this piece that has been found so far. Its version for three v. conforms to the mainstream tradition; the readings are connected with many other sources, including F-CH and F-Pn 6771 (which has a Tr) – but they almost never disagree with GB-Lbm (the earliest source?) and F-Pn 568. It seems, once more, that Gent preserves an old, original tradition which it then transmits to foreign sources.

We shall now discuss the date and provenance of the fragments at least provisionally, before trying to place them within the international repertory, and to assess their historical significance.

On palaeographical grounds, B-Gr 133 can be dated before 1400, if perhaps not by much; B-Gr 3360 is probably somewhat older. (The initial decoration in B-Gr 133 is thus taken as a conservative element.) The musical notation in both fragments lacks red or hollow notes: while this refers to the age of the pieces themselves rather than to their copying date, it seems significant that no piece is entered which requires coloured notation. The mensuration signs in B-Gr 3360 (full circle, and semicircle with dot) are more consistently applied here than, for example, in the Machaut manuscripts, nor was their form at all standard before about the mid-fourteenth century.

Of the nine identified compositions, four are securely datable before 1376/77 (Machaut; Index of F-SERRANT); *Je fortune* may have existed during Machaut's lifetime as well (see above). *Orsus* is part of the older layer in I-IV, of about 1370.[12]

The scribe of B-Gr 3360 spells "Paris" as "Pariis", and even "petiit", which surely is a Flemish trait. The second scribe of B-Gr 133, who used Picard forms of French ("douche", "por"), was also probably a Fleming, as suggested by his spellings "plazier", "obiir", "sentier" and even "seirtes" and "sertein".

Nothing so far contradicts the assumption that both fragments originated in Gent itself, where they were later utilised. But what evidence do we have that polyphonic music was at all known in Gent in the fourteenth century?

It seems certain that Gent participated at least to some degree in the musical culture of the court of Flanders, and from 1384, that of Burgundy. The castle in the middle of the town (the *Gravensteen*) was a frequently visited residence of the rulers and, because of its security, of the ducal family. The collegiate church of St Pharahilde (Sint-Veerle), next to the castle, functioned almost as a second court chapel; one of its canons, Petrus Vinderhout from Bruges, resident from 1384, was probably a composer.[13] The choral foundation at St Pharahilde's by Simone de Mirabello, a merchant and courtier of Piemontese descent (†1346), provided for the musical instruction of the choirboys, and also for the petits-vicaires (*parvi cotidiani*). The statutes of the 'bonifanten' of 1423 not only record that the *canter* was to instruct the boys in discant singing, but also that Mirabello's name was to be included by all members of the church in their oaths of allegiance.[14] These practices may well go back to the time of the foundation itself (1331?).[15] There are at present no references to polyphonic codices at St Pharahilde's, but we know that even a parish church of Gent, St Jacob, owned a *liber motetorum* by 1387.[16]

Simone de Mirabello was also the founder of the Abbey of the 'Victorines' at the Groenen Briel.[17] This was a particularly rich establishment, as its obituary reveals,[18] and probably reserved for ladies of the nobility. It is quite likely that the abbey got access to B-Gr 133 through its contacts with the collegiate church. This manuscript, a collection of mass movements with interspersed secular songs, is a kind of codex typically owned by a choir-school (*liber motetorum*); it is analogous to the first part of the Utrecht fragments (NL-Uu37 I), which may have been part of the *liber motetorum* owned by the choir-school of St Donatian's, Bruges, in 1377.[19] B-Gr 3360, however,

was apparently compiled as a purely secular *chansonnier*. It may have reached the Abbey Ter Haeghen from the court, and can have originated anywhere in the Burgundian-Flemish orbit, even in Paris or Dijon. If it was an exclusively secular manuscript, then there would be almost no precedence for this except perhaps in the fragment CaB_2, according to Hasselman.[20] Since B-Gr 3360 shows exactly the same transmission patterns as the two chansons in B-Gr 133, both manuscripts were probably in use in Gent before 1400. The *chansonnier* may have existed by 1385, the *liber motetorum* by 1390.

The concordances of these fragments with other sources, and the transmission patterns established by variant readings, seem to shed light on the transmission of French Ars Nova music in general. B-Gr 133 and B-Gr 3360 have in common that they contain pieces which later became widely popular in countries outside France, especially South Germany/Austria, and Northern Italy. On the other hand, there is no significant concordance, or closeness of variant readings, with later French sources such as F-CH. Only the very famous works *De ce que fol* and *De petit peu* were at all re-copied in F-CH. Even with the Parisian codex F-SERRANT, of 1376, there are only three concordances: the widely-known *De petit peu, De ce que fol* and the ballade *Se Lancelos*. The latter piece may have reached B-Gr 3360 from a Parisian source, perhaps from F-SERRANT itself which Philip the Bold acquired (in 1384?).[21] But the Gent repertory is clearly separated from the central and southern French development of the so-called 'Ars subtilior' which began around 1380: it comprises several older, famous chansons by Machaut and others, and works which appear here for the first time and may be younger, but which perpetuate a simpler style (*Je languis, Madame que, Esperance, Dame par vos*).

Now this kind of selection is not confined to the Gent fragments, but re-appears in some sources from other countries later on. The large collection F-Pn 6771 (Venice? c. 1400–1405) also preserves these simpler or older compositions (although it transmits a part of the 'Ars subtilior' repertory as well). The Tuscan source F-Pn 568 (Lucca, c. 1407/08? see below) has several concordances with Gent, and surprisingly close readings. The most obvious link, however, exists with two collections from Strasbourg: CS-Pu XI e 9 (Strasbourg, c. 1415–20?) and F-Sm 222 (Strasbourg, c. 1420–1440? see below). Even the smaller or fragmentary concordant sources are found in Germany/Austria and Italy (even in England) rather than in France.

What all these sources have in common with eath other, and with Gent, is their acceptance of older or simpler types of Ars Nova music which circulated internationally until well into the 15th century. Opposed to this 'international' repertory, there was a more 'central' one, represented by F-CH and some fragmentary French sources, and later by I-MOe M.5.24. The two stylistically different repertories developed alongside each other, with a few cross-currents between them, but certainly in different bands of transmission.

Let us try to define the 'international' repertory more closely. Within the genre of

the French chanson, it comprises about 32 works which were known *in more than one country other than France.*[22] There are 10 attributed works, most of which are older than c.1376: Machaut's *De fortune, De petit peu, De toutes flours, En amer la douce vie, Se vous n'estes; P. des Molins*[23] *Amis tout dous, De ce que fol;* J. Vaillant's *Par maintes fois*; J. de Senleches' *En ce gracieux* ; M. Fabri's *Bien ay je cause.*[24] Then, there are 22 anonymous works (as printed by Apel); the ballades no. 120,[25] 128, 147, 151 *(Je fortune),* 152,[26] 162, 166, 175; the virelais no. 189 (*Dame par vos),* 199 (*Je languis*), 207, 210, 212 (*Orsus*), 225; the rondeaux no. 240, 244,[27] 245 (*Esperance*), 246, 256,[28] 259, 271;[29] the chace no. 291.[30] Of these anonymous works, only two occur in I-IV (212, 291), only four in F-SERRANT (147, 166, 246, 256), only one in I-MOe M.5.24 (225), but none at all in F-CH! Thus, their transmission to more than one country outside France curiously coincides with their near absence from the 'central' repertory, at least after 1376.

Apel was also able to print no fewer than 80 anonymous chansons which are *unica* in their respective sources, outside France. Most of them are in F-Pn 6771. One might argue that such pieces could have been composed locally, perhaps in Venice; but it is more probable that they became isolated in their respective sources because some French 'repertory manuscripts' of the late 14th century are lost. The same argument would cover the afore-mentioned 22 anonymous pieces; they might originally have existed in French 'repertory manuscripts' which we no longer have. The question is, however: where and when should these sources have been in use, when the overwhelming majority of the pieces never appears in the central French sources? And, how should the pieces have reached so many foreign countries instead? One can at least say that these 'repertory manuscripts' were probably not located in Paris or southern France after 1380 – otherwise there would be more traces of the 'international' repertory in the 'central' group. Even if this repertory disappeared from the 'central' group because it had come out of fashion, there must have been a continuing cultivation of it somewhere else – a centre from which the pieces could spread over so many other areas after c.1400.

The Gent fragments seem to me to be exactly that: the small remainders of 'repertory manuscripts' containing the simpler types of Ars Nova music;[31] it is from here that this music was later internationally distributed. As compared with the transmission of the 'central' repertory, which circulated within Paris, Avignon, Foix, Aragon and parts of Northern Italy, the 'international' repertory had a strange kind of 'lateral' transmission, reaching the North, East and South without crossing France.

I suggest that the Burgundian-Flemish culture was the head of this 'lateral' transmission. There are both philological and historical reasons for this suggestion. In the Gent fragments, the older compositions conform more closely to the original French versions than do the German and Italian sources; for several pieces, B-Gr 133 and B-Gr 3360 are the earliest surviving sources and stand at the head of the transmission (even if they contain local variants, particularly B-Gr 133). The

Strasbourg sources are obviously dependent on Gent or on models close to Gent, and the same is true, surprisingly, for F-Pn 568. In the large collection F-Pn 6771, there are close similarities with Gent in some pieces, divergences in others.

The music of the Flemish court at the time of Count Louis de Male (+1384) and his son-in-law (since 1369) Philip the Bold of Burgundy was at first largely derived from central France. (The same was probably the case with the courts of Brabant and Hainaut/Holland, where NL-Lu 2720 and NL-Uu 37 II may have originated.) But the dynastic ambitions of the Valois dukes and the backing of wealthy merchant cities with their churches and monasteries served to 'internationalise' this musical culture. Foreign musicians were so well received at the Flemish-Burgundian court, and musicians from Flanders travelled so widely that exchanges of music could happen at almost any time. (England was not excluded from these exchanges.)[32] Besides the music of the minstrels and the secular chanson cultivated at court, the *libri motetorum* of the court chapel (one of these was, of course, F-SERRANT) and of the choir-schools absorbed mass music from Avignon and the motets of Vitry and some of his followers (much less Machaut) and added new works. This repertory also became later 'international' as is shown by the concordances (and closeness of readings) between the Netherlandish *libri motetorum* (NL-Uu 37 I, B-Ba 758, B-Bc II, NL-Lu 2515 and NL-Lu 342A) and the collections of Strasbourg (F-Sm 222), Vienna (D-Nst 9/9a)[33] and Padua (I-Pu, I-GR).[34] And, B-Gr 133 exemplifies the importance even of sacred institutions for the international distribution of secular songs.

We might distinguish two major varieties of 'lateral' transmission from Flanders. The first was predominantly tied to the network of international trade. F-Pn 6771 seems to owe its existence to merchant patrons of the Veneto, as suggested by Kurt von Fischer; the Venetians had their business headquarters in Flanders as well as in Paris and Avignon. F-Pn 568, arguably written for Gino Capponi of Florence, is a neat, representative chansonnier which was perhaps put together in Lucca 1407/08[35]: of all the Tuscan wool and cloth trade with Flanders, Lucchese families had the biggest share at the time. The families Trenta, Anterminelli, Spifami, Arnolfini and especially Rapondi had their headquarters in Bruges and were the main financiers of the Flemish-Burgundian court.[36] For the Strasbourg/Basel area, one need only mention that these commercial centres were the natural trade partners of Antwerp, Gent and Bruges and that they were, of course, connected by the river. The Italians reached Flanders by sea; one could say that this 'lateral' transmission used the waterway.

The second type of transmission relied on the network of sacred institutions. The Great Schism (1378-1417) must have caused an increasing isolation of the churches of Avignonese obedience in France and Spain; at the same time, it strengthened the ties between the countries of Roman obedience: the Low Countries, England, Germany and Italy. The clergy was movable, and musical clerics would tend to seek musical appointments and benefices in areas of their own obedience. The migration

of Netherlandish musicians to Italy began in this age, especially with musicians from the diocese of Liège (Ciconia), but also from Flanders (Magister Egardus),[37] where at least the lower clergy tended to side with Rome to assert their independence from France and the Bishop of Tournai. Apart from this, there were traditional contacts between the great cathedral schools in the Netherlands and Germany, and also between the string of monasteries along the Rhine valley. This connection seems to be relevant for the Netherlandish influence on the Strasbourg collections, which has been long known and which concerns both sacred and secular music. CS-Pu XI e 9 and F-Sm 222 originated in choir-schools or monasteries of Strasbourg. The former codex[38] may come from the collegiate church of St. Thomas, but is also linked to the monastery of the Clarisses – an analogy with the fragment CH-Bst which was owned by the Clarisses of Basle.[39] F-Sm 222[40] was a large codex compiled by professional musicians in an important establishment, most probably the choir-school of Strasbourg cathedral. The characteristic mixture of Mass movements, motets and secular songs was to become standard for quarto-size codices (Besseler's 'Gemischte Quarthandschriften') used in 15th-century cathedrals of Austria and Northern Italy. The music treatises in the two Strasbourg codices also point to the needs of choir-schools. One treatise in CS-Pu XI e 9 is attributed to one Henricus de Zelandia; as regards F-Sm 222, one might have to look in Flanders for a model for the spurious 'Liber musicalium Philippi de Vitriaco'.[41] (The rare expression 'Liber musicarum' or 'musicalium' is also found in Bruges in 1438.)[42] The attribution to Vitry may reflect the esteem for this composer in the Low Countries; his motets, including *Impudenter circuivi* (which is ascribed only in F-Sm 222),[43] recur in the fragments B-Ba 758, F-AS 983 and NL-Lu 342 A. If the Gent fragments were used in the choir-school of St Pharahilde's or in a nunnery like the Abbey of the 'Victorines', then the appearance of their contents at similar institutions would not be surprising.

Another opportunity for musical exchanges was, of course, provided by the Council of Constance. I even suggest that it gave the initial impetus for the compilation of the two Strasbourg codices.[44] The compilation of F-Sm 222, in particular, deserves further analysis, also in view of the alleged ownership of the poet Heinrich Loufenberg. Van den Borren[45] has already observed that the latest additions to F-Sm 222, which feature works by Binchois and Dufay, can be as late as the middle of the century. Probably, the Council of Basle (opened in 1431) brought fresh musical material to the area, for example the works of Nicholas de Merques.[46] Considering the musical expertise of the compilers, one does not want to assume too long a period of compilation, perhaps c. 1420–c. 1445 at most. It is significant that an index, which was continually brought up to date, included the earliest as well as the latest compositions when it was bound in front of the volume. Van den Borren failed to notice that the earliest layer discernible in this index stops at fol. 88, not at fol. 119 where the musical anthology ends: therefore, not only the additions on earlier blank pages, but the folios 89–119 themselves belong to later layers. White

notation was regularly adopted when the scribe reached fol.94 (perhaps c.1435), except for some pieces copied after that time where the black notation of the exemplars was retained. Important for our argument is the fact that pieces of Netherlandish origin occur in *all* layers of the manuscript;[47] one of the last is *Al eerbaer(heit)*, in white notation (fol.115v), which the Flemish-Burgundian chansonnier EscA (c.1432?) gives in black notation. It becomes clear now that also the plainchant treatise on fol.120-142 ('Quoniam ut dicit Sanctus Augustinus') was copied late, following chronologically at the end of the musical anthology. (It was, in turn, followed only by two further compositions, of which *Mille bonjours* may even be a relatively late work of Dufay.[48] Also the treatises bound with the codex at the beginning, which form an independent gathering with its own foliation 1-11 (including the index), seem to be relatively late. Coussemaker's Anonymous X(fol.10v), 'De minimis notulis', actually quotes the Gloria by 'Zeltenpferd' (fol.39v) and teaches a notational usage which is drawn from the works in the codex, especially those of Henricus Hessman de Argentorato. The whole codex F-Sm 222 is a unity, which accompanied the consistent musical practice and the teaching requirements of an institution; a professional musician was at work there, who liked the 'musicians' motets' of the Ars Nova, added a motet in praise of music ('Sonorum varietas', fol.11, ascribed to 'Henricus'), was interested in recent notational developments, canonic experiments and also very much in instrumental music. This person could well have been Henricus Hessman from Strasbourg.[49] It can be excluded that Heinrich Loufenberg was in any way responsible for this collection – only two songs ascribed to him are present as very late additions. Loufenberg was a priest in the collegiate church of Freiburg/Breisgau from 1429 or earlier, and dean of that church from 1441; as far as we know of his musical interests, they are limited to monophonic song.[50] He cannot even be identified with the composer 'Henricus de Libero Castro' in F-Sm 222.[51]

The attribution of the whole codex to Heinrich Loufenberg, apparently, proposed by the librarian of Strasbourg, Jung, has often been doubted by scholars. Once it is definitely rejected for the reasons given above, we can arrive at a better interpretation of the enigmatic *explicit* of the plainchant treatise (fol.142): "ET SIC CUM DEI ADJUTORIO LIBELLUS ISTE MUSICALIUM AD HONOREM CHRISTI SPONSI VERI DEI NECNON MATRIS EJUS GLORIOSISSIME VIRGINIS SANCTE MARIE FINITUS EST ANNO DOMINI M°CCCC°XI° FERIA TERTIA POST DEDICATIONEM PALMARUM IN OPPIDO ZOMGEN ETC."

We have seen that the date '1411' cannot refer to the time when the treatise was copied here, let alone to the compilation of the musical anthology. The *explicit* was simple copied from the exemplar of the treatise. Therefore, 'in oppido Zomgen' means the place where the treatise – a probably widespread tract on music attributed to Saint Augustin – had originally been copied. 'Zomgen' has been identified (by Jung?) with Zofingen, a little town on the Lake of Constance, in whose collegiate church a certain 'Heinricus Loufenberg' was dean in 1434. This identification already conflicts with the fact that the poet styles himself simply 'ein priester von

fribourg' in a work of 1437. Moreover, the equation 'Zomgen' = 'Zofingen' does not work paleographically. Ludwig[52] pointed out that this would require the original word to have been 'Zouīgen' – Coussemaker must have been rather careless to commit such a misreading, although the substitution of 'v' for 'f' could be possible. But what Coussemaker *could* have overlooked, was a different abbreviation sign above the 'm': a little hook which may have looked like a spot of ink: 'Zom̓gen'.

The expression 'Christi Sponsi' in the tract of St Augustin, on which none of the scholars has commented so far, would have to be taken to mean that the text was written in an Augustinian nunnery, not in a collegiate church. The 'Groenen Briel' in Gent was an Augustinian nunnery. Its founder, Simone de Mirabello, was also lord of the *Seigneurie* of Zomergem near Gent – a place where the Augustinian canonnesses of the 'Groenen Briel' may have been given an estate. An institution which certainly possessed an estate in Zomergem, the house 'Solonne', was the collegiate church of St Pharahilde.[53]

Our extended argumentation has, in the end, produced a conclusion which is not really surprising: that musical life and musical learning in Flemish towns around 1400 was vigorous enough to influence other countries. But the consequences remain to be drawn. When we have examined the local contexts for all those fragmentary Ars Nova sources from the Low Countries that are already known, we might decide to speak, henceforth, not of the 'French Ars Nova' but of the 'Franco-Netherlandish Ars Nova'.

* Research for this article has been supported by a travel grant of the British Academy.

1. See RISM (=Repertoire International des Sources Musicales) vol. B IV²: *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1320–1440)*, ed. by G. Reaney (Munich-Duisburg 1969); G. Reaney, *New Sources of Ars Nova Music*, in MD 19 (1965), pp. 53–57. RISM sigla are adopted throughout this essay (abridged where unequivocal).
2. For a survey of 14th-century music abroad which may have come from Flanders, see R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford 1984), ch. VI.
3. A. Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Amsterdam 1932), also in TVNM 12 (1928), 13 (1929–32); C. Van den Borren, *Geschiedenis van de muziek in de Nederlanden*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam-Antwerpen 1949); H. Wagenaar-Nolthenius, *De Leidse fragmenten: Nederlandse polifonie uit het einde der 14de eeuw*, in: Renaissance-Muziek 1400–1600. Donum Natalicium R. B. Lenaerts, ed. by J. Robijns (Louvain 1969), pp. 303–315; idem, *Nederlands Muziekleven in de Middeleeuwen*, Rede . . . Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht 1958 (Utrecht 1958); R.-B. Lenaerts, *De Nederlandse Muziek uit de vijftiende eeuw*, Rede . . . Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht 1959 (Utrecht 1959).
4. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Departementshoofd, Mrs. H. Coppejans-Desmedt, and to her staff, who gave me invaluable assistance during my studies in the Rijksarchief of Gent.

5. E. De Coussemaker, *Notice . . .* (Cambrai 1843); also in Société d'Émulation de Cambrai. Mémoires (1841), pp. 61-236. Fétis seems to refer to the publication of the text "De che que fols pensé", which is on p. 129 in the separatum (reprinted Hildesheim 1975). Coussemaker transcribed the text from F-CA 1328 fol. 18v.
6. C. Van den Borren, *Le 'Fragment de Gand'*, in Festschrift für J. Wolf zu seinem 60. Geburtstag (Berlin 1929), pp. 198-206.
7. Guillaume de Machaut, *Musikalische Werke*, ed. by F. Ludwig, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1928), p. 44*.
8. F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, vol. 1 (Paris 1835), p. CLXXXIV.
9. F.-J. Fétis, *Esquisse de l'Histoire de l'harmonie considérée comme art et comme science systématique* (Paris 1840), p. 13 f. I have not seen the reference in F. Danjou's *Revue de la musique . . .* III (1847), p. 364, which is identical according to Van den Borren, op. cit. (n. 6).
10. Van den Borren, *Le 'Fragment de Gand'* (n. 6), p. 200.
11. Abbreviations: S = Superius; Tr = Triplum; T = Tenor; Ct = Contratenor; L(onga); B(revis); S(emi)B(revis); M(inima); B(allade); V(irelai); R(ondeau); v. (oice); Metres: pf. ipf. = perfect, imperfect, also given according to W. Apel's system as '3' and '2'; conc. (ordance); clefs are expressed by note-name and position on the staff, counting lines upwards.

    Modern editions are mentioned selectively to the right of the title; they are: W. Apel ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, 3 vols., 1970-72 (CMM 53); G. de Machaut, *Musikalische Werke*, ed. F. Ludwig (Leipzig 1926-1954); M. P. Hasselman, *The French Chanson of the Mid-Fourteenth Century*, 2 vols., (Berkeley 1970), UM 71-9830.

    For concordant sources, see RISM B IV^{2} (n.l.) and RISM B IV$^{3-4}$: *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by K. v. Fischer and M. Lütolf (Munich-Duisburg 1972).
12. See U. Günther, *Problems of dating in ars nova and ars subtilior*, in L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento 4, ed. by A. Ziino (Certaldo 1978), pp. 289-301.
13. See R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (n. 2), pp. 16 and 189. It is also significant that a musical chaplain of Count Louis de Male and Duke Philip the Bold, Jean Grosseteste, received a canonry at this church in 1382, see C. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History*, 1979 (Musicological Studies XXVIII), p. 22. Wright's book provides much evidence for musical performances which took place while the court was in Gent.
14. Rijksarchief Gent, Fonds Sint-Veerle, S. 226, p. 5 etc. and S. 228, fol. viii. On S. de Mirabello, see: Paul Rogghe, *Simone de Mirabello in Vlaanderen*, in Appeltjes van het Meetjesland 9 (1958), pp. 1-21.
15. *Cartularium St. Pharahilde*, British Library, Add. Ms. 16954, fol. 123 ff.
16. F. Verstraeten, *De Gentse Sint-Jacobsparochie*, 3 vols. (Gent 1976), vol. 1, p. 41.
17. See P. Rogghe, *Simone de Mirabello* (n. 14).
18. Rijksarchief Gent, Fonds Groenenbriel no. 5 (= Gysseling S. 305).
19. See R. Strohm. *Music . . .* (n. 2), p. 105 f.
20. M. P. Hasselman, *The French Chanson* (n. 11), pp. 23-26.
21. For this MS (now F-Pn N.a.fr. 23190), see RISM B IV^{2}; E. Droz et G. Thibault, *Un chansonnier de Philippe le Bon*, in RdM 7 (1926), pp. 1-8 (with facs.); C. Wright, *Music at*

the Court of Burgundy (n. 13), pp. 147-58 (with facs.). Droz-Thibault identified the scribe of the codex, the chaplain Michael de . . . ia, as King Charles V's first chaplain Michel de Fontaine. Prof. Wright kindly informed me of his recent doubts about this: '. . . ia' does not seem a possible desinence for a latinised version of 'fontaine'. I suspect, moreover, that the codex cannot have belonged to a king in any case, as its owner is referred to as 'illustrissimus princeps'. The scribe styled himself 'ejusdem principis capellanus'. Thus, F-SERRANT may have belonged to any of the Dukes of Anjou, Berry or Burgundy, and not even its Parisian origin can be taken for certain. What we know is only that the codex was written in 1376 and that it later belonged to Philip the Bold, whose name is given in the MS as 'Comes Flandrie' which he was from 1384, although we do not know when that entry was made.

22. The following list is based on the concordances given in Apel (n. 11) and Hasselman (n. 11). See, in particular, Hasselman vol. 1, p. 84 f., with a list of widely-known chansons.

23. Of the various attempts at an identification of this composer, those made by R. Hoppin in *Les Colloques de Wégimont II: 'L'Ars Nova'* (Paris 1959), p. 75, and U. Günther, *Die Musiker des Herzogs von Berry,* in MD 17 (1963), p. 85, must be regarded as superseded by C. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy* (n. 13), p. 17. The 'Perotus de Molyno' who was a musician in King John's household during his captivity in England (1357-60) is by far the best candidate, especially because both texts set by P. des Molins fit these peculiar circumstances: *De ce que fol* speaks of "languir en estrange contrée" (see Wright p. 17), and *Amis, tout dous le vis* (this is how the first line should read) is a mournful farewell to a friend. By coincidence, *Amis, tout dous* was later known under the name *El molin de Paris* as an *instrumental* piece in Italy (see Plamenac in *JAMS* 4, 1951, p. 187), Flanders and Germany (the Flemish title *Die molen van Pariis* appears first in CS-Pu, and F-Sm 222 has two instrumental elaborations of the top voice). Could the piece have been associated with the exchiquier, an instrument which was demonstrably available to King John in England? The piece is also preserved in a very early Italian source, see F. Ghisi, *Inno-Lauda polifonica all'Assunta ritrovata nell'Archivio Comunale di Cortona,* in Quadrivium 15 (1974), pp. 105-110 (with facs.). Contrary to Ghisi's erroneous identification, the page contains the Tr of the motet *Almifonis melos* (I-IV no. 18) and, below, the S, T and beginning of Ct of *Amis Molin* (I-IV no. 3). It is written by a mid-14th-century Italian hand. The codex must have been large, perhaps alphabetically arranged, and somehow related to I-IV.

24. Or *S'ay je cause* (in NL-Lu 2720). Fabri's song was arranged by Wolkenstein: see I. Pelnar, *Die mehrstimmigen Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Tutzing 1982), vol. 1, p. 104 and vol. 2, p. 138 ff.

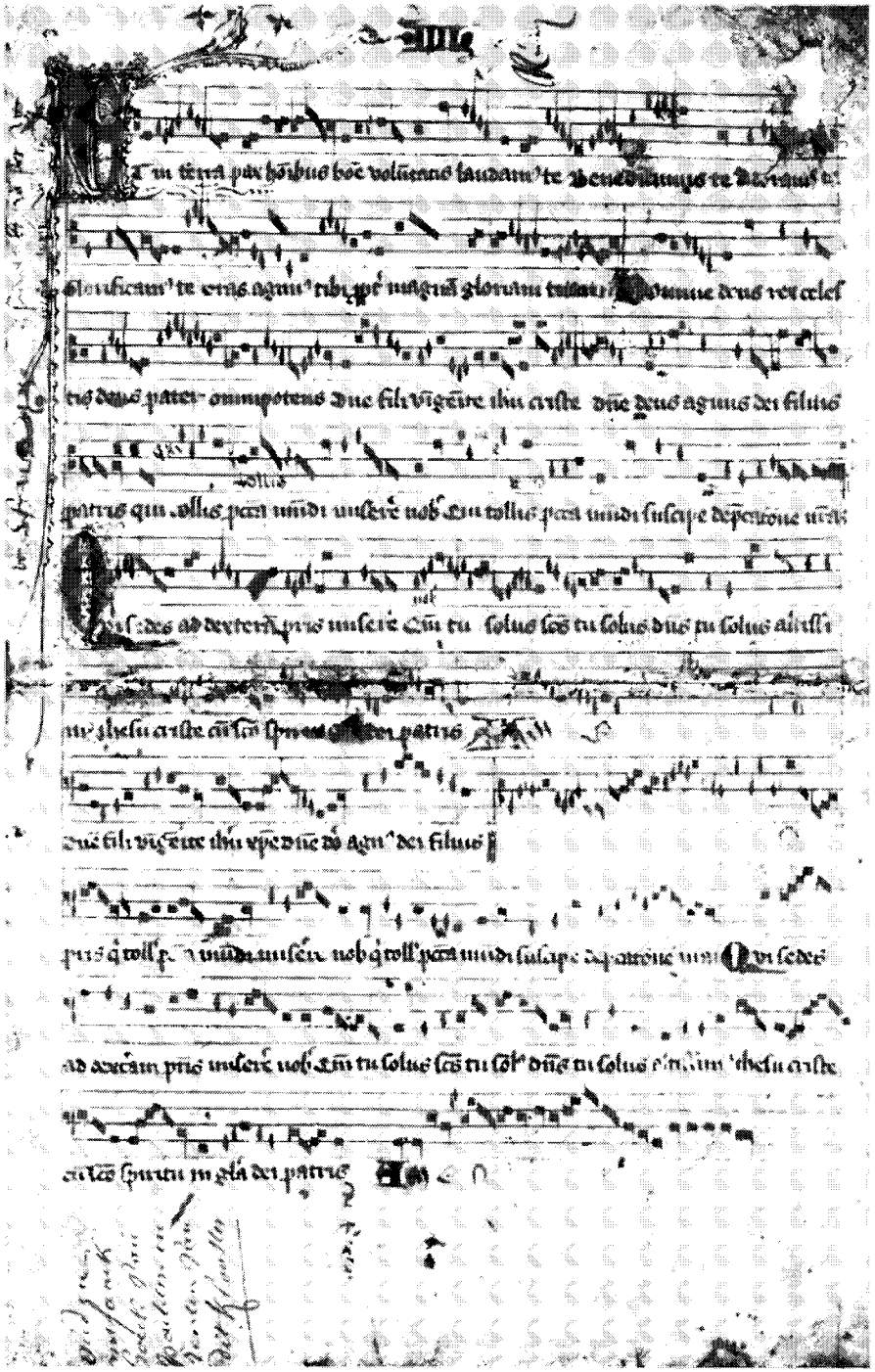
25. 'A discort' (or 'En discort') found wide distribution in central Europe with the contrafactum text *Virginem mire*; see T. Ward, *A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm* 14274, in Early Music History 1 (1981), pp. 329 ff.

26. On *Je voy mon cuer,* see, most recently, G. Reaney, *Music in the Late Medieval Entremets,* in AnnM 7 (1964-77), pp. 51-65.

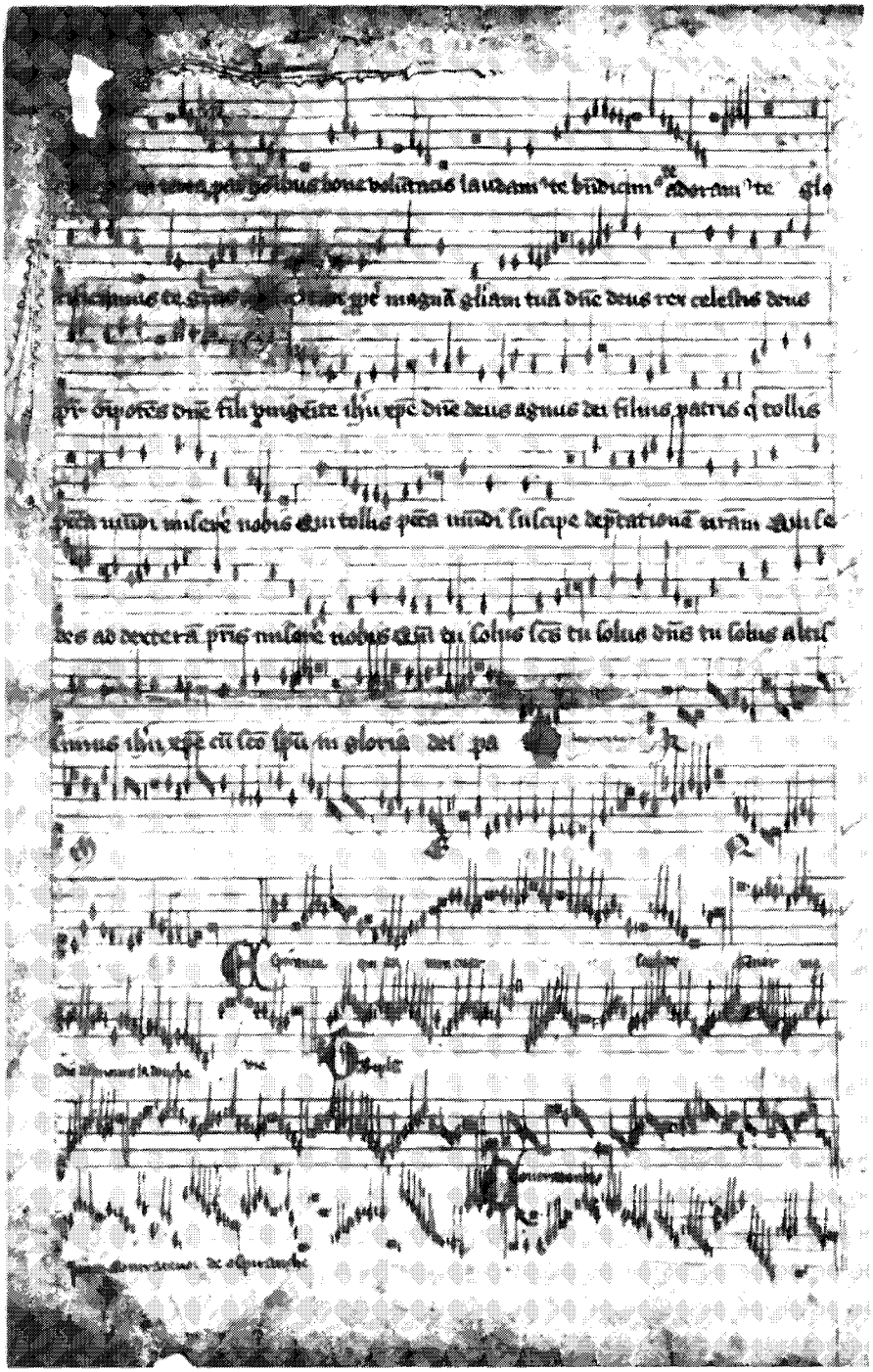
27. *En tes doulz flans* was also arranged by Wolkenstein; see I. Pelnar, *Die mehrstimmigen* . . . (n. 24), vol. 1 pp. 100 ff.

28. *Jour à jour la vie* was probably a favourite song of the Count of Flanders; see R. Strohm, *Music* . . . (n. 2), p. 106 f.

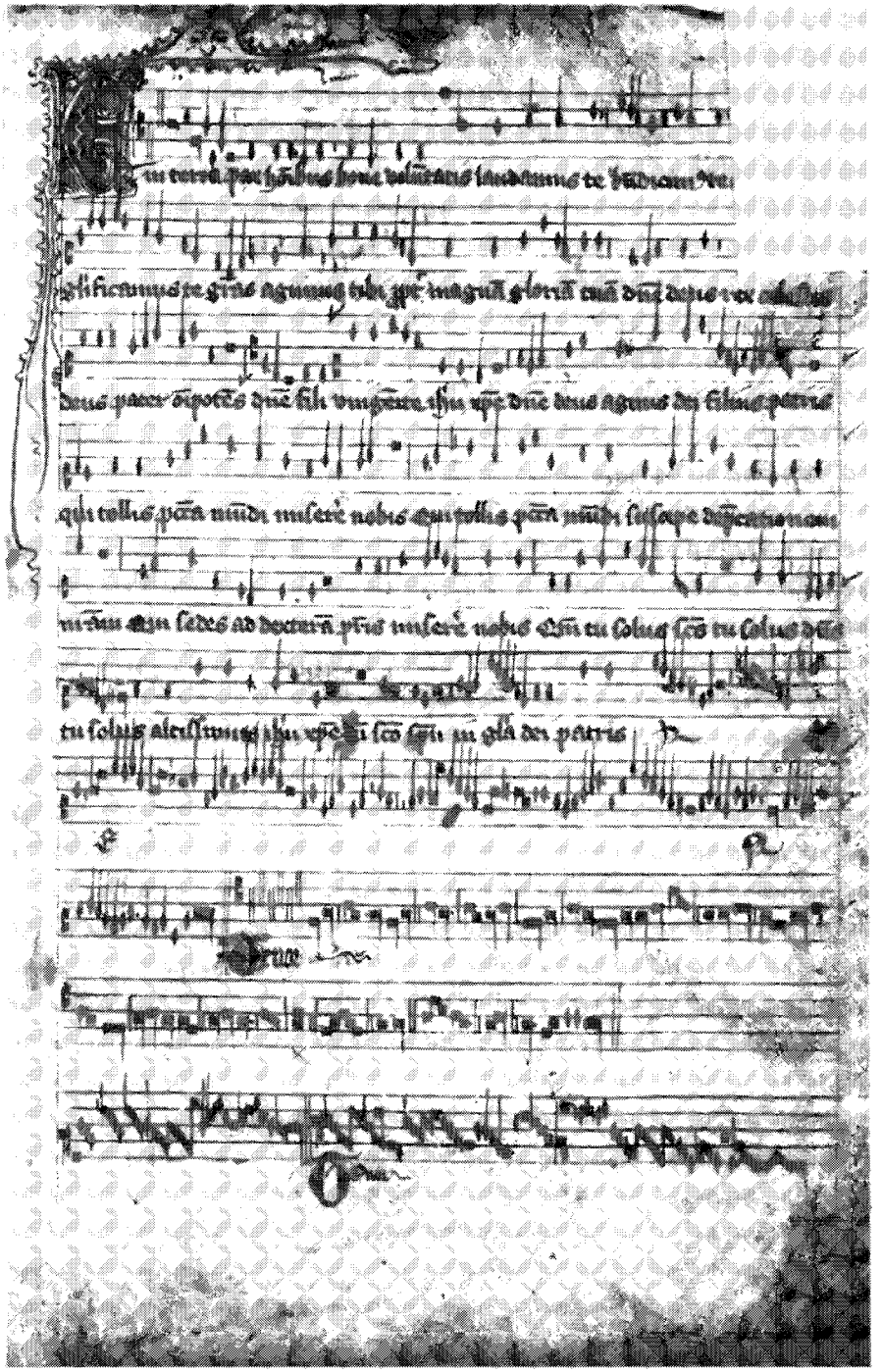
29. *Qui contre fortune* has already been identified by F. Ludwig with the Wolkenstein arrangement *Froleich geschrey*. I have now found that it is also identical with the enigmatic *Schack melodye* (F-Sm 222 no. 99), which in turn survives as *Scack sine celsito(nanti)* – lower two voices only – in A-Wn 5094 no. 1. The T has a strikingly repetitive character; the piece was possible often performed in Flanders on the exchiquier. Oswald's 'Medium' is identical with the Ct in A-Wn 5094, which I believe to be a Viennese source, and is therefore not composed by him as has been assumed.
30. Oswald's arrangement of *Talent m'es pris* is normally referred to the contrafactum *Der sumer kumt* in F-Sm, no. 92. But F-Sm no. 155 is perhaps a version of the same piece, with yet another contrafactum text: *Von fremden stimmen*.
31. This is not to mean that simplicity was the only characteristic of the 'international' repertory, nor that all pieces were simple. Equally important characteristics may be the expansion of 'realistic' features to include imitation of instrumental sounds ('tuba' pieces), instrumental transmission itself, a strong interest in canonic writing and diminution.
32. See the impressive documents on Burgundian festivities with performers from many countries, assembled by C. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy* (n. 13).
33. D-Nst 9/9a as well as A-Wn 5094 probably originated in Vienna; see R. Strohm, *Einheimische und fremde Mehrstimmigkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Österreich*, in Tagungsbericht Neustift (Bressanone) 1982, ed. by U. Günther (forthcoming).
34. The 'lateral' transmission of sacred music is put in a nutshell by H. Stäblein-Harder, *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, MSD 7 (companion vol. to CMM 29), p. 66, where she says about the Credo by Perrinet Bonbarde (no. 55): "The MSS Pad and Str. which are not directly related to one another, appear, therefore, in contrast to Apt, to contain the more generally circulated version. This is astonishing, because both Pad and Str can be regarded as peripheral sources with regard to French Mass compositions". The widely-known Credo is also contained in US-Wc 14 (no. 2), a little collection possibly copied in Flanders for an Englishman, which comprises the motet *Rex Karole*, written in Bruges, 1375.
35. See U. Günther, *Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi, Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B.N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)*, in AMw 24 (1967), pp. 99-119.
36. On some of these families and their connections with music, see R. Strohm, *Music . . .* (n. 2), p.
37. Magister Egardus was a succentor from Bruges who probably went to Italy towards the end of the century; see R. Strohm, *Magister Egardus and other Italo-Flemish Contacts*, in Congress Report Certaldo 1984; = L'Ars Nova VI (forthcoming).
38. See F. Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI E 9* (Augsburg/Brünn 1931).
39. M. Staehelin, *Neue Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in der Schweiz*, in Schweizer Beiträge zur Mw. 3 (1978), pp. 57-59 (plus facsimile).
40. Besides RISM (with bibliography), see especially C. Van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit Musical M.222 C.22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg . . .* (Antwerp 1924); Coussemaker's partial copy of the codex was published in facsimile by A. Vander Linden, *Le Manuscrit Musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, XV^e siècle* (Brussels n.d.; = Thesaurus Musicus II).
41. Both treatises were printed by E. De Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, vol. III.



Gent, Rijksarchief, Fonds Groenenbriel, no. 133 (IIII = f.1r)



Gent, Rijksarchief, Fonds Groenenbriel, no. 133 (IIII = f.1v)



Gent, Rijksarchief, Fonds Groenenbriel, no. 133 (IIII = f.2r)

Gent, Rijksarchief, Fonds Groenenbriel, no. 133 (IIII = f.2v)

42. The canon and composer Georgius Martini gave a 'liber scientie musicalium' to the church school of St. Donatian's in 1438; see R. Strohm, *Music . . .* (n. 2.), p. 186.
43. Vitry's authorship was rejected by H. Besseler, *Falsche Autornamen in den Handschriften Straßbourg (Vitry) und Montecassino (Dufay)*, in AcM 40 (1968), p. 201 f. If the ascription is wrong just like that of the treatise, this points to Netherlandish rather than French origin of both.
44. I wish to discuss this question elsewhere in greater detail. The council, and the presence of the papal chapel, certainly brought music from Italy to the area; there seem to be almost a dozen pieces in F-Sm which were composed by members of the papal chapels.
45. C. Van den Borren, *Le Manuscrit . . .* (n. 40).
46. On Merques as a member of the conciliar chapel, see T. Ward, *The Structure of the Manuscript Trent 92-1*, in MD 29 (1975), p. 127 ff.
47. One wonders what the title for no. 98 *Virgo Flandria vel virgo mater* may mean. 'Virgo Flandriae' is the name usually given to St. Pharahilde.
48. See D. Fallows, *Dufay* (London 1982), p. 240.
49. See also M. Vogeleis, *Quellen und Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters im Elsass 500-1800* (Strasbourg 1911; repr. 1979). On p. 86, Vogeleis suggests an identification with the cathedral organist 'Heinricus', whose dates are not precisely known. Note also, p. 98, the member of the city council, Hesseman Hesse, quoted in a musical context in 1430.
50. Still the best monograph on him is E. R. Müller, *Heinrich Loufenberg, eine litterar-historische Untersuchung* (Berlin 1888).
51. The latinisation of Freiburg/Breisgau into 'Liberum Castrum' is not orthodox but possible. Dr. Vivian Ramalingan presented a paper at the IMS Conference in Strasbourg, 1982, where she makes this musician a native of Chateau-Libre in the Dauphiné.
52. F. Ludwig in: G. de Machaut (N. 11), vol.2, p. 38*.
53. See P. Rogghe, *Simone de Mirabello* (n. 14), p. 19.

Additional Note:
The influence of music from the Low Countries on musical institutions on the Upper Rhine and in Switzerland has received further attention in publications by Lorenz Welker and Martin Staehelin. Welker, in particular, has corrected the suggestion that the Strasbourg manuscript (M.222 C.22) itself was related to institutions in Ghent, showing that the musical treatise at the end, dated 1411 "in oppido Zovigen" was in fact copied in Zofingen, Switzerland. Much further information on the Strasbourg manuscript and its context can be found in the following works:

Lorenz Welker, Heinrich Laufenberg in Zofingen: Musik in der spätmittelalterlichen Schweiz. [Heinrich Laufenberg in Zofingen: Music in late medieval Switzerland.] *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft [Annales Suisses de Musicologie]*, Bern: Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, **11**, 1991, pp. 67-78.

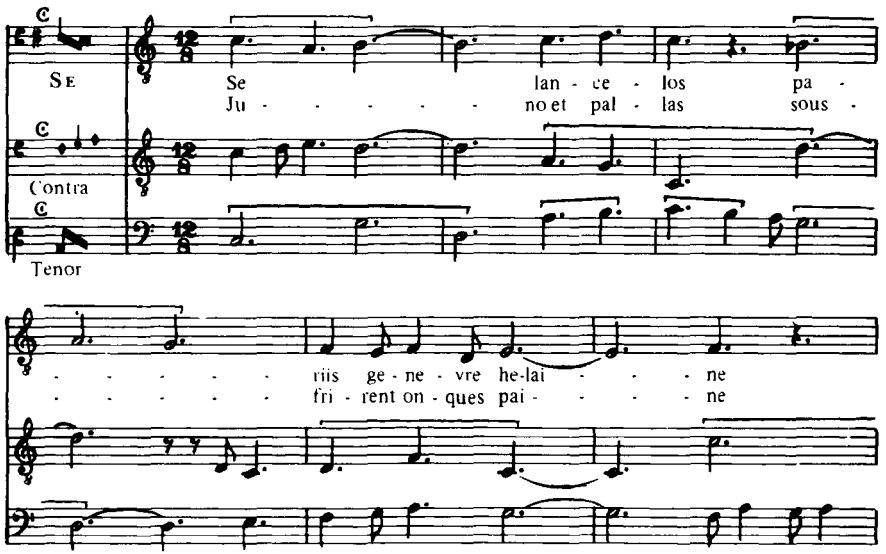
Lorenz Welker, *Musik am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter. Die Handschrift Strasbourg, olim Bibliothèque de la Ville, C.22.* unpublished Habilitationsschrift, University of Basel, 1993.

Martin Staehelin, Bemerkungen zum verbrannten Manuskript Straßburg M.222 C.22. [Remarks on the burnt manuscript Strasbourg M.222 C.22.] *Die Musikforschung*, **42**, (1), 1989, pp. 2-20.

APPENDIX

VIRELAI *Dame pas vos douch plazier* ('Scone es si boven allen vrauwen')
B-Gr 133, no. 5.

BALLADE *Se lancelos*
B-Gr 3360, no. 4.



tri - - stran hey - - seut ni - no - ve nar -
pour bien a - - mer en - core on souf -
- - - - - - - - chi - sus
- - - - - - - - re plus.
1.
2.
(!)
Pour ma da - me que dieus gart car pour s'a -
mor lan-guist bruist et art mon po - vre
(d)

MS b. 5: *ie vinre* instead of *genevre*; b. 1-2, line 3: *ano et* instead of *juno et*.

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[6]

A PHANTOM TREATISE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY? THE *ARS NOVA*

SARAH FULLER

Did Philippe de Vitry write a treatise *Ars nova*? The question may surprise, so prominent a landmark is the *Ars nova* in the established landscape of Western music history. Yet it merits attention, not only because the physical being of this landmark seems less rock solid than some other celebrated monuments of music theory, but also, and particularly, because "Philippe de Vitry's *Ars nova*" is the rallying point for ideas about a critical period of musical development in fourteenth-century France, about the dissemination of new practices from Paris south, beyond the Alps to Italy, and about Philippe de Vitry's stature and influence as a theorist. A close survey of this landmark bears upon present-day teaching on the historical phenomenon *ars nova* and invites fresh inquiry into how and where the new practice was taught in its own time.

Traditional scholarship equivocates on the genesis of what we conceive to be the treatise *Ars nova*. Confronted with the circumstance that "the preserved versions of his [Philippe de Vitry's] treatise *Ars nova* are all different," Gilbert Reaney remarks, "the theoretical work of Vitry must have been imparted mainly by word of mouth, for it is exceptional to find a treatise in such widely differing forms."[1] Writing of Vitry's theoretical contributions, Ernest Sanders states, "Evidently the versions [of the *Ars nova*] that survive represent the author's work only as formulated by several of his disciples."[2] Yet neither scholar doubts the reality of a treatise written by de Vitry. Sanders writes, "In his capacity as musician Vitry wrote a famous and authoritative treatise on the practice of music, *Ars nova* (*c.* 1322-3)," and he proceeds to relate the theoretical contributions of de Vitry in minute detail.[3] Commenting on Coussemaker's liberal attributions, Reaney states, "However, we ought not to go as far as Riemann in considering the *Ars nova* itself as of doubtful authenticity, since we have the clear statements of Coussemaker's Anon. III and VII, the explicit of Paris 7378A and that of the Vatican codex."[4] Both men regard the proposition that Philippe de Vitry wrote a treatise *Ars nova* as a certainty rather than an

[1] *Philippi de Vitriaco Ars nova*, ed. G. Reaney, A. Gilles, J. Maillard, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* 8, (1964), p. 79. (All volumes of the *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* will hereafter be cited as CSM plus the volume number.)

[2] "Vitry, Philippe de," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 20, (1980), p. 23.

[3] *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 20, p. 23.

[4] CSM 8, p. 5. Riemann's position seems not so much directed at the *Ars nova per se* but is rather a response to contradictions among the many works assigned by Coussemaker to Philippe de Vitry (*Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX-XIX Jahrhundert*), 1st ed., (1898), p. 224–26, 235).

hypothesis. Their position is shared by the musicological community at large, and has been reinforced by a precise dating of the work to 1321.[5]

I judge it essential to separate the notions of a definitive written treatise on the one hand, and a fluid teaching tradition known through formulations "by disciples" on the other hand. The two are functionally and operatively distinct and engender dissimilar interpretations and conclusions. The choice between the two positions rests upon the validity of what I shall call the *Ars nova* hypothesis, that is, the hypothesis that Philippe de Vitry actually did write a treatise on the new art. My examination of this hypothesis concentrates on four critical sectors:

1. the survival of an integral and intact version of the *Ars nova*;

2. the image of one central document behind those texts currently taken to represent the *Ars nova*;

3. the attributions of the presumed *Ars nova* representatives;

4. fourteenth-century comments on Philippe de Vitry's theoretical ideas and contributions.

The Intact Version

The most recent editors of the *Ars nova* were manifestly guided by the premise that there was such a treatise written by Philippe de Vitry whose substance can be recovered through extant documents, and they framed their judgments on relationships among the manuscript sources accordingly.[6] Yet they do not claim to know an intact copy of the work. The texts they publish in fact comprise two incomplete fragments, one highly abridged digest, and three items that must be completely dissociated from the *Ars nova*. These are listed in Table I and will be briefly characterized in turn.

1. *V* 307-I. There is no reason to attribute this potpourri of conventional topics (3 genera of music, interval types, proportions, monochord division, hexachords, *falsa musica*) to de Vitry. It circulated independently from what is, in this manuscript, a second part (see end Table I), and the editors of CSM 8 dismiss it from the de Vitry sphere, while citing "practical reasons" and historical circumstance as justification for printing it as "Chapters I-XIV" of their *Ars nova*.[7] In tone and in material concerns, this section ("Part I") differs radically from *V* 307-II ("Part II"). "Part I" deals largely with matters proper to *musica plana*, while "Part II" takes up topics of *musica mensurabilis*: notation (*figura*) and mensuration. The fusion of these independent parts in *V* 307 indicates that the exemplar from which this scribe worked was defective.

[5]U. Michels, *Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VIII (1970), p. 55.

[6]CSM 8, esp. pp. 3–4, 52–54, 71–73, 79–80.

[7]CSM 8, p. 3. The information in Table I on the two Vatican manuscripts that also contain this treatise is drawn from *The Theory of Music, RISM* B III:2, p. 100–01 and 112–16 respectively.

TABLE 1

Recognized Sources: the *Ars nova*

Siglum	Manuscript	Incipit/Explicit	Published
V 307-I	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 307 F. 17 - 18'. [Part I]	I: *Musica tria sunt genera: mundanum, humanum et instrumentale.* E: *Quia id quod falsum est, sequitur quod non sit verum, sed hoc non est falsum ergo.* (No formal explicit. Continues directly into "Part II")	CSM 8, pp. 13-23; CS III, pp. 13a-18b. (as *Ars Nova* "Ch. I-XIV")
V 307-II	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 307, f. 19-20'. [Part II]	I: *Sex minimae possunt poni pro tempore imperfecto* (continues from "Part I") E: *Explicit ars nova magistri Philippi de Vetri deo gratias amen amen amen.*	CSM 8, pp. 23-31; CS III, pp. 18b-22b. (as *Ars Nova* "Ch. XV-XXIV")
P 7378A	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 7378A, f. 61'-62.	I: *Sex sunt species principales sive concordantiae discantus* E: *Explicit ars quevis mensurandi motetos compilata a magistro Philippo de Vitry magistro in musica.*	CSM 8, pp. 55-69.
P 14741	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 14741 (olim St. Victor 680), f. 4-5	I: *Cum de signis temporis variationem demonstrantibus* (No formal incipit. Contiguous with *Compendium [Musicae Practicae]* of Johannes de Muris) E: *Semicirculus autem pro modo perfecto et imperfecto indifferenter ponitur ut in praedictis 2 motetis reperitur.* (No formal explicit. Continues into *Conclusiones* of "Anonymous OP")	CSM 8, pp. 25-29 (top), 32.
Lo 21455	London, British Library, Additional 21455, f. 1-6.	I: *Cum de mensurabili musica sit nostra presens intentio* E. *quia de tono propter b debet fieri semitonus et sic erit falsa musica etc.*	CSM 8, pp. 73-78.
Si L.V. 30	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale L.V. 30, f. 129-129'	I: *Sub brevissimo compendio Philippo de Vitriaco in musica incipit. Omni desideranti notitiam artis musicae mensurabilis* E: *Inter perfectas, si brevis bina locetur temporis unius sit prima, secunda dupletur. Explicit Philippus de Vitriaco.*	CSM 8, pp. 80-81.
	Sources Related to *V* 307 "Part I" *Musica tria sunt genera**		
V 5325	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vaticano latino 5325, f. 2'-7'.	I: *Musica enim sunt tria genera scilicet mundanum* E: *Hic incipit specialiter diffinire Unisonus est. . .*	
V R.L. 1146	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regin. lat. 1146, f. 57-65'	I: *Hic incipit ars plane musice. . . . Consequenter sciendum est quod ipsius musice tria sunt genera* (f. 58) E: *Et hec dicta de mutationibus ad presens sufficiunt. Amen.*	
P 18514	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 18514, f. 87-94.	I: TRACTATUS DE MUSICA COLLECTUM EX HIS QUAE DICTA SUNT A BOETIO SUPRA ATQUE DECLARATIO MUSICE PRACTICE. *Scientia est cognitio rei sicut est* E: *Et dicitur a semi quod est imperfectum et tonus quasi imperfectus tonus ut hic.*	

* None incorporated into CSM 8 edition.

2. *V* 307-II. This item is a fragment. It begins *in medias res* with a passage on division of imperfect *tempus* by six minims. Elsewhere this subject is paired with and preceded by a passage on perfect *tempus* divided into nine minims, and the present text subsequently signals the omission in

stating that this very matter has been discussed "above."[8] The incomplete nature of this version is betrayed in other such unfulfilled claims as, for example, that the breve and its values, imperfection of the duplex long, and semibreve alteration "according to the old way" have been taken up previously by the author.[9] Just how much initial material has been lost is indeterminate.

3. *P* 14741. This text possesses neither formal incipit nor explicit. It emerges without even a paragraph break from the *Compendium* [*Musicae practicae*] of Johannes de Muris and flows directly on into an academic set of five *conclusiones* on notational problems by an anonymous author.[10] It is even more of a fragment than *V* 307-II, with which it concurs closely on just two sections, the chapter on various combinations of mode and tempus ("XVII") and the chapter on red notation ("XIX"). The other two sections—one on signs for mode and tempus, the other on types of perfect and imperfect tempus—differ substantially from their counterparts in *V* 307-II ("Chs. XVIII" and "XX-XXIV" respectively). The scribe precedes them with the remark that the decrepit state of his source has caused some lacunae: *et cum causa vetustatis aliqua sint dimissa super.*[11] This redaction of *ars nova* teaching is partial and incomplete, and even the scribe recognizes the inadequacy of his exemplar.

4. *P* 7378A is considered by the editors of CSM 8 to represent the *Ars nova* most comprehensively, for it comprehends both an *ars vetus* and an *ars nova*. A. Gilles links it with "un archétype que le 7378A nous permet de nous représenter de façon précise."[12] Yet the text is clearly an abridged digest derived from some more ample and discursive exposition of the material. The writing style is stenographic. Hardly any explanatory comment leavens the blunt succession of factual statements. Musical examples, regularly signaled by *ut hic*, are entirely wanting. Although the author claims to have treated of tempus division by six or nine minims, the present text contains no such passage.[13] The *P* 7378A *Ars nova* is aptly characterized by Gilles as an *aide-mémoire* and stands at least one step away from a more complete forebear that could as well have been oral as written.[14] This text also manifests signs of compilation. A conventional discant manual precedes the notation treatise, and the word *explicit* between the sections

[8]CSM 8, "Ch. XX," p. 29, line 2. For the normal sequence, see the Anonymi III and IV from Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi* III (hereafter CS III), as reedited respectively in CSM 8, pp. 89–91 and CSM 30, pp. 39–40.

[9]CSM 8, "Ch. XVI," p. 24, l. 2; "Ch. XVII," p. 25, l. 10; "Ch. XX," p. 29, l. 7.

[10]See the manuscript inventory by U. Michels, *Johannis de Muris Notitia artis musicae* et. al., CSM 17 (1972), pp. 23–24.

[11]"And since, due to age, some things are missing above," CSM 8, p. 32, l. 2, corrected according to the manuscript, f. 4'.

[12]"An archtype [of de Vitry's treatise] which the version of 7378A permits us to grasp quite precisely.", CSM 8, p. 54.

[13]CSM 8, p. 69, l. 33–35.

[14]CSM 8, p. 52.

on *ars vetus* and *ars nova* suggests that here, also, a grafting has taken place.[15]

5. *Lo* 21455. This treatise resembles *P* 7378A in compact format and in inclusion of *ars vetus* teaching, but it is a distinctly different work, intermingling old and new *artes* in the body of the exposition. None of the hallmarks of the other presumed *Ars nova* representatives is here: not red notes nor classification of perfect and imperfect mode and tempus types, not mensuration signs nor motet citations. Conversely, other topics of general character are included.[16] The affiliations of this succinct pedagogical manual are with Franco of Cologne (in general plan) and Johannes de Muris (in methodology). Definitions of *longa erecta* and *brevis erecta* associate it also with the *Regulae* of Robert de Handlo and the treatise known as Anonymous "Theodoricus de Campo [Theodonus de Capua]."[17] It cannot even be considered a witness to the de Vitrian teaching tradition, much less a possible version of the *Ars nova*.

6. *Si*. L.V. 30. Although title and explicit affirm a direct line to Philippe de Vitry, the exaggerated brevity of this compendium marks it as a peripheral source for de Vitry's thought. Far from adhering to *V* 307-II, *P* 14741, and *P* 7378A, this is the most curtailed and summary version of a tract beginning *Omni desideranti notitiam* which exists in two more ample versions, one of which was published by Coussemaker as the *Ars perfecta* of Philippe de Vitry.[18] Both other versions mention de Vitry in the third person, making it clear that they stand at least one remove from him (despite the direct attribution in the Chicago copy).[19] Correspondences between the more expansive versions of *Omni desideranti* and the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* commonly attributed to Johannes de Muris place the former (and with them the Siena digest) at a fairly late stage in the development of fourteenth-century French notation.

From the foregoing, it appears plainly that none of the texts traditionally regarded as representative of the *Ars nova* can be considered a complete and intact version of that treatise. It follows, then, that no exemplar of the *Ars nova* is known at present.

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[15]CSM 8, p. 63, l. 17. The initial segement on discant concords is closely related to an independent counterpoint handbook copied on folios 24-24′ of *V* 307 (now MS 135/5 in the Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes, Sankt Paul [Kärnten]) and ascribed (improbably) to Johannes de Muris. On the relationship between the two, see K.-J. Sachs, *Der Contrapunctus im 14. and 15. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft XIII (1974), pp. 69–70.

[16]The treatise begins with a *Regula de monochordo* drawn (without ascription) from Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus*, and concludes with brief paragraphs on the eight concords and on *falsa musica*, items which the scribe clearly considered to be integral parts of the whole.

[17]For the Handlo, which is dated 1326 in the sole source, see CS I, p. 383–84. For Anon. "ThC", see the recent edition of C. Sweeney, CSM 13 (1971), pp. 32–33. I shall cite this anonymous as Anon. CSM 13.

[18]See Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina 5-2-25, f. 63–64′, edited by H. Anglès, "Dos Tractats Medievals de Música Figurada," *Festschrift für Johannes Wolf* (1929), pp. 6–10; and Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 54.1, f. 52′–56′, edited CS III, pp. 28–35.

[19]CS III, p. 28; "Dos Tractats," p. 6. Quoted below, note 34.

The Central Document

If no integral representative of the work survives, the hypothesis that Philippe de Vitry did write an *Ars nova* must rely on circumstantial evidence. The conventional assumption holds that the substance of his treatise is preserved in the surviving fragments and derivatives. If these indeed spring from a written core document, then they should cast a coherent image of the lost original. Specifically, they should concur on essential points of doctrine, in choice and order of subjects, and in technical terminology. Since the two fragments *V* 307-II and *P* 14741 are the most fully realized in an expository sense, they can be expected to exhibit maximum consanguinity, to project congruent images of a common source. Yet significant differences emerge from even a cursory comparison of the two (See Table II).[20]

Leaving aside fortuitous lacunae, the order of topics is not the same in both texts. Using the longer fragment, *V* 307-II, as the standard for comparison, and labelling successive topics alphabetically, *P* 14741 exhibits a divergent ordering: ⒹⒻ ("G-H") ("E") . The explanation of red notation directly follows the passage on combinations of perfect and imperfect mode and tempus. Mensuration signs close the work, and only two of those mentioned in *V* 307-II are proposed. Whereas in *V* 307-II perfect and imperfect tempus types are treated quite separately, in *P* 14741 they are introduced jointly under a single topic sentence, and what the editors parse as five separate "chapters" in the former coheres in two connected paragraphs in the latter.[21]

Only in two sections, those on varieties of mode and tempus and on red notes (Ⓓ and Ⓕ in Table II) are the two texts close enough to support a claim that they might ultimately derive from a common source (and even in these sections divergencies in detail indicate different branches of any hypothetical stemma). Telling differences in language and expression bespeak separate origins for the other related sections (Ⓔ Ⓖ Ⓗ in Table II). In Ⓖ and Ⓗ the Vatican writer speaks directly of *tempus perfectum* and *tempus imperfectum* types, while the *P* 14741 theorist speaks of the *figuratio, prolatio* or *significatio* of the basic *tempus* types. This locution puts the stress on the manner of performance or notation rather than on the *tempus* category in the abstract.[22] The two texts observe opposite internal orderings, *V* 307-II proceeding from the least to the most subdivided (*minimum, medium, maximum*), *P* 14741 from the most to the least (*major, minor, minima*). They deviate also on the nomenclature of the various

[20]In CSM 8, the sections of *P* 14741 are printed out-of-order so as to align them with the course of *V* 307-II, but an attentive reading of the critical notes will clarify the sequence proper to the Paris manuscript.

[21]CSM 8, p. 32, l. 2.

[22]Compare CSM 8, pp. 29–31 with p. 32, l. 2–4, 7. As a result of this locution, *P* 14741 always uses the feminine form of the adjective *major (prolatio), V* 307-II the neuter *maius (tempus)*. This difference has also been noticed by R. Bockholdt, "Semibrevis minima und Prolatio temporis Zur Entstehung der Mensuraltheorie der Ars Nova," *Die Musikforschung* XVI (1963), 20.

TABLE II

Order of Topics in *Ars nova* Sources

V 307-II	*P* 14741	*P* 7378A
Ⓐ Imperfect Tempus subdivided by 6 minims	– – – – – –	– – – – – –
Ⓑ Types of Semibreve	– – – – – –	Ⓑ
– – – – – –	– – – – – –	Ⓧ Imperfection [*a parte remotiori*]: L or DI. by SB or m, B by m.
– – – – – –	– – – – – –	Ⓨ Syncopation
Ⓒ Signs for Perfect and Imperfect Tempus ○ or 3 short lines C or 2 short lines	– – – – – –	Ⓒ
Ⓓ——Ⓓ Varieties of Mode and Tempus: Perfect and Imperfect		Ⓓ
Ⓔ Signs for Perfect and Imperfect Mode, Perfect Mode and Perfect Tempus, Imperfect Mode and Imperfect Tempus. ▣ ▭ [Ⓘ Ⓒ]	– – – – – – (see below)	– – – – – –
Ⓕ——Ⓕ Red Notes		Ⓕ
Ⓖ 3 Types of Perfect Tempus: minimum, medium, maius	"G-H" Types of Perfect and Imperfect Tempus: P: Maior, minor, minima prolatio	Ⓖ 3 Types of Perfect Tempus: minimum, medium, maius
Ⓗ 2 Types of Imperfect Tempus: minimum, maius	I: maior, minor prolatio	Ⓗ 2 Types of Imperfect Tempus: minimum, maius
	"E" Signs for Perfect Mode and Tempus, Imperfect Mode and Tempus Ⓘ Ⓒ	

subspecies. *V* 307-II uses the terms *medium tempus perfectum* and *minimum tempus imperfectum*, while *P* 14741 labels both categories *minor*. The Vatican text cites no specific examples in this section, whereas the Paris one names individual motets to illustrate each type of *prolatio*.

Although these two fragments certainly stem from the same teaching sphere, they cannot be said as a whole to reflect a common written source. Just after the passage on red notation the scribe of *P* 14741 does deplore the state of his source, charging lacunae to its venerable age (*vetustas*), as

has already been mentioned. That he could supply some gaps in a way that accords generally with the *V* 307-II text argues for a common body of knowledge behind the two writings. In its original state, the defective source behind *P* 14741 might possibly have resembled the Vatican fragment more closely than does the actual *P* 14741, but there is no way to test that insubstantial possibility.

Although the abridged digest *P* 7378A differs in nature from the discursive texts *V* 307-II and *P* 14741, it might, as the most comprehensive of the presumed versions, be expected to provide insight on the central document. Could *P* 7378A be derived from a source treatise of which *V* 307-II is the largest surviving segment? Close comparison between the two does not show *P* 7378A to be an orderly condensation of *V* 307-II. As can be seen from Table II (cols. 1 and 3), *P* 7378A follows the general order of *V* 307-II, but lacks topics Ⓐ and Ⓔ while including two subjects not in *V* 307-II, imperfection by non-adjacent note values (*a parte remotiori*), and syncopation (Ⓧ and Ⓨ in Table II). This material occurs between the passages on semibreve types and on signs for perfect and imperfect tempus and cannot be explained as amplification of either.[23] (Remote imperfection, incidentally, is one of the cardinal points of Johannes de Muris' *Notitia artis musicae*.) In the section on red notes, *P* 7378A includes some of the examples mentioned in *V* 307-II (4 out of 10), but cites them in different order (2, 9, 7, 5 in relation to the Vatican text).[24] *P* 7378A also deviates from the Vatican fragment in juxtaposing topics Ⓓ and Ⓕ, a feature it shares with *P* 14741.

The impression that *P* 7378A has no direct filiation with *V* 307-II is confirmed by examination of the corresponding sections on semibreves (Table III). For the sake of comparison, and to provide more specific evidence on its separateness, the relevant portion of *Lo* 21455 is also summarized in Table III.

Definition and nomenclature of temporal values smaller than the breve was central to the new practice. On so consequential a matter, treatises emanating from a codified written source or established tradition ought to concur. Yet *V* 307-II and *P* 7378A diverge so patently on terminology and typology of semibreves as to warrant Jacques of Liège's censuring remarks on modern dissent about such matters.[25] The two texts do not even agree on the name for the basic semibreve, that which is one-third of a breve in the old practice. *V* 307-II calls this semibreve *recta et vera*; *P* 7378A calls it *perfecta* and subsequently relates it to *prolatio perfecta*. The London handbook, *Lo* 21455 calls it *minor* and assigns it the value of one tempus,

[23]Neither *V* 307-II nor *P* 14741 uses the term syncopation, but both allude to the phenomenon under the topic of red notation (CSM 8, p. 28, l. 6 and p. 65, l. 59–63). Section Ⓓ in both fragments alludes to imperfection of the *duplex longa* by 1 or 2 breves or minims (CSM 8, p. 25, l. 8–11), but this passage does not match the remarks on imperfection by "non-adjacent" figures in *P* 7378A and occurs at a later point in the exposition.

[24]Compare CSM 8, pp. 28–29, "Ch. XIX", l. 2–12 with p. 69, l. 22–33.

[25]*Speculum musicae*, Book VII, ed. R. Bragard, CSM III:7, (1973), "Ch. XXIIII," pp. 51–52, and "Ch. XXXIII," p. 64, l. 1.

TABLE III

Semibreve Classification in *Ars nova* Treatises

V 307-II (CSM 8, pp. 23-24)	*P* 7378A (CSM 8, pp. 63, 65)	*Lo* 21455 (CSM 8, pp. 75-76)
SB signata -- general term for any with added stem		
major SB SB altera } = 6m	perfecta", i.e. when B = 3 SB	major SB SB altera } = 2 minor SB or 2 *Tempora*
semimajor SB = 5m or 4m		
recta et vera SB = 3m	SB perfecta = 3m	minor SB = 1 Tempus or 1.3 B or 3m minor perfecta [= 3m]
minor SB = 2m	SB imperfecta [= 2m]	minor imperfecta [= 2m]
altera minima = 2m "in gradu ternario"	altera minima = 2m "in majori" [i.e. when SB = 3m]	altera minima = [= 2m] "in majori prolatione"
minima [SB] = 1m	minima [SB] = 2 sm "si dici possent semiminime" [◆]	minima [SB = 1m] ◆
semiminima = 1/2 m	semiminima = sm [1/2 m] [◆]	semiminima = 1/2 m ◆ or ◆
alternate names for m and sm: semiminor [SB] = 1m minima [SB] = 1/2 m	semiminor [SB] = 1m minima [SB] = sm	
	SBs "a parte superiori et inferiori simul caudantur" = 2m [◆]	SB "tractum a sinistra parte ab angulo obtuso precedentem" ◆ (◆ or ◆ ?)*
SB = semibreve m = minim sm = semiminim		

* The figure in the edition, ◆ , which presumably reflects the source, does not conform to the textual description *per tractum a sinistra parte ab angulo obtuso*: ◆ , ◆ . In this regard, note Jacques of Liège's complaints about stems added to the sides and the middles of semibreves (*Speculum musicae* Book VII, ed. R. Bragard, CSM 3:7 (1973), p. 52 line 8).

an extraordinary usurpation of the traditional status of the breve. In *V* 307-II a semibreve worth two minims is labelled *minor*, in *P* 7378A a *semibrevis imperfecta*. The Vatican text defines the minim as itself, an indivisible unit, while *P* 7378A defines it in terms of the semiminim, with the qualification "if one can speak of semiminims."[26] Altered minims are mentioned in both texts but the situation in which they occur is called *in gradu ternario* in *V* 307-II, *in majori* [*prolatione*] in *P* 7378A. The Vatican fragment alone uses the umbrella term *semibrevis signata* and includes in its hierarchy a semibreve worth four or five minims called *semimajor*. The Paris digest, for its part, posits a semibreve with both ascending and descending stems, a figure named elsewhere the *dragma* or *fusiel*.[27] The semibreve array and nomenclature proffered in the London compendium relates no more closely to *V* 307-II or to *P* 7378A than they to each other.

[26]CSM 8, p. 63, l. 23–24. This qualification reflects the contemporary semantic argument over whether there can be a note value smaller than the "minimum," i.e. less than what is least. This controversy evidently underlies the alternate names for minim and semiminim mentioned in *V* 307-II and *P* 7378A. For a sane viewpoint on the matter, see Anonymous *De musica mensurabili* (Anon. CSM 13), CSM 13, pp. 51–54.

[27]See CS III Anon III, CSM 8, p. 88 and Anon. CSM 13, p. 43.

The composite of the two texts *V* 307-II and *P* 7378A forms an image so refracted and elusive that it is impossible to discern a single source document behind them. Standard editorial practice would invoke scribal intervention, modernizing emendation, or source corruption to explain such divergencies, but such explanations presuppose an authoritative reference—a principal source or group of sources—against which deviations can be assessed. In the present case, no such referential nucleus exists, for, as noted above, none of the presumed *Ars nova* versions can be considered an integral copy of the postulated original. The discrepancies in "versions" therefore must be understood as intrinsic to the situation, not incidental or accidental to it. There is no objective means of ascertaining, for example, which manner of designating semibreve types—that in *V* 307-II or that in *P* 7378A—represents the true tradition and which the scribal intervention. Nor is it possible to determine whether the passages on non-adjacent imperfection and syncopation are to be regarded as interpolations in *P* 7378A or omissions from *V* 307-II. Simply on classic textual grounds, the *Ars nova* hypothesis founders for want of evidence. Where is the text?

Parenthetically, it may be remarked that the untoward transmission situation for the *Ars nova* stands in sharp contrast to that for the early works of Johannes de Muris on modern music theory. Both the *Notitia artis musicae* (1321) and the *Compendium* (c. 1322?) based on its second book, *Practica musica*, survive complete in at least five sources.[28] Even the fragments correspond with distinct segments of the whole and cohere to a stable written tradition. Despite variants in detail, it is possible to construct a conventional source stemma for each work and to edit a standardized text that conforms with normal canons of reliability. These two treatises conform to the model of an integral written source from which copies were generated, whereas the supposed *Ars nova* representatives do not coalesce about any evident written nucleus.

The Attributions

To question de Vitry's authorship of a treatise on such textual grounds is to challenge the attributions that have long been accepted. It is therefore necessary to consider the status of the two attributions that enter into consideration, those of *V* 307-II and *P* 7378A, both contained in the explicits to the texts (See Table I).[29] By way of setting a context, it should be remarked that questionable attributions are legion among fourteenth-century writings on music, and that Johannes de Muris and Philippe de Vitry to-

[28]For a complete conspectus of the source situation, see U. Michels, *Johannis de Muris Notitia artis musicae et Compendium musicae practicae*, CSM 17 (1972), pp. 37–42b, 115–17. See also U. Michels, *Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VIII (1970).

[29]On the Siena attribution, see above p. 27.

gether are the prime beneficiaries of the scribal legacies.[30] Besides this, the two ascriptions at hand are contradictory, not so much because they confer different titles upon the treatise (that may simply indicate a relaxed fourteenth-century attitude toward titles), but because the texts diverge enough in substance that if one is the de Vitry work, the other cannot be (as argued above).[31]

The explicit of *V* 307-II, the one perpetuated by Coussemaker, occurs in a source considerably removed in time and place from Philippe de Vitry's known sphere of activity. It was set down by an Italian scribe *circa* 1400.[32] That he misspells de Vitry's name (as Vetri) indicates that this scribe had no direct knowledge of such a person and either misread his source or was unable to correct it. The attribution as it stands is faulty insofar as it applies to all the material from *Musica tria sunt genera* through the chapters on *ars nova* practices, whereas only the last portion of the text plausibly transmits the teaching of de Vitry. This also suggests that the scribe merely reproduced his exemplar and was not writing from personal knowledge. The very nature of the title—which elsewhere serves as the common term for the new practice[33]—cannot but kindle the suspicion that some enterprising scribe converted a third-person reference to de Vitry in the missing first section into a positive ascription, as happened with the *Omni desideranti* manual.[34] In any event, the Italian scribe seems to have copied mechanically, and it is unclear whether whoever first wrote the explicit based it on secure grounds of authorship or not.

The ascription in *P* 7378A seems more worthy of credibility on the basis of geographical and chronological proximity to de Vitry's home ground. The manuscript is apparently Parisian in origin and solidly anchored within

[30]The de Muris attributions have been scrutinized by U. Michels, who ends up crediting him with five texts (*Die Musiktraktate*, cited note 28). L. Gushee characterizes evidence for two of these as "relatively weak" ("Jehan des Murs," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 9, (1980), p. 588b). Attributions to Philippe de Vitry have not been studied in detail, but in mentioning only *The Ars Nova*, H. Besseler ("Vitry, Philippe de," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 13, [1966], col. 1844) and E. Sanders (*The New Grove*, vol. 20, p. 23) tacitly reject the other treatises assigned to him in various manuscripts. K.-J. Sachs has commented on the attributions of *contrapunctus* treatises to Philippe de Vitry (*Der Contrapunctus*, pp. 170–79).

[31]The title is *Ars nova* in *V* 307-II, *Ars quevis mensurandi motetos* in *P* 7378A. Max Haas has stressed the difference in title as an element in his reevaluation of the *ars vetus/ars nova* relationship ("Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I", *Forum Musicologicum* III, pp. 386–88.

[32]The body of the manuscript is dated late fourteenth century in *The Theory of Music, RISM* B III:2, ed. P. Fischer, p. 102; c. 1400–1432 in CSM 8, p. 10; and c. 1400 in C. Sweeney's introduction to *De musica mensurabili*, CSM 13, p. 9.

[33]See, for example, the introductory sentences of CS III Anon III (CSM 8, p. 84) and CS III Anon IV (CSM 30, p. 33), quoted below, p. 34.

[34]In both the Seville and the Chicago manuscripts (citations in note 18), the manual begins with a reference to *novitatemque* [*notitiam artis musicae mensurabilis*] *per Philippum in majori parte subtiliter invenisse*. In the Chicago manuscript this becomes amplified into an attribution: *Explicit ars perfecta in Musica Magistri Philippoti* [sic] *de Vitriaco*. The opening third-person reference is lacking in the Siena compendium, but an attribution to de Vitry persists in both title and explicit (See Table I). M. Haas characterizes the title *Ars nova* as a *musikwissenschaftliche Zutat* ("Die Musiklehre im 13. Jahrhundert von Johannes de Garlandia bis Franco," *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, vol. 5, p. 91, note 1.

the fourteenth-century.[35] Yet there are problems in taking the explicit as evidence for de Vitry's authorship of a treatise. Besides the stylistic considerations that led earlier to rejection of this text as a possible direct version of the *Ars nova*—the clipped, spare writing, the tone of a student's economical notes—there is the composite nature of the text, which combines in unbroken continuity a conventional discant tract and a treatise on old and new mensural practices (or treatises, if we believe the explicit between the sections on the *ars vetus* and the *nova*).[36] Lack of any connective tissue between the discant material and the notation manual indicates some second-hand conjoining of separate units. The final explicit offers a solution in identifying this *ars quevis mensurandi motetos* as *compilata a magistro Philippo de Vitry*. If this is read as "compiled from" rather than "compiled by" and interpreted as a reference to the source of the teaching rather than a statement on authorship, it becomes possible to respect the accuracy of the explicit and at the same time to acknowledge characteristics of the text that make it more plausibly a report of de Vitry's teaching than a work of his hand. Neither of the attributions, then, provides convincing support for the *Ars nova* hypothesis, while both are compatible with the notion of a teaching tradition centered about de Vitry.

The Fourteenth-Century Reports

Philippe de Vitry's reputation as author of an *Ars nova* does not rest solely on writings thought to be his but is founded also on references from fourteenth-century authors who cite him as an authority or credit him with seminal doctrines. These reports certainly testify to de Vitry's prestige as a fount of *ars nova* invention, but do they prove his authorship of a treatise as Reaney claims?[37] An attentive reading of the references casts doubt upon that claim. Anonymous III's statement *de nova arte quam Philippus de Vitriaco nuper invenit dicam hoc modo* can be understood roughly as "this is my account of the new art (practice) Philippe de Vitry recently discovered."[38] The author credits de Vitry with inventing, investigating, instigating new practices, but does not say that he codified them in writing. The *ars vetus* component of this handbook is cut short by an exhortation to consult magister Franco, but no similar short-cut is apparently available for the new teaching.[39] Reference to a treatise by de Vitry would be particularly welcome for the remark on red notation, which is disappointingly

[35]L. Gushee describes it as "almost certainly the oldest collection—in date of copying—of so-called 'Ars Nova' music theory." ("New Sources for the Biography of Johannes de Muris," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXII (1969), 6.

[36]See note 15 above.

[37]CSM 8, p. 5, quoted above, p. 23.

[38]CSM 8, p. 85, l. 2. As anyone familiar with early fourteenth-century writings on music rudiments will be aware, the phrase *ars nova* is not a specific title (unless otherwise qualified) but is a general term for contemporary new practices. This is plain, for example, in the continuation of Anon III, in Book VII of the *Speculum musicae* (CSM 3:7) and elsewhere. Music treatises are sometimes cited as *ars* (this writer so identifies Franco's work), but the context precludes such a reading here.

[39]*Vide residuum in arte Magistri Franconis* (CSM 8, p. 84).

cursory in nature, especially in comparison with the extended explication in *V* 307-II.[40]

Reaney's appeal to CS III Anonymous VII is complicated by the fact that this Anonymous is undoubtedly a composite of two different treatises, both incomplete.[41] Anonymous VIIa is an Italian who attributes doctrine on the three semibreve types found in *senaria* and *nonaria* mensurations to Master Philip of Paris. *Tres sunt semibreves, secundum magistrum Philippum Parisiensem, per quas mensura de senaria et nonaria discernitur, scilicet major. . . minor. . . minima.*[42] The major semibreve is worth three minims, the minor two. Whatever the source of this semibreve classification, it does not come from any of the presumed *Ars nova* representatives, for the major semibreve of *V* 307-II (the only one to use the term) is an altered semibreve worth six minims or two minor semibreves (See Table III). Moreover, the linkage with specifically Italian mensurations precludes any direct derivation from a treatise by de Vitry.[43] Anon VIIa probably took refuge in French authority because his explanation of semibreve types differs from that of the leading Italian theorist of the early Trecento, Marchettus of Padua. The association of a Parisian Philippe with distinctions between mensurations and with designations for short temporal values is compatible with a teaching tradition, but in no way authenticates any of the *Ars nova* representatives.

Owing to the radically truncated state of the treatise, the context of Anonymous VIIb's report on de Vitry cannot be fully reconstructed. Nevertheless, enough remains to assess the relationship of his statement to the presumed *Ars nova* representatives. After what was probably an exposition of established Franconian doctrine, the author plunges into an account of the new art as defined (he claims) by Philippe de Vitry:

> Item dominus et magister Philippus de Vitriaco ad confirmandum et declarandum artem predictam, in arte nova ordinavit quod est modus et tempus et que sunt

[40]See CSM 8, p. 93. Note that the editor has moved this passage from its internal position to the end of the treatise.

[41]See G. Reaney, "Introduction" to *De diversis maneriebus in musica mensurabili*, CSM 30 (1982), p. 45. I will cite the two works as Anonymous VIIa (CSM 30, pp. 51–62; CS III, pp. 404a–408a through the third musical example) and Anonymous VIIb (CS III, pp. 408a after the musical examples-408b). K. von Fischer places Anonymous VII c. 1400 ("Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Trecento-Notation," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XVI (1959), p. 98. F.A. Gallo puts Anon VIIa c. 1330–40 on account of the reference to de Vitry and the orientation toward ideas contrary to those of Marchettus (*La Teoria della notazione in Italia dalla fine del XIII all'inizio del XV secolo*, Antiquae Musicae Italicae Subsidia Teorica, [1966], p. 56).

[42]"According to Master Philip of Paris, there are three semibreves by which *senaria* and *nonaria* mensurations are discerned, i.e. major . . . minor . . . and minima." CSM 30, p. 55.

[43]This reference very likely stems from teaching on perfect tempus divided into nine minims and imperfect tempus divided by six minims associated with de Vitry, but it has passed through an Italian filter.

prolationes. Dicit predictus quod due sunt prolationes, scilicet major et minor. Iste due prolationes possunt dividi in quatuor.[44]

The four divisions, summarized twice, in consecutive lists, are as follows:[45]

First	L = 3B, B = 3SB, SB = 3m (3m divisible into 4 unequal parts)	1° major modus, perfect tempus 2° perfect mode, perfect tempus, major prolation
Second	[L = 2B], B = 3SB, SB = 2m (6m divisible into 12 unequal parts)	1° _____ 2° imperfect mode, perfect tempus, minor prolation
Third	[L = 3B], B = 2SB, SB = 3m (minims divisible into 4 unequal parts)	1° perfect mode, imperfect tempus 2° perfect mode, imperfect tempus, major prolation
Fourth	[L = 2B], B = 2SB, SB = 2m	1° imperfect mode, imperfect tempus, minor prolation 2° _____

Neither the language nor the four-fold mensural classification outlined here conforms with the supposed *Ars nova* representatives, for they define five types of tempus, three of tempus perfectum and two of tempus imperfectum (See Table II) and do not posit prolation as a separate relational level. The combinations of mode and tempus they enumerate also add up to five categories, the last of which has a tempus partly perfect and partly imperfect.[46] Whatever the merits of Anon VIIb's claim, the four-fold mensuration system he expounds cannot have been drawn from any of the *Ars nova* representatives known at present, and thus he in no way substantiates de Vitry's authorship of those texts. Despite the explicit invocation of de Vitry's name, this mensuration scheme more likely derives from Johannes de Muris who, in the *Compendium [Practicae musicae]*, already teaches a

[44]"Likewise, the eminent master Philippe de Vitry, to confirm and clarify the art just explained [i.e. Franconian doctrine, the *ars vetus*], arranged in a new art the nature of mode and tempus and the prolations. This man says there are two prolations, major and minor. These two prolations can be divided into four." CS III, p. 408 a-b.

[45]The author reviews "the four prolations" twice in slightly different language, in each case omitting one of the four. The entries on the right are numbered according to whether they occur in the first or second list.

[46]On types of tempus, see CSM 8, pp. 29–31, 32, 69; on combinations of perfect and imperfect mode and tempus, CSM 8, pp. 25–27, 67/69. Petrus *dictus palma ociosa* (1336) is credited with the first technical use of *prolatio* to designate the semibreve-minim relationship, see W. Frobenius, "Prolatio II" in *Handwörterbuch der Musikalischen Terminologie* (1972), p. 4.

four-fold classification of notational figures that is a precursor to the mature, "classic" fourteenth-century mensuration system outlined in the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*.

A third supposed witness to the *Ars nova* is Jacques of Liège. "Writing no later than about 1330, he knows all about the semiminim and the various names for notes smaller than the semibreve mentioned by Vitry. He also knows all the mensuration signs mentioned by Vitry in Chapter XVIII of the *Ars nova*."[48] Both the Paris connections of Jacques of Liège and his familiarity with the music and ideas of the moderns—evident in the detail and the passion of his writing in the *Speculum musicae* Book VII—target him as a formidable source of information.[49] An unbiased reading of his principal discussions of "short notes" and of the new mensuration signs does not, however, point specifically to any one document or individual. Indeed, a central complaint is the plurality of opinion on such matters among the moderns, the lack of standardized conventions, authoritative systems.

> Fuit enim inter Modernos de semibrevis formatione vel figuratione magna dissentio.
>
> Multum laborant [moderni] in ipsarum [semibrevium] distinctione, significatione, valore, nominatione.[50]

Although teaching about semibreves and signs for mode and tempus compatible with the *Ars nova* representatives is found in *Speculum musicae* Book VII, it occurs intermixed with many ideas originating elsewhere and

[47]In the *Compendium*, *notulae* are classified as perfectly perfect, perfectly imperfect, imperfectly perfect, and imperfectly imperfect (CSM 17, pp. 94–95). Jacques of Liège transforms this classification for notation into a classification of *discantus*, i.e. compositions (*Speculum Musicae*, Book VII, CSM 3:7, p. 25). For the system as expounded in the *Libellus* (commonly attached to Johannes de Muris, but perhaps anonymous), see CS III, p. 47a. Anonymous VIIb may well have been inspired by the *Libellus* or some similar text. The author of *Les regles de la Second Rettorique* (between 1411-1432) who credits de Vitry with finding *les iiij prolacions* doubtless drew from the same tradition as Anonymous VIIb (ed. E. Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique* (1902), p. 12). The "Catalan Anonymous" (reference in Table IV) associates the four prolations with "modern masters" collectively.

[48]G. Reaney, CSM 8, p. 5. Book VII of the *Speculum musicae* has been placed by U. Michels betwen summer 1323 and 1324/1325 (*Die Musiktraktate*, pp. 50–55).

[49]On the Paris association, see R. Bragard, "Le Speculum Musicae du Compilateur Jacques de Liège II," *Musica Disciplina* VIII (1954), [1]-3. On Jacques of Liège's first-hand acquaintance with the moderns, note especially his appreciation of the musicianship of certain contemporary cantors and discantors who employ a new mode of singing (CSM 3:7, "Ch. VIIII", l. 13, pp. 23–24), and his report of a special musical gathering (CSM 3:7," Ch. XLVIII," l. 9–10, p. 95).

[50]"Indeed, among the moderns there was great dissension on the form or notation of the semibreve. (CSM 3:7, "Ch. XXIIII," p. 51)

"They [the moderns] labor much over distinctions among semibreves and their differences, notation, value and nomenclature." (CSM 3:7, "Ch. XXXIII," p. 64).

is reported impersonally.[51] In the sections about semibreves and mensuration signs so many differing opinions are proffered, jumbled as though pieced together from personal recollections and experiences, that no plausible conclusions about written sources can be reached. Jacques of Liège certainly knew of no magisterial figure who had codified such matters for the moderns.

A definite chronological relationship between *Speculum musicae* Book VII and the *Ars nova* has been argued by Ulrich Michels on the basis of two brief "quotes" in the *Speculum*.[52] Exact quotations would help to prove the existence of a written document, but in fact both passages in question are paraphrases relative to the extant *Ars nova* representatives. The compact statement on discant typology has the tone of a succinct and memorable oral formulation, and Jacques of Liège attributes it to "the moderns" at large.[53] The comment on Franco, being more complex, more plausibly stems from a written source and is attached to an individual ("a certain modern doctor").[54] Still, the degree of paraphrase is such that Jacques of Liège could well be recalling a spoken assertion. Though testifying close familiarity with de Vitrian formulations, these sentences could as well spring from an oral as a written expression of ideas. Suggestive as they are, they do not weigh heavily enough to secure the *Ars nova* hypothesis.

The relationship between the presumed *Ars nova* representatives and *Speculum musicae* Book VII seems the more tangential when compared with that between Book VII and the *Notitia artis musicae* and the *Compendium* of Johannes de Muris. Jacques of Liège quotes extensively and exactly from both these works, some of his chapters full-blown commen-

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[51]The three different series of semibreve names, for example, relate variously to *P* 7378A, Anon VIIa and the *Notitia artis musicae* (CSM 3:7, "Ch. XXIIII." pp. 51–52). Jacques of Liège designates none of "the moderns" by name. The most recent personality he identifies is Petrus de Cruce, *ille valens cantor. . . qui tot pulchros et bonos cantus composuit mensurabilis* (CSM 3:7, p. 36, l. 7). Philippe de Vitry is never named in the *Speculum musicae*. A "Philippe" in Book VI noticed by U. Michels on the basis of the Coussemaker edition (*Die Musiktraktate*, p. 51, note 133) has been corrected to *Philosophum* in the Bragard edition (CSM 3:6, p. 89).

[52]*Die Musiktraktate*, p. 51 and note 133.

[53]*Speculum*: Item, secundum Modernos, sunt quidam discantus perfecti modo et tempore, alii imperfecti modo et tempore, alii imperfecti modo et non tempore, alii e converso, alii partim perfecti et partim imperfecti, quam modo tam tempore. (CSM 3:7, p. 25)

V 307-II: Sunt alii cantus perfecti de modo et tempore, alii imperfecti, alii perfecti de modo et non de tempore, alii e contra, alii partim perfecti et alii partim imperfecti tam de modo quam de tempore. (CSM 8, p. 25)

P 7378A: Sciendum igitur quod sunt aliqui cantus perfecti modo et tempore, alii imperfecti, alii modo et non tempore, alii tempore et non modo, alii partim perfecti et partim imperfecti tam modo quam tempore. (CSM 8, p. 67, l. 2–5).

[54]*Speculum*: Antiqui tempus perfectum non esse divisibile in plures semibreves quam tres, intelligunt de cita mensuratione, et hoc approbat quidem modernus doctor de Francone. Dicit enim quod tempus minimum posuit Franco cum brevis in tres semibreves dividitur adeo strictas ut ulterius sint indivisibiles. (CSM 3:7, p. 35)

V 307-II: Minimum tempus posuit Franco. Unde notandum est secundum Magistrum Franconem, et sicut visum est superius, [quod] minimum tempus non est nisi tres continens semibreves, quae quidem adeo sunt strictae quod amplius dividi non possunt, nisi per semiminimas dividantur. (CSM 8, p. 29)

The discordant tag in *V* 307-II, "unless it [the 3-semibreve tempus] is divided by semiminims," is evidently an inappropriate elaboration, but by whom?

taries on long sections of de Muris.[55] The correspondences are numerous and exact enough to demonstrate, if proof were needed, the existence of both de Muris texts at the time this book of the *Speculum* was written. By contrast, Jacques of Liège reports current teachings transmitted in the *Ars nova*-related texts in his own words, intermixed with reports of other practices, and does not comment seriously on any quoted proposition traceable to de Vitry.

Of those fourteenth-century theorists who invoke Philippe de Vitry's name, the anonymous author of *Omnis ars sive doctrina honorabiliorem habet rationem* (Anon. CSM 13) comes closest to implying that he was author of a treatise.[56] In a lengthy commentary on tempus division, he names three masters in sequence: Franco, who first fixed polyphonic measure in notational figures and set a tempus so constricted it could be subdivided into no more than three semibreves, Philippe who divides tempus otherwise than Franco and instituted one tripartite tempus, and Marchettus of Padua who transmits Italian practice and divides perfect tempus into twelve equal parts, so giving it a binary component.[57] Franco and Marchettus are known authors whose treatises survive to the present. By association, Philippe would appear to be also—but the case is not so straightforward. The doctrines Anonymous CSM 13 attributes to Franco and Marchettus are plainly corroborated in their works and can be traced to specific passages in the edited texts. The ideas bestowed on Philippe de Vitry are more difficult to trace and to interpret.

> 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 quod recte suae divisionis partes eius et tot per trinarium numerum distinguitur; quae quia trinitas perfectionem denotare videtur, tempus perfectum appellat.[58]

Just how this passage should be understood—in particular how Philippe's trinitarian division of tempus differs from Franco's—is unclear without external reference, yet the accepted *Ars nova* representatives contribute little toward its elucidation. Philippe is said to have instituted one tempus, the *tempus perfectum*, but the received accounts endorse either a two-fold tempus classification (perfect/imperfect), or a five-fold one (*minimum, medium, majus tempus perfectum, minimum* and *maius tempus imperfectum*

[55]For example, "Chapters XXIII and XXIIII" (CSM 3:7, pp. 49–53), and "Chapter XLI" (CSM 3:7, pp. 80–81).

[56]On this Anonymous, see note 17 above.

[57]CSM 13, p. 52. Does the distinction between past tense used for Franco and present tense used for Philippus (d. 1361) and Marchettus (d. ?) imply that the latter two were still living when this author wrote, or is it merely that their precepts were still current?

[58]"Truly Master Philip, flower and jewel of singers, divides the said tempus otherwise [than Franco] for with respect to the performance of three such *tempora* according to Franco, he ordained one tempus that was duly divided in the proper parts of its division and through the three-fold number. And because the three-fold quality (trinity) seems to indicate perfection, he calls it perfect tempus." (CSM 13, p. 52).

according to *V* 307-II). The reported homage to three-fold number also grates against the *Ars nova* representatives. The passages on mode and tempus types in *V* 307-II, *P* 14741, and *P* 7378A give no preference to ternary over binary temporal organization, and justify neither through numerological asociation. If this writer had a specific text in mind, it must have differed considerably from those now associated with de Vitry. As is the case with Anonymous VIIb, a more appropriate background to this report of post-Franconian teaching is to be found in the writings of Johannes de Muris. In establishing a unified continuum of durations, de Muris might justly be said to have instituted a single tempus, a reference unit for all greater and lesser values, for imperfect as well as perfect elements. Not only does de Muris assert that greater and lesser tempus do not vary in species, but he also renders effusive homage to ternary number.[59] It might just be that this anonymous musician, mindful of Philippe de Vitry's stature as singer and composer, attributed to him ideas which another *ars nova* theorist had committed to writing.[60]

One more pertinent contemporary witness is an anonymous English monk, probably from Bury St. Edmunds, who wrote before 1351.[61] This monk mentions Philippe de Vitry by name on five separate occasions, and demonstrates familiarity with his music in assigning to him two motets, *Hugo [Hugo princeps invidie]* and *Gratissima [virginis species]*. On the question of a treatise, two passages are of special interest, one on small note values, the other on red notes. The two passages, which are not consecutive, read as follows:

> De minima vero magister Franco mentionem in sua arte non facit, sed tantum de longis et brevibus ac semibrevibus. Minima autem in Naverina inventa erat, et a Philippo de Vitriaco, qui fuit flos totius mundi musicorum, approbata et usitata; qui autem dicunt predictum Philippum crochetam sive semiminimam aut dragmam fecisse aut eis concessisse, errant, ut in motetis suis manifeste apparet.[62]

[59]See *Notitia artis musicae*, Book II, "Chapters I-III," CSM 17, pp. 65–73.

[60]Note that Anonymous CSM 13 misses a prime opportunity to mention a treatise by de Vitry (if he personally knew of one) when he reviews his main sources in the introductory remarks. He has relied on *tractatibus Magistri Johannis de Ypra, Magistri Petri de Cruce, Magistri Franconis* (CSM 13, p. 32).

[61]Anonymous I of CS III, p. 334–364. This treatise occurs also in variant form as the fourth of the *Quatuor principalia*, which, in its explicit, is dated 1351 and attributed to a certain minor friar of Bristol (CS IV, pp. 200–98). Pending careful source studies, the Bury Saint Edmunds version may be supposed to predate that of the *Quatuor principalia*. This treatise will be cited here as Anonymous I/QP and quoted in the CS III version.

[62]"Master Franco in fact does not mention the minim in his *ars*, but only longs, breves, and semibreves. But the minim was invented in Navarre [sic] and was approved and used by Philippe de Vitry, who was the flower of the whole musical world. Those, however, who say this Philippe founded or approved of the crochet or semiminim or of the dragma are wrong, as appears plainly in his motets," CS III, pp. 336b–337a.

> Rubeae autem notulae tribus de causis in motetis ponuntur, scilicet quando cantantur alio modo vel alio tempore vel alterius prolationis quam nigre, ut patet in pluribus motetis quos composuit Philippus.[63]

The salient feature in both is that the author corroborates his stand by appealing to de Vitry's motets, but not to a treatise or *ars*. Philippe is said to have endorsed and used the minim because that value exists in his motets. He is explicitly dissociated from semiminim and dragma—despite the claims of some—because the motets do not include these notational figures. It is not irrelevant to note that all of the accepted *Ars nova* representatives in which small note values are enumerated do include the semiminim, and that *P* 7378A also describes a *dragma* without, however, naming it (See Table III). Similarly, Anonymous I/QP invokes Philippe's motets, not a treatise, to confirm the reasons for red notation, but his report again departs from the *Ars nova* writings. The more discursive texts, *V* 307-II and *P* 14741, state two principal causes for red notation: change of measure for individual notational symbols, and transferral to another octave.[64] Anonymous I/QP announces three causes: a different mode, different tempus, different prolation, which, in the *Ars nova*-related scheme would all accrue to a single cause, change of measure.[65] This English monk is not only unaware of a treatise by de Vitry, but also confidently allies him with positions consistent with his motets, but contradictory with the supposed remnants of the *Ars nova*. For this observer, the motets are the fundamental repository of Philippe's thoughts on music.

There remains one document that does specifically credit de Vitry with a treatise, the *Argumenta musicae magistri Jo[h]annis de Muris*, an *unicum* in a manuscript copied in Ghent in 1503-04.[66] As printed by Coussemaker in a conglomerate entitled *Ars discantus secundum Johannem de Muris* the pertinent passage states:

> Queritur utrum aliqua figura potest ultra imperfici quam in tertia ejus parte? Et videtur primo quod non per locum a simili et per locum ab auctoritate; quia invenimus in arte Franconis, et in tractatu magistri Philippi de Vitriaco et in arte Joh[annis] de Belle, et aliorum magistrorum, longam imperfici per brevem, et brevem per semibrevem, et semibrevem per minimam, etc.[67]

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[63]"However, red notes are placed in motets for three reasons, i.e. when they are to be sung in some other mode, or other tempus, or other prolation than the black notes, as appears in many motets composed by Philippe." CS III, p. 347a.

[64]*Dicendum est igitur quod principaliter [rubeae notulae] duabus de causis ponuntur*. CSM 8, p. 28. *P* 7378A states the same two major reasons. The other two texts actually include a third reason in their discussion: use of red notes to signify foreign notes introduced into a *cantus planus*.

[65]This three-fold scheme does agree with that in the *Omni desideranti* handbooks which sometimes circulated under de Vitry's name (see note 34 above). Anonymous I/QP's account of red notation thus accords with a branch of supposed de Vitrian teaching different from that connected with the *Ars nova*.

[66]Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 70(71), f. 46'a-48a.

[67]"It is asked whether any note can be imperfected by more than a third of its full value. It seems at first that it cannot be, arguing both from similarity relations and from authority. For we find in Franco's *ars* and in the treatise of Master Philippe de Vitry, and in the *ars* of Johannes de Belle and [in the works] of other masters that the long is imperfected by the breve, the breve by the semibreve, and the semibreve by the minim, etc." (CS III, pp. 107a–107b). The statement does not accurately reflect Franco's position, of course.

I exclude this as reliable testimony on several grounds:

a) Since there are no pre-sixteenth-century sources for the *Argumenta* the report of a treatise could well be a second- or third-generation opinion based on a source with an explicit such as those in *P* 7378A or *Si*. L.V. 30. A few sentences in the *Argumenta* do concord with a section of *Ars quevis mensurandi motetos* in *P* 7378A.

b) On notational matters, Philippe is only cited as confirming Franco, that is, as supporting the *ars vetus*. He is not credited with any positions proper to the *ars nova*.

c) On the question of whether music is a *scientia* or a *modus sciendi*, the *Argumenta* quotes de Vitry's *Second Metaphysics* (CS III, p. 108b–109). He is nowhere else connected with metaphysical writings, and the question on which he is summoned here is remote from his musical concerns as reported in the presumed *Ars nova* texts.

d) The *Argumenta* is a haphazard miscellany of observations and questions patched together at some indeterminate time. The attribution to Johannes de Muris is plainly erroneous.[68] The work has no demonstrable authoritative status.

None of the various fourteenth-century writers who have in the past been called to verify the reality of the *Ars nova* or who have otherwise reported Philippe de Vitry's ideas confirms the hypothesis that de Vitry actually codified his new practices in a written treatise. Their witness is not so much negative as neutral; that is to say, while their various remarks provide no positive support for the *Ars nova* hypothesis, they do not expressly negate it. Given the lack of an authenticated text, however, positive support is crucial to the survival of the hypothesis. Philippe de Vitry was obviously held in high repute among musicians of his era who reported on the new art, but the source of this reputation seems to lie elsewhere than in an authoritative treatise which was well-known to his contemporaries. That such a referential document did not exist seems the more plausible given the uncertainties, and even misconceptions, in the reports on his views. Anonymous I/QP feels compelled to correct mistaken notions about de Vitry's endorsement of semiminim and dragma. The Anonymi VIIa, VIIb and CSM 13 assign to him views alien to the accepted *Ars nova* representatives. Not only has an integral text not survived to the present, but one has left no indelible traces in the past.

Reflections

To return to the alternatives posed at the beginning of this study: was Philippe de Vitry author of a definitive treatise on the *ars nova*, or was it his companions and "disciples" who promulgated a teaching tradition founded on the master's words? Positive indications for the first position are slight.

[68]U. Michels, *Die Musiktraktate*, p. 49, and CSM 17, p. 16.

They consist of a very late fourteenth– or early fifteenth-century attribution copied mechanically by an Italian scribe, and two brief paraphrased remarks in the *Speculum musicae* Book VII. Weakly ancillary is the indeterminate possibility that in its complete state the defective source for *P* 14741 closely paralleled *V* 307-II. Tenuous though the case is, it at least forwards *V* 307-II as the single candidate to be envisaged as a possible genuine remnant of a hypothetical de Vitry treatise.

The positive indications for the second position are more abundant and compelling in terms of providing a better explanation for the situation as it appears six centuries later, and eradicating the main problems attendant on the *Ars nova* hypothesis. With no fixed text as a control, representatives of a teaching tradition may be expected to manifest differences in language, content, and ordering such as are actually observed among the treatises connected with de Vitry. No one of the surviving versions need bear the burden of being the authoritative "state of the text." Each can be understood as a particular manifestation of the teaching as comprehended by some individual and reported in the context of his own time and circumstances. The teaching tradition model accommodates the evident general areas of agreement among the various redactions as well as the observed specific differences among them. It is also consistent with the nature of the surviving documents, some of them relatively detailed fragments, another an extremely abbreviated handbook.

The discrepancies between extant texts and third-person reports of de Vitry's contribution also better fit the hypothesis of an oral teaching tradition. Lacking a central document, those outside the immediate circle may well dispute whether the master did or did not accept the semiminim (Anonymous I/QP), or credit him with establishing the four prolations (Anonymous VIIb, *Les regles de la Seconde Rettorique*), or with glorifying ternary number (Anonymous CSM 13), or with standardization of the semibreves used in Italian mensurations (Anonymous VIIa). Not only do many of the reports jar with the presumed *Ars nova* representatives, but their very variety betrays a lack of consensus on de Vitry's principal contribution. Ascription to de Vitry of ideas more likely fathered by Johannes de Muris only reinforces the impression that no formal treatise by de Vitry was in circulation.

The teaching tradition hypothesis is broad enough even to assimilate the attributions—those of *V* 307-II and *P* 7378A—which become reinterpreted as testimonies to the source of the teaching rather than indications of direct authorship. It acknowledges de Vitry's prestige as a central mover in the *ars nova*, but locates that prestige in teaching rather than writing or, in modern parlance, "publication."

The dispersion of a towering *Ars nova* and its transformation into an unsatisfactorily amorphous teaching tradition alters the standard landscape of the French *ars nova*. The terrain must to some extent be recharted, its configurations resurveyed. Rather than simplifying the historical perspective, the interpretation advocated here raises new issues about the phenomenon *ars nova* and reactivates old ones long comfortably sheltered behind

the *Ars nova* hypothesis.[69] Only a few of them can be broached here by way of illustrating some changes in orientation encouraged by discarding or at least questioning the old hypothesis.

The teaching tradition perspective invites fresh inquiry into Philippe de Vitry's contribution as a theorist, as well as reconsideration of how and to what degree its substance may be recovered. If the writings previously privileged as the *Ars nova* are not versions of that legendary work, then they can no longer be automatically considered the sole direct sources of pertinent information on de Vitry's theoretical contribution. Both treatises that overtly profess a connection with the master—CS III Anonymous III and the *Omni desideranti* compendia—as well as others that transmit early *ars nova* lore without naming an authority might also stand close to the center of the teaching tradition and should be scanned for revelations about it. Third-person references too must be weighed, even though their value may pertain more to the reception history, to subsequent impressions about de Vitry's role in the *ars nova*, than to an elucidation of his demonstrable contribution. Concurrently, current ideas about the substance of the *ars nova* movement at large, hitherto largely molded by the presumed de Vitry treatise, must be reshaped. Affiliations among the many anonymous *ars nova* handbooks need to be traced, their chronology roughed out. The fullest possible range of information from the pedagogical manuals, from the carefully reasoned disquisitions of Johannes de Muris, from the first-hand observations of Marchettus de Padua and Jacques of Liège should be brought to bear on the study of developments in musical practice, notation, and systematic theory over the course of the fourteenth century in France. An informal checklist of some texts whose interrelationships (hitherto vague at best) need to be scrutinized, along with those in Table I, is provided in Table IV.[70]

The teaching tradition interpretation also calls for rethinking about the dissemination of *ars nova* ideas south to the Italian peninsula. Instead of being transmitted in a coherent text invested with magisterial authority as hitherto assumed, French ideas may rather have filtered across the Alps somewhat haphazardly through personal associations and secondary teaching manuals. Both the works of Italian theorists and the collections of writings on music compiled in Italy should be reexamined for the information they can bring to bear on the transmission process.[71]

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[69]I am aware that this new interpretation will be difficult to accept. As L. Gushee has remarked on the subject of anonymous theoretical writings, "Not only are readers and writers of history generally happier with assertions of a positive character, but the conceptual manipulation of entities (in this case, individual writings on music) that do not have a memorable label or title is in practice extremely difficult." ("Anonymous theoretical writings," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 442, col. 1.). Historians of music theory must somehow find memorable labels for the de Vitrian treatises (and others) that do not perpetuate historical inaccuracies.

[70]In order not to prejudge their relative significance, the order adopted is alphabetical, by first-line incipit. For the sake of easy cross-reference within the literature, common appellations and titles (of varying authority) from manuscripts are provided with the incipits.

[71]F.A. Gallo's excellent study, *La Teoria della notazione in Italia dalla fine del XIII all' inizio del XV secolo*, naturally assumes the *Ars nova* hypothesis.

TABLE IV

Informal Checklist of *ars nova*-related Treatises

(Supplement to Table I)

Incipit, Identification	Edition
Catalan Anonymous *Ad evidentiam cantus organici est sciendum.*	*ed.* H. Anglès, "*De cantu organico* Tratado de un autor catalán del siglo XIV", *Anuario Musical* XIII (1958), pp. 18-24.
CS III Anonymous II *Ad evidentiam valoris notularum sciendum quod*	CSM 30, pp. 13-28; CS III, pp. 364-70.
CS I Anonymous VI *Cum in isto tractatu de figuris sive de notis, quae sunt. . .*	CSM XII, pp. 40-51; CS I, pp. 369-77.
CS III Anonymous I *Dictis aliquibus circa planum cantum, restat aliud dicendum de cantu sive musica mensurabili.*	CS III, pp. 334-64.
QUATUOR PRINCIPALIA (Fourth Section) *In quo consistit musica discreta. . . Cum omnis quantitas aut est continua aut discreta. . .* Variant of CS III Anonymous I. Explicit dated 1351.	CS IV, pp. 254a-98.
TRACTATUS ISTE SUPER MUSICAM COMPOSUIT VENERABILIS MAGISTER PHILIPPUS DE VITRIACO. *Omni desideranti notitiam artis mensurabilis musice tam nove quam veteris. . . Explicit Ars Perfecta in Musica Magistri Philippoti de Vitriaco.*	CS III, pp. 29-35.
Breve Compendium: Seville A variant of *Omni desideranti notitiam*, above. See note 23.	ed. H. Anglés, "Dos Tractats Medievals de Música Figurada." *Festschrift für Johannes Wolf*, (Berlin, 1929), pp. 6-10.
Anonymous *De musica mensurabili* (= Anonymous *dictus Theodoricus de Campo* [Theodonus de Capual) *Omnis ars sive doctrina honorabiliorem habet rationem*	CSM 13, pp. 29-56 CS III, pp. 177-93
COMPENDIUM TOTIUS ARTIS MOTETTORUM *Primo punctus quadratus vel nota quadrata est duplex*	ed. J. Wolf, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der 'Ars Nova'." *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1908), pp. 34-38.
QUEDAM NOTABILIA UTILIA *Quocumque sola brevis ponitur inter duas longas. . . Expliciunt argumenta musicae magistri Joannis de Muris.* One segment is concordant with part of *P* 7378A.	CS III, pp. 106a-09a
CS III Anonymous III [DE ARTE MUSICAE BREVE COMPENDIOLUM] *Quoniam per ignorantiam artis musicae multi, et maxime temporibus modernis, cantando delirant. . .*	CSM 8, pp. 84-93; CS III, pp. 370-75.
CS III Anonymous IV *Si quis artem musicae mensurabilis tam veterem quam novam. . .*	CSM 30, pp. 33-41; CS III, pp. 376-79

Hitherto, the hypothesis of a written treatise has explained Philippe de Vitry's status as a prime mover in the *ars nova*, although little thought has apparently been given to the audience toward which the treatise might have been directed. The notion of a teaching tradition prompts serious questions about the sphere and scope of his teaching activity and the circumstances within which his reputation as a central figure became established. To date, the most concrete proposition is that de Vitry was master of philosophy and cantor at the newly instituted College of Navarre in Paris sometime between 1316 and 1322 (when his name is documented at the royal court).[72] This

[72]A. Gilles, "Contribution à un inventaire analytique des manuscrits intéressant l'Ars nova de Philippe de Vitry," *Revue belge de musicologie* X (1956), 151.

proposition has not been taken up by later scholars and indeed founders for want of a particle of corroborative evidence. The records of the College dedication on 3 April 1315 do not include de Vitry among the names of the masters, canons, clerks, students, and court dignitaries present at the ceremony. The statutes read on that occasion show that the few teaching positions were filled, and that there was within the College no such position as that postulated by Gilles.[73] In fact, it is unlikely that the University of Paris or any of the Colleges attached to it enters into consideration as the scene of official teaching on music by Philippe de Vitry. As Max Haas has emphasized, instruction in practical areas of performance and notation such as are treated in Franco's *Ars cantus mensurabilis* and the *ars nova* handbooks was not part of the university curriculum, but took place at an elementary stage of study prior to matriculation as a student in the faculty of arts.[74]

The dossier on pre-arts music study beyond the elements of plainchant is conspicuously bare. In the absence of concrete information, we may wonder how prevalent instruction in *musica mensurabilis* was, and whether it may not have been confined to those clerics with special aptitude for and interest in music, pursued electively in small, rather private groups. (Inevitably, those intriguing references to singing schools of Johannes de Vaillant and a fourteenth-century Johannes de Garlandia at Paris come to mind.)[75] Jacques of Liège's insistence upon the learned character of gatherings at which he heard motets (in both traditional and modern styles) performed, while partly calculated to justify his aesthetic preferences still deserves attention as informed testimony that elaborate polyphony was the domain of a specially initiated few.[76] The trained singers in the chapels of the Paris colleges could well have been ardent participants in and an eager audience for modern experimental music, but the institutional or extra-institutional context within which the "moderns" flourished is largely a blank.

It seems at least reasonable to assume that as a composer of motets in a novel style that broke with past performance conventions Philippe de Vitry would have had to instruct those who were going to sing and notate his music in the new practices he observed.[77] Some communication on his *ars nova* would then certainly have taken place by 1316, the year several motets presumed to have been composed by de Vitry were copied into a special edition of the *Roman de Fauvel*. Pursuing this line of thought, de

[73]J. Launoy, *Regii Navarrae Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia Pars Prima* (Paris, 1677), pp. 21–39. The statutes stipulate two masters, one in theology and one in grammar. The records of those present indicate an enlarged staff of one doctor in theology, one master of arts, and two grammar masters.

[74]M. Haas, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I," pp. 323–456.

[75]See U. Günther, "Jehan Vaillant," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 19, p. 487, and K.-J. Sachs, *Der Contrapunctus*, p. 178.

[76]*Speculum musicae* Book VII, CSM 3:7, p. 95, l. 9, 11. Johannes de Grocheio also remarks (c. 1300) on the specialized audience of perceptive intelligentsia toward which motets were directed (E. Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio*, [1972], p. 144, l. 183).

[77]In this connection, Johannes de Muris' emphatic insistence that whatever can be sung can be notated is apposite (CSM 17, p. 84, 94, 96).

Vitry's reputation as a teacher and theorist would be an offshoot of his primary role as creator, performer, and "coach" of his own extraordinary works which demanded new skills from singers and copyists.[78] His activity would have been tied in with actual music-making and specific practical issues, and with creation of a climate of acceptance for his unconventional works. Judging from Jacques of Liège's reports of diverse modern opinions (de Vitry's mixed among them), he would also have shared his thoughts with others who were involved with the musical avant-garde.

At least one major objection to this reflection requires commentary. The earliest motets in the de Vitry canon are not ascribed to him in the musical sources, but accrue to him in part on the basis of citation in presumed versions of the *Ars nova*.[79] To deprive de Vitry of a treatise might seem to strip him of the early layer of his musical works. But the teaching tradition interpretation does not really weaken a case which in any event is founded on common sense supposition bolstered by stylistic criteria; it simply involves a shift in ground. Rather than supposing that de Vitry wrote a treatise and that therefore the advanced works mentioned in it are his, the argument runs that a teaching tradition emanates from Philippe de Vitry, and that the motets cited to exemplify the most novel facets of the new teaching are very likely his.[80] As under the traditional hypothesis, under the teaching tradition concept the compositions can continue to be taken as both an impetus and a focus for de Vitry's teaching on new practices in *musica mensurabilis*.

The dramatic scenario in which Philippe de Vitry announces a new art in a written manifesto has profoundly shaped twentieth-century attitudes toward the relationship *ars vetus/ars nova*. The two are commonly understood as opposites, the confrontation between them confirmed by selective reading of the more polemical passages in the final book of the *Speculum musicae*. Placing the *vetus/nova* pair within its cultural context, Max Haas has recently argued that the two mesh in an unbroken continuum in which the *nova* is a complementary extension of the *ars vetus*.[81] Although independent of the *Ars nova* hypothesis, this position is reinforced when past assumptions about an authoritative de Vitry treatise are discarded and at-

[78]Although independently founded and different in nuance, this assessment is not far from that of R. Bockholdt, who sees Philippe de Vitry as more of a practitioner than a systematic theorist ("Semibrevis minima und Prolatio temporis," *Die Musikforschung* XVI (1963), 21). A contrary opinion is expressed by L. Finscher who downplays de Vitry's status as a composer and emphasizes his role as theoretician, court functionary, poet, etc. ("Die 'Entstehung des Komponisten' Zum Problem Komponisten-Individualität und Individual in der Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* VI (1975), 32. The difference in conjectural opinions only draws attention to the dearth of definite information on de Vitry's life and career.

[79]E. Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXVIII (1975), 24–25, and "Vitry, Philippe de," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 20, p. 27.

[80]The citations concerned are not limited to the *Ars nova* representatives, but occur in other works, for example, *Omni desideranti* and the *Compendium totius artis motettorum*.

[81]"Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I," pp. 385–89. Haas draws a parallel between the categories *logica vetus/logica nova*, long established in the universities, and the *ars vetus/ars nova* of Parisian music theory. In the case of logic, the terms designate complementary, not conflicting, groups of texts.

tention is widened toward the full spectrum of writings on new practices. The programmatic announcements of intent to expound upon the new art consistently link the *ars nova* with the *ars vetus* as complementary components of *musica mensurabilis*, as the following excerpts show.

> CS III Anonymous IV
> Si quis artem musicae mensurabilis tam veterem quam novam sub compendio exemplo prospicere desideret, in huius puncti sedulo dicta tam veterum quam modernorum et opiniones eorundem, si idem sedulo studeat, complete reperiat.[82]

> CS III Anonymous III
> Quoniam per ignorantiam artis musicae multi, et maxime temporibus modernis, cantando delirant, ideo de arte musicae breve compendiolum, Deo juvante, propono, et veterem ac novam artem in isto compendiolo manifestare intendo.[83]

> *Breve Compendium* (Seville reading)
> Omni desideranti notitiam artis [musicae] mensurabilis tam nove quam veteris obtinere, certas regulas huic presentes sub brevi compendio pro posse meo propono fideliter assignare, cujus antiquitatem per Franconem notum omnibus tradidisse, novitatemque per Philippum in majori parte subtiliter invenisse.[84]

> *Ars quevis mensurandi motetos* (*P* 7378A)
> Dicto de longis, brevibus, ligaturis et pausis prout [in] veteri arte ordinantur et cognoscuntur, dicendum est de brevibus, semibrevibus et minimis, prout in nova arte et secundum modernos ordinantur et pronuntiantur,[85]

All four statements couple *ars nova* with *ars vetus*. They announce the two not as antimonies, but as complementary components of *ars musicae mensurabilis*. The attitude is no superficial bow to the past, but penetrates to the base of the pedagogical method. The *ars vetus* is not simply the frozen dogma of an earlier generation, it is the living foundation of the *ars nova*. The new art is rooted in the old, conceived and presented pedagogically as an extension of, not an alternative to, established practice.

The contiuum from old to new is most cogently expressed in the similarity principle, a declaration that the same relationships hold at the short-

[82] "Anyone who wants to survey polyphonic practice, the old as well as the new, under an abbreviated format may find out all about it here in the sayings and opinions of both our predecessors and the moderns, if he studies them assiduously." CSM 30, p. 33.

[83] "Because many through ignorance of [correct] musical practice go wildly astray in singing, especially in modern times, I therefore put forth, with God's help, a brief compendium on musical practice. In it I intend to reveal both the old and the new practice." CSM 8, p. 84.

[84] "For all desiring to obtain knowledge of polyphonic practice, the new as well as the old, I purpose faithfully to set forth definite rules, presenting them within a brief compendium to the best of my ability. The older rules known to all have been transmitted through Franco, while the new for the most part have been subtly discovered by Philippe." H. Anglès, "Dos Tractats Medievals de Música Figurada," *Festschrift für Johannes Wolf*, (1929), p. 6, modified slightly with reference to Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, MS 5-2-25, f. 63.

[85] "Having discussed longs, breves, ligatures and rests just as they are arranged and understood in the old practice, it is now necessary to discuss breves, semibreves and minims just as they are arranged and performed in the new practice and according to the moderns." CSM 8, p. 63, l. 17–20.

value end of the temporal spectrum (minim : semibreve) as at the long-value end (long : breve). A typical statement of the principle is:

> Sicut se habet brevis ad longam, sic semibrevis ad brevem, et minima ad semibrevem.[86]

CS III Anonymous III states it even more simply:

> Sciendum est quod sicut in veteri arte est, ita in nova.[87]

Among other virtues, the similarity principle is independent of any specific scheme of relationships, binary or ternary, and is extensible through the entire scale of durations, from the longest to the shortest notes. It is in fact the germ of the modus-tempus-prolation system. Although it comes to the fore in the early tracts on *ars nova*, the similarity principle springs from the *locus classicus* of the old art, Franco's *Ars cantus mensurabilis*. As stated there, it is confined to a limited sphere of action:

> De semibrevibus autem et brevibus idem est iudicium in regulis prius dictis.[88]

Franco does not fully develop the implications of this statement in his teaching (e.g. he does not speak of imperfection of a breve by a single semibreve, the analogue of imperfection of a long by a single breve), but the theoretical principle is there to be exploited by a later generation.

Although there is certainly cause for tension between older and newer teaching, the modest *ars nova* tracts just quoted seem blind to it. Far from polemical in intent, they purpose chiefly to transmit knowledge necessary for performing a current repertory of music. Because that repertory includes compositions in both newer and older idioms and notations, singers must learn the conventions observed in each.[89] The path to the new art is in any case through the old. It may be objected that aspects of the new art—the independent existence of imperfect longs and imperfect breves, the extension of the temporal spectrum from very long to very short durational values—break irreconcilably with the old. In retrospect, and from a purely abstract point of view, this may appear to be the case, but it is not an overt theme in the texts themselves. It becomes an issue only when logical ques-

[86] "Just as the breve is to the long, so is the semibreve to the breve, and the minim to the semibreve." CS III Anonymous IV, CSM 30, p. 37. This principle is the foundation of Johannes de Muris' method as exemplified in the nine *Conclusiones* that close his *Notitia artis musicae* (CSM 17, pp. 87–105).

[87] "Know that just as it is in the old *ars*, so it is in the new." CSM 8, p. 85.

[88] "The same judgments as in the rules just given [i.e. concerning longs and breves] apply to semibreves and breves." *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. G. Reaney and A. Gilles, CSM 18 (1974), p. 38. On the sense of *idem est iudicium*, see M. Haas, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I," pp. 387–88.

[89] Note especially the references to singing and to performance (*pronuntiare*) in the second and fourth passages just quoted.

tions about the rational foundations of the art are raised. CS III Anonymous IV, for instance, comfortably incorporates an account of six-fold modal classification (the rhythmic modes) and a description of two-fold modal classification (perfect/imperfect) within his manual. The two stand at opposite ends of the work and are just reported, not presented as conflicting schemes.[91] The author makes no attempt to reconcile them. The word *perfectio* even holds over from the old art into the new as the term for the prime mensural unit in imperfect modus, even though that unit is now not ternary but binary:

> Modus autem imperfectus est quando duo tempora ponuntur pro una perfectione.[91]

The *Compendium totius artis motettorum* holds to a similar locution of *perfectio perfecta* (perfect mode) and *perfectio imperfecta* (imperfect mode).[92] Because his mind is systematically inclined, Jacques of Liège reacts to such incongruous language, but it is no cause for concern in a pragmatic sphere.[93]

In course of time, the *vetus/nova* distinction disappears from the pedagogical texts. A growing new repertory consigns the old Franconian repertory to oblivion. What had been the new art became simply the normal and current practice and gained its own systematic superstructure and rational infrastructure. The movement from the pluralistic, unsettled, confused state of affairs eloquently invoked by Jacques of Liège to the settled situation codified in the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* has not been adequately traced or explained. Did Philippe de Vitry contribute to this stage of normalization? His later motets have come down to us inscribed in a notational system markedly different in premises from that in the *Roman de Fauvel*, the source most proximate to the early *ars nova* teaching. Given the relationship between the *Omni desideranti* compendium and the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*, and the loose association of the one with Philippe de Vitry, the other with Johannes de Muris, does some collaborative effort between the two men enter into the realm of plausibility? The question probably admits no answer. In any event, the emergence of a single practice based in principle on uniform precepts is yet another area of inquiry that begins to emerge more sharply from behind the scrim of the *Ars nova* hypothesis.

State University of New York
at Stony Brook

[90]Compare CSM 30, pp. 33–34 with pp. 40–41.

[91]"However, imperfect mode occurs when two *tempora* are put for a perfection." CSM 30, p. 40.

[92]J. Wolf, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der 'Ars Nova' ", *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1908), p. 37.

[93]*Speculum musicae* Book VII, "Ch. X," CSM 3:7, p. 25, l. 7.

Part IV
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FRANCESCO LANDINI AND THE FLORENTINE CULTURAL ÉLITE*

MICHAEL P. LONG

The French[1] orientation of Florentine music in the second half of the Trecento, particularly with regard to the practice and theory of notation, has been recognised by music historians since the surveys of medieval sources and style made by Johannes Wolf and Friedrich Ludwig at the beginning of this century.[2] The evidence for the 'contenance française' that has been most frequently cited includes texting procedures in three-voice compositions,[3] structural features (such as the appearance of *verto* and *chiuso* endings in the polyphonic ballata), textual gallicisms and the presence of French compositions in Florentine musical manuscripts. The network of transmission which accounts for the appearance of these features in Italian music and musical sources has remained a matter for speculation. The fusion of French and Florentine traits of style in the last quarter of the fourteenth century has traditionally been viewed, at least in part,

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1 Here, and throughout this paper, I use the term 'French' in the broad cultural sense to include not only the French Kingdom but also the papal dominion of Avignon.

2 See, for example, J. Wolf, 'Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, 3 (1901/2), p. 605, and Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation von 1250–1460*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1904; repr. 1965), I, pp. 304ff. See also F. Ludwig, 'Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, 4 (1902/3), pp. 60–1; and *idem*, ed., *Guillaume de Machaut: Musikalische Werke*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1926–9; repr. 1954), II, p. 28. The seminal modern study is K. von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Berne, 1956), esp. pp. 111–13.

3 For a convincing alternative view of so-called 'French' texting practices in one Trecento source, see J. Nádas, 'The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 422–6.

as a result of presumed personal contacts between French and Italian composers. The changing face of musical style does not, however, reflect a totally independent musical process; style is a function of the tastes and demands of an audience, as well as of the artistic personalities of specific composers. Florentine receptivity to French stylistic influences was determined by a number of factors, not the least important of which was the nature of the audience for music.

Musical life in the fourteenth-century Florentine republic was somewhat more fragmented than that of other contemporary centres because of the absence of a central court or dynastic residence and of an aristocratic establishment for patronage. The organisation of Florentine society and government was based on a foundation of middle-class enterprise. Artisans and financiers served equally important functions in the political and economic machinery of their *patria*, and were themselves acutely aware of that fact. The political equality of free citizens which was the theoretical basis of the Florentine republic did not, however, preclude the stratification of the Florentine citizenry according to common economic interests or circumstances. In contrast to the nobilities of agrarian societies, or non-industrialised urban societies such as fourteenth-century Venice, for whom aristocracy and political power were legitimised by the intangible and originally non-secular concept of an inherited or divine right, the Florentine élite was supported by a system of practical values which were directly related to Florence's highly urbanised and industrial environment.[4] Although the criteria for social 'honour' included office-holding, profitable marriages and family tradition, the basis for inclusion in the 'honour élite' was financial status derived from commercial activities such as banking or cloth-manufacturing.[5] The honour élite, or *uomini di stato*,

[4] For a discussion of the geographical factors contributing to Florence's industrial pre-eminence, see G. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1969), pp. 2–3. On the social consequences of industrial growth in Florence, see D. Hay, *The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 89. An illuminating comparison of Trecento Florence with modern urban centres (e.g. New York and London) is provided by G. Salvemini, 'Firenze ai tempi di Dante', *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1957), I, pp. 470–1.

[5] See L. Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists* (Princeton, 1963), p. 10, and R. Trexler, 'Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes', *The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History*, ed. F. Jaher (Urbana, 1973), pp. 64–5.

constituted the ranks from which were drawn representatives of civic as well as church authority. It was this rather extensive circle of élite families, comparable in many ways to the urban élites of our own industrial era,[6] that provided the base for support of the arts in Florence, whether privately (in their family residences) or officially (as agents of religious institutions or of the Signoria).[7] The primarily non-ceremonial character of the upper-middle class's private patronage of polyphonic musical performance was no doubt related to the republican orientation of artistic theory in the period. The nature of Florentine patronage underwent a significant change in the first decades of the fifteenth century, when writers such as Leon Battista Alberti and Matteo Palmieri provided theoretical justification for artistic patronage aimed at personal or familial aggrandisement.[8] Artistic support shifted at that time from urban, haut-bourgeois consumerism to a more traditional and symbolically orientated aristocratic patronage structure, as the bourgeois élite took on the role and appearance of nobility.

Members of these clans without political responsibilities (women and lesser ecclesiastics) were also a vital part of the artistic life of the Trecento Florentine élite. The Florentine convents and churches (chief among them San Lorenzo, Santa Trinità, Santa Felicità and Santo Spirito), which served as centres for all forms of artistic activity, including music,[9] housed numerous younger representatives of the families which constituted the culturally aware haute-bourgeoisie. The urban convents of Tuscany were able to provide an increasingly comfortable lifestyle for their members after mid-century, when feelings of Christian guilt and penance inspired

6 Cf. the description of urban élites in the industrial era in F. Jaher, 'Style and Status: High Society in Late Nineteenth-century New York', *The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful*, p. 259.

7 Descriptions of private musical performances are found in several contemporary literary works. See H. Gutman, 'Der *Decamerone* des Boccaccio als musikgeschichtliche Quelle', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (1928/9), pp. 397–401, and Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. A. Lanza (Rome, 1975), esp. pp. 164–70. 'Official' support of the arts often took the form of recommendations for appointments; an example is Coluccio Salutati's letter on behalf of Francesco Landini (cited in note 48, below).

8 F. W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 284–5.

9 See F. A. Gallo, 'Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo', *Studi Musicali*, 4 (1975), pp. 57–64; F. D'Accone, 'Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinità, 1360–1363', *Quadrivium*, 12 (1971), pp. 131–52; and *idem*, 'Giovanni Mazzuoli: a Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova', *L'ars nova italiana del trecento: Convegni di studio 1961–1967*, ed. F. A. Gallo (Certaldo, 1968), pp. 23–38. Concerning Santo Spirito, see below, pp. 94–5.

by the Black Death motivated a wave of legacies and bequests to religious institutions which became, in the words of the city council of Siena, 'immensely enriched and indeed fattened'.[10]

Musicians are known to have been offered hospitality or employment at the residences of the Alberti and Adimari – families representing quite different gradations of status within the Florentine banking élite.[11] The Alberti firm was the most powerful banking-house in western Europe for most of the Trecento, serving as papal bankers for much of the latter half of the century.[12] The Adimari seem, on the basis of their tax returns, to have been only 'moderately prosperous'.[13] Both families, however, were representatives of the same social circle of dealers and financiers, the 'elite corps of the Florentine business community'.[14] The international scope of their business dealings necessitated continuous and intimate contact with foreign centres of culture, especially Paris, Bruges and Avignon.[15] Commercial ventures often required that entire branches of Florentine bourgeois families set up house for extended periods in these northern centres.[16] An aspiring young business man who intended to follow a career in international commerce was required to undertake lengthy training which usually included years of residence abroad.[17] A knowledge of French became an indispensable asset to the Florentine businessman. Cultural historians have viewed this fact of economic life as one of the prime reasons for the great influx of gallicisms into the Tuscan vernacular in the second half of the Trecento.[18] It was probably also responsible in part for the ready acceptance of musical gallicisms into the contemporary Florentine ballata style.

[10] W. Bowsky, 'The Impact of the Black Death upon Sienese Government and Society', *Speculum*, 39 (1964), p. 16.

[11] D'Accone, 'Music and Musicians', pp. 145 n. 53, 147; also the evidence of Prato, *Il Paradiso*.

[12] R. de Roover, 'The Story of the Alberti Company of Florence, 1302–1348, as Revealed in its Account Books', *Business History Review*, 32 (1958), p. 15.

[13] G. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 34–5.

[14] Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 68.

[15] Y. Renouard, 'Affaires et culture à Florence au XIVe et au XVe siècle', *Études d'histoire médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), I, p. 484.

[16] Y. Renouard, 'Le compagnie commerciali fiorentine del Trecento', *Études*, I, pp. 519–26, includes a list of the Alberti houses throughout Trecento Europe. See also the biographies of Diamante and Altobianco degli Alberti in L. Passerini, *Gli Alberti di Firenze* (Florence, 1870), pp. 79, 89.

[17] Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 69.

[18] Renouard, 'Affaires et culture', p. 487, and Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, p. 70.

Landini and the Florentine cultural élite

By around 1370, the polyphonic ballata had replaced the madrigal as the most popular musical genre in Florence. Ballata texts were more often vocative than narrative, often addressed to the beloved or to Amor himself. Self-revelation had replaced the highly stylised narrative associated with the madrigal. The poet's assessment of his emotional state (or, occasionally, of some external situation) had become the subject matter for the entire poem. Accordingly, the musical settings may be seen as an attempt to conform more to the mood or meaning than to the structure of the poetry. Textual poignancy is reflected musically by the careful introduction of dissonances, suspensions, leaps and appoggiaturas.[19] Ballata settings exhibit very few mensuration changes, a feature which was virtually obligatory in the sectional madrigal.[20]

The striking increase in the subjective content of Florentine artistic endeavour in the second half of the Trecento has been remarked by historians of art and literature, who have emphasised the abandonment of impersonal and abstract medieval conventions in favour of more personal, self-orientated modes of expression.[21] The shift from the 'poetic' to the 'empirical' 'I' (from the medieval poet as Everyman, the observer, to the poet as individual engaged in self-analysis) has been cited as the most telling manifestation in poetry of this change in artistic temperament.[22] It has been suggested that it is not by chance that a sudden turn towards the subjective in the arts occurred in Florence specifically and not, for instance, in Visconti intellectual circles. Artistic expression in Florence was supported by the cosmopolitan bourgeois élite, the members of which were generally 'self-made men' with little or no university training, and thus with no ideological commitment to time-honoured modes of medieval literary and poetic rhetoric and form associated with the courses of study offered at Padua and Bologna.[23]

19 See N. Pirrotta, 'Ballata', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. F. Blume, 16 vols. (Kassel, 1949–79), I, col. 1162.

20 Antonio da Tempo, in *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332), ed. R. Andrews (Bologna, 1977), p. 74, dictates that the *sonus* (musical setting) of a madrigal should be altered at the ritornello, along with the rhyme. That this alternation was intended to be primarily metrical is borne out by the number of madrigals which exhibit a metre change at the end of the terzetti.

21 See F. Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background* (London, 1947); also L. Spitzer, 'Note on the Poetic and the Empirical "I" in Medieval Authors', *Traditio*, 4 (1946), pp. 414–22, and U. Schulz-Buschhaus, *Das Madrigal* (Bad Homburg, 1969), pp. 14–27.

22 Spitzer, 'Note on the Poetic and the Empirical "I"', pp. 416–17.

23 Renouard, 'Affaires et culture', p. 495.

Michael P. Long

One of the finest representative pieces of the 'Franco-Florentine' style originating in the latter years of the Trecento is the three-voice ballata by Francesco Landini *Contemplar le gran cose*.[24] On stylistic grounds, the work could not have been composed much before 1380. The disposition of the voice-parts, and various rhythmic and contrapuntal details, are characteristic of the three-voice settings composed by Landini in the last decades of his career.[25] Although from a purely musical point of view this is an outstanding work, its historical interest lies in its textual content: '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.'[26] The text, as Kurt von Fischer and others have noted,[27] offers a simple exposition of one of the basic tenets of the English Franciscan logical philosopher William of Ockham. Ockham died *c.* 1350, leaving a collection of philosophical works characterised by novelty and subtlety.[28] Because of the highly individual nature of Ockham's thought, his writings have been a source of scholarly disputes for six centuries. Still, the underlying principle of his system, as set forth in his discussion of logical attempts to demonstrate the unicity of God,[29] is clear. According to Ockham: 'The articles of the Christian faith . . . should be accepted as such. They cannot be proved by reason; nor can they be made the basis of knowledge. Science and theology . . . are essentially different and must not be confused.'[30] Landini's ballata expresses in simple poetic form his fundamentally Ockhamist view of the world. In the light of all existing testimony to Landini's talents and temperaments, it is not at all surprising to find

[24] *The Works of Francesco Landini*, ed. L. Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 4 (Monaco, 1958–9), p. 177.

[25] K. von Fischer, 'Ein Versuch zur Chronologie von Landinis Werken', *Musica Disciplina*, 20 (1966), p. 42.

[26] 'Contemplar le gran cose c'è onesto/Di chi tutto ghoverna;/Ma cerchar le ragion non c'è richiesto./Che metter tempo e sottigliar la mente/In voler cerchar quel che c'è negato./Che quanto lo 'ntelletto è più possente/Nelle ragion più mancha d'ongni lato./Ma vengnamo a rimedio che a te dato/Che toglie il viver mesto,/Del creder puro e stian contentia questo' (text after Schrade, *The Works of Francesco Laudini*, p. 177).

[27] Von Fischer, 'Ein Versuch', p. 37.

[28] A good introduction to Ockham's works and bibliography is provided by G. Leff, *William of Ockham: The Metamorphosis of Scholastic Discourse* (Manchester, 1975).

[29] P. Boehner, ed., *Ockham: Philosophical Writings* (Edinburgh, 1957), pp. 125–6.

[30] C. Stephenson, *Medieval History* (New York, 1943), p. 602.

examples of his work that reflect his strongly intellectual cast of mind. Contemporary references to the composer rarely fail to mention this aspect of his personality.[31]

The most important witness to Landini's intellectual profile is his lengthy invective written in Latin verse against detractors of Ockham, addressed to Antonio da Vado and preserved in only one source, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 688.[32] The source was copied, according to the scribe's own notations, in the first years of the 1380s at the papal court in Avignon by a Florentine cleric, Johannes de Empoli, who was at that time a member of the retinue of the Florentine Cardinal Piero Corsini.[33] The manuscript is primarily an anthology of historical and moralistic texts; at least one is by Corsini himself, and many display the characteristic literary and academic subtlety associated with the upper echelons of ecclesiastical society in the 1370s and 1380s.[34] Landini's poem, which utilises the popular medieval formal structure of the dream-vision, describes how the spirit of Ockham appears to the sleeping form, but wakeful mind, of the composer.[35] Ockham complains of an ignorant man who has been delivering inflammatory addresses to the uneducated masses of Florence,[36] and describes to Landini how this 'savage dog'

[31] See the citations in A. Lanza, *Polemiche e berte letterarie nella Firenze del primo quattrocento* (Rome, 1971), pp. 39ff.

[32] Fols. 132^{r}–135^{v}. The best edition of the poem is in Lanza, *Polemiche*, pp. 233–8. An English translation by David Blank is included in my dissertation, 'Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances' (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1981), pp. 136–41. Excerpts in the present text are drawn from Blank's translation; line-numbers refer to Lanza's edition of the Latin text.

[33] The scribe identifies himself on fol. 49: 'Johannes de Empoli clericum florentine diecesis et cubicularium Reverendissimi in Christo patris et Domini mei Domini Petri de Corsinis de florentia Portuensis et s. Rufine episcopi S. Romane ecclesie Cardinalis'. Corsini continued to be referred to in Avignon as the Cardinal of Florence even after the events of 1378 described below. See, for instance, A. Meier, 'Ein Leihregister aus der Bibliothek des letzten Avignonese Papstes Benedikt XIII', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 20 (1966), p. 314.

[34] An inventory (though incomplete and often incorrect) is given in P. Boehner, 'Ein Gedicht auf die Logik Ockhams', *Franziskanische Studien*, 26 (1939), pp. 79–80. Some of the lesser-known authors whose works are included in the manuscript are discussed in L. Mehus, *Historia litteraria fiorentina* (Florence, 1769), p. 207, and A. Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435* (Paris, 1941), pp. 369ff. Among the more widely circulated works included in the collection are excerpts from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais and Petrarch's *Africa*. The latter inspired considerable interest among Italian intellectuals in the second half of the Trecento, particularly in the period immediately following Petrarch's death in 1374. See G. Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato* (Rome, 1947), pp. 359ff.

[35] ll. 1–12, 28–30. [36] ll. 60ff.

has attacked the basis of his philosophy, Dialectic, which 'rules all the arts, and without which . . . no art can be known perfectly'.[37] Ockham denounces this man who 'hates logicians like he hates death, and calls them tricksters and argumentative sophists'.[38] Even worse than his ignorant attacks, which are after all based on little more than misunderstanding and jealousy of Ockham's subtlety, is the fellow's championship of classical authors such as Cicero and Seneca, whom 'he counts 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 . . . This backward layman . . . even names Seneca his father.'[39] At the end of the invective, Ockham is alerted to the approach of daylight by the sound of the artisans on the streets, and the 'venerable shadow' disappears into the air.[40]

Landini's invective was long considered to have been aimed in general at the growing circle of self-styled, neo-classical humanists whose vociferous attacks on the philosophical barbarisms and linguistic infelicities of the northern dialecticians were becoming an increasingly dominant force in Florentine intellectual life and culture in the last quarter of the Trecento.[41] The poem was viewed 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 versus renaissance humanism (or proto-humanism). Giuseppe Saitta first suggested that Landini's attack (as voiced by Ockham's spirit) seemed to be directed toward one specific individual: he proposed that the object of Landini's scorn, the man who 'seeks to resound through the uneducated masses of the rabble and philosophize among the effeminate crowds'[42] might have been Luigi Marsili, prior of the Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito in the 1380s.[43] Saitta's suggestion is based on the fact that Marsili was indeed known and criticised by his contemporaries for his enthusiastic discussions of theology and literature with youthful representatives of the Florentine middle

[37] ll. 69–73. [38] l. 118. [39] ll. 134–9, 151–2. [40] ll. 174–80.

[41] The literary manifestations of early humanist polemic are discussed in detail in H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1966).

[42] Lanza, *Polemiche*, II. 100–2.

[43] G. Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento*, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1949), I, pp. 143ff.

class, a group unprepared (in the eyes of the academics) for such esoteric conversations. It was this tendency to bring theology to the masses (along with his championship of the cause of nationalisation of the Italian Church) that kept Marsili from being appointed Bishop of Florence.[44] Unfortunately, a lack of more concrete evidence made a certain identification impossible. Nothing is yet known of Marsili's activities between 1378 and 1382 (the period during which the poem was most probably written).[45] Furthermore, none of Marsili's writings has survived except for two moralistic commentaries and a few letters.[46]

Scholars since Saitta have attempted to identify the humanist rabble-rouser portrayed by Landini: suggestions have included the merchant-turned-scholar Nicolò Niccoli and the humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati.[47] Both of these men may be ruled out, however, on the basis of textual details and historical considerations.[48] An approach to the problem is suggested by the contents of some letters written by Marsili from Paris, where he spent a good portion of the 1370s engaged in a frustrating attempt to earn his doctorate. These letters include some bitter criticisms of the lifestyle associated with the Avignon curia, criticisms which appear to be modelled largely on Petrarch's so-called *Liber sine nomine*.[49] It is clear that, from the time of their first encounter at Padua, Petrarch and Marsili had become great friends. They shared a similarly violent distaste for the rational philosophy of the 'northern barbarians'. In fact, Petrarch considered

[44] See Martines, *The Social World*, pp. 307–8.

[45] U. Mariani, *Il Petrarca e gli Agostiniani* (Rome, 1946), p. 83.

[46] For a list of manuscript sources, see Mariani, *Il Petrarca*, pp. 92–6.

[47] Cesare Vasoli suggested both as possible objects of Landini's invective, in 'Polemiche occamiste', *Rinascimento*, 3 (1953), p. 126. Lanza, *Polemiche*, pp. 48ff, argued for Niccoli.

[48] Salutati appears to have been a friend and supporter of Landini. In 1375 he recommended Landini as an organist to Cardinal Piero Corsini (the letter of recommendation is published in A. Wesselofsky, ed., *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, 2 vols., Bologna, 1867, I, pp. 323–6). Niccoli was born in 1364, and thus would have been in his teens at the time the poem was written. His earliest academic training was undertaken (in part under Marsili's tutelage) only after his retirement from the family wool business around 1385, following the death of his father. Consequently, Niccoli must be considered an unlikely candidate for the demagogue described by Landini. On Niccoli's career, see Martines, *The Social World*, p. 160, and Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite degli uomini illustri*, ed. A. Greco, 2 vols. (Florence, 1970), II, p. 225.

[49] F. Petrarch, *Sine nomine: Lettere polemiche e politiche*, ed. U. Dotti (Bari, 1974). See, for example, Marsili's letter to Guido del Palagio 'al tempo della guerra tra i fiorentini et la chiesa', in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1080, fols. 36^{v}–39^{r}.

Marsili to be his spiritual heir, ideological successor and literary executor.[50]

In a letter 'contra dyaleticos' written around 1350, Petrarch made his first literary assault on the English school of dialectical logicians.[51] With the passing of time his criticisms of dialectical rhetoric became increasingly pointed. In a letter of 1364 to Boccaccio, Petrarch wrote: '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.'[52]

Like the object of Landini's Ockhamist diatribe, Petrarch had a passionate attachment to the writings of Cicero. In 1374, Petrarch reminisced that as a youth he 'wanted nothing but books by Cicero'.[53] The most striking aspect of Petrarch's frequent literary references to the classical poet is their personal tone: in the 1374 letter he referred to 'my friend Cicero'.[54] Twenty years earlier he had addressed an epistle to the object of his literary admiration which commenced: 'Franciscus sends his greetings to Cicero', and concluded with 'Farewell my Cicero'.[55] This is more than coincidentally similar to Landini's description of the man who speaks of 'his very own Cicero'.

Petrarch also referred often 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, whether in writing or speaking, for in 1360 he wrote that he 'loved Cicero as if he were my father'.[56] The image of Seneca as father is also implied in Petrarch's discussion of *imitatio* and his humanist approach to what has been termed 'the construction of his own literary personality' based on classical models.[57]

In the light of Marsili's known admiration of Petrarch it seems reasonable to assume that his political, theological and literary

50 Mariani, *Il Petrarca*, pp. 66–92. See also Hay, *The Italian Renaissance*, pp. 120–1.

51 F. Petrarch, *Le familiari*, ed. V. Rossi, 4 vols. (Florence, 1933–42), I, pp. 35–8. On the dating of this letter, see E. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Correspondence*, Medioevo e Umanesimo 3 (Padua, 1960), p. 50.

52 *Epistolae rerum senilium*, v 2: 28 August 1364; trans. M. Bishop, *Letters from Petrarch* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1966), p. 246.

53 Bishop, trans., *Letters*, p. 295.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 298. 55 *Ibid.*, pp. 206–7. 56 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

57 N. Struever, *The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 146–7.

rhetoric would have been borrowed from or modelled upon the writings and speeches of his mentor. This being the case, the suggestion that Marsili represents the object of Landini's invective takes on added weight.[58] The value of the Ockham poem as a documentary witness to one aspect of Landini's biography is significant. The composer considered himself a representative of a venerable academic tradition, the same tradition which he upheld in the conservative, if not reactionary text of his polytextual polemical madrigal *Musica son*, in which Music complains of composers who ply their trade without the proper liberal-arts training.[59] To contemporary Florentines, this medieval academic tradition was most clearly represented by the circle surrounding the papal curia in France.

The Avignon court had served as a residence for Cardinal Corsini and his retinue (which included the scribe of the unique source for Landini's poem) since 1378. In that year, a number of financially secure ecclesiastics, mostly members of bourgeois families with significant business interests in France, left Florence. The move was made in response to the Florentine government's attempts to bribe local priests to celebrate Mass illegally in public, in defiance of a papal interdict which had been in effect since 1376.[60] Corsini, a member of one of the most conservative of the élite *popolani* families with strong ties to Avignon, defected to the French camp officially in September 1378, after the election of the French schismatic Pope Clement VII.[61] After 1378, the politicised humanist element in Florence led by Salutati, Niccoli and (by 1382) Marsili, came to identify more strongly with Petrarch's earlier attacks on ecclesiastical scholasticism and the effetism of the Avignon curia. Landini's poem gave voice to the sentiments of the more conservative members

58 In the light of Petrarch's death in 1374, a dating of *c.* 1380–1 for Landini's poem (based on the biography of its intended recipient, Antonio da Vado, as well as its inclusion in a manuscript of the early 1380s) argues against the possibility raised in my dissertation that the poem may have been aimed at Petrarch himself. On Antonio da Vado's career in Florence, see F. Novati, ed., *Salutati: Epistolario*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1891–1911), II, p. 52 n. 1. Lanza's objection that Marsili and Landini were friends on the basis of the evidence provided by Prato's *Il Paradiso* may not be sustained, in view of the noted historical inaccuracies of that work. See Baron, *The Crisis*, esp. p. 90.

59 Schrade, ed., *The Works of Francesco Landini*, pp. 213–15.

60 R. Trexler, 'Economic, Political and Religious Effects of the Papal Interdict on Florence, 1376–1378' (Inaugural thesis, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1964), pp. 147–8.

61 See G. Brucker, *The Civil World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1977), p. 117.

of the haut-bourgeois power structure in Florence and of the Florentine expatriates and their French colleagues in Avignon.

The cosmopolitan ecclesiastical and bourgeois cultural élite was to some extent responsible for the lack of distinction between French and Florentine musical notation and theory in the 1380s and 1390s. The same manuscript which contains the Landini invective also transmits a musical treatise ascribed therein to Philippe de Vitry.[62] Whether the attribution is valid is less important than the implication that Florentine musicians of the second half of the Trecento saw themselves as heirs of the French tradition of Franco, Vitry and Muris. Florentine treatises of this period often include references to Vitry or Muris as authorities.[63] Marchettus de Padua, codifier of the school of notation associated with the Veneto and Romagna-Emilia, is rarely, if ever, cited.[64] Theoretical and source evidence indicates that many details of the Marchettan notational system were never incorporated into the Florentine style. Attendance at the universities of Padua and Bologna, where Marchettus's teachings were no doubt integrated into the courses of musical study, was forbidden to fourteenth-century Florentine students by a city ordinance which aimed at increasing enrolments at their own faltering local institution.[65] Ecclesiastics often sought their higher degrees in Paris. A number of well-to-do Florentines turned for academic training to the *studium* of the local Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito, which had increased in scope and reputation throughout the first half of the fourteenth century.[66] By the last quarter of the century it had developed into a paradigm for the ideal humanist society, forming an urban counterpart to the bucolic Villa Paradiso of the Alberti family where the same intellectual circle met

62 Fol. 142^{r}. *De musica secundum filippum de vitriaco*, quoted in full in Long, 'Musical Tastes', pp. 223–5.

63 See especially the anonymous vernacular 'Notitia del valore delle note' in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Redi 71, fols. 13^{r}–24^{r}. The citations of French theorists are discussed by Armen Carapetyan in his edition of the 'Notitia', Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 5 (Rome, 1957), pp. 27–8.

64 On the geographical boundaries of Marchettan notation, see Long, 'Musical Tastes', pp. 116–18.

65 Hay, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 120, and G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1893; repr. 1960), I, p. 340. See also G. Brucker, 'Florence and its University, 1348–1434', *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison*, ed. T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (Princeton, 1969), p. 234.

66 D. Gutierrez, 'La Biblioteca di Santo Spirito in Firenze nella metà del secolo XV', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 25 (1962), pp. 6–7, and R. Weiss, 'An English Augustinian in Late Fourteenth-century Florence', *English Miscellany*, 9 (1958), p. 18.

to discuss politics, philosophy and the arts. The wordly friars of Santo Spirito participated actively in the political, spiritual and artistic life of Florence, functioning as 'a free academy . . . subject to no authority, independent of Church and University'.[67] The Santo Spirito circle came to include such notables as Niccoli, Salutati, Marsili, Roberto Rossi, Martino da Signa and, peripherally, Petrarch and Boccaccio.[68] Marsili and his followers served as ambassadors and political advisers for the Florentine republic.[69]

Fourteenth-century Augustinians, particularly those associated with wealthy or administratively important foundations, engaged in frequent international travel. Of the Italians residing in Avignon in the 1360s and 1370s, approximately 50% were Florentine, and among those the majority of clerics not directly connected with the curia were Augustinians.[70] Many of the most important positions in the pontifical household were traditionally assigned to Augustinians.[71] In addition, the *fratres eremitani* were particularly active in cultural projects of the international ecclesiastical élite. Several of the foremost manuscript illuminators at the Avignon court were members of the large group of resident Augustinians.[72]

The role of the order in the musical activities at the papal court is documented by a motet which appears only in Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564, a source which by the middle of the fifteenth century was in the possession of a branch of the Florentine Alberti family which had spent the first decades of that century in exile in Paris.[73]

67 H. Vonschott, *Geistiges Leben im Augustinerorden am Ende des Mittelalters und zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1915), p. 23.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 22–3. See also R. Arbesmann, *Der Augustinereremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung*, Cassiciacum 19 (Würzburg, 1965), pp. 73ff.

69 Marsili conducted embassies to Louis of Anjou and Charles of Durazzo in 1382 and 1383. See Martines, *The Social World*, p. 307, and M. Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1967), II, p. 55.

70 B. Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon (1309–1376)* (Paris, 1962), pp. 598–601.

71 The office of chamberlain, for instance, was typically held by an Augustinian. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

72 P. Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon du XIVe au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Avignon, 1922), I, pp. 6–7, 22, 33–4.

73 One of the flyleaves bears an inscription referring to Francesco di Altobianco degli Alberti. His father, Altobianco di Niccolo, was exiled from Florence in 1401 through the influence of his enemies in the powerful Albizzi faction. He eventually took up residence in Paris, where the family already had firm contacts. Altobianco's father Niccolo had taken part in diplomatic missions to the Avignon court during the 1350s and 1360s. Passerini, *Gli Alberti*, p. 89, and L. B. Alberti, *I primi tre libri della famiglia*, ed. R. Spongano (Florence, 1946), p. xxxv. A further piece of evidence linking the Chantilly Manuscript with Florentine circles is the number of works it shares with the Florentine source Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichi 26. See U. Günther, 'Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 17 (1960), p. 3.

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The motet, *Alma polis religio*, offers a catalogue of musical Augustinians, praising their piety and musical accomplishments.[74] Most of those named are known to have been connected with the households of northern French cardinals or the Avignon curia.[75] Included in this international roll-call of distinguished musicians are the 'Augustini de florencia', which testifies once again to the Florentine presence in cosmopolitan musical circles.

The role of the Augustinians as determinants of musical style in Florence in the second half of the fourteenth century has never been fully explored. Nino Pirrotta suggested that the Augustinian Guiglielmus de Francia, whose music appears in several Florentine sources, 'may have contributed to the strains of French influence that are easily perceptible in Landini's . . . music'.[76] He proposed that Guiglielmus might have been present in Florence at Santo Spirito in or around 1365, the approximate date of Sacchetti's autograph of the text for Guiglielmus's madrigal *Le neve, el ghiaccio*.[77] The slim biographical data relating to Guiglielmus consists of attributions in musical sources which identify him as 'de Francia' or 'di Santo Spirito',[78] the illumination in the Squarcialupi Codex in which he is portrayed in Augustinian garb with a master's beret[79] and the rubric in Sacchetti's autograph which identifies him as 'Mag(ister) Guglielmus Pariginus frater romitanus'.[80] Any attempt to augment this information is complicated by the loss of the Santo Spirito *Memoriale* for the period in question.[81] The remaining documentary evidence is sparse, but a few tentative conclusions may be drawn on the basis of extant documents preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Florence.

The first mention of a French Guiglielmus at Santo Spirito occurs

74 U. Günther, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense, α. M. 5,24*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 39 (1965), pp. 40–5. The work is attributed to Egidius of Orleans, an Augustinian.

75 *Ibid.*, pp. XLIII-XLV.

76 N. Pirrotta, ed., *The Music of Fourteenth-century Italy*, v, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 8 (Rome, 1964), p. II.

77 *Ibid.*, pp. 28–9.

78 The attributions to Guiglielmus are: 'Frate guglielmo di santo spirito' (Panciatichi 26); 'M. frater guilelmus de francia' (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Palat. 87, Squarcialupi Codex); 'Frate guiglielmo di francia' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital. MS 568); and 'Fratte guiglielmo di santo spirito' (London, British Library, Add. MS 29987).

79 Fol. 173^{v}.

80 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 574, fol. 21^{v}.

81 Formerly Florence, Archivio di Stato, Conventi Soppressi, 122, 36.

in a volume of contracts and testaments.[82] The will of Andreas Raynerii de Buondelmontibus was witnessed by several residents of the convent in 1360, among them a 'frater Guglielmo de Narbona'.[83] 'Narbona' probably represents an Italianate form of Narbonne, near Avignon. An immediate identification with the musician is frustrated by Sacchetti's use of the qualifying 'Pariginus'. However, a list of Masters of the University of Paris from the year 1362 includes among the *magistri provincie Parisiensis* one 'Magistro Guillermo Pagesii, alias de Narbona, Parisiensi'.[84] Guglielmo de Narbona and Guglielmus Pariginus may well, then, be the same man, the latter designation referring to his degree and not to his town of origin. The name 'Guilielmus de Francia' appears along with three other Augustinians from France in another list of witnesses originating at Santo Spirito in 1371.[85] The scant documentary evidence, in conjunction with the existence of Guiglielmus's setting of Sacchetti's poem dating from the mid-1360s, strongly suggests that the French musician's activity in Florence fell largely within the decade of the 1360s, a crucial one for Florentine musical style.[86]

While the works of Guiglielmus as transmitted in Florentine manuscripts are examples of a French musician writing in a slightly gallicised Italian idiom, the body of works by ecclesiastical musicians emanating from the Avignon orbit contains illustrations of the inverse – Italian composers working within the framework of French musical genres, often with French texts. The primary source for this repertory is Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.M.5,24 (fascicles 2–4).[87] The early fascicles of the Modena manuscript were probably compiled during the papal residence in Bologna, from

[82] Conventi Soppressi, 122, 76.

[83] Conventi soppressi, 122, 76, fol. 14.

[84] 'Rotulus facultatis artium Parisiensum ad Urbanem V missus', ed. H. Denifle, *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–91), III, p. 82.

[85] Florence, Archivio di Stato, Museo Diplomatico, Pergamene di S. Spirito: 16 June 1371. No French Guiglielmus appears among the extant records of the convent after 1371, nor is Guiglielmus mentioned in the letters which Marsili sent to his friends from abroad in the years 1373–4. Those letters do include references to two of Guiglielmus's compatriots whose names appeared in the Pergamena of 1371, suggesting that Guiglielmus was no longer in residence at the time the letters were written. Marsili's name was included among those present in 1371, and he therefore must have been acquainted with the musician.

[86] The period is marked by Landini's growing reputation as a composer, poet and organist, as well as by the incipient shift away from the madrigal and monophonic ballata of the Lorenzo Masini–Gherardello da Firenze generation.

[87] U. Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense α. M. 5,24', *Musica Disciplina*, 24 (1970), pp. 17–67. Fascicles 1 and 5 are later interpolations.

January 1410 to March 1411. The manuscript contains works which could have originated in as many as five centres (Avignon, Genoa, Milan, Padua and Bologna), but it clearly reflects the musical tastes and interests of the corps of musicians and aesthetes attached to the curia of the schismatic popes.[88] 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';[89] the attribution of the second, *Veri almi pastoris* (the text of which refers to the papal chapel), indicates that Corrado was a member of the Augustinian order.[90] Ursula Günther suggests that the composer is probably identifiable with the 'Curradus ser gualandi de bracilionis de pistorio' who was enrolled as a singer at the cathedral of Santa Reparata in Florence in 1410.[91] The cathedral record does not designate this singer as an Augustinian. However, Günther's identification may now be substantiated on the basis of a document bearing the date 1385 originating at Santo Spirito. Among the witnesses to the document is a 'Fr. Curradus ser gual(a)ndi de pistorio'.[92] Corrado was present at Santo Spirito at the height of the controversy surrounding Luigi Marsili's attempts to nationalise the Italian Church and purge the *studium* 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'.[93] In light of Corrado's taste for the international style and his probable residence at the papal court (suggested by his musical references to the papal choir), it may be conjectured that he formed a part of the same circle of artists and intellectuals which included Landini, Johannes de Empoli and Piero Corsini,[94] and that his sympathies would have lain with the anti-Marsili élitists.[95]

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 45. [89] Fol. 31^{v}.

[90] 'Fr. Coradus de Pistorio ordinis herimitarum': fol. 36^{v}. Concerning the text, see Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena . . . α. M. 5,24', pp. 25–6.

[91] Günther cites a document published by Frank D'Accone in 'A Documentary History of Music at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry during the Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1960), p. 76.

[92] Florence, Archivio di Stato, Museo Diplomatico, Pergamene di S. Spirito: 11 January 1385. [93] Martines, *The Social World*, p. 308.

[94] When Corsini died in 1405, his funeral ceremony was conducted at the Augustinian convent in Avignon, suggesting a further link between the conventual élite surrounding the pope and the Florentine ecclesiastical patriciate. See L. Passerini, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Corsini* (Florence, 1858), p. 74.

[95] The balance of power shifted in favour of Marsili's opponents, at least temporarily, after

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Whether or not Corrado or Guiglielmus are to be counted among the anonymous 'Augustini de florencia'[96] referred to in *Alma polis religio*, it is certain that musical ties between the Augustinian convent of Santo Spirito and the Augustinians of Paris and Avignon existed throughout the last four decades of the Trecento, and that they constituted an important strand in the broader fabric of artistic interaction among the cultural élites of those centres. Francesco Landini's demonstrated association with members of the same international élite illuminates his role not only as a spokesman for Florentine academic conservatism, but as a representative of international musical style in Florence in the same period.

University of Wisconsin at Madison

1388. Marsili's final bid for a bishop's chair was rejected, and an English Ockhamist lecturer was brought to Santo Spirito to teach logic and philosophy. See Martines, *The Social World*, p. 308, and Weiss, 'An English Augustinian', pp. 18–19.

[96] Another name appearing in the list of Augustinians residing at Santo Spirito in 1385 is that of a 'Fr. Johannes de Janua'. The Modena manuscript includes a virelai and a ballade by a 'Fr. Johannes Janua' (or 'J. de Janua'). Günther, 'Das Manuskript Modena . . . α. M. 5,24', p. 42, has speculated that the composer of these works may have been one of the two new singers bearing the name Johannes who enrolled in the papal chapel in 1405 (J. Burec and J. Desrame). Their surnames, however, appear to be French rather than Italian. The composer in question may have been the 'Frater Johannes' from Genoa who was, as the 1385 document indicates, Corrado's contemporary at the Florentine convent, a hypothesis which could explain their joint, anonymous citation in *Alma polis religio*.

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GRATIOSUS, CICONIA, AND OTHER MUSICIANS AT PADUA CATHEDRAL: SOME FOOTNOTES TO PRESENT KNOWLEDGE

Anne Hallmark
(New England Conservatory)

New documentary evidence has come to light which involves musical figures employed by or otherwise associated with the Cathedral in Padua in the years around 1400. Raffaele Casimiri[1] and Suzanne Clercx[2] have provided the documentary basis for our present knowledge of such men, and their findings are central to the evidence presented here. The primary purpose of this essay is to present a list of musicians associated with the Cathedral from c. 1390 to after 1410, interweaving Casimiri's and Clercx's documentation with new information and clarification.

Documentary evidence as scanty as that to be presented below cannot provide answers to many questions about musical practices of the time. But we may turn the tables, and suggest that by asking some crucial questions about contemporary musical practice, we provide a

1. R. CASIMIRI, *Musica e musicisti nella cattedrale di Padova nei sec. XIV, XV, XVI. Contributo per una storia,* Roma, Psalterium 1942.

2. S. CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia: un musicien liégeois et son temps,* Brussels, Palais des Academies 1960, voll. 2.

desired context for such documentary evidence. Answers to these broader questions cannot be considered within the scope of this essay, but it is hoped that the questions will suggest areas of further research and analysis.

Is there evidence in the 14th and 15th century that polyphony was sung at Padua Cathedral? If polyphony was used on special occasions, were those occasions likely to be the highest feast days of the church like Christmas and Easter, or were they more likely to be topically specific events like the dedication of a church or the elevation of a new bishop? Were polyphonic sacred works (specifically Mass movements and motets) of composers directly connected to the Cathedral performed there?

What was the skill and size of the choir at Padua Cathedral? Were the composers we find at the Cathedral hired because of their skill as composers or singers, or was this accidental to their affiliation with the Cathedral? Were recruitment efforts made by the Cathedral itself to include men of musical talent as part of the Cathedral chapter? Were men like Guillelmus de Linden de Alemania, a northerner and countryman of Ciconia, brought south specifically because of their musical talents?

As is already known, Padua's tradition of sacred polyphonic music did not wait for Pope Eugenius IV's bull of 1439 which established a polyphonic *cappella* at the Cathedral.[3] We have evidence from the very beginning of the fourteenth century of polyphony written for and performed at Padua Cathedral. In two manuscripts, known to have been written at the Cathedral, there occurs a collection of 2-voice Office and processional pieces written for high feast days.[4]

Some of these pieces, part of a tradition of dramatic offices, carry precise rubrics concerning the feast day and the manner of performance.

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3. R. CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

4. I-Pc 55 and Pc 56; see RISM B IV^4, ed. by K. Von Fischer, pp. 984-988. On folio 1 of I-Pc 55 is written: «In isto quaterno sunt omnia officia et processiones que sunt in ecclesia paduana per totum circulum anni.»

For example,

Ave gratia plena	In die Purificationis...
I-Pc 55, f. 15v	et interim duo pueri...
	incipiant cantare
Quare sic aspicitis	In festo Ascensionis...
I-Pc 55, f. 50r	Cantato dicto
	duo clerici cantant

Another example of Cathedral-related polyphony from the early fourteenth century is the 3-voices motet *Ave regina/Mater innocencie*, now known to be by Marchettus of Padua, *magister puerorum* at Padua Cathedral in at least 1305, 1306, and 1307.[5] *Ave regina / Mater innocencie* is preserved in a Padua Cathedral source dated 1325 written by Prosdocimus de Citadella, custos maioris ecclesie Paduane; it is the only polyphony amid chants for the Ordinary and Proper.[6] Gallo speculates that the motet was written for the dedication of the Scrovegni Chapel in 1305; this would constitute an example of polyphony for an extraordinary event outside the Cathedral. On the other hand, Kurt von Fischer argues for a dating some ten to fifteen years later on stylistic grounds,[7] so the question of its use must remain open.

Until the evidence provided by the repertory of the so-called Paduan fragments from later in the century, there is no other documentation for the singing of polyphonic music in Cathedral circles. However, various references presented by Casimiri and others give evidence of a flourishing musical establishment. For example, teaching singing to boys seems to have been a more or less constant occupation

5. F.A. GALLO, *Marchetus in Padua und die 'franco-venetische' Musik des frühen Trecento*, AfMW, XXXI, 1974, pp. 42-56. See also A. HALLMARK, *Some evidence for French influence in northern Italy, c. 1400*, in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. S. Boorman, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1983, pp. 201-202.

6. RISM B IV^4, p. 666.

7. K. VON FISCHER, *Philippe de Vitry in Italy and an homage of Landini to Philippe*, in *L'Ars Nova* IV, p. 227. See also A. HALLMARK, *op. cit.*, p. 202, for a summary of their views.

from as early as 1305 and Marchettus of Padua. Presbyter Jacobello is listed as *magister scolarum* or *magister cantus scolarum* in 1335 and 1338.[8] In 1399, the duties of both *magister scolarum* and *magister cantoris* are described.[9] An organ, built by one Magister Laurentius, was in the Cathedral by 1361.[10] From that time on, frequent references occur with regard to organ repairs, an organist, and a bellows worker. In 1400 and 1402, trumpets are used outside the church on the occasion of the Feast on Herod.[11]

In 1306 one Gerardus of Bologna, mansionarius or custos of Padua Cathedral, becomes cantor (= singer?) for Cardinal G. Ruffati in Bordeaux for a short while.[12] From 1388 there begin to be increasingly frequent references to cantors, first singly, then in multiple numbers; this will be considered more fully below. A newly found reference from 1402 gives a detail about a symbol of the office of the *magister cantus*.[13] In a Cathedral book of sacristy expenses is listed payment of four librae to Nicolas of Perugia, goldsmith, for plating the *magister cantus's* staff with silver and gold. Although such a staff does not survive, it must have been a splendid symbol of that office, the valuable metals indicating the importance of the position.

The so-called Paduan fragments of polyphonic music, in which Cathedral chapter members Gratiosus of Padua and Johannes Ciconia are represented, almost certainly originated at least in part at the Paduan Abbey of Santa Giustina in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[14] The state of information regarding provenance

8. R. CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

9. R. CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 74. In fact a mid-thirteenth century document (Archivio Capitolare Padova (= ACP), Ordinarium saeculi XIII, MS E. 57) also describes the duties of the *magister scolarum* and the *cantor.* This pushes back the historical evidence for these positions in Padua, not surprising in light of the early fourteenth century references.

10. R. CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

11. R. CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 76.

12. F.A. GALLO, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

13. ACP, Quaderni della Sacristia 1, f. 41r.

14. *PadA* is made up of I-Pu 684, I-Pu 1475, GB-Ob 229; *PadB* is I-Pu 1115; *PadC* is I-Pu 658; *PadD* is made up of I-Pu 675, I-Pu 1106, I-Pu 1225, I-Pu 1283; the Stresa

and dating for the fragments has been enlarged by Don Cattin's identification of the scribe of *PadD* and possibly of the Stresa fragment as Rolandus Monachus, a monk at Santa Giustina abbey from 1396 until well into the 15th century.[15]

The presence of Ciconia and Gratiosus's music in the Paduan fragments is not sufficient evidence that this sacred repertory was sung at the Cathedral. But there are clear links between the two institutions, especially in this period. Two illegimate sons of the ruling Carrara despot held the positions of abbot of Santa Giustina and bishop of Padua, providing a basis for Cattin's speculation that both Cathedral and Abbey functioned as «arms of the culture-loving Carrara court».[16]

Cattin is saying in so many words that this kind of religious leadership, closely connected to the city's secular authority, suggests a kind of secularization in both institutions. If this is so, it would help to explain the nature and variety of the Paduan fragments – their mix of sacred, ceremonial, and secular works; the mix of local and international, new and older repertories. It would also allow us to assume similar levels of patronage towards the arts in secular and religious settings. The Carraras commissioned a fresco from Menabue for the Cathedral Baptistery; might they well not have helped support a musical establishment at the Cathedral, providing for their own greater glory as well as God's?

Other links strengthen the ties between the Abbey and the Cathedral. The cantor of Santa Giustina is witness to Ciconia's first benefice (under the Cathedral's authority) in Padua in 1401.[17] Surely the presence of another establishment's chief musical authority sug-

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fragment is I-STr 14. See RISM B IV[4]; G. CATTIN, *Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento: il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato*, AnnMus, VII, 1964-77, pp. 27-29. See also A. HALLMARK, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-197.

15. G. CATTIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

16. G. CATTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Both Stefano and Andrea are part of the document excerpted as Doc. IB, item 6.

17. Archivio di Stato di Padova (= ASP), Archivio Notarile (= AN), reg. 286 (Not. Albertini), f. 113r, cited in S. CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 39. See Doc. IIA, item 2.

gests that Ciconia was important to the Cathedral as a musician, even though his position there as cantor is not explicit until two years later. A second link is provided by Francesco Zabarella, archipresbiter of the Cathedral, who is not only mentor to Ciconia but a teacher of the monk Rolandus.[18]

Some newly found references to the composer Gratiosus of Padua would seem to place him at least briefly within the chapter of Padua Cathedral in the early 1390's. Gratiosus is known by his music in the manuscript source *PadA* by two Mass movements – a Gloria and a Sanctus – and by the fragmentary lauda, *Alta regina*.[19] From the two items of Doc. IA it is evident that in 1391 presbyter Gratiosus was a custos in the Padua Cathedral chapter. His duties would therefore include such things as participating in the Offices, ringing bells, opening and closing the Cathedral doors, lighting and extinguishing candles, distributing and collecting books, and preparing for the Offices. On July 2nd of that year he is a witness to the election of Christoforus of Vicenza to the position of mansionarius in the Cathedral chapter. By 8 June 1392, as seen in the second document of Doc. IA, Gratiosus has become a mansionarius within the chapter. His specific duties have changed: a mansionarius has charge over one quarter of the church, overseeing all services, altars, etc., in his quarter; he also assists in the Offices. In this document Gratiosus is present at the ordination of a number of candidates for minor orders, the subdeaconate and the priesthood. Though these are only two single references, they provide the first secure dating for Gratiosus.

Six other references to a man named Gratiosus are given in Doc. IB. Whether these also refer to the composer is an open question. The most fascinating reference is item 6, where Gracioso, monk of Santa Giustina, is witness to the promotion of Stefano da Carrara and Andrea da Carrara, illegitimate sons of Francesco Novello, to the

18. S. CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 42, footnote 6.

19. Modern editions appear in K. VON FISCHER-F.A. GALLO, *Italian Sacred Music*, PMFC XII, 1976. See A. HALLMARK, *op. cit.*, pp. 206 ss., for a fuller discussion of Gratiosus and his music.

subdeaconate in 1398. Stefano is episcopal administrator of the city, slated to become bishop; Andrea is *abbot pronunciatus* of the Abbey. If this Gracioso is the composer, then he has moved from the Cathedral to the Abbey.

The subject of Johannes Ciconia's biography is a matter beyond the confines of this essay,[20] but several aspects of his career at Padua Cathedral bear mention here. The first is the initial association of Ciconia's name with the Cathedral. Two documents from 1401 are transcribed as Doc. IIA. They concern Ciconia's first benefice in Padua, at the church of San Biagio di Ronchalea, in the diocese of Padua, given by order of Francesco Zabarella, archipresbyter of the Cathedral. For such a transation to occur in Zabarella's house rather than in the Cathedral is an unusual occurrence. Since it is clear from later years that Zabarella was Ciconia's mentor, this might be seen as an early instance of a personal connection between the two men.

In the second document, from the same day, Ciconia is given possession of the benefice «in tenutam et corporalem possessionem». I take this wording literally and posit Ciconia's physical presence in Padua from 1401. Clercx rejects a literal reading. She reasons that the composer must have been absent from this transaction because she believes the composer to be one and the same as the Ciconia who participated in an inquisition in Liege shortly after the date of this document.[21]

Accepting Clercx's reasoning, many scholars have taken 1403 as the first year of Ciconia's presence at the Cathedral, since a document from 26 April 1403[22] identifies him as cantor and custos of the Cathedral. My feeling is that this is overly cautious. I would argue the likelihood that the benefice of 1401 led directly to Ciconia's admission to the Cathedral chapter, and that the absence of his name from a list

20. See M. BENT – A. HALLMARK, *The music of Johannes Ciconia. Introduction*, PMFC XXIV, 1985. A. HALLMARK, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-04, for the author's view of Ciconia's biography.

21. S. CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

22. ASP, AN, reg. 40 (Not. Nicolini), ff. 304v-305r.

of canons in 1401 is no argument to the contrary,[23] since none of the mansionarii or custodes appear on that list.

In any event, with the evidence of seven distribution lists involving service to the Cathedral in 1402, it is clear that Ciconia was already a member of the chapter by April 1402. These lists detail payments of rye, spelt, beans, chick peas, peas, millet and sorghum made in 1404 to chapter members for service rendered in January through April 1402.[24] Generally last or second to last on these lists, Ciconia is paid less than his immediate colleagues. From this differential in payment one suspects that Ciconia became a chapter member after January and before April.

Ciconia's death date is the other matter to be considered before turning to the list of musicians in Doc. III. Doc. IIB excerpts a notarial document from June 1412 in which Ciconia's name appears as witness. It is clear from this document that Ciconia died, not in 1411 as has been assumed, but sometimes in 1412 between 10 June and 12 July, when his benefices and Cathedral position of custos are given over to others because of his death.

Even at its best, the nature of the documentary evidence presented in Doc. III is woefully incomplete, providing as it does only the most basic information. We find non musical references which pinpoint at least briefly the whereabouts of a composer, as with Gratiosus of Padua. We find a mixture of non-musical and musical identifications for most figures, as with Johannes Ciconia. For musical identifications, common appellations seem to be such things as cantor, organist, bellows worker, *magister puerorum, magister scolarum.* Rarely is a specific singing voice named: the first such mention is a reference in 1411 to Guillelmus de Linden as tenor. Only once – for Ciconia in 1403[25] – is anyone called *musicus,* a title which presumably implies that

23. S. CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 40, footnote 9.

24. ACP, Caneva 1, ff. 41r-44v.

25. ASP, AN, reg. 40 (Not. Nicolini), f. 284r.

a man is learned about music as a composer and theorist, and is not only a performer.[26]

The entries of Doc. III are intended to be self-explanatory. But what is meant by the term cantor remains a puzzle. It is my growing conviction that the term refers to the administrative post of *magister cantus* in only some of the references, even in the years before 1411 when the voice part tenor is specified. It may be that when a salary is given, as in Ciconia's and Matheus's case, we are dealing with the administrative post.[27] Ciconia's frequent title of *magister* in State and Cathedral documents may strengthen the possibility that he at least occupies that position.

It may be that the term cantor when it occurs in the chapter distribution lists signifies the post of the man who carries a gold and silver staff. But why then are Ciconia and Matheus both named and both salaried in 1404? Why does Guillelmus never receive a salary, only distributions? Why is Matheus often absent from distribution lists? If a man was once cantor, as Johannes de Riveriis was from 1396 to 1398, and stays in the chapter for a long time thereafter, what does that signify?

If one groups by year the men who are labelled as cantors or who are known to be involved with music at some point before, in, or after that year, then we have groups of four, five, and six men. This is a conservative estimate which makes no allowance for those singers who may yet be discovered, or for the boys at the Cathedral who are regularly paid prebends for singing. In 1391, such a group would consist of Guillelmus, Gratiosus, Johannes de Riveriis, Orpheus, and Christoforus of Vicenza. In 1404 the group would include Ciconia, Matheus, Guillelmus, Johannes de Riveriis, Christoforus, and Batista; in 1410,

26. Since this title occurs not within Cathedral records but in a civil notarial document, we cannot argue that it relates directly to Ciconia's role at the Cathedral.

27. Such salaries cannot be seen before 1404 because of the absence of records. Note the relative salaries of Ciconia and Matheus with the organist Bernardino. Clearly the organist was very much prized as a musician.

Ciconia, Melchior de Brissia, Orpheus, Guillelmus, Christoforus and Batista.

Going beyond the central time period c. 1390-c. 1410, we can see from Casimiri that references to musical figures increase as the fifteenth century proceeds.[28] For example, in 1418 and 1419, Magister Benedetto a Santa Catarina is paid to teach singing to the boys. More and more musicians begin to be identified by singing voice after the first reference in 1411: in 1419, Giovanni tenorista; in the same year Dominus presbyter (DP) Johannes tenorista, who reappears in 1421 and 1423. Is he the Johannes de Francia tenorista of 1431? Only in 1431 is a singer called contratenor, so there is no contemporary archivial help for the problem of Ciconia's contratenors in some of his Mass movements and motets.[29] A provocative reference concerning the recruitment of singers occurs in 1414.[30] A payement of ten librae is recorded «pro expensis sibi factis quando ivit Bonomiam ad inveniendum cantores», for expenses incurred by Camerlengo when he went to Bologna to find singers. Is this single reference enough to presume a tradition of recruiting singers from outside Padua?[31] Why was an emissary sent specifically to Bologna? Did the Padua Cathedral choir need special forces in order to go to the Council of Constance?

The musicians at Padua Cathedral on whom this essay has focused must have spent most of their time at the Cathedral singing chant; the perspective of things has been skewed by dwelling on the possibilities and opportunities for polyphony. But that of course is what is novel. I would posit that men who were composers of polyphony or who were skilled musicians may well have been brought into the chapter at Padua Cathedral (even from some distance) specifically because of their musical talents. I would also suggest that the increasing number of

28. R. CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.

29. See M. BENT, *The Music of Johannes Ciconia. Introduction*, PMFC XXIV, 1985 and her contribution to this volume.

30. R. CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

31. One cannot look for such mentions earlier that 1400; the ACP Caneva volumes in which such things would be listed survive only from after that year.

musicians being revealed is not accidental or unrelated to the musical practices of the Cathedral. More and more evidence from various sources demonstrates the likelihood that Padua and its institutions were a major musical force in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

DOCUMENTS

Doc. IA.

1. Archivio di Stato di Padova (ASP), AN, reg. 40 (Not. Nicolini), f. 26v. 1391, 2 July

Election of Christoforus quondam Achilis de Vincentie to the position of mansionarius in the Padua Cathedral chapter. Presbiter Gratiosus, custos of the chapter, is a witness.

«... dominis *presbiteris Gratioso*, Johanne Copellario et Johanne de Riveriis ac Thomaxino, omnibus quatuor *custodibus beneficiatis in dicta maiore ecclesia paduana*...».

2. Archivio Capitolare di Padova (ACP), Diversorum 9, f. 2r. 1392, 8 June

Candidates for minor orders, the subdeaconate, and the priesthood are presented for ordination at the Cathedral. Presbiter Gracioso de Padua, mansionarius, is a witness.

«... presentibus presbitero Nicolao de Faventia, *presbitero Gracioso de Padua mansionariis ecclesie maioris paduane*...».

Doc. IB

1. ACP, Diversorum 6, f. 67v-68r 1380, 8 February

Antonius Gratiosus, son of Mundi notary of Padua, an official of the Paduan episcopate, is granted a canonry at the church of S. Maria de Carrara, diocese of Padua. (Cited in A. GLORIA, *Monumenti dell'Università di Padova*, voll. 3, Padova, Tipografia del Seminario 1888, II: p. 143; reprinted Bologna, Forni 1972; E. LEVI, *Francesco di Vannozzo e la lirica nelle corti lombarde durante la seconda metà del secolo XIV*, Firenze, Galletti and Cocci 1908, p. 316).

«...Antonius Gratiosus filius Mundi notarii de Padua et officialis episcopatus Padue canonicus prebendatus plebis et ecclesie Scte Marie de Carade, dicte paduane diocese...».

2. ACP, Diversorum 11, f. 108r 1397, 20 November

A *renunciatio* involving some land and the heirs of Ser Bartholomeus and Gracioso, son of Mundi dal Legname of Padua.

«... Gracioso filio Mundi patavini a lignamine de contrata pontis molendinorum de Padua...».

3. – 5. *Ibidem*, f. 108v. 1397, 20 November

Three more items involving the conclusion of the above-named dispute and another feud between Gracioso and a former bishop of Padua.

6. ACP, Diversorum 11, f. 129v. 1398, 6 April

Promotion to the subdeaconate of Stefano da Carrara, episcopal administrator of Padua, and Andrea da Carrara, abbot *pronunciatus* of St. Giustina abbey. (Cited in P. POSENATO, *Chierici ordinati a Padova dal 1396 al 1419,* in *Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana,* II, Padova, Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica padovana 1969, p. 29).

«...presentibus domino fratre Gracioso quondam Mundi notarii de Padua, monacho dicti monasterii Scte Justine...».

Doc. IIA

1. ASP, AN, reg. 286 (Not. Albertini), f. 112v. 1401, 30 July

First Padua benefice given to Johannes Ciconia, at the church of San Biagio di Ronchalea, by order of Francesco Zabarella. Benefice is yielded by Marinus de Zabarella, scholar of canon law.

«In Christi nomine, Amen. Anno eiusdem nativitatis millesimo cccc° primo, indicione nona, die sabati penultimo mensis Julii. Padue, juxta cathedralem ecclesiam in domo habitationis egregii utriusque iuris doctoris domini Francisci de Zabarellis archipresbiteri et canonici paduani, presentibus domino presbytero Johanne de Plebe capellano ecclesie paduane, domino Arnoldo de Alemania quondam *** in iure canonico studente habitatore Padue in domo dicti domini archipresbiteri, testibus vocatis etc. Suprascriptus dominus Franciscus archipresbiter comisit possessionem clericalem beneficii Sancti Blaxii de Ronchalea domino Marino scolari iuris canonici, dandam magistro Johanni Cichonie qui investitus est de dicto beneficio». (See plate 1).

2. ASP, AN, reg. 286, (Not. Albertini), f. 113r. 1401, 30 July

Ciconia takes possession of the benefice at San Biagio di Ronchalea, by order of Francesco Zabarella.

«Eisdem anno millesimo indicione et die. In ecclesia Sancti Blasii de Ronchalea paduane diocesis, presentibus venerabilibus viris domino fratre Johane de *** priore Sancte Marie de Tresonibus paduane diocesis, domino presbitero Nani de Faventia habitatore in loco Sancti Fidencii de Pulveraria, et Luca cantore de abbatia residente Padue in monasterio Sancte Justine, testibus vocatis et rogatis et aliis. Commendabilis vir dominus Marinus de Zabarellis de Padua, scollaris iuris canonici ex commissione et auctoritate sibi facta et tradita per egregium utriusque iuris doctorem dominum Franciscum de Zabarellis de Padua archipresbiterum et canonicum paduanum, ad quem ratione dicti sui archipresbiteratus non tantum collatio vera, et inductio in possessionem clericalem beneficii Sancti Blasii de Ronchallea spectat et

pertinet tam de iure quam de consuetudine, posuit et induxit in tenutam et corporalem possessionem dicti clericalis beneficii venerandum virum magistrum Johannem Ciconiam faciendo omnia et singula que in talibus requiruntur». (See plate 2).

Doc. IIB
ACP, Liber Diversorum 14, f. 133r. 1412, 10 June

Domino Johannes Ciconia is a notarial witness to a collation at Santa Maria de Belmonte made to DP Benedicto de Issembertis de Padua. The date 1412 occurs on the preceding folio.

«...venerabilibus viris domino presbitero Johanne de Riveriis de Padua et domino Johanne Cyconia...».

* * *

Doc. III
Jacobus 1388

Three documents concern his election to a *beneficio choralis.* (ACP, Diversorum 8, f. 16v-18v)

D. Guillelmus 1391

Cantor. (CLERCX, *op. cit.,* p. 44; ASP, AN, reg. 40 (Not. Nicolini), f. 25r).
Uncertain whether Guillelmus de Linden.

Johannes de Riveriis c. 1391-c.1421

Cantor and custos. Cantor in three documents from 1396, 1397, 1398 (ASP, AN, reg. 286 (Not. Albertini), f. 21v, f. 27v, f. 35r). Listed as custos in the chapter from at least 1391 until after 1421. Often linked with Ciconia as a notarial witness. (CLERCX, *op. cit.,* p. 44; author for documentation).

Gratiosus of Padua 1391-1392

Custos, then mansionarius of Padua Cathedral 1391, 1392. Probably not Antonio Gracioso, son of Mundi 1380, nor Gracioso son of Mundi, monk of Santa Giustina 1398. See Doc. IB.

Christoforus de Vincentia 1391-after 1412

Elected as mansionarius 1391 (ASP, AN, reg. 40 (Not. Nicolini), f. 26v); Gratiosus a witness. Regularly listed as member of chapter until after 1412. In 1410, elected as *magister scolarum* to replace DP Batista; Orpheus is first witness. (ACP, Acta capitularia 1, f. 36v).

Orpheus 1391-after 1423

Present in 1391 documents as cappellanus (ASP, AN, reg. 40 (Not. Nicolini), f. 25v, f. 26r). Elected as mansionarius 1408 and examined in singing; Ciconia a witness (CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 47; ASP, AN, reg. 40 (Not. Nicolini), f. 194r-195r). 1405 Cathedral inventory lists a reliquary given by DP Orpheus; Orpheus might be the «noted» Alexander of Parma (C. BELLINATI et AL., *Il Duomo di Padova e il suo Battistero,* Trieste, Edizioni LINT 1977, p. 168). Various documents 1410. Involved in a legal matter 1411 (ASP, AN, reg. 287 (Not. Albertini), f. 32v); still present in 1421 in a chapter list (ASP, AN, reg. 41 (Not. Nicolini), f. 421r). Made a canon c. 1423; listed in the Dondi dall'Orologio history of Paduan canons.

Bernardino 1402-1418

Organist. For 17 years there are steady references to him and his salary; for example, in 1404 he is paid 100 librae. Giovanni da Prato becomes organist in 1419 (CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78; ACP, Quaderni di Sacristia 1, fol.29v; ACP, Caneva 1, f. 35r).

Johannes Ciconia 1401-1412

As cantor, custos, musicus, appears in approximately 115 documents from the State and Capitular Archives 1401-1412. References as cantor 1403, 1404, 1405, 1408, 1410, 1411, 1412. Salary payments listed 1403 (16 librae), 1404 (87 librae), 1405 (85 librae), 1411 (60 librae). See Doc. II.

DP Antonius de Sancto Benedicto 1404

Receives goods as part of a chapter distribution list «pro cantu puerorum». (ACP, Caneva 1, f. 38v, f. 46v). CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 77, lists a Presbiter Antonius cantor in 1409; the reference was not found.

DP Antonius 1404

Receives a salary of 20 librae in 1404 «pro ducendo folia organorum». (ACP, Caneva 1, f. 35r).

DP Matheus 1404-1405

Cantor. In 1404 paid a salary of 115 librae; other payments from the chapter as well. He and Ciconia both named as cantors in two documents of 1405. His name is listed in a 1405 chapter distribution list beneath that of Ciconia, but with the title cantor, not given there to Ciconia.(CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 44: ACP, Diversorum 13, f. 94r; ACP, Caneva 1, f. 30r, f. 34r, f. 37r). Dies before 23 July 1405; his benefice at St. Martin de Tribano ceded to Petrus de Rabata, canon (ACP, Diversorum 13, f. 85v). Cited nonetheless in

an October 1405 distribution list of payments for vigils (ACP, Caneva 1, f. 21r).

Guillelmus de Linden de Alemania at least 1404-1438?

Cantor August 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407. Present as custos from time chapter distribution lists begin in 1404 – c. 1438 (CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 44). Unclear whether same man as Guillelmus cited in 1391. Listed by full name in same document of 1405 in which Ciconia is listed as «quondam Johannis de civitate Leodii, provincie Colonie»; both are listed there as cantor. Never given separate salary payments by the chapter; his name appears above that of Ciconia in chapter distribution lists (ACP, Caneva 1, 1404, f. 40r; ACP, Diversorum 13, f. 94r; ACP, Caneva 1, 1406). CASIMIRI *op. cit.*, p. 77, cites a D. Gulielmus cantor in 1409; the reference has not been found. In 1411, Guilelmus de Linden is called tenor (CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 44; ACP, Caneva 2, 1411, f. 14v). In 1419, D. Guilelmus cantor (CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 78; CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 44; ACP, Caneva 2, f. 12v, f. 13v). In 1423 Gulielmus tenorista (CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 79).

DP Batista at least 1404-1410

Relinquishes position of *magister scolarum* to Christoforus of Vicenza 1410 (ACP, Acta capitularia 1, f. 36v). Present in chapter lists from time they begin in 1404; in 1409 listed as mansionarius. Nearly always at top of list of chapter clerics.

Melchior de Brissia = Prepositus Brixiensis (?) 1410; 1423-25

Melchior de Brissia listed as cantor and cappellanus 1410 (CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 47; ASP, AN, reg. 41 (Not. Nicolini), f. 181r). Another document 1410 lists him as cappellanus; he is a witness with Orpheus (ASP, AN, reg. 41 (Not. Nicolini), f. 226r). Prepositus Brixiensis cantor 1423, 1424, 1425 (CASIMIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 79). Not clear whether these are the same man.

DP Luca de Lendenara 1411-1424

Appears in a 1411 salary list, without specified duties (ACP, Caneva 1, f. 23r). Inherits Ciconia's position as custos 1412; undergoes an examination in music for it («et facta prius dilligenti examinatione de persona ipsa domini presbiteri Luce in lectura et in cantu secundum formam et tenorem...»), similar to that of Orpheus in 1408 (CLERCX, *op. cit.*, p. 47; ASP, AN, reg. 41 (Not. Nicolini), f. 240r-241r). Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, describing him as a long-time friend, dedicated his *Tractatus musice speculative...* of 1425 to Luca.

[9]

FURTHER NOTES ON MAGISTER ANTONIUS DICTUS ZACHARIAS DE TERAMO

JOHN NÁDAS

In 1971, Nino Pirrotta discussed the numerous early 15th-century attributions containing various forms of the name « Zacar », believing then that they referred to three distinct authors: Antonius Zacharias de Teramo, Magister Zacharias, and Nicolaus Zacharie.[1] He placed Antonius in the Roman chapel of Pope Gregory XII, and viewed him as the composer of music attributed to a « Zacar » in *Man/ManP* and *BL*.[2] His one exception in *BL* was a *Gloria* setting attributed to « N. Zacharie » (fols. 145*v*-147*r*), associated by Pirrotta with a Nicolaus Zacharie of Brindisi, a composer in the chapel of Pope Martin V during the 1420s and '30s.[3] Three compositions survive with attributions to « N. Zacharie » or « Nicolaus Zacharie »: (1) the *Gloria* in *BL* noted above, (2) a ballata, *Già per gran nobiltà*, in *O 213* (fol. 125*v*), and (3) a motet, *Letetur, plebs*, in the same source (fols. 28*v*-29*r*).

The third composer in Pirrotta's group was designated as « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape », the author of seven polyphonic

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[1] N. PIRROTTA, *Zacharus musicus*, « Quadrivium », XII, 1971, pp. 153-175. He has since returned to the subject by incorporating new findings in a postscript to the reprint of the essay in *Music and Culture in Italy From the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard Univ. Press 1984, pp. 141-144. See Table 1, below, for a list of Zacar attributions in musical sources.

[2] The sources and their *sigla* cited in this study are the following: *Man/ManP* = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca comunale « Augusta », MS 3065; *BL* = Bologna, Civico museo bibliografico musicale, MS Q15; *BU* = Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 2216; *Pad D 1225* = Padova, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 1225; *Sq* = Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Mediceo Palatino 87; *SL 2211* = Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS San Lorenzo 2211; *Mod A* = Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.M.5.24; *Civ* = Cividale del Friuli, Museo archeologico nazionale, MS XCVIII; *SieA* and *SieB* = Siena, Archivio di stato, MSS frammenti di musiche, n. 207 (*olim* 326-327); *I-Vm 145* = Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale marciana, MS It. IX. 145; *TR87* = Trento, Museo provinciale d'arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 87; *Lo* = London, British Library, MS Additional 29987; *O 213* = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici miscellaneous 213; *Em* = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Handschriften-Inkunabelabteilung, MS latinus monaciensis 14274; *Str 222* = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 222.C.22; *Kras* = Warsaw, Biblioteca Naradowa, MS III.8054; *StP* = Warsaw, National Library, Ms lat. F.I.378 (photographic copy of a lost manuscript).

[3] A name and place of origin reported by F. X. HABERL, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte I: Wilhelm Du Fay*, Leipzig 1885, pp. 65, 435, 454, 463. Haberl's reading of the name « Nicol. Gechanc », in an April 1434 document (p. 67) problably represents a misreading of « Nicol. Cecharas »(?).

songs in *Sq*.[4] Because of known Florentine support for the schismatic popes Alexander V and, particularly, John XXIII, Pirrotta believed that the « nostri pape » might have been a reference to one of these popes, whom Magister Çacherias presumably served. This composer was considered by Pirrotta to be the oldest of the three men and quite possibly the father of Nicolaus.[5]

Since Pirrotta's pioneering essay, the question of Zacar attributions has been addressed by Gilbert Reaney and, notably, Agostino Ziino.[6] Reaney sought to reduce Pirrotta's three composers to two by combining Nicolaus and Magister Çacherias into one persone, basing this contention on documentation that the papal singer Nicolaus from Brindisi was known to have been employed at Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, and his works would therefore be likely candidates for inclusion in *Sq*.

In the most recent attempt to solve the question of Zacar attributions, Ziino produced impressive results through archival research in Rome. He was able to document a probable career for a Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo, beginning with a papal bull, dated 1 February 1391, from the reign of the Roman Pope Boniface IX, appointing Antonius to the post of *scriptor litterarum apostolicarum*.[7] The document also mentions that Antonius had been a singer in the papal chapel. The coincidence of the two nearly identical names – Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo (in the papal bull) and Magister Antonius Zachara de Teramo (in *Man/ManP*; see Table 1, below) – strongly suggests that they were one and the same man.

Ziino cited papal documents signed by Antonius Zacharias for the period 1391-1407, confirming his position as *scriptor* through the reigns of Popes Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and into that of Gregory XII, elected in 1406. After the final surviving document signed by Antonius in June of 1407, Ziino lost all documentary trace of the papal singer/scribe.[8] It was possible, he suggested, to continue an outline of Antonius' career elsewhere in Italy. which, however much it relied on sheer speculation, could be supported by circumstantial

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[4] Some of the songs have concordances in other sources; see G. REANEY, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music* (« Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae » XI) vol. VI, American Institute of Musicology 1977. See also Table 1, below.

[5] PIRROTTA, *Zacharus* cit., p. 163.

[6] A. ZIINO, *Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo: alcune date e molte ipotesi*, « Rivista italiana di musicologia », XIV, 1979, pp. 311-348; G. REANEY, *Zacharias*, in *The New Grove Dictionary*, ed. Stanley Sadie, London, Macmillan 1980, vol. XX, pp. 609-610.

[7] ZIINO, *Magister Antonius* cit., p. 311.

[8] ZIINO, *Magister Antonius* cit., pp. 317-319, cited 30 documents signed by Zacar.

evidence. He argued that although Zacar's name might have disappeared from the documents because of death or retirement, such an occurrence would hardly explain the musician's national and international fame.[9]

Ziino suggested that after the last-signed papal bull of 1407, Antonius left Rome with Gregory XII and his *curia*, a journey which took him northward to Viterbo, Siena, and Lucca.[10] During that trip it became clear to all involved that Gregory XII had no intention of meeting with the Avignonese Pope, Benedict XIII, who had come to Italy in an effort to resolve the problem of schism. It is not difficult to envision the composer Antonius Zacharias first following Gregory, then joining in the general disillusionment of Gregory's followers. abandoning the Pope in July of 1408 along with many members of the *curia*, and convening with a great number of other people in Pisa, where a general council was to be held the following year, 1409. Ziino supposed that the defection to the Pisan side, and association with at least one of the schismatic popes, would then give the *Sq* attribution the meaning first proposed by Pirrotta: « cantor domini nostri pape » could have referred to a musician who had been in the chapel of Pope John XXIII, but not necessarily to the singer employed by Pope Martin V, whose stay in Florence took place several years later (1419-1420).[11] Ziino suggested that sometime after Zacar's supposed service to John XXIII (deposed at the Council of Constance in 1415) the composer probably returned to his native city, Teramo, where he set about to earn the reputation for high standards of musical performance and fame as a teacher reported by the bishop of Teramo in 1463.[12]

Ziino further hypothesized, on stylistic grounds, an identification between « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » of *Sq* and the Antonius he had found in Roman papal documents and named in other musical sources.[13] If he is correct, then the entire corpus of works attributed to various forms of the name « Zacar », with the exception of the three pieces ascribed to Nicolaus Zacharie, would be

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[9] To judge from the widespread dissemination of the compositions; see ZIINO, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-321.

[10] Gregory's trip has been documented by H. IMMERKOTTER, *Ein avignonesischer Bericht zur Unionspolitik Benedikts XIII*, « Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum », VIII, 1976, p. 224.

[11] John XXIII was a pope, after all, with clear Florentine ties; see ZIINO, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-332.

[12] ZIINO, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[13] ZIINO, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-345.

the work of one man, a native Italian composer whose total surviving output compares with that of the more well-known Johannes Ciconia. Such a single figure, if he existed, would be central to our understanding of Italian secular and sacred music in the early years of the fifteenth century, and thus it is fitting that we look at a different kind of evidence that relates to the elusive « Zacar ».

In 1983, Richard Sherr reported on the contents of Vatican Archive volumes which had remained in the Paris Archives Nationales after their removal from Rome by Napoleon's armies in the early 19th century.[14] One of those volumes preserves a fragment of a book of the *mandati camerali* prepared in Rome in the eleventh year of the reign of Pope Boniface IX. The volume contains lists of chapel members for three months in early 1400 which not only provide the first specific information about the personnel of the chapel during the reign of Boniface, but include as well the first documentation on Antonius Zacharias as a musician in the papal chapel after the year 1391. As Sherr points out, the Parisian documents together with Ziino's findings reveal that Antonius combined two positions: *scriptor apostolicus* and singer in the papal chapel. The list for 6 February 1400 names the following singers: « Abbas Angelus, *magister capelle*; Jacobus de Aquila; Johannes Ortega; Zacchara (a second list names him as « Zaccarias »); Michel Cicchus; Paulus de Frosolona; Antonius de Reate; Antonius de Aquila; Paulus de Aversa; Johannellus, *clericus capelle* ».

A document discovered by Ziino, and first reported in the *addendum* to Nino Pirrotta's 1971 article, is I believe, the key to the solution of problematic Zacar identities.[15] It is a description of the musician Zacharias which first appeared in a now-lost 15th-century *necrologio aprutino*:

> Zaccarias Teramnensis, vir apprime doctus in musicis, composuit quamplures cantilenas, quae nostra aetate per Italiam cantantur, et Gallis et Germanis cantoribus in maxima veneratione habentur: fuit statura corporis parva, et in manibus et pedibus non nisi decem digitos habuit, et tamen eleganter scribebat. In Curia Romana principatum obtinens magna stipendia meruit.

What has thus far not been emphasized in the literature is that Zacharias de Teramo is unambiguously described as the author of many

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[14] R. SHERR, *Notes on Some Papal Documents in Paris*, « Studi musicali », XII, 1983, p. 7.

[15] PIRROTTA, *Zacharus* cit., pp. 165-166; ZIINO, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

compositions which « in our time are sung in Italy, and which are held in the highest regard by French and German singers ». Aside from the indirect evidence of far-ranging dispersal of his works through manuscript dissemination, the opening of the necrological document is the only direct testimony to Antonius Zacharias' fame in the 15th century. This document alone forces us to view Zacar as an international figure. The unusual information concerns the physical description: he was short of stature (« fuit statura corporis parva ») and had no more than ten digits between his hands and toes, although he could write elegantly (« et in manibus et pedibus non nisi decem digitos habuit, et tamen eleganter scribebat »).

We have long known and admired the beauty of execution in the miniatures of *Sq*. I believe the depictions in this MS of Florentine composers and others active at the end of the 14th century and the turn of the 15th century are portraits in a real sense rather than idealized decorations, for they appear to include elements in addition to their dress that square with what we know about these composers from other sources. The inclusion of Landini's laurel wreath, earned according to legend during a journey to northern Italy, may be the result of more fiction than reality, but a striking physical feature has been depicted by the artist: the closed, sunken eyes of a blind man, a condition we know to have existed from attributions in other musical sources.[16] Moreover, Landini's tombstone in the church of San Lorenzo, Florence, bears out this physical attribute both in its inscription and once agai, in the portrayal of closed, sunken eyes.[17]

The portrait of « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » in *Sq* (fol 175 *v*; see Figure 1) likewise displays the physical features of its subject: Zacar clearly lacks several fingers on each of his two hands, his left arm appears to be held in some sort of sling, and his left foot is malformed. That such features were purposefully drawn is confirmed by an examination of the other *sq* portraits. The holding of a book is a stance adopted for several of the composers – Gherardello, Vincenzo, Nicolò, and Bartolino – and in all of them fingers have been distinctly drawn, appearing fully-formed, long and slender; undoubtedly, the depiction of the hands of Magister Çacherias provides a strong, intentional contrast. This evidence corroborates the description in the

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[16] See the attribution « Franciscj cecj de florentia » in *Man/ManP* (pp. 17-18), and the biographical notes offered by F. VILLANI, *Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus*, Florence, 1847, p. 57.

[17] See the reproduction in, among other sources, L. ELLINWOOD, *The Works of Francesco Landini*, Cambridge, Mass. 1945, p. XVI.

necrological document and clarifies its meaning: despite his missing fingers, Zacar could still function as papal *scriptor*. The portrait confirms Ziino's contention that the *Sq* Zacar could indeed be the Antonius cited in Roman documents from before 1391 to June 1407.

TABLE 1: Attributions to Zacar in Musical Sources

Rosetta che non cambi mai colore: « Magister Antonius Çachara [...] » (*Man/ManP*, p. 22)

Un fior gentil m'aparve: « [...] de Teramo » (*Man/ManP*, p. *P5r*)

Deus deorum, Pluto, Çachara de Teramo » (*Man/ManP*, pp. *P5v-6r*)

Amor ne tossa: « Magister Antonius Çachara [...] » (*Man/ManP*, p. *P6v*)

Plorans ploravi: « [...] de Teramo » (*Man/ManP*, pp. 23-24)

Sol me trage'l cor: « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » (*Sq*, fol. 177*v*); « Magister Zacharius » (*Man/ManP*, p. 25); « Magister Zacharias » (*Mod. A*, fols. 13*v*-14*r*)

Ciaramella, me dolçe ciaramella: « Magister Antonius Çachara de Teramo » (*Man/ManP*, pp. 26-27)

Je suy navres / Gnaff' a le guagnele: « Magister [Antonius?] de Teramo » (*Man/ManP*, pp. 28-29)

Ad ogne vento volta come foglia: « Zacharias de Teramo » (*Man/ManP*, pp. 30-31)

Ferito già d'un amoroso dardo: « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » (*Sq*, fol. 175*v*)

Non Voler, donna, me di morte: « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » (*Sq*, fol. 175*v*)

Dicovi per certança: « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » (*Sq*, fol. 176*r*)

Benchè lontan mi trov'in altra parte « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » (*Sq*, fol. 176*r*); « M. Zacharias » (*Mod A*, fol. 23*r*)

Movit' a pietade: « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » (*Sq*, fol. 176*r*)

Cacciando per gustar / Ay cinci, ay topi: « Magister Çacherias cantor domini nostri pape » (*Sq*, fols. 176*v*-177*r*)

Sumite karissimi: « Magister Zacharias » (*Mod A*, fols. 11*v*-12*r*)

Nuda non era: « M. Antonius Çachara » (*O* 213, fol. 100*v*).

I' ardo in un fogo: « Anthonius clericus apostolicus » (*Str* 222, fol. 91*v*)

De bon parole tal pronto se fa: « Nucella » [= « Micinella »?] (*Str* 222, fol. 86*v*) [18]

Gloria: « Zeltenpferd » [= Z. de Teramo)?] (*Str* 222, fols. 39*v*-40*r*) [19]

Gloria: « Z. Micinella » (*BL*, fols. 16*v*-17*r*)

Credo: « Z. Cursor » (*BL*, fols. 17*v*-19*r*)

Gloria: « Zacar rosetta » (*BL*, fols. 66*v*-68*r*)

Credo: « Zacar scabioso » (*BL*, fols. 68*v*-71*r*)

Gloria: « Zacar fior gentil » (*BL*, fols. 71*v*-73*r*)

Credo: « Zacar Deus deorum » (*BL*, fols. 73*v*-76*r*)

Gloria (Laus, honor): « Zacar » (*BL*, fols. 86*v*-88*r*); « *Zacharie maius.* » (*Em.*, fols. 37*v*-38*r*); « [...] di[i]c[tus] Çacharias » (*Pad D 1225*, fol. 2*r*)

Credo: « Zacar » (*BL*, fols. 88*v*-90*r*); « Zaccharias » (*Mod A*, fols. 23*v*-25*d*); « M. Antonius [...] » (*Pad D 1225*, fol. 2*v*)

Gloria: « Zacar » (*BL*, fols. 106*v*-107*r*; the same attribution also appears in the index); attributed to « Nicolaus de Capoa » in *BU*, pp. 16-17, and to « Bosquet » in *Em*, fols. 35*v*-36*r*

Credo: « Zacar » (*BL*, fols. 106*v*-108*r*; known as *Credo « du village »*); « Zach[ara] de Teramo » (*TR87*, fols. 164*v*-165*r*, 156*r*; known as the *Credo « dominicale »*)

Gloria: « Zacar ad ogni vento » (*BL* fols. 154*v*-156*r*); « O Czakaris magistri Anthonij » (*Kras*, fols. 196*r*, 198*r*-200*r*)

Gloria: « Zacar anglicana » (*BL*, fols. 156*v*-157*r*)

Credo: « Slowye szacharie mneysche » (*StP*, fols. 2*v*-4*r*); « Opus Zacharie » (*Kras*, fols. 193*v*-195*r*)

Credo: « M. A. dictus Z » (*Civ*, fol. B*v*)

With the necrological document still firmly in mind, variations in references to Zacar in the musical sources yield a surprising result.

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[18] K. VON FISCHER, *Überlieferung und Stil der geistlichen Werke des Zacharias*, « Zweites Musikwissenschaftliches Colloquium Kloster Neustift bei Brixen/Bressanone, July 1984 » (unpublished).

[19] *Ibid.*

Forty ascriptions surviving in some two dozen sources can be associated with the body of music under discussion here (see Table 1).[20] Many of the variants can be shown to refer to the same man, Antonius Zacharias, and can be disarmed either through differences in concordant versions or through codicological considerations. For example, the « Magister Zacharias » on p. 25 of *Man/ManP* (at the top of the ballata *Sol me trafige'l cor*) falls on the opening recto of a new gathering.[21] Thus, the composer attribution evidently had to be placed on one folio instead of the customary reading across an opening, and the scribe felt, perhaps, that he did not have sufficient room for the entire name.[22]

One aspect of the name, however, is still cause for concern – the fact that in the Roman documents cited by Ziino, Antonio himself always signed his name as « Antonio de Teramo ». He never once used « Zacarias » or « Zachara ».[23] The papal bull of February 1, 1391, however, quite clearly names an « Antonius *dictus* Zacharias de Teramo », a « dictus » echoed in a Cividale copy of one of his *Credo* movements (cf. Table 1): « M. A. dictus Z. ». An examination of all the Zacar attributions turned up a new reading in *Pad D 1225*, fol. 2*r*, where I read « dictus çacharias » and not what has been reported as « dominus çacharias ».[24] This reading also makes more sense in the context of attributions copied across openings in the same source, for it is but half of the fully-named « M. Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo » (cf. fol. 2v of *Pad D 1225,* Table 1, above). These appearances of the phrase « dictus Zacharias » (« called Zacharias ») lead to a reconsideration of Pirrotta's suggestion that the very name « Zacharias » could have been, in fact, not a family name, but, rather, a descriptive name a sobriquet.[25]

We know from historians and philologists, as well as from examples in our own discipline, that medieval and Renaissance surnames often consisted of a toponymic adjective or place-name, preceded by a

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[20] I have not given a complete list of concordances, only those with ascriptions; for the others, see REANEY, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music* cit., VI.

[21] The structure of *Man/ManP* is discussed thoroughly in the present writer's *The Transmission of Trecento Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages*, Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1985, Chapter IV.

[22] The norm in the MS was a full name copied across an opening: « Magister Antonius Cachara de Teramo ». There are three other works whose attributions to Zacar are exceptions to this form of the name, but they were, nevertheless, all copied across openings: *Deus deorum, Ad ogne vento, Je suy navres*; see Table 1.

[23] See the documents cited by ZIINO, *Magister Antonius* cit., pp. 317-319.

[24] See REANEY, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music* cit., VI, p. XVI.

[25] See PIRROTTA, *Zacharus* cit., pp. 165-166.

TAV. I. - « Magister Cacherias cantor domini nostri pape » Sq. fol. 175 *v*.

preposition such as « de », « di », or « da », usually denoting the city or area of origin, or a person's usual place of residence.[26] This type of name is indeed present in Antonius' full name: « Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias *de Teramo* ». One would suppose from this that he hailed from the city of Teramo in the Italian Abruzzo. Another variety of medieval surname is the personal nickname, which, although not always retained throughout a person's life, is used jointly with the Christian name, alternatively with it, or jointly with other names such as a toponymic designator.[27]

A search for the meaning of « Zacharias » in the Bible reveals that Antonius' surname probably had little to do with the best known bearer of that name, the father of John the Baptist; rather, it appears that Zacharias is more closely connected to the name Zacchaeus. The graphic narrative of Luke, chapter 19, verses 1-10, tells us of Zacchaeus, a chief publican in charge of tax collecting, who received Jesus after the latter's entry into the city of Jericho. As the story has it, there is much that is picturesque in the narrative: the care Jesus showed for the meanest and most despised person in the city, Zacchaeus' hospitality toward Jesus in inviting him to stay in his house, and, finally, his repentance and giving up of wordly possessions.

The relevant feature of the story for us comes at the beginning, for Zacchaeus, wishing to see Jesus but unable to do so because he was so short of stature, climbed a sycamore tree to see over the heads of the crowd. If Antonius de Teramo's documented diminutive size was a basis for a nickname (cf. the necrological document, above), then surely here was the origin of the sobriquet « Zacharias » or « Zachara », particularly in light of the name form « Antonius *dictus* Zacharias de Teramo ». There is little question in my mind regarding the credibility of « Zacharias » as a metamorphosed « Zacchaeus », for the story of the Biblical Zachaeus was very much alive in Western Europe, the most obvious manifestations of this being depictions of the narrative in sculptures, frescoes, tapestries, manuscript miniatures, and paintings. The very aspect of the story chosen for depiction was that of Zacchaeus climbing the sycamore tree.[28]

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[26] See B. KEDAR, *Toponymic Surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views*, « Viator », IV, 1973, pp. 123-130.

[27] See W. EMERY, *The Use of the Surname in the Study of Medieval Economic History*, « Medievalia et Humanistica », VII, 1952, pp. 43-50; R. LOPEZ, *Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin*, « Medievalia et Humanistica », VIII, 1954, pp. 6-16.

[28] For an iconographical survey of the Zacchaeus story, see E. DINKLER, *Der Einzug in Jerusalem*, Munich 1970, pp. 36-75. The story of Zacchaeus was incorporated into

Another strong body of evidence exists which securely ties the story of Zacchaeus to the physical description of Antonio de Teramo and hence to his nickname, « Zaccharias », and that is the almost certain Biblical etymological origin of many variations of Zacar-type words in use during the 14th to 16th centuries. No secondary source, to my knowledge, has offered the New Testament story as the origin of these words. The *Dizionario dialettale napoletano*, for instance, gives the meaning of « zaccaro » as « un fanciullo, birichino, monello », and even « un po » (a boy, a mischievous boy, an imp, a little bit). In the same dictionary, under « zaccheo » (an important orthographical variant), we find the meaning « nano, pigmeo » (midget, pigmy.[29] The *Nuovo dizionario dialettale della Calabria* offers « zaccanu » as « un pezzetto di terreno di poco valore » (a small piece of land of little value; a definition with two diminutives); and the Calabrese word « zaccanuotu » translates into modern Italian as « un uomo basso » (a short man).[30] Other dialectal dictionaries offer the folloginw variants: « zacharam »; *minutaglia* (minutiae, or ' odds and ends '); [31] « zacola », carries che meaning *bagatella* (a bagatelle); [32] « zacchera », means *strettoio* (an alleyway, a narrow passageway).[33]

In the 14th and 15th centuries the word « zacchera » came to mean « una cosa da poco pregio » (an object of little value), « niente » (nothing), and « un uomo da poco » (a worthless man).[34] In Florence, a « zacchera » specifically meant « un uomo molto piccolo », and was sometimes used in an insulting manner: « è una zacchera », combining the qualities of shortness and worthlessness.[35] A particularly interesting

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the depiction of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, and this is historically incorrect, for according to Luke, it took place in Jericho, when Jesus was passing through that town on the way to Jerusalem (he arrived in Jerusalem on Palm Sunday). The iconographical history of Luke's story goes back to a 4th-century sarcophagus in Arles; toward the end of the Middle Ages and into the 16th century it became one of the most popular Biblical subjects of artists. It even acquired the image of several people climbing a tree « ad Zacchei similitudine » (imitating Zacchaeus). Another piece of evidence supporting the idea of continued transmission of the Biblical story of Zacchaeus throughout the late Middle Ages survives in the form of a text set to music, « Zacheus arboris ascendit stipitem », one setting of which survives in manuscript *I-Vm 145* (fols. 90*r-v*), dating from the early fifteenth century.

[29] Ed. Antonio Altamura, Naples 1968, p. 383.

[30] Ed. Gerhard Rohlfs, Ravenna 1977, p. 799.

[31] *Vocabolario trentino-italiano*, ed. Vittore Ricci, Trent 1904, p. 507.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[33] *Nuovo dizionario della lingua italiana*, ed. Niccolò Tommaseo Milan 1879, p. 438.

[34] *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, ed. Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, Florence 1957, vol. V, p. 4103.

[35] *Nuovo dizionario della lingua italiana* cit., p. 438.

origin for one sense of the word goes back to the Hebrew « tzaghrar », which was translated as the Latin « parvum » during the Middle Ages. The Longobardian version, « zahhar » took on the meaning of « lacrima », and this found its counterparts in the German « zaher » as well as the English « zear » and the modern English « tear » (i.e., a droplet of water).[36]

It is possible, then that Antonius acquired the descriptive name « Zacarias » for reasons of physical height. Such a derivation would allow us to see the ascription of a *Credo* in the Polish source *StP* (fols. 2*v*-4*r*; see Table 1) as yet another reference to Antonius' diminutive height: could not one read the attribution « slowye zacharie mneysche » as « the work of Zacar, the short one »? As Pirrotta has already pointed out, the word « micinella » (used in the title of Zacar's *Gloria* « *Micinella* ») could also refer to Antonius' height, for it has the meaning of « small » in southern Italy.[37]

I return now to a consideration of Zacar's career as singer and composer, rethinking Agostino Ziino's stimulating suggestion that Zacar's most « international » years must have transpired in northern Italy. It is not difficult to imagine the composer leaving Rome with Pope Gregory XII in the summer of 1407, for, after all, he was in his service (at least as *scriptor apostolicus*) right up to the eve of the departure for Viterbo. During the course of the next year, Gregory resided in Siena for four months and Lucca for most of 1408; and when negotiations broke down with Benedict, Gregory moved on to Rimini, Padova, and finally Cividale del Friuli, where he had called a mini-council (6 June to 5 September 1409) in an effort to save his papacy.[38]

I suspect that Antonium Zacharias did not abandon the Roman pope quite as suddenly as did others in his *curia* in Lucca in 1408, when it first became apparent that Gregory had no intention of trying to bring the schism to an end. To judge from the surviving musical sources, Antonius left a trail of his journey with the Roman *curia* in the form of compositions: (1) Sienese fragments (*SieA*, *SieB*) containing four of Zacar's Mass movements, and (2) the compositions in the Cividale and Padova collections cited in Table 1. A recent study of the relationship between the Malatesta family of Rimini and the Papal State during the

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[36] *Dizionario etimologico italiano* cit., p. 4103; see also the *Vocabolario etimologico italiano*, ed. Angelo Prati, Milan 1951, pp. 1057-1058.

[37] PIRROTTA, *Zacharus* cit., p. 164.

[38] See G. GUALDO, *Frammenti di storia veneta nei sommari di registri perduti di Alessandro V (1409-1410)*, « Italia sacra: Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica », XV, 1970, pp. 397-481.

early years of the fifteenth century carefully documents, in fact, a gradual defection onthe part of Gregory's adherents; [39] among the prelates and cardinals leaving the discredited pope at the end of 1408 and early 1409 (and not in July of 1408, as so many others had done) were Baldassare Cossa, the archbishop of Bologna and future Pope John XXIII, and Pietro Philargo, archbishop of Milan and soon-to-be-elected Pope Alexander V in Pisa in the summer of 1409.[40]

The first non-circumstantial evidence that Antonius was in northern Italy during the years of three-fold schism comes from a source thought by music historians to have disappeared: the *introitus et exitus* books from the papacy of John XXIII, now among the Strozzi papers in the Florence Biblioteca Nazionale.[41] I was led to these expense books by the historian Lothar Waldmüller, who in 1975 published a list of the dispersed John XXIII documents.[42] The three surviving books in Florence were fortunately saved by the collector Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi in the year 1670, as his signature and date on all three opening flyleaves attest.[43]

The three volumes cover the Italian years of John XXIII's reign: from May 1410, shortly after his election in Bologna, through the end of September 1414, on the eve of his October 1 departure for the great Council of Constance. Records for the earlier years, unfortunately, do not document the chapel singers; a series of entries for late 1412 and early 1413 on fol. 39*r* of MS *Magl. XIX.79* is the first to do so in these volumes: (1) the notice for 3 December 1412 (the first entry on the page) only mentions the fact that five singers are currently in

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[39] P. JONES, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State*, Cambridge 1974, p. 127.

[40] Another possible thread tying Antonius to northern Italy is the appearance of a certain « Anthonio de Teramo » as a witness to the granting of a doctorate in *iuris civilis* to a Simone Lellis da Teramo, a fellow Teramese, at the University of Padova on December 8, 1410. This is reported in G. ZONTA and G. BROTTO, *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini*, Padua 1922, an inventory which lists degree recipients, officiating faculty, and witnesses to the granting of degrees at the University of Padua from January, 1406 through the 15th century. Also present at Simone's graduation was Francesco Zabarella, the great conciliarist and patron of Johannes Ciconia. Zacar's possible presence in the Veneto, contact with Ciconia's music, and Ciconia with Zacar's, would support the stylistic similarities between the two composers.

[41] *Magl. XIX.80* (1410); *Magl. XIX.79* (1410-1412); *Magl. XIX.81* (1413-1414).

[42] L. WALDMÜLLER, *Materialen zur Geschichte Johannes XXIII (1410-1414)*, « Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum », VII, 1975, pp. 229-237.

[43] It is no surprise that John XXIII documents should have been found in Florence, for after his deposition in Constance in 1415, John XXIII eventually made his way back into Italy and died in Florence in November 1420. The Medici saw to it that his likeness was carved by the great Donatello for his tomb in the Baptistry. See R. LOOMIS, ed., *The Council of Constance*, New York 1961, p. 169. Incidentally, the very same Strozzi signature and date appear on the 17th-century flyleaf of a well-known Trecento song collection, together with a list of the composers in that manuscript: *Lo.*

service (« cantores quinque usitatis pro salarii mensis novembris habuerunt pro bullam sub die 3 dicembris florini decem – ff.X. »); (2) toward the bottom of the series of entries we find Zacar (« Item habuit zachara pro toto januarii dicta die florini quatuor – ff – .iiij. »); (3) under Zacar's name appears that of another singer, « Jo. tenorista »; (4) the final entry (for February 1413) again singles out Zachara.

Antonio's presence is unmistakable when we find his name heading the 18 March 1413 list of singers on fol. 149*r of MS Magl. XIX.81.* Here we encounter the singers as follows: « Magistro Antonio dicto çachara, Angelo, Jacobo, Jonatas, Stefano, Johani Bordoni, Matheo, Johanni Brunet, Johanni Brunandy, and Petro ». Essentially the same list appears on 1 April 1413 (fol. 113*r*), beginning at the top of the page with the marginal note « pro quinque cantoribus antiquis », and after the opening formula (« Reverendus dominus Thesaurarius [etc.] ») the following singers are listed: « Jacobo, dompneo Angelo, Matheo, Jonatas », and « Stefano ». Listed separately toward the bottom of the same page are « Magistro Antonio dicto çachara » and « Johannes Bordon tenorista ». And, finally, at the very bottom of the folio we find the new singers (« pro cantoribus novis »): « Johann Brunet, Bruant, and Petro ».

Zacar appears again by himself in a 22 April 1413 entry (fol. 123*v*), as well as with the rest of the singers in a 20 May listing of the same year (fol. 136*v*). He is first absent from the records in a June 1413 list of singers (fol. 150*v*: « domino Jacobo, Matheo, Jonatas, Johannis tenorista, Bruant, Brunet, and Petro »), not to reappear in other entries straight through the rest of 1413 and on to the final list of 26 September 1414 (fol. 227*v*): « Magistro capelle [Johanni de Papia], Jacobo, Matheo, Bruant, Jonatas, Petro, Bordon, Johannis Pellerini, and Jacobo Bruneth » (or Brunelli).

Several points can be made about these new documents. First, Zacar, although first based in Bologna if he had indeed been a member of John's chapel from 1410, no doubt accompanied the papal *curia* during its documented travels to Rome and Florence in the early months of 1413; Pope John XIII had called for a council which finally met in Rome during March and April of that year.[44] Zacar's absence

[44] John XXIII left Bologna for Rome in April of 1411 and was back in Bologna by October of 1412 (just prior to the first entry on the singers and Zacar's documented presence in the chapel). By March 1413, the *curia* was back in Rome for the council called by the pope, only to be forced to flee for Florence when Ladislas of Naples occupied the city in June of 1413. See C. GUASTI, *Gli avanzi dell'archivio di un Pratese vescovo di Volterra che fu al concilio di Costanza*, « Archivio storico italiano », XIII, 1884, p. 201.

from lists after that date could indicate that in June of 1413, for one reason or another, he left papal services and perhaps went back to his native Teramo. Zacar's possible visits to Florence with the papal *curia*, or at any rate the certain dissemination of his works by the singers in the chapel, would explain access to his songs by the scribes of *Sq*, *SL 2211*, and *Man/ManP*.[45]

The new papal chapel lists serve to make another point: in the climate of the schismatic popes, the makeup of the choir developed an « international » character in little over a decade. The February 1400 list published by Sherr revealed a clear majority of Italians, with two exceptions: Michael, who was probably the Fleming Michael de Wettere, a cleric from Tournai and a papal singer from as early as 1394; and Johannes Ortega, possibly a Spaniard.[46] Later lists from 1412-1414 include many more foreign singers:

Jacobo is most likely the Jacobo de Romendin from Liège, found in an April 1408 list of singers in Gregory XII's chapel in Lucca.[47] He may possibly be identified as the Jacobus Raymondi who served Pope Benedict XIII and Gregory XII and who therefore represents one of Zacar's possible contacts with the music of northern Europe.[48] He reappears later in Martin V's chapel in Constance in January 1418.[49]

Jonatas appears to be Johannes de Semeriaco, alias Jonatas, a Benedictine monk from the diocese of Cambrai; he, too, reappears in Constance in Martin V's chapel (23 December 1417).[50]

Johannes Bordon (the *tenorista* in the April 1413 list) is undoubtedly Johannes Frederich alias Bordon, who also served in Martin's newly-reconstituted chapel in December 1417.[51]

Petro, or domino Petro (first noted in March 1413), could well be the Petrus Lair from the diocese of Le Mans, listed in Martin's chapel on 3 December 1417.[52]

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[45] The main scribe of *Man/ManP* might have compiled the majority of Zacar's songs while still in the Veneto; access to a ballata very likely by Zacar, *Spinato intorno*, in the final layers of the source (pp. 64-65) may have taken place in Florence.

[46] On the latter singer, see ZIINO, *Magister Antonius* cit., p. 322.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

[48] See A. TOMASELLO, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309-1403*, Ann Arbor 1983, p. 233.

[49] See M. SCHULER, *Zur Geschichte der Kapelle Papst Martins V*, « Archiv für Musikwissenschaft », XXV, 1968, pp. 38-39.

[50] *Ibid.*, 34-38.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] HABERL, *Bausteine* cit., p. 56: « [...] Petrum Lair, clericum Cenomanen. dioc. die 4 Aprilis 1412 in suum et ipsius capelle cantorem recepit ».

The Matheo in John's chapel lists of 1413 and 1414 can be identified as Matheus Hanelle in Martin's 23 December 1417 list.[53] He was a cleric from the diocese of Cambrai and enjoyed a remarkably long career in Italy, for we find him serving the popes as late as the March 1431 chapel list of Eugenius IV.[54] New evidence on this singer's career was provided by Alejandro E. Planchart from a Laonese capitular act dated 20 January 1410 which formally received the singer Matheus Hanelle as canon of the Laon cathedral, qualifying him as a singer and chaplain in the chapel of Pope Alexander V.[55] Thus Matheus was a singer in four successive papal chapels, those of Alexander V, John XXIII, Martin V, and Eugenius IV.

Bruant can be identified as Matheus Thorote alias Bruyant (Briant, Brianth, Bruyandus, Briandus, Bryandus, Abruyannus, Abroyandus), a priest and *tenorista* from Cambrai.[56]

This influx of *oltremontani* in Italian papal chapels at the beginning of the 15th century corroborates the strong late medieval and Renaissance tradition of papal benefices as a means of patronizing musicians (particularly Flemish musicians) which Reinhard Strohm and Christopher Reynolds have so ably sketched in their recent writings.[57] Another point which must be made is one also offered by Strohm: we must reopen the question of the origins of *Mod A*, for with the exception of Zacar, none of the documented singer/composers in John XXIII's chapel is represented with compositions in the central gatherings of the manuscript, a section generally thought to derive from the papal chapels in Bologna *ca.* 1410-15. Or, to view the question from another angle, the composers lacking in the chapel lists of John XXIII are precisely the ones represented in *Mod A*: Corradus da Pistoia, Egardus, Bartolomeo da Bologna, and, notably, Matteo da Perugia, the one composer who dominates the earlier as well as the later layers of the

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[53] SCHULER, *Zur Geschichte* cit., pp. 34-38.

[54] In Martin's chapel until summer 1420; see HABERL, *Bausteine* cit., pp. 56 and 65, for entries in April and May 1418, January 1419, and March, June, and September 1420.

[55] In his *Guillaume Dufay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Burgundian Court*, unpublished paper read at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, October 1984. I should emphasize that this is the very first known document that mentions any of the singers in Alexander's chapel.

[56] SCHULER, *Zur Geschichte* cit., pp. 34-38; IDEM, *Die Musik in Konstanz wahrend des Konzils 1414-1418*, « Acta Musicologica », p. 155.

[57] See C. REYNOLDS, *Musical Careers, Ecclesiastical Benefices, and the Example of Johannes Brunet*, « Journal of the American Musicological Society », XXXVII, 1984, pp. 49-97; R. STROHM, *Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts*, unpublished paper presented at the international congress « L'Europa e la Musica del Trecento », Centro Studi dell'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, Certaldo, 19 July 1984.

collection.[58] Matteo has yet to be identified in any papal documents of the period.

Clearly, much work remains to be done on the origins and dissemination of musical repertories at the end of the Middle Ages. It is hoped that the present essay demonstrates that even the most familiar documents can reveal much when approached with new, or newly formulated, questions in hand; and that other kinds of inquiry are still in their infancy – in particular, archival studies and the documentation of the careers of composers and singers who, even in such *zacharelle* as the origins of their names, enlivened one of the most fascinating periods in music history. It is a period that we still understand too little, but for which the materials that can lead to a clearer picture are, in fact, largely at hand.

ERRATA CORRIGE

Nell'articolo di JOHN NADAS, *Further Notes on Magister Antonius Dictus Zacharias de Teramo*, apparso in « Studi Musicali », XV, 1986, N. 2, pp. 167-182 sono da correggere i seguenti refusi di stampa:

pag. 167, riga 13: *Letetur, plebs*, leggi *Letetur plebs*
pag. 168, riga 10: persone, *leggi* person

[58] STROHM, *Magister Egardus* cit. For the view that *Mod A* contains the repertory composed at the Bolognese chapels of Alexander V and John XXIII, see N. PIRROTTA, *Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del 1400*, « Atti della reale accademia di scienze, lettere e arti di Palermo », IV/5, 1944-1945, pp. 101-158; and U. GÜNTHER, *Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24* (olim *lat. 568* = *Mod*), « Musica Disciplina », XXIV, 1970, pp. 17-67.

pag. 168, riga 31: in Italy. which, *leggi* in Italy, which
pag. 169, riga 11: followers., *leggi* followers,
pag. 170, righe 21-22: Zaccarias, *leggi* Zaccharias
pag. 170, riga 25: is I believe, *leggi* is, I believe,
pag. 171, riga 25: and once agai, *leggi* and, once again,
pag. 171, riga 31: *sq*, leggi *Sq*
pag. 172, riga 9: *Pluto*, Çachara de Teramo », *leggi Pluto*, « Çachara de Teramo »
pag. 172, riga 12: *Sol me trage'l cor*, leggi *Sol me trafige'l cor*
pag. 172, riga 23: *Non Voler, donna*, leggi *Non voler, donna*
pag. 172, riga 25: Sq_3, leggi *Sq*,
pag. 173, riga 12: « *Zacharie maius.* », *leggi* « Zacharie maius. »
pag. 173, riga 13: *Em.*, leggi *Em*,
pag. 174, riga 23: fol. 2v, *leggi* fol. *2v*
pag. 174, nota 22: Antonius Cachara de Teramo », *leggi* Antonius Çachara de Teramo »
pag. 176, riga 11: (midget, pigmy., *leggi* (midget, pigmy).
pag. 176, riga 16: the folloginw variants: « zacharam »;, *leggi* the following variants: « zacharam »,
pag. 176, riga 17: carries che meaning, *leggi* carries the meaning
pag. 177, riga 7: It is possible, then that, *leggi* It is possible, then, that
pag. 177, riga 27: Antonium Zacharias, *leggi* Antonius Zacharias
pag. 178, riga 2: defection onthe part, *leggi* defection on the part
pag. 179, riga 11: Johanni Brunandy, *leggi* Johanni Bruandy
pag. 179, riga 19: Johann Brunet, *leggi* Johanni Brunet
pag. 179, riga 24: (fol. 150*v*:, *leggi* (fol. 150*v*):
pag. 179, riga 34: Pope John XIII, *leggi* Pope John XXIII
pag. 180, riga 2: papal services, *leggi* papal service
pag. 181, riga 15: late medieval, *leggi* late-medieval
pag. 181, nota 55: is the very first known, *leggi* is the first known

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MUSICOLOGY, ARCHIVES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Andrew WATHEY

In recent years the use of archival documents in musicology has not always had a good press. Stigmatized by Joseph Kerman as mere positivistic fact-grubbing (along with much else of value), writing that makes heavy use of such sources has sometimes been regarded even by the more sympathetic as just another service discipline.[1] Yet since the nineteenth-century positivist agenda was framed, things have changed in the historical scholarship whence we derived our conception of these materials, and they have been changing for most of this century. The purpose of this contribution, therefore, is to explore (and encourage) some of the legitimate linkages between the currencies of the two disciplines — history and musicology — as they relate to the use of archives.

The writing of history during the past forty years has come to embrace a variety of historical subdisciplines, in economic and social history, labour history, transport history, the history of ideas, the history of culture, and so forth. Intellectually it has become more pluralistic, with the inevitable result that historical writing, and the approaches of historians, have become harder to categorize. History, as Penelope Corfield puts it, "ranges widely, from general works of synthesis, to the methodological austerity of econometrics, the 'thick description' of much cultural history, the detailed probing of post-Namierite 'high politics', the individual focus of biography, the aggregative calculations of demographic history, the visual documentation of art history, the theoretical expositions of intellectual history and the history of past concepts, the German *Begriffsgeschichte*, and

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[1] J. KERMAN, *Musicology*, London, 1985, p. 42-59.

so forth, in all the modern diversity of the discipline."[2] Not surprisingly, it is hard to tease out any single attitude among modern historians to archival documents. Even so, the principle of fidelity to the sources grew up at an early stage in the modern history of the discipline. And, perhaps because of the predominance of written sources used by the historian, archival documents have frequently assumed an important role in historians' conceptualisations of their subject.

Successive generations have defined the place of these materials according to the philosophies driving their models of historical understanding. Thus for Ranke, wishing in a legitimate reaction against moralising history to show "wie es eigentlich gewesen", archival documents became almost sacred texts. Documents also took centre-stage in later criticisms of Ranke and of the positivist school of historical writing that his work inspired. Criticism of the obsessive collection of facts (epitomised in Moses Finlay's "facts are vermin") was extended to the obsessive collection of documents. As E. H. Carr remarked: "the nineteenth-century fetishism of facts was completed and justified by a fetishism of documents. The documents were the Ark of the Covenant in the temple of facts. The reverent historian approached them with bowed head and spoke of them in awed tones. If you find it in the documents, it is so."[3]

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[2] "Introduction: Historians and Language," *Language, History and Class*, P. CORFIELD (ed.), Oxford, 1991, p. 26.

[3] E. H. CARR, *What is History?* London, 1961, p. 16. For a more recent criticism of the "fetish of archival research", see D. LA CAPRA, "Rhetoric and History," *History and Criticism*, Ithaca & London, 1985, p. 21-22, and in particular p. 92: "When it is fetishized, the archive is more than the repository of traces of the past which may be used in its inferential reconstruction. It is a stand-in for the past that brings the mystified experience of the thing itself — an experience that is always open to question when one is dealing with writing or other inscriptions."

A potential niche was established for the administrative record also in new critical approaches, growing out of enquiries into the nature of knowledge. Modern hermeneutics, inspired by the late nineteenth-century rejection of scientific certainty as a basis for understanding in the humanities, for example, encouraged a deep immersion in original sources, the full comprehension of which emerged from confronting them on their own terms. Historians have thus been enjoined to "speak the language that they interpret",[4] with the result that sensitivities to the context and content of the written record are now much better developed. Finally, the value of archival documents compared with literary and other sources has been the subject — albeit largely by implication — in more recent debates, imported from literary theory and the history of ideas, about the status of written language, about meanings "between the lines", and about choices of conceptual terminology. On one hand, the message of documents has been drawn into the *langue/parole* debate;[5] on the other, exponents of the New History, and others, have urged the rejection of a strict "documentist" view of history, in favour of "a more interactive model of discourse that allows for the mutual interchange of 'documentary' and 'rhetorical' dimensions of language".[6]

The rich cross-fertilization that has characterised history and its plurality of sub-disciplines has for the most part been conducted in isolation from the history of music. In consequence, we have, as musicologists, heard relatively little until recently of the debates that have raged elsewhere around the use of written sources, including archival documents. As recently as 1983, for example, it was possible for one scholar to

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[4] J. HABERMAS, cited in D. HELD, *Introduction to Critical Theory: Horkheimer to Habermas*, London, 1980, p. 300, and CORFIELD, "Introduction", p. 19.

[5] See, for example, CORFIELD, "Introduction", p. 7-10.

[6] LA CAPRA, *History and Criticism*, p. 21.

write, in a ringing endorsement of Ranke's position, that "archival documents ... from the very start had as their overt purpose the business of recording what happened in a purely objective way".[7] This isolationism in music historiography is in part the result of two self-imposed constraints. First, the dominance of a "monumentist" approach to musical sources, and the resulting subjection of writing on the history of musical culture to the survival patterns of these materials. Bizarrely, periods from which few music manuscripts had survived were held to mark a decline in musical activity, or were seen as purely preparatory phases, anticipating periods of crowning achievement in which the most important remains were known to lie. (The dominance of the Old Hall manuscript and Eton Choirbook over the historiography of English fifteenth-century music provides a case in point.)[8] Second, the presence, and persistence, of a canonical historiography, much of which originates in the history of musical style. Perhaps this is a testimony to the influence of our textbooks, or an indictment of our unwillingness, even when the context demands, to stray too far from the musical text. But its effects have often been to make archival documents either the tools of simple revisionism, or barely more than novel witnesses in confirming sets of prevailing orthodoxies. It is also expressed in continued adherence to long-established concerns: composer biography, the documentation of individual musical works, and enclosed sub-institutional histories of organists and their instruments, or of choirboys and their instructors.

Using documents in this way has brought methodological problems: in studies where documents are heavily used, theories of historical inevitability and other procrustean methods

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[7] R. BOWERS, "The Performing Ensemble for English Church Polyphony, c.1320-c.1390," *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, S. BOORMAN (ed.), Cambridge, 1983, p. 164.

[8] GB-Lbm Add. MS 57950 and GB-WRec MS 178.

frequently lurk just beneath the surface. Evolution and progress still play an important role in our historical explanations of musical culture. We organise our materials into seamless, centralised developments; we assimilate our explanations of chronologically remote periods to the patterns found in more recent, and hence more familiar periods (even if not to those of the present). The issue of causation — often no more than the inevitability of musical developments and the complicity of surrounding circumstances — is taken for granted. The more adventurous paths travelled by historians in this century (for example in "structural analysis", in creating explanations that stress the importance of contemporary consciousness, and elsewhere) have, by and large, not been well or systematically explored. So far as the use of archival documents is concerned, therefore, it might appear that we are still at a "Rankean" stage in some respects. And it might be that the musicologist's concentration on individual composers and their output is in part responsible. As Carr suggests, "the desire to postulate individual genius as the creative force in history is characteristic of the primitive stages of historical consciousness."[9]

The established tradition in music historiography has thus imposed its patterns on the use of archival documents. But this is a two-way process, and the physical configurations of the records have made their own problematic impact in the writing of music history. Thus, although a large archive is an asset, it also presents special difficulties of its own. The sheer physical bulk of the materials and their seeming consistency can create a false sense of historical continuity, in reality no more than a fixity of administrative practice. Similarly a wealth of archival detail can sometimes convey the impression that the records will speak for themselves and thus need no further interpretation, particularly where they are narrative or descriptive in character. Here, with Ranke's model at its most seductive, a virtual monoculture between the historian and the archive may readily

[9] CARR, *What is History?*, p. 46.

develop. A case in point is provided by the way in which the historiography of the English royal household chapel has been dominated by lists of chaplains' and clerks' names in the royal wardrobe books.[10] Another is the use made of the Burgundian Receiver Generals' accounts, whose tireless recitation of the warrants assigned to these officials for settlement creates the impression both of exhaustivity (that all such warrants were thus recorded), and of authority (with which their formality is implicitly equated). These, after all, were no idle jottings. Yet how many different circumstances do otherwise identical warrants, for example to pay the clerks of the chapel, in reality reflect? The consistency here is the product of the administrative machine: historical authority is an illusion created by bulk. Chapter acts (*acta capituli*) confront us with a similar situation. Their form was often ruled by convention and by a church's statutes, but what brought items of business to the notice of the chapter? Why are some apparently trivial issues settled by the chapter rather than by executive action? Sources of this type may appear to speak with an authoritative voice, yet which decisions generated action, which were the product of political manipulation, and which were merely grudging responses to outside intervention in many cases remains opaque.

Small archives also generate historiographic problems, quite apart from those created by insufficiency. The majority arise in comparative contexts — unsurprisingly, since making isolated survivals explicable almost invariably means some form of comparison or another. The simple case emerges when there are richer materials earlier, later or elsewhere. Another version of this problem is the gradual growth in the survival of one form of record alongside another, better established, whose categories readily slide into prescriptive explanations for those of the new type of source. It is easy, for example, even at an early date, to

[10] A. WATHEY, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies in Sources and Patronage*, New York & London, 1989, p. 92 ff.

use household ordinances to generate sets of rules governing the duties of court musicians, and to use this material comparatively. It is quite another thing, however, to claim that such rules provide an adequate interpretative framework for the earliest warrants, official letters or other documents concerning these musicians. In general, the semi-darkness of poor survival has predisposed us towards literalistic and positivistic readings of the evidence. The fundamental difficulty, intensified by limited survival but also more widely present, lies in what we are actually looking for, in our definitions of categories and the language we use to describe them. Terms such as "chapel singer", "composer" or "court musician" are not unproblematically present in our evidence, but our own abstractions from the data. We do not know, for example, how many "chapel musicians" were really singers of polyphony, nor whether those who were uniformly regarded themselves as such. Do institutional constitutions genuinely reveal realities in the size and shape of the performing group, or do they obscure other structures that allowed singers to deputize, fill in and otherwise combine in ways that defy the formal categories under which they were employed? Can we really say, in the case of a Du Fay or Josquin, where the composer leaves off, or where the singer, the holder of benefices or the chapter politician takes over? Terms such as these are in effect sociological categories, points of reference that enable us to make comparisons, rather than real entities (and their misappropriation as autogenous headings remains a trap for unwary compilers of databases). Much the same point applies to the term "musical institution": it is valuable only as a comparative tool, and provided that its status as such is recognised.

Ultimately, then, we have to be prepared to treat documents as texts: their modes of discourse must be unpicked. On one level this means posing E. H. Carr's classic question "what bee did the author have in his bonnet",[11] since

[11] CARR, *What is History?*, p. 23.

administrative records, like chronicles and sermons, were written for specific interested reasons, rather than to satisfy the expectations of posterity. Moreover, documents, like literary texts, may come to mean different things, either to different people or depending on the angle from which they are viewed, contemporaneously or in the minds of later readers.

A warrant of Charles "the Bad", King of Navarre (issued on 4 March 1371 for the payment of two minstrels of his cousin, the Count of Perche), now at Le Mans, provides a case in point (see Plate 1).[12] To the royal chancery it was the instrument of a routine executive action, establishing the king's financial obligation to the official who had paid the minstrels, and instructing the royal treasury to make appropriate allowance in his accounts. To the treasury it became a receipt, and part of the authority by which their own auditors approved their actions. To the royal councillor, Ferrando Ayens, it may have been a mindless item of business, as it probably also was to the chancery clerk Froissart over whose name it was issued, and to the engrossing clerk who copied it into a register.[13] To the minstrels it meant money, though they may well have been unaware of its existence. To the early nineteenth-century archivist of the Collège Héraldique, preparing it for the sale-room, it was "inutile"; not so, however, to the slightly later autograph collector Dubois-Guchan, who clearly thought that the document bore the signature of the historian Froissart, and thus acquired it for his collection. A still greater range of meanings has been adduced by musicologists from comparable warrants, to a greater or lesser extent shaped by their own preoccupations

[12] See also G. NAUD, *Guide des Archives de la Sarthe*, Le Mans, 1983, p. 102-103.

[13] For Jacques Froissart, see E. IZARN, *Le compte des recettes et dépenses du roi de Navarre en France et en Normandie de 1367 à 1370*, Paris, 1885, p. 82 and *passim*.

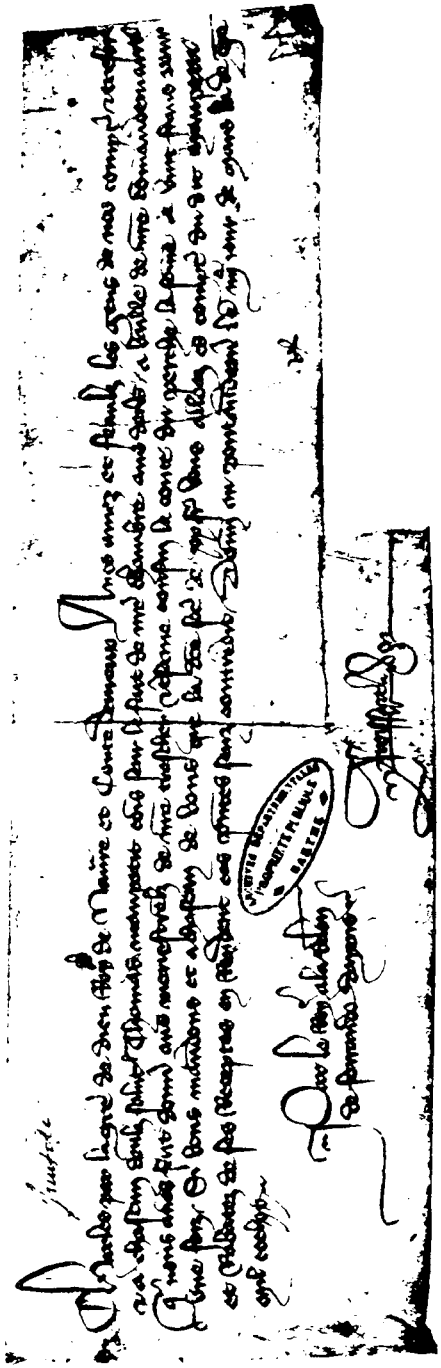

Plate 1
Le Mans, Archives Départementales de la Sarthe, 5 F 342, dossier "Perche"

(although to my knowledge, this document has not been hitherto cited).

Cases such as this pose a series of basic questions. By whom and why was a particular document written? How wide was its circulation, both within and outside the originating agency? What is common form and what is exceptional? These questions are necessary, even if we wish merely to perceive the structure of the archive and of the administration that produced it. They, and others, are properly the province of diplomatic, which in a broad sense constitutes a means of establishing context. It embraces office practice, the drafting, writing, sealing, notarizing and despatch of documents, as well as archival practice, in effect the paper-keeping systems: registration, distribution, the make-up of document assemblies, and the ways in which documents were filed and transmitted to succeeding administrations. At a more fundamental level it also embraces textual analysis, whether in terms that are legal or administrative, or — in its more sophisticated forms — ideological or linguistic. In order to focus this broader point, it may be useful to explore (in four short cases and one longer) some ways in which the technical aspects of diplomatic shape the meaning of the record, and the implications these hold for accepted positions. Documents relating to benefices, payments and the ownership of property (the last of which have been unduly neglected) provide a suitable starting point.

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Whatever the theory of papal sovereignty over the distribution of benefices, the reality was that the Pope exercised different degrees of authority in different parts of Europe, with the inevitable result that different degrees of significance attach to the records produced. Moreover, records were also generated locally, which (particularly in the diplomatic of personal styles) mesh with those of the papal chancery in a variety of different ways. In England, from the late thirteenth century onwards, the king presented increasing numbers of royal clerks to benefices,

and "archive copies" of these grants were enroled on the Patent Rolls of the English royal chancery. Yet these were not the only form of record generated. The grant was enshrined in a Letter Patent, but to issue this a letter or warrant under the privy seal addressed to the chancellor was required, which in turn sometimes necessitated another mandate under the secret or signet seal (those used personally by the sovereign), addressed to the Keeper of the Privy Seal. A formal petition, on behalf of the beneficiary but probably drawn up within the chancery, set the process in motion. In most cases, some of these administrative precursors survive, and occasionally a complete sequence can be reassembled.[14] They were not, however, mere copies of the final form of a grant, but frequently contain further material. In addition, because the clerks compiling the Patent Rolls were selective, and because grants of benefices fell low down the hierarchy of business that passed before their eyes, it is frequently the case that an authorizing warrant survives but no enrolment. The printed Calendars of these enrolments have been widely used for the biographies of English musicians; not so their administrative precursors (or successors). From the privy seal warrants alone it proves possible to recover slightly over 100 presentations of chapel clerks to benefices in the period c.1350-1500 not recorded in the Patent Rolls (in favour of the Old Hall composers Burell, Chirbury and Sturgeon, and of Plummer, Stone, Banaster, Lambe, Cornyshe and others) as well as to show, for example, that Burell died in 1422 (not 1437) and

[14] P. CHAPLAIS, *English Royal Documents: King John - Henry VI, 1199-1461*, Oxford, 1971, p. 39-45; H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England*, London, 1926, p. 20-100, 223-241. A petition bearing a note of authorisation or the king's sign manual could also serve as a warrant for the issue of a letter under the great seal. For presentations warranted by signet, see also J. L. KIRBY, *Calendar of Signet Letters of Henry IV and Henry V (1399-1422)*, London, 1978, Nos. 261, 268, 364, 395. A small quantity of correspondence with churches resulting from such presentations survives in C 255 (Miscellaneous Files and Writs), C 266 (Cancelled Letters Patent), C 269 (*Certiori* Ecclesiastical) and C 270 (Ecclesiastical Miscellanea).

that Banaster was already a clerk of the chapel by February 1469.[15] The formal registered copies of papal grants of benefices are similarly selective, omitting and otherwise editing material found in the petitions which were their direct precursors (and which are likewise underused). Moreover, modern publications of papal registers contain further artificial selectivities, which operate in addition to those of the records themselves.[16] The pages of *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica*,[17] for example, abstract only items relating to four northern dioceses; the English *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*[18] was similarly restricted to material of British concern, and moreover used the Vatican registers in preference to the more complete Avignon series. Even the exemplary series of volumes published by the Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,[19] for reasons of bulk, prints only abstracts of the letters contained in the registers.

Financial records, particularly those of royal and ducal administrations, present formidable problems of diplomatic. These result partly from the sophistication and sub-division of financial administrations, and partly from the use of book-keeping entries and other accounting fictions, many of which were related to the operation of a system of credit. A single but

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[15] For Burell, see Public Record Office, C 81/673/400. For Banester, who has hitherto been known as clerk of the chapel only from 1475, and whose career will be more fully discussed in a forthcoming University of London dissertation by Mr. Jonathan HALL, see C 81/824/2748.

[16] For these registers and for a review of their modern calendars, see L. E. BOYLE, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Subsidia Mediaevalia, 1) Toronto, 1972, p. 103-153.

[17] Brussels and Paris, 1906-; the series calendars materials concerning the dioceses of Cambrai, Liège, Thérouanne and Tournai.

[18] London, 1893-.

[19] (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) Paris, 1883-.

rather substantial sum owed to the clerks of King Henry VI's chapel in the late 1440s, for example, occasioned numerous repeat payments as the clerks sought satisfaction for their claims:[20] in effect, the cheque just kept on bouncing, but taken at face value and out of context the records might well suggest that each entry represented a payment and thus that the clerks had been very handsomely rewarded. The question of the source of the record and its administrative circulation remains crucial. Thus the sections of the account books fo the household wardrobe listing chapel staff in fact turn out neither to represent payments, nor very accurately to reflect the membership of the chapel. Despite their title, these accounts were Exchequer documents, and the sums that they record on these pages were merely notional allowances, carried over with unrepresentative collections of personal names from documents drawn up by the great wardrobe (which like the exchequer was a sedentary body not part of the household). Similar fictions appear in the accounts of the Burgundian dukes' Receiver Generals, as well as in the central financial records of the French kings, the dukes of Orléans and the kings of Navarre, among others. The much discussed warrant by which Charles "the Bad" reimbursed his esquire Jean Testedor for the cost of a horse given to Guillaume de Machaut, although sealed in October 1361, need not necessarily represent an immediate or full settlement of the sum owed.[21] As the endorsement makes clear, it was not presented or accepted for payment until June 1362. And since even

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[20] For details, see WATHEY, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households*, p. 149-154.

[21] Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, Comptos, Caj. 14, No. 139, Item 1, abstracted in J. R. CASTRO, *Archivo General de Navarra: Catalogo de la Sección de comptos*, vol. 3, Pamplona, 1953, p. 404, No. 1025. For discussions of this document, see U. GÜNTHER, "Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1964), p. 195; H. ANGLÈS, *Historia de la música medieval en Navarra*, Pamplona, 1970, p. 196-197; J. CHAILLEY, "Du cheval de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles II de Navarre," *Romania* 94 (1973), p. 251-258.

privileged creditors could sometimes wait for long periods (in extreme cases up to four or five years) before a warrant was issued to settle their dues, it provides only a *terminus*, rather than a fixed date, for the gift.

The fictions and other conventional usages in documents relating to property holding are better known, and similarly underline the need to read our sources against the eivdence of local practices. In England, for example, legislation governing feudal tenures gave rise to numerous devices designed to side-step payments or other restrictions placed on the free transfer of certain types of land.[22] These include the use of consortia of feoffees to hold land on behalf of the real owner (in order to avoid sums payable on inheritance), and several practices involving fictitious legal suits. The process of Common Recovery, for example, involved not only an invented legal action between the buyer and the seller, in which the buyer pretended that he had been illegally evicted from the property by a fictitious third party (usually called Hugh Hunt), but also (like the "Final Concord") produced documents in which any statements about sums of money, and often the land area as well, were, by convention, purely imaginary. A wholly different, and regionally more variegated, legal background to the transfer of property exists in France; yet transactions, such as that by which Okeghem acquired a house with cellars and a garden by the cemetary of St.-Cyr-sur-Loire, near Tours, in 1467 (see Plate 2A),[23] were still subject to a bewildering array of conventions and legal interpretations which must be unpicked if the realities behind the written record are to be teased out. Did Okeghem own this house in his own right or for the use of another? Was it lived in or leased? What was its relationship to

[22] For what follows, see A. A. DIBBEN, *Title Deeds*, London, 1968, p. 3-9, 17-19.

[23] Tours, Archives Départementales d'Indre-et-Loire, G 1172, Liasse 3/9, No. 1 (formerly 1 J 580).

the other parts of the *seigneurie* of St.-Cyr, with the remainder of the estates held by virtue of the Treasurership of Tours, over which Okeghem was so litigious in the next decade, or with other acquisitions apparently intended to support his foundations in the church of St.-Martin?[24] Materials such as this, it may be argued, can only be studied in the larger context of local landholding practices, of the interests of the individuals concerned, and of their involvement in the life of the communities of which they formed a part.

This general precept applies also to the evidence of wills, not least because of the role that they played in the tenure and transfer of property. Their other main purpose, of course, lay in the detailed prescription of funerary services.[25] But wills do not reveal the whole story: the surviving administrations, probates, inventories of chattels, executors' accounts and other documents resulting from the testamentary process, demonstrate unequivocally that wills were neither exhaustive nor intended to be. They are inadequate as indicators of an individual's property interests, and in recent years have come increasingly to be viewed as incomplete in their descriptions of the testator's religious provision. Caution needs to be exercised in interpreting the terms in which the mortuary provisions in wills are cast. As Clive Burgess has demonstrated, wills served mainly to clarify short-term small-scale pious provision, and they are often silent

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[24] For the legal case, see Paris, Archives Nationales, X^{1A} 1488, fols. 237v, 245r (8 and 21 July 1479). For the other acquisitions, see the early sixteenth-century endorsement on G 1172, Liasse 3/8, No. 1 (Plate 2B). To my knowledge, these documents have not been noticed so far in the scholarship surrounding Okeghem's life.

[25] See C. BURGESS, "'By quick and by dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *The English Historical Review* 102 (1987), p. 855, and, especially for what follows, ID., "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, M. HICKS (ed.), Gloucester, 1990, p. 14-33.

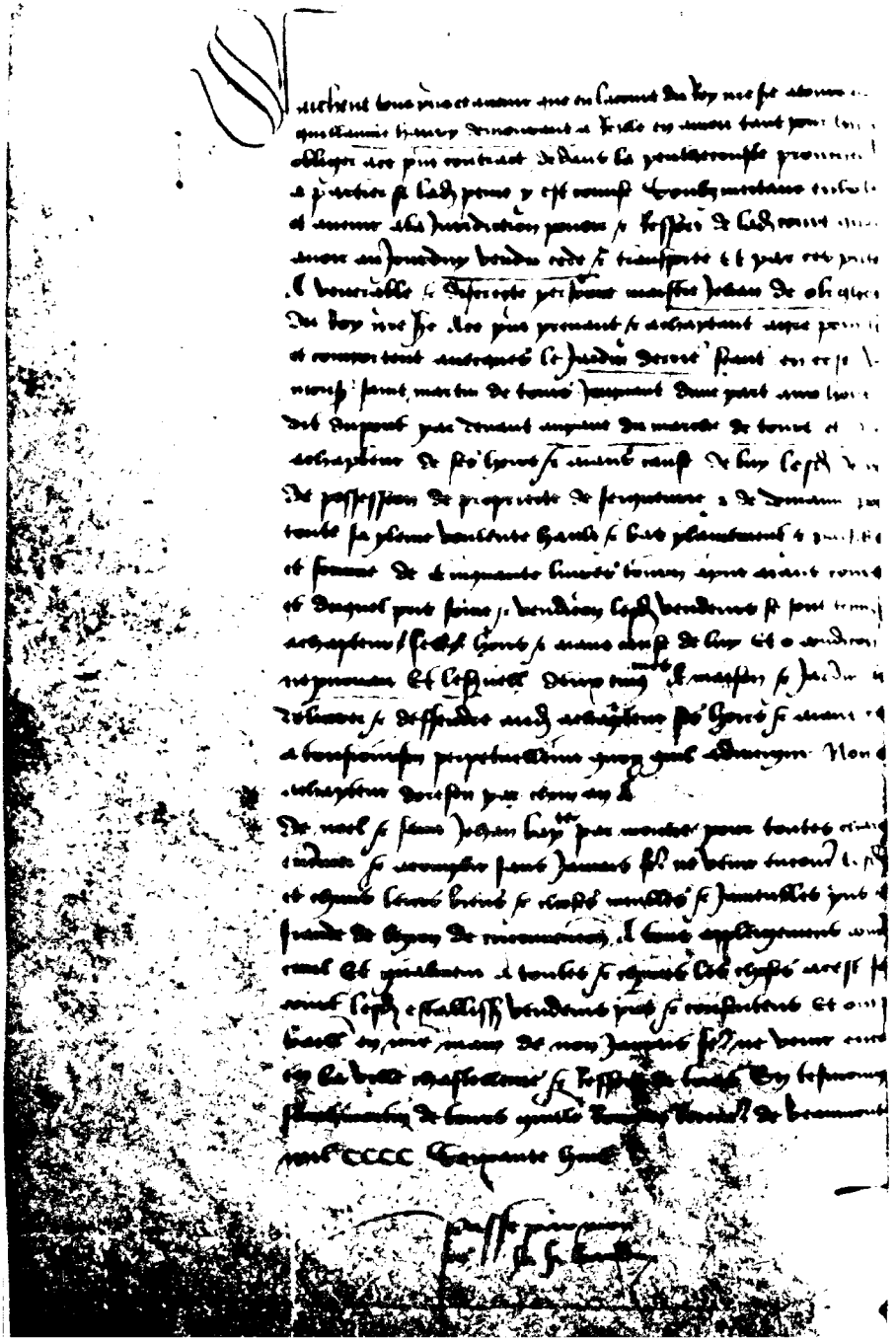
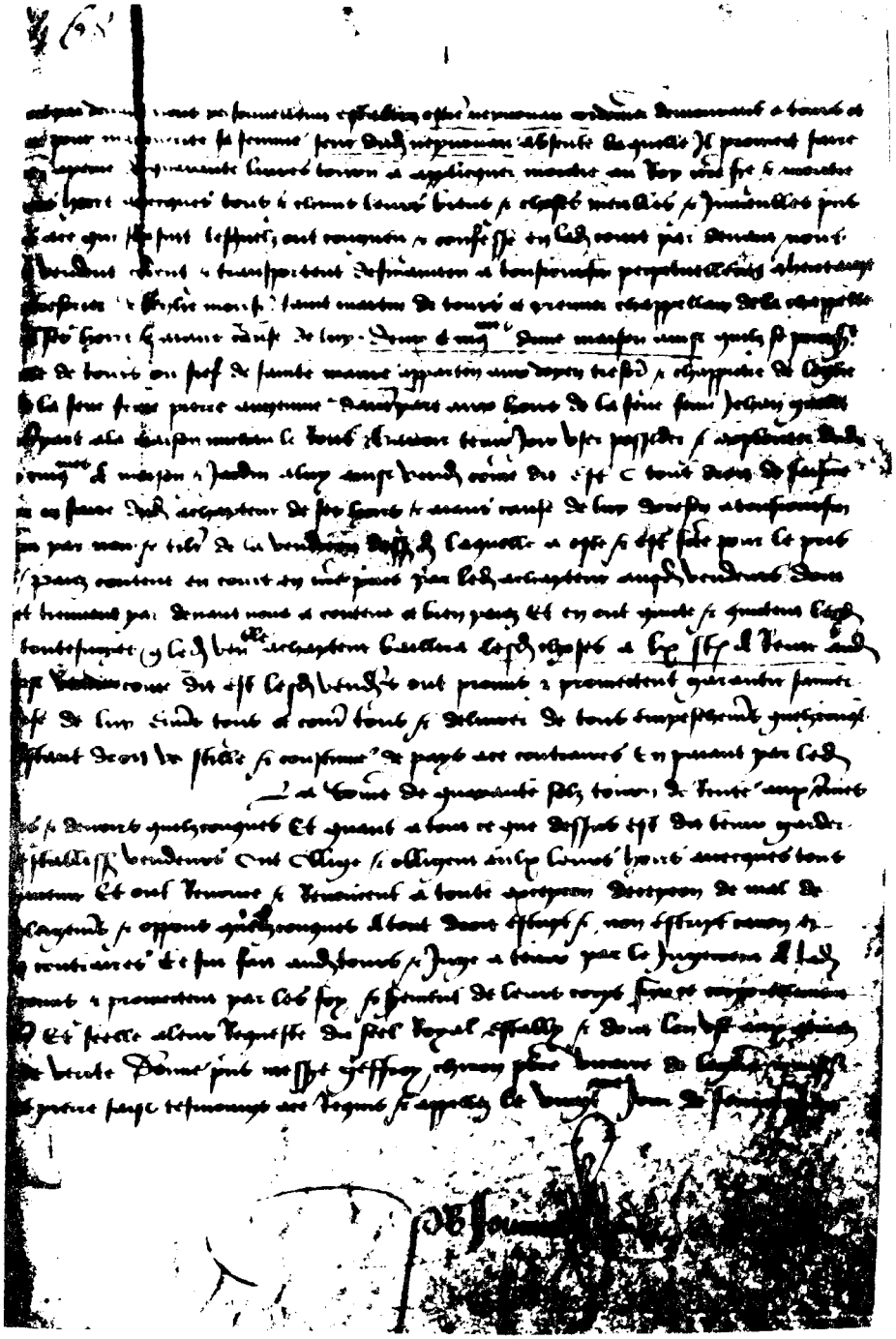


Plate 2A

Tours. Archives Départementales d'Indre-et-Loire. G 1172.



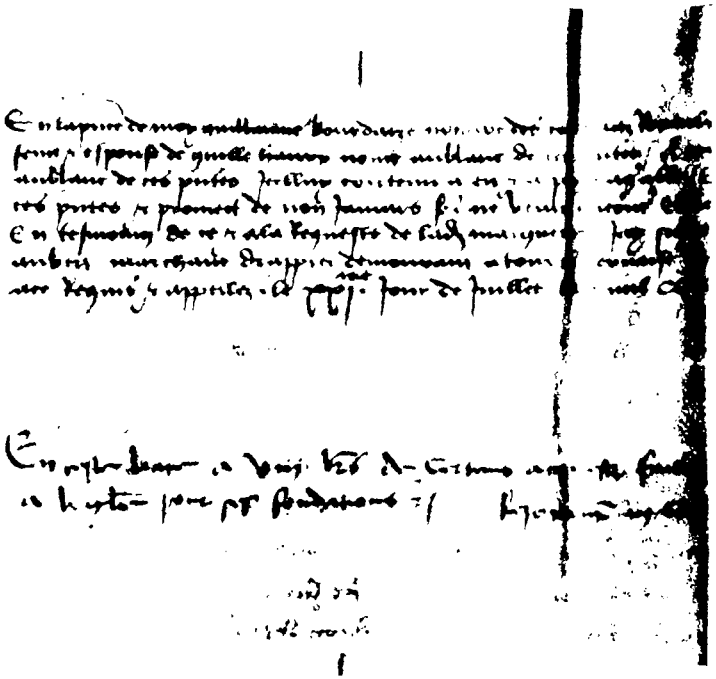
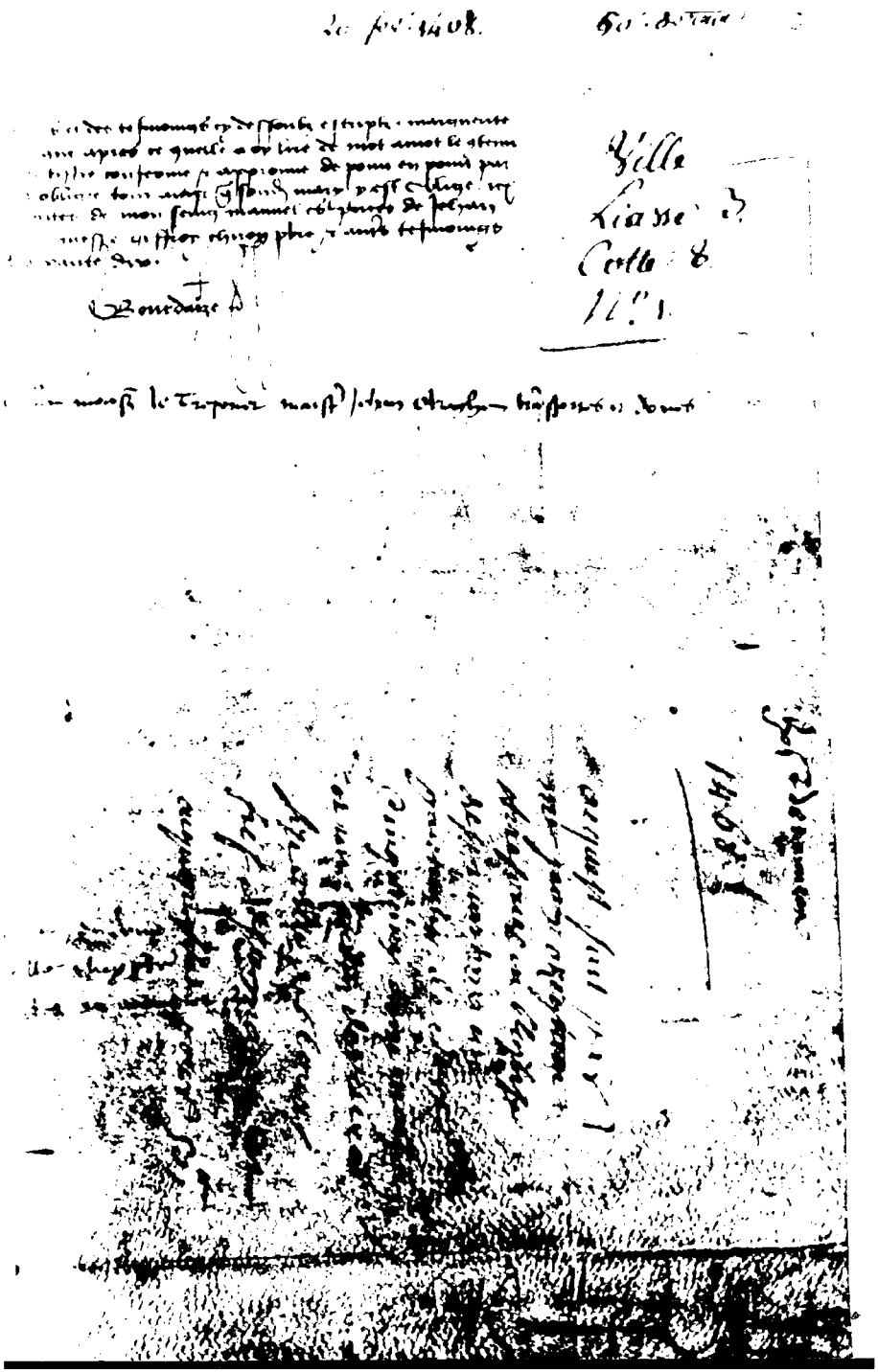


Plate 2B

Tours, Archives Départementales d'Indre-et-Loire, G 1172, Liasse 3/8, No. 1 (dorse)



on the subject of the most important *post obitum* services. In some cases, moreover, the services carried out far *exceed* those specified by the testator.[26] Wills were legal documents and they were therefore subject to pressures from legislation governing the areas in which the deceased made his or her depositions. For that reason, as Eamon Duffy's discussion of English reformation wills has recently shown, shifting patterns in provision cannot necessarily be identified with shifting patterns in belief.[27] Nor can it be assumed that the precise wording of a will was the work of the deceased, since many wills were composed with the aid of formularies, almanacs or precedent books and/or on behalf of the deceased by local clerks and scriveners.

Where musicians were themselves involved in the administrative process, diplomatic has a second level of applicability. Here the life of Philippe de Vitry and its modern historiography provide a case in point. In the narratives of Coville, Schrade and more recent writers, the patronage received by Philippe de Vitry, and his advancement in both lay and ecclesiastical service, have been viewed almost exclusively in terms of his connexion with the French royal house.[28] Vitry emerges first as a notary in the royal chancery during the reign of Charles IV, and served in this capacity throughout the 1330s. In November 1340, from this relatively junior position, he was

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[26] BURGESS, "By quick and by dead", p. 854-856.

[27] *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580*, New Haven & London, 1992, p. 504 ff.

[28] See, in particular, A. COVILLE, "Philippe de Vitri: Notes biographiques," *Romania* 59 (1933), p. 522-525; L. SCHRADE, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," *The Musical Quarterly* 45 (1956), p. 330-354; E. SANDERS, "Vitry, Philippe de," *The New Grove*, vol. 20, p. 22-28. For what follows, see A. WATHEY, "European Politics and Musical Culture at the Court of Cyprus," *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript, Torino J. II. 9: International Musicological Congress, 20-25 March 1992*, L. FINSCHER and U. GÜNTHER (eds.) Heidelberg, 1994 (forthcoming).

appointed directly to the office of Maître in the Chambre des Requêtes du Palais, a jurisdiction not in fact part of the royal household, but a specialised and relatively independent chamber within the Parlement of Paris. His rapid rise in the central executive in the early 1340s was capped by his appointment as Maître des Requêtes de l'Hôtel, serving first Philippe VI and then simultaneously the king and his eldest son, John, Duke of Normandy. This probably occurred in 1344 and Vitry saw service with the ducal household, perhaps as a councillor, during the Aiguillon campaign of 1346. On the duke's accession as John II in 1350, Vitry was promoted to the See of Meaux, where he served as a royal councillor from 1354 until his death in 1361. Even this last posting, it has rightly been argued, must be seen partly in political terms, for Meaux was habitually the seat of the French crown's close clerical advisors. Its small revenues and geographic size made it both inseparable from and indispensable to the French political centre.

At one level the content of the records behind this outline has been well enough read. Yet their terms also mask, or silently absorb, a convention in the employment of royal clerks which puts in question the broader conclusions commonly drawn from these records. While Vitry's affiliation to the Valois monarchy and its political aims is in little doubt after his entry into the employ of the duke of Normandy, there is clear evidence that during the 1320s and 1330s, royal service was neither the main source of the patronage that he enjoyed, nor the primary focus of his loyalties. As the written evidence of his administrative activities demonstrates, his more important early ties lay with the family of Louis, Count of Clermont, who was created Duke of Bourbon in 1327, and these persisted through the period when he is commonly supposed to have served under the French crown. Vitry acted as the duke's secretary in the French royal chancery, adding his notarial subscription to royal letters issued on his master's behalf; he witnessed charters for the duke, served as his envoy to the *curia*, and finally appears as the principal clerical executor in his will, drawn up in 1343. Only after the duke's death in that year can a decisive shift to

the permanent full-time service of the crown be traced. His employment thus emerges as a typical case of the practice whereby the higher nobility retained, and sought to have appointed, members of the central executive. Lawyers and other petty administrators thus placed drew not only a salary for their office, but also a fee from their master, and formed what in English terminology became known, in a more restricted sense, as retained legal counsel.[29] They were retained both to expedite their masters' own private interests, and to provide secretarial support for their activities at court as royal councillors.

Administrative and procedural technicalities constitute in one sense a "grammar" for reading the content of documents. To apprehend the higher-level means by which their message was communicated requires in addition other forms of analysis according, as Quentin Skinner has argued in the case of literary texts, to "the context of the author's own frame of intellectual reference and operative language."[30] This is more than the rejection of anachronistic conceptual terminology. It may mean exploring the political thought that underlies the actions described (as in the celebrated analyses of the Treaty of Paris by Pierre Chaplais[31]). In the case of wills and endowment documents, it may mean investigating the spiritual beliefs and social responsibilities motivating charitable foundations and other pious acts. More widely, it may entail the study of the role of documents in society (with input from the history of

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[29] N. RAMSEY, "Retained Legal Counsel, c.1275-c.1475," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 35 (1985), p. 95-112.

[30] CORFIELD, "Introduction", p. 20.

[31] Most notably in "The Making of the Treaty of Paris (1259) and the Royal Style," *The English Historical Review* 67 (1952), p. 235-253, and "Le Traité de Paris de 1259 et l'inféodation de la Gascogne Allodiale," *Le Moyen Age* 61 (1955), p. 121-137 (reprinted with other papers on this subject in P. CHAPLAIS, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration*, London, 1981).

documentary forms) and the analysis of the means by which views are framed and received. At this level, it can plausibly be argued, all questions about the use of archives are essentially questions about historiography. Or, at the very least, the principles underlying the use of archival documents share in the motivation of the historical enterprise as a whole (and, conversely, "reading techniques", however exemplary, do not in themselves provide an analytical framework).[32] The linkages between the use of these sources in musicology and the historian's means of shaping themes, therefore, need further exploration. Undoubtedly, we should also follow more closely historical debates on political thought and action, religious belief, social structure (to name but a few areas) in order to inform our own use of evidence for the history of musical culture.

In his essay "Pour une sociologie historique des faits musicaux," penned some thirty years ago, François Lesure encouraged the adoption in musicology of methods developed in the social sciences.[33] This enjoinder could hardly be said to have fallen on deaf ears, but only rarely has the reception of these methods escaped the conventions of established music historiography. We need to embrace more wholeheartedly the historian's practices (which do not, of course, exclude those of the social sciences), and to generate new types of project. More attention might usefully be given to the use of comparative methods, and to the use of prosopography to study the make up of groups and the formation of "professional" identities. More attention *should* be given to methods drawn from demography and from historical geography to test our rather tired models of a universal musical language and of a centre and periphery in its distribution. More attention is urgently required on the

[32] CORFIELD, "Introduction", p. 20.

[33] *International Musicological Society: Report of the Eighth Congress, New York, 1961*, J. LARUE (ed.) Kassel, 1961, p. 333-346.

interaction of the musical cultures of institutions (church, court and city) that have long been treated in relative isolation. These and other products of the interdisciplinary ferment between history and musicology must now be used to inform new histories of music in institutions, cultures and societies.[34]

[34] I am grateful to Margaret Bent, Alison Brown and Rob Wegman for their comments on an earlier version of this paper.

Part V
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« UN LEGGIADRETTO VELO » ED ALTRE COSE PETRARCHESCHE

PIERLUIGI PETROBELLI

È ben noto agli studiosi di musica italiana del Trecento come, in tutto il repertorio che si indica di solito con la denominazione di « Ars Nova », esista soltanto una composizione il cui testo può essere attribuito senza incertezze a Petrarca. È il madrigale *Non al suo amante più Diana piacque*, musicato da Jacopo da Bologna.[1] L'attribuzione petrarchesca è garantita al di là di ogni possibile dubbio dal fatto che il poeta incluse il testo del madrigale nei *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, al cinquantaduesimo posto.[2]

Meno noto è il fatto che i codici musicali presentano varianti testuali di notevole entità rispetto alla lezione adottata dal poeta nel ms. Vat. Lat. 3195, quella da lui considerata definitiva.[3] La « note-

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[1] « Jacopo is the only musician in his time known to have set to music any madrigal by Petrarch; this is *Non al su' amante* » (N. PIRROTTA nel « Foreword » a *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, ed. by N. P., IV: *Jacobus de Bononia, Vincentius de Arimino*, s.l. 1963, American Institute of Musicology [*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 8], p. II).

[2] Il madrigale di Jacopo si trova nei seguenti manoscritti: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 26 (FP), c. 71; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds italien 568 (PIT), cc. 4 *v*-5 *r*; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelle acquisition française 6771 (codex Reina) (PR), c. 3; Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi) (FL), cc. 10 *v*-11 *r*; come trascrizione per strumento a tastiera in Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. 117 (codex Faenza), cc. 87 *v*-88 *r*.

Nella cit. ed. curata da Pirrotta il testo del madrigale, basato sul ms. PR, si trova a p. VIII e il testo musicale a pp. 15-16; altre edizioni moderne della composizione si trovano in: A. DAVISON e W. APEL, *Historical Anthology of Music*, Cambridge, Mass. 1946, pp. 52 sg. e 220 sg. (anche quest'edizione usa PR come fonte); J. WOLF, *Der Squarcialupi Codex*, Lippstadt 1955, p. 23. Il fac-simile della composizione in PR viene dato in W. OSTHOFF, *Petrarca in der Musik des Abendlandes. Eine Betrachtung zum Sprachethos der Musik ...*, in « Castrum Peregrini », XX (1954), pp. 5-36; il fac-simile della pagina corrispondente in FP si trova nel catalogo dell'*Esposizione Nazionale dei Conservatori musicali e delle Biblioteche*, Firenze 1950, p. 80. Cfr. anche K. VON FISCHER, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento*, Bern 1956, pp. 26 sg.

[3] L'edizione più recente del testo del manoscritto vaticano è quella curata da G. Contini, pubblicata a Parigi nel 1949, ed ora nella collana « Nuova Universale

vole entità » di queste varianti è misurata soprattutto in rapporto alla quantità e qualità dell'opera di revisione compiuta da Petrarca su componimenti inclusi successivamente nel *Canzoniere*, ricostruibile soprattutto attraverso lo studio di quella perfetta testimonianza di coscienza autocritica che è il ms. Vat. Lat. 3196, « il codice degli abbozzi ».[4] Per offrire un quadro il più possibile chiaro del problema, diamo anzitutto il testo nella lezione definitiva:

Non al suo amante più Diana piacque,
quando per tal ventura tutta ignuda
la vide in mezzo de le gelide acque,

ch'a me la pastorella alpestra et cruda
posta a bagnar un leggiadretto velo,
ch'a l'aura il vago et biondo capel chiuda,

tal che mi fece, or quand'egli arde 'l cielo,
tutto tremar d'un amoroso gielo.[5]

Le varianti offerte dai codici musicali per la prima terzina e per il ritornello sono sostanzialmente di ordine linguistico; [6] mentre invece quelle della seconda terzina hanno il carattere di una rielabora-

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Einaudi » (F. PETRARCA, *Canzoniere*, testo critico di G. Contini, annotazioni di D. Ponchiroli, Torino [5]1974).

Il problema testuale suscitato dalle varianti nei manoscritti musicali è appena accennato, e discusso piuttosto superficialmente in *Poesie musicali del Trecento*, a cura di G. Corsi, Bologna 1970 (*Collezione di opere inedite o rare pubblicate dalla Commissione per i testi di lingua*, 131), p. 57, dove viene notata soltanto la variante al v. 6 (erroneamente indicato come v. 5).

[4] Di questo manoscritto, oltre a due riproduzioni in fac-simile (1895 e 1941), esistono due edizioni: C. APPEL, *Zur Entwickelung italienischer Dichtungen Petrarcas*, Halle a.S. 1891, e A. ROMANÒ, *Il codice degli abbozzi (Vat. Lat. 3196) di Francesco Petrarca*, Roma 1955. L'intera questione della storia del *Canzoniere* è icasticamente riassunta a pp. XXXV-XXXVI della cit. ed. a cura di G. Contini, dove è pure indicata la bibliografia essenziale.

[5] F. PETRARCA, *Canzoniere*, ed. cit., p. 71.

[6] v. 1: PIT: *Non nal*; FP, PIT, FL: *su'*, PR: *so*; PIT, PR: *piaque*;

v. 2: FP, PIT, PR: *nuda*, FL: *innuda*;

v. 3: FP, PR: *vid' in meço*, PIT: *vidi nel meço*, FL: *mezo*; FP, PIT, FL: *delle*; FP, FL, PR: *gelid'*; PR: *aque*;

v. 7: PR: *me fici*; FP, PIT, FL, PR omettono tutti *or*; PIT, FL: *quando*; FP: *egl'*, PR: *gli*; FP, PR: *celo*, PIT: *çelo*;

v. 8: FP, PIT, PR: *çelo*, FL: *gelo*.

zione vera e propria. La lezione più lontana dal testo del *Canzoniere* è quella offerta dal ms. PR:

> Ch'a mi la pasturela alpestra e cruda
> fixa a bagnar el suo candido velo
> ch'al sol e a l'aura el vago capel chiuda.

Varianti intermedie, cioè miste, danno gli altri manoscritti:

> FP Ch'a me la pasturella alpestra et cruda
> post'a bangnare 'l suo candido velo
> che 'l sole et l'aura il vago chapel chiuda.
>
> PIT C'amme la pasturella alpestra et cruda
> fixa a bagnare un legiadretto velo
> che 'l sole all'aura el vago cal chiuda.
>
> FL Come la pasturell' alpestra et cruda
> fissa a bagnar un leggiadretto velo
> che 'l sol e all'aura el vago capel chiuda.[7]

Decidere quale effettivamente sia stata, fra tutte le possibili varianti e combinazioni, la lezione del testo petrarchesco utilizzata da Jacopo da Bologna è impresa pressoché disperata, considerando la distanza cronologica dei manoscritti musicali dalla probabile data di composizione, e inoltre la pressoché totale assenza di notizie biografiche su Jacopo.[8] Non è impossibile tuttavia fissare con qualche ap-

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[7] Ho avuto modo di consultare i mss. FP e PIT nella riproduzione fotografica che Nino Pirrotta ha messo a mia disposizione con la cortesia che gli è consueta. Ma certamente il mio debito di riconoscenza verso di lui ha un'estensione ben più ampia e radici ben più profonde, come spero possano dimostrare queste pagine.

[8] La sola notizia documentaria riguardante Jacopo è l'accenno al *certamen* poetico-musicale tra lui e Giovanni da Firenze che ebbe luogo alla corte di Mastino della Scala, contenuto nel *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus* di Filippo Villani; il testo corretto del passo è stato restituito da E. LI GOTTI ne *Il più antico polifonista italiano del sec. XIV*, in « Italica », XXIV (1947), pp. 196-200, a p. 198, nota 7. Una prima ricostruzione della biografia di Jacopo si trova in W. T. MARROCCO, *The music of Jacopo da Bologna*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954 (*University of California Publications in Music*, 5), pp. (1)-3; una ricostruzione più ricca di particolari ed un'approfondita analisi stilistica dell'opera di Jacopo si trova nella voce a lui dedicata in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. VI, Kassel 1957, coll. 1619-1625, a cura di N. PIRROTTA; ed un ulteriore ampliamento si trova nel cit. « Foreword » all'edizione delle musiche nel *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*.

prossimazione un ambito cronologico entro il quale collocare il periodo d'incontro tra poeta e musicista – con l'aiuto in questo caso degli studi petrarcheschi –, e di conseguenza valutare la composizione nella prospettiva storica alla quale essa appartiene. Già Simone Prudenzani, nel *Liber Saporecti*, parlando del madrigale di Jacopo dice:

> Quive cantaro *Non a suo amante*
> Che ben che sia antico è molto buono.[9]

Quest'« antichità » è avvalorata in un certo senso dalla posizione del componimento all'interno del *Canzoniere*; gli studi di E. H. Wilkins sulla cronologia interna della raccolta inducono a credere che il madrigale possa essere stato composto prima del 1342,[10] dato che esso compare in quella che lo studioso americano chiama la « Pre-Chigi form » del *Canzoniere*; [11] in altri suoi lavori Wilkins restringe la data di composizione della canzone *Ne la stagion che 'l ciel rapido inchina* (n. L), del sonetto *Poco era ad appressarsi agli occhi miei* (n. LI) e del madrigale di cui ci stiamo occupando entro il decennio tra il 1326 ed il 1336,[12] stabilendo Avignone come principale luogo di residenza del poeta in questo decennio.[13] Lo stesso Wilkins tuttavia ci mette in guardia sulle proprie conclusioni quando, dopo aver affermato che « In Part I [del *Canzoniere*] all of the first 103 poems are certainly or very probably of Period II [= 1326-1341] », dice: « But when one examines the matter more carefully, it becomes clear that the order is very far from being strictly chronological »,[14] dato che « ciascuna delle due parti [del *Canzoniere*] era stata ordinata con grande cura in base a tre principi: 1) il mantenimento di un

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[9] S. DEBENEDETTI, *Il « Sollazzo ». Contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel Trecento*, Torino 1922, p. 177. La citazione proviene dal sonetto n. 48.

[10] « Non c'è nessuna delle liriche nella serie 2-103 che non possa essere stata scritta prima del 1342 » (E. H. WILKINS, *Vita del Petrarca e la formazione del « Canzoniere »*, a cura di R. Ceserani, Milano 1962, p. 388).

[11] E. H. WILKINS, *The evolution of the Canzoniere of Petrarch*, in « Publications of the Modern Language Association of America », LXIII (1948), pp. 412-55.

[12] E. H. WILKINS, *A chronological conspectus of the writings of Petrarch*, in « The Romanic Review », XXXIX (1948), pp. 89-101 (p. 92), e *The Chronology of the Canzoniere of Petrarch*, *ibid.*, XL (1949), pp. 114-21 (p. 116).

[13] E. H. WILKINS, *Peregrinus ubique*, in « Studies in Philology », XLV (1948), pp. 445-53 (p. 447).

[14] E. H. WILKINS, *The Chronology of the Canzoniere* cit., p. 117.

ordine grosso modo cronologico; 2) la ricerca di varietà nelle forme metriche; 3) la ricerca della varietà nei contenuti »; [15] e certamente la sezione in cui compare il nostro madrigale è fra le più ricche per varietà di forme poetiche e di contenuti. Se lo schema delle rime (ABA BCB CC) non compare in alcun altro madrigale del *Canzoniere*, non lo si ritrova neppure fra i testi musicati da Jacopo da Bologna; non è uno schema che ricorre frequentemente nel repertorio arsnovistico, che è d'altronde caratterizzato più da una varietà di schemi metrici e di rime, che di contenuti e di immagini.[16] Dal punto di vista del contenuto, il madrigale petrarchesco è costruito sul paragone tra un elemento popolareggiante (la « pastorella alpestra et cruda » alla fonte) ed uno dichiaramente improntato alla mitologia classica (Diana ed Atteone); anche qui le corrispondenze all'interno del repertorio arsnovistico non sono molte; è significativo però che un paragone di questo genere ricorra in un testo come *Sì come al canto della bella Iguana*, messo in musica tanto da Jacopo come da Maestro Piero, con tutta probabilità durante il *certamen* alla corte di Mastino II; in questo madrigale è impiegato uno schema di rime assai simile: ABA BAB CC.

In altri termini: questo composto da Jacopo su testo di Petrarca si trova sullo stesso piano, come contenuto come destinazione e anche come forma, di altri madrigali del primo periodo dell'Ars Nova, creati su ordinazione per una ben determinata occasione verificantesi in un luogo ben definitivo, di preferenza una corte. Il testo petrarchesco cioè non rispecchia, come avviene per la stragrande maggioranza dei componimenti del *Canzoniere* una situazione, stilizzata quanto si vuole, ma pur sempre soggettiva, nella quale il poeta parla per sé e di sé. Petrarca adegua contenuto e forma metrica al repertorio, alla prassi voluta dall'occasione, crea insomma un oggetto che deve corrispondere alla circostanza – salva sempre la personalissima, sovrana maestria nell'articolare immagini e ritmi. Quando e dove avvenne dunque l'incontro tra Jacopo ed il poeta, quale fu l'occasione che sta all'origine del madrigale? Se la cronologia proposta da Wilkins (1326-1336) dovesse essere accettata senza riserve, soprattutto senza tener conto della forma dubitativa in cui essa è formulata, si potrebbero prospettare due ipotesi: *a*) un incontro tra poeta e musicista

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[15] E. H. Wilkins, *Vita del Petrarca* cit., p. 344.

[16] G. Corsi, in *Poesie musicali del Trecento* cit., p. [xcv].

nella città natale di quest'ultimo, a Bologna, mentre Petrarca stava compiendo gli studi giuridici all'Università; oppure *b*) immaginare una presenza di Jacopo in Avignone o Vaucluse all'interno del decennio suaccennato.

Entrambe queste ipotesi urtano tuttavia contro il carattere occasionale, cortese ed « oggettivo » del testo del madrigale: in entrambe, specie nella seconda, viene a mancare il movente preciso, in ogni caso l'ambiente culturale e sociale da cui un madrigale come *Non al suo amante* avrebbe potuto scaturire.

La presenza di Jacopo alla corte di Luchino Visconti è ben documentata nella sua opera:[17] anzitutto dal superdatato madrigale *O in Italia felice Liguria*, nel quale il giorno della nascita dei due gemelli figli del signore di Milano e di Isabella Fieschi, 4 agosto 1346, viene addirittura ricordato nel ritornello; Luchino Visconti viene esaltato nel motetto *Lux purpurata radiis*, che Pirrotta fa risalire al 1341 o al 1343; e in questo stesso periodo, con giustificazioni piuttosto convincenti, basate sull'analisi del significato del testo, Corsi propone di datare il madrigale bilingue *Lo lume vostro*, che reca come acrostico il nome appunto di Luchino.[18] Sempre Corsi propone la prima metà del 1346 come periodo in cui si svolsero gli eventi politici che stanno probabilmente dietro il motetto *Laudibus dignis*, concordemente attribuito a Jacopo da Plamenac e da Pirrotta.[19] Tra queste date dunque ed un periodo di tempo immediatamente successivo alla morte di Luchino (21 gennaio 1349) dev'essere collocato il soggiorno di Jacopo alla corte viscontea. Francesco Novati ha chiaramente dimostrato come i rapporti di Petrarca con l'ambiente visconteo, e più specificamente milanese non ebbero inizio prima del finire del 1347:[21] partito da Avignone nel novembre di quell'anno per recarsi in Italia onde se-

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[17] Questa silloge cronologica delle composizioni databili di Jacopo è basata sul cit. « Foreword » all'edizione delle musiche curata da N. PIRROTTA.

[18] In *Poesie musicali* cit., pp. XXX sg.

[19] G. CORSI in *Poesie musicali* cit., pp. XXXI sg.

[20] Pirrotta nel cit. « Foreword », p. I, indica significative analogie di contenuto fra il testo del madrigale *Prima virtut'è costringer la lingua* ed un passo del *Liber Gestorum in Lombardia* dell'Azario, che si riferisce appunto a vicende conseguenti la morte del signore.

[21] F. NOVATI, *Il Petrarca ed i Visconti. Nuove ricerche su documenti inediti*, in *F. Petrarca e la Lombardia... Miscellanea di studi storici e di ricerche critico-bio-bibliografiche raccolte per cura della Società Storica Lombarda ricorrendo il sesto centenario della nascita del Poeta*, Milano 1904, pp. 11-84 (p. 13).

guire da vicino le vicende di Cola di Rienzo, e per portare anche un'ambasciata del papa a Mastino della Scala, il poeta si recò a Verona, ove sostò per circa due mesi (gennaio-febbraio 1348); ritornò quindi a Parma, per adempiere agli obblighi connessi con il suo canonicato presso quella cattedrale. Qui il podestà, il milanese Paganino di Bizzozzero, insediato nella città emiliana da Luchino Visconti, lo mise in contatto con il principe lombardo.[22] Il rapporto, tuttavia, rimase sempre allo stato epistolare e ci è testimoniato da una missiva in prosa e da un'« epistula metrica » indirizzate a Luchino; [23] nella prima, redatta il 13 marzo 1348, Petrarca, rispondendo ad una precisa richiesta del signore, inviò alcuni polloni delle sue piante da frutto con un « breve carmen » che egli aveva composto fra gli alberi dai quali i polloni erano stati tratti; [24] questo « breve carmen » è stato identificato con l'altra missiva petrarchesca al signore di Milano, quella appunto che reca il titolo *Ad arbores suas*, e nella quale il poeta invita gli alberi a crescere per celebrare « maximus ille virum ».[25] Nella lettera in prosa, parlando della composizione di questo « carmen », Petrarca dice: « Dum hortulanus herbis et arboribus, ego verbis et carminibus incumbam »; e si è certamente tentati di supporre che fra questi « carmina » di cui Luchino aveva fatto esplicita richiesta (i termini di questa richiesta si possono soltanto arguire dalla

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[22] F. NOVATI, *Il Petrarca ed i Visconti* cit., pp. 16 sg; E. H. WILKINS, *Life of Petrarch*, Chicago 1961, p. 75. Il messaggio di Clemente VI a Mastino della Scala è pubblicato in C. CIPOLLA, *Sui motivi del ritorno di Francesco Petrarca in Italia nel 1347*, in « Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana », XLVII (1906), pp. 253-65 (pp. 256 sg.).

[23] La missiva in prosa è tra le *Familiares*, VII, 15; pubblicata in *F. Petrarcae Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae ... studio et cura J. Fracassetti*, Firenze 1859, vol. I, pp. 394-97. L'« epistula metrica » è pubblicata in *Francisci Petrarcae poëmata minora quae extant omnia ...*, a cura di D. Rossetti, vol. III, Milano 1834, pp. 90-94 e 241. Completamente estranei ad ogni tipo di rapporto personale, date le vicende in seguito alle quali essi nacquero, sono i quattro versi latini indirizzati a Luchino Visconti il 21-22 maggio 1341, identificati e pubblicati in K. BURDACH, *Aus Petrarcas ältestem deutschen Schülerkreis. Texten und Untersuchung*, Berlin 1929, pp. 226-33; i quattro versi sono stati inclusi da Wilkins fra le *Epistulae metricae variae*; cfr. E. H. WILKINS, *The « epistulae metricae » of Petrarch. A manual*, Roma 1956, pp. 17 e 32.

[24] « Itaque (ne in longum exeam) breve carmen quod ex tempore occurrit inter arbores illas de quibus tibi admodum familiariter partem poscis, excellentiae tuae misi. Quod si placuisse tibi senscro (in eo genere posse enim videor), quam putas, et quam occupatio mea spondet, liberalior apparebo. Vale » (*F. Petrarcae Epistolae de rebus familiaribus ...*, vol. cit., p. 397).

[25] *F. Petrarcae poëmata minora*, vol. cit., p. 93; per la datazione si veda E. H. WILKINS, *The « epistulae metricae » ...* cit., p. 30.

risposta del poeta) vi potesse essere anche il nostro madrigale. Una cosa comunque è certa: Petrarca non incontrò mai Luchino di persona, né fu a Milano mentre questo signore era in vita; l'improvvisa morte di lui, all'inizio del 1349, interruppe i loro rapporti.

Ben diversa è invece la situazione con l'altra corte presso la quale sappiamo esser stato attivo Jacopo, quella degli Scaligeri a Verona. I rapporti di Petrarca con Mastino ed Alberto della Scala ed il loro ambiente ebbero inizio nel 1335, quando il poeta si legò d'amicizia con Azzo da Correggio e con Guglielmo da Pastrengo, che erano stati inviati dagli Scaligeri alla corte papale in quell'anno; [26] nel 1339 Petrarca intercesse presso il pontefice perché venisse tolta la scomunica a Mastino, che aveva ordinato l'assassinio del vescovo di Verona Bartolomeo della Scala,[27] e nello stesso anno il poetà inviò al signore un'« epistula metrica » descrivendo lo stato di guerra in cui stava entrando l'Europa intera in quel momento, e augurandosi che almeno l'Italia fosse risparmiata; [28] nella primavera del 1345 Petrarca si stabilì a Verona proveniendo da Parma, e il 14 giugno di quell'anno scoperse nella Biblioteca Capitolare della città il manoscritto contenente i sedici libri delle lettere *Ad Atticum* di Cicerone; a Verona il poeta lasciò il figlio Giovanni perché fosse istruito da Rinaldo Cavalchini.[29] Durante il periodo corrispondente alla presenza di Jacopo presso la corte degli Scaligeri, e cioè tra il 1349 ed il 1352 (il 13 settembre di quest'anno Alberto della Scala morì), Petrarca fu a Verona più di una volta: [30] si trovava certamente nella città veneta il 12 marzo

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[26] *F. Petrarcae poëmata minora*, vol. cit., p. 239.

[27] A. CARLI, *Istoria della città di Verona sino all'anno MDXVII*, Verona 1796, Giuliari, tomo V, p. 101. Per l'attività musicale alla corte scaligera negli anni tra il 1330 ed il 1350 è fondamentale l'articolo di N. PIRROTTA, *Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova*, in « Musica Disciplina », IX (1955), pp. 57-71 (pp. 67 sgg.). Il passo relativo al carattere pacifico di Alberto della Scala ed al suo amore per la musica, riportato da Pirrotta citando da G. DELLA CORTE, *Dell'istoria della città di Verona* ..., tomo II, Venezia 1744, Camporese e Savioli, p. 166, è in realtà modellato su questo passo del Sarayna: « Era m. Alberto queto, pacifico gioviale, à cui piacevano li litterati, musici e corteggiani galanti, delicato nella sua complessione, e inatto al patire » (T. SARAYNA, *Le historie e fatti de Veronesi nelli tempi d' il popolo et Signori Scaligeri* ..., Verona 1542, A. Portese, c. 30 *v*).

[28] *F. Petrarcae poëmata minora*, vol. cit., pp. 78-81 e 238 sg.

[29] E. H. WILKINS, *Life of Petrarch* cit., pp. 51 sg.

[30] Utilissima per una ricostruzione dei movimenti del Petrarca è la tavola sinottica in cui consiste praticamente il saggio di E. H. WILKINS, *Peregrinus ubique*, cit. alla nota 13; sulla traccia di questa tavola ho potuto ricostruire le presenze veronesi.

1350, quando datò una lettera all'amico « Socrate » (il cantore fiammingo Ludovicus Sanctus da Beeringhen) [31] e qui rimase durante tutto il mese di maggio del 1351.[32] Ognuna di queste date è una possibilità in più (e quindi una nuova incertezza) per identificare l'occasione che diede origine al nostro madrigale. Ma quale che possa essere stato il momento preciso dell'incontro tra poeta e musicista – e le ipotesi accennate prima non escludono nemmeno la possibilità che il testo poetico sia stato semplicemente inviato a Milano, in risposta alla « commissione » di Luchino Visconti –, a questo punto dell'indagine l'identificazione della data esatta è veramente questione di secondaria importanza. Se si accetta di considerare il madrigale petrarchesco come frutto di un'occasione « cortese », l'ambito cronologico delle possibilità è assai ristretto: tra il marzo 1348 (all'epoca dei rapporti epistolari tra Petrarca e Luchino Visconti) ed il settembre 1352 (morte di Alberto della Scala). In questa prospettiva cronologica trova piena giustificazione la valutazione stilistica del madrigale, considerato da Pirrotta opera della piena maturità di Japoco.[33]

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Ma la questione dei rapporti del Petrarca – e della sua poesia – con la musica ed i musicisti del suo tempo non può in alcun modo essere limitata al madrigale di Jacopo, solo perché esso ci è pervenuto attraverso le fonti musicali manoscritte; non dimentichiamo che il *Canzoniere* contiene il testo di altri tre madrigali e non meno di sette ballate.[34] È possibile pensare, o anche semplicemente immaginare che questi testi poetici siano stati concepiti senza una precisa destinazione

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[31] E. H. WILKINS, *Life of Petrarch* cit., p. 90.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 104 sg.

[33] Cfr. la cit. « voce » in *Die Musik in Geschichte* ... Con questa datazione concorda anche W. T. MARROCCO, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna* cit., p. 3, affermando semplicemente che il madrigale venne scritto da Pertarca « probably shortly after his arrival at the court of Mastino in Verona from Avignon in 1347. It was later set to music by Jacopo »; ma non viene data alcuna giustificazione a queste conclusioni.

[34] Gli altri madrigali sono: *Perch' al viso d'Amor portava insegna* (n. LIV, p. 76 della cit. ed. del *Canzoniere*), *Nova angeletta sovra l'ale accorta* (n. CVI, p. 142) e *Or vedi, Amor, che giovenetta donna* (n. CXXI, p. 160); le ballate sono: *Lassare il velo o per sole o per ombra* (n. XI, p. 13), *Occhi miei lassi, mentre ch'io vi giro* (n. XIV, p. 16), *Quel foco ch'io pensai che fosse spento* (n. LV, p. 77), *Volgendo gli occhi al mio novo colore* (n. LXIII, p. 85), *Perché quel che mi trasse ad amar prima* (n. CXLIX, p. 205) e *Amor quando fiorìa* (n. CCCXXIV, p. 400).

musicale? È a questo punto che altri documenti petrarcheschi ci mostrano la via onde rispondere alla domanda: sono le brevi frasi in latino che il poeta scriveva per se stesso in margine a più di un componimento nelle due raccolte di abbozzi, il già citato ms. Vat. Lat. 3196, e l'altra serie, il ms. Casanatense 924. Già Nino Pirrotta, in un suo studio ricchissimo di soluzioni e di stimolanti ipotesi, ha avuto modo di utilizzare alcune informazioni contenute in queste annotazioni, prospettando identificazioni definitive anche per gli studi petrarcheschi:[35] il nome di Confortino, che compare in entrambi i gruppi di abbozzi come destinatario di componimenti espressamente creati da Petrarca, è definitivamente quello di un musicista, poiché compreso nel primo dei due sonetti di Niccolò de Rossi composti in lode del cantore Checcolino; il primo dei due sonetti illustrati da Pirrotta in quell'articolo contiene un abbondante elenco di nomi di musicisti, e fra di essi quello di Confortino. Pirrotta non crede tuttavia che Confortino sia un nome proprio, ma piuttosto un soprannome, e certamente non si tratta di un *senhal* di donna amata dal Petrarca; egli esclude inoltre l'identificazione di Confortino con Francesco di Vannozzo[36] e con il figlio del musicista Floriano da Rimini.[37] A queste osservazioni se ne possono aggiungere altre nella medesima direzione: se « Floran » del sonetto di Niccolò de Rossi è Floriano da Rimini (come sembra con ogni ragione prospettare Pirrotta) la presenza contemporanea di questo nome e di quello di Confortino nello stesso sonetto esclude automaticamente l'identificazione; e quella di Confortino con Francesco di Vannozzo viene pure automaticamente esclusa da un sonetto di quest'ultimo, in cui Confortino viene esplicitamente nominato; il sonetto è tanto più interessante in quanto è indirizzato al Petrarca:

IDEM FRANCISCUS AD PETRARCAM

Poi ch' a l'ardita penna la man diedi
alzai le ciglia e viddi gente intorno,

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35 N. PIRROTTA, *Due sonetti musicali del secolo XIV*, in *Miscelánea en homenaje a Mons. Higinio Anglés*, vol. II, Barcelona 1958-1961, pp. 651-62, soprattutto alle pp. 658 sg.

36 Quest'identificazione viene ancora proposta in A. ROMANÒ, *Il codice degli abbozzi* cit., p. 227.

37 Quest'identificazione venne proposta in E. PROTO, *Sui nuovi abbozzi di rime edite ed inedite di Francesco Petrarca*, in « Studi di letteratura italiana », VII (1907), pp. 1-50 (pp. 25-31).

che de l'impresa mia si fèr tal scorno
ch' ancor non so seder, né stare in piedi.

Diceva un pensier: « Leva! » e l'altro: « Siedi! »
et « Si », « Non », « Fa » e 'l « Non far! »; la notte e 'l giorno
tutti dicean: « Tu se' sì poco adorno
de facondìa, ch' en vano scrivi e chiedi ».

Ond' io di ziò mellanconoso assai,
nulla faccìa, per fin ch' un nato giunse
di Confortino. E' dixe: « Che pur fai?

Io son quel suon che plusor fiate l'unse
e teco spesse volte il medecai
benché pur nudo seco i' mi congiunse.

Scrivigli, e se veder vuol mio vestito,
porgate del bel stil dolce e polito ».[38]

Francesco vuol scrivere qualche cosa da inviare a Petrarca, ma è scoraggiato dalla coscienza della propria pochezza; solo l'idea che ciò che egli scriverà verrà accompagnato dal « suon » di Confortino gli dà la forza di comporre; Petrarca è stato già altre volte consolato dalla musica di Confortino; così, se Petrarca vuole di nuovo della musica, mandi « del bel stil dolce e polito », dei componimenti suoi che possano accompagnarsi alla musica di Confortino (« se veder vuol mio vestito »): si ripresenta qui la solita metafora del vestito (= musica) che deve accompagnarsi, unirsi ad un corpo nudo (= testo poetico). Quindi, quando Petrarca scrive: « Haec in ordine retrogrado ad litteram nisi fallor ut hic sunt dictavi anno isto pro Confortino et unum aliud postea quod non curavi perficere. Ex his autem elegit [?] ... ipse ultimum quod est primum. Scripsi hoc ne elabetur in totum que magna ... »,[39] egli non fa altro che ricordare a se stesso un lavoro

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[38] Dò il testo nell'edizione de *Le rime di Francesco di Vannozzo*, a cura di A. Medin, Bologna 1928, p. 30; l'identificazione del Confortino del sonetto di Francesco con il Confortino degli abbozzi petrarcheschi è opera di A. Solerti; cfr. E. Proto, *Sui nuovi abbozzi di rime* cit., p. 28.

[39] « Due traduzioni si possono dare della seconda parte di questa postilla, tanto più essendo dubbio che *elegit* sia parola completa, e non il *t* un principio di *tandem* o *tamen*: " Questi, in ordine retrogrado, letteralmente, come qui sono, salvo errore,

compiuto secondo un desiderio simile a quello espresso nel sonetto di Francesco di Vannozzo dal « nato di Confortino », non fa cioè che ricordare di aver composto più di un testo di ballata; quella prescelta da Confortino è *Amor ch' in cielo e 'n gentil core alberghi*, di cui esistono due altri abbozzi nel manoscritto Vaticano, a c. 14 *v*, accompagnati da queste indicazioni: « 1350. decembris 26. inter meridiem et nonam. Sabato pro Confortino » e « Decembris 30. mercurii eadem ora. scilicet inter meridiem et nonam »; [40] la seconda di queste annotazioni sta ad indicare una successiva fase di rielaborazione del testo poetico. Ma è ancora più significativo che questa ballata, sul testo della quale il poeta ritornò più di una volta, non venne poi in definitiva inclusa nel *Canzoniere*; e la raccolta delle « rime disperse » curata da Solerti comprende, oltre a questa, ancora due ballate,[41] ed altri frammenti sulla cui forma poetica gli studiosi petrarcheschi sono tutt'altro che d'accordo, e che potrebbero benissimo essere ballate incominciate e non terminate, sul tipo appunto di quella iniziata per Confortino e « quod non curavi[t] perficere ».[42]

Ma gli abbozzi petrarcheschi ci possono dare anche altre informazioni. In una lettera indirizzata a Pietro di Bologna Petrarca parla di un musicista ferrarese, Tommaso Bambasio, che gli è carissimo amico; [43] e certamente questo musicista ebbe un qualche posto negli affetti del poeta, perché a lui lasciò, nel testamento stilato a Padova il 4 aprile 1370, il proprio liuto.[44] Il nome di Tommaso si ritrova in margine agli abbozzi del manoscritto vaticano, alla c. 3 *v*: « Hos duos [= *Quanta invidia ti porto avara terra* (n. CCC) e *Amor, che meco al buon tempo ti stavi* (n. CCCIII)] misi Tomasio. simul cum

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dettai questo anno per Confortino; e un altro poscia che non curai di finire. Tra questi egli scelse l'ultimo. Quello che qui è primo lo scrissi perché non si perdesse interamente ... ", oppure: " Tra questi alla fine (*o* nondimeno) io stesso scelsi l'ultimo che qui è primo. Lo scrissi perché non si perdesse interamente ... " » (A. SOLERTI nella sua ed. delle *Rime disperse di F. Petrarca o a lui attribuite*, Firenze 1909, p. 76).

[40] *Rime disperse* cit., p. 77; A. ROMANÒ, *Il codice degli abbozzi* cit., p. XLI.

[41] *Rime disperse* cit., pp. 79 sg.; sono le ballate: *L'amorose faville e il dolce lume* e *Nova bellezza in abito gentile*.

[42] Per l'identificazione di frammenti di ballate nel ms. della Casanatense si veda N. QUARTA, *Studi sul testo delle rime del Petrarca*, Napoli 1902, pp. 75, 76, 113 sg., 120 sg.

[43] *Seniles*, IV, 3. Cit. in F. CULCASI, *Il Petrarca e la musica*, Firenze 1911, p. 19.

[44] Cfr. E. H. WILKINS, *Vita del Petrarca* cit., p. 288.

illo. In qual parte del ciel etc. [= n. CLIX] Rescripto supra [...] »; [45] sulla c. 4 *r*, accanto al sonetto *Le stelle, il cielo, et gli elementi a prova* (= CLIV), si trova l'indicazione: « habet Thomasius »; e sulla c. 5 *v* si legge: « hoc [= *In qual parte del ciel, in quale ydea* (= CLIX) dedi Jacobo ferrariensi. portandum Thomasio etc. 1359. octobris. 8 ». A quest'amico della vecchiaia, anch'egli musicista come già era stato l'amico prediletto della maturità, « Socrate », Petrarca invia almeno tre dei suoi sonetti; per quale ragione? In tutti i suoi studi relativi a questo periodo della storia della musica, ma in particolare in quelli più recenti, Nino Pirrotta ha continuamente sottolineato l'importanza, anzi la preponderanza di una tradizione musicale non scritta. Solo una minima parte della società italiana del '300 poteva apprezzare, comprendere la *dulcedo* (ed anche la *subtilitas*) di composizioni come il madrigale di Jacopo da Bologna: « Indeed the musical demands of contemporary society, from its humblest to its most exalted stations, were essentially answered by other types of music and musicians, by singers, players, dancers, or mimes of whose music we have no direct knowledge. We can only define it, because of its more general and regrettably negative feature, as the unwritten tradition of music ».[46] Questo fatto, che salta maggiormente agli occhi quando si analizzano le testimonianze sui rapporti tra la poesia e la musica del tempo, costituisce un *continuum* storico di cui non è sempre possibile identificare le tappe successive, proprio perché non sempre si può disporre di testimonianze *ad hoc*. Alla fine del sec. XV si assiste tuttavia ad un fenomeno che non ha precedenti diretti: « too many pieces which would seem to belong to the unwritten tradition are written down in polyphonic collections »; [47] queste raccolte polifoniche costituiscono quel repertorio comunemente noto sotto il nome di frottola, e sono le prime raccolte a stampa, le undici pubblicate e stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci; nelle quali spiccano alcuni brani denominati « aere » o « modi » « per capitoli », « *per sonetti* », « per cantare versi latini », su cui ogni poesia composta se-

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[45] A. ROMANÒ, *Il codice degli abbozzi* cit., p. XXXVIII.

[46] N. PIRROTTA, *Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600*, in *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik. Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von H. H. Eggebrecht und M. Lütolf, München 1973, pp. 49-63 (p. 53).

[47] N. PIRROTTA, *Novelty* cit., p. 57.

condo una determinata struttura metrica poteva essere cantata. L'accento tuttavia era posto sull'abilità dell'esecutore nel presentare musica e testo insieme; il che è tanto più evidente quando si pensi che poeti come Cariteo a Napoli, Tebaldeo a Ferrara e Poliziano a Firenze usavano divulgare le loro nuove composizioni poetiche cantandole essi stessi oppure affidandole ad un esecutore professionista.[48] Sono proprio questi i poeti che non si accontentano di modellare la propria poesia sulla lingua, le immagini, gli stilemi del Petrarca, ma addirittura compilano le loro raccolte avendo il *Canzoniere* come modello.[49] È forse troppo azzardato affermare, a questo punto, che anche la prassi di affidare ad un cantore professionista un sonetto da eseguirsi sull'« aere » a lui ben noto si può collegare nel tempo al fatto che l'8 ottobre 1359 Petrarca inviò a Tommaso Bambasio in Ferrara il proprio *In qual parte del cielo*, perché il musicista lo eseguisse?

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[48] N. PIRROTTA, *Novelty* cit., p. 58.

[49] N. PIRROTTA, *Novelty* cit., p. 59 e soprattutto p. 62, nota 17.

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Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut

LAWRENCE EARP

A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE in French court poetry and music occurred in the fourteenth century. The exalted old forms, the rich variety of high courtly trouvère songs, virtually disappeared, while certain poetic forms with refrains, the rondeau and a variety of rondeau and ballade forms later differentiated as the ballade and the virelai, became dominant.[1] Meanwhile, the old *grand chant courtois* of the trouvères was being consolidated into the *chant royal*, presumably in the bourgeois *puys* of northern France.[2] At court, it is the new incarnations of the dance lyrics, the fixed forms, that dominate, while the composition of *chants royaux*, including a religious type called the *serventois*, as well as a satirical type called the *sotte chanson*, is mainly a bourgeois activity. What was previously a lower-level popular genre associated with the dance is elevated, and what was previously the high-level genre is abased. The new forms, consolidated within the first half of the fourteenth century, remained current for one hundred and fifty years, until the end of the fifteenth century. Other innovations make the fourteenth-century development just as striking. The high lyrics of the trouvères had virtually never been set as polyphony, but polyphony is soon a characteristic of the new fixed forms. Further, it becomes possible in the fourteenth century for fixed-form lyrics to be written even without a musical setting in view. The aim of this essay is to unravel some of the mystery surrounding this switch in the priority of genres that took place in the period bridging the thir-

teenth and fourteenth centuries, beginning with Adam de la Halle and leading to the polyphonic chansons of Guillaume de Machaut. The argument is based on extant source materials. While there are major gaps in the source material for French lyrics and music in the early fourteenth century, I believe that enough survives to suggest a new hypothesis.

In the thirteenth century, the refrain forms, associated with popular dancing at court, live a scattered and underground existence. About 350 texts of these dance lyrics have come down to us in their complete form, either as rondeaux or a variety of ballade forms later differentiated as ballade or virelai. In addition, nearly 2,000 short refrains are extant, many of which can be regarded as dance lyrics or fragments of dance lyrics.[3] Some of these refrains, with their music, have been preserved by their incorporation into motets, either as segments of upper voices or as textless tenors, thus combining a convivial and informal aspect of court life with the thirteenth century's most sophisticated musical genre, composed by highly trained musicians.[4] Other refrains are preserved, a handful with music, as interpolations into long narrative poems.[5] The quotation of a rhythmical dance tune was for many purposes more evocative than the extended quotation of a weighty and formal courtly chanson.

One aspect of the dance genre must be emphasized. It had, in contrast to the *grand chant courtois*, a well-defined musical rhythm, since its function was to provide dance music. In some manuscript sources—for instance, those of Adam de la Halle—dance lyrics are notated in unambiguous rhythmic notation, while in the same sources the chansons are notated in nonmensural square notation. I presume that all dance lyrics were meant to be performed in metrical rhythm.[6] Indeed, it may have been the fact that the refrains were already rhythmically organized snatches of music that made it possible (and proper) for clerkly motet composers of the thirteenth century to incorporate them into their motets.[7]

The major collection of dance lyrics of the late thirteenth century unfortunately lacks musical notation. Along with several other genres, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308 contains 19 *estampies* as well as 37 rondeaux and 153 "*balettes*," a term identifying a variety of forms that would later be differentiated as ballades or virelais.[8] Refrains concordant in narrative poems with musical interpolations or motet tenors have allowed the tentative reconstruction of only 11 of the Oxford dance songs.[9] It is not surprising that so much of the mu-

sic is lost, music that was probably very facilely composed, recalling those scenes of "caroling" described in the first part of the *Roman de la Rose* (ca. 1235) and many other narrative poems (such as *Guillaume de Dole*, ca. 1220), scenes described most explicitly for the later fourteenth century in Froissart's *La prison amoureuse* and *Méliador*.[10] Dozens of such unaccompanied dance songs might be performed as part of an evening's entertainment, in alternation with improvised forms of purely instrumental dance music. Such dance poetry and music must have been easily made and ephemeral. The music may not even have been a fixed element in the thirteenth century, since different musical sources for a refrain often transmit unrelated melodies.[11] The flexible nature of the dance genre and its scanty transmission contribute to the impression that, as far as the late thirteenth century is concerned, we are dealing with a lower-level or popular genre. (See musical example 1; tape, no. 8.)

The earliest extant dance lyrics set to a dramatically new musical style are those of Jehan de Lescurel, a poet-musician hanged in Paris in 1304 for debauchery.[12] About 1316, a group of Lescurel's songs were copied in alphabetical order (poems with initial letters from A to G survive), into a collection placed near the end of a heavily interlarded version of the *Roman de Fauvel*, preserved today as Paris, B.N. fr. 146.[13] Lescurel's dance lyrics have musical notation throughout, and the musical aspect is developed to a point far beyond anything seen earlier. Lively ornamental notes and long melismas embellish a simple melodic skeleton.[14] (See musical example 3; tape, no. 11.)

Were these creations too precious to be danced? This question is an important one, since such a development would be the first step in the loosening of the close link between text and music in this genre. If the lyric is not for dancing, those makers of poetry with an inclination to musical complexity are given free rein.[15] Even the most sophisticated dance lyrics of the previous generation, those of Adam de la Halle—14 rondeaux, 1 ballade and 1 virelai, all in three-voice polyphony—retain a close rhythmic link between syllable and note.[16] But any song of Lescurel provides us with a very different style, musically quite complex, the projection of the poetry more diffuse. The single polyphonic work that stands at the head of Lescurel's collection, the three-voice rondeau "A vous, douce debonnaire," has no parallel in extant sources. Although the polyphonic dance songs of Adam are the clear ancestors of the style, Lescurel has created something quite

different here, something overwhelmingly musical. (Compare musical examples 2–4; tape, nos. 9–11.)

The same manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* that contains Lescurel's lyrics also transmits several dance lyrics interpolated into the *Roman* itself, all monophonic. Among the 4 rondeaux, 7 ballades, and 2 virelais, there is only a single dance song rhythmically in the older style, the dialogue in ballade form between Fauvel and Lady Fortune, "Douce dame"; the rest follow the new musical style of Lescurel and are probably not danceable at all.[17]

Now this copy of the *Roman de Fauvel*, containing the 13 fixed-form chansons as well as the collection of works of Lescurel, is well known among music historians as the source of our first practical examples of an important musical development, the rationalization of the rhythmic notational system we associate with the term *Ars nova*. No trouvère lyrics appear in this context. Among the interpolations in French, only those genres that had always been strictly rhythmized are taken into the collection: the motet and the dance lyric (or its refrain). There may be one innovation, the inclusion now of the lyrical lai among the strictly rhythmized types, perhaps due to the formal similarity of the lai to the dance lyrics called *estampies*.[18]

The *Roman de Fauvel* is of course the source for the earliest musical works associated with Philippe de Vitry. Later a high member of the royal administration, rewarded for his service in 1351 with the bishopric of Meaux, Philippe was at the beginning of his career at the time of his work for the *Roman de Fauvel*. Much of his poetical activity appears to be lost, though one of his poems was sufficiently valued to be parodied by François Villon one hundred years after its composition (*Testament*, vv. 1473–1506). In music, Philippe de Vitry was a prime mover in the theory and practice of the Ars Nova. Philippe's contributions are well-summarized by the statement of an anonymous author of a poetic treatise written between 1405 and 1432. He sounds very knowledgeable and authoritative as he names and describes the achievements of Philippe de Vitry, placing him between the author of the late thirteenth-century continuation of the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meun, and Guillaume de Machaut:

> Aprèz vint Philippe de Vitry, qui trouva la maniere des motès, et des balades, et des lais, et des simples rondeaux, et en la musique trouva les .iiij. prolacions, et les notes rouges, et la noveleté des proporcions.[19]

> [Afterwards came Philippe de Vitry, who discovered the style of motets, and of ballades, and of lais, and of simple rondeaux (which I interpret as: "who discovered the proper way to write motets, ballades, lais, and simple rondeaux"), and in music discovered the four prolations, and red notes, and novel proportions.]

How reliable is this statement? Although the systematic exposition of the four prolations in music is more accurately associated with Jean de Murs, it is not far-fetched to imagine Philippe de Vitry receiving some credit. Red notes are attested by *Ars nova* treatises expressly associated with Vitry's teaching.[20] Perhaps the "novel proportions" refer to the proportional diminution of rhythmic values characteristic of many isorhythmic motets. As for the musical-poetical forms mentioned, only a few extant motets can be tentatively ascribed to Vitry.[21] Unfortunately, no extant practical evidence supports the assertion that Vitry may be credited with innovations in the fixed forms, although many music historians have assumed that Vitry must have been the one to invent the polyphonic chanson of the type cultivated later by Guillaume de Machaut.[22] Vitry's single extant ballade text recently has been dated tentatively after 1356 by James I. Wimsatt, too late to be of interest here.[23] Perhaps some of the anonymous lyrics interpolated into the *Roman de Fauvel* are Philippe's, but let us be clear that at this stage we are dealing with a kind of lyric that was monophonically set and similar to those of Lescurel, not the type of polyphonic settings cultivated by Guillaume de Machaut. That is a later development.[24] The new motet style is not paralleled by a new polyphonic chanson style.

Between *Fauvel* and Guillaume de Machaut, there is no manuscript evidence on the musical side for the development of the fixed forms.[25] This gap in the source picture has made any consideration of the development of the polyphonic chanson in the early fourteenth century extremely difficult, perhaps impossible. Recently, a new and highly original view of the development of the polyphonic chanson has been sketched by Lawrence Gushee, who links untexted tenors in some Machaut chansons to stepwise descending ostinato patterns apparently employed by professional minstrels; thus, in Machaut's polyphonic chansons, the monophonic song tradition of the trouvères is joined by the instrumental practice of the minstrels.[26] Unfortunately, the complete documentation for this view is largely lacking in Gushee's

printed presentation, and it is impossible to infer the full range of his argument. One of his examples, Machaut's virelai "De tout sui confortée," has been discussed by Wulf Arlt.[27] I consider this work of the 1370s (on grounds of manuscript transmission and stylistic considerations) too late to relate to the origin of a style appearing more than thirty years earlier (although in view of Machaut's early cultivation of the virelai as a danced genre, the late example may be interesting as a demonstration of some crossover between aspects of the improvised instrumental dance genre and the virelai, which had formerly served as the sung dance genre). Further, Gushee's view presupposes that the lower, textless voices of the chansons were indeed instrumental, and played by minstrel instrumentalists who could read the notation.[28] This supposition has since been called into question in the work of Christopher Page.[29] Nevertheless, Gushee's view, emphasizing the influence of factors that today we can only guess about, needs further consideration.

My discussion will take its point of departure primarily from the poetic developments in dance lyrics that bridge, however inadequately, the gap in musical sources between Paris 146 and Machaut. Such evidence comes from lyrics interpolated into narrative poems. Probably the first is the *Dit de la panthère* of Nicole de Margival.[30] Ernest Hoepffner dated the work within the rather broad boundaries of 1290 and 1328 (Wimsatt places it about 1310), and indeed the work is somewhat equivocal in that it bridges two eras.[31] In one sense, the poem looks distinctly back to the former age: in the body of the *dit* itself, greater or lesser bits of 6 *grands chants* by the prestigious trouvère from Arras, Adam de la Halle, are quoted. The 7 lyrics by Nicole himself, however, reserved for an epilogue to the *dit*, look distinctly ahead to lyrical developments of the fourteenth century. Except for the lai, each of the principal genres of fourteenth-century fixed forms is epitomized with one or more examples in Nicole's epilogue.

Music for such transitional lyrics would be highly interesting. Although the two manuscript sources for the *Dit de la panthère* do not contain music, the sixth in the series of Nicole's lyrics, the rondeau "Soiez liez, et menez joie," is found with music in a setting for two voices in two later manuscripts, in the musical style current by the time of the early chansons of Machaut, with a florid texted voice full of melismas accompanied by a textless tenor. This is surely the earliest fixed-form poem to be supplied with music in the new polyphonic

style, and so commands our interest. Is the music as old as the poem?

The source picture is rather elaborate. Below is the text of the rondeau as it is found interpolated into Nicole's narrative:

Soiez liez et menez joie,	a7′	*Be happy and joyous,*
Amis, car Amours me proie	a7′	*friend, because Love begs me*
D'alegier vostre dolour,	b7	*to relieve your pain,*
S'en lais convenir Amour.	b7	*thus I let Love take charge.*
Fins cuers a qui je m'otroie,	a7′	Noble heart to which I offer myself,
Soiez liez [et menez joie].	a7′	*Be happy and joyous.*
Car por ce que je vouldroie	a7′	For since I would like
Tous jors vos bons, se poöie,	a7′	always to gratify you, if I can,
Acomplir, sauve m'onnour,	b7	on my honor,
Vous di je par grant douçour:	b7	I say to you with great sweetness:
Soiez liez [et menez joie,	a7′	*Be happy and joyous,*
Amis, car Amours me proie	a7′	*friend, because Love begs me*
D'alegier vostre dolour,	b7	*to relieve your pain,*
S'en lais convenir Amour].	b7	*thus I let Love take charge.*[32]

Besides the two manuscript sources for the complete *Dit de la panthère,* there are two further text concordances for the rondeau alone, first in the text chansonnier Pennsylvania, University Library, MS French 15 (fol. 65c), a manuscript dating from the 1390s or a little later, on the grounds of its close association with Machaut MS E, Paris, B.N. fr. 9221. Here the unique fourteen-line form of the rondeau has been altered to follow the common sixteen-line pattern:

Soies liez et menez joye,	a7′	*Be happy and joyous,*
Amis, car Amours m'en proye	a7′	*friend, because Love begs me*
D'alegier vostre doulour,	b7	*to relieve your pain,*
S'en lais convenir Amour.	b7	*thus I let Love take charge.*
Plaisirs vuelt qu'Amours ottroye	a7′	Pleasure wishes that I should grant to Love
Cuer et corps ou que je soye.	a7′	heart and body wherever I may be.
Soyes liez et menez joye,	a7′	*Be happy and joyous,*
[Amis, car Amours m'en proye]	a7′	*friend, because Love begs me*

Et Desir me met en voye	a7′	And Desire puts me on the right path
S'acomplir se je pouoye	a7′	to gratify you completely, if I can,
Tous vos biens sauve m'onnour;	b7	on my honor;
Pour ce dy par grant doulcour:	b7	And so I say with great sweetness:
[Soies liez et menez joye,	a7′	*Be happy and joyous,*
Amis, car Amours m'en proye	a7′	*friend, because Love begs me*
D'alegier vostre doulour,	b7	*to relieve your pain,*
S'en lais convenir Amour.]	b7	*thus I let Love take charge.*[33]

Finally, a corrupt version was printed about 1501 in the *Jardin de plaisance*, probably the earliest lyric in that collection, although its original shape is hardly recognizable. This poem nevertheless descends through the intermediary of something resembling the Pennsylvania version of the poem:

Soiez faitis et menez ioye	a8′	*Be lovely and joyous*
Amy, car Amours me convoye;	a8′	*friend, because Love directs me;*
Et alegez vostre doulour.	b8	*and relieve your pain.*
Plaisir veult qu'Amour vous octroye	a8′	Pleasure wishes that Love should grant you
Cueur, et corps, et biens a montioye;	a8′	heart and body and goods in great quantity;
S'en laisser [*sic*] convenir Amour:	b8	thus does Love find it fitting:
Soiez faictis et menés ioye.	a8′	*Be lovely and joyous.*[34]

It is the durability of Nicole's poem that should surprise, not the curious later corruptions, since the metrics of Nicole's original rondeau are quite unusual. So far as I am aware, it is the only fourteen-line rondeau known, with a four-line refrain rhyming *aabb*, and an internal refrain consisting only of one line.[35] Of course, the most common rondeau form with a four-line refrain would yield the sixteen-line form seen in the Pennsylvania manuscript.

Music for "Soiez liez, et menez joie" appears in the early fifteenth-century German codex Prague, Státní knihovna ČSSR, Universitní knihovna, MS XI E 9 in two voices, with only the corrupt text incipit

"Soylies."[36] It was copied twice into the likewise late and peripheral manuscript, Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale MS 222.C.22. Descriptions of this manuscript made before its destruction in the war of 1870 indicate that our rondeau appeared once in a setting for three voices ("Soyes lies," fol. 49[r]) and later in a setting for two voices ("Zogles lies," fol. 70[r]).[37] The two-voice version was essentially identical to that in the surviving copies. It is evident that the extant music is a setting of a sixteen-line rondeau (as were the two settings in the Strasbourg manuscript), with midpoint cadence in measure 15. Nicole's original fourteen-line form does not make sense with this music. In the edition in musical example 5 (tape, no. 12), I have underlaid the sixteen-line form of the rondeau from the Pennsylvania manuscript. Judging from the mensuration and the level of syncopation, the musical style of this setting cannot be placed much earlier than about 1350, and unfortunately this very unusual example does not seem to be a musical "missing link" between *Fauvel* and Machaut.[38] Even if the *Dit de la panthère* were dated as late as possible, the late 1320s, the musical manuscripts cannot transmit the setting of Nicole's original rondeau, but only an interesting hybrid.

The 9 ballades and 9 rondeaux in Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *Prise amoureuse* of 1332 mark the next stage in the development of the fixed forms. Again, no music survives. Hoepffner thoroughly treated the formal aspects of the lyrics in the introduction to his edition of the poem.[39] The rondeaux constitute a middle stage between the preferred forms of the thirteenth century, characterized by short verses in two or three different verse lengths with never more than eight syllables in a line, and the preferred forms of the period of Machaut, with their isometric verses of eight or usually ten syllables per line. The ballades likewise exhibit more formal variety than will be found in Machaut: of Acart's nine ballades, only the first and last share the same metrical form. But these works from the early 1330s do make clear the direction of the developments in the metrics of the dance lyrics, away from the variety of short verse-forms used in the thirteenth century toward the longer isometric verses of Machaut. I presume that this new metrical structure is no longer in the service of the dance. What we are observing here is the gradual adaptation of the old dance lyrics into poetical forms suitable to carry the more elevated conceits formerly reserved for the high trouvère chansons. And it is certainly possible that the new lyrics, the emerging fixed forms, were often left without music, since the musical stakes had been raised; one can no longer

expect that a poet even of the 1330s would have had the expertise necessary to set his poem musically in accordance with the latest fashions of the Ars Nova. The musical training required was as great as that required in the thirteenth century for motet composition. Thus, the existence of lyrics never destined to be set to music dates from near the beginning of the consolidation of the fixed forms.[40]

A small piece of evidence—a detail of the scribal practice of one of the manuscripts—bears on the question of music for Jehan Acart's lyrics. As we have seen, a primary development in the musical style of the chanson since the time of Lescurel was a highly melismatic treatment of the text, a characteristic reflected in the copying of the manuscripts. In this period, the layout of a manuscript containing any amount of music was determined by the initial work of the text scribe. Indeed, if a manuscript were set up to receive music, preliminary conclusions about the musical style of a chanson could be made, even if the music itself had never been copied, based on the spacing of the words. One could determine at least the number of voices and the melismatic density of the composition. The principal source of Acart's *Prise amoureuse,* Paris, B.N. fr. 24391, dated 1332, would seem to be such a manuscript. Hoepffner noted in the preface to his edition that the text of each of the lyrics was copied in a manner allowing for the entry of music, that no music had ever been entered, and that it was probable that the copyist worked from an exemplar that included music.[41]

But an examination of this manuscript of the *Prise* indicates that the scribe was not working from an exemplar that had music. The number of blank lines left for the later entry of staff lines varies from one to three; most often the space is hardly adequate even for a four-line staff. This is not enough room to accommodate the musical copying practices of the time. Further, there are no spaces left between words, nor are any syllables separated in the verbal text, indicating that the monophonic musical settings of these lyrics would have been far simpler than the settings of Jehan de Lescurel. The available evidence gives some credence to the notion that the scribe of a central manuscript of Acart's lyrics had no music to hand, and yet felt that the lyrics ought to be set to music. I imagine that Jehan Acart had not set them to music. The fixed-form poems now carry exalted poetry, but by 1332 are not necessarily destined for a musical setting.

In the final collection of dance lyrics before Machaut (again lacking music), the *Regret Guillaume* of Jehan de Le Mote, dated 1339, the for-

mal aspects of the ballade have been transformed very nearly into what we might term this form's "classical" state for the fourteenth century, the ballade of Machaut, Froissart, and Deschamps.[42] Thirty allegorical ladies praise the departed Count Guillaume, each ending her tribute with a ballade. As Hoepffner has shown, the 30 ballades of the *Regret* manifest only four basic types, all characteristic of the forms favored by Machaut and his followers. The free mixing of verse lengths within the strophe, characteristic of the older ballade, is not found; indeed, all of the ballades are now isometric. And the fact that the other fixed forms are not represented is significant: the ballade has now assumed the role as the most elevated of the courtly poetic forms.

The literary development traced above can be summarized as follows: the old dance lyrics characteristically have short verses or a free mixing of verses of different types, reflected in the lively rhythms of the dance. In the course of the fourteenth century, however, particularly in the favored ballade, a more solemn tone is taken, capable of expressing the moods and sentiments formerly expressed by the high trouvère chansons. As late as 1332, Jehan Acart preferred forms with seven-syllable lines; ten-syllable lines are completely lacking. But by 1339, with Jehan de Le Mote, the short lines are rare; eight- or ten-syllable isometric structures are most used. And it is the ten-syllable forms that are preponderant in Machaut, Froissart, and Deschamps. Thus, with the lyrics interpolated into Jehan de Le Mote's narrative of 1339, the literary development has nearly run its course.[43]

Jehan de Le Mote is a figure that can be connected on the one hand to Vitry, whom he engaged in a vituperative exchange of ballades, with each poet trying to outdo the other in learned and obscure mythological references.[44] On the other hand, there is a link to Machaut, who borrowed the first line from the first of Jehan's ballades in the *Regret* ("On ne porroit penser ne souhaidier") for one of his earliest ballades (no. 7 in the *Loange des dames* and no. 3 in the collection of ballades with music).[45] Thus the date of the *Regret* of Jehan, 1339, provides the earliest terminus that can be associated with a lyric by Machaut set to music in a completely new style, with a florid texted voice full of melismas, above a textless accompanying tenor.

The possibility that Machaut wrote virtually no lyric poetry at all before his permanent settlement in Reims around 1340 cannot be rejected.[46] And since it appears that the new poetic style of the ballade was not "fixed" until shortly before this time (a few archaic traits no longer found in the poetry of Machaut and his followers still appear in

a small number of the ballades of Jehan de Le Mote), it seems that the new poetic form developed hand in hand with the new musical procedures, and that Machaut's polyphonic chansons are indeed quite early examples of a new style of secular polyphony in the fourteenth century.

This view would explain what our anonymous author of the early fifteenth-century second rhetoric treatise has to say about Machaut, whom he mentions right after the passage cited above concerning Philippe de Vitry:

> Après vint maistre Guillaume de Machault, le grant retthorique de nouvelle fourme, qui commencha toutes tailles nouvelles, et les parfais lays d'amours.[47]
>
> [Afterwards came magister Guillaume de Machaut, the great rhetorician of the new school, who originated all manner of new strophic forms, and perfect amorous lays.]

The new poetic form, the "classic" fixed form, is thus associated with the authority of Guillaume de Machaut.

This chronology is corroborated by a detail in the scribal practice of the musical section of the early Machaut MS C (Paris, B.N. fr. 1586), a manuscript only recently placed by the art historian François Avril in the early 1350s.[48] The extraordinary care exercised by the scribes of MS C in the copying of the motets and the monophonic virelais, two styles of music for which there had long been clear guidelines for music copying, contrasts greatly with the different situation for the new-style polyphonic chansons. In the new style, a highly melismatic, single-texted voice and lengthy, untexted accompanying voice or voices are copied one after the other in separate parts. For the text scribe, who had the responsibility of laying out the manuscript, the extent of the melismas (which demanded long blank spaces between syllables) and the length of the untexted lower voices (which required much more space in the manuscript than the lower voice of a motet) were both difficult factors to handle. And evidence from this earliest Machaut manuscript suggests that the polyphonic chansons were unusual and uncomfortable pieces for these scribes to copy. Successive voices of polyphonic chansons are sometimes split across pages turns, a situation never found in later Machaut manuscripts. (Whether or not

such manuscripts were performed from, the simultaneous visibility of all parts was expected.) Further, the layout of the texts for residual stanzas is sometimes rather confusing, giving the reader the wrong impression that the tenor has been texted.[49] Is it possible that certain copying techniques, unconsciously and effortlessly exercised in later manuscripts for these sorts of pieces, had not yet become part of the scribal practice of the late 1340s? While we cannot be absolutely sure that Machaut's early polyphonic chansons are actually quite early examples of their genre, it is nevertheless striking that the copying habits of otherwise skilled notators are so dramatically out of phase with current musical developments. It appears that the scribes were learning to overcome some unfamiliar problems in copying a new style of music.[50]

Let me summarize my thesis: the *grands chants courtois* had been the vehicle for the elevated courtly lyric of the High Middle Ages. But the courtier was also expected to be adept at the dance, and courtiers learned dance poetry and simple monophonic melodies in distinct dance rhythms. (The dance lyric was not normally accompanied with instruments; another genre of dance, purely instrumental in conception, is not our concern here.) The main extant source for the dance lyric is Oxford, Douce 308 for the texts, and motet manuscripts or interpolated refrains in narratives for fragments of the music. Besides the monophonic type, a second, more sophisticated setting of the dance lyric was polyphonic, with the principal melody in a middle voice and two added voices, one above and one below, moving at about the same rate of speed as the principal voice. Sources for this type, represented by the polyphonic rondeaux of Adam de la Halle, are notated in score, that is, each of the three voices is set one above the other over a single line of text below the lowest voice, from which all three singers read. We are left then at the end of the thirteenth century with two distinct lyrical genres, the dance lyrics and the *grands chants*. The one was metrically rhythmized, while the other was not.[51]

Around 1300, rhythmic innovations that had earlier been applied to the motet were now applied to the other genre that had historically been completely rhythmized, the dance song. A new melismatic and complex rhythmic style is seen in the monophonic lyrics of Jehan de Lescurel. There is also a single three-voice polyphonic rondeau by Lescurel in the highly melismatic style. Like the polyphonic rondeaux

of Adam, the middle voice is the principal voice, and in the manuscript the work is notated in score.

The expanding rhythmic possibilities in music were rationally and hierarchically codified about ten years after Lescurel's passing. One very strong tradition in the fourteenth century associates this *Ars nova* with Philippe de Vitry. His possible role in the collection of the deluxe 1316 edition of the *Roman de Fauvel*—along with the testimony of the anonymous author of the early fifteenth-century second rhetoric treatise that Philippe was the one who "discovered the proper way to write motets, ballades, lais, and simple rondeaux"—leads me to suppose that Philippe de Vitry applied the now vastly expanded possibilities of musical rhythm not only to a form of his own creation, the isorhythmic motet, but also to the traditional dance genres, now frequently divorced from the dance. (In the case of the lai, the innovation may have been the application of rhythm to the genre in the first place.) In other words, it was Vitry who was credited with the first dance lyrics in an elevated style that could no longer be danced, let alone composed, by anyone but a highly trained musician. This does not necessarily mean that he set to music a great number of lyrics in the fixed forms that are now lost to us, or indeed that he was the first to set these forms to the style of chanson polyphony we now associate with Machaut. Indeed, the character of his output as we know it, largely occasional and polemic, would militate against this notion. Vitry served the court in ways quite different from Machaut's. Perhaps the avant-garde Vitry circle, including Jehan de Le Mote, whom we know to have been a musician, was decisive for what I consider to be the crucial aspect: the application of the *Ars nova* rhythm to lyrics. And Vitry's enormous authority increased the esteem attached to the new rhythmic style of the dance lyrics, now too elaborate musically to be danced. The artistic prestige and sophistication of the new form contributed to the demise at court of the older, unmeasured *grand chant courtois*.

The fixed forms, particularly the ballade, were developed by poets in the intervening years into forms suitable for high courtly expression. Finally, a new style, characterized by a melismatic upper voice coupled with an untexted tenor, appeared at exactly the point when the metrical schemes of the fixed forms were consolidated in their final, "classical" form for the fourteenth century. Although chansons quickly came to be written in three voices, the compositional priority of the two-voice framework remained a constant for over 150 years.

According to the evidence of the ballades in the *Regret Guillaume* of Jehan de Le Mote, the literary development occurred just before 1340. The musical evidence follows directly with one of the very earliest ballades of Machaut, which is textually (and possibly also musically) dependent upon Jehan de Le Mote. This is the "taille nouvelle" mentioned by the anonymous fifteenth-century theorist of the second rhetoric and associated with the prestige of Guillaume de Machaut. Although Machaut found a new musical style for the new poetry, most often the new poetic style was left without the complex music. Take the ballade, the most elevated form, as an example. Of the 206 ballades in the final stage of the *Lounge des dames* (Machaut's collection of lyric texts), 16 have musical settings elsewhere in the manuscript. An additional 25 ballades appear to have been written specifically with a musical setting in mind and do not appear in the *Loange* collection; thus only 41 of Machaut's ballades have musical settings, leaving 190 poems—more than 80 percent of his ballades—that lack music.

Machaut's lyrics set to music in the 1340s, the earliest stage of the development, exhibit an interesting diversity of styles.[52] As expected, the ballade is the most highly developed form, with 18 examples. Only a very small number of rondeaux were composed in the 1340s, perhaps no more than 3. (This was to change dramatically after 1350.) But there is a very large representation of a form more modest musically, the monophonic virelai. There are 24 such works that can be placed in the 1340s, close to three-quarters of Machaut's entire output of virelais with music. Whether in the course of the first third of the century the virelai remained a dance lyric longer than the other forms is unclear, since this form is lacking in Jehan Acart and Jehan de Le Mote. We simply cannot trace its development in the early fourteenth century. In any case, it appears that Machaut was quite self-consciously preserving this genre for the dance.[53] Only 2 of the 24 virelais of the 1340s have melismas long enough to make one wonder about their suitability as dance songs. The other 22 declaim their texts in a strongly metrical lilt.

Of course these are dance songs—Machaut was quite insistent on labeling them with the descriptive term *chanson baladée* instead of virelai.[54] I interpret the term to mean "danced song," that is, the only remaining song form that was sung for dancing. In the *Remede de Fortune*, a narrative poem that provides concrete occasions for each of the lyrical interpolations, the virelai is the only lyric that is placed in a context of dancing. But Machaut's oddly emphatic assertion of his la-

bel *chanson baladée* may indicate that he was fighting to preserve something lost, and that elsewhere the virelai, like the other dance lyrics, had acceded to outside pressures, and had broken away from its roots in the dance.[55]

In this paper, I have discussed the development of a courtly lyric, the evolution of which, in a courtly context, can be traced from Nicole de Margival to Jean Acart to Jehan de Le Mote to Machaut, and on to Froissart and Deschamps. But many of the lyrics set to music by other composers of the mid to late fourteenth century appear to belong to a different, perhaps "clerkly," tradition with its own distinct types, such as the polytextual chansons (usually virelais) of the later fourteenth century, often with popular melodies in the tenors (a concept close to the thirteenth-century motet with refrains), or the fixed-form analogy to the dedicatory motet, the dedicatory ballade. But attempts at a history of the fourteenth-century chanson placing early works from either of these traditions before Machaut, in my estimation, have failed. No polyphonic chanson in the new style can convincingly be placed before ca. 1340, nor can the problem be explained by the paucity of musical sources. There are sufficient literary sources to bridge the gap, and we have seen that strikingly new literary forms appear at precisely the same time as the first musical evidence of a new style.

Thus Machaut's central position is evident: his chansons may well have been extremely influential in whetting the appetite of the courtiers for the new musical style of chanson, which they themselves could not compose. Just as it had been for the motet in the previous century, the composition of the new chanson was a pastime for the professionally trained musician. After Machaut, the rondeau, virelai, and ballade continue to be developed in a high-courtly and purely literary fashion by Froissart, Deschamps, Christine de Pizan, Alain Chartier, and Charles d'Orléans (a development traced in Daniel Poirion's *Poète et le prince*), but for the most part these were never set to music. Henceforth, the high-courtly poets have virtually nothing to do with the further development of the fixed forms set to music. It is ironic that it was a musical stimulus that brought about the change from low-style dance songs to rhythmically elaborate polyphonic fixed-form chansons in a high style (music and poetry were closely linked), yet this soon led to a growing split between music and poetry, and eventually to lyric forms that were not musical at all.

Notes

1. On the diversity of forms in thirteenth-century dance lyrics, see Pierre Bec, *La Lyrique française au moyen-âge (XII^e–XIII^e siècles): Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux*, vol. 1, Publications du Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers 6 (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1977), chaps. 16 ("Le rondet de carole"), 17 ("La ballette"), 18 ("Le vireli et le virelai"), 19 ("L'estampie"). A useful discussion of the distinction between high style and low style courtly genres (as he terms them) is found in Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London: J. M. Dent, 1987), 12–16; for further discussion of the crucial aspect of genre, see John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), chap. 14.

2. On the *chant royal*, see Ernest Hoepffner, "Les Poésies lyriques du *Dit de la panthère* de Nicole de Margival," *Romania* 46 (1920): 218–20, and Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans*, Université de Grenoble, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, no. 35 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1978), 362–66. For further bibliography on the *puys*, see Deborah Hubbard Nelson and Hendrik van der Werf, eds., *The Lyrics and Melodies of Adam de la Halle* (New York: Garland, 1985), xiv and xvii, and Stevens, *Words and Music*, 431n.49, and 454n.54.

3. The standard bibliography, listing 1933 refrains dating from 1148–1332, is Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e*, Bibliothèque française et romane, Série D: initiation, textes et documents 3 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), which is on a more solid ground philologically than the old bibliography of Friedrich Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen aus dem Ende des XII., dem XIII. und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien*, 2 vols., Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 43 and 47 (vol. 1: Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921; vol. 2: Göttingen: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1927). Unfortunately, van den Boogaard does not treat the musical aspect at all, while Gennrich is too free in his musical reconstructions and too dogmatic on the issue of rhythm. A recent study of the refrain as a genre is Eglal Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e* (New York: P. Lang, 1984). See further Stevens, *Words and Music*, 171–78, 465–76, and Page, *Voices and Instruments*, chap. 6 ("The Carole"). Mark Everist's important study of the genre rondeau motet, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music and Letters* 69 (1988): 1–22, has much to say on the process of reconstructing thirteenth-century rondeaux.

4. According to a count based on van den Boogaard's listing in *Rondeaux et refrains*, 299–312, the intersection between motet and refrain comprises 519 different refrains taken into 478 different motet voices. On the use of refrains in the motet, see Doss-Quinby, *Refrains*, 111–33, Stevens, *Words and Music*, 461n.3, and Everist, "The Rondeau Motet."

5. See the listing in van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, 313–38; the most complete list of such narratives is still that of Friedrich Ludwig, "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923): 216–19. Doss-

Quinby, *Les Refrains*, 133–80, gives a complete bibliography and a thorough study of refrains inserted into *romans* and elsewhere (*chansons à refrain, chansons avec des refrains*). She emphasizes the distinction in function between a refrain integrated into a lyrical poem (as in dance lyrics), and a refrain cited by or inserted into a *roman* or chanson (177, 217, 275). Maria V. Coldwell, "*Guillaume de Dole* and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations," *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981): 55–86, gives statistics (76–78) for the variety of types of interpolations (refrains, rondeaux, *grand chants*, etc.) in several of the narratives with lyrical interpolations.

6. Cf. Stevens, *Words and Music*, 188, 196–98, 450; Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 16–17. The notion that the *grands chants courtois* were not conceived in a metric rhythm is crucial to my argument. Whether one is in favor of the "declamatory" rhythm advocated by Hendrik van der Werf in *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972), 35–45, or the isosyllabic interpretation advocated by Stevens, *Words and Music*, 413–504, is unimportant here. In any case, I reject the application of modal rhythm to the genre *grand chant*. Convincing arguments against the modal-rhythmic thesis are found, among other places, in van der Werf's review of Hans Tischler and Samuel N. Rosenberg, eds., *Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981) in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 543–54, and Stevens, *Words and Music*, 46, 423–34, 446–58, 493–96.

Studies of the nonmensural square notation for the *grands chants* of Adam de la Halle are in John Stevens, "'La grand chanson courtoise': the songs of Adam de la Halle," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974–75): 11–30, and John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: a Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), 29–84.

7. Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 74–76, asserts that the mixture of a high-level genre (the polyphonic motet) and a low-level genre (the refrain) in some motets marks the beginning of a weakening of the strictly maintained distinctions between genres seen earlier. For further on the implications of this interesting thesis, see the review of Page's book by Mark Everist, *Music and Letters* 69 (1988): 246–48.

8. Douce 308 was copied in the early fourteenth century; see Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 46, item no. 587. The manuscript is organized by genre, with individual sections labeled *grans chans, estampies, jeus partis, pastorelles, balettes, sottes chansons*, and *motès*. A diplomatic transcription of all but the motets is found in Georg Steffens, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift der Bodleiana in Oxford, Douce 308," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* 97 (1896): 283–308; 98 (1897): 59–80, 343–82; 99 (1897): 77–100, 339–88 (this is the installment with the "*balettes*"); 104 (1900): 331–54; the motet texts are ed. by Gaston Raynaud, *Recueil de motets français des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Bibliothèque française du Moyen Age 1–2 (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881–83), vol. 2, 1–38. The variety of forms among the "*balettes*" is studied in Ernest Hoepffner, "Virelais et ballades dans le Chansonnier d'Oxford (Douce 308)," *Archivum romanicum* 4 (1920): 20–40. For more on the terminology, see the reference to Pierre Bec in n. 1 above, and Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, 61–62, 70–75, 82–84.

9. The lyrics are given with (sometimes too freely) reconstructed musical forms in Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, nos. 122, 147, 151, 167, 169, 178, 185, 212, 235, 251, 259.

10. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 3 vols., ed. Félix Lecoy, Classiques français du moyen âge (Paris: Champion, 1965–70), vv. 725–69; see Stevens, *Words and Music*, 163–66. Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Félix Lecoy, Classiques français du moyen âge (Paris: Champion, 1962); see Coldwell, "*Guillaume de Dole* and Medieval Romances," and Stevens, *Words and Music*, 168–71. Jean Froissart, *La Prison amoureuse*, ed. Anthime Fourrier, Bibliothèque française et romane, Série B: éditions critiques des textes 13 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), and Jean Froissart, *Méliador*, ed. Auguste Longnon, 3 vols., Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1895–1899); see Nigel Wilkins, "A Pattern of Patronage: Machaut, Froissart and the Houses of Luxembourg and Bohemia in the Fourteenth Century," *French Studies* 37 (1983): 266–78. Page, *Voices and Instruments*, provides important references to music from a very wide variety of literary sources (romance and epic) up to ca. 1300; for the dance lyric, see esp. chap. 3, chap. 6, and app. 2, sec. 2.

11. Details on melodic variants can be extracted from the second volume of Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, though it is impossible to infer the original state of the musical notation involved without recourse to the manuscript source. See also Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, 103–104. An example of a refrain with three different melodies is given in Stevens, *Words and Music*, 195–96.

12. Biographical documentation is given in Charles-Victor Langlois, "Jean de Lescurel, poète français," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 36 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1927), 109. See further the introduction to Nigel Wilkins, ed., *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 30 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1966), i–iv.

13. A facsimile of Paris 146 is in Pierre Aubry, ed., *Le Roman de Fauvel: reproduction photographique du manuscrit français 146 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Paris: Geuthner, 1907); a new facsimile, with introduction by F. Avril, N. Regalado, and E. Roesner, is forthcoming from Broude Brothers Limited, New York. The Lescurel collection alone is given in facsimile in Wilkins, ed., *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel*, following p. vii. An important analysis of several songs of Lescurel is given by Wulf Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie und des Stilwandels im französischen Lied des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975*, Forum Musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte 3 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), 209–27.

14. Arlt's reduction analyses ("Aspekte der Chronologie," 217–24) demonstrate the resemblance of Lescurel's songs to earlier songs once the ornamental notes are eliminated. He explains this diminution technique (220, 277–78) as possibly reflecting a mensurally notated version of an ad-hoc performance practice. It is impossible to determine what genres such a performance practice might have been applied to (perhaps, nonmensurally, to the *gran chant*?), yet I believe its application to the dance lyric genre must have been innovative, since it destroys the metrical rhythms of the dance.

15. Cf. Poirion, *Le Poète*, 324.

16. Ed. Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, nos. 66–81, and Nigel Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Hale (Chansons-Jeux Partis-Rondeaux-Motets)*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 44 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1967). "Tant com je vivrai," with some longer melismas, is probably his most rarified effort. Paris, B.N. Coll. de Picardy 67 transmits two further examples of the three-voice style, though not as sophisticated as the examples of Lescurel (Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," p. 198n. 8, suggests a date in the late thirteenth century); ed. Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, nos. 313–14. A group of 34 rondeaux in the early fourteenth-century MS Paris, B.N. fr. 12786 were laid out to receive three-voice polyphony of the style of Adam, but music was never entered; see Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, I, 2, Musicological Studies 26 (Assen: Van Gorcum [for the Institute of Mediaeval Music], 1978), 616–18, and Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, vol. 2, 90–98. On the date of Paris 12786, see Silvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 16n. 6.

17. Ed. Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, nos. 355–67.

18. Some analogies between *estampies* and lais are noted in Bec, *La lyrique française*, 244–45. The only extant collection of the *estampie* as a lyrical genre (texts only) is again contained in the MS Oxford Douce 308; see Hendrik van der Werf, "Estampie," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 6 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 254–58, and Stevens, *Words and Music*, 482–84, esp. n. 52.

19. Ernest Langlois, ed., *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France 85 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), 12; grounds for the date are given on p. xxviii; after the death of Froissart (placed at 1411 by Langlois, now put "after 1404"), and before 1432, when parts were borrowed by Baudet Herenc for his *Doctrinal de la seconde rhétorique* (*Recueil*, xli–xlii).

20. On this complex of theory, traditionally associated with the authority of Philippe de Vitry, see Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–86): 23–50.

21. An iconoclastic recent view, based on stylistic comparisons, is quite liberal in its attribution of motets to Vitry: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 109 (1982–83): 1–22; the previously established state of the problem is given in Ernest H. Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 24–45, summarized in the tabulation accompanying Sanders' article "Vitry, Philippe de" in *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 20, p. 27 (although some conflicting evidence is omitted).

22. For instance, Ernest Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al., vol. 1 (Bern: Francke, 1973), 555, in reference to Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," *Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956): 332, notes that "it has been assumed quite properly that in the field of chansons [Vitry's] innovation must have concerned the formulation of a new polyphonic style." See also Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de" in *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 20, pp. 25b–26a. Arlt, "Aspekte der

Chronologie," 197–98, traces this interpretation back to Friedrich Ludwig.

23. Ed. James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch' in University of Pennsylvania MS French 15* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1982), 51–60; on the date, see pp. 56–57 and 60. E. Pognon had dated the ballade of Vitry to 1339 at the latest, in his "Ballades mythologiques de Jean de Le Mote, Philippe de Vitri, Jean Campion," *Humanisme et renaissance* 5 (1938): 385–417. For another view, see F. N. M. Diekstra, "The Poetic Exchange between Philippe de Vitry and Jean de le Mote: A New Edition," *Neophilologus* 70 (1986): 504–19.

24. Possible contributions of Vitry to the monophonic songs contained in the *Roman* are discussed in Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," 349–51. This idea is further developed by Gilbert Reaney in "The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai, and Ballade Forms from Adam de la Hale to Guillaume de Machaut," in *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962*, ed. Heinrich Hüschen (Regensburg: Bosse, 1962), 424–25.

25. For a recent discussion of the loss of sources, see Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," 196–208 and 278.

26. Gushee, "Two Central Places: Paris and the French Court in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974*, Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, ed. Hellmut Kühn and Peter Nitsche (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1980), 147–48, with a discussion of this issue by Gushee, Leo Treitler, David G. Hughes, and Wulf Arlt, on pp. 153–57. See also Gushee, "Analytical Method and Compositional Process in Some Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music," *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975*, Forum Musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte 3 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), 166–67.

Another aspect that a comprehensive consideration of the problem of the development of the polyphonic chanson in the fourteenth century would need to consider is the use of refrains in thirteenth-century motets; see Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," 199–201, and Everist, "The Rondeau Motet."

27. Following Gushee, "Two Central Places," 155–57, with further discussion in "Aspekte der Chronologie," 257.

28. This was questioned by Treitler, following Gushee, "Two Central Places," 153, but was left unanswered, at least in the printed version of the discussion.

29. Christopher Page, "Machaut's 'Pupil' Deschamps on the Performance of Music: Voices or Instruments in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson?," *Early Music* 5 (1977): 484–91, and Christopher Page, "The Performance of Songs in Late Medieval France: A New Source," *Early Music* 10 (1982): 441–50.

30. *Le Dit de la panthère d'amours*, ed. Henry A. Todd, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1883). See Hoepffner, "Les poésies lyriques," Reaney, "The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai, and Ballade Forms," 421–27, esp. 422–24, and Huot, *From Song to Book*, 194–208.

31. Hoepffner, "Les Poésies lyriques," p. 204; Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch'*, 62–63. As a further refinement to dating the poem, one notes the presence of the virelai form distinguished from the ballade, a feature not characteristic of Lescurel's lyrics. This would place Nicole's work between Lescurel's and the lyrics of Paris 146. The *Panthère* may of course fall before Vitry's possible activity in Paris 146.

32. Ed. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, rond. 59, after Paris, B.N. fr. 24432; the edition in Todd, *Le Dit de la panthère d'amours*, pp. 94–95 (vv. 2515–26), is inaccurate in its representation of the rondeau form (in line 9, I have emended van den Boogaard's "sauce" to "sauve," as in Todd). The subsequent popularity of this unusual rondeau may turn on v. 4 of the refrain. "S'en lais convenir amour" is a phrase that recurs frequently in Machaut. Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "Guillaume de Machaut et l'écriture: L'énigme du 'Voir Dit,'" Thèse de doctorat d'Etat, Paris, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1981, vol. 3, p. 950n. 44, cites the following four passages: Lai 6, vv. 143–44 (ed. Vladimir Chichmaref, *Guillaume de Machaut: Poésies lyriques* [Paris: Champion, 1909; rpt. in one vol. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973], vol. 2, p. 326), and three instances in the *Voir Dit* (ed. Paulin Paris, *Le Livre du Voir-Dit de Guillaume de Machaut* [Paris: Société des bibliophiles françois, 1875; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1969]), v. 4883, 5456–57, and letter 33 (Paris, ed., *Le Livre du Voir-Dit*, 258).

33. No. 202 in Wimsatt's inventory of the Pennsylvania MS, *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch'*. I discuss a few of the indices linking Machaut MS E and the Pennsylvania MS in "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989): 492 n. 56. Line 5 could be translated "Pleasure wishes that Love should grant."

34. Facs. ed. *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rhetorique*, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910), fol. xcvj; no. 370 in the commentary volume (the number given in index of the commentary volume is wrong), ed. Eugénie Droz and Artur Piaget, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Champion, 1925). The editor of the *Jardin*, Antoine Vérard, was apparently aware of the corrupt nature of the text he was printing, since the identifying rubric "¶Autre rondel," given for each of the surrounding rondeaux, is lacking for "Soiez faitis."

35. One other possible instance with only the text of a refrain (rhyming *abcb*) extant, is cited in Friedrich Gennrich, *Das altfranzösische Rondeau und Virelai im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Band III der "Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen," Summa musicae medii aevi 10 (Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1963), p. 86.

36. See musical example 5 for editions. A further source for the music, Florence, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, MS 2211, fol. 108r, has been identified by John Nádas (see his article forthcoming in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VI* [Certaldo]). This source, now partially illegible, gives the work in two voices, unfortunately untexted except for the incipit "Soies lies."

37. In the description of Johannes Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250–1460*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), 387, the entire refrain (with one lacuna) is written out following Paul Meyer, "Notice sur un ms. brulé ayant appartenu à la bibliothèque de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français* 9 (1883): 59: "Soyés lié et menés joie, amis, quar amours d'alagier vostre dolour ie lais convenir amour." Since the musical incipit in the Strasbourg MS was identical to that in the Prague and Florence MSS, we can be certain that the music in these two MSS was indeed intended to set a version of Nicole's poem.

38. Compare the rhythmic activity of Machaut's rondeau 9 ("Tant doucement"), among the most modern pieces in Machaut MS C, as well as ballade 18 ("De petit po"), ballade 21 ("Se quanqu'amours"), and ballade 22 ("Il m'est

avis"). Scholarly editions of these works in Friedrich Ludwig, ed., *Guillaume de Machaut: Musikalische Werke*, vol. 1, Publikationen älterer Musik I/1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926; rpt. Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel; Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1954), and Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 3 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956).

39. Ernest Hoepffner, ed., *La Prise amoureuse von Jehan Acart de Hesdin: Allegorische Dichtung aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert* (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1910), xlviii–li on the rondeaux; lvi–lxii on the ballades. See also Reaney, "The Development," p. 425.

40. Cf. Nigel Wilkins, "The Late Mediaeval French Lyric: With Music and Without," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Vorträge des Gastsymposions in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 8. bis 12. September 1980*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 156.

41. Ernest Hoepffner, ed., *La Prise amoureuse*, vii. Seven years later, after the discovery of four more manuscripts, none of which contained music, Hoepffner decided that the music must never have existed, because otherwise at least one manuscript with music would have surfaced! See "Zur 'Prise amoureuse' von Jehan Acart de Hesdin," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 38 (1917): 516.

42. *Li Regret Guillaume, Comte de Hainaut*, ed. Auguste Scheler (Louvain: Lefever, 1882).

43. Ernest Hoepffner, "Die Balladen des Dichters Jehan de le Mote," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 35 (1911): 153–66. Hoepffner's detailed discussion of the development of the ballade style in the years 1332–39 is still well worth consulting. Another summary is in Reaney, "The Development," 426.

44. On the exchange of ballades between Vitry and Jehan, see the works cited in n. 23 above. Gilles li Muisis (1271–1353), writing in 1350, mentions Vitry, Jehan, and Machaut in close succession in his *Meditations*, vol. 1, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Louvain: Lefever, 1882), 88–89. See also Nigel Wilkins, "Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (London: Duckworth, 1983), 190–94.

45. Gilbert Reaney, "The Poetic Form of Machaut's Musical Works I: The Ballades, Rondeaux, and Virelais," *Musica disciplina* 13 (1959): 26, and Ursula Günther, "Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior," *Musica disciplina* 26 (1972): 53–54. The priority of Jehan's ballade is not certain, but in another case, in which a late *chanson royale* uses material from the *Regret*, Machaut's dependence on Jehan is clear. Further, Jehan's use in the *Regret* of a series of allegorical figures, each giving a series of *exempla* in turn, may have been imitated by Machaut in his *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* of 1349 (Hoepffner, "Die Balladen," p. 165), strengthening the idea that Machaut borrowed from Jean, not the other way around. Cf. also Wilkins, "Music and Poetry at Court," p. 194.

Gilles li Muisis informs us that Jean de Le Mote was a musician; could Machaut also have borrowed some music?

46. First suggested by Hoepffner, "Die Balladen," 165–66.

47. Langlois, *Recueil*, 12.

48. See "Les manuscrits enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut: Essai de chronologie," in *Guillaume de Machaut: Colloque-Table ronde . . . Reims (19–22 Avril 1978)*, Actes et colloques 23 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1982), 117–33.

49. This is the case in a group of three ballades: "De petit po" (fols. 199r–v), "Je sui aussi" (fols. 199v–200r), and "De Fortune" (fols. 200r–v).

50. I might add here in passing that another convention of notation in the new style of polyphonic *formes fixes*, the *ouvert-clos* notational convention, sometimes gave these scribes trouble. Before, this practice is only seen in purely instrumental music, such as the *estampies* added to Paris, B.N. fr. 844 (the *Chansonnier du Roi*); MS C provides our first extant evidence of its application to chansons (although the *rotulus Maggs* may antedate MS C; on this question, see Earp, "Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut" [Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983, UM 8318466], 159n.302, and 178n.338). Could this incidentally provide some indirect evidence for Gushee's position (n.26 above) that there is a connection between the polyphonic chanson and instrumental practices?

51. A few other genres, for instance the *pastourelles* and *lais*, are in a gray area with regard to rhythm: see Stevens, *Words and Music*, 471–84. It does seem that, by the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century, isolated experiments were being made to perform *grands chants* in metrical rhythm, based on the evidence of the partially mensural notation of the chansonnier Cangé (Paris, B.N. fr. 846). See further Page's brilliant analysis of a passage from Jerome of Moravia in *Voices and Instruments*, 69–76 (although one might note that Stevens' isosyllabism could also have been the rhythmic basis for Page's vielle accompaniments). Nevertheless, the *grands chants* were traditionally nonmensural, since as late as Adam de la Halle (d. 1288?), they are notated in nonmensural square notation.

52. With the new date for Machaut MS C, the stylistic observations of Ursula Günther concerning Machaut's music, "Chronologie und Stil der Kompositionen Guillaume de Machauts," *Acta musicologica* 35 (1963): 96–114, are confirmed, although the picture is refined with regard to specific dates and the whole placed on firmer ground. See also Ursula Günther, "Contribution de la musicologie à la biographie et à la chronologie de Guillaume de Machaut," *Guillaume de Machaut: Colloque-Table ronde*, 95–115.

53. In this context, it is significant that Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 81–82, 261n.14, is able to connect Grocheio's description (ca. 1300) of the vocal *ductia* to the virelai form.

54. See Ernest Hoepffner, ed., *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, vol. 2, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), xlvii–lii. The term *chanson baladée* is attested as late as 1392, in Eustache Deschamps' *Art de dictier*, ed. Gaston Raynaud, *Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps*, vol. 7, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1891), 270 and 281, although his explanation of the term by that late date seems far-fetched. See Wolf Frobenius, *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985/86), s.v. "Virelai," 4a.

55. See Poirion, *Le Poète*, 332–33, 343–48.

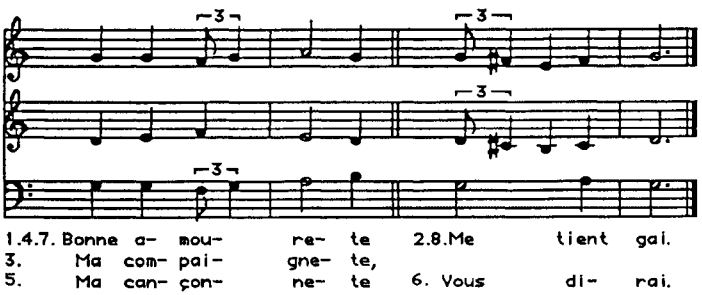
MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1. Anonymous dance lyric, "E Dex, or ne voi je mie" *(rondeau)*

E Dex, or ne voi je mie	a7′	*Oh God, now I don't see at all*
Coment je puisse dureir;	b7	*how I can last;*
A vos m'an plain, douce amie.	a7′	I complain to you, sweet friend.
—E Dex, or ne voi je mie.—	a7′	*—Oh God, now I don't see at all.—*
Se petiet ne vos maistrie,	a7′	If pity doesn't master you
Je sui mors sans recovreir.	b7	I'll be dead and won't recover.
E Dex, or ne voi je mie	a7′	*Oh God, now I don't see at all*
Coment je puisse dureir.	b7	*how I can last.*

Text from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308; music tentatively recovered from a similar refrain (*Dieus! si n'i pourroie mie/Longuement sans lie durer*) in a motet (Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS Lit. 115, fol. 15). See for the text van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains,* rond. 122, refr. 821, and for the music Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen,* no. 122.

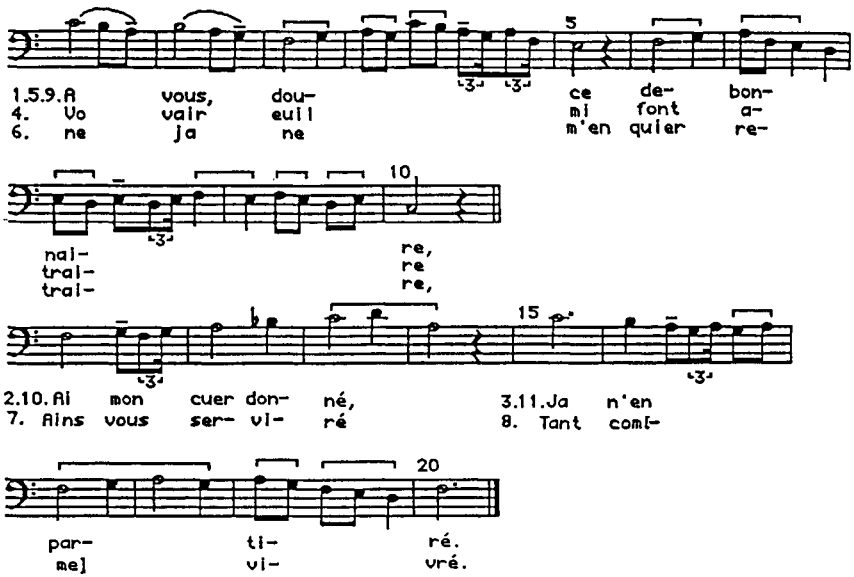
Example 2. Adam de la Halle, rondeau "Bonne amourette"



Bonne amourete	a4′	*A pretty little lover*
Me tient gai;	b3	*keeps me happy;*
Ma compaignete,	a4′	my little companion,
—Bonne amourete—	a4′	*—a pretty little lover—*
Ma cançonnette	a4′	I'll sing you
Vous dirai.	b3	my little chanson.
Bonne amourete	a4′	*A pretty little lover*
Me tient gai.	b3	*keeps me happy.*

See for the text van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, rond. 82, refr. 289, and for the music Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, no. 79, or Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Hale*, p. 57.

Example 3. Jehan de Lescurel, rondeau "A vous, douce debonnaire"



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A vous, douce debonnaire,	a7′	*To you, sweet gentle lady,*
Ai mon cuer donné,	b5	*I have given my heart,*
Ja n'en partiré.	b5	*never shall I leave you.*
Vo vair euil mi font atraire	a7′	Your clear eyes attract me
A vous, dame [sic] debonnaire,	a7′	*to you, sweet gentle lady;*
Ne ja ne m'en quier retraire,	a7′	I have no intention of departing,
Ains vous serviré	b5	but I shall serve you
Tant com[me] vivré.	b5	as long as I live.
A vous, douce debonnaire,	a7′	*To you, sweet gentle lady,*
Ai mon cuer donné,	b5	*I have given my heart,*
Ja n'en partiré.	b5	*never shall I leave you.*

The monophonic version is work no. 3 in the Paris 146 collection of Lescurel's works. See for the text van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, rond. 94, refr. 204, and for the music Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, no. 368a, or Wilkins, *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel*, no. 3.

In the transcription offered here, *maius tempus imperfectum* (i.e., *tempus imperfectum prolatio maior*) is applied, with the semibreves resolved according to the prescriptions for unsigned semibreves in Vitrian *Ars nova* treatises.* All downstemmed semibreves in the source are marked on my transcription with a short dash above (or, in example 4, sometimes below) the notehead affected. The downstemmed semibreves in mm. 1 and 2 present a problem of interpretation. I suggest that the scribe thereby intended to clarify the ambiguous notation of the first three notes. A long followed by two semibreves could be transcribed as ⌜⌞⌟, the modern interpretation for ca. 1316, or ⌞⌟⌜, in the older interpretation as *conjuncturae*. The scribe thus wished to indicate more precisely the older of the two interpretations, and the reader is free to apply this interpretation if desired. I have nevertheless given the more modern interpretation in the transcription, since the polyphonic version of the piece, appearing on the same folio of the manuscript, requires it (see musical example 4 below).

There is one further emendation: in mm. 17–18, the four-note ligature would require a quarter note a in m. 18; I have assumed that two ligatures *sine proprietate et sine perfectione* were written too close together, and have resolved the rhythms accordingly.

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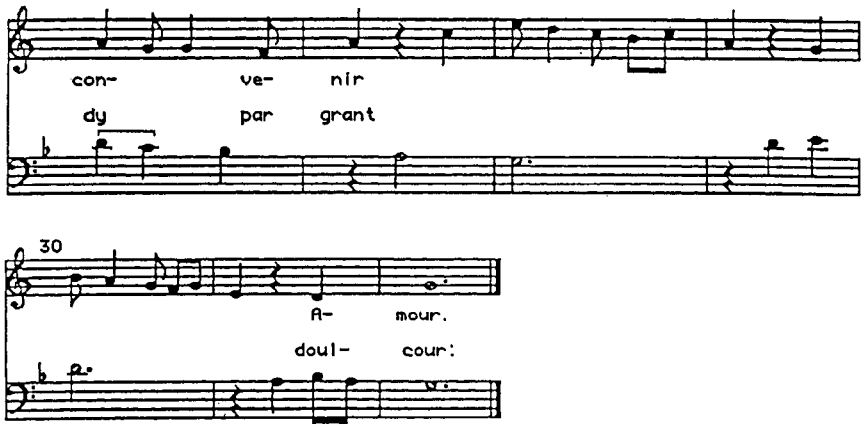
*For example, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barberini 307, ed. Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles and Jean Maillard, *Philippi de Vitriaco: Ars nova*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 8 (n.p., 1964), chap. 15, l. 2–7, and Chap. 21, l.7, or Paris, B.N. lat. 15128 (Coussemaker *Scriptores*, vol. 3, Anon. III), ed. Gilles, *Philippi de Vitriaco*, chap. 8, l. 4–5.

Example 4. Jehan de Lescurel, rondeau "A vous, douce debonnaire"

This three-voice version, with the music of example 3 appearing here as the middle voice, is no. 1 in the Paris 146 collection of Lescurel's works. Text ed. as in example 3 above, music ed. Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, no. 368, or Wilkins, *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel*, no. 1, or Willi Apel, *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 53/1 (n.p., 1970), no. 49.

The remarks made above concerning the monophonic version hold here as well, including the ligature error in mm. 17–18 (middle voice). The problems with down-stemmed semibreves in mm. 1–2 (middle voice) are even more acute here, since there are several erasures (indicated on the transcription with a dotted dash over the notehead). Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," p. 216, addresses this question specifically: "The beginning of the monophonic version reads . With the triple division of the longa corroborated by the subsequent course of the voice, this would be read with imperfection as . In the version that appears as the middle voice of the polyphonic work that opens the collection, the first of the two groupings is the same, and the second without cauda; but a correction has removed a descending cauda for the first, the third, as well as perhaps for the fourth of the semibreves. The passage remains in any case problematic, since the upper voice has for the first group of two semibreves, and for the second group. These stemmings recur several times subsequently, and they suggest (corresponding to the edition of Wilkins) an interpretation as and respectively, neither of which can meaningfully be combined with the stemming of uneven semibreves at the beginning of the middle voice." My interpretation of the mensuration as *tempus imperfectum prolatio maior* resolves the questions of the down-stems except those of mm. 1–2, which, as mentioned above in connection with example 3, present a problem of an ambiguous notation. But if indeed not one but both of the semibreves in either of the two figures were supplied with down-stems, that signal of grouping does resolve the question in favor of the required rhythm . In any case, a performer would quickly discover the correct rhythm from the lower voice.

Example 5. Nicole de Margival, rondeau "Soiez liez, et menez joie" *(music anonymous)*



See for the text van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, rond. no. 59, pp. 46–47, after Paris, B.N. fr. 24432, and for the music Friedrich Kammerer, *Die Musikstücke des Prager Kodex XI E 9* (Augsburg: Benno Filser and Brünn: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1931; rpt. in *Veröffentlichungen des musikwissenschaftlichen Institutes der deutschen Universität in Prag*, ed. Gustav Becking, 4 vols. in 1, 1931–1934 [Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1975]), pp. 131–32, discussion pp. 54–56. A more recent edition is Willi Apel, *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 53/3 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970), no. 279 (with Nicole's original fourteen-line poem underlaid, which does not fit the music).

The underlay of the poem is completely editorial. The picturesque setting of "doulour" in mm. 22–23 seems justified in view of similar "word painting" in Machaut (see, for example, the opening of ballade 25, "Honte, paour"). One might wish to begin the long final melisma in m. 27, beat three, with the syllable "A-," which would of course be reiterated in m. 31. Ligatures follow those visible in the Florence copy. The only musical variant evident on the slide kindly supplied by John Nádas is the appearance in the tenor, m. 20, of three D semibreves in place of the D breve. I have supplied two editorial accidentals for leading tones (mm. 6 and 23); the one B-flat required in the upper voice (m. 25) is supplied in the Prague source.

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ON TEXT FORMS FROM CICONIA TO DUFAY

by NINO PIRROTTA

AT THE TIME of Dufay's emergence as a composer the larger *formes fixes* of the French Ars nova were giving way to the rondeau and, to a much lesser extent, to a monostrophic type of virelai.[1] The change has to do with the trend toward a more pointed and concise style but also reflects a new relationship between poetry and music. During the previous phase ballades and virelais, whether or not set to music, had been ruled by literary standards determining the number of strophes and their organization. Repetition of similar patterns inside the strophes, originally dictated by musical exigencies, had lost much of its force in the expansion of musical expression. The shift to the rondeau and to a simpler style of music revitalized a crisper, more closely knit play of repetitions, while the shorter span placed the texts into a category of little literary pretense but that of giving occasion to music.

If we turn to settings of Italian texts during the early 15th century, we find a corresponding cultivation of the rondeau, limited, however, to a small number of examples; the ballata, usually monostrophic, maintains the predominance it had enjoyed during the preceding time. There was less need in Italy for a more specifically musical form, since already from the beginning of the 14th century a *poesia per musica* had clearly distinguished itself from the poems of purely literary significance.[2] In addition, Italian polyphonic settings of Dufay's time tend to be less compact and economically organized than their French counterparts, owing partially to the fact that most Italian composers were now provincial, old-fashioned masters, and also to the growing impact exerted on polyphony by the style of performance of some more popular type of music. The tendency toward syllabic declamation is more than counterbalanced by a prominent pattern of insistent repetition, of short broken phrases

[1] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York 1954), pp. 14–15.

[2] To fit the needs of the musician, for instance, ballate have usually only one strophe when their content suggests expanded melodic effusion, several strophes when a lighter tone prompts a more economical style.

of text or of single words, building up tension and pathos before the complete line is delivered.[3] As a result the scope of the musical setting is enlarged rather than narrowed.

Considering the virelai—for all practical purposes the formal equivalent of the ballata—Gustave Reese has remarked that it is often found in the sources "with only one set of words for section 1 and two sets for section 2,"[4] that is, with the omission of the so-called *tierce*, the residuum of text to be sung to the music of section 1. The omission may well be the fault of copyists, but it is also possible that it was encouraged by a feeling that simple repetition of the refrain after *ouvert* and *clos*, reducing the over-all musical form from *A b b a A* to *A b b A*,[5] provided a perfectly satisfactory result, at least from the point of view of music. That composers, too, may have shared this feeling is indicated by a piece in the manuscript Padua, Bibl. Universitaria 1115, *Aler m' en veus en strangne partie*. Neither Heinrich Besseler, who tentatively suggested Ciconia's authorship,[6] nor Suzanne Clercx, who confirmed it,[7] has paid attention to a detail in the virelai scheme: its refrain, AABBAAB,[8] and paired *ouvert* and *clos*, cbc'b cbc'b, are not followed by a regular *tierce*, but by a single line, a. For it the composer provided a musical phrase related to the beginning of the refrain and evidently meant to replace the intentionally omitted *tierce*.[9]

Ciconia's virelai, as we can reconstruct it through its religious contrafactum,[10] is an example of the master's predilection for free imitation—a device that also characterizes, and to a certain extent singles out in his own generation, Hugo de Lantins.[11] That Hugo, a native, like Ciconia, of the diocese of Liège, followed him on the path to the Venetian terri-

[3] See Ciconia's *Lizadra dona* and *O rosa bella* in Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia* (Brussels 1960), II, 73–77, and the anonymous *Mercè, mercè, o morte*, in: *Italian Ars-Nova Music*, ed. F. Ghisi, in: *Musica disciplina*, suppl. to Vol. I (1946–47), 17–18.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

[5] Here and henceforth italics will be used for musical schemes, each letter corresponding to a section of music, roman type for metrical schemes, each letter indicating a different rhyme; in both cases capital letters indicate refrains.

[6] Heinrich Besseler, *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters: 1. Neue Quellen*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, VII (1925), 231; the Padua fragment contains only one part, ascribed to a "Johannes . . ."

[7] The music in the Padua fragment is identical to the upper voice of Ciconia's two-voice motet *O beatum incendium* in the MS Bologna, Bibl. G. Martini, Q 15 (former Liceo Musicale 37); see Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia*, I, 52, 56–57.

[8] See fn. 5.

[9] Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia*, II, 85–87; cf. measures 106–08 and 4–6. The same passage recurs, a unifying device, at measures 26–28, 64–66, 77–79.

[10] The motet (Clercx, *op. cit.*, II, 151–53) provides 12 lines of new text for each section, ignoring the virelai form; yet it preserves, quite unnecessarily, a repeat sign at the end of section 2 (*ibid.*, 33). Ciconia probably had no part in the arrangement.

[11] Charles Van den Borren, *Hugo et Arnold de Lantins*, in: *Annales de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique*, XXIX (1932), 263–72; Wolfgang

tory is generally assumed on the ground that most of his works are found in the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213, which is said to come from Venice or its vicinity;[12] the assumption is confirmed by the dialectal flavor of the Italian texts he set to music, particularly by *Per amor de costei*, a ballata.[13]

Double final repetition of section 1 of music is consistently avoided in Hugo's three existing ballate; his procedure, however, is not to omit the *volta*, the equivalent of the French *tierce*, but to write new music for it. Suggestions to do so may have come from the text in the case of *Tra quante regione*, where symmetry between *ripresa* and *volta* is more apparent than real.[14] Yet the avoidance of repetition is carried even farther in the other two ballate. *Per amor de costei*, besides having new music for the *volta*, has through-composed *piedi* (section 2), lacking, that is, the usual repetition of the music of the first *piede* to the words of the second. The same result is obtained in *Io sum tuo servo* by simply suppressing the text of the second *piede*.[15]

Only one of Hugo's Italian pieces, *Mirar non posso*,[16] is a rondeau. It is impossible to decide if it is regular, since no residuum of text is preserved besides its four-line refrain. However, Hugo's Italian contemporaries, while usually fastidiously observant of the ballata form,[17] were not too orthodox in their handling of the rondeau; they favored shorter refrains than the four-line type prevailing among the French,[18] and indulged, by contrast, in some peculiar amplification handed down to them by 14th-century theorists.[19] Thus, Bartholomeo Brolo's *Vivere*

Rehm, *Lantins*, in: MGG, VIII (1960), 200–02. Hugo's secular works are published in *Pièces polyphoniques profanes de provenance liégeoise*, ed. Ch. Van den Borren (Brussels 1950).

[12] Gilbert Reaney, *The MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213*, in: *Musica disciplina*, IX (1955), 73–104, particularly 75.

[13] *Pièces polyphoniques*, pp. 61–62. The scribe altered the last word of line 8 into "piedi"; the original "pei," which he must have judged too dialectal, is needed for the sake of the rhyme with lines 1 and 2. The metrical scheme is AA bcbc ca AA. Hugo also wrote a motet for Francesco Foscari, doge of Venice from 1423.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 66–69; metrical scheme to be corrected as ABB cdecde caa ABB. The asymmetry derives from the fact that A is a proparoxytone rhyme, "mòbile"; thus lines containing 12 syllables are differently placed in *ripresa* and *volta*.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65; correct metrical scheme: AA bc.. ca AA, or AA bcc. .a AA (dots represent the missing lines).

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 63; correct metrical scheme: ABBA.

[17] Free handling of the ballata is not without Italian precedents, however. Three late anonymous pieces, possibly all by the same poet and composer (not to mention an early example by Donato da Firenze), provide the *volta* with new music; see Nos. 2, 28, and 298 in the list of ballate of Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento* (Bern 1956). In each case the poem is not really a ballata, but is skillfully made into one; the *ripresa* of *Omè* (No. 298), for instance, consists of this one word, borrowed from the first line of the first *piede:* "Omè, s'io gli omei sol io gli piango."

[18] Reese, MR, pp. 14–15.

[19] Antonio da Tempo, *Delle rime volgari*, ed. G. Grion (Bologna 1869), pp. 134–

et recte reminiscere [20] has a normal scheme, with a three-line refrain, up to line 8, after which recapitulation of the refrain is delayed by three additional lines. Even more irregular, the anonymous *Bianca nel negro aquilino aspecto*,[21] with a four-line refrain, follows the expected pattern up to line 10, where a new rhyme is introduced, leading to four extra lines with irregular rhymes.

Hugo's *Tra quante regione* is addressed to Cleophe Malatesta, wife of the despot of Morea and prince of Sparta, Theodore Paleologue, and the same lady for whom Dufay composed his motet *Vasilissa ergo gaude*.[22] The latter item has been taken as evidence that Dufay was already in Italy in 1420.[23] It may be observed, however, that Cleophe's brother, Pandolfo Malatesta of Pesaro, was appointed on 10 October 1418 as bishop of Coutances in Normandy, and is reported to have taken possession of his see soon after his appointment.[24] The possibility then exists that he may have met Dufay during his short stay in Normandy, or, more likely, in Paris, where he must have stopped in his trips to and from Coutances, and where we would expect to find a young cleric, like Dufay, eager to get a degree.[25] If such a connection had been established, there would be no need to assume that Dufay was in Italy at the time of Cleophe's engagement, or in 1423, when another nuptial event prompted him to compose *Resveillez vous*—a French ballade—for Cleophe's second brother, Carlo, and Vittoria Colonna, niece of Pope Martin V.[26] Nor would the dates "1425 adì 12 lujo" and "1426," appended respectively to *Je me complains piteusement*, a ballade, and

39, gives examples of Italian rondeaux all with refrains of 2 or 3 lines, and all having a second *additamentum:* e.g. *Mille mercedi chiero*, scheme AB aAab aAab, without indication of a final repetition of the refrain. Similar examples are given by Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Trattato dei ritmi volgari*, ed. G. B. Giuliari (Bologna 1870), pp. 124–32, where the "rotundelli" are described as consisting of *ripresa* (refrain), *seconda parte*, and *terza parte*.

[20] *Polyphonia sacra*, ed. Ch. Van den Borren (London 1932), pp. 293–94; correct metrical scheme: ABA aAaba aba ABA.

[21] MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213, fol. 127; metrical scheme: ABBA abABac cdda ABBA.

[22] G. Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, ed. G. de Van, II (Rome 1948), 1–4.

[23] Heinrich Besseler, *Neue Dokumente zum Leben und Schaffen Dufays*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, IX (1952), 162.

[24] C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I (Münster 1913), 205; Lecanu, *Histoire du diocèse de Coutances et Avranches*, I (Coutances 1877), 380–81; R. Toustain de Billy, *Histoire ecclésiastique du diocèse de Coutances*, II (Rouen 1880), 209. Some confusion has arisen from taking Pandolfo's title, "episcopus constantiensis," as indicating Constance in Switzerland; no precise dates are given for his sojourn in Normandy.

[25] See André Pirro's review of Van den Borren's book on Dufay in *Revue musicale*, VII (1926), 321–22.

[26] Besseler, *Dokumente*, pp. 162–63.

Adieu ces bons vins de Lannoy, a rondeau,[27] imply that he was then in Italy.

One reason we may have to try to narrow down the length of Dufay's Italian sojourn is that only eight out of about ten times as many secular pieces preserved under his name have Italian texts; this is a surprisingly low number for an assumed span of about 15 years, mainly if these years included the time when a beginner should have been most eager to please and make friends.

None of the eight texts can be related to a historical or datable event. Such a possibility exists only for a ninth, nonsecular text, the sonnet in honor of St. Andrew, which provided words for triplum and motetus of *Apostolo glorioso*, a motet probably intended for the consecration in 1426 of a church of St. Andrew in Patras, restored by Pandolfo Malatesta, now archbishop of that town.[28] It seems, however, too farfetched that the piece might have been commissioned from Patras of a musician still in France. Meanwhile, another university town, Bologna, may have attracted Dufay; to place in 1426 or 1427 the beginning of his Italian career agrees with the already mentioned farewell to "the good wines of Lannoy," and with a benefit obtained about this time for Dufay by cardinal Louis Aleman, governor of Bologna.[29]

The possibility exists, of course, that Dufay had stayed for some time with one or the other member of the Malatesta family. Yet the Malatestas, often prominent in Italian politics, seldom attained the wealth and power needed to support a brilliant court with musicians who, like Dufay, were not hired men, but clerics pursuing a career not entirely dependent on their musical ability.[30] Dufay may have been a member of Pandolfo's episcopal retinue; but Pandolfo must soon have appeared too poor a chance to be taken as a patron.[31] Finally, even the early date of the motet

[27] MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213, fols. 18 and 140.

[28] Besseler, *Dokumente*, pp. 163–65; the motet is in Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, II, 11–16. That the two texts (*ibid.*, XIII) belong to a sonnet is my conjecture; they consist of respectively 8 and 6 eleven-syllable lines, with the order of rhymes normally expected in a sonnet.

[29] This suggestion is not to be interpreted as a criticism of Besseler's invaluable contributions on Dufay, but as a help for the clarification of some details of his reconstruction. A stay in Paris, or at least contacts with that city, in the years up to 1426–27 would better explain Dufay's friendship with Robert Auclou as well as his exposure to English music.

[30] They were too many and their possessions—actually vicarages on Church possessions—too small; thus they traditionally employed themselves as *condottieri*. At the time under consideration, the branch of Rimini was represented by Carlo and Pandolfo, both very much in evidence during the preceding period, now in decline, that of Pesaro by their cousin Malatesta, father of Pandolfo, Carlo, Galeazzo, and Cleophe.

[31] Born c. 1390, he was probably a canon in Bologna when Alexander V and John XXIII held court there; in 1416 he was appointed as a bishop to Brescia (over

Vasilissa is questionable. Besseler's reason for placing it in 1420 is that Theodore Paleologue is only indirectly mentioned, suggesting a distant fiancé rather than an imperial husband;[32] but the argument of medieval etiquette holds only if we conceive the motet as an official piece to be performed at a public ceremony, of which evidence is lacking for this as well as for most existing motets.[33] In its stead, Hugo de Lantins's ballata congratulating Sparta for holding Cleophe and making no hint to Theodore shows that the motet *Vasilissa* might have been offered to Cleophe without breach of etiquette at any time—for instance, on Pandolfo's arrival in Patras, or even later.[34]

Of Dufay's Italian texts, only one has, under the superficial dialectal patina possibly derived from the copyists, a strong residuum of irreducible dialectal forms. This is *Donna gentil e bella*, in the Mellon Chansonnier, where "fortuna," "una," and "luna" rhyme with "corona" and "rasona"; and where the verb "stago," or "stazo," cannot be reduced to any accepted tense of "stare" without destroying the rhythm of the line. But it is difficult to say to which northern dialect the text must be related. *Invidia nimica*, in spite of a Petrarchesque incipit, has little literary pretense.[35] At the other end of the spectrum, besides Petrarch's *Vergine bella*, *Passato è il tempo omai* is also reminiscent of Petrarch in tone and general situation.

From a formal point of view, *Vergene bella*, set to a strophe of a canzone, is a unique case. Its 13 lines contain some element of repetition, but Dufay's music is through-composed and divides only into two main sections corresponding to the *frons* and *syrima*.[36] This would have made possible, at least in theory, not only the repetition of the music for any

which his older namesake ruled precariously), in 1418 to Coutances, and on 10 May 1424, to Patras (Eubel, *Hierarchia*, I, 147, 205, 394); he was certainly there in 1426. Increasing hostility on the part of Constantine and Theodore Paleologue, despots of respectively Achaea and Morea, induced him to seek help in Venice in 1428 and 1429. The financial help he obtained in 1430 in Rome came when Patras had already been conquered by Constantine Paleologue; a rescue expedition was unsuccessful. Pandolfo died, a bishop *in partibus*, in 1441. See E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistum Patras* (Leipzig 1903), pp. 64–68.

[32] Besseler, *Dokumente*, p. 161.

[33] More on this point and on the status of musicians is contained in a paper of mine, read at the 1963 meeting of the American Musicological Society in Seattle, not yet ready for publication.

[34] 1426 or later would suit better than 1420 the rhythmic and stylistic features of *Vasilissa*. Cleophe is reported to have come back from Greece with Pandolfo and to have died in Pesaro in 1433.

[35] In order to obtain a correct number of syllables for each line, one is frequently obliged to apply quite unusual diaereses, e.g. in the first two lines: "Invidïa nimica / Dï ciascun virtüoso."

[36] In Dante's terminology, the first and second part of the *stanza*.

of the following strophes, but also the inclusion of the final *commiato*, applying to it section 2 of the music.[37]

Four pieces are ballate: *Passato è il tempo*, with a four-line *ripresa*, has the largest frame; both *L'alta belleza tua* and *La dolce vista* have a two-line *ripresa* but different arrangement of their strophes; *Invidia nimica*, a satirical text, is the only one to have more than one strophe, namely three.[38] In the music none of the formal licenses adopted by Lantins is present, nor is the Italian fashion of repetitive delivery of the text, to which Lantins's *ballate*, as well as his Italian *rondeau*, paid tribute.

Only *Donna gentil e bella* is a regular rondeau, with a four-line refrain. Two other pieces, listed as rondeaux by Besseler [39] and as ballate by Gilbert Reaney,[40] properly belong to neither form. *Dona, i ardenti rai* has four lines set to music, and a *signum congruentiae* at the end of the second that would seem to indicate a rondeau; however, the only possible solution for the residuum of text—a similar group of four lines, plus a cue to the repetition from the beginning—is to have the complete setting repeated and then resumed again with the original lines:

Dona, i ardenti rai d' i vostri ochi suavi	] *A*
che de mi tien la chiavi [41] me infiama el pecto a vera gentileza.	] *B*
Le fiame ardente ch' ài ne li ochi, nel bel fronte	] *a*
son le cason impronte ch' el cor me acese a seguir tant' alteza.	] *b*
Dona, etc.	] *AB*

Again four lines of *Quel fronte signorile* (composed, according to the source, in Rome) [42] are given with the music, although here the *signum congruentiae* is missing, and again a similar group of four lines, plus a cue for recapitulation, are given as residuum. The disturbing and unsatisfactory final cadence on G in a piece clearly set in a C mode, prevents an interpretation similar to that given for the preceding piece (see Ex. 1).

[37] Measures 40 to the end in G. Dufay, *Zwölf geistliche und weltliche Werke*, ed. H. Besseler (Wolfenbüttel 1932), pp. 7–10. The *commiato* has the metric structure of the *syrima* of the preceding strophes.

[38] All in the Oxford MS, with the exception of *La dolce vista*, a unicum in the MS Vatican, Urb. lat. 1411.

[39] MGG, III, 902.

[40] Reaney, *MS Oxford*, p. 94.

[41] MS: "la chiave," again to be restored to a less correct form for the sake of the rhyme.

[42] Reaney, *MS Oxford*, p. 94.

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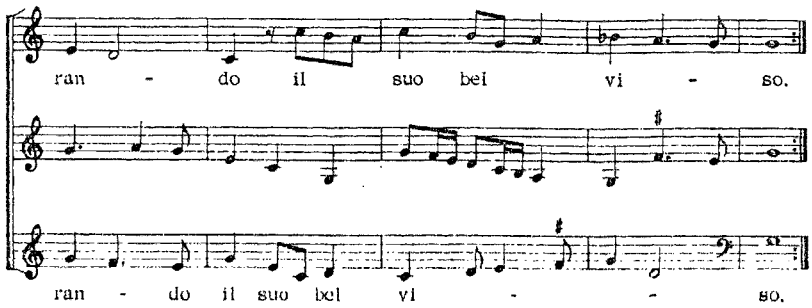
Ex. 1 *Quel fronte signorile*, Dufay (from O)



I ochi trapassa tuti d[e] i altri el viso
con si dolce armonia
che i cor nostri s' envia
pian piano in suso, i vanno in paradiso
Quel, etc.

In my opinion, the G cadence is only an *ouvert;* the verbal cue leads to a final recapitulation of only the first line ending with a perfectly plausible cadence on C. Dufay's own French contrafactum of the piece, *Craindre ne vueil*, a regular rondeau with the same music expanded to a final conclusion on C (Ex. 2), supports this interpretation.[43]

Ex. 2 Final line of *Craindre ne vueil*, Dufay (from *O* and *Esc*)

[43] The piece, with the acrostic "Caterine Dufay," is transposed a fifth above in *Zwölf Werke*, p. 18.

Although Dufay's style is rather remote from any popular kind of Italian music, the two settings just mentioned are, to my knowledge, the first polyphonic examples of a lighter poetic form which had come particularly into fashion at the very beginning of the 15th century. The reason we must regard such canzonette [44] by poets like Simone Serdini, alias Saviozzo, and Leonardo Giustinian as a more popular, or less artful, genre is that they consist of a large number of strophes and lend themselves only to fast recitation, either monophonic or in simple polyphony. Usually each strophe begins with a line having the same rhyme as the last of the preceding strophe, a procedure certainly originated as a help to the popular singer to remember the correct sequence of strophes. In many cases the poem ends with an isolated line,[45] for which the singer, as in the suggested interpretation of *Quel fronte signorile,* would have had to repeat the first phrase of music.

A more popular type of poem does not imply a similar attitude of the music. Art polyphonists set only a couple of such strophes at a time, or even selected individual verses, not necessarily the initial ones, from much longer poems. Toward the middle of the century the trend prevailing among composers of polyphony, now without exception non-Italian, was to write through-composed music. A good example is Dunstable's—or Bedingham's—*O rosa bella,*[46] which suggested the topic of the present note. As observed by Bukofzer, and pointed out to me by Gustave Reese, this new setting of a text already used by Ciconia disregards the ballata form and its internal repetitions; [47] a half cadence concludes section 1, where the normal formal procedure would have had the end of the piece; no residuum of text is given for section 2. The piece must therefore be considered through-composed. In the changing balance between the forces of musical functionalism and inertia—that is, tradition—the development of polyphonic music once again points away from the direction suggested by the poetic texts it uses.

[44] The tendency among modern writers to label such poems as *sirventesi* has little support in the sources, where the most common term is "canzone" or "canzonetta."

[45] E.g. Nos. III, VI, and VII in G. Ferraro, *Alcune poesie inedite del Saviozzo, etc.* (Bologna 1879).

[46] Conflicting attributions are given respectively by the MSS Vatican, Urb. lat. 1411; and Porto, Bibl. Municipal, 714. I consider the latter most authoritative, but the possibility exists that a third Englishman was the real composer.

[47] See J. Dunstable, *Complete Works,* ed. M. F. Bukofzer (London 1953), p. 186; I do not agree with Bukofzer on the reliability of the MS Vatican, Urb. lat. 1411.

[14]

Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song

David Fallows

A recent article by Giulio Cattin offers a magnificent view of what is known about the poets for Italian fifteenth-century song.[1] But one aspect of the article's importance is the way it draws attention to areas that need further study, of which the most spectacular may be the case of Leonardo Giustinian. Under his name in the concluding index of poets there are eleven entries; and among them are some of the finest songs of the century, including *O rosa bella*, *Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso* and *Mercé te chiamo.* For all but two of these eleven poems, however, Cattin has added either a question mark or the annotation "apocrifo" — which is to say that their authorship is currently doubted. If they are all his, there is no other poet in any language so often found in the musical sources of the fifteenth century; and I believe his role is in fact of major importance in the history of fifteenth-century song. My aim here is to suggest that the doubts go back to an earlier state of literary knowledge and to conclusions that have not been re-examined in the light of later discoveries. More particularly, recent developments in musical knowledge give powerful reasons for accepting all but one of these poems as the work of Leonardo Giustinian.

Only one of the poems with musical settings appears in the current complete edition of Giustinian's canzonette, that of Bertold Wiese, published in 1883.[2] This is *Perla mia cara.* Since 1883 there has been a massive secondary literature on the poet, including no fewer than three large articles called "towards a critical edition of Leonardo Giustinian's canzonette" — by Aldo Oberdorfer,

[1] GIULIO CATTIN, "Nomi di rimatori per la polifonia profana italiana del secondo Quattrocento", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 25 (1990): 209–311.

[2] BERTOLD WIESE, *Poesie edite ed inedite di Lionardo Giustiniani*, Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie Inedite o Rare dal Secolo XIII al XIX, 193 (Bologna: Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, Bologna, 1883).

Giuseppe Billanovich and Laura Pini.[3] They show that Wiese's edition is indeed inadequate and badly in need of replacing. But it looks as though the long promised new edition by Enzo Quaglio may still omit most of the poems known from musical settings. So the first task is to see why and try to understand these discussions from a musician's point of view.

Leonardo Giustinian died, after a long and distinguished career in Venetian politics, in 1446. The earliest printed edition of his canzonette dates from twenty-five years later: this is the volume entitled *Comincia el fiore de le elegantissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Iustiniano.* It appears to have been an enormously successful book: at least thirteen different editions are known, running from about 1472 to 1518, mostly printed in Venice.

All those editions contain the same thirty poems in the same order (listed below in the appendix); and, as Laura Pini demonstrated in 1960, they all share an error near the beginning that can only go back to a false imposition of the pages in the earliest edition.[4] Details and orthography vary; but, as concerns who actually wrote the poems, none of these editions has any independent authority except the first. Of the thirty poems in the collection, three are elsewhere more convincingly ascribed to other poets; and three more have been questioned on stylistic grounds.

Ten of the *Fiore* poems appear in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, f. it. 1032. This is a beautifully copied and uniform collection, written on high-quality parchment and containing seventy poems. They are organised mainly by form and patently planned as a unit. There is no ascription or hint of an ascription here; but the very nature of the source is powerful evidence that it contains the canzoniere of a single poet. Ten of them appear in Giustinian's *Fiore:* four of these plus two more are ascribed to him in a late Florentine manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 1091).[5] Evidently, then, that poet is Leonardo Giustinian. The manuscript was copied probably in the late 1460s, as Laura Pini demonstrated; and, although the texts are adapted from Venetian dialect into something more Tuscan, the broad consensus of literary scholars is that its contents reflect the final version of Giustinian's canzoniere. I see no reason to disagree.

Bertold Wiese knew this manuscript, but unfortunately not soon enough to use it for his edition. He based his text on a manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca

[3] ALDO OBERDORFER, "Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustiniano", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,* 57 (1911): 192–217; GIUSEPPE BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,* 110 (1937): 197–251; LAURA PINI, "Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian (Indice e classificazioni dei manoscritti e delle stampe antiche)", *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Classe di Scienze morali, storiche et filologiche,* s. VIII, 9/3 (1960): 419–543.

[4] PINI, "Per l'edizione", pp. 423–4. The earliest edition is generally assumed to be the undated one in the British Library, call-number IA. 19973, though Pini is a little more cautious in her conclusions.

[5] The authority of *Riccardiana 1091* is discussed in ENZO QUAGLIO, "Da Benedetto Biffoli a Leonardo Giustinian", *Filologia e critica,* 13 (1988): 157–83.

Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 213. This contains the same seventy poems in the same order followed by eighteen more whose authority is now much doubted — among them, for example, there are three elsewhere more credibly ascribed to Sanguinacci, Boccaccio and Cavalcabò. This manuscript carries the arms of Francesco Sforza, who died in 1466. It has essentially the same texts as the one in Paris; but many leaves are lost in this manuscript, so even of the initial seventy poems there are several missing entirely as well as others that lack either their beginning or their end; thus those first seventy poems are represented only by nos. 1–63 in Wiese's edition. And although Wiese later published the missing bits in a separate article on the Paris manuscript,[6] this does make it very difficult to use his edition.

Both those manuscripts appear to have been copied in Milan. But for a deeper understanding of the canzonette, scholars have turned mainly to two manuscripts copied actually in the Veneto: Marciana IX.486 and Piacenza, Biblioteca Landiana, Pallastrelli 267. These are decidedly scruffy; both are from the second half of the century; and, like the two Milanese manuscripts, they contain no ascriptions. Their common repertory is of only twenty-two poems, mostly in a state rather different from that in the Milanese manuscripts, not just in their Veneto dialect but also in their length and wording. From this Giuseppe Billanovich in 1937 concluded that the poet made a final revision of his canzoniere soon before his death in 1446; and that the Milanese manuscripts are a distant copy of that final revision.[7] Some of the details in this theory have been discussed and modified by Laura Pini; but the broad principles appear to be accepted, and insofar as I can judge they look right. Even so, there are some points that seem to need stressing.

First, even the two Veneto sources reflect the assembly of a single coherent canzoniere late in Giustinian's life — a procedure in which any poet of his time would see the model of Petrarch's canzoniere, which itself went through several stages of revision. In fact there is a copy of the last version of Petrarch's canzoniere entirely in the hand of Leonardo Giustinian,[8] so he not only knew that model but took it seriously; among many apparent references to Petrarch in Giustinian's canzoniere the most striking is its last poem, *Tacer non posso e temo oimè meschino,* which takes its metrical form from Petrarch's poem with the same first five words. Petrarch eliminated various earlier poems that eventually seemed wrong for his grand plan; it is almost inevitable that Giustinian would have done the same. Therefore to say that a poem does not appear in the final version of Leonardo Giustinian's canzoniere is not to say that he did not write it.

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[6] BERTOLD WIESE, "Zu den Liedern Lionardo Giustinianis", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* 17 (1883): 256–76.

[7] BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione", passim.

[8] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Redi 118, with the inscription "scripta per me Leonardum Justinianum ex eo libro quem poeta ipse propria manu conscripsit". See GIUSEPPE BILLANOVICH, "Alla scoperta di Leonardo Giustinian", *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa,* s. II, 8 (1939): 99–130 and 333–57 (especially 356–7).

The second point to stress is that the only reliable authority for ascribing any of these poems — bar just one, which is ascribed in half a dozen sources — to Giustinian is the printed volume that carries his name, the *Fiore*. To exclude the poems of the *Fiore* that happen not to appear in the Milanese manuscripts therefore involves an element of circularity. I am neither equipped nor inclined to question the view of the literary authorities that three of the poems in *Fiore* are more reliably ascribed to other poets and that a further three are most unlikely to be his. But there are fourteen others that appear to have been dismissed in the wake of Aldo Oberdorfer's trenchant but perhaps rather glib remark that the *Fiore* is a garden containing a lot of weeds.[9] To suggest that six of the thirty poems are spurious seems fair enough for a posthumous collection; to suggest that two-thirds of them are spurious merely because they are not in the Milanese manuscripts seems incredible, particularly in a collection published in his home-town of Venice and going through thirteen editions. Briefly, these fourteen poems have attracted virtually no comment in the enormous literature on the poet; and they happen to include six for which we have musical settings — among them Ciconia's *O rosa bella* and *Con lagrime*.

The third observation to make here is that those last two poems were plainly written before 1412, when Ciconia died; and that several others were probably set to music well before 1420, still a dozen years before the earliest poetic manuscript and a quarter of a century before the so-called 'earlier' version of Giustinian's canzoniere, known only from Venetian sources half a century later.

The largest available census of Leonardo's poems — that published in 1960 by Laura Pini — lacks at least nineteen musical manuscripts, including between them over forty versions of individual poems, and including a dozen manuscripts considerably earlier than any she mentions.[10] This is understandable: the main relevant musicological literature available in 1960 was scattered and hard to find. And it is just as understandable that musicologists have not taken full account of the substantial and equally scattered literature on the poetry of Leonardo Giustinian. For her main purpose — establishing criteria for a new edition of Giustinian's final canzoniere — only two of the musical sources are in any way relevant.[11] But for the issue of deciding whether certain poems in the *Fiore* could really be by Leonardo Giustinian, they are of the first importance.[12]

That is all by way of necessary background to making a very simple point about Giustinian's published *Fiore*. Of the nineteen poems there that are not also in the Milanese manuscripts, eleven are extremely short, sixteen lines or

[9] OBERDORFER, "Per l'edizione", 207.

[10] In fact she names only two musical sources: the Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2216, and the Trecento manuscript in Paris (f. it. 568). There is no evidence that she knew the date of either: she simply calls them "fifteenth century". And on the second of these she gives such bizarre information that I find it hard to believe she consulted it.

[11] Namely Lucca/Mancini (concerning which, see note 16 below) and Bologna 2216.

[12] Some of these musical sources are considered in Francesco Luisi's recent grand two-volume study of the *Laudario Giustinianeo* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1983); but his main concern is the sacred poetry of Giustinian, and he offers no coherent view on the secular canzonette.

less, far shorter than anything in the final canzoniere. The six that either have contrary ascriptions or have actually been judged spurious are all very long poems in *terza rima,* another form that happens not to appear in the final canzoniere. The other two are also long poems. But the important issue concerns the eleven short poems, ranging from seven to sixteen lines. In the list of contents of the *Fiore* presented in the appendix to this article the right hand column notes the number of lines in each of those eleven poems. They would simply have had no place in the scheme of extended poems found in the Milan sources of the canzoniere; in other words, they are in forms not represented in Giustinian's canzoniere, just as his well attested strambotti and sacred laude are also not there.

It may not be too wild to guess, then, that these short poems just represent a different category of his work. They may in fact belong to a specific category of "poesia per musica polifonica"; certainly none of the poems in the final canzoniere is brief enough to have an elaborate polyphonic setting. They may also be amongst his earliest poems, later rejected as juvenilia; but it is surely first and foremost their form that led to their rejection from the final canzoniere.

The only reason I have the temerity to suggest this in the face of so much literary scholarship is that these poems have not really been discussed in the published literature on Giustinian: so far as I can see, Oberdorfer's joke about the garden full of weeds appears to have ended the matter. There is in fact just one comment, from Giuseppe Billanovich, who wrongly believed all of them to be unique to the *Fiore.*[13] Billanovich wrote: "I see no reason — that is, from the attentive study of their contents — to dismiss them".[14] In other words, the only stated reason for excluding these poems is that they do not appear in the Milanese manuscripts of a collection devoted to material of an entirely different kind. It is time to turn to what the musical evidence adds to this.

First and most obviously, it offers much earlier sources, long before the publication of the *Fiore* in 1472: *O rosa bella* and *Con lagrime* existed before 1412, when Ciconia died; *O bella rosa* and *Mercé te chiamo* existed long before about 1440. At least three of these poems come from Leonardo Giustinian's earliest years.

Investigation continues naturally enough with the two set to music by Ciconia. *Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso,* has been a subject of historical dispute for some time. Briefly, one manuscript source of the poem, copied in Florence, has the heading "ballata fatta per messer franciescho signior di padova";[15] and the current dispute concerns whether this could be Francesco Carrara the elder, who died in 1393, or his son Francesco Novello, who died in 1406.[16]

[13] BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione critica", 227 and passim.

[14] BILLANOVICH, "Per l'edizione critica", 228: "Non vedo motivo — si capisce: dallo studio attento del contenuto — di rifiutarle".

[15] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 1764, fol. 86*v*.

[16] The argument is outlined, with further bibliography, in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia,* ed. by Margaret Bent and Anne V. Hallmark, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 24 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), x; see also *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini,* ed. by John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, Ars Nova, 1 (Lucca: LIM, 1990), 41–2.

Francesco the elder's death was widely lamented, whereas Francesco Novello was a political disaster of such proportions that his death in prison was a considerable relief to almost everybody concerned; so recent commentators have preferred the former. If the poem was written around 1393 it obviously cannot have been by Giustinian, who was not more than eleven years old at the time; but then nor can the music have been by Ciconia, who was in Rome and Pavia before his first known appearance in Padua in 1402.[17] So if the poem and its music were composed in memory of a Francesco Carrara, it must have been the younger, in 1406. His assassination may have been a much-welcomed release from an impossible political situation, but that is not to say that some kind of token would be impossible. In the early fifteenth century a ballata was not a very public statement; and the poem itself does not in fact name the person lamented, merely describing him as "il mio signor". In fact, by an odd if intriguing coincidence, it was Leonardo Giustinian who was later deputed in 1518 to give the funeral oration praising Carlo Zeno before those who had condemned him as a traitor. As I pointed out recently in a review of the Mancini facsimile, the structure of that manuscript, as deduced by John Nádas from the surviving fragments, makes it all but certain that the music of *Con lagrime* comes from Ciconia's Paduan years.[18]

Ciconia lived in Padua from 1402 until his death in 1412, and the likely date of the song is 1406. Now it is of some importance to add that Leonardo Giustinian studied in Padua before becoming a member of Venice's maggior consiglio on 4 December 1407. This we know only from a sixteenth-century biography of his son, who was born on 6 January 1408:[19] there is no direct documentation; but equally there is no reason to dispute it. Leonardo's birth date is also not recorded: but it must be about 1382 or 1383, since his elder brother was born in 1381; and he himself was married in 1405.[20]

His Paduan studies can therefore only have been in about the years 1403–7. Even though the poem's ascription appears only in the posthumous editions of the 1470s, it is hard to resist the coincidences here. The poem was written

[17] *The Lucca Codex*, 41–5.

[18] *Early Music*, 19 (1991): 119–23.

[19] ANTONIUS STELLA, *Bernardi Justiniani patritii veneti* [...] *vita*, (Venice, 1553) (I used the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale: K16104), fols. 6*v*–7: "Et quoniam quicquid exemplo opt. fit, id iure bono fieri creditur; Patavinum Gymnasium, totius Europe celeberrimum petiit, Leonardum parentem hac in parte, vel maxime aemulatus, qui utranque [sic] linguam omnemque; dicendi copiam, in eodem gymnasio multo antea dedicerat". There may be further evidence of his Paduan study: the article on Leonardo in the *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Vittore Branca, vol. II (Turin: UTET, 1986), 402–7, by Ettore Caccia, states that "studiò poi a Padova filosofia naturale, secondo la lunga tradizione di quella scuola, roccaforte dell'aristotelismo naturalistico; noi potremmo supporre — sebbene non ve ne siano attestazioni — che abbia seguito, inoltre, studi di legge, se l'attività legale fu poi una delle sue principali occupazioni".

[20] As concluded in BERTHOLD FENIGSTEIN, *Leonardo Giustiniani (1383? – 1446): Venezianischer Staatsmann, Humanist und Vulgärdichter*, (Halle a. S.: Niemeyer, 1909), 7. This is not by any means the most judicious study of Leonardo, but it still contains a lot of good sense. The more commonly accepted notion that he was born in about 1388 derives from his remark in a letter to Filelfo (5 July 1442) stating that "annum iam unum de viginti eo fato me ad rempublicam contulisse", and the assumption that this refers to his joining the Maggior Consiglio in 1407.

almost certainly in 1406, one of the few years when both the poet and the composer were in Padua. The poet was a young student, but from one of the noblest families in Venice, so he could easily have been in contact with the distinguished composer. There seems enough here to support the ascription of *Con lagrime* in the *Fiore* beyond almost any question. It is a case where the weight of musical evidence and of new research seems entirely to overrule the caution of literary scholars — a caution followed by Ciconia's most recent editors and indeed by the author of the Ciconia work-list in *The New Grove Dictionary*, none of whom mentions the name Giustinian in connection with this piece.[21]

That leads to the other Ciconia setting of a poem in Giustinian's *Fiore,* namely *O rosa bella.* If Ciconia set one text by the young Venetian nobleman there is every possibility that he set another. That is, the coincidences that make the ascription of *Con lagrime* to Giustinian seem unavoidable add force to the ascription of *O rosa bella* in the same place.

There is one more factor in its support, namely the use of the word *rosa.* This is a word that appears remarkably often in Giustinian's poems, including those opening *Rosa mia per Dio consenti, O rosa mia gentile, O bella rosa o perla angelichata* and *Rosa mia bella.* Petrarch's canzoniere commemorates his love for Laura, her name repeatedly embedded in its texture. Domizio Brocardo's canzoniere similarly honours Lisa or Lia (as can be seen in another wonderful late song of Ciconia, *Lizadra donna,* using a poem of Brocardo). Giustinian may have taken the name Rosa as the dedicatee of at least his earlier poems. (The published concordance of Petrarch's canzoniere reveals that the word *rosa* appears only twice among its 366 poems.) I suggest, in any case, that the reference to *rosa* may be an added consideration in favour of Giustinian as author of *O rosa bella.*

The unusual feature in Ciconia's music for this poem is the text repetition, clearly mirrored in the sequential patterns of the music. In most songs of the time, text repetition of any kind is extremely rare. So far as I can see the earliest use of this sighing technique is in *Mercé o morte,* now known to be by Ciconia.[22] It is probably only just earlier than *O rosa bella.* I would guess, from its style and vocabulary, that *Mercé o morte* is also a Giustinian poem, though it has not been found in any poetic source.

Another poem from Giustinian's *Fiore* survives in a very early setting, though its only musical source is the rather later Bologna University library manuscript 2216. This is *O bella rosa o perla angelichata.*[23] In the Bologna manuscript it faces Ciconia's *Mercé o morte* and follows another song that is often believed

[21] For the new edition, see note 16 above; the *New Grove Dictionary* work-list was my own.

[22] See *The Lucca Codex* (note 16 above), 19; the music had already been printed as an *opus dubium* of Ciconia in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia,* no. 39; but the new source, with its ascription to Ciconia, also has an extra voice, and this three-voice version (published in *The Lucca Codex,* 105–7) more definitively aligns the piece with Ciconia's other late works.

[23] Edited in WILLIAM TH. MARROCCO, *Italian Secular Music,* Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, XI (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1978), no. 55; it is also edited in *Laudario,* vol. II, 259–60. In the *Fiore* the opening line reads *O rosa bella, o perla angelicata.*

to be by him, *Deducto sey*, both pieces firmly from the first decade of the century. It is hard to be sure whether *O bella rosa* could be another Ciconia setting: it is a gloriously controlled song that features the panting phrase-repetition found in his *O rosa bella*, *Lizadra donna* and *Mercé o morte*. What can be noted, however, is that we now have a group of four pieces, all in major prolation, all in passably similar style, all including the same sighing sequences: three of the pieces are demonstrably by Ciconia; two of them have texts demonstrably by Leonardo Giustinian. Not only that, but all of them are ballate of roughly the same length — which is to say some sixty breves of major prolation, the music lasting about five minutes for a text of about ten lines. In all of them the music is complex and intricate with elaborate motivic imitation, crafted with consummate skill.

The received picture of music for Leonardo Giustinian is one of simple semi-improvised singing to lute accompaniment.[24] That may be true for his longer poems, for which almost no written music survives. But for the broader picture it is true only if we persist in ignoring the ascriptions in his published *Fiore*. These short poems have extremely sophisticated music, perhaps the most skilled secular polyphony of their generation. They are also associated with the irresistibly affective style of those sighing sequences. The style and the idea here perhaps belong to Ciconia, but it remains true that he did not use it until he began to set Giustinian; and it is also true that the somewhat staccato style of all Giustinian's poetry, keeping to short ideas and avoiding any particular logical thread, is perfectly suited to that sort of treatment, indeed, I would say, encourages it. I suggest, then, that Giustinian provided the perfect materials for the last and most attractive of Ciconia's many musical innovations.

The story of Leonardo Giustinian and music then takes a different turn. In the Bologna University manuscript there is one further setting of a poem ascribed to him in the *Fiore*, *Mercé te chiamo*.[25] This is in a very different style, with long musical lines generally closing in a fermata, with strings of held chords for particular phrases and the occasional florid melisma. It is an unusual style that recurs in three more settings from the *Fiore*. Their music survives with their texts uniquely in the later *Escorial chansonnier*: *Dove dov'è*, *Piangete donne* and *O graziosa viola mia gentile*.[26] Unlike the music of what as a shorthand we can call the Ciconia tradition, these pieces could well have a basis in improvised performance, and they certainly have a pronounced declamatory manner. They

[24] The case is outlined in WALTER H. RUBSAMEN, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century", *Acta musicologica*, 29 (1957): 172–84, and in NINO PIRROTTA, "Ricercare e variazioni su 'O rosa bella' ", *Studi Musicali*, 1 (1972): 59–77.

[25] Edited in MARROCCO, *Italian Secular*, no. 48, and in *Laudario*, vol. II, 236–9.

[26] Edited in EILEEN SOUTHERN, *Anonymous Pieces in the MS El Escorial IV.a.24*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, LXXXVIII (Stuttgart-Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1981), nos. 51, 62 and 61; *Laudario*, vol. II, 257–8, 267 and 264–5. It seems not to have been remarked that the music of *Dove dove* also appears with a Latin contrafacted text *Salve o beata* in the Cape Town, The South African Library, Ms Grey 3.b.12, edited in GIULIO CATTIN, *Italian Laude & Sacred Unica in MS Capetown. Grey 3.b.12*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, LXXVI (Stuttgart-Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1977), no. 37.

were probably all composed in the 1430s and 1440s. But, like the songs of the Ciconia tradition, they have an extended style that makes it quite impossible for the poems of one hundred lines and more that make up the bulk of Giustinian's final canzoniere.

Just to fill the picture, it may be worth recalling Walter Rubsamen's observation that we may have a hint of the musical style for the canzoniere poetry in the setting of *Perla mia cara* in the *chansonnier Cordiforme*:[27] a very simple repeating melody with the simplest possible accompaniment. But that borders on areas peripheral to my main theme here, areas that have been well explored by others.[28] Even so, there seem to have been two quite different genres of music for the two different genres of Leonardo Giustinian's canzonette. For the long poems that survive in his canzoniere, like *Perla mia cara,* the simple style described in reports of his own playing. For the shorter poems in the *Fiore,* two rather different styles, both more expansive, and the earlier of them entirely independent of any improvisational tradition.

It is time to return, finally, to the earlier style, apparently pioneered by Ciconia. This has recently been discussed by Nino Pirrotta, who dubbed the style 'veneziano' and drew attention to several songs in similar style from the second and third decades of the fifteenth century, works by men such as Rosso, Prepositus Brixiensis and Bartolomeo da Bologna.[29] However, elements of the tradition continued much longer than that, and what may be its last gasp is in Dufay's *Dona gentile* of the 1450s.

There is plenty of evidence in his early motets that Dufay knew the work of Ciconia. But only one of his early songs betrays such hints: this is *La dolce vista,* which follows many of the contours of Ciconia's *Lizadra donna,* and in its text uses a vocabulary similar to that of Giustinian, at one point even addressing the lady as "o rosa colorita".[30] While that is hardly enough even to hint that Giustinian could be the poet, it surely is enough to suggest that there is a musico-poetic tradition continuing here — a matter that seems in any case more interesting — and that what we see in that Dufay song, perhaps of the early 1430s, is a

[27] WALTER H. RUBSAMEN, "From Frottola to Madrigal: The Changing Pattern of Secular Italian Vocal Music", *Chanson & Madrigal, 1480–1530: Studies in Comparison and Contrast,* ed. by James Haar, Isham Library Papers, II (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1964), 51–87, with an edition of the music on pp. 175–6; see also *Laudario,* vol. II, 266. The music of this piece is most recently published in GENEVIÈVE THIBAULT – DAVID FALLOWS, *Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu,* Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Première série, XXIII (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1991), no. 9. It should be mentioned here that the music in the cordiforme chansonnier of Jean de Montchenu sets only nine of the poem's 100 lines — three stanzas of three lines each. But the simplicity of the music is surely applicable to a setting of a much longer poem; moreover, the same melodic outline appears in an incomplete setting of the first stanza found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a.fr. 4379, fol. 66*v*, ed. by Thibault and Fallows, LXXXVI.

[28] See note 24 above.

[29] NINO PIRROTTA, "Echi di arie veneziane del primo Quattrocento", *Interpretazioni veneziane: Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro,* ed. by David Rosand (Venice: Arsenale, 1984), 99–108.

[30] Edited in HEINRICH BESSELER, *Guillelmi Dufay: Cantiones,* Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 1/6 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964) no. 4.

characteristic refining and simplification of a successful tradition from earlier in the century.

As concerns his much later *Dona gentile,* it is highly intriguing that the editor of Giustinian himself, Bertold Wiese, drew attention to its poetic style. This is recorded in a footnote to Antonio Restori's article of 1894 in which he published the texts of the songbook in Pavia:[31] apparently it was just this text that Wiese found strongly reminiscent of Giustinian — and of course he did not know the music, which, as I said, bears on the same tradition and therefore endorses Wiese's view.

That is not all, though. *Dona gentile* is an almost unique case of a rondeau in the Italian language. There can be no possible doubt that Dufay actually composed it as a rondeau: the layout of the poem in three quite independent manuscripts and particularly the musical design confirm that. However: the text in those three manuscripts contains problems and seems to need a lot of emendation.[32] It was only when seeing the music in the context of what one might call the Ciconia tradition and noticing again Wiese's comment about the Giustinian style of the poem, that the truth dawned. The text reads as follows:

Dona gentile, bella come l'oro,
Che supra le altre portate corona
Come per l'universo si razona,
Datime secorso, stella, che moro.

Che più non stago in questo purgatoro — *Cord*: purgatorio
Tranquilitate en ver di me Fortuna
[Dona gentile etc.]

Lasso ja sono di tale martiro, — *Cord*, *Pav*: martirio
Che vivere non posso salvo en una.
Qui mi trovo com voy, clara luna,
Per sempre servire quella c'adoro.
[Dona gentile etc.]

The point is quite simply that the rhymes do not work. They work in a way; but to bring them in line with the rest of the rondeau repertory (ABBA ab[AB] abba [ABBA]) editors have had to cheat to the point of suggesting *purgatoro* for *purgatorio* and *martoro* for *martorio*. Nobody has bothered to fix up *fortuna*, *luna* and *una* so that they rhyme with *corona* and *razona*, as they should: I suppose modern editors (myself included) thought they were close enough. But actually they are not. Well, the truth that dawned in this new context was that the poem started life not as a rondeau at all but as a ballata, with a four-line stanza

[31] ANTONIO RESTORI, "Un codice musicale pavese", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 18 (1894): 381–401 (especially 397).

[32] Edited in BESSELER, *Guillelmi Dufay*, no. 8; but for a fuller census of the source readings, see LEEMAN L. PERKINS – HOWARD GAREY, *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), no. 33.

and two-line piedi — rhyming, therefore, ABBA, CDCD D??A. Dufay presumably knew perfectly well that it was a ballata: he would in any case have needed to leave out two lines from the volta. He seems also to have chosen a ballata in which the rhymes between ripresa and piedi were close enough to pass muster for a rondeau. But that recognition cuts the gordian knot of problematic emendations in the poem; it also clarifies the distinctive stylistic context of the song.

My conclusions from this are simple, though they have a much wider importance for musical history. First, the short poems in the *Fiore* could have had no place in Leonardo Giustinian's canzoniere, mainly because of their form and brevity which separate them from anything in the final canzoniere; that, I suggest, is the main reason they are not found there. Second, the view that they may not be by Leonardo Giustinian has no logical basis. In fact it is the very opposite of logical, since the *Fiore* is the main evidence for ascribing the seventy poems of the canzoniere to Leonardo Giustinian; certainly no coherent argument has been mounted against them, and Billanovich's stylistic judgement is in their favour. Third, study of the musical evidence offers many sources far earlier than any of the literary ones; and it tells us that several of these poems are very early indeed, at least some of them from his years as a student in Padua, in the first decade of the century, thus over thirty years earlier than the currently accepted date for the assembly of his canzoniere. Fourth, there seems a good case for believing that it was the influence of Giustinian's rather staccato rhetoric that generated the gloriously luxuriant style of Ciconia's late songs, a style that continued to have its impact some forty years later in the mature music of Dufay.

Finally, though, it might be as well to return to Giulio Cattin's article, with which I began, and to annotate his index entry for Leonardo Giustinian (p. 304) in the light of what has been said above.

Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso: as the final poem in Giustinian's *Fiore,* it can surely count as his work. The style of Ciconia's music points to a date of 1406, when Giustinian was almost certainly in Padua.

O rosa bella: also in the *Fiore* and mentioning "rosa", so surely by Giustinian; the earliest known musical setting is by Ciconia, who died in 1412.

O bella rosa: also in the *Fiore,* and likewise offering no reason to disbelieve his authorship; the musical setting was copied well before 1440 and is in a Ciconia-like style that points a date well before 1420.

Dove dov'è; *Mercé te chiamo*; *O graciosa viola*; *Piangete done*: all also in the *Fiore,* and likewise offering no cogent reason to disbelieve his authorship.

Perla mia cara appears in the *Fiore* as well as in both late Milanese sources of his canzoniere and many others, including Riccardiana 1091, where it is ascribed to him.

Cattin's index contains three more entries that have not been mentioned above but can be discussed briefly. *Aimè ch'a torto* is indeed, as Rubsamen was the first to notice, the second stanza of the poem *Io vedo ben ch'amore è traditore,*

in the *Fiore* as well as in both late sources of his canzoniere. The poem *Lisadra damisella* is in Paris, f. it. 1032, so it is currently accepted as by Giustinian; but the music in Bologna Q16 cannot be for this poem: it has only text incipits, the first "Lisa dea damisella" just possibly a miscopying of the Giustinian incipit, but that for the second pars "Da poy chi tu me faxe" not found in Giustinian's poem; in any case the form of the music is incompatible with the poem. *O pellegrina o luce* is not ascribed to Giustinian anywhere, though it does appear in two Venetian manuscripts.

Appendix

Comincia el fiore de le elegantissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Iustiniano (*c.* 1472 and twelve later editions)

Pal 213 is the source (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 213) that was the basis of the standard edition: B. Wiese, *Poesie edite ed inedite di Lionardo Giustiniani* (Bologna, 1883)

W1 etc. refer to Wiese's edition of the 19 poems he did not publish in *Poesie*: *Neunzehn Lieder Leonardo Giustinianis nach den alten Drucken*, in *Bericht des Grossherzoglichen Real-Gymnasiums* (Ludwigslust, 1885).

Concordant sources are confined to those relevant to the present discussion. Numbers in the right-hand margin represent the total number of lines in the shorter poems.

Orthography of the song texts follows the copy in the British Library, the only known copy of what seems to be the earliest surviving edition.

@ denotes a source containing an ascription to Leonardo Giustinian

Bu	=	I-Bu 2216
EscB	=	E-E IV.a. 24
MC	=	I-MC 871
Cape	=	SA-Cs Grey 3.b.12
PC	=	F-Pn n.a.fr. 4379
Cord	=	F-Pn Rothschild 2973

1	*Qual ninpha in fonte o qual in ciel m'ai dea* Pal 213, no. 71 (i.e. in 'non-authentic' part; not in *F-Pn* f.it. 1032), but ascribed in *I-MOe* III.D.22, f. 162 and f. 222; in *I-Bu* 1739 a later hand added the name Sanguinacci.	CapQ x17	
2	*Regina del cor mio* Pal 213, no. 43; I-Fr 1091 @; seven laude	Ba4/2:7/5/11 x11	
3	*Rosa mia bella per Dio consente* Pal 213, no. 17	10:8/6 x11	
4	*Mercé te chiamo o dolce anima mia* (W1) Music: Bu EscB MC; one lauda	Ba4/3: 11	14
5	*Zoveneta vaga e bella* (W2)	abba:8 x13	
6	*Per gran forza d'amor chon mosso espinto* (W3) by Antonio Guazzalotri (Oberdorfer, 206; Billanovich, 228)	terza rima x44 + 1	
7	*O rosa bella o dolce anima mia* (W4) Music: by Ciconia, (?) Bedyngham and others; two laude	Ba2/2: 11	8
8	*O rosa bella o perla anzelicata* (W5) Music: Bu (as "O bella rosa")	Ba3/2: 11/7	10
9	*Vegio la bionda treza el velo ad auro* (W6) authority doubted by Oberdorfer and	terza rima x33 + 1	

	Billanovich on style		
10	*Amor chon tanto sforzo omai mi assale* (W7) by Giusto de' Conti (Oberdorfer, 206; Billanovich, 228)	terza rima x65 + 1	
11	*Io vedo ben che amore e traditore* Pal 213, no. 58; *I-Fr* 1091 @, and ascribed to him in several more manuscripts; ten laude Music: a later setting of 2nd stanza ("Aimè ch'a torto") in Petrucci's *Frottole libro sesto.*	CapQ x55	
12	*Tacer non posso e temo oimè meschino* Pal 213, no. 63	CapQ x31	
13	[*Aimè*] *Chi non t'havesse mai veduta* (W8)	ababababcc: 11 x2	16
14	*Suplicho i cieli et ogni vaga stella* (W9) authority doubted by Oberdorfer and Billanovich on style	terza rima x55	
15	*Per le beleçe ch'ai* Pal 213, no. 40	Ba3/2:7/11 x16	
16	*Gli aspri martiri e l'inifinite offexe* (W10) by Lanzilotto de Angosoli da Piaxenza, according to Castiglione Ms.; also (anon.) in *F-Pn* 1069 and *I-UDc* 10; 3 ternari appear in Ravenna 126.	terza rima x15	
17	*Chiuda le labre ognun che di fortuna* (W11) authority doubted by Oberdorfer and Billanovich on style	terza rima x13	
18	*Done e amati che provate* Pal 213, no. 62	abab:8 x19	
19	*Chui si vol piacer dare* (W12)	4: 7 x19 + 1	
20	*Più non posso aime tacere* Pal 213, no. 45 (opening missing)	Ba2/2:8 x19	
21	*Dove e dove e lo mio signore* (W13) Music: Cap EscB; one lauda	aba cd cd: 11	7
22	*Gueriera mia chonsentime* Pal 213, no. 15; *I-Fr* 1091 @; three laude	10 x9	
23	*Perla mia cara e dolce amor* Pal 213, no. 14; *I-Fr* 1091 @ Music: PC Cord	10 x10	
24	*E penso con sospiri atorno el core* (W14)	ABbA ABbA CDDC	12
25	*Perduta o la mia speme e 'l mio dexio* (W15)	ABbC CDdE EFfg GHhI	16
26	*Vago legiadro fiore* (W16)	Ba4/2: 7/11	12
27	*O suspiri angusoxi* (W17)	aabbc DeeD	9
28	*O gratioxa viola mia gentile* (W18) Music: EscB (MC)	Ba2/5: 11/5/7	14
29	*O roxa mia gientille* Pal 213, no. 27; seven laude	Ba4/2: 7/11 x11	
30	*Con lacrime bagnandome el vixo* (W19) Music: by Ciconia; one lauda	Ba4/2: 11/7	12

Part VI
Secular Song

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[15]

New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition*

Nino Pirrotta

In the minds of most musicians the word *siciliana* is associated with elegant baroque tunes whose composers in most cases had never set foot on the island, or with a certain melody by a Tuscan of Leghorn which is impressive when heard from behind the curtain at the beginning of *Cavalleria rusticana* but which only vaguely resembles a real Sicilian song. To a native the popular songs of Sicily are a different, deeper experience; I may be forgiven, then, if I preface my discussion with a few samples of their fast-disappearing tradition.

The first is a song from S. Agata, on the northern shore of the island, on a text which has—or should have— the *a b a b a b a b* rhyme scheme of a *strambotto*.

> Quannu passu di ccà, provu un duluri:
> ti viu e nun ti pozzu salutari.
> Tu ti cridissi ch'è lu picca amuri;
> lu fazzu pi li genti nun parlari.
> E l'occhiu di la genti su' balestri;
> tradiscinu lu cori di luntanu.
> Sa' chi ti dicu, carissimu amuri?
> statti ferma cu mia, nun dubitari.[1]

Its melody (Ex. 5.1), as usual with most Sicilian songs, sets the first two lines and is then repeated with variants and adjustments for the following ones. Less usual here is the fact that the first large melodic unit embraces not only the first but also half of the second line of text; the latter is repeated and brought to its conclusion with the second melodic phrase.[2]

Typical of the brooding mood of most Sicilian lyricism is the slow pace

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Ex. 5.1 *Santagatisa* (Favara, *Corpus*, no. 441).

of the melody, whose flexible rhythm is more determined at the beginning of each melodic segment and then slackens into ecstatic sustained notes embroidered at will by the performer. The relaxed flexibility of the melody does not disguise the strong polarization of its two main sections toward two different tonal goals, represented in this case by the same note at a higher and lower octave. It must be noted that the first phrase comes to a strong cadence on an interrupted sentence ("I see you and cannot . . .") and that the second breaks on the first syllable of a word and then resumes with the second syllable used as an upbeat to the new melodic segment.

The strong major flavor of this song, only slightly tempered by the minor third at the end, may seem to indicate a fairly recent origin. However, the two largely different versions of my second example will show how tonal inflections may have encroached on a preexisting outline conceived in a nontonal idiom. Both versions are from Salemi, inland toward the western tip of the island, and are set, as was the first song, to a *strambotto*-like text.

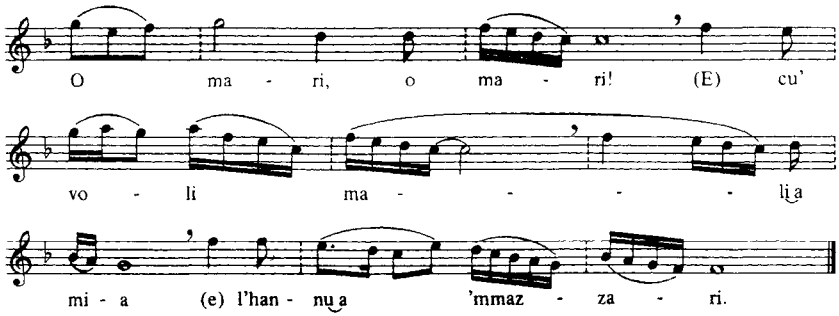
(E) 'nti stu curtigghiu c'è un peri di rosa;
nun la tuccati nuddu, ch'è la mia.
C'è qualchidunu chi pretenni cosa,
si lu livassi di la fantasia.
D'unn'avi li peri la testa ci posa;
ieu ci lu giuru pi la parti mia.
M'arriccumannu a tia, peri di rosa,
ca sta 'mputiri to' la vita mia.[3]

The two versions of the music (Ex. 5.2, *a* and *b*), again set to the first two lines, parallel each other up to the end of the first line, cadencing respectively on A and B, and then again in the section corresponding to the second line of text, descending to a cadence on low E. A major difference is

Ex. 5.2 Laundress song, versions *a* and *b* (Favara, *Corpus*, nos. 293 and 294).

the melodic fragment repeating the second half of the first line of text ("un peri di rosa"), which is present only in version *a*. The insertion does not have any particular chronological intimation; yet version *a*, insisting as it does on the triad of E major, sounds somewhat more modern than the playing with clustered semitones and the double *diabolus in musica* (at "rosa" and "la mia") of version *b*.[4] Once more we may notice the splitting of words between the end of one melodic segment and the beginning of the following one ("nud-du" in version *a*; "ro-sa" and "nud-du" in version *b*), as well as the initial conjunction "E," present in both versions but absolutely unnecessary from the standpoint of either sense or meter. Its function as a way for the singer to start his melody, or one fragment of it, becomes more evident in the last of my prefatory examples, a "motet" of a more melismatic character from Partanna, near Salemi (Ex. 5.3).[5]

I shall not deny that I have been indulging in a nostalgic feeling for one aspect of my native island's past that is in the process of being irretrievably erased by the wave of modernization. But my offering such an exotic bouquet may also have some less morbid and more scholarly reasons,



Ex. 5.3 *Muttettu* (Favara, *Corpus*, no. 317).

which shall be presently indicated by a sudden plunge of my recording pen from the vibrations of open-air singing to the flat austerity of dusty bibliographical information.

The older section of the well-known Codex Reina (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 6771—henceforth designated with the usual abbreviation, PR)[6]—includes between fascicles I and II, dedicated respectively to works by Jacopo da Bologna (fols. 1–12) and Bartolino da Padova (fols. 13–24), and fascicle V, whose first pages (fols. 49–52) contain works by Francesco Landini, two more fascicles (fols. 25–48); these were left, or inserted, as a repository for (1) additional works by the three composers represented in the adjacent fascicles; (2) works by seldom-mentioned composers such as Dompnus Paulus, Henricus, Jacobelus Bianchus, and Johannes Baçus Correçarius;[7] and (3) a number of anonymous settings for which PR is the only known source. The last have more and more attracted my attention in recent years because of the possibility that their heterogeneous gathering may include samples of what I call the unwritten tradition of music, the importance of which—per se and for the assessment of the written tradition—I have also pointed out with possibly tedious insistence.[8]

Written and unwritten tradition are broad generalizations, or polarizations, between whose extremes there is ample space for exceptions, hybrids, and borderline cases—almost the only hope we may have of catching some glimpse of the vast uncharted domain of unwritten music. I had this in mind when I commented, in another essay on one piece in PR, *Dolce lo mio drudo e vaitende* (fols. 29v–30), which I singled out because its text reworks as a *ballata* the first strophe of a *canzone* attributed in an earlier source to "Re federigo" (either Emperor Frederick II, king of Sicily

and Jerusalem, or his son, Frederick of Antiochia).[9] Accordingly, the North Italian compilers of PR may have had good reasons to consider it as a specimen, exotic also to them, of a genre that was spreading among the practitioners of unwritten music: the *siciliana.*

Another possible *siciliana,* at least from the point of view of its text, is the following, also a *ballata:*

(E) vantènde, segnor mio, (e) vatène, amore;
con ti via se ne vene l'alma (mia) e 'l core.
(E) gli ochi dolenti piangon sença fine
cha vedèr el paradisso e soa belleza.
A cuy ti lasso, amore, ché no me meni?
l'alma me levi e 'l cor e l'alegreça.
La bocha cridava che sentiva dolceça;
amarà lamentarse, oymé, topina!
Altro signor zamay non voglio [avere]
perch'io non troverey del suo vallore.
(E) vantène, segnor mio [etc.][10]

Already the first line has in common with *Dolce lo mio drudo* the peculiarly southern form "vantènde";[11] later on, such rhymes as "fine," "meni," and "topina" can be made regular only when reduced to corresponding dialectal forms ("fini," "mini," and "taupini," the last a conjectural plural instead of the feminine singular of PR). The poetic theme, the emotional farewell of two lovers, is similar to the situation in *Dolce lo mio drudo.* Furthermore, both texts are irregular *ballate,* the irregularity here consisting in the presence of two extra lines, 7 and 8; we do not know whether to consider these as a third *piede* or a doubling of the *volta* (in *Dolce lo mio drudo* the irregularity consisted in the probable existence of a double *ripresa*).

Translated into musical terms, the problem of interpreting the two extra lines raises the question whether they should be sung to the music of the *piedi* (second section) or the *ripresa* (first section). A quick glance at the music shows that the decision is irrelevant, for the two sections are but two versions of the same music, the first slightly expanded, the second more concise and also more balanced (Ex. 5.4).[12] This helps me answer a question I left open when writing on *Dolce lo mio drudo,* whether a Sicilian flavor is present in the music as well as in the text. My answer is decidedly yes in the case of *E vantènde.* Considering that the *ballata* form is foreign to the tradition of Sicilian poetry, in which the norm is a series of lines of equal length set two by two to a single melodic element, a strong

Ex. 5.4 Anonymous *ballata* (PR, fol. 38v).

E glio-chi do - len - ti pian - go...
A cu - y ti las - so, a - mo -
E glio-chi do - len - ti pian - go -
A cu - y ti las - so, a - mo -
piangon sen - ça fi -
re... a - mor ché no me me -
no... piangon sen - ça fi -
re... a - mor ché no me me -
ne Cha ve -
ni? L'al - ma
ne Cha ve -
ni? L'al - ma
dèr el pa - ra - dis - so...
me le - vi e'l co - re...
dèr el pa - ra - dis - so...
me le - vi e'l co - re...
pa - ra - dis - so e so'... e soa bel - le -
e il cor e l'a... e l'a - le - gre -
pa - ra - dis - so e so'... e soa bel - le -
e il cor e l'a... e l'a - le - gre -
za.
ça.
Da capo al Fine
za.
ça.

case can be made for the thesis that the text and music of PR have recast into a *ballata* form the text *and* music of an authentic Sicilian song, recorded on paper at least some five hundred years earlier than any of the available collections.

Recorded, yes, but where, by whom and, even more important, from which source? We can give approximate answers to the first two questions: the songs were probably written down in the Venetian inland rather than in Venice itself[13] by the compilers of the older section of PR. As for the third question: although the presence of Sicilians is not unlikely—among the students in Padua and among the clergy or in various trades elsewhere—I am inclined to think these melodies were received from non-Sicilian singers, to whom all the accounts reporting the singing of *siciliane* invariably refer. Two such accounts, which I quoted in writing on *Dolce lo mio drudo* (see essay 4), present as performers, respectively, a Venetian singing in Tuscany, who had learned his *siciliane* from Francesco di Vannozzo (probably born in Padua, he never went to Sicily),[14] and a Florentine singing in Venice, who at least had been on the island (his singing, however, took place forty to fifty years later than the recording of *E vantènde* in PR).[15] We may add to them Sollazzo, the hero of a well-known poetic description of social entertainments and a literary character whose skills certainly reflect the experiences of his creator, Simone Prudenzani of Orvieto. Sollazzo's repertory includes, with old polyphonic madrigals and more recent *ballate* (the time is during the second decade of the fifteenth century), popular songs from many places, including "strambotti de Cicilia a la reale."[16] Finally, we should also remember that the adjective *Sicilian* had two meanings: the first more specifically regional, indicating a connection with the island of Sicily; the second more general, applying to anything pertaining to the kingdom of Sicily, that is, to all southern Italy.

It thus becomes apparent that the singing of *siciliane,* or would-be *siciliane,* represents only one element, although a prominent one, in a vogue of eclectic exoticism that was spreading among professional and semiprofessional singers.[17] Accordingly, we may expect that even a song of authentic Sicilian provenance would be filtered, so to speak, through the habits and needs of non-Sicilian singers. More easily preserved in this process were the external features of the song, the declamatory beginning of phrases, the unhurried progress, the breaking of lines and words and their resumption in a new melodic start, the love of suspended vocalization, and even the preference for certain cadences, particularly those on E and B (the mode on E with strong cadences on the tonic and fifth degree is still prominent in the modern collections of Sicilian popular songs).[18]

Many of these elements are present in *E vantènde* and even more in *Dolce lo mio drudo,* in the latter to such an extent that it seems to me an unnatural and unauthentic ostentation of Sicilianity. In spite of the lack of cadences on E, the melody of *E vantènde,* in which neither pauses nor digressions ever cancel the strong tension toward the melodic goals A and G, sounds more authentic to my ear.

In another *ballata* (PR, fol. 39v) a disappointed lover scolds his former beloved:

Donna fallante, mira lo to aspetto.
Ti mostri vergognosa,
e (tu) stari 'nchiusa / ve par[r]ia dilletto.
Dilletto ve par[r]ia u' l'ascossa magione,
donna de fallo piena.
Tuo cuor getta' con falsa ragione
cridar sera e matina.
Tu, stella fina, / ché mi day spiandory?
por chi luce ormay?
Scuro lo troveray / al to soççetto.
Non av[e]rò çamay consolamento,
né riso, né sperança,
poi che falçasti lo (tuo) dolci talentu,
tornasti falsa amança.
Or doncha dança / cum pianti e rispeti.
Por chi luci ormay?
Scuro lo troveraj / al to sogetto.[19]

Again the imperfect final or internal rhymes "vergognosa-'nchiusa" and "piena-matina" become regular when retranslated into "virgugnusa-'nchiusa" and "china-matina"; furthermore, the scribe of PR forgot to modify the Sicilian endings of "dolci talentu" (both Tuscan and Venetian parlance would have had "dolce talento") and preserved at the end of the two stanzas a typically southern pleonastic construction with two objects, the second of them preceded by the preposition "a" ("lo" and "al to sogetto"). Archaic or popular traits in this text are the repetition of the last words of the *ripresa* at the beginning of the first *piede* (lines 3 and 4) and the refrain-like recurrence of two lines at the end of both stanzas.

The text of *Donna fallante* may have originated with a Sicilian poet; however, it cannot belong to the popular tradition because of its unequivocal *ballata* form. Thus, the popular traits we have observed in it seem to be an intentional display, which is reflected with no lesser determination by the music (Ex. 5.5). In the latter, something of the

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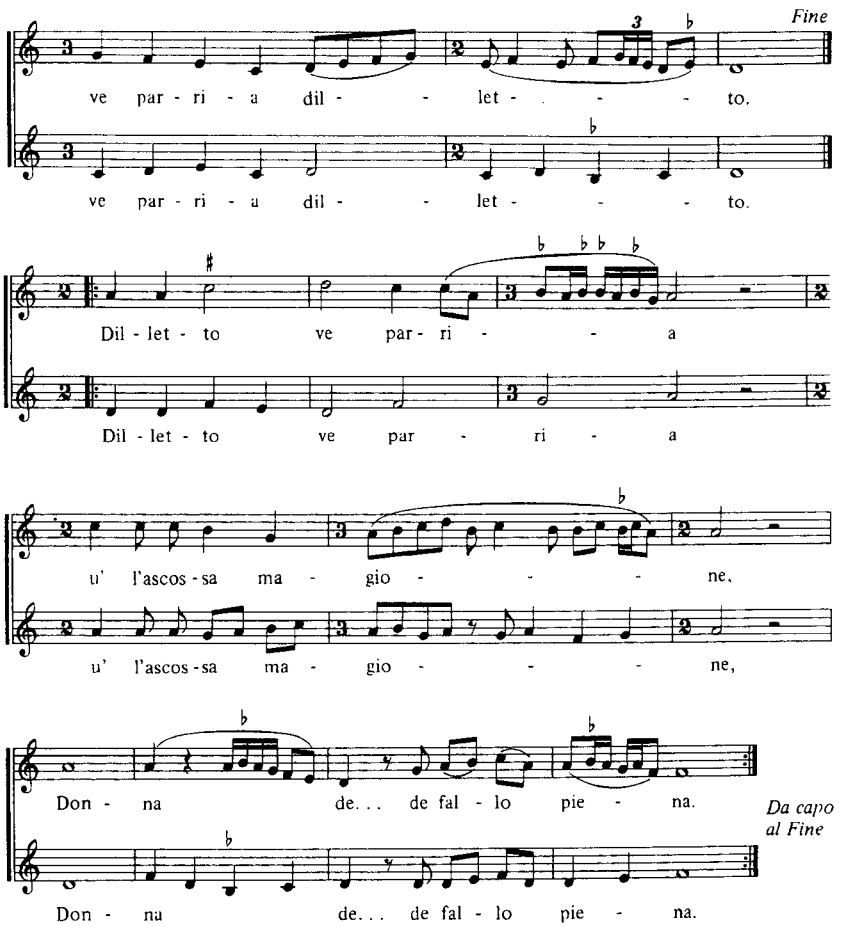
Ex. 5.5 Anonymous *ballata* (PR, fol. 39v).



Ex. 5.5 Continued

characteristic playing with semitone inflections can be introduced, or reinstated, merely by applying some simple rule of *musica ficta;* see, for instance, the upper part at the words "aspetto" and "stari 'nchiusa."

The verbal repetition between the *ripresa* and the first line of the following *piede* is paralleled by the music: compare the last measures of the first section with the three measures of the second section on the words "u' l'ascossa magione." The shift of the latter to the upper fifth is part of the higher melodic and tonal range often exhibited by the *piedi* section in the more popular types of *ballata* (for instance, in the monophonic *laude*),

echoing the alternation between chorus and soloist of the original dance songs. Another repetition occurs at the end of the *piedi* section, where the music on "Donna" strongly resembles that set to the same word at the beginning of the piece. Such repetitions, however, although they can be considered popular features in the poem, become in the music a subtle procedure for which no popular singer, accustomed as he was to readjusting the same melody to a number of texts, would have cared.

More instances of *siciliane,* or would-be *siciliane,* are present in PR; I cannot examine them within the limits of this essay. They are by no means the only pieces that were crystallized into a written record instead of being left in the fluid state of the unwritten tradition. Others are set to texts having a definite Venetian flavor, which made better sense to the compilers of PR than the texts of presumably Sicilian origin. One, however, gives a curious testimony of both the embarrassment of northern scribes when confronted with southern texts they did not fully understand and the frequency with which such confrontations occurred. The poem reads quite correctly in PR, fol. 39:

Strençì li labri c'àno
d'amor melle ch'a zucaro someglia,
et alçì quey dolci cigli / chi m'alcide.
Tu say cum quanta angossa quanta pena
sosteni per to amore
inançi che ver mi fossi piatossa;
poi per pietà solgisti la cathena
che me ligasti el core,
che dì e note e' non avea may possa;
e la vita angososa
mi festi ritornare in gran dolceça,
sì che toa zentileça / vince amore.
Strençì li labri [etc.]

But in another, nonmusical manuscript, the charming incipit is misread "Strengi le lapre piano, l'amor mio";[20] the scribe, evidently conditioned in his reflexes by having dealt with a number of southern texts, interpreted "chi àno" (that have) as one word, which he translated into "piano" (soft), and took the first syllable of "melle" (honey) as the equivalent of "mio" (mine). This, plus some lines missing in his version, shows how badly the works committed to the ways of the unwritten tradition could fare—a risk nobody worried about, for one of the most fascinating aspects of the tradition was the freedom it left to continuous reinterpretation or even recreation.

Although the text of *Strençì li labri* is affected by Venetian idioms ("strençì," "alçì," "m'alcide," and so on), its music (Ex. 5.6) strongly resembles that of the previous examples, whose texts were tainted with Sicilianisms. Even stronger than theirs (with the exception of *Dolce lo mio drudo*) is the acceptance of the mannerisms that, we have seen, are typical of much later Sicilian singers: the breaking and / or repetition of words and short phrases, the insertion of supernumerary vowels and (less generally) the insistent cadences on E. In *Strençì li labri* the cadences almost invariably allow the singer to indulge in a favorite melismatic formula, the only instance in the piece of a multiple use of the same musical material (comparable to the insistent repetition and variation of the initial melisma of *Donna fallante*).

My comments up to this point have centered on the popular features exhibited by the upper parts of the unusual anonymous pieces of PR, but the samples I have given must already have told my reader that they are even more pointedly set apart from the standard of contemporary art music by their peculiar polyphonic procedures. Once more, *Dolce lo mio drudo* is such an exhaustive compendium of these procedures that I only need repeat what I wrote of them in essay 4. Most musical phrases in these pieces consist of the simultaneous declamation of a fragment of text by the two parts, note against note (that is, in counterpoint)—declamation which leads rapidly to a climax; from there on, the upper part usually descends with relaxed vocalizations toward a cadential note (off which the melodic wave often softly rebounds), sedately supported in this process by a few notes of the lower part. Parallel unisons and fifths are predominant in the declamatory beginning, after which contrary motion sets in, with the two parts diverging from unison to third and from third to fifth, or, inversely, converging toward the unison, on which most cadences take place (with the result that no extraneous note interferes with the melodic goal toward which the upper line has been directed). Only occasionally is the diverging contrary motion expanded to reach the octave. The upper part embroiders this simple harmonic skeleton with passing notes, showing an evident taste for dissonant intervals (such as perfect or augmented fourths) placed on strong beats, quite often with ascending resolutions. Also frequent, particularly near cadences, is the strong friction of a minor or major second in the form of either an ascending appoggiatura or an anticipation of the cadential note.

I see in this technique an unorthodox style of accompaniment subservient to the intended message contained in the upper parts—an accompaniment doubling and therefore emphasizing the emphatic declamatory

Ex. 5.6 Anonymous *ballata* (PR, fol. 39).

Ex. 5.6 Continued

passages, giving rhythmic as well as harmonic support to the flourishes of the singer and then converging toward the cadential sounds that give the melody its structural direction. Eventually, when the outline of the upper part makes the favorite contrary motion impossible, there is again recourse to parallel unisons and fifths, until a position is reached from which contrary motion can be comfortably resumed. Generally avoided are parallel thirds, whose frequency in *Donna fallante* is one more element that places it halfway between unorthodox practice and regular artistic polyphony. Although the lower parts are given full texts in PR, I am inclined to think that they were conceived for instrumental performance of the kind to which Prudenzani refers when speaking of Sollazzo:

> Con la chitarra fe' suoni a tenore
> Con tanta melodia che a ciascuno
> Per la dolceza gli alegrava 'l core.
> Con la cetera ancor ne fece alcuno . . .[21]
>
> With his guitar he performed *ballate* with a tenor, with so much melody that he cheered everybody's heart with its mellowness. With his zither, too, he performed some . . .

Of course, singing with a stringed instrument is nothing new; what is new is the intimation that the instrumental accompaniment could take the form of a popular kind of polyphony.

The evidence I have assembled seems to indicate that a Sicilian style of singing was practiced and imitated in northern Italy, where it either determined or merged with a more general trend of the unwritten tradition of music; eventually, it became accepted in its own right, with no further reference to its exotic provenance. Although it adopted a polyphonic accompaniment, its popular accent redeemed it from the growing disaffection among some of the most sophisticated listeners for what I call the scholastic tradition of music, art polyphony. Thus it became part of the stylistic and cultural background from which at least one type of so-called *giustiniana* was to emerge a few years later.[22]

We may go one step further and suggest that the style of unaccompanied and accompanied melody initiated by the vogue of authentic and synthetic *siciliane* may not only have affected the humanistic taste of Leonardo Giustinian but may also have impressed some of the representatives of the scholastic tradition of music. Two of the *doctores subtiliores* of the Franco-Italian mannerist school of polyphony will serve our purpose and

Ex. 5.7 Antonellus Marot de Caserta, *Ballata* (Mn, no. 39).

also hint at the vein of romanticism that was one component of that complex phenomenon. The transition from mannerism to a Sicilianate style may have been easier for Antonellus Marot de Caserta because he was, after all, a southerner, although probably active in northern Italy. Of Antonellus' Italian pieces, several exhibit the broken and suspended treatment of the text we have become familiar with.[23] In the one I have selected (Ex. 5.7), however, a faster delivery of the text was probably intended, so that neither breaking nor repetition of words occurs.[24] Nevertheless, it seems to me that the composer recaptured the rhythmic flexibility of popular singing[25] and reproduced some of the techniques of popular polyphony.

Among the Italian pieces of Johannes Ciconia—a northerner from beyond the Alps who spent his last years in Padua—several, including *O rosa bella* on a text that might be by Giustinian, represent a post-Sicilian style of music practiced in the Venetian region during the first decade of the fifteenth century, just after the approximate date of compilation of the older section of PR.[26] In spite of a keen naturalistic spirit of observation, Ciconia was too refined a polyphonist to accept at face value the rather crude and mechanical techniques of popular polyphony, except for their expressive dissonances. The piece I am giving (Ex. 5.8), however, is notated in the *octonaria* measure that is typical of the slow florid pieces we have been discussing and has a text (eight lines, with rhymes so similar that it might almost be considered to be monorhyme) which deals with the familiar themes of unhappiness and forced separation.[27] Its airy major somewhat recalls, after so many pieces in the minor, the mode of my initial example—one added musical reason for selecting it to round out my own verbiage on words and music.

Postscript, 1983

The putative *siciliane* examined in this essay do not exhaust the list of known pieces whose musical features may have been intended to suggest a Sicilian style of singing. To them four more two-voice *ballate* must be added which are also present in the same section of Codex Reina: *Fenir mia vita me convien cum guay* (fol. 26r), *Con lagreme sospiro* (fol. 27v), *Troveraço mercè* (fols. 28v–29r), and *Amore, a lo to aspetto* (fol. 38r). The first of them, *Fenir mia vita,* has also been found in a somewhat modified version in a newly discovered fragment in the Archivio di Stato in Padua (MS S. Giustina 553); a second two-voice *ballata* in the same fragment, *Par che la vita mia,* is also to be added to our list.[28]

Ex. 5.8 Johannes Ciconia, *Ballata* (Mn, no. 54).

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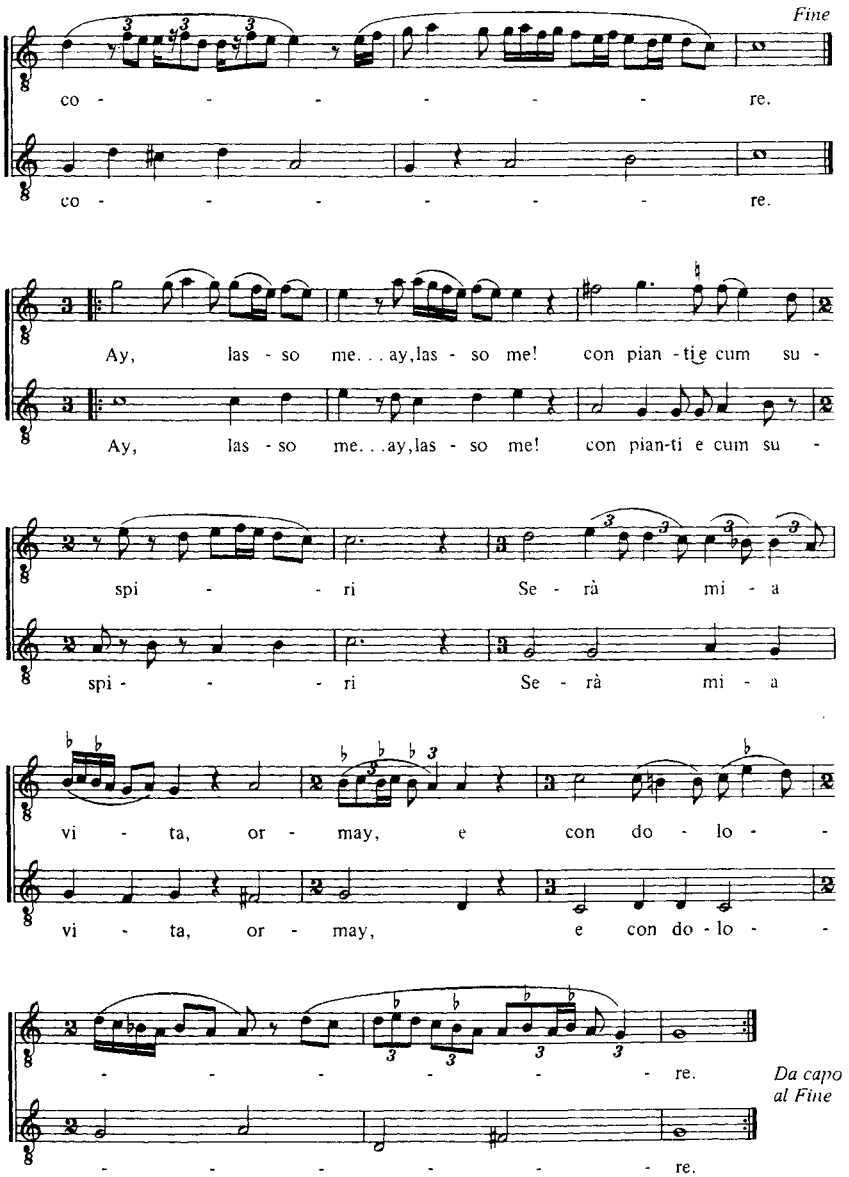

Ex. 5.8 Continued

Giulio Cattin, who discovered the Paduan fragment among the pasted leaves supporting an old binding, has shown that it is related to the Paduan abbey of Santa Giustina and to documents belonging to a Rolando da Casale, a humanist monk and a music copyist long active in that abbey and in one of its dependencies.[29] This confirms the role of Padua as one center where *siciliane* or would-be *siciliane* were sung. Commenting on Cattin's discovery, F. Alberto Gallo has pointed out that the text of *Par che la vita mia* (a text lamenting departure and separation, in which it is possible to spot some hints of an original in the Sicilian dialect) is also given in a more complete version in the literary MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechi VII 1040, fol. 55r, and labeled there "cieciliana."[30] To this confirmation of my ideas on the early singing of *siciliane*, Gallo adds the precious observation that *Fenir mia vita* is referred to in one of the sonnets of Simone Prudenzani's *Liber Solatii* in a line reading: "*Finir mia vita* de Cicilia pruôno" ("they rehearsed *Finir mia vita* from Sicily").[31]

Last but not least (to me), my hypothesis that Ciconia's *ballata Poy che morir mi convien per to' amore* might have been intended to recapture what was then considered in Padua to be a Sicilian style of music finds some confirmation in the strong resemblance I notice between its beginning and the beginning of the confirmed "cieciliana" *Par che la vita mia*.[32]

1. "When I come to pass by, I feel a pain; I see you and cannot greet you. You would believe it is for lack of love; I do so lest people should gossip about you. The eyes of people are like piercing arrows; from far away they can betray one's heart. Listen to what I say, my dearest love; keep being true to me, have no fear." The norm of eight lines with two alternating rhymes (here rhymes 5 and 6 are irregular), known as Sicilian *strambotto* (as opposed to the continental form *a b a b a b c c*), is only a well-balanced optimum (2+2 + 2+2); the popular practice does not exclude either shorter or longer poems, always with an even number of lines.
2. Alberto Favara, *Corpus di musiche popolari siciliane*, ed. Ottavio Tiby (Palermo, 1957), II, 250–51; I have added the dotted barlines to help delineate rhythmic groups. Rather unusual, and not clearly indicated in the *Corpus*, is the fact that the melody is sung first with lines 1–2 and is then repeated with lines 2–3, 3–4, and so on, thus adding one line at a time instead of two.
3. "(And) in this courtyard there is a rose bush; don't touch it, anybody, for it's mine. Should anyone be thinking about it, he had better quickly give up the idea. He might end up with his head where his feet are; I swear to do this to

him myself. To you I commend myself, o rose, for in your hands is placed all my life." The initial "E" ("and" in the translation) I have put in parentheses, because it does not actually belong to the poem.

4. Favara, *Corpus*, II, 172–73. Although a man is speaking in the poem, both versions are designated "laundress" songs.
5. *Ibid.*, II, 188; "muttettu," like the original French *motet*, means a short text.
6. A recent description of the manuscript and the contents of its three sections are given by Kurt von Fischer, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. Frç. 6771 (Codex Reina = PR)," *Musica Disciplina* 11 (1957), 38–78, to which must be added Nigel Wilkins, "The Codex Reina: A Revised Description," *ibid.*, 17 (1963), 57–73, and Kurt von Fischer, "Reply to N. E. Wilkins' Article on the Codex Reina," *ibid.*, 75–77.
7. Dompnus Paulus, that is, possibly Paolo Tenorista from Florence, well known to us, was not necessarily as well known earlier; very few pieces by the others are known. It is worth noting that only names of obscure composers are given in this section of the manuscript; the works by famous masters are given anonymously, although their authorship was evidently known to the compilers.
8. See essays 3 and 7.
9. See essay 4. No matter how correct the attribution may be, the poem certainly belongs to a representative of the thirteenth-century Sicilian school of poetry.
10. PR, fol. 38v. I shall not attempt to burden the reader with translations that would require discussion and justification. The texts were evidently obscure to the copyists, and the meaning often needs to be guessed at. I have in most cases merely reproduced the text, changing it only by putting in parentheses superfluous elements and in brackets suggestions for needed additions.
11. Oiva J. Tallgren, "Sur la rime italienne et les Siciliens du XIII^{e} siècle," *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors* 5 (1909), 269–70.
12. The transcriptions of the present and following polyphonic pieces conform to the procedures outlined in the foreword to my edition of *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy*, I (Amsterdam, 1954), ii–iii. A 2/4 signature followed by an asterisk corresponds to a notation in the *octonaria* measure in the original (while an unmarked 2/4 would denote an original in a *quaternaria* measure); the 3/4 signature of Ex. 5.7 corresponds to an original in a *senaria perfecta* measure. The grouping of the resulting modern measures into larger (and largely irregular) rhythmic units is an allegedly subjective interpretation of the editor.
13. Von Fischer and Wilkins agree on the date 1395–1405 for this section of PR and on Venice or Padua as the place where it was copied; see the articles mentioned in n. 6 above, particularly von Fischer, "Reply," p. 76. I have no objection to either the date or the places, although a number of other towns or abbeys might be plausible candidates. I do not dare to enter the game of distinguishing hands (irrelevant to the present topic), because I have had no direct access to the manuscript for many years. I do not, however, agree with the idea that this or any other manuscript may "stem fairly directly from the

manuscripts left by the Carrara family at Padua" (Wilkins, "Codex Reina," p. 65); in my experience, any fairly large collection was usually assembled from a number of smaller sources.

14. Giovanni da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Alessandro Wesselofsky (Bologna, 1867), II, 90–91. The date of the events described in the "romance" is 1389, but the work itself is later, *ca.* 1425, according to Hans Baron, *Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 13–37.
15. Description by Giannozzo Manetti of a real banquet in Venice on October 8, 1448; quoted by Arnaldo Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia platonica* (Florence, 1902), pp. 282–83.
16. Santorre Debenedetti, *Il "Sollazzo"* (Turin, 1922), p. 176.
17. The curiosity for exotic specialties and the relish of poets and writers in listing them are, of course, of much older standing; what is worth particular notice at this moment is the insistence on folklore, indicated, for instance, by Sollazzo's repertory. The latter includes local popular songs and dances (*ibid.*, pp. 171, 174), "Calate de Maritima e Campagna, / Canzon de Lombardia e de Romagna" (p. 173), and "Canzon del Cieco, a modo peruscino" (p. 176, certainly not a reference to Landini's music).
18. See Favara, *Corpus*, nos. 51, 120, 127, 138, 145, 152–56, 173, 182–85, 202, 214, 299–301, and 359.
19. In addition to the deletions and insertions suggested by parentheses and brackets (see n. 10 above), I have modified a few passages, the PR readings of which I give here: line 4, "o l'ascossa magiore"; line 16, "par chi luci."
20. See Vittorio Cian, "Ballate e strambotti del sec. XV: tratti da un codice trevisano," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 4 (1884), 41. The manuscript, Treviso, Biblioteca comunale, ms. 43, contains a number of poems that are related to our present topic; furthermore, *Strençi li labri*, as well as *Finir mia vita* (PR, fol. 26), are included in Sollazzo's repertory (Debenedetti, pp. 174, 177, n. 7).
21. Debenedetti, p. 174. For my translation of "suoni" as *ballate* see my "Ballate e 'soni' secondo un grammatico del Trecento," *Bollettino del Centro di studi filologici e linguistici Siciliani* 8 (1962), 42–54.
22. On the problem of the music of the *giustiniana*, see Walter H. Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century," *Acta musicologica* 29 (1957), 172–84. The pieces identified there as *giustiniane*, however, are in a slow rhythm that would have been unsuitable for the poet's long *sirventesi* and dramatic *ballate*.
23. His manneristic ones on French texts are published in *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*, ed. Willi Apel (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), pp. 31ff. For the Italian ones see Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, "Il Codice di Lucca," *Musica Disciplina* 3 (1949), 119–38; 4 (1950), 111–52; 5 (1951), 115–42, esp. 133–36.
24. No. 39 in the fragmentary manuscript Lucca, Archivio di Stato (known as the Mancini ms. hereafter cited as Mn), described in Pirrotta and Li Gotti, "Il

Codice." Mn, no. 40, *Or tolta pur mi sei*, also by Antonellus, is more similar from the point of view of rhythm to the examples previously given, with which it has in common the notation in the *octonaria* measure, rendered as 2/4* in my transcriptions.

25. See in Ex. 5.7 the rhythms suggested by broken barlines in the passages corresponding to the words "Segnor mio caro, del vostro partire" and "Via ve n'andate et io."
26. Rubsamen, "Justiniane or Viniziane," p. 184, gives one passage from Ciconia's *Dolçe fortuna* as an example of his use of dissonant seconds, which remained as one of the features of the *giustiniana*; seconds and other dissonances are present to an even greater extent in Ex. 5.8, Mn, no. 54 (also transcribed by Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia* [Brussels, 1960], II, 58–60).
27. [Although a few words cannot be read in lines 5–6, the rhyme scheme is clearly the following: *AA BABA AA*.]
28. [G. Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento I: Il copista Rolando da Casale," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964–1977), 31ff. I cannot give a precise folio number because the fragment is one of nine leaves found within the binding of ms. 553.]
29. [*Ibid.*, pp. 17–31 and 36.]
30. [F. A. Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento II: Due 'siciliane' del Trecento," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964–1977), 43ff.]
31. [*Ibid.*, p. 48; this is Gallo's logical emendation of the punctuation the line is given in S. Debenedetti, "Il 'Sollazzo' e il 'Saporetto' con altre rime di Simone Prudenzani d'Orvieto," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Supplement 15 (1913), p. 117, as well as in S. Debenedetti, *Il "Sollazzo"* (Turin, 1922), p. 177.]
32. [I have included a detailed comparison of the two pieces in an essay entitled "Echi di arie veneziane del primo Quattrocento," to be published in a miscellaneous volume honoring Professor Michelangelo Muraro.]

[16]

Improvisation in the Madrigals of the *Rossi Codex*

BROOKS TOLIVER (LOS ANGELES)

...et sic audivi a pluribus musicis et magistris in cantu, quod etiam auribus meis et intellectui meo parvo satis bene consonat, licet non sim magister in cantu.[1]

That Antonio da Tempo addressed the madrigal singer - rather than composer - has suggested to scholars the extensive role that improvisation played in the creation and transmission of this medieval Italian genre. Da Tempo does not stand alone in hinting of madrigalian improvisation. Unfortunately, none of the contemporary writers describes the practice in detail. Thus most musicologists who have studied the earliest-surviving two-voice madrigals (found in the *Vatican Rossi codex 215*) have labeled them improvisational and yet have conjectured little concerning the degree or method of extemporization. Their caution is doubly-justified, since any conclusions must derive from improvisation's antithesis, the written record.

In her book *Die Musik des frühen Trecento,* Marie Louise Martinez has examined the three madrigals of the *Rossi codex* which also survive in other sources, *Panciatichi 26* and the *Squarcialupi codex.*[2] The madrigals are *De soto'l verde* (Anon.), *Quando l'aire comenta* (by Piero), and *Nascoso el viso* (by Giovanni da Firenze). The two (or three) versions deviate substantially from each another in note-forms, accidentals, and meters. Also, the upper voice (the superius) is often ornamented differently among the sources, the lower completely rewritten, and both transposed to new pitch-levels. These discrepancies indicate a condition favorable to improvisation, that of an oral tradition. As Martinez concludes: "The madrigal arose ... from the practice of musicians, and was likewise transmitted in this way. ... Consequently, the madrigal (as notated) represents no fixed composition, but rather a living practice in which details are left to the particular performance."[3] Supporting this claim is the fact that several decades separate the early madrigals from their preservation in the oldest manuscript, the *Rossi codex.*[4] W. Thomas Marrocco has uncovered more evidence of improvisation in *E con chaval,* a madrigal featuring variations over an ostinato which is itself varied.[5] This suggests that the singers improvised upon some skeletal musical material.

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[1] "...and so I have heard from many musicians and masters of singing, what also for my ears and my meager intellect sounds good enough, although I'm not a master of singing." A. Da Tempo, *Summa artis rithmici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332), R. ANDREWS, ed. = Collezione di opere inedite o rare 136 (Bologna 1977), p. 71.

[2] M. L. MARTINEZ, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Tutzing 1963), p. 34-41.

[3] MARTINEZ, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento,* p. 40-41.

[4] Music historians generally agree that the earliest madrigals date from the second quarter of the fourteenth-century, the *Rossi codex* from around the fourth.

[5] W. TH. MARROCCO, *The Newly-discovered Ostiglia Pages of the Vatican Rossi Codex 215: The Earliest Italian Ostinato,* in: *Mus. Disc.* 39 (1967), p. 86, 88-91.

Kurt von Fischer recognizes improvisation in four characteristics of the early madrigal:

1) The lower voice's frequent stasis (in the form of repeated notes) possibly reveals that part's origin in improvised accompaniment.[6]

2) The early madrigal's rare voice-crossing and frequent parallel intervals may further reveal the genre's monophonic conception and thus spontaneously-conceived second voice.[7]

3) The early madrigal often demonstrates poor textual declamation.[8] This point has two subsections:

A) Improvisation often caused the poetic lines to expand, as singers freely played with the traditionally-elided vowels and repeated words in a way unrelated to the poetic sense.[9]

B) The musical structure inconsistently reflects the poetic continuity (meaning that lines of text which together carry a single verbal phrase or idea are usually separated musically).

4) The early madrigal exhibits less tonal unity than does the later one (from Jacopo da Bologna's time onward).[10] By this Fischer means that a particular madrigal as a whole (as well as its subsections) seldom begins and ends on the same notes, and that this indicates short-range planning.

Two aspects of the early madrigals occupy the bulk of this study: the pauses that affect both voices simultaneously, and a localized or short-range tonality. Specifically, I hypothesize that both functioned as points of communication between improvising singers. I largely avoid the concluding ritornello, and of what remains, limit analysis to the melismas which characteristically begin and end each poetic line. The first decision reflects a suspicion that the ritornellos derive from some separate musical tradition.[11] The ritornellos that I have cited are those stylistically similar to the rest of the madrigal. The second limitation

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[6] K. V. FISCHER, *On the Technique, Origin, and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music*, in: *MQ* 47 (1961), p. 49.

[7] V. FISCHER, *Technique*, p. 42.

[8] K. V. FISCHER, *Zum Wort-Ton Problem in der Musik des italienischen Trecento*, in: *Festschrift Arnold Geering*, V. Ravizza, ed. (Bern - Stuttgart 1972), p. 56-58. See also: FISCHER, *Sprache und Musik im italienischen Trecento: zur Frage einer Frührenaissance*, in: *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, U. Günther, L. Finscher, eds. = Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 10 (London - Basel 1984), p. 43.

[9] Though word and phrase repetition more commonly belongs to the Trecento's later madrigal, it is more often the early one (according to Fischer) whose syllable and word repetition has no literary justification. For a related discussion see: D. BAUMANN, *Silben- und Wortwiederholungen im italienischen Liedrepertoire des späten Trecento und frühen Quattrocento*, in: *Musik und Text*, p. 77-91.

[10] K. V. FISCHER, *Giovanni da Cascia*, in: *NG* 7, p. 450.

[11] The ritornello may lie closer to dance music (and thus may have been conceived and performed differently) than does the rest of the madrigal. In support:

A) M. L. Göllner has hypothesized (in a private conversation) that the very word "ritornello" - rather than referring to returning music - describes physical motion.

B) At the ritornello, the madrigal's isosyllabicism often gives way to a more-measured recitation. For example, much of the text of *In un broleto*'s ritornello (in the *Rossi codex*) - following an isosyllabic first section - moves in the rhythm of short-long.

C) In a similar vein, J. Stevens has speculated that in the Chansons-avec-des-refrains of the trouvères, the refrains represent a separate, 'metrical' tradition, grafted onto the isosyllabic one of the rest of the chanson: STEVENS, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative Dance, and Drama, 1050-1350* = Cambridge Studies in Music, J. Stevens, P.I. Huray, eds. (Cambridge 1986), p. 468.

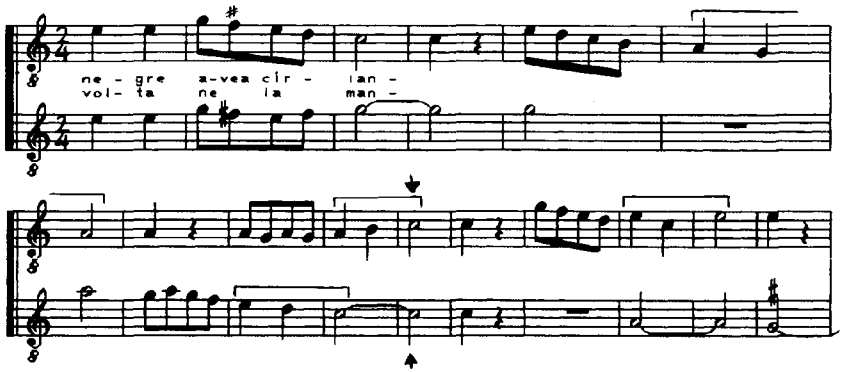
helps to focus the paper. Later I shall explain that improvisation may not have influenced the syllabic passages that alternate with the melismas; even if it did, the two sections differ stylistically to a degree that discourages generalizations about a single method of improvisation. An epilogue ties the madrigal's improvisatory traits to the genre's decline in the later fourteenth century.

*

The melisma that closes a poetic line answers in large part to accentuation, falling as it does on the strong penultimate syllable.[12] Yet this accentual service does not justify the presence of all melismas (the opening one often sets weak syllables). Nor would it account for their musical characteristics.

In some ways, the melismas are formless: they seldom end on the pitches that began them, and in contrast to many in the late-Trecento madrigals, they possess little coherence in the way of imitation, voice-exchange, augmentation and/or diminution of a melody or theme, or even any casual musical repetition.[13] Thus the question: how could the singers remember their parts? Likely they did not, and would sing them differently at each performance. The fact that most melismas end simultaneously in both voices encourages our search for communication between the improvisers.

Example 1: *Levandome 'l maytino*[14] (PMFC)



[12] In the fifteenth century, this 'sentence accent' will become a standard procedure in other genres and countries. As Stoquerus described it in the music of Dufay's time: "The first syllable of the phrase should be allotted to the first note, the last to the last note, but all middle ones, as far as may conveniently be done, should follow the first until you reach the ante-penultimate or penultimate which, if it has an accent, may be assigned the remaining notes until the last one."

STOQUERUS, *De musica verbali* (c. 1570), D. Harran, trans., in: *Word-tone Relations in Musical Thought: from Antiquity to the 17th Century* = Musicological Studies and Documents 40 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1986), p. 243.

[13] Likewise, M. L. Martinez has demonstrated that although the madrigal exhibits stock ornamentation as found in instrumental tablature of the same century, it avoids repeating a particular ornament, preferring diversity (*Die Musik*, p. 25-6).

[14] Unless otherwise stated, all madrigals are anonymous and taken from the *Rossi codex*. The examples are reprinted from one of the following sources:

PMFC: W. TH. MARROCCO, ed., *Italian Secular Music* = Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 8 (Monaco 1972).

CMM: N. PIRROTA, ed., *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy II* = Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 8 (Amsterdam 1954).

The pauses which so frequently surround and punctuate the melismas, cannot simply be taken as breathing points; were we to recognize all rests as such, we would find no deployment sufficiently predictable to explain these instances, nor that of the halt placed so often near the middle of the melisma. Example 1 demonstrates this most clearly, for both singers have opportunities to breathe shortly before and after the moment in question. Conversely, many longer stretches - such as the entire syllabic portion preceding the tenth syllable ("lan") - have no notated breaths at all.

A written-out ritard commonly anticipates a pause. At this point, the lower voice will slow from eighth-notes to quarter-notes or from quarter-notes to half-notes, the upper from thirty-second- or sixteenth- down to eighth-notes. We might expect this deceleration at a moment as significant as the end of a poetic line; less-justifiable in terms of poetic structure are the ritards which precede pauses elsewhere in the melismas. Were some or all ritards signals between improvising singers, the lower voice would clearly be the 'sender'; during the melismas this part moves more slowly than the superius and is thus best-suited to extend the ritard over a measure or two. Consequently, it contains that forewarning more often than the upper voice. In example 2, the lower voice slows progressively over the first three measures (disregarding the opening pause). In addition to slowing its rhythm, it decreases its pitch content, dropping from three different pitches in the first measure to two in the second and then one in the third.

Example 2: *O crudel donna* (CMM)

A clear melodic direction also commonly anticipates the pause, and might similarly provide a signal. Example 3 shows the common approach of a falling upper voice against a rising lower one to a pause on the unison.[15]

Example 3: *l'Anticho dio biber* (CMM)

[15] Other common 'pause intervals' are the fifth and octave; the voices approach the latter from the opposite directions (the superius ascends while the lower voice descends).

Again, it is the lower part that most often points to both the final and intermediary halts by its long, straight walk to the final note; the superius begins its cadential hike relatively later, as exemplified above. One more example reinforces the lower voice's prominent role: it drops diatonically over five measures and significantly decreases the rate of that descent.

Example 4: *A l'alba una maitina* (PMFC)

*

The general description of pauses given above suggests that they help coordinate the singers. It follows then that the location of a pause should in part determine its character since problems of timing naturally vary over the course of the piece. The pause that ends *Involta d'un bel velo*'s opening melisma (example 5) typifies the 'transitional' one; though it - like most pauses - serves as a point of arrival in anticipation of which the singers can orient themselves, it also eases them from one style to another. This transitional purpose explains why the lower voice ritards here less often than elsewhere, the upper more often: simply, the syllabic passage discards the difference in tempo between the melisma's fast superius and leisurely lower part.

Example 5: *Involta d'un bel velo* (CMM)

Noteworthy also is the relative brevity of the transitional pause, as well as the fact that it so often falls not actually at the end of the melisma but on the poetic line's second syllable (thus technically at the start of the syllabic section). Both characteristics reflect an overriding desire for simultaneous declamation. The importance of such simultaneity becomes clear when we recognize that - apart from an occasional stray syllable - the early madrigal seldom falls in and out of simultaneity and does so even more rarely when a pause begins the syllabic section; if staggered, the poetry will continue very deliberately that way, complementing the textual with musical imitation, as in the caccia or in *Involta*'s ritornello. The point of arrival therefore is less the melisma's end than the second syllable. And the brevity reflects the absence of any deliberate structural closure.

By contrast, pauses at the end of closing melismas supplement their communicative function with one of terminating larger musico-poetic periods (those of individual lines or whole stanzas). Hence of all the pauses they most consistently exaggerate the traits of ritard and clear melodic direction.

The unison generally ends the closing melisma. Neither trait - the choice of the interval nor its consistent placement - has a clear rationale.[16] Possibly they relate to improvisation. In most cases, the lower voice arrives at the unison after a momentous ascent. The ascent is momentous because it usually occurs only here (most of the lower voice's prolonged diatonic marches descend). Thus, when the lower singer began to climb, he may have communicated to the higher specifically that the section was ending.

Pauses more often begin the opening than the closing melismas. In both they help to prepare the singers for the adventurous passage ahead. This preparation consists in large part of tuning, as suggested in the fact that the intervals are usually the two best-suited for that purpose: the fifth or the octave.

Example 6: *Vaguca vaga* (PMFC)

The unison - which would also be a good tuning interval - rarely begins an opening melisma and never the closing one. Not only would it sound too final but it would afford the superius no room for the descent predictably spread over the rest of the melisma. The selection of an interval that allows for this descent shall suggest improvisation more strongly in a moment when we view the descent itself as improvisatory.[17]

Surrounded by a melisma, the intermediate pauses represent a hybrid of the opening and closing ones. They follow a long forewarning of ritards and straight melodic motion on one hand, and help regulate what follows on the other. They also may directly insure simultaneous declamation, as in *I' vidi a l'umbra,* where one heralds the arrival of an unusually-placed syllable:

Example 7: *I' vidi a l'umbra* (PMFC)

[16] The unison cadence occurs consistently in no other medieval genre.

[17] See footnote 19.

The group as a whole contains a large number of major thirds and sixths with upper leading-tones, ones achieved 'artificially' by means of an altered note. The value of these intervals is made quite clear in both theory and practice. As Marchetto of Padua tells us - and as we find throughout the early madrigals - the altered tone in the superius usually resolves upward.[18] Thus, the raised pitch is another form of communication; with it, the singer indicates his next note.[19] The altered C-sharp in example 8 announces both the immediate resolution and the melisma's final goal of D.

Example 8: *La desiosa brama* (PMFC)

Sometimes the altered interval *does not* resolve as expected, immediately or at any other time. Two things may account for this. First, the interval itself may simply be a destination. Such is clearly the case in example 9, where the major sixth ends a poetic line and leads absolutely nowhere:

Example 9: *Quando l'aire comenza* (CMM)

Second, the pause is overridden either by another pause or by some subsequent communication between the voices. In the case of *De soto 'l verde* (example 10), the coordination becomes less strategic, thanks to the lower part's general inactivity. Here, a simple nod of the head might have initiated the syllabic passage, and rendered pointless the expected F-sharp -> G progression in the superius:

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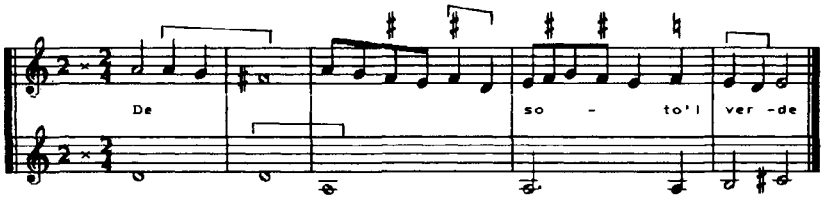
[18] MARCHETTO, *Lucidarium in arte musicae planae* (1317-18), M. Gerbert, ed. = Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum 3 (Milan 1931), p. 74. For further explication of this passage see: M. L. MARTINEZ-GÖLLNER, *Marchettus of Padua and Chromaticism* = l'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento 3 (Certaldo 1969) p. 187-202.

[19] Now we can understand the link between the superius' overall descent and improvisation: though a major sixth or third without an upper leading tone *could* expand to the octave and fifth, respectively, neither interval automatically signals that progression. In fact they suggest the opposite - contraction - by virtue of the fact that the higher singer has not chosen the 'expansion signal' (a leading-tone).

Example 10: *De soto 'l verde* (CMM)



As mentioned earlier, Fischer sees improvisation in the madrigal's tendency to end poetic lines on pitches unrelated to those at the beginning. This implies two possible conditions: that the singers began the line on pre-determined pitches and then fortuitously arrived at the final ones, or more likely, that they spontaneously chose the pitches of both locations;[20] if the singers improvised both the melisma that closed one poetic line and that which began the next, why shackle themselves to pre-determined pitches in the middle (those that open the new melisma)? It seems more plausible that the singers decided upon those pitches when they reached them, in response to some local condition. A logical one would be what I label 'local tonality': the selection of a melisma's opening pitches based upon the closing ones of the immediately-preceding melisma.

In at least three ways, the singers could predict those opening notes. To begin with, they might simply commence the new melisma on or at the octave of the same notes that had ended the last one:

Example 11: *In un broleto* (PMFC)

This madrigal will end its stanza on a C-unison, its ritornello on a B-unison. Thus, the A's have no long-range significance. Countless examples of this turn up in the early madrigals, where two lines are linked by the same note. Occasionally an entire madrigal operates by this principle. In *Su la rivera* and *Pyance la bella Iguana*, the lower voice begins every interior poetic line on the same note that ended the preceding one:

Poetic line (end - start)	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - rit.	Final
Su la rivera:	F - F	G - G	F - F[21]	D

[20] Exceptions to this might be the opening of the entire madrigal and the opening of melismas that follow syllabic passages (as elaborated upon in my conclusion).

[21] The pattern breaks at the rit.'s second and final line.

Poetic line (end - start)	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - 4	4 - rit.	Final
Pyance la bella:	D - D	C - C	D - D	C - C[22]	F

The lower voice of *Quando i oselli canta* traces another simple pattern:

Poetic line (end - start)	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - rit	Final
Lower voice:	A - G	G - A	A - G	D

This sequence breaks only at the final cadence, where the singers would no longer need it. As these examples imply, the upper voice is less predictable when it comes to choosing an initial pitch. We might expect that from a part which habitually begins each poetic line higher than it ended the preceding one; knowing the lower singer's intended pitch, the upper may situate himself a fifth or an octave above.

Notes that sometimes connect one poetic line to the next might also have directed the singers to the new pitches:

Example 12: Vaguca vaga (PMFC)

That the interludes *always* lead to new pitches (as opposed to ending where they began) further indicates their guiding function.

A final type of local tonality brings us back to the major thirds and sixths with upper leading-tones. Sung at the end of one poetic line, they either resolve to the opening pitches of the next or carry over to the new line and then resolve:

Example 13: *De soto'l verde* (PMFC)

*

[22] See footnote 21.

A few aspects of this study invite objection. Chief among them are the claims that the melismas allowed virtually 'free improvisation' and that the lower voice often directed these passages. Though no one has argued free improvisation before, nothing precludes it. And of course I do not theorize that the singers extemporized entire madrigals, poetry in hand. For the most part, the syllabic passages lack pauses and other improvisatory characteristics listed earlier. We noticed that the melismas following these syllabic passages seldom begin with pauses. Possibly the singers did not need them, having sung the preceding eight syllables in a familiar synchronization. Also, I posited that the melisma's formlessness discouraged memorization. Though the syllabic section also lacks musical repetition, its text changes the situation considerably; as Notker Balbulus writes in reference to the sequence, words make music memorizable.[23] Thus the syllabic parts may well represent the 'fixed' moments of the madrigal, and were simply transposed to levels determined by the preceding melisma.

The idea of a dominant lower voice has invoked criticism, but in an entirely different context. In 1931, Heinrich Besseler saw the influence of Provencal organum in the early madrigal's melismatic superius over a slower-moving tenor.[24] In 1937, Leonard Ellinwood argued that the madrigal derived from the conductus.[25] A year later Johannes Wolf attempted to link the madrigal-tenor to Gregorian chant, specifically to psalm tones.[26] Pirrotta tied the madrigal to the clausula in 1960.[27] Each connection implies a dominant lower voice, and yet the scholars seldom articulated that fact. They either simultaneously characterized the tenor as accompanimental (as did Besseler), or later modified their views in a way that would devaluate that part.[28]

All efforts to give the madrigal an international and sacred ancestry eventually lost ground to an understanding of the genre as essentially Italian and secular in origin. The dominant lower voice thus lived and died as but a weak corollary to a losing theory, and little of the new understanding really insists upon a subsidiary and accompanimental bass. Indeed the theory of the madrigal's origin in monophonic song does not clash with that of its dominant lower voice, especially when we acknowledge that part's inherent tunefulness. On these lines, Michael Long has pondered the idea of a dominant tenor, but one not necessarily related to international polyphony.[29]

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[23] Notker, preface to his *Liber hymnorum* (884), R. CROCKER, trans., *Sequence*, in: *NG* 17, p. 143.

[24] H. BESSELER, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (New York 1931), p. 157.

[25] L. ELLINWOOD, *Origins of the Italian Ars Nova* (Papers read by members of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, December 1937). Fr. Ludwig had anticipated this theory 35 years earlier - but did not elaborate upon it - in: *Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 4 (1902-3), p. 60.

[26] J. WOLF, *Die Rossi-Handschrift 215 der Vaticana und das Trecento-Madrigal*, in: *JbP* 45 (1938), p. 53-69.

[27] N. PIRROTTA, *Madrigal*, in: *MGG* 8, col. 1420-24.

[28] L. ELLINWOOD came to view the madrigal as monophonic in spirit with an added lower part that only superficially mirrors the conductus. See: *The Fourteenth Century in Italy*, in: *NOHM* 3, p. 39-40.

[29] M. LONG, *Landini's Musical Patrimony*, in: *JAMS* 40 (1987), p. 45, footnote 14: "The possibility that a change in the typical order of composition of the two voice parts in Italian works occurred toward mid-century should not be overlooked. The tenor lines in the earliest madrigals included in the *Rossi Codex* resemble independent melodies

Two other issues deserve our attention. First, we have no right to read the transcriptions of madrigals in the *Rossi codex* as 'frozen improvisation'; I have already mentioned both the temporal and conceptual discrepancy between the oral tradition and its transcription. Second, we must reckon with a scribal facade in the latter, one which may have significantly altered the original music.[30] In compensation, I have looked for improvisation less as a practice than as a style leftover from a practice. My explications that may seem too literal should not; the example itself should be read as a sort of hypothetical model, the improvisation-strategies seen as lying behind it in a purely historical sense.

Finally, the reader might agree that the pause and local tonality were signals and yet see no clear link to improvisation. Could they not simply have served as structural reference points to the listener? Surely they did this as well. I have not used them to strengthen the evidence of improvisation, a practice that no scholar (to my knowledge) has denied in the madrigal. Rather: *given* that improvisation informed the genre, we ought to weigh favorably any device that could have facilitated it.

Epilogue

The madrigals of the later fourteenth century exhibit some of the same improvisatory characteristics as did the earlier ones. In a melisma of *Avendo me falcon* of the *Codex Reina 6771* (example 14), for instance, the lower voice signals an upcoming pause by a long diatonic approach:

Example 14: *Avendo me falcon* (PMFC)

We also find ritards and major sixths which suggest the long-range regulatory function. Furthermore, the later madrigals increase the number of musical figures that connect poetic lines and continue to repeat words in violation of the crucial syllable-count. The persistence of improvisational traits - now probably unrelated to improvisation in any direct way - suggests that the composer of a madrigal deliberately (and perhaps nostagically) worked within a strictly-defined tradition; he evidently felt that the musical essence of a madrigal lay in these traits.

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more than do the tenors of the later Florentine madrigals. ... In all those (earlier) works, and within the *Rossi* collection in general, the tenors consist almost exclusively of stepwise melodies."

[30] M. BENT (among others) has explored to what extent scribes often changed what they copied: *Some Criteria for establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony*, in: *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, I. Fenlon, ed. (Cambridge 1981), p. 295-317.

That tradition had little in common with the musical developments which mark the second half of the Trecento. These chiefly affected the ballata and reflected the Italian conquest of French music, along with some of its notation. Thus the ballata surpassed the madrigal in rhythmic precision. Syncopation now became possible, and the indication of dotted notes - although available through the older, Italian notation - became more explicit with the dot of addition. With this precision came a stronger emphasis on motivic writing and thus on imitation.

Imitation and motivic writing proved incompatible with the madrigal style. Imitation contradicted the both its simultaneous declamation and pauses. (While not technically eliminating the pauses, imitation limited them, for the singers could not pause together and imitate one another at the same time.) Also, the intricate motivic writing could not adapt to the lower voice's broad style, with its slower pace and long, straight approach to the pause.

Another significant development in the ballata - also adopted from French secular music - was the expansion to three voice-parts. Along with this addition came a preference for cadences on the octave with a fifth. In contrast, the madrigal's unison cadences - along with the parallel intervals and the simultaneities mentioned above - clearly favor a two-voice structure. Not many three-voice madrigals survive; the very notion of so many parts evoking an improvisatory air no doubt seemed ludicrous.

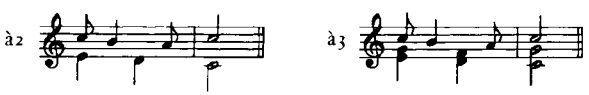
[17]

Landini's Musical Patrimony: A Reassessment of Some Compositional Conventions in Trecento Polyphony*

By MICHAEL LONG

OF THE INNUMERABLE MUSICAL GESTURES which serve as signposts of historical styles, few are as inextricably and appositely linked to the name of a single composer as is the "Landini cadence." Although the Landini, or "under-third" cadence survived as a convention in polyphonic song for more than a century, the two- and three-voice ballatas of Landini represent the first body of polyphonic works in which it appears with systematic regularity and structural weight, accounting for nearly three-quarters of the *ripresa* cadences in Landini's three-voice ballatas and approximately half of those in the two-voice ballatas. Example 1 illustrates the most common cadential configurations for Landini's ballatas, in which the tenor voice descends to the final pitch from the third step above, while the cantus effects an often syncopated descent to the sixth step above the final before leaping up a third to the octave. In a three-voice structure, the contratenor moves parallel to the tenor through the penultimate note. Most definitions of the Landini cadence have emphasized its decorative nature, representing the gesture as a leading-tone cadence in which the sixth step is "inserted" (Apel 1969, 462) or "interposed" (Fallows 1980, 434) between steps seven and eight. In post-Trecento repertories, particularly in works of the latter half of the fifteenth century, the under-third was clearly considered an incidental tone within the leading-tone cadence, often added or deleted by scribal

Example 1
The "Landini cadence"



* This article is based on a paper delivered at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society (Philadelphia, 1984). I am grateful to Lawrence Earp, Joseph Straus and Lynne Rogers for their advice and encouragement.

decision. However, the extent to which the under-third cadence figures in, or, more precisely, permeates Landini's works (and the works of Italian contemporaries such as Andrea dei Servi) suggests that it may have functioned as an essential component, rather than as an embellishment, of some larger melodic or contrapuntal configuration. The characterization of the sixth step in the cantus voice as an ornamental accretion to an underlying leading-tone structure is also problematic in view of the historical and repertorial context for Landini's works, for leading-tone cadences in theoretically "unornamented" form, while typical of French ars nova polyphony, are decidedly uncommon in the fourteenth-century Italian repertory. The purpose of this study is to reevaluate the traditional definition with respect to the Trecento repertory, and to suggest as an alternative that the Landini cadence in fact represents one aspect of a stylistic evolution with its roots in the earliest extant Italian madrigals, and that to understand it primarily as an ornamented leading-tone cadence is to obscure its structural function in Landini's music.[1]

The polyphonic ballata, the primary generic vehicle for Landini's musical efforts, seems first to have been cultivated in Florence during the 1360s, the same decade in which Landini began his continuous professional association with that city (see Gallo 1975). Polyphonic ballatas are lacking among the works attributed to the previous generation of Florentine composers, represented by Gherardello da Firenze and Lorenzo Masini, the last phases of whose careers fell within that same decade. Both Schrade and von Fischer have argued convincingly for the general chronological precedence of the two-voice ballatas over the three-voice works in the Landini canon, basing their cases not only upon general traits of style, but also upon notation and sources.[2] Since the Landini cadence accounts for a significantly larger proportion of the final cadences in the composer's three-voice ballatas than in the presumably earlier two-voice works, it appears probable that Landini began to experiment with the cadence during the 1360s, but had not adopted it systematically until perhaps the latter half of the following decade.

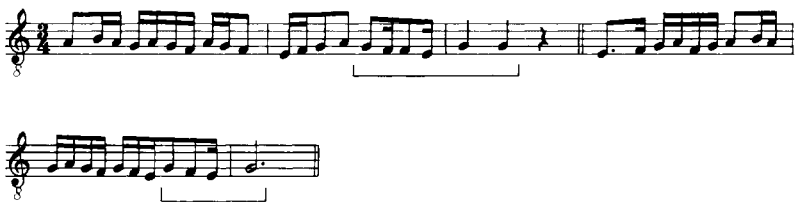
[1] The under-third configuration occasionally appears in final cadences of fourteenth-century French polyphonic works (for example, three motets by Philippe de Vitry and several Machaut songs) and in interior positions in a few Italian compositions which predate those of Landini. My purpose here is not to pinpoint the origin of the cadential gesture itself, but rather to trace its evolution as a formal convention in Italian song, and to identify the stylistic parameters which contributed to its acceptance as a compositional norm.

[2] Schrade 1958, 7–21; von Fischer 1966, 34–35.

A conspicuous but hitherto-neglected precedent for Landini's use of the cadence occurs in the monophonic ballata. This repertory consists of some fifteen extant compositions: five each by Gherardello and Lorenzo, and five earlier works transmitted anonymously in the Rossi Codex (I:Rvat 215). Examples 2 through 5 illustrate that the under-third cadence had already found its way into the ballata repertory by the first years of the 1360s, if not at some time in the preceding decade, for it holds a significant place in the ballata style of Landini's compatriot Gherardello. Gherardello's death in late 1362 or early 1363 (D'Accone 1971, 148) fixes the point by which that

Example 2
Gherardello da Firenze, *De, poni amor*, mm. 1–4; 20–23

Example 3
Gherardello, *Donna, l'altrui mirar*, mm. 17–19; 39–41



Example 4
Gherardello, *Per non far lieto*, mm. 1–3

Example 5
Gherardello, *I' vivo amando*, mm. 20–24

particular gesture must have been introduced as a way of ending musical phrases, especially those in conjunct descending motion, and, more importantly, as a way of closing the two formal sections of the ballata.[3] Thus it is Gherardello, rather than Landini, who must be credited with the first systematic use of the under-third cadence in ballatas. Its debut in a purely melodic context serves as a warning against an interpretation of its function that is based primarily upon contrapuntal details.

Although few would maintain that medieval composers did not, at some level, "hear" the succession of vertical sonorities which were projected in any performance of their own polyphonic compositions,[4] the progression of primary sonorities (unisons, octaves and fifths), for the most part via contrary motion, in two-voice works of the Trecento was restricted by the rules of contemporary counterpoint. At the same time, both the madrigal and polyphonic ballata were distinguished by florid, often virtuosic cantus parts, not unlike the highly-ornamented and rhythmically complex melody line of the monophonic ballata. The attention of a contemporary listener would surely have been focused upon the melodic contour of the primary voice part in these works, rather than upon the usually conventional progression of simultaneities. It is no surprise, then, that, except for the slight intrusion of parallel imperfect consonances into madrigals of the second half of the Trecento,[5] the only notable changes in style within this repertory involved the melodic and rhythmic organization of the cantus voice.

The melodic configuration most frequently encountered at cadences in earlier Trecento polyphony consists of a stepwise ascent to the final in the tenor, either from a fourth or occasionally from a third below, while the cantus approaches the same pitch from above, via a series of turning or auxiliary-note figures, as shown in Examples 6 and 7, from two anonymous madrigals preserved in the Rossi Codex. Often the descent in the cantus encompasses the interval of a fifth or fourth, as illustrated by Examples 8–10, also drawn from the Rossi

[3] Complete versions of the pieces from which all the musical examples are taken are to be found in Pirrotta 1954–64, save for those by Landini, which appear in Schrade 1958. The measures of the Pirrotta edition have in some instances been subdivided here for easier reading. The measure numbers provided for each example, designed to direct the reader to the location of the example in the Pirrotta edition, refer to the numbers of the larger measures in that edition.

[4] For a recent discussion of this aspect of medieval polyphony, see Leech-Wilkinson 1984, 9–11.

[5] For example, Lorenzo Masini's isorhythmic madrigal, *Povero zappator*, displays an unusual amount of parallel motion in the setting of the first line of the tercet.

Example 6

Lavandose le mane, mm. 31–33

Example 7

Involta d'un bel velo, mm.4–5

Example 8

Dal bel castel, mm. 4–5; 25–26

Codex. The descending turning-figure cadence reiterated the ornamented contrary motion which constituted the largest proportion of the contrapuntal fabric of these early works, many of which, judging by their notation in the Rossi Codex, must have been produced not much later than 1335 or 1340.[6]

The ornamental figures which characterized the early madrigal melismas and cadences tended to weaken the rhythmic thrust of the cantus by too-frequent repetitions of auxiliary-note motions in immediate succession, as illustrated by the bracketed passages in Example 11. Despite the lively minim rhythms, static ornamentation of this

[6] The layers of notational practice represented in the Rossi madrigal collection are outlined in Long 1981, 210–12.

Example 9

Seguendo un me' sparver, mm. 22–23

Example 10

Pianze la bella Iguana, mm. 5–6

Example 11

Seguendo un me' sparver, mm. 1–8

type produced a sort of melodic inertia, and often obscured the underlying semibreve pulse. In the works of Giovanni da Cascia from the 1340s and 1350s, the artificial and somewhat forced floridity of the early madrigal cantus took on a new melodic profile. The cadential melismas in Giovanni's madrigals appear more streamlined, more economical in their ornamentation, highlighting rather than obscuring the pulse by limiting the number of auxiliary-note figures, as shown in

Example 12

Giovanni da Cascia, *O perlaro gentil*, mm. 26–31

Example 13

Giovanni, *Più non mi curo*, mm. 29–33

Example 12, or by systematically reversing their directions, as in Example 13 (auxiliary notes are circled in both examples).[7]

The mid-century madrigal, as represented by the works of Jacopo da Bologna, Vincenzo da Rimini,[8] Gherardello and Lorenzo, reveals a further tendency toward simplification and clarification of cadential material. This generation of composers, while enhancing the virtuosic nature of the cantus voice through the introduction of semiminims and mensuration changes, exhibits a concern for the cohesiveness of the long and florid cantus phrases. That concern is manifested in the construction of melismas from sequential repetitions of motives, and in the integration, again through the use of melodic motives, of texted melody, melisma and cadence. In the madrigals of this generation much of the traditional turning figuration is replaced by simpler scalar melody types. The reduction of the ornamented descending pentachord which characterized the earlier madrigal cadence to an

[7] Similar problems may be found in Landini's earlier madrigals. See, for example, *Una colonba candida*, which includes the same sort of static ornamental figures, as well as such contrapuntal infelicities as voice-crossings and exposed parallel fifths, all of which the composer avoided in his more mature madrigals. Fischer argues for a dating of this work ca. 1380 (1966, 43), but it is difficult to reconcile that date with the composition's melodic and contrapuntal archaisms.

[8] I have recently suggested 1365 as the probable year of Vincenzo's death. In that year the abbacy of Santa Maria in Regola, a Benedictine institution in Imola, was assumed by Uberto da Novara, who held that post through 1405. Vincenzo's election as abbot occurred some time during the decade 1352–62. On the documentary evidence for Vincenzo's career, see my forthcoming article, "*Ita se n'era a star nel paradiso*: The Metamorphoses of an Ovidian Madrigal in Trecento Italy," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6.

Example 14

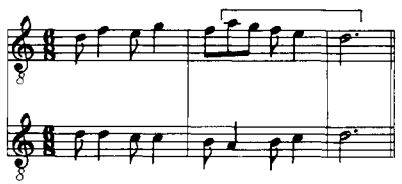
Jacopo da Bologna, *Fenice fu'*, mm. 17–18

Example 15

Jacopo, *Con gran furor*, mm. 34–35

Example 16

Lorenzo Masini, *Povero zappator*, mm. 50–52



Example 17

Lorenzo, *I' credo ch'i' dormiva*, mm. 18–19

unornamented or very lightly ornamented scalar descent reflected the growing prominence of scalar motives as general structural elements in madrigal style. Examples 14 through 17, from the works of Jacopo da Bologna and Lorenzo Masini, illustrate the more modern scalar type of cadence. The characteristic ascending-fourth tenor remained essentially unchanged.

By the end of the 1350s, both Italian and French composers had begun to explore the rhythmic variety offered by the use of displace-

Example 18

Jacopo da Bologna, *Nel bel giardino*, mm. 27–29

Example 19

Jacopo, *Lo lume vostro*, mm. 32–34

ment syncopation. Syncopation at all levels and in every prolation was facilitated by notational developments shortly after mid-century.[9] Extended syncopations in the Trecento madrigal repertory were for the most part confined to conjunct melodic figures, notably the by-then conventional stepwise descent of the cantus part at cadences, as illustrated in Examples 18 through 21. The broken syncopation, in which the syncopated note is repeated, as in Example 20, was especially typical of the madrigal of the third quarter of the century.

A statistical summary of the relationship between chronology and cadence-type in the madrigals of Landini's predecessors from ca. 1330 to ca. 1370 is provided in Table 1.[10] The later two-voice madrigal

[9] The earliest extant Italian work to include syncopations across tempus boundaries in major prolation (*senaria imperfecta*) is Giovanni da Cascia's madrigal, *La bella stella*. For the dating of this work ca. 1353, see Gallo 1976, 42. Cross-temporal syncopations in major prolation were also first introduced into French polyphonic works in the decade of the 1350s (in Machaut's rondeau, *Rose, lis*, and Jean Vaillant's isorhythmic rondeau, *Pour ce que je ne say faire*). See Günther 1962, 27 and Hirshberg 1971, 187.

[10] The madrigals of two composers are not represented in the chronologically-ordered table. The first is Landini, whose madrigals represent less than ten percent of his extant compositions. The chronology of Landini's madrigals is, with a few exceptions, uncertain. They were almost surely written over a span of some three, if not four decades. Dates for a few of the madrigals are suggested in Fischer 1966, 41–43. The second composer omitted from my statistics is Donato da Cascia. His madrigals represent a more chronologically limited sampling than those of Landini, but his biography is entirely undocumented. Our assumption that Donato was a

Example 20

Lorenzo Masini, *Sovra la riva*, mm. 47–50

Example 21

Lorenzo, *Dà, dà a chi avaregia*, mm. 60–61

repertory exhibits a marked shift away from the ornamented turning figures which constitute the largest proportion of cadential gestures in the works of Magister Piero and the anonymous northerners represented in the Rossi Codex. The later madrigals are marked by a reliance upon less-ornamented scalar cadence types, which account, for example, for 85 percent of the cadences occurring at the ends of sections in Lorenzo Masini's madrigals.[11]

The madrigals of Lorenzo's generation show a dependence upon syncopated descending scalar patterns as a source for motivic material. Often the pattern appeared as a syncopation chain at the level of the semibreve, broken into repeated minims, as in Example 22. Lorenzo's virtuosic madrigal, *Ita se n'era a star nel paradiso*, most likely

contemporary of Lorenzo Masini is based largely on the stylistic similarity between their works. While that similarity extends to cadence-types (Donato also prefers the scalar descent in the cantus), to place Donato in his probable chronological position in the table (which illustrates the evolution of the madrigal cadence as a function of chronology) on the basis of style traits would involve a circular argument.

[11] Lorenzo served as a canon at the Florentine church of San Lorenzo from 1348 until his death in 1372 or 1373, and thus his career there overlapped with Landini's association with that same institution for nearly a decade (see Gallo 1975). It is unlikely that during this period Landini could have escaped the supervision or influence of the elder composer, for several of Lorenzo's song texts reveal that he was above all a dedicated pedagogue.

TABLE 1.

Frequency of madrigal cadence types relative to chronology

	Turn-ornamented descending	Scalar descending with 1 auxiliary note	Unornamented scalar	Syncopated scalar	Total scalar
c. 1330					
Magister Piero	75%	13%	13%	0%	26%
Rossi Codex	70%	21%	6%	3%	30%
Giovanni da Cascia	62%	28%	0%	10%	38%
Jacopo da Bologna	43%	22%	20%	14%	56%
Gherardello da Firenze	30%	45%	15%	10%	70%
Vincenzo da Rimini	33%	33%	17%	17%	67%
Lorenzo Masini	15%	50%	15%	20%	85%
c. 1370					

Example 22

Lorenzo Masini, *Ita se n'era a star*, mm. 12–14 (cantus)

Example 23

Ita se n'era a star, mm. 23–24; 48–49

composed between 1360 and 1365[12], displays Lorenzo's characteristic approach to the construction of a florid but unified musical work. Melodic sequences, imitations of cantus motives in the tenor voice, and widely-separated reappearances of motivic material originally presented in the setting of the first line of text all contribute to providing an audible structural framework for this extraordinarily expansive composition. The descending figure in broken syncopation recurs periodically throughout the madrigal, including in diminution at the cadences which mark the ends of the first and second lines of the tercet, as shown in Example 23.

It is impossible within the limits of this study to demonstrate fully the great extent to which unornamented scalar motives, often syncopated, began to pervade the musical structure of the later madrigal, represented primarily by the works of Lorenzo, Gherardello and Jacopo.[13] It is hardly necessary to demonstrate the importance of such melodic gestures to Landini's own style, which owes so much of its relaxed elegance to the composer's expert handling of the syncopated stepwise descent. Example 24, the cantus voice of the *ripresa* of Landini's two-voice ballata *De sospirar sovente*, illustrates how the substance of a composition is spun out of the simple syncopated scalar idea, reaching its final statement and resolution in the syncopated descent to the sixth degree at the cadence. This work stands as a

[12] See my forthcoming paper cited in note 8 above.

[13] See, for example, Gherardello's *Cacciand' un giorno*, *Con levrieri e mastini*, *L'aquila bella*, *Si forte vola*, and *Una colomba*; Lorenzo's *Dà, dà, a chi avaregia*, *Ita se n'era*, *I' credo ch'i' dormiva*, *Nel chiaro fiume*, and *Sovra la riva*. Syncopated scalar motives obtain in most of Jacopo's madrigals (see, for example, *Aquil' altera* and *Con gran furor*).

Example 24

Francesco Landini, *De sospirar sovente*, mm. 1–17 (cantus)

Example 25

Landini, *A le' s'andrà lo spirto*, mm. 21–25 (cantus)

Example 26

Landini, *Non avrà ma' pietà*, mm. 1–4 (cantus)

paradigm for Landini's method of permeating the melodic fabric of the ballata with conjunct descending motives. The same procedure is evident in the later, three-voice compositions, although those works generally display more intricate patterns of syncopation, as in Examples 25 and 26.

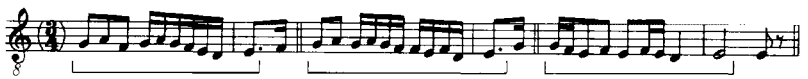
Landini's adoption of the under-third cadence as "resolution" or "closure" of descending conjunct patterns set up earlier in a piece may, as suggested above, have been modelled upon a similar practice in the monophonic ballatas of his elder contemporary Gherardello. In the case of *Per non far lieto* (Example 4, above), Gherardello effects a delicately embellished descent from *d'* to *g* at the outset of the piece. The first half of the phrase outlines the *d'-a* tetrachord. The second half begins similarly, suggesting a continued descent through the lower pentachord of the *d'-d* octave. That melodic motion is, however, diverted after the penultimate note by the leap up to *g*. The under-third cadence allows for the resolution of *a* (m. 3) to *g*, but only after an extension of the stepwise melodic descent through most of the

Example 27

Gherardello da Firenze, *Donna, l'altrui mirar*, mm. 1–3

Example 28

Donna, l'altrui mirar, mm. 14–15; 20–21; 31–32



Example 29

Donna, l'altrui mirar, mm. 38–41

rest of the *d'-d* octave. In the opening of the ballata, *Donna, l'altrui mirar*, Gherardello again uses the under-third cadence to effect a melodic rhyme within two halves of a phrase (Example 27). The initial motive, a figure which descends from *g* to *d* after touching upon the upper auxiliary *a* is echoed by another tetrachordal descent, *e-B*, followed by the third leap to the cadential *d*. The generating motive is reproduced at its original pitch level throughout the composition, lending the work structural coherence. With each statement, the motive is prolonged through ornamentation (Example 28). In its final presentation, the expected descent through the bottom *d* of the tetrachord is averted by the third leap to the cadential *g* (Example 29).

The descending ballata cadence is, of course, distinguished from the descending madrigal cadence by the change of melodic direction following the penultimate note. That is, the anticipated final note of the conventional descending cadential pentachord is diverted upward, producing a tetrachord plus an ascending third leap. Since two-voice Italian compositions almost invariably cadenced on a unison or octave, the final melodic move from the sixth to the eighth step above the final necessitated a reshaping of the tenor voice, as a stepwise ascent to the final in that voice would have resulted in parallel unisons, seconds, octaves or sevenths with the cantus: thus the substitution of a descending tenor line.

This scenario presupposes to some extent the compositional precedence of the cantus over the tenor part. Our traditional understanding of the tenor as the "structural" voice in medieval polyphonic

song has arisen in part from its typical configuration as a relatively unornamented succession of tetrachords and pentachords alternating with fourth, fifth, and octave leaps. The straightforward architecture of the tenor does not, however, necessarily imply a role as the generator of the superstructure.[14] Perhaps most significant in this regard is the similarity of the melodic profiles of the cantus parts in Landini's polyphonic ballatas and the solo, unsupported melodies of the monophonic ballatas of his Florentine predecessors. From not too far afield, we have the evidence of Machaut, who, in a letter of the *Voir dit* mentions that he has recently composed a tenor and contratenor for a rondeau, the text and cantus of which he had created some time earlier.[15] In short, the notion that the cantus melodies of the Landini ballata cadences represent variants of madrigal cadences refitted with a new counterpoint in the tenor does not violate the logic of the compositional process.[16]

Additional testimony in support of the identification of the melodic outline of the ballata cadence with the contemporary madrigal cadence is offered by an apparently early Landini ballata, *Donna, se'l cor*. The musical rhyme which was so often present in French and Italian polyphonic fixed-form compositions of the latter half of the fourteenth century is here represented by an under-third cadence at the end of the *ripresa* (Example 30) and a syncopated madrigal-style cadence at the end of the *piede* (Example 31). The melodic rhyme is

[14] The possibility that a change in the typical order of composition of the two voice parts in Italian works occurred toward mid-century should not be overlooked. The tenor lines in the earliest madrigals included in the Rossi Codex resemble independent melodies more than do the tenors of the later Florentine madrigals. The anonymous madrigals *Quando i oselli canta*, *Seguendo un me' sparver*, and *Pianze la bella Iguana*, for example, are among the most primitive of the Rossi madrigals in terms of notation and style. In all those works, and within the Rossi collection in general, the tenors consist almost exclusively of stepwise melodies. Leaps of more than a third are rare. Tenor melodies in the works of Florentine composers such as Lorenzo Masini and Donato da Cascia present an entirely different profile. Fourth and fifth leaps are common, suggesting a conception of the tenor less as an independent melody than as a supporting voice. The change in the nature of the tenor may have been necessitated by the increasingly complex rhythmic and melodic structure of the cantus in the latter half of the century. Examples of disjunct tenor melodies may be found throughout the Florentine madrigal repertory (e.g. Lorenzo Masini, *Nel chiaro fiume* and *Povero zappator* and Donato da Cascia, *Sovran uccello se' fra tutti gli altri*).

[15] Ludwig 1928, 56b. I thank Lawrence Earp for calling this reference to my attention.

[16] Margaret Bent has suggested a similar order of composition for the next generation of polyphonic song: "We can surely accept that a fifteenth-century composer could handle a part song in his head. . . . He invents and writes down his melody, handing it or teaching it to a colleague who sings it while he improvises and empirically refines a tenor, which he then writes down" (1981, 626).

Example 30

Francesco Landini, *Donna, se'l cor*, mm. 17–21

Example 31

Donna, se'l cor, mm. 29–33

provided by the descending tetrachord *d''-a'*, rhythmicized once as a broken and once as an unbroken semibreve syncopation. It is clear that the *ripresa* cadence cannot be read simply as an ornamented leading-tone configuration (although that would be the contrapuntal "explanation"), reiterating as it does the descending pentachordal figure which immediately precedes it, and which eventually serves as the other form-defining cadence. In the understanding of this particular situation, and of analogous situations in other ballatas, it is the melodic reading of the seventh degree as part of a descent not yet completed that should take precedence over its identification as a participant in the typical discant progression of a sixth expanding to an octave. To interpret the pitch *a'* in the penultimate measure as an ornamental tone "inserted" between the leading tone and final would be to ignore its organic connection to and function within the larger system of melodic motives which provides coherence to the entire composition.[17] The two-voice madrigal, *Non a Narcisso*, provides further evidence that Landini's own hearing of the cadence formula was as a member of a motivic set, or network, all elements of which combined to produce a homogeneity of contour within individual compositions. The under-third cadence was not typically a part of Landini's madrigal vocabulary, but in this one case it does appear, and

[17] Similar *ripresa/piede* rhymes involving both an under-third and descending madrigal-type cadence occur in the two-voice ballatas *Gli occhi, che in prima*, *Dè! vogli gli occhi*, and *Benchè crudele siate*, among others.

Example 32

Landini, *Non a Narcisso*, mm. 22–24 (cantus)

Example 33

Non a Narcisso, mm. 7–9 (cantus)

Example 34

Landini, *Nè'n ciascun*, mm. 19–21 (cantus)

it does so, moreover, in structurally significant positions. The descending syncopated motive which approaches the cadential final by way of a third below at the end of the second line of the tercet (Example 32) is first introduced in a non-cadential context within the melisma on the penultimate syllable of the first line (Example 33). This rare use of the cadence outside the realm of the ballata as a completion of a rhythmic and melodic pattern set up in the early measures of the piece demonstrates further that it existed, at least in its original form, not as an independent elaboration of the underlying counterpoint of a composition, but rather as a constituent part of a long-range melodic conception.

That the cadence played an integral role in the long-range melodic plans of Landini's mature works is evident not only from those situations in which the under-third cadence is presented in its normal disposition, but also from occurrences of variant forms of the basic configuration. In the three-voice ballata, *Nè'n ciascun mie pensiero*, the final cadence of the *ripresa*, shown in Example 34, includes an ascent to the final *c'* of the cantus from *a*, a third below, but the *a* is not part of a continuous stepwise descent.

The penultimate note in the cantus is preceded by a stepwise ascent of a third, an ascent which echoes a similar figure a measure and one-half earlier. That Landini may have considered the ascending third the "germ" of the motivic network in this composition is revealed by the foreshadowing of the cadential event which occurs at

Example 35

Nè'n ciascun, mm. 1–5 (cantus)

Example 36

Nè'n ciascun, mm. 7–9; 11–12 (cantus)

Example 37

Nè'n ciascun, mm. 15–17 (cantus)

Example 38

Structural placement of ascending-third motive in *Nè'n ciascun* (terzetto)

the opening of every principal structural division within the *ripresa*. The cantus setting for the first two phrases of the first text line, shown in Example 35, consists of an ascent from the *d'* (arrived at by leap in the first measure) back to the opening *g'* by way of two stepwise ascents: *d'-e'-f'* and *e'-f'-g'*. Example 36 illustrates the reappearance of the motive at the openings of lines 2 and 3 of the *ripresa*. The long final melisma, which in itself accounts for more than a third of the music of the *ripresa*, begins with a sequential presentation of the same motive, as in Example 37.

The intended integration of each appearance of the motive at these syntactically crucial positions into a larger melodic framework is revealed when all occurrences are viewed sequentially, as in Example 38. The melodic motive has unfolded at particular pitch levels which are reiterated in telescoped form in the concluding melisma and final cadence of the *ripresa*.

Although Landini avoids the more standard conjunct descending under-third configuration in the *ripresa*, it appears three times in the

Example 39

Nè'n ciascun, mm. 22–23 (cantus)

piede, including the end of the section. Those cadential descents are again foreshadowed, in this case by an inversion of the primary *ripresa* motive at the opening of the *piede*, providing a link between the two formal divisions of the work (see Example 39).[18]

The single-minded character of the ballata formed a sharp contrast to the disjunct sectionalism of the madrigal. The latter normally included a change of musical and poetic meter in its concluding ritornello, which typically cadenced on a pitch other than that used for the final unison of the tercet. Those audible changes corresponded to a change in textual content, often effected through a shift of narrative stance (Long 1983, 87). Unlike the richly-detailed madrigal narratives, the poetry of the ballata was typically unified under the umbrella of a single concept, whether courtly and sentimental or abstract and philosophical. The stability of the poetic content and of the metrical structure of the ballata was reflected in the unchanging mensuration and motivic construction which characterized its musical settings. The continuity over considerable musical distance of the melodic component of the ballata was often enhanced, particularly in later works, by the reiteration of the same pitch at the close of the *ripresa* and the *piede*. The technique of pitch closure within a given work was even more effective when combined with the use of a melodic rhyme (often extracted from the primary motivic material of the cantus) in the approach to those final pitches. The refrain structure of the ballata no doubt encouraged this procedure, for the establishment of a common pitch center at the ends of both formal divisions allowed for smooth transitions from the *ripresa* to the *piede* and back. As the musical and poetical interest of the madrigal had lain

[18] Similar instances of the construction of a composition around a small melodic cell may be found throughout Landini's works. One of the more dramatic examples is the late madrigal, *Tu che l'oper' altru'*, which has been dated ca. 1380 on textual grounds (see Fischer 1966, 41). In that work, a stepwise ascending third presented in the first measures of the cantus is treated to a thorough exposition (with note values halved) in both cantus and tenor voices throughout the setting of the tercet. The fantasy-like treatment of the motive, involving sequences, imitation and inversion, is unusual for a fourteenth-century composition. While Landini rarely caries the idea of motivic unification to such extreme lengths, the basic technique is typical of his mature works.

in its contrasts, the beauty of the ballata originated in its sense of unity and continuity. The parallel motion of Landini's voice parts gave depth to that unified impression, adding a third textural dimension to those of uniform melodic contour and metrical consistency. The predeliction towards parallel motion in the three-voice ballata seems to have been determined not wholly by chronological parameters, but by a particular aesthetic of the genre, for, in spite of the increasing intrusion of contrapuntal parallelisms into the later Trecento madrigal, the contrapuntal profile of those works remains primarily one of contrary motion.[19] In the polyphonic ballata, extended passages in parallel counterpoint were already present in Landini's two-voice works, as illustrated by Example 40, *Altera luce*. This work is pervaded by melodic ornamentation and cadence-types more characteristic of the madrigal repertory, suggesting a fairly early date of composition. At the same time, its generic stylistic identity is established by the predominance of parallel motion in the setting of the first line of text.

Example 40
Landini, *Altera luce*, mm. 1–4

Although the precise events surrounding the introduction of the polyphonic ballata into Florentine musical expression remain obscure, its stylistic components are largely traceable. The under-third cadence, while functioning as an "ornament" within the contrapuntal dimension of polyphonic compositions appears to have originated as a primarily melodic convention within a repertory of monophonic lyric song. Its appearance and growth to the status of a convention in polyphony coincided with a general trend in Italian music toward melody types based on unornamented conjunct motion. In keeping with the nature of the ballata texts, those elements of the conventional madrigal style which implied unity rather than contrast were retained, and brought into clearer relief by a new contrapuntal environ-

[19] For instance, Landini's three-voice madrigal, *Musica son/Già furon/Ciascun vuoli*, while including many gestures probably derived from the composer's ballata style, preserves the traditional contrary motion madrigal cadences in the cantus and tenor voices at the ends of the tercet and ritornello.

ment. On the basis of the extant repertory, we must conclude that it was largely through the efforts of Francesco Landini that this elegant musical hybrid was regularized, Landini's innovations eventually attaining the status of fixed conventions. Admittedly, an evolutionary approach to the analysis of the extant artifacts of a medieval musical conventional style is no guarantee of an insightful result. Still, the identification of stylistic components which may justifiably be termed "conventions" serves as an important first step toward distinguishing that which is probable from that which is merely possible in attempting to explain the compositional decisions behind the musical organization of a specific composition.[20] The identification of repertorial conventions in Trecento polyphony is facilitated by the relatively large number of composers for whom multiple works survive, and the geographical and chronological circumscription of the repertory. The process of distinguishing between conventional and individual styles in pre-tonal music is still in an incipient stage. A thorough understanding of the personal styles of expert polyphonists such as Jacopo, Lorenzo, and Landini will not be possible until we can view their works as artful extensions and manipulations of their conventional frameworks.

Columbia University

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[20] C.f. the discussion of style and convention in medieval poetry in Muscatine 1957, 1–6.

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ABSTRACT

The Landini, or under-third cadence functions at the contrapuntal level as the ornamentation of a sixth-to-octave expansion. At the same time, the melodic descent to the penultimate note of the cadence often serves as the completion, resolution, or extension of descending patterns set up earlier in a composition. In those cases where the cadence diverges from its standard form, deviations usually reflect a specific motivic pattern established at the outset of the work. When the development of the under-third cadence as a convention in Landini's ballatas is viewed from a predominantly melodic, rather than contrapuntal perspective, precedents may be identified within earlier Italian secular repertories, including the madrigals and monophonic ballatas of the mid-fourteenth century.

[18]

Machaut's balades with four voices

ELIZABETH EVA LEACH

ABSTRACT *Based on principles found in fourteenth-century counterpoint treatises, this study divides Machaut's balades with four voices into three groups according to their performance possibilities. The pieces of group 1 (*Se quanque amours, Il mest avis, De toutes flours, *and* Quant theseus/Ne quier*) can be performed either in all four parts or in three parts by omitting the triplum. Group 2 (*De petit po *and* De Fortune *plus* **Vg***'s redaction of* Se quanque amours*) includes those pieces that can be performed in three parts with either contratenor or triplum but not with all four parts. Pieces in this group are often found with all four parts copied together, thus highlighting the difference between the presentation of a piece in the sources and its performance options. The pieces in group 3 (*En amer *and* Dame de qui*) are less clearly delimited in their performance possibilities.*

Introduction

Machaut's four-part balades have been considered with regard to their performance possibilities by several scholars, most notably Ernst Apfel, Wolfgang Dömling and Gilbert Reaney.[1] Using an understanding of medieval counterpoint drawn from fourteenth-century counterpoint teachings, this article also considers them in terms of their performance possibilities and proposes a division into three groups, the first of which is subdivided. For the balades of group 1, I will argue that the counterpoint functions in a way that represents a standard arrangement for Machaut's four-part writing. Group 1a includes both those pieces generally transmitted in four parts but occasionally (in later sources) found reduced to three parts with contratenor (balades *Se quanque amours* (21) and *Il mest avis* (22)). It also includes a piece found mainly in the latter combination which was

[1] See Gilbert Reaney, 'Fourteenth-Century Harmony and the Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut', *Musica Disciplina*, 7 (1953), 129–46; 'The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut: Melody, Rhythm and Form', *Acta Musicologica*, 27 (1955), 40–58; 'Machaut [Machau, Machaud, Machault], Guillaume de [Guillelmus de Machaudio]', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), XI: 428–36; Wolfgang Dömling, *Die mehrstimmigen Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelais von Guillaume de Machaut: Untersuchungen zum musikalischen Satz* (Tutzing, 1970), pp. 79–80. Also see Ernst Apfel, 'Zur Entstehung des realen vierstimmigen Satzes in England', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 17 (1960), 81–99.

later expanded to four parts by the addition of a triplum (*De toutes flours* (B31).[2] Whatever the chronological relationship between the three-part and four-part versions, the contrapuntal dependence of the triplum on the contratenor in these balades precludes a three-voice performance Tenor–Cantus–Triplum. In addition, whilst the dyadic grammatical basis of the tenor and cantus is still independent in a technical sense, the fundamental musical identity of these pieces is three-part (Tenor–Contratenor–Cantus), so that their theoretically possible two-part versions are not transmitted.[3] Group 1b includes only *Quant theseus / Ne quier* (B34). Textual evidence in the *Voir Dit* showing that it is intended as a four-part piece has stimulated claims that this balade works outside the norms of dyadic counterpoint, that 'the voices have no fixed functions' and that 'Machaut must have conceived [the] whole ... before he worked out the written parts'.[4] It can be shown, however, that although it has a fundamental musical identity of a four-part song because of its poetic function, in terms of its counterpoint *Quant theseus / Ne quier* is identical to balades in group 1a.

Group 2 comprises balades 18 and 23 which, whilst all four parts may be copied into a single source, do not support a four-part rendering because the contratenor and triplum represent alternative third parts and are not compatible.[5] The implication of different but equally valid third-voice readings is that

[2] Dömling, *Die mehrstimmigen Balladen*, 80, also divides the four-part balades into three groups which are somewhat different from those proposed here. Dömling's first category comprises 'Sätze, von denen eine Hs. eine 3st. Fassung Ca.-Te.-Ct. überliefert: Ballades 21, 22' (pieces for which one manuscript transmits a three-voice version Ca–T–Ct: balades 21 and 22). For these two balades he concludes that 'Das Tri. ist entbehrlich, nicht aber der Contratenor' (the triplum is inessential, but not, however, the contratenor), which makes the contrapuntal diagnosis resemble that for Dömling's third category, '3st. Sätze, denen ein Tri. nachgefügt ist' (three-voice pieces to which a triplum is subsequently added) in which only *De toutes flours* (B31) is included. In this case the triplum 'kann den Ct. nicht ersetzen, es erweitert den Satz zur Vierstimmigkeit' (cannot replace the contratenor; it expands the piece to four parts). The separation of Dömling's categories one and three seems tacitly to rely on the extent to which the triplum is part of the original conception of the song: the first category represents reductions from a four-voice conception (both B22 and B21 are in four parts except in one source), whereas the third category represents additions to a three-voice one (B31 is in three parts in all sources except one). However, with our current understanding of the chronology of the Machaut sources, only for *De toutes flours* (B31) does the manuscript situation clearly point to the anteriority of the three-voice version with contratenor.

[3] And arguably would not have been, even in now lost copies. The seemingly two-part instrumental arrangement of B31 in **Fa** is not a real reduction since it synthesizes salient features of both cantus and contratenor in its upper part, see Jane E. Flynn, 'The Intabulation of *De toutes flours* in the Codex Faenza as Analytical Model', unpublished paper read at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, York (1998).

[4] See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, '*Le Voir Dit* and *La Messe de Nostre Dame*: Aspects of Genre and Style in the Late Works of Machaut', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 2 (1993), p. 57.

[5] This is coterminous with Dömling's second category of '3st. Sätze Te.–Ca.–Tri., denen teilweise ein Ct. nachgefügt ist: Ballade 18 (Ct. außerhalb der Haupt.-Hss. überliefert), Ballade 23 (Ct. in einer späten Haupt-Hss. überliefert)' (three-voice pieces, T–Ca–Tr, to which, in some sources, a contratenor has been subsequently added: Balade 18 (Ct transmitted outside the principal manuscripts), Balade 23 (Ct transmitted in one of the later principal manuscripts)). Dömling concludes that the four voices of these two songs are not intended to sound simultaneously, but 'sind nur in zweifach 3st. Kombination ausführbar' (are only performable in two three-voice combinations) (*Die mehrstimmigen Balladen*, 80).

the core parts are complete in themselves and that the written compendium of the four-voice sources offers a two-part, as well as two different three-part versions. This conclusion is corroborated by the existence of two-part manuscript copies for both balades and the use of only the cantus and tenor parts in the chiastic quotation of B23 in the anonymous balade *Dame qui fust*, despite the three-part version with the **PR** contratenor probably being known to its composer.[6]

The third and final group includes the two balades which appear as lyric insertions in Machaut's *Remede de Fortune*. The first of these, *En Amer* (B41), exists in manuscript versions with four parts and with three parts, omitting the triplum – a similar manuscript situation to that of *Se quanque amours* (B21).[7] *Dame de qui* (B42) exists only in two-part and four-part versions.[8] Both balades' manuscript situation suggests certain performance possibilities, but ruling out others on the basis of contrapuntal analysis is remarkably difficult.[9]

All Machaut's song output has a demonstrably dyadic basis.[10] The four-part pieces can be analysed contrapuntally as a number of overlaid duets. There are six possible dyadic vocal combinations, Tenor–Cantus (T–Ca), Tenor–Contratenor (T–Ct), Tenor–Triplum (T–Tr), Contratenor–Cantus (Ct–Ca), Contratenor–Triplum (Ct–Tr) and Cantus–Triplum (Ca–Tr), of which, at any one time, at least three should exhibit a standard discant relationship (simple counterpoint). Normatively these three are the three tenor duets, but the categorization of all six into discant duets and non-discant pairs and the identification of dissonances difficult to understand in terms of a posited underlying simple (consonant) counterpoint will assist the process of discrimination which leads to an identification of performance possibilities and limitations.

Group 1a: *Il mest avis* (B22), *Se quanque amours* (B21) and *De toutes flours* (B31)

That the triplum of *Il mest avis* (B22) was a later addition is not self-evident, since all the sources which transmit the work in a performable version do so with all four parts. In addition, the manuscript copy of *Il mest avis* (B22) in **PR** has a contratenor different from that contained (substantially) in the other copies (**Vg B G A** and **E**). Ernst Apfel maintains that the existence of several contratenors

[6] I have argued this in Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Fortune's Demesne: The Interrelation of Text and Music in Machaut's *Il mest avis* (B22), *De Fortune* (B23) and two Related Anonymous Balades', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000) 47–49. especially p. 65, ex. 1. For a key to manuscript sigla, see Appendix A.

[7] B41 is in four parts in **C Pe E PR Vg B F A** and in three parts in **K FP** and **Pit**. B21 is in three parts in **A** and four parts in **C Vg B G** and **E**.

[8] In four parts in **E PR Vg B F A**; in two parts in **C Pe** and **K**.

[9] Dömling (*Die mehrstimmigen Balladen*, 80) does not include either song in his summary although they are both commented upon by Reaney, 'Machaut', 430, 435.

[10] See Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Counterpoint in Guillaume de Machaut's Musical Ballades', D.Phil. diss., Oxford University (1997) and 'Counterpoint and Analysis in Fourteenth-Century Song', forthcoming in *Journal of Music Theory*, 44 (2000).

is evidence enough that the contratenor is a later addition.[11] However, in manuscript **C**, the earliest source, only the cantus part is actually entered and the copy has staves labelled for tenor and contratenor. The manuscript evidence in conjunction with François Avril's early dating of **C** (not available to Apfel)[12] suggests that a three-part version with contratenor preceded the addition of a triplum, making it the only balade in this vocal combination in **C**.

Even in the absence of transmission evidence that the triplum was added later, the counterpoint of the four-part B22 confirms that the triplum cannot be performed without the contratenor. For a voice to support performance as a third part in a three-voice rendering, it must have a discant relationship with the tenor throughout. This criterion is met by the contratenor of B22, but, as will be shown, not by the triplum. The triplum of B22 actually requires the simultaneous performance of the contratenor (the 'triplum', despite its name, is a *fourth* voice). The evidence for this occurs where the contratenor supports a T–Ca progression by falling below the tenor. At such places, the triplum assumes a discant relationship with the lowest voice, briefly abandoning its discant relationship with the tenor.

The voices of *Il mest avis* (B22) adopt a normative pattern at cadence points. Where the T–Ca duet has a directed progression from a sixth to an octave above the tenor, the T–Ct duet has a third to a fifth, and the T–Tr duet a tenth to a twelfth, the triplum therefore singing in parallel octaves with the contratenor, as at the caesura of line 6 (bars 36–37). Where the T–Ca resolution is to an interval smaller than an octave, some duplication or inversion (in the sense of voices crossing out of their normative relative positions) occurs in other tenor duets. In bars 48–9 the T–Ct interval of resolution is the fifth, and the contratenor therefore takes the unison, and the triplum the octave.[13]

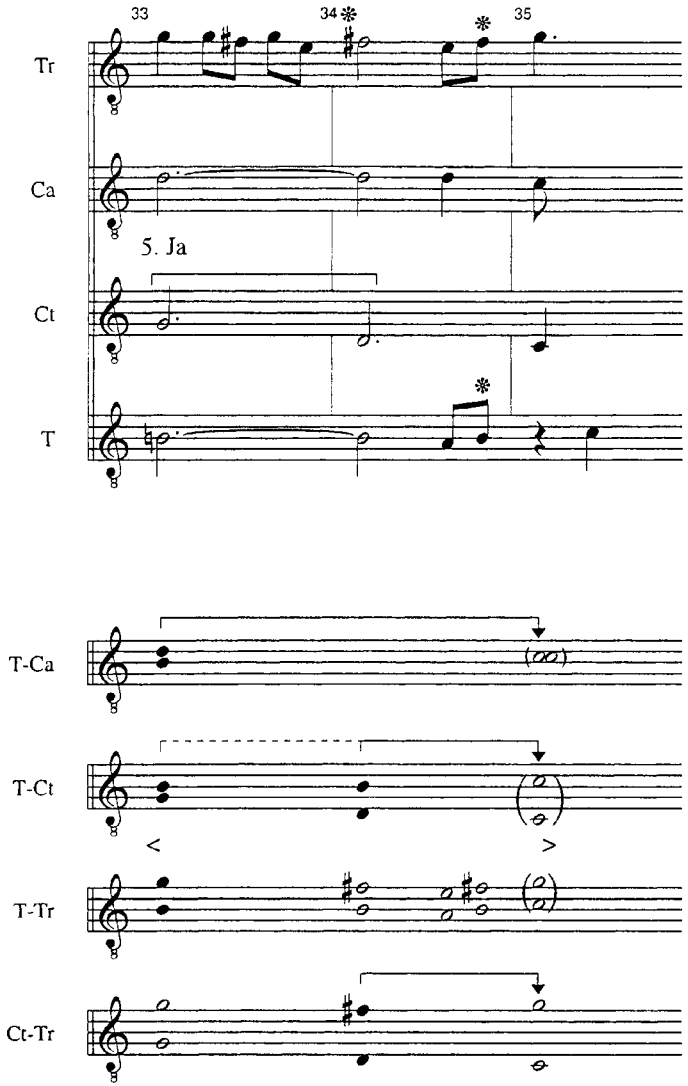
The contratenor has three possible options for dealing with T–Ca resolutions to the unison. In the first of these, as in bars 7-8, the contratenor takes the fifth above the tenor (therefore also above the cantus) and the triplum, the octave above the tenor.[14] The second and third possibilities for the contratenor to harmonize T–Ca resolutions to the unison clarify the relationship of the triplum voice to the other parts. In both cases the contratenor falls below the tenor,

[11] Because for B22 'verschiedene Contratenores überliefert sind, nehme ich an, daß der Contratenor die zuletzt hinzugekommene Stimme ist' (various contratenors are transmitted, I assume that the contratenor is the last voice to be added), Apfel, 'Zur Entstehung', 93.

[12] Apfel, 'Zur Entstehung' (1960) significantly predates François Avril, 'Les manuscrits enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut: Essai de chronologie', in *Guillaume de Machaut: Poète et compositeur* (Paris, 1982), 117–33. Before Avril's re-dating, the catalogue at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France stated that **C** was a late (fifteenth-century) source, a diagnosis which formerly devalued its differences from the rest of the Machaut tradition.

[13] Although at the beginning of bar 48 the Ct–Tr duet is consonant to cover the T–Tr dissonance, this is an additional refinement. Strictly the T–Tr dissonance is not part of the underlying simple counterpoint.

[14] This situation is replicated in bars 14-15 and bars 18-19.



Ex. 1a: *Il mest avis* (B22) contratenor with tenor function

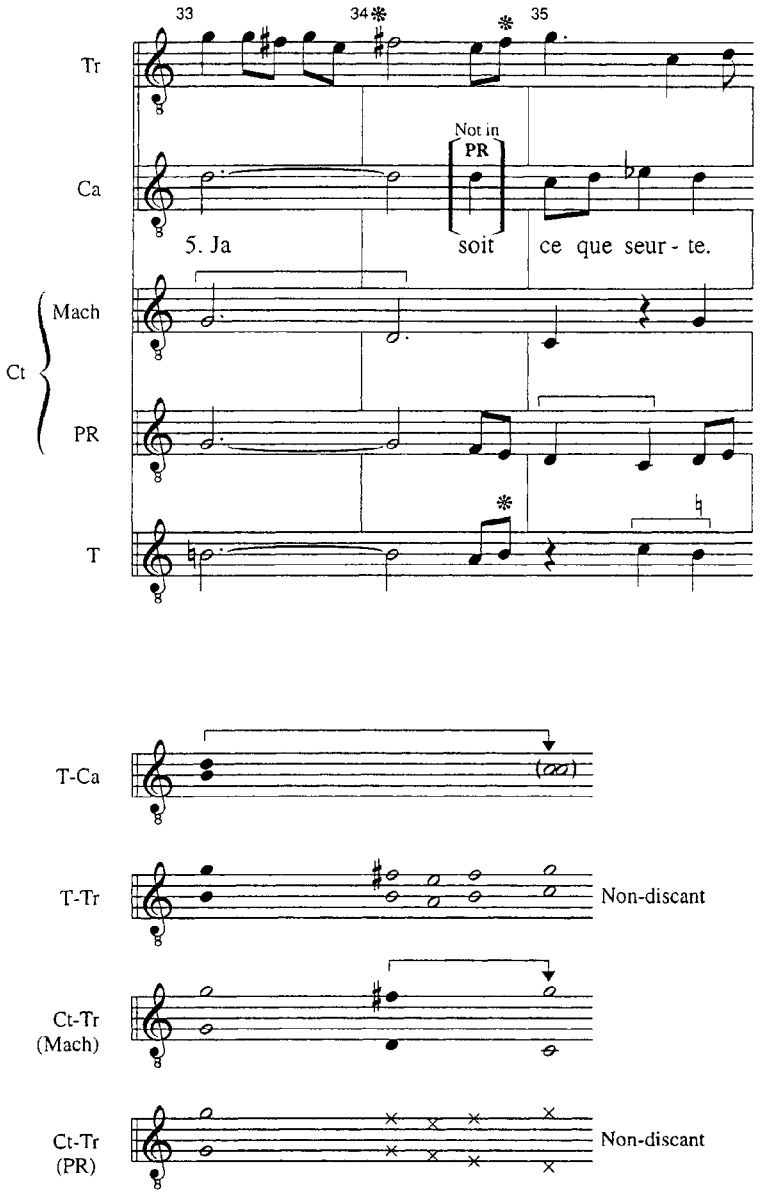
either by an octave (Ex. 1a) or a fifth (Ex. 1b).[15] In Example 1a there is a Ct–Tr directed progression resolving to the twelfth, with the lowest sounding voice (the contratenor) adopting a tenor function with respect to the triplum. In Example 1b the T–Ca resolution to unison *g* (hereafter *g*u) is harmonized by *c* in the contratenor. The T–Tr relationship is thereby complicated, since any con-

[15] For a key to the interpretation of the musical examples, see Appendix B.

Ex. 1b: *Il mest avis* (B22) refrain melisma – contratenor with tenor function

sonant interval above the tenor would provoke a dissonance with the lowest sounding part. This is avoided, and the triplum performs a simultaneous directed progression to an octave *c* (*c*8) with the contratenor, thereby entering a dissonant (that is, non-discant) relationship with the tenor.

The passages shown in Examples 1a-b to evince the triplum's dependence on four-part performance are dissimilarly treated by the contratenor of **PR**, which lacks the assumption of tenor function found in the Machaut contratenor. In



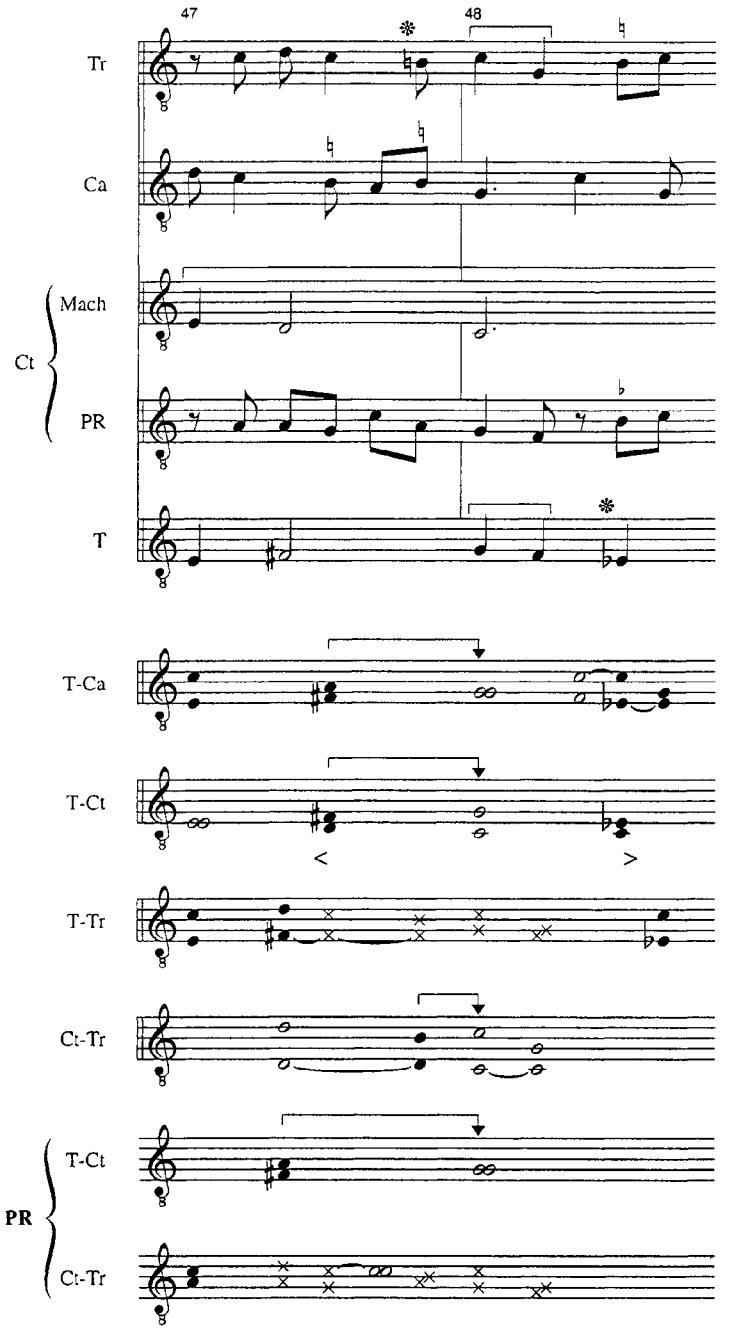
Ex. 2a: *Il mest avis* (B22) line 5 comparing the Machaut and **PR** contratenors

bars 34-5 (Ex. 1a), **PR**'s contratenor lacks a discant relationship between contratenor and triplum (Ex. 2a). Similarly, although the T–Tr duet in bars 47-8 (Ex. 1b) in **PR** has a non-discant relationship (with dissonant fourths above the tenor), **PR**'s contratenor does not fall below the tenor but mirrors the essential discant notes of the T–Ca progression (Ex. 2b). The version of the song in **PR** therefore works in the combination T–Ct–Ca but not in the combination T–Ct–Ca–Tr and if, as I have argued above, three-voice performance with triplum is not an option, **PR** represents a fossilized compendium of incompatible voice parts. **PR** possibly transmits the earliest surviving version of the contratenor – the version that should have appeared in **C** and which did not allow for a triplum part. The subsequent addition of a triplum either caused, or was simply posterior to, slight modifications of the contratenor, of which bars 47-8 as they appear in the Machaut manuscripts as opposed to **PR** (Ex. 2b), are an example. The newer contratenor of the Machaut manuscripts supports T–Ca progressions more strongly, making the addition of the triplum easier and eradicating contratenor duplication of T–Ca resolutions to the unison.

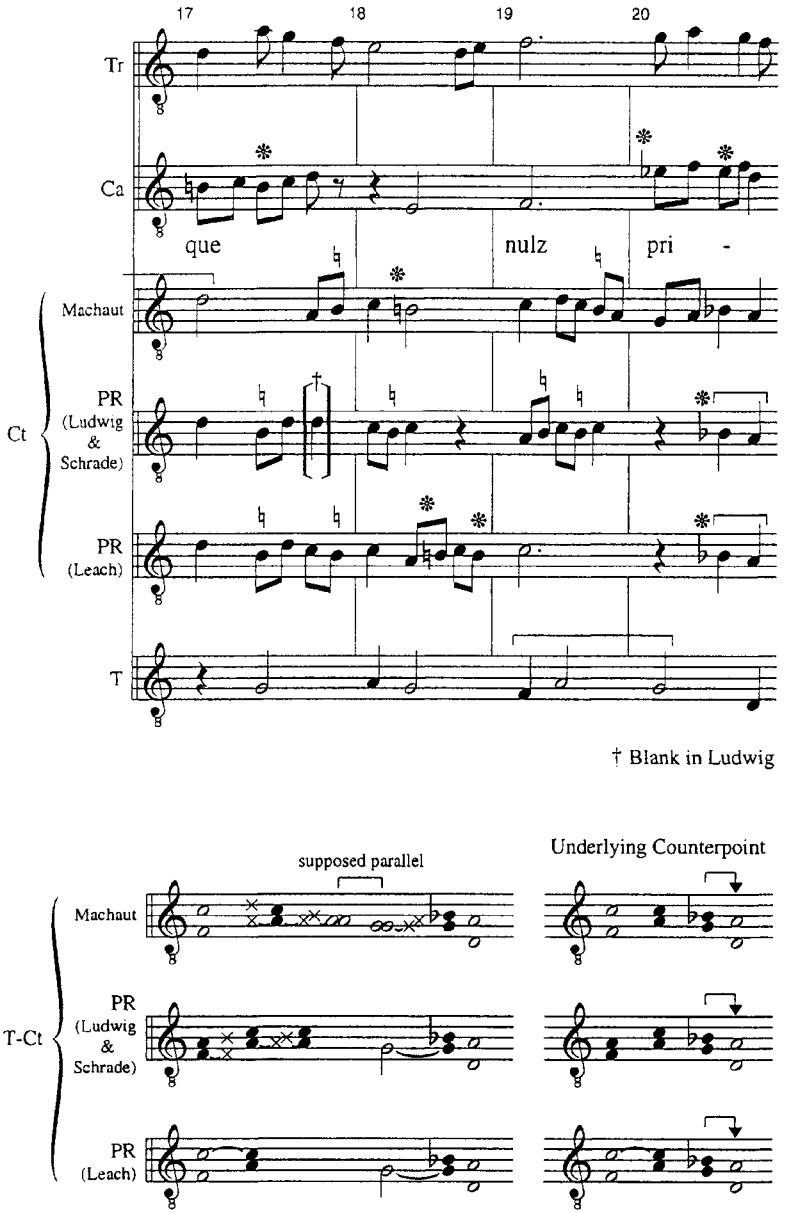
Reaney's preference for the contratenor of **PR** over that in the Machaut manuscripts for B22 is based on its avoidance of parallel perfect intervals with other voices.[16] In the case of B22, the three places which he lists specifically are bars 19-20, 21-2 and 37-8. The second and third instances are merely the presence of parallel octaves between the contratenor and triplum. Since these voices are not normally related as a discant pair, parallel perfect intervals between them are of little consequence and are even to be expected. The first instance which Reaney cites, however, is one of parallel octaves (*a* to *g*) between two voices in discant relationship – the tenor and the Machaut contratenor, from bar 19 to bar 20 (Ex. 3). Reaney maintains that the contratenor in **PR** avoids this movement. Although at the level of the surface this appears to be the case, the underlying contrapuntal movement in the T–Ct duet is actually identical in both versions of the contratenor. They are merely ornamented differently and the ornamentation of the Machaut manuscripts happens to include a parallel movement, which is nevertheless not part of the simple counterpoint. The situation is additionally complicated by the fact that the contratenor in **PR** is missing a semibreve's worth at this point (my solution of which differs from that of Ludwig and Schrade).

Like the triplum of *Il mest avis* (B22), that of *Se quanque amours* (B21) lacks the thoroughgoing discant relationship with the tenor which the contratenor possesses. B21 appears copied with all four parts in **C Vg B G** and **E**, but lacks the triplum in manuscript **A**. Lawrence Earp's convincing explanation for this is that both the original index of **A**, and the hand and layout of *Se quanque amours* (B21), suggest that it was accidentally omitted by the scribe and included

[16] Reaney, 'Fourteenth-Century Harmony', p. 141: 'Generally speaking, the substitute contratenors are an improvement on the normal one'. This supports his preference for **PR**'s contratenor over that of **E** for *De fortune* (B23) (see group 2, below) which is similarly questionable.



Ex. 2b: *Il mest avis* (B22) refrain melisma comparing the Machaut and **PR** contratenors



Ex. 3: *Il mest avis* (B22) after line 2's caesura comparing the Machaut and **PR** contratenors

later, at which point lack of space forced the omission of the triplum.[17] This attests to scribal recognition of the status of the triplum as an optional fourth voice. The numerous clear T–Ca resolutions to the unison, which in *Il mest avis* (B22) led to the contratenor falling below the tenor and forming a brief contrapuntal pair with the triplum, are not common in *Se quanque amours* (B21) in which only two brief instances indicate the contrapuntal hierarchy. Firstly, in bars 9-10 a T–Ca progression to unison *a* is supported by a T–Ct progression in which the contratenor is a fifth below the tenor. The Ct–Tr relationship is therefore consonant and the T–Tr relationship dissonant. Secondly, at the opening of the B section (bar 23) the T-Ca duet has a held unison *a*. Here, as in bar 10, the contratenor is a fifth below on *d* and, to preserve overall sonority, the triplum sings *d'*, a fourth above the tenor. A performance in three parts with triplum would have dissonances of a fourth between tenor and triplum, implausibly held for the length of a perfect breve at these two points.

In manuscript **Vg**, the triplum has been emended from *d'* to *e'* in bars 10 and 23 to allow for the very performance option which the other sources exclude.[18] This makes a consonance with the tenor and cantus parts, but forms a dissonance (of a ninth) in the vocal combination the other manuscripts necessitate, that is, four-part performance. Perhaps this displays some confusion as to the performance practice for pieces copied with four voices at this time, and shows that Dömling's general rule of thumb that added contratenors are alternatives and added tripla are additions (seen to be true thus far) may not hold for the performance practice exemplified by **Vg**'s emendation.[19]

For *De toutes flours* (B31) the overwhelming majority of the surviving copies are for three voices with contratenor (**Vg B G A Pm FP Pit** and **Mod**). Three sources include a triplum, transmitting all four voices (**E PR** and **Str**). No sources offer a three-voice combination with triplum.[20] In this case, transmission history accurately reflects performance options since, as in B22 and B21, the triplum is, contrapuntally, a fourth voice. This can be shown not just because, as Dömling

[17] Lawrence Marshburn Earp, 'Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut', Ph.D. diss., Princeton University (1983), 68–9.

[18] The now-erased original pitches are visible from the microfilm and it is these which are copied in manuscript **B**, suggesting that **Vg** was altered after **B** copied from it. For the relationship between **Vg** and **B** see Margaret Bent, 'The Machaut Manuscripts *Vg*, *B* and *E*, *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), 53–82.

[19] See Dömling, *Die mehrstimmigen Balladen*, 80.

[20] Reaney, 'The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais', 48–9. Lest this be thought to suggest automatically that the triplum voice is to be performed only with all three other voices, it should be noted that a similar manuscript situation for *De fortune* (B23) supports a different conclusion once the music is examined. However, for B23 it is the contratenor that is added to a vocal combination of T–Ca–Tr. The inclusion of an additional triplum to a song in the vocal combination T–Ct–Ca is not necessarily analogous in effect. Basing his conclusions on their similar manuscript situation, Reaney concludes that *De toutes flours* (B31), like *De fortune* (B23), can be performed only in two three-part versions. I disagree. Not only does nothing prevent four-part performance, but three-part performance with triplum is precluded by the counterpoint.

comments, the triplum is 'correct in its degree of consonance'[21] and a three-voice (T–Ca–Tr) version 'would sound rather bare and would seem unsatisfactory and incomplete in its compound rhythm because the triplum is limited to a small ambitus and stereotypical rhythms which do not have the powerful contrapuntal effect of a contratenor',[22] but also because an examination of the counterpoint reveals the similar adoption of tenor function by the contratenor with respect to the triplum at specific points of T–Ca proximity.

A brief instance of a Ct–Tr discant relationship occurs in bar 28 (and its repeat in bar 63). The T–Ca resolution to *g*u is supported by a T–Ct directed progression to <*c*5> with the contratenor below.[23] The added triplum has a simultaneous directed progression to a twelfth in terms of the overall resolution sonority, but, because of the inversion of the contratenor and triplum, forms a discant relationship with the contratenor and parallel octaves with the tenor.

So far discussion has centred around T–Ca unisons, but it is only necessary that the two core parts be a fifth apart or closer to deny the contratenor its normative position between them. In bars 9-10 of B31 the T–Ca pair has two thirds which imperfect the overall sonority at the resolution of the T–Ct pair's directed progression to <*c*8>; the contratenor is below the tenor. The triplum has a simultaneous directed progression resolving to *c*12 with the contratenor and has parallel fifths (that is, a non-discant relationship) with the tenor.

In the three balades discussed so far, the tenor remains the primary contrapuntal reference for all voices regardless of their position in the texture, and maintains a normative position, reaffirmed at section-end cadences, as the lowest voice. When T–Ca proximity precludes a normative contratenor position and the contratenor goes above the T–Ca pair, this default is preserved. The default is modified when the contratenor falls below the tenor, especially a fifth below, and, in order to prevent overall sounding dissonance, the triplum is guided by the lowest sounding voice. Even at these places, the contratenor only has tenor function for the triplum voice. The tenor voice retains tenor function for the other voices, including the contratenor itself, so that in their three-part versions these pieces conform strictly to the model of two overlaid tenor–discant dyadic pairs (T–Ca and T–Ct).

Group 1b: A Real Four-Part Song? *Quant theseus / Ne quier* (B34)

Several things other than its consistent appearance in four parts make *Quant theseus / Ne quier* (B34) unique and exceptional, chief amongst which is its status

[21] Dömling, *Die mehrstimmigen Balladen*, 79 (konsonanzmäßig korrekt).

[22] *Ibid.*, 79 (würde sonderbar leer klingen und in Gesamtrhyhmus unbefriedigend und unvollständig wirken, da das Tri. auf einen geringen Ambitus und auf stereotype Rhythmen beschränkt ist, die nicht die gegenwirkende Kraft eines Ct. haben).

[23] Sonorities are indicated from the lowest note upwards by numbers indicating the interval; unison is indicated by 'u'. Those sonorities in triangular brackets – <> – show an inversion of the normative position of voices. That is, <*c*5> in the T–Ct duet indicated that the T has *g* and the Ct the *c* a fifth below.

as a double balade. The first of its two texts is attributed in the *Voir Dit* to Thomas Paien but the veracity of this is questionable.[24] In the context of their fictional presentation at least, the first cantus text (cantus 1) is Thomas's (*Quant theseus*) and the second (cantus 2) Machaut's (*Ne quier*).

Although B34 has been discussed by several scholars its counterpoint has been most thoroughly examined by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson.[25] Leech-Wilkinson concludes that B34 was conceived as four-part sounds and composed into the four voice parts as we now have them. Its compositional process represents a difference of kind from Machaut's other balades, since the interrelationships of the individual voices make it of necessity a four-part piece. Although I would concur in his conclusion that 'it is clear that all four parts were worked on simultaneously',[26] I disagree with the reasoning which Leech-Wilkinson uses in support. He compares the compositional process of B34 to that of the four-part motets and in particular that of the Mass in which, for Leech-Wilkinson, 'the voices have no fixed functions. Structural consonances (sixth to octave progressions, for example) and dissonances (fourths and sevenths especially) are to be found in all possible voice pairings'.[27] It is my contention that, far from having no fixed function, the tenor, cantus 2, contratenor and cantus 1 of B34 have respectively the same functions as the tenor, cantus, contratenor and triplum of a four-part piece such as *Se quanque amours* (B21) or *Il mest avis* (B22) and, more significantly, the same as *De toutes flours* (B31) whose triplum part was almost certainly added after the composition of the other three parts. The exact relationship of the voices of *Quant theseus / Ne quier* (B34) can be gleaned from an examination of its counterpoint and particularly the vocal disposition at the end of sections.[28]

[24] See the excellent editorial introduction in Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The Book of the True Poem)*, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York and London, 1998), and also the commentary note 15 on page 740. Margaret Bent (personal communication) has pointed out to me that Thomas is a twin and, if not a reference to an actual Doctor of Law at the Sorbonne, this could be a pun signalling his twinship with Machaut, through the twin texts. 'Paien' means heathen or pagan and could possibly refer to the amount of classical (that is, secular in a medieval context) mythology in the poems.

[25] See, for example, Reaney, 'The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais', 54–6; Hellmut Kühn, *Die Harmonik der Ars Nova. Zur Theorie der isorhythmischen Motette* (Munich, 1973), 159–63; Theodore Karp, 'Compositional Process in Machaut's Ballades', in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwynn S. McPeek*, ed. Carmelo P. Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel (New York, 1988), 75–6; and Leech-Wilkinson, *'Le Voir Dit* and *La Messe*, 57–9, 60–1.

[26] Leech-Wilkinson, *'Le Voir Dit* and *La Messe*, 59.

[27] *Ibid.*, 57.

[28] Similarly distributed normative cadences occur at the beginning of the final melisma of the A section, lines 2 and 4 (bars 12-13), and in the equivalent place in the B section, the beginning of line 7's closing melisma in bars 48-9. Even the final cadence preserves this contrapuntal hierarchy although it may appear at first glance to subvert it. The final cadence is shown in Example 8. The T–Ca1 and T–Ct duets form discant pairs – the former has a directed progression 10-12 and the latter 3-5 – typical of triplum and contratenor respectively. The T–Ca2 pair appears to have parallel octaves which would show an uncharacteristic, non-discant relationship. However, although the tenor *d* is the essential discant note for the other two tenor duets, it is ornamental with respect to the cantus. The tenor *g* then forms a directed progression with the cantus. As in bars 38–9,

Confirmation that cantus 1 and cantus 2 function broadly as triplum and cantus respectively in terms of their counterpoint can be provided by the many normative cadences such as that at the end of line 5 (bars 38-9). In the discussion below, and in subsequent musical examples, I will therefore refer to cantus 1 and cantus 2 as triplum and cantus respectively.

For Leech-Wilkinson, the lack of fixed function that 'we have seen in the Mass, in the late motets and in the earlier *Voir Dit* songs explains why there can be glaring fourths between cantus I [Tr] and tenor, why there are ninths, sevenths and tritones between cantus II [Ca] and tenor and why between tenor and contratenor there are directed progressions'.[29] I shall deal with these points in reverse order. As he maintains that the compositional process of B34 is similar to his view of the late motets and the Mass, the composition is constructed as two pairs of voices – a high pair (here, the two 'cantus' parts) and, importantly, a low and compositely harmonically fundamental pair – the tenor and contratenor. In support of this Leech-Wilkinson cites instances of directed progressions between the contratenor and tenor including that at bars 42-4.[30] However, if a default hierarchy of tenor duets is accepted, such a relationship is normal, since the T–Ct pair often has directed progressions of its own simultaneously with those in the (grammatically, if not necessarily compositionally, prior) T–Ca core.

For the tenor and cantus 2 to display features denying a discant relationship would be a more serious indication of a lack of fixed vocal function. Leech-Wilkinson cites three bars which exemplify 'ninths, sevenths and tritones between cantus II and Tenor' – bars 47, 34 and 63.[31] In all these cases, however, once surface figuration (auxiliary notes, passing notes, suspensions) is recognized, the underlying counterpoint is unremarkable. In bar 47 the tenor tone is suspended, delaying resolution of a T–Ca directed progression to *e*5. In bar 34 (Ex. 4a) the tenor anticipates a non-simultaneous (displaced) T–Ca sixth (shown in parentheses) which resolves by directed progression to *e*8. The counterpoint of bar 63 (Ex. 4b) can either be seen as a displacement of non-directed sonorities or, at the modus level which is partially operating in this song, as a T–Ca directed progression with a non-simultaneous (but conceptually present) imperfect sonority.[32]

Far from having no fixed functions, the three lowest parts, T–Ct–Ca, operate in the same way as in any other Machaut song with the tenor forming decorated simple counterpoint with the other two voices which are not related directly

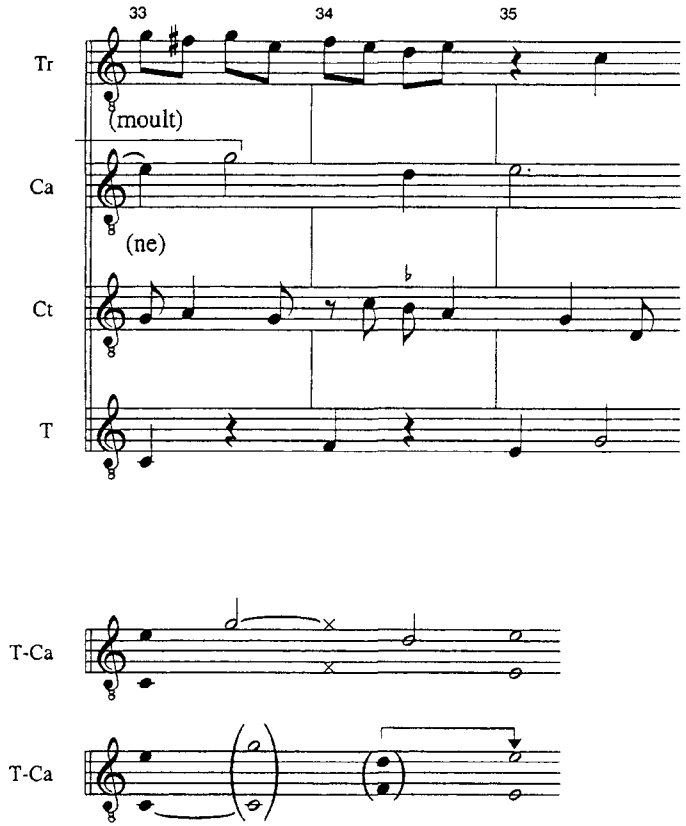
cantus 1 takes the twelfth, cantus 2 the octave and the contratenor the fifth above the tenor as intervals of resolution for simultaneous directed progressions in all three tenor duets.

[29] Leech-Wilkinson, *'Le Voir Dit* and *La Messe*, 57.

[30] *Ibid.*, 57, n. 35.

[31] *Ibid.*, 57.

[32] The only other ostensibly non-discant T–Ca interval is in bar 5 (not cited by Leech-Wilkinson). The tenor link phrase begins slightly before the cantus has a rest, giving a fourth *g*–*c'* between the two voices which can be conceptualized as another example of rhythmic displacement.

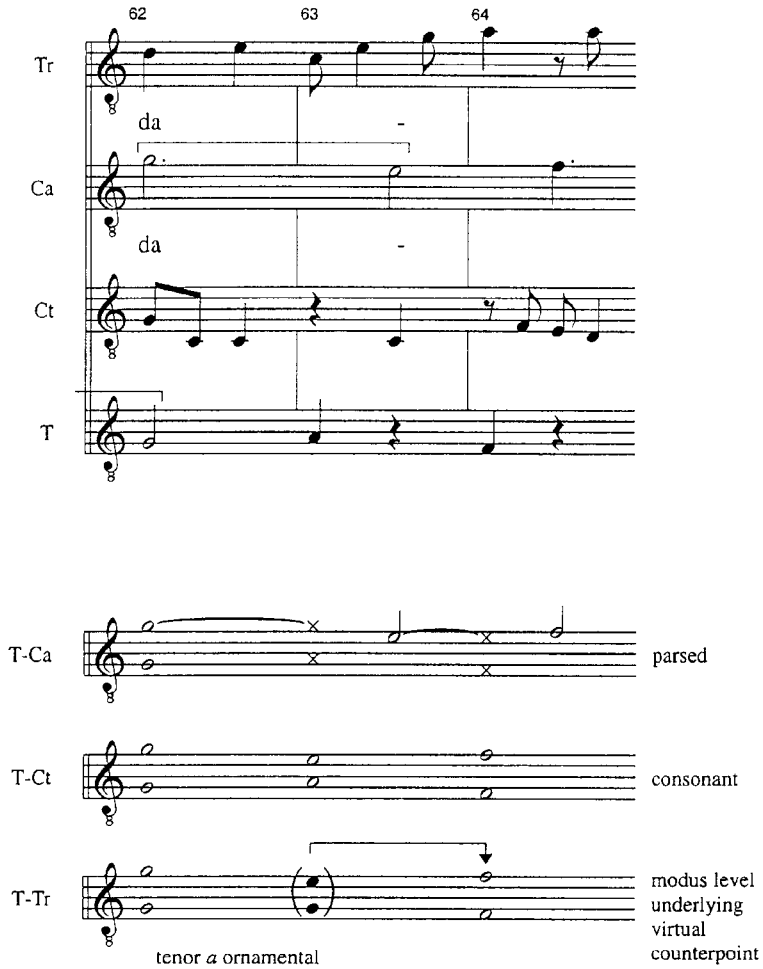


Ex. 4a: *Quant Theseus/Ne quier* (B34) displaced sixth creating T–Ca ninth dissonance

to one another contrapuntally.[33] The instances which Leech-Wilkinson cites as exemplifying 'glaring fourths' between Tr and T, in the light of the normative group 1a balades, now seem familiar. For Leech-Wilkinson the refrain exemplifies his conclusions: 'The magical chord progression ... at "Je voy asses" (bars 55-8) is a momentary uncovering of this underlying form, such as only a composer working in four parts could have imagined'.[34] However, once Cantus 1 is recognized as a triplum part, it is possible to observe the same behaviour between the voices as that seen in the balades of group 1a. The opening of B34's refrain is shown in Example 5. The triplum, like the tripla of B31, B22 and B21, relates to the contratenor when the contratenor is the lowest voice, and a consonance with the tenor would create an unacceptable overall dissonance. The initial breve

[33] Which is not to say that they are composed successively or randomly without regard one for the other. All the parts are worked out together with great concern for overall sonority. In contrapuntal terms, however, they are not related.

[34] Leech-Wilkinson, *'Le Voir Dit* and *La Messe*, 58.



Ex. 4b: *Quant Theseus/Ne quier* (B34) displacement creating T–Ca seventh dissonance

of the refrain (bar 55) in the T–Tr duet is a fourth *d'–g'*, which is a non-discant interval (boxed in Ex. 5). This resembles in type the initial T–Tr sonority of the B section in B21 (see above) where it shows that the triplum fits with all the other parts rather than with just the two-part core. The contratenor, which is *below* the tenor in bar 55 of B34, has a directed progression in bars 55-6 with the cantus (also below the tenor). The T–Tr relationship continues to be non-discant, with parallel fifths at the T–Ca directed progression in bars 57-9. At the cadence in bars 60-1, which marks the beginning of the final melisma, the voices revert to their normative relations as the T–Ct inversion briefly ceases (with a T–Ct directed progression to the unison in bars 60-1). The two upper voices also

Ex. 5: *Quant Theseus/Ne quier* (B34) opening of refrain

have simultaneous directed progressions with the tenor, although the triplum is here below the cantus.[35]

That its contratenor briefly adopts tenor function with respect to the triplum in very defined instances does not distinguish B34 contrapuntally from *De toutes flours* (B31), a piece whose triplum is a later addition to a three-part song. Leech-Wilkinson's citation of these instances as proof of four-part composition must therefore be rejected. Rather, the hierarchic contrapuntal interaction of the voices in B34 and B31 is identical. However, it seems almost certain that the fundamental musical identity of B34 is as a four-part piece. Firstly, it is never copied any other way (something not always congruent with performance possibilities, however, as shall be seen for the group 2 balades). Secondly, as Leech-Wilkinson reports, there is additional textual evidence that *Quant theseus / Ne quier* (B34) was composed, and intended to be performed, as a four-part song. In one of the letters in the *Voir Dit* (the character) Machaut writes, 'ie y ai fait les chans a .iiij. et les ay pluseurs fois ois . et me plaisent moult bien'.[36] This evidence is also present in the framing poetic narrative: 'Et si ay fait les chans a .iiij. / Pour elle deduire et esbatre'.[37] The text of manuscript **E** substitutes a clarifying 'tous' instead of 'a' before the number – 'I have composed the songs in *all* four parts'. Thirdly, if the triplum is sung, it forces the performance of the other three parts. Since the triplum carries Thomas's poem to which, in the context of the *Voir Dit*, the composition of his own balade and the setting to music of both is Machaut's response, this ensures that it is performed as a four-part piece. This evidence is congruent with the almost intuitively felt wholeness of the piece which results from the high degree of integration of all four parts – something which might not in itself be sufficient to support an assertion of a four-part identity. The other directed progressions in B34 occur either in only one duet, or simultaneously in two but with their resolutions imperfected by the fourth voice.

Sometimes this precipitates a contrapuntal chain of directed progressions in which the tension-resolution patterns of the individual tenor duets are overlaid so that the resolution sonority in one occurs simultaneously with the imperfect tension sonority in another. This changing creates forward movement by preventing resolution in the overall sound until such time as the chain is terminated by simultaneously directed progressions in all three tenor duets.

[35] Similarly, the T–Tr interval, bar 21, is a striking dissonance. Once more the contratenor is below the tenor, and although the tenor is in a discant relationship with both Ca and Ct, because the T–Ct progression resolves to a fifth with the contratenor at the bottom of the texture, the triplum sings a fourth above the tenor so as not to imperfect the overall sound.

[36] 'I've composed the songs in four parts and have heard them several times and they please me quite well' as edited and translated in Guillaume de Machaut *Le Livre dou Voir Dit*, Letter 37, p. 456, trans. p. 457.

[37] 'And the music in four parts I wrote / To delight and entertain her', *ibid.*, lines 6486-7, p. 452, trans. p. 453.

The chaining of directed progressions can be used as evidence of integration, of intended *musical* possibilities rather than the more easily assessed grammatically correct possibilities. This may help distinguish cases in which singing a song in fewer than its maximum number of parts, whilst grammatically correct (as it must be since the balades are all structured according to the same contrapuntal rules), is musically undesirable and historically inaccurate. If this is the case, everything points to the possibility that B34 represents the only balade of Machaut which should *always* be performed in all four parts. Just as the high tone of the poetic rhetoric in the two balade texts is a difference of degree rather than kind with respect to the rest of Machaut's poetic oeuvre, so too with the music.

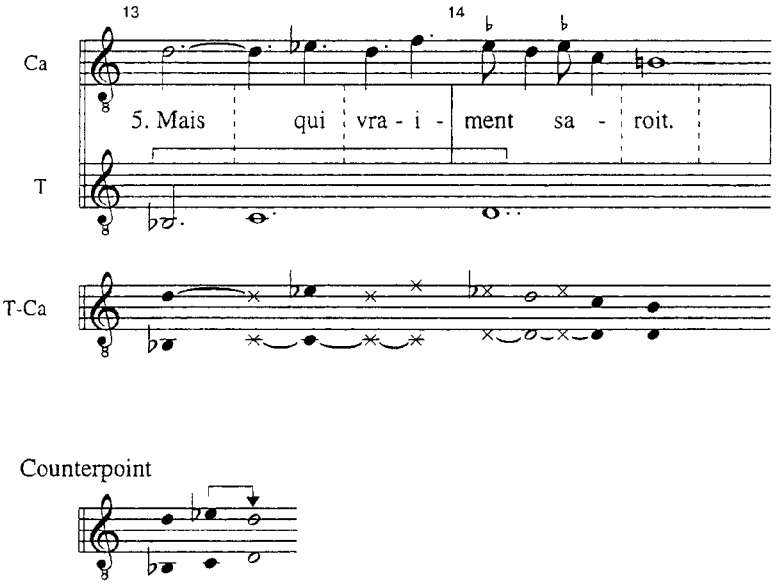
B34 represents a 'high falutin' version of all the fashions in which Machaut dresses the underlying contrapuntal structure – presenting essential notes in short note values, bifocal ornamentation figures, delaying resolution or breaking the imperfect chord or its perfect resolution by suspension, rests or other forms of displacement. However, in its essential contrapuntal structure it obeys all the same rules as the group 1a balades and is only four part by repute, not intrinsically.

Group 2: Manuscript compendia
Triplum and contratenor as alternatives in *De petit po* (B18) and *De fortune* (B23)

De fortune (B23) survives in two parts in **Pm**, in three parts with triplum in **C Vg B G** and **A**, and with all four parts copied in **Ch PR** and **E**. No copies transmit a three-part version with contratenor, although examination of the counterpoint reveals that a T–Ct–Ca performance of B23 is possible, whereas a four-part one is not. Any single source in which all four parts are transmitted together represents, therefore, a compendium of possible performance versions.

The evidence of the four-part pieces considered in group 1 suggests that overall consonance is important to Machaut (or the T–Tr relationship could have been preserved through creating occasional second, seventh or ninth dissonances between Tr and Ct). However, dissonance in itself – especially between two voices which are not normally a discant pair – is not necessarily a sign that they are alternatives. Evidence from the two-part Machaut songs shows that even the T–Ca discant pair may exhibit dissonances up to three times the length of the contrapuntal consonance which they decorate (see Ex. 6).[38] Machaut's concern for overall consonance and his love of ornamental dissonance are reconciled by identifying concern for overall consonance with the 'deep' level of simple counterpoint and an interest in often 'glaring' dissonance as a feature of the musical surface. For each discant pair, the surface placement of the consonances which form the underlying counterpoint may be metrically weak and temporally short – their contrapuntal value trumps any other kind. However, if the contrapuntally

[38] And see Leach, 'Counterpoint and Analysis'.



Ex. 6: *Pour ce que tous* (B12) opening of B section

important notes of the discant voices in two separate tenor pairs are mutually dissonant *and presented as such in a temporally and/or metrically prominent fashion at the surface level*, this might signify that they are alternatives.[39]

In *De fortune* (B23), that the contratenor and triplum are alternatives is exemplified by their readings of the tenor ouvert tone *e*. In the ouvert bar 24 the triplum takes *c'*-mi above the tenor *e*, and below the cantus *e'*. This relates the T–Tr open and closed endings as an imperfect sonority and its perfect resolution respectively, rather than, as more commonly, two perfect resolutions in their own right. The contratenor reads the ouvert ending more normatively, effecting a T–Ct directed progression simultaneously with the T–Ca progression, giving a perfect resolution to *e*5/8.[40] The held *b*–*c'*-mi dissonance which would sound between the triplum and the contratenor is comparable to the type of dissonance (a second held for a whole mensural unit) that Machaut is keen to avoid in the balades of group 1 when the contratenor and tenor are inverted and for which he is prepared briefly to let the contratenor function as tenor with respect to the triplum. From the evidence of the ouvert cadence alone it is possible to decide that the two added parts are meant as alternatives.

Two further differences in the contratenor and triplum's reading of the T–Ca

[39] Such dissonances must be presented as temporally emphasized at the level of the surface as well as featuring in the fundamental counterpoint. This explains why the final cadence of B34, above, is permissible in four parts even though the T–Ca pair's imperfect sonority is dissonant with those of the other two pairs.

[40] Like the triplum, the contratenor recognizes the repeat of ouvert material at the end of the B section so that this cadence is replicated there in bars 49–50.

core can be seen. The first (Ex. 7) is in the contratenors of manuscripts **PR** and **Ch**, bars 33-6. The triplum – once more below the cantus – sings *b* above the tenor's *g* and the T–Tr pair resolves to *f*5 into the start of the next poetic line in bar 36. Simultaneously, the T–Ca pair has a directed progression to *f*8. Of the three available contratenors, that which replicates the triplum most closely is transmitted in **E**, which has *e* below the tenor and then, in bar 35, has the approach to the *f*5 resolution of bar 36 as found in the triplum. The other two contratenors have *c* below the tenor *g* in bar 34, thereby changing the sonority in a manner incompatible with the *b* in the triplum. That of **PR** then has the same as **E** for bar 35 but **Ch** holds the *c* for an entire long.

Example 8 shows a further instance of incompatibility. At the T–Ca directed progression to the clos sonority – *d*8 – at the end of the first poetic line, bars 10-12, the T–Tr has a *d*12 sonority, thereby singing the note *a'*. All versions of the contratenor have *b* rather than *a* at this point, which is dissonant with the *a'* of the triplum at the level of simple counterpoint and would be audibly dissonant at the surface level. Whilst many of the readings of the contratenor and triplum are similar (especially the large-scale reading of the form and the marking of line ends), compared to the triplum the contratenor gives more weight to the ouvert sonority by making it a sonority of resolution in itself.

De petit po (B18), exists in a two-part version (in **Pg**) in a three-part version with triplum (in **C Vg B G A** and **E**) and in three-part versions with contratenor in most repertory manuscripts (in **Ch FP** and **Pit**). Two manuscript copies (**Mod** and **CaB**) transmit all four parts.[41] Unlike those of B23, the range of sources for B18 suggests that the contratenor and triplum may each be the third part in a three-voice combination. The status of the four-voice copies has been commented on by various scholars.[42] Ernst Apfel summarizes the transmission history of the song as given above and then concludes:

> In fact, as the many dissonances and parallel perfect consonances between the triplum and contratenor show, [balade 18] is not to be performed in four parts. The contratenor and triplum individually present two different possibilities for the expansion of the underlying two-voice structure.[43]

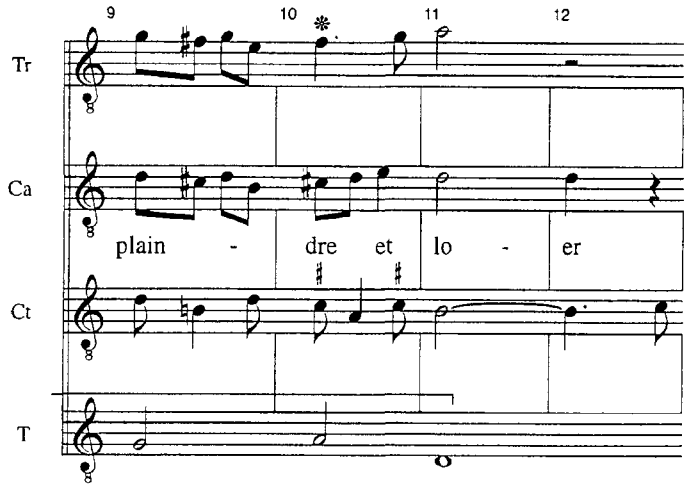
Whilst an examination of the counterpoint of B18 shows Apfel's conclusions to be correct, his premises do not inexorably lead to them. Parallel perfect intervals

[41] The manuscript **CaB** contains all four voices and a fifth voice which has been identified as a second triplum in David Fallows, 'L'origine du ms. 1328 de Cambria', *Revue de musicologie*, 57 (1976), 279. From the microfilm available to me, however, the song is illegible.

[42] Apfel, 'Zur Entstehung', 92, Marie Louise Martinez, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Tutzing, 1963), 112–13, and Gilbert Reaney, 'Notes on the Harmonic Technique of Guillaume de Machaut', in *Essays in Musicology: A Birthday Offering for Willi Apel*, ed. Hans Tischler (Bloomington, 1968), 63–8, esp. 65–6.

[43] 'Doch wie die besonders zwischen Triplum und Contratenor entstehenden Dissonanzen und parallelen perfekten Konsonanzen zeigen, ist sie [Ballade 18] nicht vierstimmig zu musizieren. Contratenor und Triplum stellen lediglich zwei verschiedene Möglichkeiten der Erweiterung des zugrundeliegenden zweistimmigen Satzes dar', Ernst Apfel, *Grundlagen einer Geschichte der Satztechnik vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* [vol. 1] (Saarbrücken, 1974), 171.

Ex. 7: *De fortune* (B23) bars 33–36 end of line 5 comparing all three contratenors and the triplum



Ex. 8: *De fortune* (B23) end of line 1 comparing contratenor and triplum

between two parts do not necessarily denote their function as mutually exclusive (and thus alternative) voices, but merely show them not to be in discant relation with each other, something not normally to be expected of the Ct–Tr pair even in viable four-part pieces. Neither does the existence of dissonances between parts necessarily denote their exclusivity, unless as well as being surface phenomena the two dissonant notes are part of each voice's counterpoint with the tenor. All the features cited by Apfel as pinpointing alternative voices are already present between the cantus and triplum voices of *De petit po* (B18) which are not alternative voices. And between voices not normally in discant relation anyway, dissonances, particularly that of the fourth, are *de rigueur* particularly at a 5/8 cadence with the tenor, e.g. bars 6-7. The fourth dissonance (which may indeed be emphasized by note length and mensural position, or both) is not a sign that these two voices are mutually exclusive, but merely that they have a discant relation not to each other, but to a third voice (usually the tenor).

However, Apfel's statement that it is their realization of different possibilities for the expansion of the two-part structure which show the triplum and contratenor of *De petit po* (B18) to be alternatives, approaches a more fruitful line of enquiry. The triplum and contratenor of the piece do indeed read the cadences of the T–Ca duet differently, to a degree which creates sustained sevenths and seconds between these two third parts. Points of contrapuntal divergence include the two primary section endings, the clos and final cadences (which are identical bars 20-22 = 41-42), as well as the other two major section endings, the ouvert cadence (bars 17-19), and the cadence at the end of the B section before the start of the refrain (bars 33-5). These cadences are all similar: between the imperfect sonority and perfect sonority of the T–Ct duet of each, the contratenor delays its note of resolution by striking the note a tone above and holding it for

two-thirds of a perfection before descending to the awaited note of resolution.[44] By contrast, at the same points, the triplum proceeds immediately to the note of resolution. Between the contratenor and triplum, this gives the relationship of a seventh, held for two-thirds of a perfection. However, these instances do not fulfil the requirements laid out above, since the simple counterpoint of both T–Ct and T–Tr is the same – the held Ct *a* in bar 21 (*b* in ouvert and pre-refrain cadences) is an ornamental consonance. In addition, a dissonance which lasts for two-thirds of a perfection is permissible even between voices in discant relation (see Ex. 6, above). Therefore, a subjective analytical judgement must be made. Perhaps when (as in B18's ouvert and clos cadences) the same progression is duplicated (at pitch or at the octave) in two different tenor duets, and the resolution occurs in one but is simultaneously delayed or suspended in the other, this can be taken as a sign that the voices are alternatives.

For both B18 and B23 the equivalence of their alternative third parts in combination with their different readings of the T–Ca harmony, imply that no single realization of the two-voice core is mandatory and, by extrapolation, that the two voices may be sufficient in themselves. Marie Louise Martinez has commented that when an alternative third voice is added to a pre-existing three-voice structure, 'the piece is usually transmitted as a two-part piece in some of the sources'.[45] This is the case for both B18 and B23, although for the latter, the two-voice version copied in **Pm** represents an editorial reduction from the three-part (with triplum) version of **A**.[46] Not only do both songs lack occasional Ct–Tr function in instances of T–Ca proximity but the mutual exclusivity of the triplum and contratenor is clearly audible from different responses to the T–Ca progressions at prominent cadential points. For both these pieces, therefore, performance possibilities are limited to two-part, and two different three-part versions. The function of the alternative voice-part seems to be to present these early T–Ca–Tr pieces in the T–Ct–Ca combination which became increasingly favoured throughout the century. This is reflected in Machaut's own output, at least in so far as its chronology can be ascertained by a reliance on the manuscript sources. The earliest source, **C**, has all its three-part balades with a triplum as the third part. Those three-part balades which first occur in sources post-dating **C**, all deploy a contratenor as their third part. Adding a contratenor to a three-part piece with triplum, updates it

[44] This is a figure similar to that which is a consistent cadential feature of *Helas tant* (B2), where, however, it appears in the mensural guise of major prolation; see Leach, 'Counterpoint', 97–105.

[45] 'ist das Stück gewöhnlich in einem Teil der Hss. auch zweistimmig überleifert', Martinez, *Die Musik*, 112.

[46] See Avril, 'Les manuscrits enluminés', 129–30, and Wolfgang Dömling, 'Zur Überlieferung der musikalischen Werke Guillaume de Machauts', *Die Musikforschung*, 22 (1969), 194. The two-part version of B18 in **Pg** is less clear in status. That the manuscript is physically later than the Machaut sources does not necessarily imply that its version's genesis post-dates the three-part version of the Machaut manuscripts. In addition, the quotation of B23 in *Dame qui fust* only uses the T–Ca core, even though the composer probably knew the three-part version with contratenor; see n. 6 above.

into the other available (and latterly more common) three-voice combination, rather than expanding it into a four-voice version.

Group 3: The Balades of the *Remede de fortune: En amer* (B41) and *Dame de qui* (B42)

In his article on Machaut for the *New Grove*, Reaney comments specifically on the two balades from the *Remede*: 'Both balades have four voices, but the triplum and contratenor must be alternatives' because, 'four-voice polyphony in [Machaut's] secular works is sometimes only apparent, with the triplum and contratenor in reality alternatives, and can be assumed only when the triplum and contratenor voices agree mutually as well as with the motetus [cantus] and tenor'.[47] This stipulation is too stringent and ignores the hierarchy present between the voices of Machaut's songs. Since the triplum and contratenor are not in discant relation with each other, or with the cantus, it is necessary only that they display a discant relationship with the tenor voice, or with a voice which has tenor function in cases of vocal inversion. In themselves neither duplication, nor short ornamental dissonances, nor fourths between these voices preclude compatibility. However, as shown above in B23, *certain* dissonances (seconds and sevenths and their compounds) can signify vocal alternatives, or, as shown in B18, simultaneous resolution and suspension of the same pitch class in Ct and Tr may also show them to be alternatives. According to my criteria, nothing about the triplum and contratenor parts of the *Remede* balades precludes their simultaneous performance, but neither do they fit easily into the category outlined in group 1 above.

En amer (B41) shares with *Se quanque amours* (B21) the privilege of being the only four-part songs in the earliest surviving source, manuscript **C**. B21 and B41 also share a transmission history in that they both appear either in four-part versions or in a three-part version with contratenor.[48] For B21, this transmission situation maps logically on to the performance possibilities, since – except in **Vg**'s emended version – B21's triplum cannot be performed with the tenor and cantus parts alone, because it maintains a discant relationship with the lowest voice, which is occasionally the contratenor. However, at T–Ca directed progressions resolving to the unison in B41, the contratenor either continues to sound above the tenor so that all voices retain their default function (as in bars 4-6), or the T–Tr duet retains its functional discant character regardless of the contratenor's lowest status (as in bars 9-10). Nevertheless, a few instances of Ct–Tr discant relationship provide a marginal indication of the triplum's status as (contrapuntally) a fourth part. In bar 16 the T–Ct progression with the contratenor below does not directly support a T–Ca progression (and is therefore imperfected in overall sound by the Ca *e'*) but is itself supported by a simultaneous progression in the Ct–Tr pair, the triplum upholding a discant relation with the lowest sounding voice. The T–Tr relationship is arguably

[47] Reaney, 'Machaut', 430.
[48] See Table 1, below.

preserved in the bifocal ornamentation figures. In bar 17 the initial T–Ca fourth is 'covered' by the contratenor a fifth below. Even here, however, in a three-part version without the contratenor, the fourth would be a permissible accented dissonance. Bar 16 is not comparable to those examples given for *Il mest avis* (B22), *Se quanque amours* (B21) or even *De toutes flours* (B31), since a three-part version with triplum is not strictly precluded.

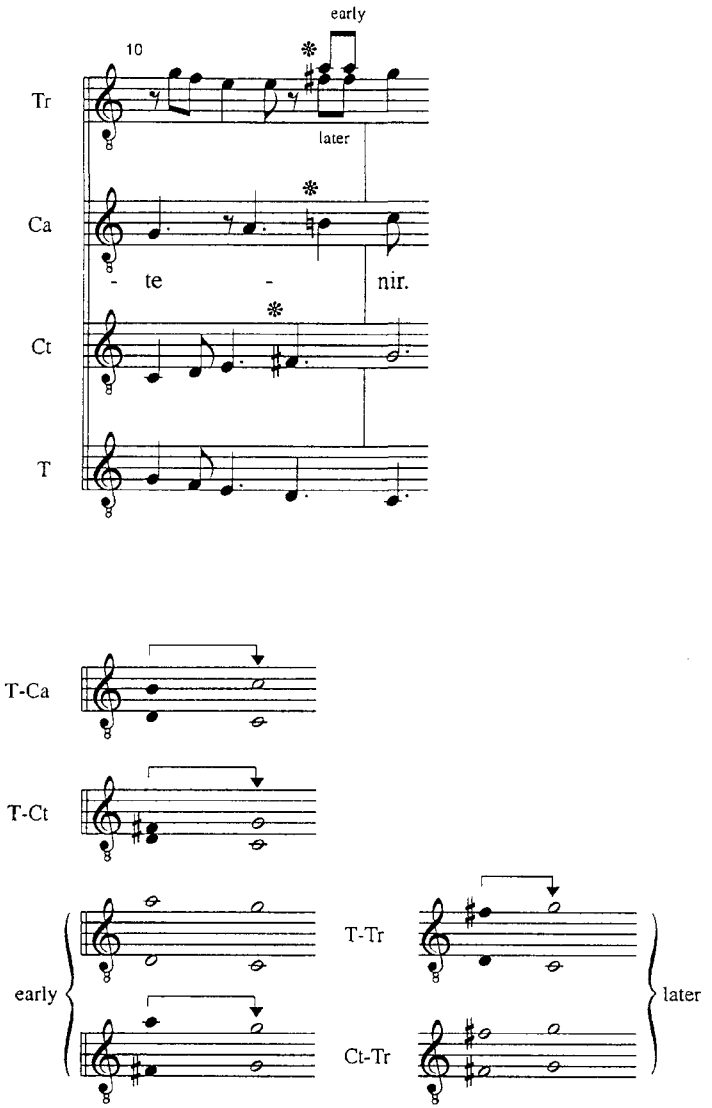
In bars 10-11 a T–Ca progression to the octave is supported by a T–Ct progression to the fifth. Although this does *not* involve inversion, it *is* supported simultaneously by a Ct–Tr progression 10-8, giving a non-discant T–Tr movement of parallel twelfths (marked 'early' in Ex. 9). Significantly, this very example is normalized in later copies of the piece (**Vg B F** and **A**) so that the triplum has two minim *f*'s rather than two *a*'s, making a T–Tr directed progression to the twelfth in these bars and parallel octaves between Ct and Tr (marked 'later' in Ex. 9). As this is the one example which suggests similarity between the counterpoint of B41 and that of the balades of group 1, the fact that it is either recognized as, or mistaken for, a third error and corrected in later sources, may point to uncertainty about the performance possibilities of this piece, even for its contemporary audience, performers and scribes (to the extent that these groups may be differentiated). Whether this instance is one of an error in an early source which is corrected in later readings, or of an exceptional compositional instance (predicated on four-part performance) which later scribes misunderstood and normalized, is impossible to decide.

It may be possible that B41 supports all combinations of voices in performance – two-part, three-part with triplum, three-part with contratenor and four-part – and that any attempt to be prescriptive would limit the piece anachronistically and unnecessarily. However, its similarity to *Se quanque amours* (B21), both as the only other four-part piece in **C** and in appearing only with all four parts copied or latterly without the triplum, suggests that the slight evidence of bar 16 is meaningful and that B41 would not have been performed as T–Ca–Tr, even though this possibility is not grammatically excluded by its simple counterpoint (as it is in most copies of B21).

Dame de qui (B42) is the only Machaut song which appears solely in two or four parts (in early and late copies respectively). In examining the nature of the four-part version of *Dame de qui* (B42) the four-part copies of manuscripts **E** and **PR**, which share some readings with the earliest two-part version in **C**, offer the most useful versions for comparison.[49] At all important directed progressions in the T–Ca pair, the added parts occupy their traditional loci, with T–Ca resolutions to the octave being supported by simultaneous progressions to the twelfth (T–Tr) and fifth (T–Ct).[50]

[49] Wimsatt and Kibler have found that the *Remede* text of **E** is aligned with the early group of sources which includes also **Pe** and **C**. Even though, like the later text sources, the balade is in four parts, **E**'s musical readings suggest it is taken from the early tradition. See Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement du Roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune*, ed. and trans. James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler, music ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer (Athens, GA, 1988), and Leach, 'Counterpoint', 52–8.

[50] Typically disposed progressions occur in all three tenor duets in bars 8-9, 18-19 (ouvert – end line 2), 20-1, 21-2, 24-5 (clos – end line 4), 32-3 (end line 6), 36-8 (end line 7), 44-5 and 48-9 (end line 8).



Ex. 9: *En amer* (B41) end of line 3 showing early and later triplum lines

The only directed progression in *Dame de qui* (B42) which apparently requires performance of the contratenor to support the triplum, is shown in Example 10, where the contratenor supports a unison resolution in the T–Ca pair by taking the lower fifth whilst the triplum has parallel octaves with the tenor and a 10-12 progression with the contratenor. This instance is not as clear in its rhythmic and mensural context as those seen in the group 1 balades. The contratenor and

Ex. 10: *Dame de qui* (B42) T–Ca unison with T–Ct inversion

tenor immediately move to reassert their normal relative positions, and the parallel intervals between tenor and triplum are brief.

A further instance of the triplum's dependence on the contratenor, however, can be seen in bars 16-17. Although the resolution is imperfected overall by the imperfect sonority of the T–Ca duet, there is a directed progression in an inverted T–Ct pair which is supported by a simultaneous Ct–Tr progression. The T–Tr relationship is one of parallel perfect fifths. Again, this instance is not as unquestionable as those for the songs in group 1. The parallels of the tenor are obscured (and negated) by ornamentation and would not create an entirely unacceptable T–Tr relationship in the event of a three-part performance with triplum.

Other than these examples, *Dame de qui* has instances of Ct–Tr directed progressions (bars 4-5, 16-17) which occur where the contratenor is the lowest voice but where the T–Tr discant relationship is uninterrupted, and an instance in bar 43 where, by forming the lowest pitch, the contratenor 'covers', in terms of overall sonority, a fourth in the T–Tr pair which, were the contratenor not present, would have to be perceived as an accented dissonance.[51]

As with B41, the counterpoint of B42 does not provide a firm basis for precluding any performance possibilities. B41 exists in four-part versions and three-part ver-

[51] *NB*: The triplum in Schrade's edition transmits the reading of manuscripts **Vg B F A** and **PR**, all of which have *d'* in bar 43. MS **E**, which I believe to transmit the earliest version of the triplum and contratenor, has *e'*. This is a bolder contrapuntal move since it forms a directed progression with tenor into bar 44 (*f*8), although the tenor does not reach its contrapuntally essential note (*g*) until the last minim in bar 43, and has a dissonance with the triplum which lasts the first two-thirds of the perfection. The other sources' contrapuntally less-directed version could represent either a correction or a normalization, the latter possibly the result of confusion as to the performance possibilities, since only when the higher-voice combination is performed is the overall sounding sonority as daring as its contrapuntal underpinnings.

sions with contratenor, suggesting some affinity to the balades in group 1. Conversely, as B42 exists in two-part versions in the earliest sources, it has a fundamentally two-part identity like the balades in group 2. This line of reasoning would imply that B42 similarly has triplum and contratenor as alternative voices. Nor can literary evidence be adduced, since although these songs appear interpolated into a narrative *dit*, the only inference would be that the narrator's song (B42) is meant to parallel that of Hope (B41), but this is clearly not the case in terms of the number of their voice parts at least.

Conclusion

The results of studying all Machaut's balades which have four surviving parts suggest strongly that the basic rules of dyadic counterpoint are in use throughout, and that parts work according to a grammatical structure predicated firstly on the tenor voice, but also with reference to the overall sonority. The contratenor adopts tenor function when it is at the bottom of the texture usually a fifth below the tenor, usually because the tenor and cantus are in unison. In such cases, a fourth voice (the misnamed 'triplum') *may* have a brief discant relationship with the contratenor and a temporary non-discant relationship with the tenor (shown by parallel perfect intervals, or dissonances).

Only an assessment of what is essential contrapuntally can provide a qualitative analysis of the performance possibilities in four-part pieces. Several scholars assume that the piece is only four-part if the triplum and contratenor are mutually consonant.[52] However, other than at exceptional moments where the tenor function is briefly assumed by the contratenor, the contratenor and triplum are *not* in discant relationship with each other, but only individually with the tenor, and therefore do not form strict counterpoint with one another, often displaying dissonances of a fourth (or eleventh). Between two voices not normally in discant relation, only when the notes of each voice's simple counterpoint with the tenor form seconds, sevenths and their compounds and are temporally or metrically prominent in the surface texture, is this a clear indication that the voices are alternatives. A less clear indication is the simultaneous resolution and delaying of resolution of the same pitch class duplicated in T–Tr and T–Ct , as was seen in B18. Duplication alone is not enough, however, and these cases must be assessed subjectively and they remain provisional.

Arguing that the underlying grammar of polyphonic song is dyadic is not to claim that voices were composed successively. As Richard Crocker says 'we must avoid the false dichotomy between linear counterpoint and (triadic) harmony ... medieval composition is not more successive than our own'.[53] However, the same medieval song may be preserved in a variety of traces which reflect a more varied

[52] For example, Apfel, 'Zur Entstehung', 92, and Reaney, 'Machaut', 430.

[53] Richard L. Crocker, 'Discant, Counterpoint and Harmony', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 15 (1962), 1–21, esp. 12–13.

Table 1. *Machaut's four-part balades: manuscript transmission and performance possibilities*

Vocal combination	T–Ca		T–Ct–Ca		T–Ca–Tr		T–Ct–Ca–Tr	
Balade	MSS	possible?	MSS	possible?	MSS	possible?	MSS	possible?
22 *Il mest avis*	none	(yes)	**C** (T and Ct staves blank)	yes	none	no	**G Vg B A E PR**[a]	yes
21 *Se quanque amours*	none	(yes)	**A**	yes	none	no	**C G B E**	yes
21 *Se quanque amours* in **Vg**	—	(yes)	—	yes	—	yes	**Vg**	no
31 *De toutes flours*	none	(yes)	**G Vg B A Pm FP Pit [Fa]**[b]	yes	none	no	**E PR Str**	yes
34 *Quant theseus / New quier*	none	(yes)	none	(yes)	none	no	**E Ch PR G Vg B A**	yes
18 *De petit po*	**Pg**	yes	**Ch FP Pit**	yes	**C G VgB A E**	yes	**Mod CaB**	no
23 *De fortune*	**Pm**	yes	none	yes	**C G VgB A Str**	yes	**E PR Ch**	no
41 *En amer*	none	?(yes)	**K FP Pit**	yes	none	?no	**C Pe E PR F Vg B A**	yes
42 *Dame de qui*	**C K**	yes	none	yes	none	yes	**E Pe PR F Vg B A**	?no

[a] But the **PR** contratenor is not for the triplum but for an early three-part version, see group 1a, above.

[b] Flynn ('The Intabulation') has shown that the ornamentation of the ostensibly two-part arrangement of B31 in **Fa** synthesizes aspects of both the contratenor and cantus in the top part, suggesting that it is still conceptually (virtually) a three-part piece.

performance practice than that hinted at by our collected editions. Varied performance practice is *reflected* in manuscript versions of pieces in a minimum number of parts and *enabled* by those versions which transmit a maximum number – sometimes more than can be performed at any one time. However, the manuscript situation of a piece does not necessarily immediately reflect its performance possibilities. The difference between manuscript presentation and performance possibilities allowed by the grammar of the counterpoint is summarized in Table 1, in which manuscript copies of different vocal combinations are contrasted with their performance possibilities.

The appearance of *Se quanque amours* (B21) in **Vg** shows palpable confusion over performance possibilities leading to (probably non-authorial) emendation. Perhaps **Vg** reflects an old-fashioned ensemble assuming the performance combination T–

Ca–Tr at a time when this has been superseded by the basic compositional combination T–Ct–Ca. The preference for the low-voice combination over the higher-voice one is the principal discernible trend in composition during the period when Machaut was writing balades. How easy would it be to emend other additive tripla, such as those of *De toutes flours* (B31) and *Il mest avis* (B22), to allow for three-voice performances in the vocal combination T–Ca–Tr? Conversely, how easy would it be to emend the disagreements of the alternative contratenors in *De petit po* (B18) and *De fortune* (B23) to make four-voice performance possible? Whatever the answer to these questions, **Vg** offers a valuable insight into the performance possibilities of these songs at the hand of their singers and depicts great fluidity.

It is significant that *Quant theseus / Ne quier* (B34) is the only four-part piece which post-dates **C** (except for the expansion of *Dame de qui* (B42)) and it is perhaps surprising that its compositional process is identical to that of the earlier four-part pieces. Perhaps this should caution the analyst against basing chronological constructs on stylistic and compositional criteria since *Se quanque amours* (B21) which was definitely written by 1350 (and perhaps much earlier), and *Quant theseus / Ne quier* (B34) – almost certainly written in the 1360s – have the same grammatical basis, exhibit similar compositional traits and obey the same rules of counterpoint which is rhythmicized into music using the same stylistic elements, differing only in their mensural realization.

Table 1 details those performances which would contravene principles of counterpoint – either those which would sing mutually exclusive parts together (whose status as alternatives is so evident to fourteenth-century performers that it does not merit designation in sources which present them as ostensibly four-part pieces) or those which would sing a triplum without the contratenor upon which it occasionally relies (an arrangement not attested in the manuscripts). However, it may be the case that certain *grammatically possible* performances are *musically undesirable.* The case for B34, made above, used the chaining of directed progression as evidence of integration, of intended *musical* possibilities rather than the more easily assessed grammatically correct possibilities, to argue that the song should always be performed in four parts and not fewer. More strongly, the plot of the *Voir Dit* requires that the piece is four-part, because the placement of Thomas's poem in cantus 1 (the triplum voice) makes it necessary to perform all four voices when Thomas's poem is sung. In other cases, two-part versions are attested by manuscript sources, although these are all later in date than the occurrence of the songs in the principal Machaut manuscripts. Two-part versions exist for *De fortune* (B23), *De Petit po* (B18) and *Dame de qui* (B42), and a two-part performance of *En amer* (B41) could be argued by analogy with *Dame de qui* (B42).

No evidence of two-part performance exists for *Se quanque amours* (B21) and *Il mest avis* (B22) although both may be performed in three parts with contratenor. In these cases singing the songs in two parts, whilst grammatically correct (as it must be since the balades are all structured according to the same contrapuntal rules), may be musically undesirable and historically inaccurate. In Table 1, grammatically possible performances which are musically questionable appear in parentheses. An

assessment of this can rely only upon an argument from chaining as an index of integration and, less objectively, upon the musical intuition of the analyst or performer. The balades of group 1a have a three-part identity, even for *De toutes flours* (B31) the instrumental version of **Fa** is not a two-part reduction but rather supports the idea that it is conceptually (if not grammatically) a three-part piece by incorporating aspects of the contratenor in the top part.[54] However, equating transmission history and performance possibilities is an act fraught with danger. Manuscript copies can represent so many things that the presence or absence of a particular vocal combination is not decisive in terms of performance possibilities – only the diagnostic use of principles derived from late medieval counterpoint teaching to understand both the basis and the individual stylistic features of the music can aid in such a task.

Appendix A: Manuscript sigla

The 'Machaut' Manuscripts

A	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 1584
B	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 1585
C	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 1586
E	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 9221
F-G	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 22545-6
K	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS A 95 (10)
Pm	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 396
Vg	New York, Wildenstein Collection [no shelfmark]

The 'non-Machaut' sources

CaB	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS B. 1328
Fa	Faenza, Biblioteca Communale, 117
FP	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26
Mod	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds italien 568
PR	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771
Str	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, M. 222 C. 22 [destroyed by fire in 1870]

[54] See Flynn, 'The Intabulation'.

Appendix B: Key to musical examples

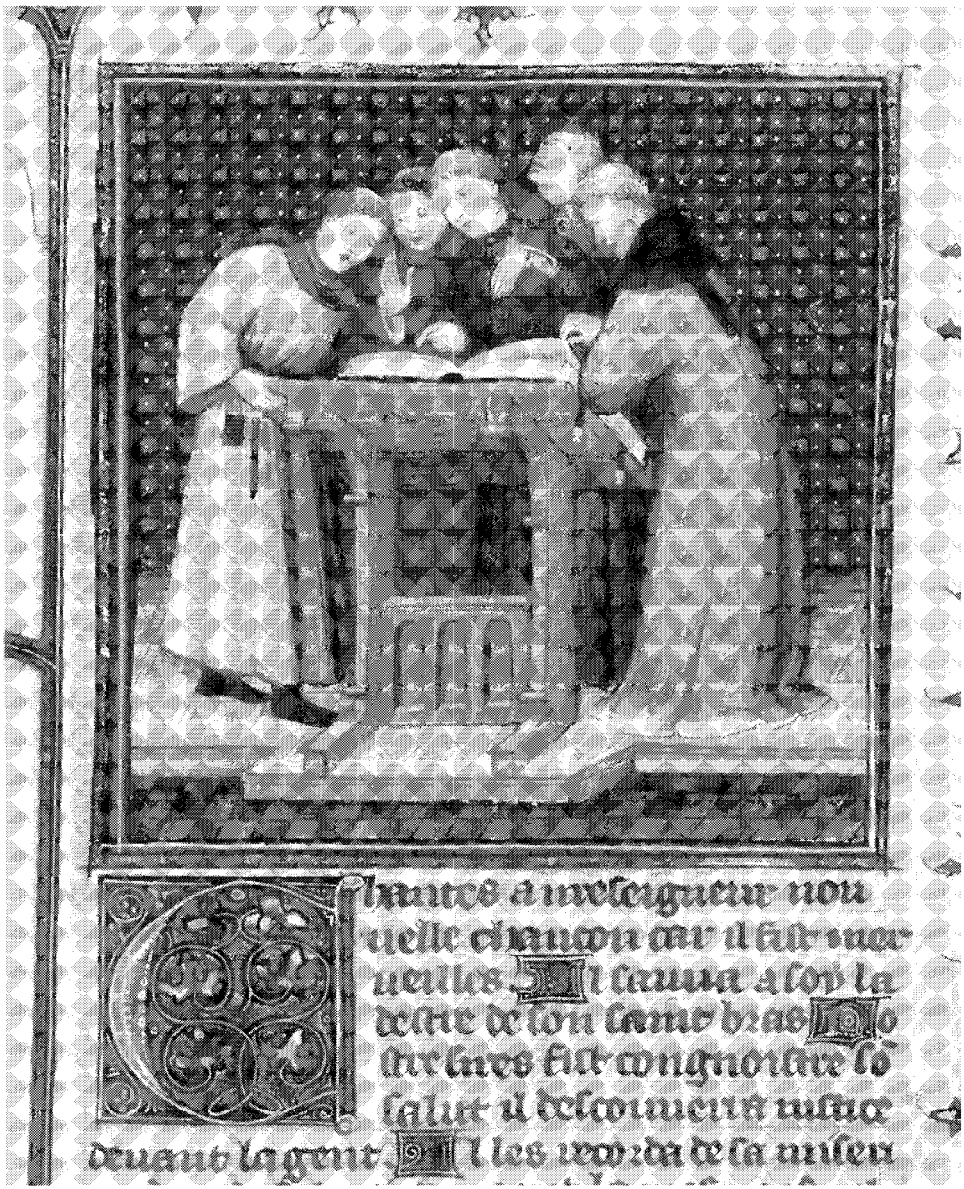
The musical examples aim to give some idea of the manuscript situation for each passage shown. Accidentals given on the staff are either those which are transmitted in at least one source, or, if accompanied by an asterisk (*) above them, are those which are necessary for reasons of counterpoint. In terms of the latter, two basic principles have been applied. Firstly, semitones have been realized in order to perfect unisons, fifths and octaves which are part of the underlying consonant counterpoint. Secondly, semitones have been realized in directed progressions in order that the perfect sonority of resolution be approached from the preceding imperfect sonority by a semitone step in one voice. An asterisk placed above a note which does *not* have an accidental sign before it on the staff is meant to signify that the preceding sign (either one given in the MSS or one realized in line with counterpoint) is probably still in force.

In the pitch system of the Middle Ages the note *b* can be either *b*-mi (b natural) or *b*-fa (b flat) depending on the context. Where contrapuntal considerations are not decisive, an accidental sign placed above the staff represents an editorial suggestion for the realization of *b* based on linear factors.

The two accidental hexachordal signs of the sources are interpreted in line with the three-sign 'obligatory accidental' system used in modern notation.

As it is the most widely available collected edition, the bar numbers accord with those in Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, 2 vols. Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956). Corrections to the readings of Schrade's edition are detailed in Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York and London, 1995), 281. Readings here are from C, except for B31 (from G), and B34 and B42 (from E).

The contrapuntal analysis is shown in an arhythmic format. In the initial parsing, dissonances are shown with crossed noteheads. In both the initial parsing and the analysis of underlying simple counterpoint, consonances are shown with filled and empty noteheads, for imperfect and perfect sonorities respectively. Perfect consonances are unisons, fifths, octaves and their compounds; thirds, sixth and their compounds are imperfect consonances and all other intervals are dissonant. Voice names are abbreviated to T (tenor), Ct (contratenor), Ca (cantus) and Tr (Triplum). Any inversion of the normative relative positions of voices (given in ascending order in the previous sentence) is enclosed in triangular brackets, < and >.



1 A group of singers using hand gestures to co-ordinate their performance; from a late 14th-century French-language Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. fr.159, f.277*v*; by permission)

[19]

Playing the citation game in the late 14th-century chanson

Yolanda Plumley

Soundclips to accompany this article may be found at the *Early music* website: http://www.em.oupjournals.org

CITATION of popular refrains and well-known songs was one of the mainstays of the 13th-century French motet and chanson. Recent research has shown that this practice continued to flourish in both genres in the Ars Nova.[1] Indeed, borrowings from trouvère songs and anonymous works have recently been observed in certain of the motets by the great representative of the age, Guillaume de Machaut. Textual borrowings are also encountered in Machaut's lyrics, including those with musical settings. Only one musical citation has thus far been identified in his songs, but it seems highly likely that further musical borrowings remain to be identified. Machaut's precise contribution in the translation of the citation tradition to the new Ars Nova polyphonic chanson thus has yet to be clarified, but we may presume his role was a significant one, given the zeal with which citation was practised by his younger contemporaries and his immediate successors, and the frequency with which his own works were the subject of such intertextual play.

Exponents of Ars Subtilior seem to have been especially keen to exploit the possibilities of this practice.[2] For these composers, citation represented yet another device with which to tease and delight their audience: references to well-known songs—whether of an older vintage or newly composed by celebrated contemporaries—allowed them to introduce further subtleties to their already rich and multi-layered works. Sometimes these borrowings are made quite explicit, the source material being quoted with great accuracy and prominently placed to ensure it hit its mark. At other times, the references are far subtler, and here the object seems to have been to play with the audience's perceptions. In this article I shall explore some of the questions that arise relating to the performance of citation songs of the Ars Subtilior generation, and especially the relationship that existed between creator and audience. How did composers present their game? How did audiences engage with what they heard? And, in particular, how did performers, as mediators in this process, communicate these songs?

FOURTEENTH-century audiences were certainly familiar with the genre of the lyric with citations and with the poetic impulse generated by such works. Poetry contests held by northern French literary societies or *puys* involved the adjudication of several genres, including ballades composed upon set refrains. At court, poetic exchanges also provided a focus for literary culture. The *Cent ballades* composed by Jean Le Seneschal and his friends and presented before the French court during Charles VI's visit to Avignon in October 1390 stimulated lyric responses from other courtiers, and from the royal princes Jean, Duke of Berry and Louis, Duke of Touraine (later Duke of Orléans).[3]

Deschamps's poetry manual of 1392, *L'art de dictier*, confirms that poetry composition figured

Yolanda Plumley, Lecturer in Music at University College, Cork, is the author of The grammar of 14th-century melody *(Garland, 1996) and several articles on the 14th-century chanson. With Anne Stone she is currently preparing a new study of the Chantilly Codex to accompany a colour facsimile.*

among the leisure activities of princes, for it is believed to have been written for Philippe the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. The richest testimony for aristocratic participation in poetic competition in this period, however, is provided by the *Cour amoureuse*, the 'Court of Love' founded in 1400 in Paris by Charles VI and his royal uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon. The idea behind this literary tribunal was that once a month one of its 24 appointed ministers was to organize a poetry competition.[4] Different kinds of works competed at these events, including *ballades* and *chansons amoureuses* composed on designated refrains. Whether these lyrics were set to music is unclear, though we might imagine this was sometimes the case, especially given the presence of three known song composers among the ranks of the court's personnel: two of the 24 ministers—and the statutes stipulated that such officers were to be highly skilled poets—were Jean Charité and Jean Briquet, while Jean Haucourt occupied the less grand post of secretary.[5] The relevance of music to these proceedings is further implied by some comments from the period concerning the president or 'prince' of the *Cour amoureuse*, Pierre de Hauteville (1376–1448). Hauteville is reported to have had in his entourage musicians and *galans* who were proficient composers and performers (as singers or instrumentalists) of all manner of love songs, including ballades, rondeaux and virelais.[6]

Whether Guillaume de Machaut engaged in his own day in competitions of the kind formalized by the *Cour amoureuse* is not known. But his courtly audience was surely well acquainted with the principle of citation in lyric poetry, judging from the pervasiveness of this feature in his own offerings in this genre. Many of the ballades from Machaut's large collection of lyrics known as the *Loange des dames* illustrate the classic type of borrowing: two poems share their opening line or their refrain, or the refrain of one becomes the first line of another, or the reverse. Here Machaut set himself a specific task, that of elaborating a poem around a fixed point of reference; the skill with which he accomplished this allowed him to demonstrate his poetic prowess. Indeed, this was one of the fundamental principles of ballade composition at the time. As Jacques Legrand formulated it in the early 15th century, to compose a successful ballade a poet has to 'prove and demonstrate' his refrain. What Legrand suggests is that the poet must prepare for and explain the refrain through each verse of the text; the refrain therefore represents both the punchline and the very heart of the poem.[7]

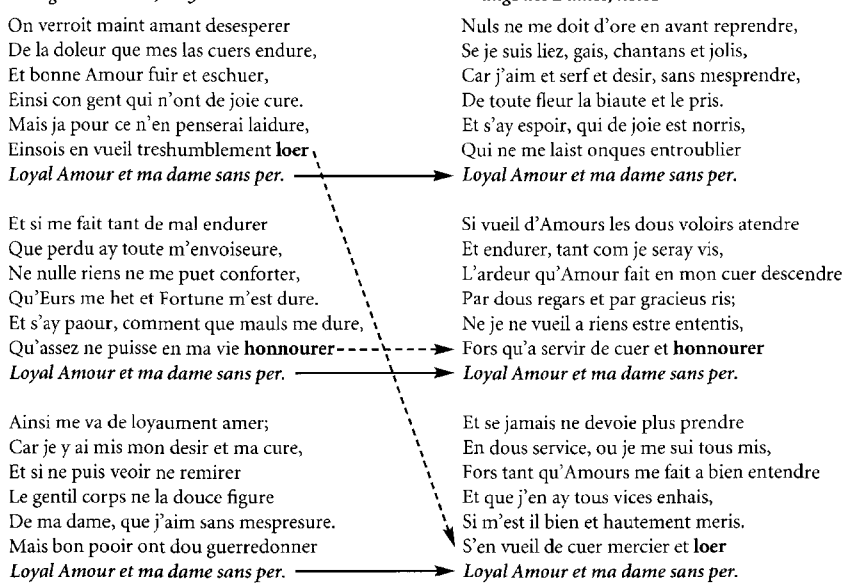
The lyrics displayed as text 1 demonstrate how Machaut went about this in two ballades composed on an identical refrain. The refrain, 'Loyal Amour et ma dame sans per', was presumably the starting point in each case. Both poems explore the experience of love, but no.38 dwells on its pains, while no.61 explores its joys.[8] The two lyrics, however, come to the same conclusion: that is, the sense and the virtue that resides in praising and honouring 'Loyal Love and my peerless lady'. This double tribute to the God of Love and the lover's lady forms the refrain that closes each stanza of the two poems; the dotted arrows in text 1 show how identical penultimate rhyme words ('loer' and 'honnourer') are used in both contexts to lead into the refrain, thereby connecting different stanzas of the two poems.

Despite their common material, each of the two poems sets up and explores the refrain material in a unique way. In no.38 the narrator begins by commenting that, unlike many lovers, he is undaunted by his suffering, and wishes humbly to praise 'Loyal Love and my peerless lady', however hard it gets. (Happiness hates him, and Fortune is hardened toward him.) He cannot honour them enough, and concludes that loving loyally is his lot.

We may assume on the basis of the chronology of the *Loange des dames* that no.38 provided the model for no.61. The latter responds by offering an upbeat counterpoint, echoing both the sounds and the sense of no.38. This time the lover-narrator states that none should reproach his joyfulness, nor should hope lead him to forget his lady and Loyal Love. Love makes the lover endure the waiting and the desire she provokes; he concludes that to serve his lady properly he must obey Love's commands and reject all vices, and thus he wishes to thank and praise 'Loyal Love and my peerless lady'.

The subtle intertextual counterpoint between lyrics such as these was, I suspect, as much a game for the ears as for the eyes. Though private reading was developing at this time, reading aloud remained

Text 1 Two lyrics by Machaut on a shared refrain



the common practice; courtly audiences generally still preferred to hear lyrics, histories, romances and other texts read to them at public meetings.[9] As Joyce Coleman has suggested, this was not due to illiteracy, technological difficulties (such as poor availability of written sources) or laziness, but rather it was a question of taste. There is, of course, evidence for the private reading of lyrics. Deschamps stresses that lyrics were often performed between lovers in private;[10] this is the case in Froissart's *Espinette amoureuse*, while in the latter's *Prison amoureuse* and in Machaut's *Voir-dit* lyrics are exchanged by letter. But even in private settings such as these, the custom appears to have been for the lyric to be read aloud, rather than silently.[11] Public readings at court appear often to have included commentary and discussion of the text in question.[12] We can imagine how such meetings might have provided a forum for the audience to discuss with the author or reader aspects of lyrics presented to them;[13] this was surely the kind of performance context in which the *Cent ballades* were presented at court, and also for the lyrics submitted to the *Cour amoureuse.*

In this light, the lyric without music emerges as an expressive medium not so dissimilar to the chanson: it too was experienced as an aural phenomenon, and (generally) it was experienced collectively. The aural delivery of lyrics surely helped elucidate for the audience the kind of intertextual counterpoint described above: just as a fragment of a well-known tune could easily catch the ear and be recognized, so too presumably could the verbal echoes and resonances relating two or more lyrics.[14] There is no denying, however, the potential of music to enhance the aural dimension of intertextual play, and 14th-century poet-composers exploited this to good effect. In his ballade 12 Machaut uses a musical citation to elucidate his refrain in an imaginative and playful way.[15] Throughout the poem the narrator laments his rejection by his lady, which causes him 'to sing less than he used to'. Machaut brings this refrain to life

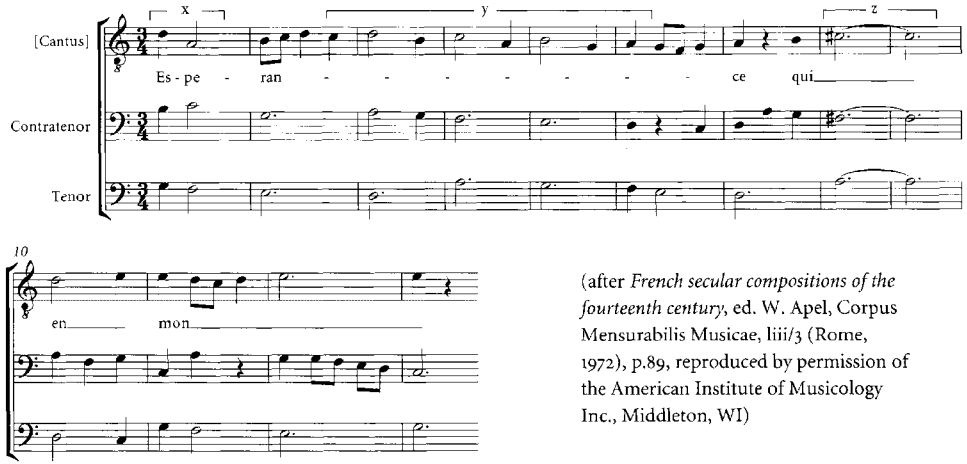
by citing the opening of a song, the chace *Se je chant mains que ne suel,* but its use here also introduces an element of humour: in the original work, the reason the poet sings less than before of his lady is because he now prefers to go hunting.[16]

In ballade 12 Machaut chooses to make his game explicit: the citation is very obvious, being clearly flagged by an audible change in the musical texture and tempo. In cases where the citation is more slippery and difficult to recognize, the composer may have relied on the performers to help 'prove and demonstrate' the refrain to ensure the message hit home. Evidence concerning the performance of lyrics in this period might offer some insights as to how musicians went about this. As suggested above, 14th-century audiences enjoyed hearing texts read aloud, and it seems that they greatly valued expressive performances by skilled readers. Christine de Pizan, for instance, describes how Charles V (1364–80) especially favoured the reading skills of Gilles Malet, his valet and librarian, since this man 'read and "pointed" magnificently well, and was an intelligent man'.[17] The verb *pointoyer* that is used here is a term from rhetoric, and Joyce Coleman proposes that its use in this context indicates that 'Malet read with a dramatic emphasis that underlined the key emotional or intellectual points of the text'.[18] It seems likely that his readings were of a 'serious' nature, such as the histories, chronicles, philosophical and devotional texts that we know Charles V had read before him daily. But we find the term also applied by the poet Deschamps to the performance of lyrics. In *L'art de dictier*, Deschamps suggests that, like songs, poetry can be considered a form of music; this is because of the sweet sound of the words as they are 'articulated and nuanced [*prononcees et pointoyees*] by the sweetness of the voice and by opening the mouth'.[19] These remarks provide some insight into the performance style of public reading, and offer some clue as to how intertextual relations between two poems might have been elucidated in such a context.

If 14th-century readers took pains to express the sense of the texts they read in public, it seems plausible that performers of citation songs used some kind of analogous musical rhetoric—perhaps dynamics, accentuation, or articulation—to spell out what was going on. An interesting case study with which to explore this idea is *En attendant, Esperance* by Jacob de Senleches (ex.2, illus.2).

Senleches's ballade cites the opening of the well-known rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer* (the latter is presented as ex.1 and soundclip 1).[20] Like Machaut, Senleches places his borrowed material in his refrain

Ex.1 *Esperance qui en mon cuer*, opening



(after *French secular compositions of the fourteenth century*, ed. W. Apel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, liii/3 (Rome, 1972), p.89, reproduced by permission of the American Institute of Musicology Inc., Middleton, WI)

(ex.2, bars 60–65); here too the citation stands out, for the simpler style of this source material contrasts markedly with the elaborate idioms that prevail in the rest of the piece. This musical reference would surely not have been lost on a 14th-century audience; *Esperance* was a celebrated work, and the citation is precise and obvious. However, Senleches does not just make the quotation in passing, for the evocation of the rondeau *Esperance* is what his whole song is about.[21] The first three words of the text are 'En attendant Esperance', which in isolation means 'Waiting for Esperance'. And this is exactly what the poet-composer makes us do. In the first stanza of the text in particular, he sets up a sense of anticipation by reiterating the words 'En attendant' (see text 2). Simultaneously, permeating the musical fabric, are repeated musical allusions to the *Esperance* theme, some more recognizable than others (the three main motifs, labelled *x*, *y* and *z*, are identified in ex.1 and indicated in ex.2). Senleches's game is spelled out in the refrain with the full and accurate citation of the source material. The refrain text reads 'Cilz qui ne sceit vivre sans Esperance' ('the man who cannot live without Hope/Esperance'); in the final stanza the narrator (presumably representing the poet-composer) confesses that *he* is that man.

The compositional context of Senleches's song clarifies the statement made in its refrain. *En attendant, Esperance* is one of three songs inspired by *Esperance*, all transmitted in the Chantilly Codex; the others, by Philippus de Caserta and Galiot, also begin 'En attendant', and are similarly infused with textual or musical references to the *Esperance* rondeau.[22] That the three *En attendant* composers were

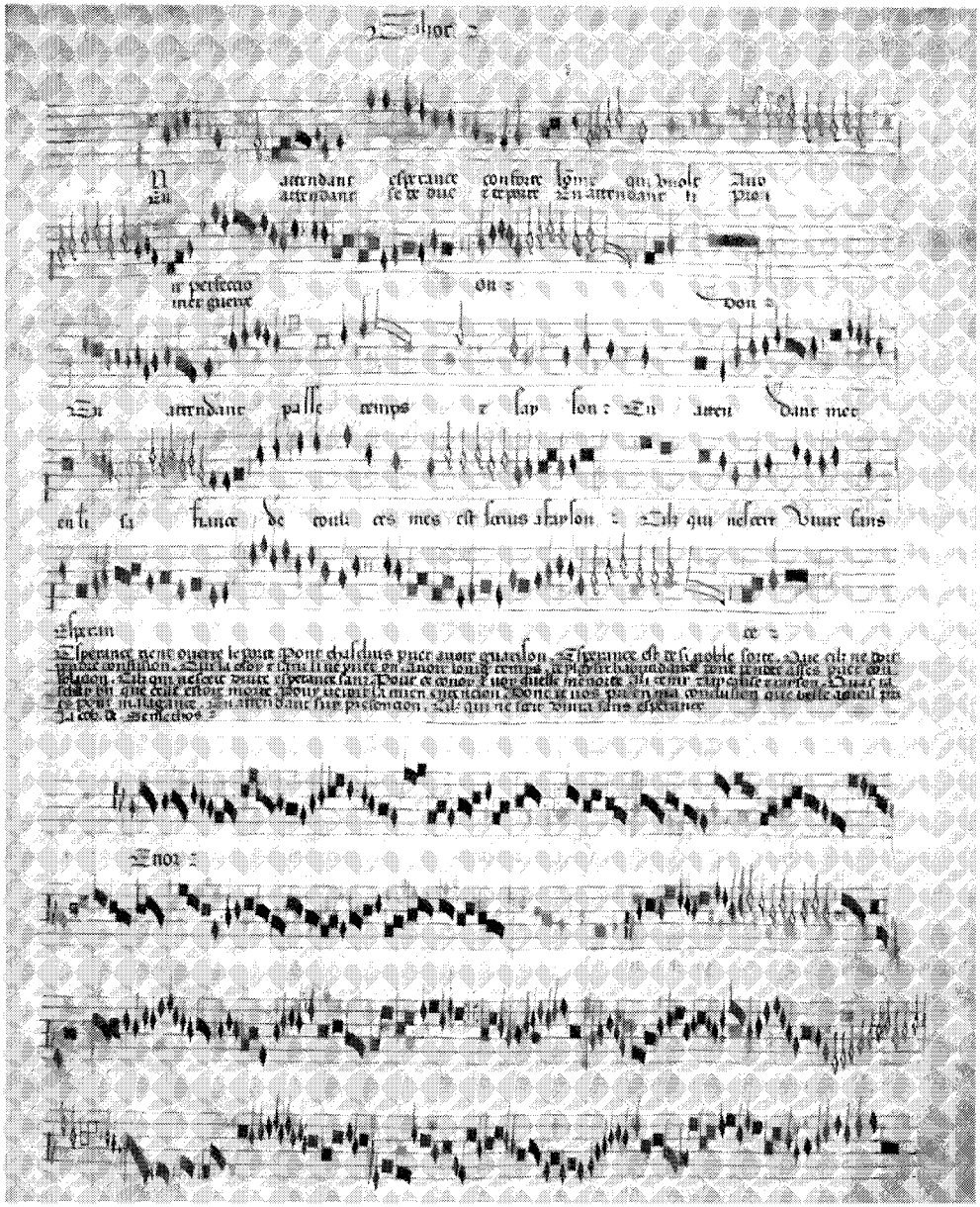
Text 2 Jacob de Senleches, *En attendant, Esperance conforte*

En attendant, Esperance conforte	While waiting, Hope comforts
L'omme qui vuolt avoir perfeccion;	The man who seeks perfection;
En attendant se deduc et deporte,	While waiting, she amuses and entertains him,
En attendant li proumet guerredon,	While waiting, she promises him reward,
En attendant passe temps et sayson,	While waiting, time and seasons pass,
En attendant met en li sa fiance:	While waiting, she is faithful to him:
De toulz ces mets est servis a fayson	From all these dishes is amply served
*Cilz qui ne sceit vivre sans Esperance.**	The man who cannot live without Hope.*
Esperance tient overte le porte,	Hope holds open the door
Dont chaschuns puet avoir guarison.	Through which each can enjoy protection.
Esperance est de si noble sorte	Hope is such noble company
Que cilz ne doit prendre confusion	That whoever has her with him
Qui l'a o soy; et sanz li ne puet on	Should come to no harm; and without her
Avoir loing temps playsir habundance	One cannot not have much joy for long:
Dont prendre asses puet consolacion	From this he can take some consolation,
Cilz qui ne sceit vivre sans Esperance.	The man who cannot live without Hope.
Pour ce conoy et voy qu'elle m'enorte	So I acknowledge and see that she counsels me
A li tenir; et j'ay cause et rayson	To stand by her; and I have good reason to,
Quar je schay bien que s'elle estoit morte	Because I know well that if she were dead
Pou y veroit le mien entencion.	She wouldn't see my intention.
Dont je vos pris en ma conclusion	Thus, in conclusion, I beg you to pray to
Que belle acueil pries pour m'alagance;	Fair Welcome for my relief;
En attendant suy [sans] presoncion	While waiting, I am, without presumption,
Cilz qui ne sceit vivre sans Esperance.	The man who cannot live without Hope.

* 'Esperance' has a double sense: it represents the allegorical figure of Lady Hope and the song *Esperance qui en mon cuer.*

Ex.2 Jacob de Senleches, *En attendant, Esperance* (after *French secular compositions of the fourteenth century*, ed. W. Apel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, liii/1 (Rome, 1970), pp.167–9, reproduced by permission of the American Institute of Musicology Inc., Middleton, WI). This transcription is based on Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms.α.M.5.24.

Philippus:
En atendant souffrir
37
say- son, En at - ten - - - dant met en
44
li sa - fi - an - ce: De toulz ces mets est ser-
52
-vis a fay - son Cilz qui ne sceit vi - vre sans
Anon:
Esperance qui en mon cuer
60
Es - pe - ran - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
69
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -



2 The three-voice ballade *En attendant, Esperance* by Jacob de Senleches, in the Chantilly Codex (Chantilly Bibliothèque de Musée Condé, Ms.564, f.44*r*; by permission); see the transcription in ex.2, which, however, draws on a different source.

participating in some kind of courtly game is further implied by a musical reference in Senleches's ballade to the opening of Philippus's song (beginning in bar 42), just after the final reiteration in this stanza of the words 'En attendant'.

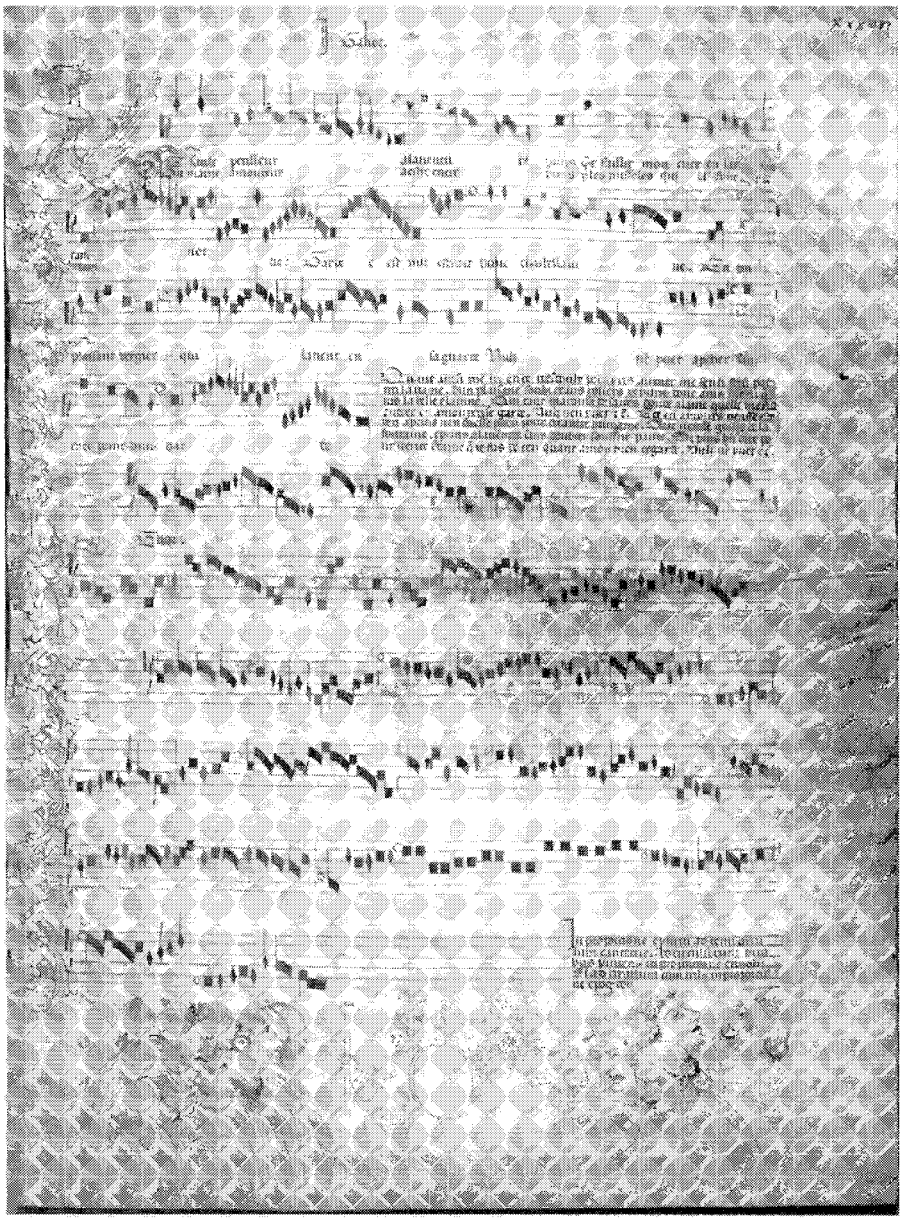
This is clever stuff on Senleches's part. But it leads us to wonder what input he might have expected from his performers. Given the object of the exercise, I suspect they had their role to play in ensuring the composer's game was not lost on the audience. In soundclip 2 (which presents all the music of *En attendant, Esperance*, sung to words from stanza 1), the Orlando Consort explores some musical strategies that might have been implemented to 'pointoyer' the allusions to the *Esperance* rondeau in the course of the work. As you will hear, varying dynamics and articulations draw our attention to the more slippery references in the course of the stanza; the two allusions, to Philippus de Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* in bar 42 and to *Esperance* in bar 60, are emphasized by judicious pacing of the delivery.

Aside from musical approaches of this kind, how else might medieval performers have communicated the sense of citation songs? Another technique of rhetoric, of course, was gesture. Certainly, there is evidence that the body language of medieval singers, even in the context of the liturgy, did not conform to present-day conventions of concert protocol. Writing in the late 13th century, Gilbert of Tournai complains bitterly about the antics of singers of organum.[23] He describes how sometimes these singers sound like horses neighing or like women, and as they sing their agitated bodies imitate the gestures of *histriones*, actor-storytellers: he alludes to their grimacing lips, rolling eyes, heaving shoulders, and how each note is accompanied by finger movement. He concludes that this performance style is more in keeping with the playhouse than with the chapel. Another 13th-century commentator, Thomas Chobham, describes with disgust how some such performers 'distort or contort their bodies with shameless jumps or gestures, or in shamelessly denuding their bodies'.[24] Presumably ecclesiastic singers did not go that far; but the sober deportment and generally restrained body language of many modern early-music vocal ensembles—at least the English *a cappella* model—may well be a far cry from medieval practices.

Iconographical evidence from the late Middle Ages may provide further evidence for physical movement in performance. Illus.1 presents a page from a historiated Bible in French from the late 14th century. Following the tradition for *Cantate Domino* initials, the manuscript depicts here a group of singers.[25] Hand gestures appear to be used to guide the ensemble, and direct physical contact between the singers is perhaps used to keep a collective pulse. Something similar can be seen in the Chantilly Codex in the famous marginal drawing that adorns the folio containing Galiot's *Le sault perilleux*, a song that intersects with the *En attendant* complex discussed above (illus.3).[26] Here we can see one of the singers using finger movements, presumably again to ensure good ensemble, while another (on the left) clutches the collar of his colleague, perhaps communicating the pulse. One scholar has suggested that the grimacing faces reflect the singers' difficulties in realizing the Ars Subtilior rhythms,[27] but we have to recognize that this style of representation was something of an iconographical convention in the mid to late 15th century, when this drawing was probably executed.[28] Nevertheless, it is an attractive idea that facial expressions along with gesture were used to signal what was going on in the music, or even to communicate the sense of the text.

Indeed, certain late 14th-century song texts strongly suggest that something more was expected from the performers than simple delivery of the notes. Another ballade from the Chantilly Codex, *Science n'a nul annemi* by Matheus de Sancto Johanne, concerns the inconvenience caused by bad musicians. This echoes the thematic content of two songs by Senleches, and of the motet *Are post libamina* from the Old Hall manuscript, which is probably also by Matheus. The text of *Science n'a nul annemi* (see text 3) recounts how musical science has no enemy except those who are ignorant and jealous of the knowledgeable. These bad singers ruin melody with their shouting; they have no sense of moderation or 'proportion';[29] they lack a decent tone, and they are terrible hypocrites.

Matheus uses musical means to distinguish the good musician from the bad in two ways. First,



3 The three-voice ballade *Le sault perilleux* by Johannes Galiot (Chantilly Bibliothèque de Musée Condé, Ms.564, f.37r; by permission), with marginal decorations that include more singers using hand gestures.

Text 3 Matheus de Sancto Johanne, *Science n'a nul annemi*

Science n'a nul annemi	[Musical] science has no enemy
Se non ceulz qui sont ignorant.	Except for those who are ignorant.
Envieuz sont, je le vous di,	I tell you, they are often jealous
Souvent sur ceulz qui sont sachant	Of those in the know,
Et vont melodie abatant	And they go about wilfully ruining
Tout voulentiers per leur haut cry.	Melody with their shouting.
*Qui plus haut crie: 'Hay avant!'**	Whoever shouts loudest 'Me first!' *
C'est trop bien fait, disons ainsy.	Let's just say, it's very well done.
Ilz n'ont mesure ne demi,†	They have no sense of beat,†
Ny ton n'a t'on [ne] peu ne grant,	Nor do they have a decent tone,
Ne proportion; et je qui	Nor sense of proportion; and I who
Vois leur haut cry bien escoutant	Witness their shouting, listening intently,
Dy aux compaignons maintenant:	Now say to my companions:
'Escoutes seignours, je vous pry,	'Listen, kind sirs, I beg you,
Qui plus haut crie: "Hay avant!"	Whoever shouts loudest "Me first!"
C'est trop bien fait, disons ainsy.'	Let's just say, it's very well done.'
Souvent se monstrent estre ami	Often they pretend to be your friend,
En grans proumesses proumetant,	Promising great promises,
Maiz ja per eulz nient acomplir,	But they never live up their word,
Quar ilz usent de faulz semblant.	For they are great hypocrites.
Maudiz soient telz partisant,	May the members of that club be damned,
Quar de tant que j'en ay oÿ,	Because from what I've heard of it,
Qui plus haut crie: 'Hay avant!'	Whoever shouts loudest 'Me first!'
C'est trop bien fait, disons ainsy.	Let's just say, it's very well done.

* This expression might also be translated as 'Forward march!'; the sense seems to be that the ignorant are pushing themselves into the limelight.

† This line suggests that the 'ignorant' have no sense of moderation, but it seems plausible that Matheus is playing with the musical connotations of the words 'mesure' and 'proportion', as proposed here.

the reference to musical science at the opening is set into a phrase that evokes the incipit of Machaut's *Se quanque amours* (ballade 21); compare the opening of Machaut's Ballade 21 (ex.3, soundclip 3) with that of *Science n'a nul annemi* (ex.4; opening of soundclip 4). Second, when Matheus speaks of the enemies of good science, some spicy dissonance appears in the music: note the setting of the word 'ignorant' at the end of section A, where the parts clash together on the second beat of bar 16. This musical depiction continues into the refrain (bars 31–8), which presents the shouting of the untalented singers: their cry, 'Hay avant'—and perhaps in this context this might be translated as 'forward march' or 'me first'—is expressed musically by a fanfare-like motto of rising 3rds, which is imitated between the voices. At this point (bar 31), the triplum is texted in the manuscript for the first time, carrying the words 'hay avant'. Though not specified in the manuscript, it is not difficult to imagine that the imitative lower parts were similarly performed, as proposed in ex.4 (where additional texting is presented in brackets) and soundclip 4.

It seems credible, given the ironic tone and the musical representation of the text content, that *Science n'a nul annemi* invited a bit of theatricality on the part of its 14th-century performers, as demonstrated in the performance on soundclip 4. A semi-dramatized performance is yet more strongly suggested by a song of similar vintage to

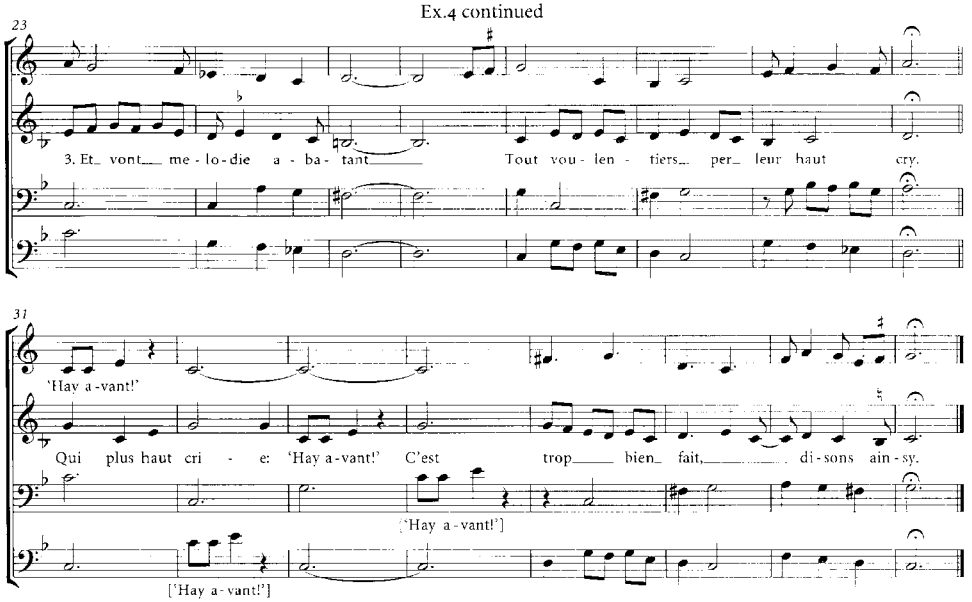
Ex.3 Guillaume de Machaut, *Se quanque amours*, opening

Ex.4 Matheus de Sancto Johanne, *Science n'a nul annemi* (after *French secular compositions of the fourteenth century*, ed. W. Apel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, liii/1 (Rome, 1970), pp.137–8)

Science n'a nul annemi, Paullet's *J'aim. Qui?*.[30] The text of this work (see text 4) is in the form of a dialogue ballade, a genre popular in France in the 1390s. Several examples of such lyrics by Deschamps and his contemporaries are found in text manuscripts containing repertory from this period,[31] but Paullet's song presents a rare example of a musical setting from the time. In it, two characters, a lover and his lady, engage in a rapid exchange. (For the sake of clarity, the woman's replies have been put into italics in text 4.) In the musical setting, the dialogue is carried by the cantus part alone (ex.6).

It has recently been noted that the opening of *J'aim. Qui?* recalls the anonymous virelai *Soit, tart, tempre*, which was the subject of a number of citation songs from the later 14th century.[32] (Compare the opening of *Soit, tart, tempre*, presented in ex.5, soundclip 5, with that of *J'aim. Qui?* in ex.6, soundclip 6.) But yet more striking, perhaps, is the similarity with Matheus's *Science n'a nul annemi* (compare ex.4). This is of interest because both Matheus and Paullet worked, for part of their careers at least, for French princely patrons: Matheus served Louis, Duke of Anjou in the 1370s and until 1382, while Paullet worked for this prince's brother, Jean, Duke

Ex.4 continued



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Text 4 Paullet, *J'aim. Qui?*

J'aim. *Qui?* Vous. *Moy?* Voyre, douce figure.
Pourquoy? Pour ce. *Par m'ame, c'est folie!*
Non est. *Si est.* Hé, gente dame pure.
J'atens. Et quoy? *Mercy, quoique on m'en die.*
De qui? *De vous.* De moy ne di ge mie.
Helas! *Qu'as tu?* Vo gent corps sans partir
Voudray. *Quoy faire?* Honnourer et servir.

I love. *Who?* You. *Me?* Indeed, sweet lady.
Why? Because. *Upon my soul, it's madness!*
No it isn't. *Yes it is.* Ah, kind and pure lady.
I'm waiting. For what? *Heavens, to hear something.*
About who? *You.* About myself, I say nothing.
Alas! *What's the matter?* I want your lovely body
Entirely. *What for?* To honour and to serve.

Ex.5 *Soit, tart, tempre*, opening (after *French secular compositions of the fourteenth century*, ed. W. Apel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, liii/3 (Rome, 1972), p.61)

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Ex.6 Paullet, *J'aim. Qui?*

of Berry in the early 15th century. This point of contact between these two composers' works may suggest that Paullet was already active in this cultural orbit earlier on.

The parallel with *Science n'a nul annemi* can be noted not just at the opening of *J'aim. Qui?* but in the ensuing imitative exchange, which here too prompts temporary texting of the accompanying voices. As in Matheus's song, the accompanying parts also participated in expressing the text. (Once again, implied additional texting is indicated on ex.6 within brackets.) A particularly intriguing question concerns how the cantus part might have been delivered: could it be that it was divided between two singers, in the manner of a dramatic dialogue, as illustrated by the Orlando Consort in soundclip 6?

How 14th-century performers of citation songs went about their business is impossible to say, and clearly any attempt to recreate their approach must rely upon imagination and speculation. Nevertheless, an understanding of the broader context of this repertory does provide food for thought. As I have suggested here, a little knowledge of the likely circumstances in which the songs were performed, and some understanding of the tastes and expectations of their audience, might offer us some clues; indeed consideration of the dynamic relationship between 14th-century poet-composers, performers and their listeners surely merits further scrutiny. Closer reading of the texts of these songs and further exploration of the interrelationships that exist between these works may provide deeper insights in

Ex.6 continued

this regard. As we have seen in the case of *En attendant, Esperance* and *Science n'a nul annemi*, much more is going on than may first meet the eye; citations and allusions infuse these songs with new depths of meaning, adding layers of humour, irony, subtlety or sheer showmanship. Certainly it seems safe to assume that 14th-century performers of such songs did more than just sing the notes.

1 The most recent exploration of citational practice in the 13th century and early 14th century is A. Butterfield, *Poetry and music in medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, in press). Citations in Machaut's motets are discussed in J. Boogaart, 'Encompassing past and present: quotations and their function in Machaut's motets', *Early music history*, xx (2001), pp.1–86. On citation in 14th-century songs, see U. Günther, 'Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior, *Musica disciplina*, xxvi (1972), pp.53–68, and more recently, Y. Plumley, 'Intertextuality in the fourteenth-century chanson', *Music and letters*, lxxxiii (2003, in press), 'Citation and allusion in the late-fourteenth century: the case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* songs', *Early music history*, xviii (1999), pp.287–363, and 'Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta', *Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. P. Vendrix (Paris, in press). See also the various essays by W. Arlt, L. Welker, S. Rankin and K. Brownlee in *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Freiburg im Breisgau 1993* (Kassel, 1998).

2 Günther had suggested that the citation ballade fell out of favour in the 1380s, and survived only in certain areas on the periphery of French culture ('Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen'). The more recent studies of citation songs listed in n.1 above provide a corrective to this view.

3 See G. Raynaud's introduction to his edition of the *Cent ballades* (Paris, 1905), pp.xlix–l.

4 For an edition of the statutes of this society, see C. Bozzolo and H. Loyau, *La cour amoureuse dite de Charles VI*, i (Paris, 1982), pp.35–45.

5 The surviving songs of these composers figure in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici misc.213, and, in the case of one of Haucourt's songs, in Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms.564. On Jean Charité and Haucourt see the entries in *MGG, Personenteil*, iv, viii; their relationship with the French princes and the impact of contemporary politics on their careers is explored in Y. Plumley 'From court to cathedral: musicians c1400 and the politics of princely power' (forthcoming).

6 See *Description de la ville de Paris par Guillebert de Metz*, in *Paris et ses historiens au XIVe et XVe siècles*, ed. A. J. V. Le Roux de Lincy and L. M. Tisserand (Paris, 1867), pp.117–241, at p.234.

7 J. Legrand, *L'Archiloge Sophie et Livre de bonnes meurs*, ed. E. Beltran (Paris, 1986), p.144.

8 The numbering of the lyrics follows the order presented in the edition *Guillaume de Machaut: Poésies lyriques*, ed. V. Chichmaref (Paris, 1909).

9 See J. Coleman, *Public reading and the reading public in late medieval England and France* (Cambridge, 1996).

10 See Eustache Deschamps, *L'art de dictier*, ed. and trans. D. Sinnreich-Levi (East Lansing, 1994), p.65.

11 In Froissart's *La Prison amoureuse* poems are exchanged by letter between the poet-narrator (Flos) and his esteemed friend (Rose). On receiving virelais from Rose, Flos delights in singing or hearing them. See *Jean Froissart : La prison amoureuse (The prison of love)*, ed. and trans. L. de Looze (New York, 1994), pp.64–5, 233.

12 As Coleman puts it, 'those who listened to the late Medieval texts ... were literate, sophisticated people who participated actively with both their attention and their response'; see *Public reading*, p.xiv.

13 See the discussion in Coleman, *Public reading*, ch.5, especially the account of Froissart's reading of his romance *Meliador* to Gaston Phebus (pp.111–13) and that of Deschamps's reading of part of Machaut's *Voir-dit* to Louis de Mâle (pp.115–17).

14 Moreover, as Coleman argues, 'Knowing that their texts were stored in books, these authors and audiences were more conscious of the interplay among the texts of these and other books'; see Coleman, *Public reading*, p.28.

15 A fuller discussion of this case is presented in Plumley, 'Intertextuality'.

16 A recording of this song can be found on *Philippe de Vitry and the Ars Nova* by the Orlando Consort (Metronome MET CD 1008; *rec* 1995)

17 'souverainement bien lisoit et bel [bien] pontoit, et entendens homs estoit', from Christine de Pizan's *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles*, cited and translated in Coleman, *Public reading*, p.121.

18 Coleman, *Public reading*, p.121.

19 Eustache Deschamps, *L'art de dictier*, p.64, lines 157–60 (my translation).

20 Editions of *Esperance qui en mon cuer* can be found in *French secular compositions of the fourteenth century*, ed. W. Apel, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, liii/3 (Rome, 1972), no.45; *French secular music*, ed. G. Greene, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xxii (Paris, 1989), nos.33a, 33b (instrumental version); and *Four French songs from an English song book*, ed. R. Rastall (Newton Abbott, 1976). For a list of the manuscript sources that transmit this song, see Plumley, 'Citation and allusion', p.295 n.29.

21 A detailed analysis of this citation song is presented in Plumley, 'Citation and allusion'.

22 The relationship between the three works and the source material is discussed in detail in Plumley, 'Citation and allusion'.

23 A. Pons, *Droit ecclésiastique et musique sacrée*, iii (Saint-Maurice, 1960), p.40, cited and discussed in P. Demouy, 'Les *pueri chori* de Notre-Dame de Reims', *Le clerc séculier au moyen age. XXIIe congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Amiens, juin 1991* (Paris,

1993), p.142. See also the comments in C. Page, *The owl and the nightingale: musical life and ideas in France, 1100–1300* (London, 1989), p.238 n.10.

24 Page, *The owl and the nightingale*, p.21.

25 For a discussion of similar illuminated initials for *Cantate Domino* settings, see C. Page, 'An English motet of the 14th century in performance: two contemporary images', *Early music*, xxv (1997), pp.7–34, esp. pp.11–17.

26 Chantilly, Musée Condé 564, f.37. On the intersection of this song with the *En attendant* complex, see Plumley, 'Citation and allusion'.

27 *The Manuscript Chantilly*, ed. G. Greene, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xix (Rome, 1989), commentary to no.53.

28 For another example, see E. Bowles, *La pratique musicale au moyen age / Musical performance in the late Middle Ages* (Paris, 1983), p.179. The dating of the marginal drawings in the Chantilly Codex will be discussed in Plumley and Stone, *The Manuscript Chantilly 564: a facsimile with introduction* (Paris, forthcoming).

29 Perhaps this refers to musical measure and proportion of the kind discussed by Anne Stone, in her article 'Self-reflexive songs and their readers in the late 14th century' (to appear in the May 2003 issue of *Early music*).

30 This song is contained in the Cambrai fragments (Bibliothèque Communale. B.1328), which are thought to date from *c.*1380–90, and in the Oxford manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici misc.213), copied several decades later.

31 Examples can be seen for instance in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 6221; see M. Connolly and Y. Plumley, 'Crossing the Channel: French lyrics in England in the early fifteenth century', in *Patrons, authors and workshops: books and book production in Paris circa 1400*, ed. P. Ainsworth and G. Croenen (Leuven, in press).

32 L. Welker, '*Soit tart tempre* und seine Familie', in *Musik als Text*, pp.322–34.

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Sacred Music

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The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento

KURT VON FISCHER

As RECENTLY as two decades ago it was generally assumed that the liturgical music of fourteenth-century Italy consisted of only a few Mass movements in madrigal style, and that the motet appeared—with a few exceptions—only in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, that is, at the time of Ciconia. Such a view can no longer be maintained, now that scholars like F. Alberto Gallo, Ursula Günther, William Layton, Nino Pirrotta, Dragan Plamenac, Giuseppe Vecchi and others have presented the results of their research.[1] The music in square notation and early mensural notation was published in facsimile in 1968,[2] and an edition of the liturgical pieces in partly mensural and mensural notation will appear in 1976.[3]

Italian fourteenth-century sacred music, excluding the *lauda*, reveals an astonishing variety of styles. It consists of settings for the Ordinary of the Mass, including several of 'Benedicamus', settings for the Proper, processional songs, motets and other sacred pieces. The repertory can be classified into six stylistic groups:

(*a*) More than 70 pieces written in square notation.

(*b*) Five pieces in mensural or partly mensural notation, derived from the so-called *cantus binatim* style.[4]

(*c*) Nine liturgical motets written in a thirteenth-century (*ars antiqua*) style.

(*d*) Sixteen pieces in Italian *trecento* notation. Six of them are written in a Franconian, pre-Marchetus notation; the other ten are related to the madrigal style and are written in pure *trecento* notation.

[1] See the inventories and bibliography of the Italian sources in *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Kurt von Fischer (*RISM*, B IV[3-4]), Munich, 1972.

[2] *I più antichi monumenti sacri italiani*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo and Giuseppe Vecchi, Bologna, 1968. This excludes the already known mensural compositions of the middle and late *trecento*.

[3] *Italian Sacred Music*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo and Kurt von Fischer (Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xii).

[4] Cf. F. A. Gallo, 'Cantus planus binatim. Polifonia primitiva in fonti tardive', *Quadrivium*, vii (1966), 79–90.

(*e*) Three motets of the first half of the fourteenth century, written in the notation described by Marchetus of Padua.

(*f*) Fifteen Mass movements and motets from northern Italy showing more or less French influence. The sacred compositions of Ciconia, Matteo da Perugia and Zacara da Teramo would require special treatment, and are not included in this group.

The total number of pieces in these six groups is about 120. In addition we know of about 25 fragments of liturgical *trecento* pieces.[5] Moreover, we must take into account several liturgical *contrafacta* and paraliturgical motets, a large repertory of *laude* which were sung to the music of secular madrigals and *ballate*,[6] and several keyboard pieces on liturgical tenors from the Faenza codex and from a newly discovered Paduan fragment.[7]

The central liturgical repertory of the six groups distinguished above consists mostly of single Mass movements and other pieces. But there are a few exceptions which show a certain analogy with contemporary French Mass cycles in combining two, three or even five movements. The earliest known Italian example of this type is the *Sanctus–Agnus* pair from Bologna, Biblioteca G.B. Martini, Q 11, written about 1300 in square black and red notation.[8] Not until a century later does the most famous example appear: the well-known compilation of *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus* and 'Benedicamus' by the Florentine composers Bartholus, Gherardello, Lorenzo and Paolo is early fifteenth-century in origin,[9] though the individual pieces, except for the 'Benedicamus', date from the mid-fourteenth century.[10] The similarity of the two Gherardello movements (*Gloria* and *Agnus*) from this cycle suggests that they may originally have been composed for a larger cycle put together from Gherardello's own pieces. This

[5] *Italian Sacred Music*, Appendix II, list 1.

[6] Ibid., Appendix II, lists 3, 6 and 7.

[7] Ibid., Appendix I, and Appendix II, list 1.

[8] See M. Lütolf, *Die mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze vom ausgehenden 11. bis zur Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert*, Bern, 1970, pp. 113–32; *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th–Early 14th Century*, ed. Gilbert Reaney (*RISM*, B IV[1]), p. 609.

[9] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds ital. 568, ff. 131[v]–133, 133[v]–138 (*RISM*, B IV[3]. 482–4); *Italian Sacred Music*, Nos. 3, 12, 15, 20 and 27. See Kurt von Fischer, 'The Mass Cycle of the Trecento Manuscript F-Pn568 (Pit)', *Festschrift for Warren Fox* (in preparation).

[10] The *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus* were written between 1340 and 1360, the 'Benedicamus' by Paolo some decades later.

is even more probable since we know from a sonnet written on the composer's death by Simone Peruzzi that Gherardello also wrote a *Credo*, which unfortunately is lost.[11] Another cycle of Mass movements is known from Add. MS 29987 of the British Library, consisting of a monophonic plainchant *Kyrie* and polyphonic settings of the *Gloria* and *Credo*.[12] It is also possible that the only two known Mass movements by Gratiosus de Padua, the *Gloria* and *Sanctus* preserved in the Paduan fragments, were composed for a cycle, despite a certain stylistic diversity.[13]

When we consider our six stylistic groups in relation to the origin and type of manuscripts in which they are found, there seems to be a connection between style and provenance. The pieces of groups (*a*) and (*b*) (square notation and *cantus binatim*) occur in plainsong manuscripts, that is in Graduals, Antiphonaries, Missals and so on, many of them written for monasteries. Among the large quantity of monophonic chant the very few polyphonic pieces (sometimes only one or two) are in a striking minority. These pieces were written for special occasions, especially Christmas and Easter. The same is true for some of the motets in *ars antiqua* style of group (*c*), and for some of the early fourteenth-century pieces of group (*d*). But some of them are found in another type of manuscript, the famous Florentine *laudarii* of the fourteenth century,[14] which also include several motets of the French thirteenth-century repertory. The situation changes with the later pieces of group (*d*) and with the compositions of groups (*e*) and (*f*), pieces from the classical *trecento* repertory, fourteenth-century motets and late *trecento* pieces from northern Italy. With only a few exceptions these works are preserved in collections of polyphonic music intended for chapels with highly trained singers. The difference in style is therefore a social and educational matter, dividing the repertory into, on the one hand, music for traditional monastic and clerical use and, on the other, music for centres of culture with a sophisticated musical training.

Such a division into at least two main layers is borne out, not only by the music itself and the sources, but also by contemporary theoretical writings. In the first book of his

[11] See J. Wolf, 'Florenze in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts' *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, iii (1901–2), 611.
[12] ff. 81v, 82v–85; *Italian Sacred Music*, Nos. 8 and 13. See *RISM*, B IV⁴. 652.
[13] *Italian Sacred Music*, Nos. 6 and 17. See *RISM*, B IV⁴. 991–2.
[14] See *RISM*, B IV¹. 789–91.

Speculum musicae Jacobus of Liège mentions four divisions of *musica instrumentalis*, i.e. 'musica proprie dicta . . . inspiciens non solum nota per intellectum, sed etiam per sensum'.[15] Within the *quarta divisio* he distinguishes (p. 62) between *musica theorica* and *musica practica*. It is, according to Jacobus (p. 63), *musica practica* that creates a real piece of music, an *opus*: 'Practica vero in opere suum finem posuit'. *Musica practica* is further subdivided into *mixta* and *pura*. The definition Jacobus gives (p. 63) is of great interest for our purpose: 'Mixta est illa, quae non omnino expers rationis . . . Practica autem pura, secundum Boethium, est illa, quae est omnino expers rationis in solo usu exercitio vel opere consistens, ut sunt multi cantores, qui ex solo usu cantare et consonantias exprimere sciunt'. Such a distinction corresponds to two types of music: *musica mixta* is partly related to reflection, that is, to theoretical rules; *musica pura* is performed according to the usage and customs of the singers. It is more than probable that most of the two-voice pieces written in square notation belong in Jacobus's terms to *musica pura* and the more refined pieces to *musica mixta*.

But we have also to take into consideration another, more common division made by Jacobus (p. 55) and most theorists, the distinction between *musica plana* and *musica mensurata*, and a more specific one (p. 59) between *musica modesta et simplex* and *musica lasciva*, *mixta et multiplex*. Jacobus complains (pp. 60–61) that in his days (i.e. in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century) *musica lasciva* is extended to all music and that *cantores* have no hesitation about using it in churches and combining it with plainchant.

About the same time, Marchetus of Padua wrote his *Lucidarium*, and some years later his *Pomerium*. These two treatises are much less complex in their systematic thinking than Jacobus's *Speculum*. Marchetus is especially interested in *musica harmonica*, which corresponds in general to *musica instrumentalis* in the *Speculum*. Another important difference between Jacobus and Marchetus lies in their different attitudes towards the *cantor*, the performer, who sings *ex usu*. In accordance with an old medieval tradition, Jacobus (p. 64) likens the *cantor*, singing only according to usage, to a *bestia*, that is to an animal which does not reflect on what he does. For

[15] *Speculum musicae, Liber primus*, ed. Roger Bragard (Corpus scriptorum de musica, iii/1), Rome, 1955, p. 54. See also G. Pietzsch, *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boethius bis Ugolino von Orvieto*, Halle, 1929 (reprinted Tübingen, 1968), pp. 107 ff.

Marchetus the *cantor* is the tool of the *musicus*.[16] Evidently the rank of the singer and performer improved during the Italian *trecento*.

Like Jacobus, Marchetus mentions the traditional distinction between *musica plana* and *mensurata*. But such a distinction is not to be identified with that between monophonic and polyphonic music. According to both theorists polyphony exists within both *musica plana* and *musica mensurata*. Coming back to our different groups within the liturgical *trecento* repertory, group (*a*) must be related to *musica plana* and to the *musica practica pura* of Jacobus, and groups (*c*) to (*f*), at least, to *musico mensurata*. The pieces in group (*b*) have to be considered as a special stype of *musica plana* performed in a partly mensural manner, according to the so-called *cantus binatim* described by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis in 1404 in the first version of his commentary on the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis* of Johannes de Muris, a treatise that was widespread and well-known in Italy.[17] In the chapter on ligatures Prosdocimus mentions that the *antiqui* in singing 'cantum planum sive organicum et hoc binatim' followed special rhythmic rules, and that also 'aliqui moderni, licet non omnes, sed solo scientes' knew the *cantus binatim*, which is a 'modus dulcissimus cantandi ubi voces pares et dulces inveniantur'.[18] This 'sweet' way of singing with two voices of equal range (*voces pares*) in a rhythm which is something between the unmeasured *musica plana* and *musica mensurata* can be applied to some of the pieces of our group (*a*) written in square notation. The pieces of group (*b*) seem to be rhythmic transcriptions of the Italian *cantus binatim* practice. This is confirmed by the succession of note-values: the manuscript employs *longa*, *brevis* and *semibrevis*, but there is no apparent mensural order—*modus*, *tempus* or *prolatio*.

It is interesting that another Italian, Colluccio Salutati, chancellor of Florence in the second half of the fourteenth

[16] Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, St. Blasien, 1784, iii. 121.

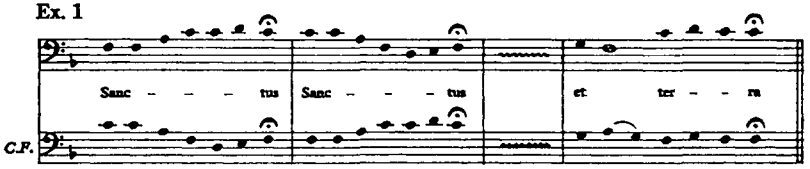
[17] See F. A. Gallo, *Prosdocimus de Beldemandis Opera: Expositiones tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis magistri Johannes de Muris*, Bologna, 1966; U. Michels, *Die Musiktraktatae des Johannes de Muris* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, viii), Wiesbaden, 1970, pp. 27 ff. On the date of the treatise, see Gallo, 'La tradizione dei trattati musicali di Prosdocimus de Beldemandis', *Quadrivium*, vi (1964), 57 ff.

[18] See *Prosdocimus Opera: Expositiones*, p. 163, and Gallo, 'La tradizione', loc. cit. The rhythmic interpretation of *cantus planus* is also described by Hieronimus de Moravia in his *Tractatus de musica* (ed. S. M. Cserba, Regensburg, 1925, pp. 179 ff.; E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi novam seriem*, Paris, 1864–76, i. 89 ff.).

century and a friend of Francesco Landini, mentions in a letter to P. Zambeccari the sweetness of music performed 'notis solidis' and 'sine notularum fractione'.[19] This description, which opposes the old simple style of polyphony to the innovations of the *ars nova*, should probably be interpreted as a reference to *cantus binatim*.

This theoretical introduction will best be illustrated by specific examples. One of the oldest mentions of sacred polyphony in Italy can be found in the *Ordo officiorum* of Siena Cathedral, written in 1215.[20] The description shows that the polyphonic repertory in Siena was very different from the contemporaneous repertory of Notre Dame in France. The *Ordo* mentions, among others, several pieces for the Ordinary of the Mass, hymns and processional songs, which correspond to some extent with the musical repertory we are dealing with. There are no musical examples in the *Ordo*, but in view of the early date and Italian provenance of the manuscript we may suppose that the Siena pieces were not performed in modal or mensural rhythm. This would correspond to the pieces of our group (*a*), written in square notation. The two-voice *Sanctus* from Bologna, Q 11 (Ex. 1) was written about 1300 in an Italian monastery (perhaps in

Ex. 1



Lodi).[21] Both voices are written in the same range, with interchange of parts at the beginning and some parallel motion in fifths and sevenths. The liturgical cantus firmus (*Sanctus XVII*) starts as the upper sounding voice and ends as the lower. This technique corresponds to an old practice of the twelfth century described by John Cotton (Johannes

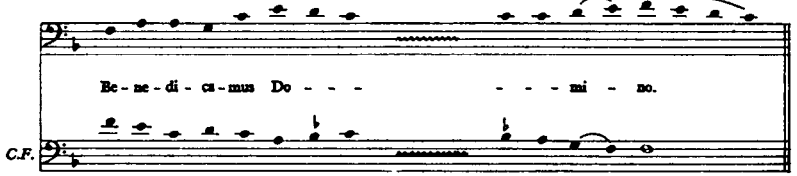
[19] *La cappella musicale del duomo di Milano*, ed. Gaetano Cesari, i: Fabio Fano, *Le origini e il primo maestro di capella: Matteo di Perugia* (Istituzioni e monumenti dell' arte musicale italiana, nuova series, i), Milan, 1956, p. 25.

[20] See Kurt von Fischer, 'Die Rolle der Mehrstimmigkeit am Dome von Siena zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xviii (1961), 167–82; also A. Ziino, 'Polifonia nella cattedrale di Lucca durante il XIII secolo', *Acta musicologica*, xlvii (1975), 16–30.

[21] See footnote 8 above; facsimile, *I più antichi monumenti*, Pl. XXIV.

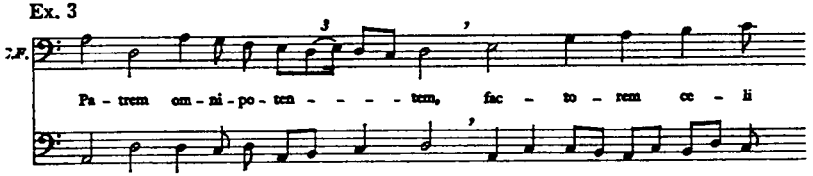
Affligemensis).[22] That such a technique survived up to the fifteenth century is proved by an Italian manuscript from a Dominican monastery, which among its plainchant repertory contains a single polyphonic piece, a two-voice 'Benedicamus' setting on the liturgical melody prescribed for Lauds on solemn feasts (Ex. 2).[23]

Ex. 2



The next two examples belong to our group (*b*). The rhythmic interpretation, originally improvised according to *cantus binatim*, is now explicitly realised in mensural notation. Ex. 3 is taken from three early fifteenth-century manuscripts:

Ex. 3



Vatican, Ms. Urb. lat. 1419 and two Graduals, Siena, Biblioteca comunale, Ms. H. I. 10, and Guardiagrele, Cod. 2, f. 53.[24] As in the pieces of group (*a*) both voices move within much the same range, in a slightly melismatic note-against-note style. There is much crossing of parts, and besides several instances of parallel sixths there are also some parallel fifths and hidden octaves. But the most striking feature of this piece is the position of the liturgical melody (*Credo IV*) as the upper voice. (The melody is known from French and Italian sources of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.) This strange inversion of the voices seems to be a relic of a very old technique, which has its counterpart in an Italian secular genre,

[22] See the only music example given by Cotton: Johannes Affligemensis, *De musica cum tonario*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe (Corpus scriptorum de musica, i), Rome, 1950.

[23] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. mus. 40563 (*RISM*, B IV[3]. 327); cf. *Liber usualis*, p. 124.

[24] *RISM*, B IV[4]. 1030, 1036, *deest; Italian Sacred Music*, Nos. 10a and 10b. See also G. Cattin, O. Mischiati and A. Ziino, 'Composizioni polifoniche del primo quattrocento nei libri corali di Guardiagrele', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vii (1972), 153 ff.

the madrigal.[25] Of the three sources of these pieces the Vatican manuscript is perhaps the most interesting. Only the added lower voice is written down, since the cantus firmus was well known and did not need to be notated. This is further proof of the close relationship with the improvised practice of *cantus binatim.*

The next example is taken from a *Kyriale* of the early fifteenth century, Vatican, Ms. Barb. lat. 657 (Ex. 4).[26] The

Ex. 4

cantus firmus, which is not in the Vatican edition but can be found in several Italian plainchant sources of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is as usual in the lower voice. Again both voices move within the same range. The predominance of contrary motion and the many parallel thirds indicate an adaptation of *cantus binatim* to stylistic trends of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

The *Credo* from the Florentine Mass cycle (Ex. 5)[27] was

Ex. 5

composed by Bartholus de Florentia about 1340. This is an interesting piece for its combination of the florid madrigal style of the Italian *trecento* with the old technique of *cantus binatim:* both voices move in the same range, and there is much part-crossing, features not typical of the Florentine madrigal.[28]

Our group (*c*) is represented by two examples written in the

[25] See Kurt von Fischer, 'On the Technique, Origin and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music', *The Musical Quarterly*, xlii (1961), 46 ff.

[26] *RISM*, B IV[4]. 1028; *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 11a; facsimile, *I più antichi monumenti*, Pl. XXXI.

[27] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 12; *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy*, ed. Nino Pirrotta (Corpus mensurabilis musicae, viii), American Institute of Musicology, 1954 ff., i, No. 1.

[28] For details see the author's article cited in footnote 9 above.

French motet style of the *ars antiqua*. The motet 'Ortorum virentium'–'Virga Yesse'–['Victimae paschali laudes'] (Ex. 6),[29] preserved in the Florentine *lauda* manuscript Banco rari

Ex. 6

[Victimae paschali laudes]

18, ff. 146v–148, is based on the Easter sequence melody, which is repeated four times in the sixth rhythmic mode. But the notation is neither modal nor mensural; the rhythmic transcription is therefore tentative, following the rules given by Marchetus. A fourteenth-century 'Benedicamus' setting from Perugia Cathedral, Ms. 15, f. 38v, is written in thirteenth-century notation showing influences of modal rhythm (Ex. 7).[30] The cantus firmus is a free elaboration of the well-known 'Benedicamus' for feasts of the Blessed Virgin.[31]

Ex. 7

The first two examples of compositions written in *trecento* notation, group (*d*), represent the early type, which shows no influence of the ornaments of the *trecento* madrigal. The two-voice setting of the well-known Christmas 'Benedicamus' trope 'Verbum patris hodie' from the *lauda* manuscript Banco rari 19, ff. 72v–73, is written in pre-Marchetus notation. The main voice with text is the upper one, which is accom-

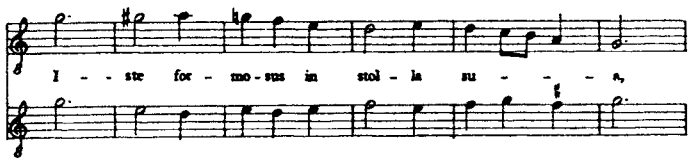
[29] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 32; facsimile, *I più antichi monumenti*, Pll. LXIX–LXX.
[30] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 23; facsimile, *I più antichi monumenti*, Pl. CXX.
[31] *Liber usualis*, p. 126.

panied in a typical Italian manner by an instrumental tenor (Ex. 8).[32] The Paduan processional songs of the early fourteenth century are probably the earliest known pieces written

Ex. 8

in Italian *trecento* notation with points of division (*pontelli*). Both voices move within the same range, like the pieces of groups (*a*) and (*b*). Of special interest is the beginning of 'Iste formosus', from Padua Cathedral, Ms. C. 55, f. 51 (Ex. 9);[33] the chromaticism is notated in the manuscript and corresponds to the description Marchetus gives in his *Lucidarium*.

Ex. 9



Exx. 10 and 11, both from the famous Florentine collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale,[34] are written in 'classical' *trecento* style, with the changes of metre that are typical of the early madrigal. In the *Agnus* composed by Gherardello about 1350 (Ex. 10)[35] not only the style but also the formal structure is related to the madrigal. The first two *Agnus* sections corres-

Ex. 10

pond to some extent to two through-composed stanzas written in *duodenaria* and *novenaria* metre, while the third (returning

[32] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 28; facsimile, *I più antichi monumenti*, Pl. LXXVII.
[33] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 31c; facsimile, *I più antichi monumenti*, Pll. CXVI-CXVII.
[34] See footnote 9.
[35] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 20; *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, viii/1, No. 22.

to the initial *duodenaria*) corresponds to the *ritornello*. As in most of the madrigals the upper part seems to be the leading voice. There is almost no crossing of parts. Despite a vague resemblance to a German *Agnus* of the fifteenth century the tenor is most probably not liturgical.[36] The 'Benedicamus' by Paolo da Firenze (Ex. 11), probably composed about 1400,

Ex. 11

provides a very interesting example.[37] The piece can be described as a combination of Florentine *trecento* style with a motet-like structure based on a liturgical tenor[38] written in square notation. A similar instance of exceptional technique can be found in another piece by Paolo, the two-voice Introit 'Gaudeamus omnes' (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Asbh. 999, ff. 19^{v}–21).[39] The idea of combining a liturgical tenor with one (or two) florid upper voices has something in common with the liturgical organ pieces of the Faenza codex (early fifteenth century).[40] The strange parallel seconds and fourths (and subsequently sevenths) in the upper voices of Paolo's 'Benedicamus' must be seen as a stylistic refinement of a composer who uses some archaic elements of the old organal style (cf. Ex. 1).

The few motets of Italian origin surviving from the third and fourth decades of the century, belonging to our group (*e*), include what is so far the only known composition by Marchetus of Padua, preserved in Bodleian Library, MS

[36] See *Italian Sacred Music*, critical commentary.
[37] Ibid., No. 27 (for other editions, see critical commentary).
[38] 'Benedicamus' for first Vespers on solemn feasts: *Liber usualis*, p. 124.
[39] See Kurt von Fischer, 'Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex (I-Fl 87)', *Quadrivium*, ix (1968), 21–24; *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 30.
[40] This sort of technique must derive from the improvised practice of melismatic singing over a plainchant melody. Other examples of this type in Italian fourteenth-century music are the 'Benedicamus' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Can. Pat. lat. 229, f. 53^{v} (33^{v}), and a short anonymous 'Benedicamus' recently discovered in Messina. See A. Ziino, 'Nuove fonti di polifonia dell'ars nova,' *Studi musicali*, ii (1973), 244–5; *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 26a.

Can. Class. lat. 112, ff. 61v–62v (Ex. 12).[41] This is a Marian motet with two different texts in the upper voices, 'Ave

Ex. 12

Regina' and 'Mater innocentie'. Strangely enough, the isorhythmic tenor has the same melody as the 'Ite missa est' tenor of the Mass of Tournai. While the first words of the unpaired lines of the triplum have the acrostic 'Ave Maria gratia plena . . .' the duplum shows the acrostic 'Marcum Paduanum'. The accusative form of the composer's name refers to the two last lines:

Virtus tuae clementiae
Me solvat a peccatis

—that is, 'me [Marcum Paduanum] solvat a peccatis'. The piece is therefore a prayer of the composer to the Virgin. The style is characterised by a mixture of French and Italian elements. The isorhythmic structure is French, while the alternation between declamatory parts in short values and sustained long notes is a specifically Italian feature, familiar not only from the few other Italian liturgical motets from before 1350 but also from the early madrigal and from Jacopo's motet 'Lux purpurata'. As the Marchetus piece is the earliest of this group it can be considered as the model of the later motets, including Jacopo's.

The last section of the repertory, our group (*f*), is represented by Mass movements, most of them probably composed in the northern part of Italy in the late fourteenth century. Ex. 13, from the British Library, Add. MS 29987, ff. 36v–38, is a unique Italian trope of a *Sanctus*.[42] The tenor has the liturgical text; its melody is probably not liturgical,

[41] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 37; see F. A. Gallo, 'Marchetus in Padua und die "franco-venetische" Musik des frühen Trecento', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, xxxi (1974), 42–56.
[42] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 40.

but there is a certain resemblance with the tenor of the *Sanctus* by Lorenzo.[43] The text of the upper voices, 'Cantano gli angiol lieti: Santus . . .', shows the formal structure of a

Ex. 13

madrigal: first three lines (stanza 1) 'Sanctus' trope; second three lines (stanza 2) 'Osanna' trope; last two lines (*ritornello* with change of metre) 'Benedictus' trope. The beginning of the piece is reminiscent of the *caccia* technique, though there is no strict imitation between the two upper voices.

A *Kyrie* from the Vatican fragment Ms. Urb. lat. 1419, f. 90^{v}, reveals not Italian but French features (Ex. 14).[44] The piece

Ex. 14

is called 'Rondello' in the manuscript, and the two formal sections suggest a distribution of the text according to the French *rondeau*. The type of notation and especially the *contratenor* layout of the middle voice, with its many crossings with the tenor, prove marked French influence. The *Gloria* from Add. MS 29987, ff. 82^{v}–83, displays features of the late fourteenth-century French *ars subtilior* (Ex. 15).[45] This is the only piece in the manuscript that uses black, red and white notation. Even if the rhythmic complexity is less obvious than in some pieces of the Chantilly and Modena manuscripts, the combination of different metres and the refined syncopations

[43] Cf. ibid., No. 15.
[44] Ibid., No. 1.
[45] *Italian Sacred Music*, No. 8 (for other editions see critical commentary).

prove the influence of the *ars subtilior*. The sustained notes (*coronatae*) of the 'Qui tollis' foreshadow stylistic features of the fifteenth century.

Ex. 15

Our last example must be considered as a special and controversial case (Ex. 16).[46] This *Gloria*, with an unidentified—

Ex. 16

probably liturgical—tenor, has been transcribed from two fragmentary sources.[47] It is written in a chordal *fauxbourdon*-like style which would suggest a composition of the fifteenth century; but the notation of the Foligno version shows that the piece was most probably written in the fourteenth. There

[46] Ibid., No. 5. See N. Pirrotta, 'Church Polyphony Apropos of a New Fragment at Foligno', *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers, Princeton, 1968, pp. 113–26; O. Strunk, 'Church Polyphony Apropos a New Fragment at Grotteferrata', *L'ars nova italiana del trecento*, iii (Certaldo, 1970), 305 ff.; U. Günther, 'Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata', ibid., 315 ff.

[47] Foligno, Biblioteca comunale, Frammenti musicali, f. A; Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell' Abbazia, Collocazione provisoria 197, ff. 1v–2.

are even some *plicae* (scarcely in use in Italy after 1340). What can explain this strange discrepancy between notation and style? Would it be too risky to suggest a possible English influence? This could be accounted for by the flourishing commercial relations between England and Italy in the fourteenth century and, even more convincingly, by the presence of English musicians in the service of Italian clerical dignitaries, such as Amerus in 1271 and Frater G[uilelmus] de Anglia, who wrote at least some pages of the theoretical manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 54.1, dated Pavia 1391, and was possibly even responsible for its compilation.[48]

It is evident from a survey of the sacred music of the Italian *trecento* and early *quattrocento* that the repertory is stylistically very complex. Archaic and modern pieces appear side by side. This diversity reflects the different social conditions prevailing in, for example, monasteries, small churches, cathedrals and private chapels, and there is a close connection between environment and the educational standard of singers, musicians and clerics. In the terms of Jacobus of Liège, *musica practica pura*, represented by the majority of pieces in our group (*a*), exists side by side with *musica mixta*, *musica plana* side by side with *musica mensurata*. But there are also influences from France and perhaps even England and, above all, influences from Italian secular music. The sacred polyphony of the Italian *trecento* demonstrates that the history of music does not proceed only in a straight line. In response to cultural, social and educational conditions, music evolves simultaneously on several different levels.

[48] Kurt von Fischer, 'Eine wiederaufgefundene Theoretikerhandschrift des späten 14. Jahrhunderts', *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, i (1972), 23–24.

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[21]

Zacara's D'amor languire *and strategies for borrowing in the early fifteenth-century Italian Mass*[*]

Michael Scott Cuthbert

The music of Magister Antonius Zacara da Teramo stands out among the works of *ars nova* Italian composers not because of its quantity—his twenty-two or so secular compositions are surpassed in number even by the thirty of Andreas de Florentia, to say nothing of the dozens of ballate by Francesco Landini—nor for its immediate beauty and smoothness to our ears, for which Ciconia's works seem to reign if the number of available recordings is any indication. Rather it is Zacara's ability to convey the mysterious and the unusual that seems so intriguing: he hides the name of Florence in an anagram in a rare bitextual ballata;[1] he poses a riddle to the singer in the text of the rhythmically complex *Sumite karissimi*, whose solution provides the poem's last line. In a motion surely accompanied by an ironic wink to the listener, Zacara sets a Credo, the mass section where Christians express their belief in one true God, based on material from a ballata he composed earlier: *Deus deorum, Pluto* or Pluto, God of Gods.

Zacara borrowed at least three other polyphonic songs in the composition of masses. The variety of ways in which Zacara treated his secular models, in an era where there was no pattern to follow, has repeatedly beckoned scholars to look at his work in this formative period of mass composition.[2] Although I will draw widely on several of Zacara's works, as well as those of Bartolomeo da Bologna, I

*. I wish to thank John Nádas for his valuable comments particularly on an earlier version of this paper from 1998. Thomas Forrest Kelly's suggestions on this version were equally invaluable. Davide Ceriani and Sean Gallagher provided additional insights on the ballata's text. I owe several helpful ideas concerning my edition to David Fallows. I wish to thank Lucia Marchi for her substantial new insights on both the ballata and the *Credo 'Scabioso'* and for her generous help. Although the bulk of my conclusions were reached independently from her work, being able to compare my results with hers at a late stage has substantially enhanced my work. I also want to express my gratitude to the members of Micrologus for giving life to this work through their performance of my completion.

1. PMFC 10, pp. x, 108. See also ANNE HALLMARK's contribution to this volume (*infra*, pp. 213-27).
2. In this paper I use the generic term 'borrowing' and the more controversial 'parody' to describe these compositional techniques. I could have used — some might say, I should have used — any number of other terms for these techniques, including imitation and elaboration. But in this early period, with no contemporaneous justification for any of the labels, the problem of terminology ultimately takes a back

will focus my attentions on the most recently discovered secular model of Zacara's, the ballata *D'amor languire, suspirare e piangere,* and its parody movement, the *Credo 'Scabioso'*. I will first discuss the ballata's sources and style, and reflect on its meanings. I will then look at the types of borrowings in *Scabioso* and the five other parody movements from this time, arguing that the blend of different levels of quotation and techniques for forming parodies should make us open to more subtle organizational strategies in Italian music c. 1400.

Discovery and Earlier Scholarship

Although the *Credo 'Scabioso'* has been described for the better part of a century as a parody movement, the model for it was not found until 1988 when John Nádas and Agostino Ziino discovered two new bifolios of the Lucca codex.[3] Despite some damage to the text of the fourth system («ducento» to «sol la») and to the music of the fifth system (mm. 83-87, 89-90 in the present transcription) suffered from four centuries' use as an internal cover for a notarial volume, the *cantus* voice of *D'amor languire* is largely intact (plate 11). The folio transmitting the *tenor* voice, f. 57, unfortunately is not extant and has not surfaced despite Nádas and Ziino's discovery of still more folios from this manuscript. In their edition of the codex, Nádas and Ziino transcribed and commented on the text of the piece, which I will discuss further below.

The first concordance for *D'amor languire* was not long in waiting. In 1991, fifteen paper folios were discovered in the binding of a manuscript belonging to Alfredo Boverio and are now housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin.[4] Among the forty-three compositions in this fragment, at least twelve are by Zacara, including the first concordances of *Deus deorum, Pluto* and *Credo 'Deus deorum'*, the third copy of *Credo 'Scabioso'*, and another fragment of *D'amor languire* containing sections from both the *cantus* and *tenor*. The folio in *TU* containing most of the ballata has been cut vertically, leaving only the right half of each staff in the present manuscript. Since the paper is ruled with nine five-line staves, the final staff of the *tenor* voice is continued onto the *recto* of f. 2 along with the text of the second *piede* and the *volta* (plate 12).

With these two sources, we have the complete *cantus*, lacking perhaps a measure. By extrapolating from a parallel passage in the *Credo*, two additional measu-

seat to that of specific description. For the use of 'elaboration' to describe early mass movements see WALTER H. RUBSAMEN, *Some First Elaborations of Masses from Motets*, «Bulletin of the American Musicological Society», IV 1938 (published 1940), pp. 6-9.

3. LUCCA, p. 13.

4. TORINO, p. 79.

res of the *tenor* can be added to those contained in *TU*, ultimately yielding 68 of the 116 measures. However, some of the most important sections of the tenor are still a mystery. Particularly regrettable is the loss of the first seventeen measures. This is where, in other works of Zacara, some of his most innovative techniques are found. The surviving sections of the *tenor* voice have approximately the same number of notes as the corresponding *cantus* sections, indicating two voices with nearly-equal rhythmic activity.

Neither source contains an attribution to Zacara, but the ballata is found in the section devoted to his works in *Lu* and the *Credo* borrowing from this work is labeled «Zacar Scabioso» in *Q15*. Further, the Lucca folio preserves the descending strokes of letters which must have formed an attribution; comparing the shape of and distance between these descenders to the other attributions to Zacara in the manuscript, allows us to be sure that the text is consistent with the name «Çachara» or less likely «Çacharias». Both versions of the name have a long descender on the 'Ç' and a smaller leftward pointing descender on the 'h' (plate 13).[5]

The Work (Text and Style)

Although this paper and Lucia Marchi's dissertation are the first studies of the musical aspects of *D'amor languire* since its discovery,[6] the piece has a musicological history dating back over forty years as scholars tried to understand what the secular model for *'Scabioso'* must have been like based on an examination of the *Credo* alone. *D'amor languire* is a single-strophe ballata grande (four lines). Each line of the *ripresa* and *volta* have a hypermetric extension of six syllables, similar to other works of Zacara. These extensions in this ballata's *ripresa* consist almost entirely of solmization syllables, usually one pair repeated three times. The solfeggio hypermetric extensions, *la mi, mi fa, sol la*, and *ut re*, create difficulties for the reconstruction and interpretation of the work. Only the cantus survives of the last two extensions, *sol la* on C and D, and *ut re* on B♭ and C (this implying a sub-molle hexachord). Although we cannot be certain how the voi-

5. I have added to plate 13 the ascription to «S|e|r Niccholay Prepositi» written over a scraped attribution on f. 59*r*. Although it is not immediately relevant to this study, the opportunity to compare the attribution underneath this name to the other Zacara attributions in *Lu* is unlikely to come again soon. Nádas and Ziino suggest that the removed name may be Zacara's, whose works begin on the following folios. The pattern of ascenders and descenders on the erased name are not entirely consistent with any of the other Zacara attributions in *Lu* — the word under «Niccholay» might be «Magister» but there seems to be an erased initial before it. It must be taken into account, however, that attributions often differ for the first work of a section. See LUCCA, p. 65.

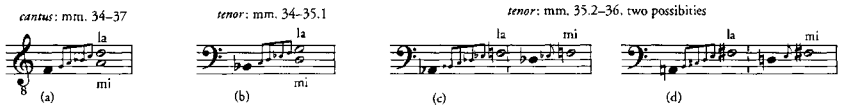
6. MARCHI 2000, pp. 99-107. On the text, see LUCCA, p. 19, and TORINO, p. 110.

ces align in the second extension, *mi fa*, it is clear that both of them use A and B♭ for *mi* and *fa* implying a hexachord on F. It is the first extension, *la mi*, which is the most puzzling. It survives in both voices, except the note for the final *mi* in the *tenor* (mm. 34-37 in this transcription) which could be a D, an A, or could remain on the same note if we do not consider this a cadence (example 1).

EXAMPLE 1: *D'amor languire*, mm. 34-37.

The *cantus* alternates between *la* = *D* and *mi* = *A*, again a hexachord on *F* (example 2a).

EXAMPLE 2: interpretations of solmization syllables in *D'amor languire*.



The *tenor*'s first *la mi*, G and D, imply a hexachord a fifth lower than that of the *cantus*, B♭ (example 2b). The following *la mi* presents a problem. Both the *la* and the *mi* are written as F, so hexachordal mutation must take place between them. *Mi* unambiguously indicates a note below a half-step: if the note is F *la* then the implication would be a hexachord on A♭; similarly for F *mi*, *fa* must be G♭ and the hexachord must begin on D♭ (example 2c). If on the other hand we read the F's as F♯'s, we would have hexachords on A and D for *la* and *mi* (example 2d) — not strictly by the rules, but as they lie within the hand are more acceptable.[7] Notationally we can justify the F♯ reading by recalling that Zacara inflects *mi*

7. Although Marchi's transcription of this section (MARCHI 2000, p. 232) differs from mine by a breve in its placement of the *tenor* voice, the problem of F *mi* and F *la* does not change.

upward in another piece by indicating the *fa*'s with flat signs, showing that, in his conception, cueing the *mi-fa* step may be enough to alter the pitch: [8]

EXAMPLE 3a: *Deus deorum*, mm. 39-46.

EXAMPLE 3b: same passage reinterpreted with accidentals having their usual meanings.

We might also read the word «finga» at the end of the second line of text in *D'amor languire* as a reference to the unusual semitone adjustments necessary to perform that piece.

The meaning of the text, like many of Zacara's, is obscure; Nádas and Ziino have suggested it might refer to tensions in the chapel in which Zacara sang.[9] There are several references to other works in the text; the most obvious is the opening, «Faint with love», a well-known phrase taken from the Song of Songs. There is also a link with Dante's *Inferno*, specifically the twenty-ninth canto, which tells of the plight of poor Griffolino and Capocchio who constantly scratch at their scabs, never having relief.[10] The speaker in *D'amor languire* on the

8. The curious flats and their implied hexachords were first discussed successfully in LAYTON 1960, pp. 282-3. A similar usage of flats is found in *Lu* in the rondeau *Aylas! Quant je pans*. Anna Cornagliotti and Maria Caraci Vela have discovered theoretical evidence to justify this reading in a treatise in Vercelli, see CORNAGLIOTTI - CARACI VELA 1998, pp. 62-3. Evidence for *ficta* usage from this treatise is particularly relevant to Zacara's music since the author had knowledge of his work. See CORNAGLIOTTI - CARACI VELA 1998, pp. 17-8, 77 and CARACI VELA 1997, pp. 182-5. The transcriptions in example 6 are adapted from PMFC 10, pp. 106-7.
9. LUCCA, p. 19.
10. This information is an expansion of an idea by John Nádas.

other hand «gratt[a] chome rognioso e non ò scabia», that is, he scratches mangily and does *not* have scabs. The singer's scratching comes from a beard which «questo barber non me vol radere», which this barber does not want to shave. Certainly a metaphorical explanation should never be discounted for a text whose meaning is as obscure as this, but I would like to speculate at the possibility of a literal interpretation.

If the text is autobiographical as it seems some of Zacara's are, we could ask why might a barber refuse to shave him? It is possible that some of the people associated with Zacara might have considered his ailments contagious. We know that he was missing at least half of his digits.[11] We cannot know whether this condition is a birth defect or a development later in life, but the fact that he was trained as a scribe might suggest the latter. If so, it is possible that Zacara could have been considered leprous by some people, even if it was unlikely that he actually was, given his position in the inner retinue of a pope. The sling under his left arm might suggest a loss of musculature, also consistent with leprosy (Hansen's disease).[12] The red pigment seemingly carelessly applied to Zacara's cheek and forehead in *Sq* may be a symptom of a skin condition possibly referred to in several lines of the poem's text.[13]

In the third line of the text we can read in *Lu*, «Ni centocinque e duecento uno avinghia».[14] The numbers when written out in roman numerals, CV CCI,

11. ZIINO 1979, p. 314. See also Nádas's discovery that this feature is reflected in Zacara's portrait in *Sq* in NÁDAS 1986, pp. 171-2.
12. I wish to extend my sincerest gratitude to Robyn Runft Liu, Jong Yun, Vi Nguyen, and Brian Cummings (all M.D.) for their generous advice on possible medical conditions. Except for Nguyen and Cummings who collaborated, each independently made suggestions on the basis of the *Sq* portrait, a translated text of *D'amor languire*, and the necrology published by Ziino.
13. I should note that two other portraits in *Sq* show substantial reddening or darkening of the face, Gheradello and Niccolo, and that no portrait in that manuscript is entirely free of the pigment, so we may be dealing with an element of artistic style. Nonetheless, the redness on Zacara is emphasized and is applied without the uniformity of other portraits, with the result being almost clown-like with a patch of pale skin between the cheek and nose, and a goggle of pale skin around the eyes. Three of the doctors above independently mentioned the discoloration in discussing possible conditions (including Sturge-Weber and a stroke). Furthermore, it was my good fortune to share a subway ride with participants returning from an international conference on dermatology when I was carrying an enlarged poster of the Zacara portrait back from the Teramo conference. Their consensus was that the portrait showed signs of lupus.
14. MARCHI 2000, pp. 232-3, provides the reading «a<v>vinghia» which fits both the sense of the sentence as I read it and the remains of the letter forms in *Lu*. Other words, however, might also fit with the evidence. The text in *TU* reads «Ne centocinque doycento non a», lacking the final «uno», making it a worse fit for my theory that the numbers might spell a name.

can be seen as spelling the name «Cucci»: the singer is sad of spirit since Cucci will not embrace him on account of a beard which his barber will not shave.[15]

There are textual connections with other songs of Zacara. The ballata *Rosetta*, whose musical connections I will discuss below, uses language in its *piede* very similar to that employed at the beginning of the *ripresa* of *D'amor languire:*

D'amor languire (ll. 1-2, hypermetric extensions omitted, emphasis added):

D'amor *languire, suspirare* e *piangere*
tristar lo spirto, sonno fosse o finga;

Rosetta (ll. 3-6, emphasis added):

Se altruy me fa *languire* e *sospirare*,
tu me resguardi con gran desiderio
e se turbar o *pianger* o *tristare*,
penando vay per darmi refrigerio

The first four verbs in *D'amor languire* appear in the same order in *Rosetta*, strongly implying that the same author wrote both texts. It also suggests that any musical relationships between the two works should not be considered fortuitous.

D'amor languire may have been among the more popular polyphonic songs in the early fifteenth century. In addition to the two copies of the song and the three copies of the parody movement (*Q15*, *Sas 326-327*, and *TU*), it is mentioned as a «canzon di maggio» played on the «vivola» in the thirty-fifth sonnet of Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*.[16]

15. One can compare this reading with Reinhart Strohm's of *Un fior gentil* in STROHM 1993, p. 102. There he reads that text as referring to a 'Charamilla', probably the same one as in the song *Ciaramella me dolçe Ciaramella*. The reading in *D'amor languire* was independently suggested by Nádas and Marco Gozzi.

16. It may be due to chance or the necessity of fitting the titles of compositions into eleven-syllable rhyming lines, but Prodenzani has arranged three Zacara parody models in the same order as they appear in the Lucca codex: *Rosetta*, *D'amor languire*, and *Un fior gentil*. As Laura Macy noted, these are also the same order their parallel Mass versions appear in *Q15* (LUCCA, pp. 19-20). This does not necessarily mean that the Zacara songs were always arranged in this order. But it could indicate that Prodenzani was consulting a manuscript source containing these pieces and writing the titles of the compositions in roughly the order they were found. The absence of *Deus deorum* can be explained by its Latin incipit, which would not have scanned well with the Italian and French titles of the other songs. Alternatively, this ballata may have been less well-known than the other three parody models. An edition of sonnet 35 can be found in DEBENEDETTI 1913). This edition is reprinted in NÁDAS 1998, p. 33. The recently released edition by Fabio Carboni, CARBONI 2003, file 3, p. 15, is more guarded in what it considers to be a poetic *incipit* and misses that a long section of *Rosetta, che non canbi mai colore* is quoted. On the popularity of Zacara, see my forthcoming dissertation.

MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT

The Parody: *'Scabioso'* and *D'amor languire*

I want to turn now to the relationship between the ballata and its parody the *Credo 'Scabioso'*. I will use the comparison as the basis for a wider investigation of the borrowed-material mass movements we have from this period. The relationship between the *Credo 'Scabioso'* and the ballata *D'amor languire* does not follow any other model for parody composition. Unlike *Deus deorum, Pluto* where all of the ballata is present somewhere in the mass, or *Un fior gentil* or *Rosetta* where most of the ballata is present, with one exception it is mostly small motives which are taken from *D'amor languire* and then developed in *'Scabioso'*. As Billy Jim Layton noted in his discussion of *'Scabioso'* before *D'amor languire* surfaced, a much smaller percentage of the music in *'Scabioso'* is repeated within the mass movement than in the other three parodies (*c.* 15% compared to *c.* 30–40% for the other works). The figure shows a penchant for development and free composition rather than repeated borrowing and, as Layton correctly predicted, *'Scabioso'* is not rigidly dependent on its model 18.[17]

Motives which were taken from the ballata for use in the parody are often transformed. Two of the most developed motives from the ballata are shown below:

EXAMPLE 4a: *D'amor languire*, motive 1: *cantus*, mm. 56.

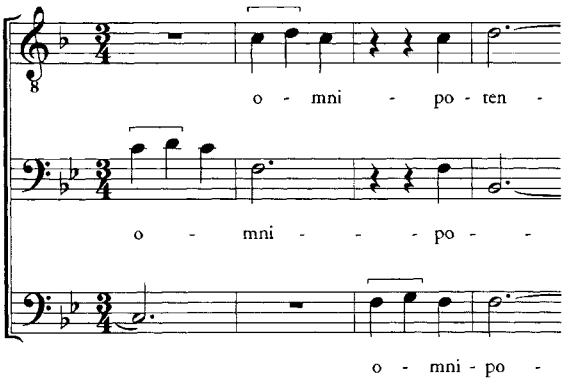
EXAMPLE 4b: *D'amor languire*, motive 2: *cantus*, m. 17.

The first motive is used to generate points of imitation throughout the mass, either using both measures (as in mm. 31–36, 173–178 and in sequences at 296–304 and 307–312)[18] or with its first measure alone (motive 1a: mm. 6–8 and 492–494).

17. LAYTON 1960, p. 273.
18. All measure numbers and transcriptions of sacred works in this paper refer to PMFC 13.

EXAMPLE 5: *Credo 'Scabioso'*, mm. 29-36, showing three instances of motive 1.

EXAMPLE 6: *Credo 'Scabioso'*, mm. 6-8, motive 1a.



The second measure alone (motive 1b: mm. 30, 64, and 346) appears only in the *cantus* voice, in non-imitative settings.

EXAMPLE 7: *Credo 'Scabioso'*, motive 1b:

(a) mm. 64-65

(b) mm. 346-347

The imitative passages using the whole first motive are used as connecting passages, or miniature ritornelli as Layton described them, between sections of the Credo text.[19] Repeated connecting passages, of course, are not uncommon in mass music of this time, but the distinctiveness of this motive along with its derivation from the secular model is remarkable.

The second motive is joined with the part of the first motive to produce a slightly irregular sequence, unusual for its length, in the *Amen* of the Credo. The whole of the *cantus Amen*, showing the large scale ascent from D to A, down a ninth to G, and settling on C, is reproduced in example 8:

19. LAYTON 1960, p. 272.

EXAMPLE 8: *Credo 'Scabioso'*, *Amen*, mm. 464-501; *cantus* alone, except mm. 492-495.

The important motives from *D'amor languire* and *'Scabioso'* are distinctive enough that their recurrence cannot be regarded as chance, yet they are not unique among Zacara's output. The ballata *Rosetta* and the *Gloria 'Rosetta'* use several of the same and similar motives as *D'amor languire*. For example the ballata *Rosetta* in mm. 33-34 features transpositions of motive 2 followed by motive 1b.[20] Fischer and Gallo in their edition of the Italian sacred music were reluctant to consider *'Rosetta'* and *'Scabioso'* as a mass pair due to their different tonalities (B♭/F vs. C), but the motivic intertextuality combined with the other similarities between the movements are sufficient in my view to overcome this discrepancy.[21] Both movements are in *senaria perfecta* ($\frac{3}{4}$) with frequent, temporary shifts to *senaria imperfecta* through coloration. Both *cantus* have signatures of one flat while all the lower voices have two flats to reflect their unusually low (*sub-molle*) registers. *Gloria 'Rosetta'* and *Credo 'Scabioso'* are the only two sacred compositions by Zacara to begin with three or more voices — elsewhere, the solo or duo introduction is a hallmark of Zacara's sacred compositional style.

20. Measure 15 presents motive 2 in an untransposed form, further strengthening the connections.

21. PMFC 13, p. xi.

The development of a single voice's motives outside the motive's polyphonic context was examined by Layton, who gave the caveat that it was «not characteristic of Zacharia's style in general».[22] *Credo 'Scabioso'* takes this technique even farther and gives us the best stylistic evidence for linking the compositional techniques of the two mass movements. Perhaps it should also expand what we think of Zacara's general style.

The exception to the Zacara's practice here of borrowing only short passages for the purposes of motivic development is seen at the «Et incarnatus est», which borrows the first line of the *piedi*, «Grattar chome rognoso e non ò scabia». Ten measures of both voices of the ballata are placed unchanged in the parody at «Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto» (top of ff. 69*v*-70*r* in *Q15*). It is from this quotation that the mass movement takes its name, we presume.[23] The five-measure melisma found on «scab» in the secular work is placed on the «sanc» of «Spiritu Sancto, perhaps to draw out the similarity in vowel and consonant sounds between the two syllables.[24] The repetition of a rising second followed by a falling third might also be reminiscent of scratching at a scab. Except for this long quotation, no other part of what survives of the ballata's *tenor* is found in the parody movement.[25]

Borrowing in Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Mass Movements

D'amor languire and *'Scabioso'* inhabit a small but interesting realm of parody mass movements composed in the first decades of the fifteenth-century. Four parody

22. LAYTON 1960, p. 264.

23. It was Lucia Marchi who first pointed out that we have been misreading an 'I' for an 'R' in *Q15*, creating a *Credo 'Scabroso'* out of a *'Scabioso'*. MARCHI 2000, p. 105. Fischer and Gallo's interpretation of the misreading, *'Scabroso'*, as referring to strange bouts of roughness or extravagant sequences, is a poignant case of poetic injustice — the discovery of the ballata, with its odd dissonances in the solmization sections, has made their interpretation all the more apt (PMFC 13, p. 272).

24. *Lu* unambiguously places the beginning of the «scabia» melisma just before two semibreve rests (m. 97), creating a hiccup at the beginning of the melisma. This pause would not occur if the beginning of the word were moved to its more conventional location, one measure later. *TU* seems to place the syllable "sca-" in the same location, but the evidence there may be disputed.

25. Is it due to coincidence alone that the single long concordance between *D'amor languire* and the *Credo* occurs at the top of the second page, or was Zacara or the scribe trying to make this quotation more obvious by its position? As tantalizing as this latter supposition seems, there is little evidence in this or the other parody movements to support it. The *Credo 'Deus deorum'* occupies three openings in *Q15*, ff. 73*v*-76*r*. Folio 74*v* begins with «Et resurrexit tertia die» and folio 75*v* opens with «Confiteor unum baptisma». The music is similar in both these sections, but is not found at all in the ballata *Deus deorum, Pluto*. The third opening of *'Scabioso'*, beginning with «Qui cum Patre» also has no music in common with *'Scabioso'* (though the alternation between two notes does recall the hypermetric extension at the end of lines of the *ripresa* and *volta*, but no more than other places in the *Credo* which are not emphasized by beginning a page).

movements by Zacara survive along with two by Bartolomeo da Bologna; in all, three Glorias and three Credos.

In the 1950s and '60s, several other parody masses were claimed to have been discovered, based on similarities which have since been seen as tenuous. An example, already remarked on several times before, is seen in example 9; Suzanne Clercx Lejeune argued that the tenors of Ciconia's *Gloria* and *Credo* (nos. 3 and 4 of the complete edition) are parodies of the *tenor* of the motet (or possible ballata contrafact) *Regina Gloriosa*:[26]

EXAMPLE 9: Clercx Lejeune's comparison of the motet/ballata *Regina Gloriosa* and *Gloria* and *Credo* pair.

The passage shows an octave descent proceeding at different rates in each of the three pieces and with different notes omitted. When one considers the frequency with which tenor lines of early fifteenth-century Italian mass movements have octave descents at their beginnings or at important structural points within them (e.g., over 50% of the mass movements in *PadA*), this opening seems more likely to be the result of stereotyped incipit patterns than of a conscious imitation of a specific earlier work. Similarly, Leo Schrade had argued, again based on tenor shapes, that a Credo from *Ivrea*, f. 34*v* and the *Gloria* from *Sorb*, which have similar openings, were descended from a still unknown third model piece.[27]

I mention the not-generally-accepted claims of these articles mainly to suggest that the counter-reaction might have been *too* strong. Many of the studies of

26. SUZANNE CLERCX LEJEUNE, *Les débuts de la messe unitaire et de la 'Missa parodia' au XIVe siécle et principalement dans l'oeuvre de Johannes Ciconia*, in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, I, a c. di Bianca Becherini, Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, Certaldo 1962, pp. 102-3.

27. LEO SCHRADE, *A Fourteenth Century Parody Mass*, «Acta Musicologica», XXVII 1955, pp. 16-25, XXVIII 1956, pp. 54-5.

parody following these articles have focused on only the most clear-cut examples of borrowing, or those places where the mass appears to be little more than contrafact. While we must be careful not to interpret every stereotyped gesture or motive as quotation, borrowing in the early parody mass had many different subtle and sophisticated guises.[28]

To underscore the diversity of ways to organize a parody mass, I want to add to Kurt von Fischer's 1957 comparison of the three parody Glorias my own comparison of quotation types in the three parody Credos, table 1.[29]

Between Bartolomeo and Zacara, and even among Zacara's works, there seems to be no notion that some sections would expect to have quoted elements. As we would expect, given that so little of *D'amor languire* is parodied literally, no part of the *Credo* is parodied in all voices. Only the «Genitum» receives a similar treatment between *Morir desio* and *Deus deorum*. Except the end of the «Qui tollis», no part of the *Gloria* is parodied in all three sources. The quotation of head motives of important sections occurs in both *Credo 'Scabioso'* where the beginning of the «scabia» phrase appears at «Deum de Deo», and in Bartolomeo's *Gloria 'Vince con lena'* which cites the first measure of the ballata before moving on to other material. The use of a short quotation from prominent sections of the source material seems to me to be an attempt at tricking the listener into believing that a longer quotation is about to begin.

The two Zacara Glorias *'Fior gentil'* and *'Rosetta'* both quote the beginnings of the ballate at the beginning of the work. *Credo 'Deus deorum'* presents the

28. Indeed, even assuming that the ballate are the models for the masses rather than the other way around may be denying another potential area of sophistication. David Fallows makes an argument for a 'reverse' ordering in his study of an early *Mass* by Guillaume Dufay, *'Resvelliés vous'* (1423). He asserts that it is as likely that a composer would take sections of a larger piece and distill them into a richer, smaller-scale work as it is that he would take a shorter piece and develop the motivic material into a larger piece. DAVID FALLOWS, *Dufay*, J.M. Dent and Sons, London 1982 (revised 1987), pp. 165-8. Three of Zacara's parody mass movements (*'Rosetta'*, *'Scabioso'*, and *'Deus deorum'*) beg a similar question: is it as likely that a composer would take a three-voice work and reduce it to two voices as it is that he would add an additional voice to an existing two-part piece? Two factors make this supposition unlikely. There are numerous examples of three-voice Italian secular works where scribes or composers have added contratenors to earlier two-part works. The chronology of these additions is certain in cases where the *contratenor* does not agree stylistically or when multiple contratenors, presumably by different composers, exist for the same piece. A three-voice composition in which the *tenor* and *contratenor* frequently cross (as they do in all the parody mass movements) cannot simply be reduced to a two-voice version if an 8-5 sonority is built above the contratenor, as this would leave a dissonant perfect fourth. The presence of the titles «Zacar Rosetta», etc. in *Q15* also argues against, but does not rule out, the mass movements preceding the ballate. The titles do however require that by the time the mass movements were copied into *Q15* the pieces were known for their sharing of materials with the secular ballate. The case for a distillation of Bartolomeo's *Credo* into a secular work cannot be ruled out: although the ballata is in three voices in its only surviving copy, only the *cantus* and *tenor* are present in several two voice sections of the mass.

29. On the parody Glorias, see VON FISCHER 1957. See also the discussion of relationships between models and parody mass movements in HUESTIS 1973, pp. 70-99; 152-65; 171-83.

beginning of the ballata in the «Factorem», the first three voice section. *Credo 'Morir desio'* never presents the opening measures of its source. That ballate could be deployed at many different levels of prominence (from direct quotation at the beginning of a mass movement to allusion and fake statements) suggests that at least some listeners were expected to know the source material quite well. Even the shortest of borrowed sections could have triggered memories of the original.[30]

There is no particular order in which the elements of the ballata were used. *Gloria 'Vince con lena'* presents the ballata complete and in order of how the sections are presented in written form. The largest quotations in *Credo 'Morir desio'* are in a similar order, though with some rearrangement of short sections. The Zacara parodies show much more rearrangement of elements, though the *ripresa* (or elements of the *ripresa* in the case of *'Scabioso'*) seems to appear before parts of the *piedi* are quoted. In none of the six cases are the sections of the ballate quoted as we suppose them to have sounded, that is with a strong return to quotation of the *ripresa*'s music after the *piedi*.

After stating that «the history of parody and borrowed material in the early fifteenth-century Mass is complicated», David Fallows his Dufay book continues, saying «among the few surviving examples of Mass music that share material with other works there are scarcely any two cases of similar or even comparable treatment».[31] As we make the temporal walls separating the Italian *ars nova* from the following eras thinner and thinner, studying the influence of these Italians on the cyclic parody masses of the next generation will become increasingly important. It is hoped that the observations of this essay can serve for future examinations as models to be parodied in the sense Zacara and Bartolomeo might have known: to be appropriated, developed, rearranged, and turned into something larger than what came before. The examination of the early fifteenth-century parody mass is an endeavor whose surface this paper can only begin to scratch.

30. I hope to explore these aspects of musical borrowing in a future paper.

31. FALLOWS, *Dufay*, pp. 167-8. Fallows is discussing the former *Mass 'sine nomine'*, which he re-titles *Mass 'Resvelliés vous'*. In his additional notes to the 1987 revision, he rebuts Perkins's and Mitchell's notion that giving this title is wrong if the song were composed after the mass, saying that according a title to a mass makes no "simple statement" about its relationship to a song. It is clear that the scribe of *Q15* believed the same about what could have potentially been called *Credo 'D'amor languire'*.

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D'amor languire (Zacara)

40
Tri - star lo spir - to son - no fos - se_o fin - ga, mi fa, mi
For - tu - na, tu non fac si - mel de cro - chia. per di' mer -
47
fa, mi fa. Ne
çi, mer - çi. che
[mi] fa, mi fa. Ne cen - to - cin - que_e du -
[mer] - çi, mer - çi, che me fac - ci spri - çar
55
cen - to - cin - que_e du cen - to_u - no_a - vin -
me fac - ci spri - çar co - me ra - no -
- - - - cen - to [u]
co - me [ra]
63
71
ghia, sol la, sol la, sol la. Se non a
chia, sut - ta, sut - ta, sut - ta. Quan - do el
[a]
[el]

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* [sic! curve to A seems deliberate in *TU*]

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

D'amor languire (B), 2 vv

Sources: 1. *Lu*, f. 56*v*; C only. Attribution trimmed. 2. *TU*, ff. 1*v*-2*r*. text in C and T.

Text: Author unknown (Zacara?). *Ripresa* and first *piede* underlaid; all other lines placed at end of C in *Lu*. and after T in *TU*.

Rhythm: In [s.p.] throughout.

Text variations: Text taken from *Lu*; variants are from *TU* unless explicitly noted. *Lu* C: 20-26 repetitions of *piangere* omitted; *Lu* C: 53, T: 49 *Ni*; C: 59, T: 54 *doycento*; T: 61 *non* for *uno*; *Lu* C: 78 *no*; *Lu* C: 79 *barber*; C: 95-96 *como rongnoso*; T: 95-96 *como rognoso*; T: 110 *in* missing; T: 118: *no* missing; second *piede*: *cazato* for *cacciato*. *pero* for *per*; *volta*: *ma tramontana* for *de tramontana*. *e nigra* crossed out before *e iuro*. *dio* for *di'* throughout. *crocza* for *crochia*. *mi facci* for *me facci*. *carungia* for *ranochia*. *lu* for *el*. *beco* for *becho*. *comenza* for *comença*. *socta* for *sutta* throughout.

Notes: *Lu*, C: 83-86 illegible, reconstructed. *TU*, C: 1-18/2, 36-47, 61-77, 87-95/1, 101/3-116 missing. 28 no ligature. 55 ligature *c.o.p.* CD. T: 1-17, 36/3-47/1, 59/3-78/2, 89/2-95 missing.

Notation: five-line staves in both sources. Imperfect breves noted as red notes in *Lu*, void notes in *TU*. No *sM* or *subtilior* note forms in either source.

Notes on the edition: the damaged and fragmentary state of both sources of *D'amor languire* makes a complete reconstruction of the work impossible. Sections where the tenor voice is completely missing have for obvious reasons been omitted in the transcription. I have made an attempt at reconstruction in every case where only a few notes are missing. The most controversial of these decisions will certainly be the end of the second and the beginning of the third lines of text, «mi fa mi fa. Ne centocinque». Although only two breves worth of the tenor part are obscured (allowing for a reading of either B♭-A, A-G, or B♭-G), the alignment of this voice with the cantus cannot be determined with any sufficient degree of certainty. The figure below shows potential alignments between the voices (example 14). Solutions 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 can be eliminated because of fourths or sevenths which last an entire breve; these measures are surrounded by squares in the example. Solutions 1, 2, and 3 all have short downbeat fourths arguing against them but are otherwise acceptable. Solutions 7 and 10 might be among the most promising in terms of their intervals and text alignment, but they require the previous phrase to overlap the following to an extent which seems uncharacteristic for its time. I have chosen to use solution 1 with the knowledge that other solutions might be equally valid.[32] An attempt at a completion of the ballata may be found online at <http://myke.trecento.com/damor/>. The completion is placed on the net in the hope that it can continue to be revised as better solutions to lost passages are discovered.

32. Solution 3 is closest to that which Lucia Marchi transcribes.

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TABLE 1: borrowing in three Credos: Zacara's *'Scabioso'*, *'Deus deorum'*, and Bartolomeo's *'Morir desio'*.

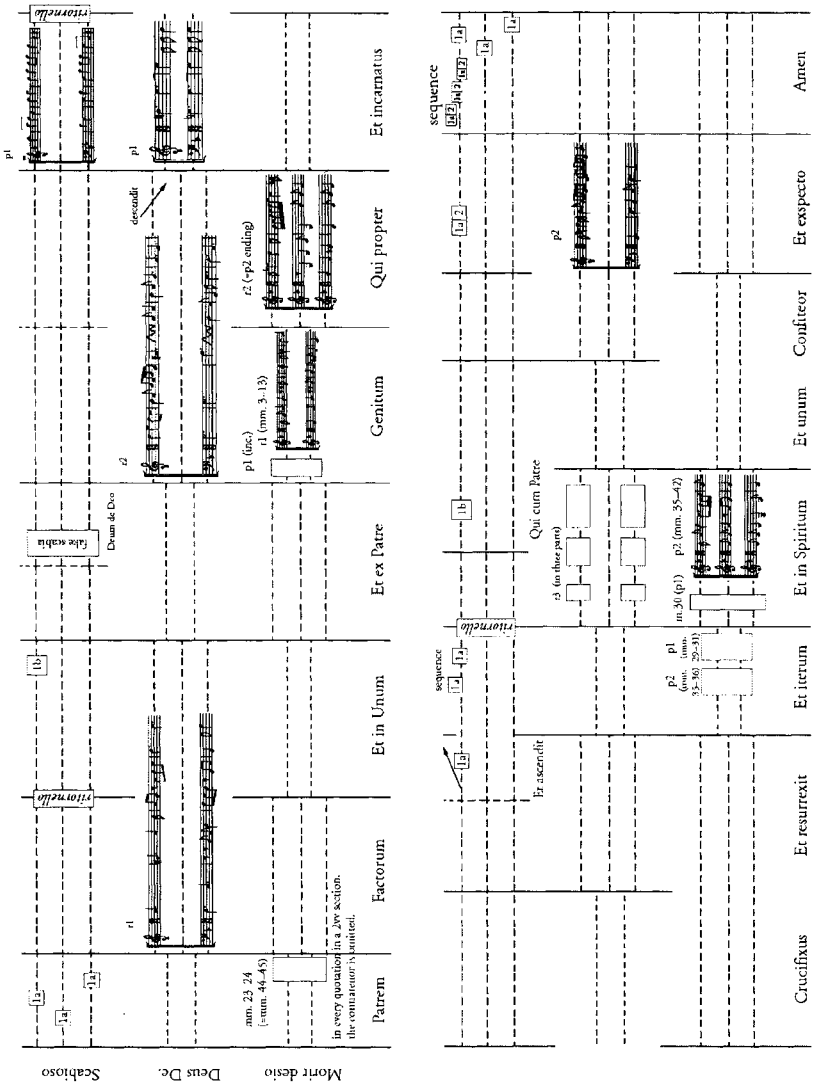
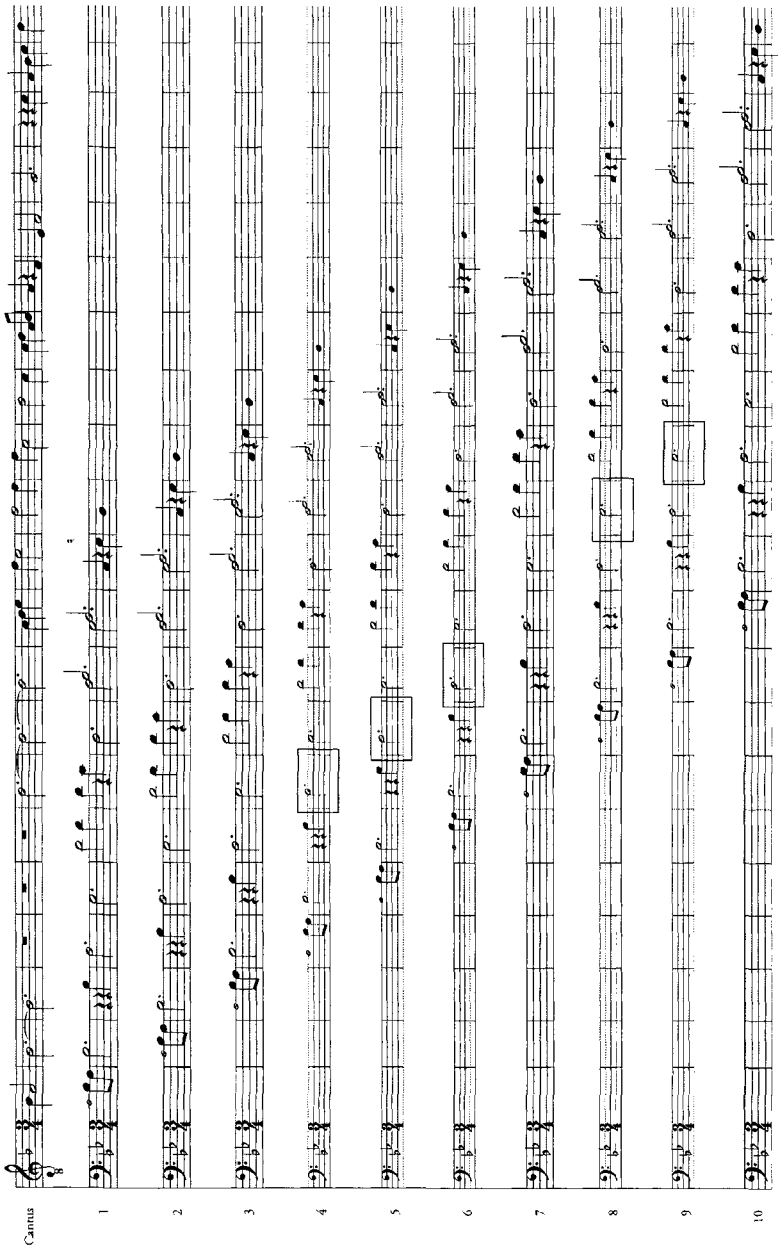


TABLE 2: possible alignment for *cantus* and *tenor*, *D'amor languire*, mm. 49-67.



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Part VIII
Motets

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[22]

The Emergence of *ars nova**

DANIEL LEECH-WILKINSON

Recent work on *ars nova* has left its nature far from clear. Sarah Fuller has shown that there never was a treatise with that title: the texts that used to be thought of as preserving an *Ars nova* declaration by Philippe de Vitry must now be seen as transmitting no more than distorted images of his teaching.[1] Edward Roesner has argued that Vitry's association with *Le Roman de Fauvel*—previously thought to contain his early works—cannot be proved: however much we know about his political career, the most that we can say with any certainty about Vitry the composer is that he wrote five, or perhaps seven motets,[2] one of which has lost its music. This leaves the emergence of *ars nova* in semi-darkness. We can see a new "manner of motets" in pieces from around 1320,[3] and we can see motets that seem to be approaching it in *Fauvel,* but exactly how was it developed and by whom? Since the *Ars nova* texts now offer us so little, and the biography of Philippe de Vitry nothing, the only sensible way to attempt to answer this question is to go back to *Le Roman de Fauvel* to see what we can learn from its music.

* An early version of this study was presented as a paper at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Chicago in November 1991 in a session devised to celebrate the 700th anniversary of the birth of Philippe de Vitry on 31 October 1291.

[1] Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? *The Ars Nova,*" *Journal of Musicology* IV (1986), 23–50.

[2] Edward H. Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado, *Le Roman de Fauvel in the edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pestain: A reproduction in facsimile of the complete manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146* (New York, 1990), 40.

[3] *Flos/Celsa* probably dates from the canonisation of St. Louis of Toulouse in 1317; Machaut's *Bone/Bone* seems to celebrate Guillaume de Trie's elevation to the archbishopric of Reims in 1324. These are the only reasonably certain dates for motets between *Fauvel* and Vitry's *Petre/Lugentium* which, as Andrew Wathey has shown, was composed for the visit to Pope Clement VI in Avignon of ambassadors from Rome at Christmas 1342. The quotation is from the anonymous author of *Les Règles de la Seconde Rhétorique,* ed. E. Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique* (Paris, 1902), 12: "Aprez vint Philippe de Vitry, qui trouva la maniere des motes. . . ."

There are dangers in this approach. Because *Fauvel* tantalizes us with a treasure-chest of pieces from exactly the period we most need to understand, there must be a temptation to read too much into its contents, to try to build hypotheses that are too far-reaching on its basis. Equally, because there is so little else from this crucial period, we have to consider it meticulously from every possible angle: we need every ounce of information we can get out of it. To this end the introduction to the recent facsimile is a contribution of great importance; if it can be supplemented by further insights into musical style and technique we shall at least be able to provide the younger Vitry with a context, and perhaps even with some compositions.

In taking this route I am inevitably redoing some of the work of Leo Schrade's 1956 article.[4] He set up a core of five *Fauvel* motets by Vitry and then attached to it four more, close enough in style to be by the same composer, and two further pieces that he thought might be attributed to "School of Vitry." Though one may wish to disagree with some of his groupings it was a brave attempt to achieve something with comparisons of style, and one that perhaps deserved more attention than was given it.

Table 1 is a list of the motets in *Fauvel* that are likely to have been relatively modern when the manuscript was assembled around 1316–18.[5] It shows against the title of each piece (given as triplum opening/motetus opening) the date suggested by its text and attributions made by successive scholars—the latter eloquent testimony to decreasing confidence in the evidence. Assigning motets to this category ("the latest motets in *Fauvel*") is relatively straightforward: to a considerable extent the list compiles itself because of the dates assignable to the texts set. Other texts in *Fauvel* do reuse old music, but the possibilities for that in the pieces without thirteenth-century concordances are likely to be limited to the works in the supplementary list. Style is too consistent within the main list for there to be room for doubt that the dates of the datable texts provide a reasonable range for the rest.

There is an exceptional number of pieces here from the same few years: at least ten—perhaps many more—written between 1312 and 1318, and more than half—perhaps almost all—of those ten between 1314 and 1316. Yet they have been little studied as a group, partly, no doubt, because they are all anonymous. Schrade's attributions to Vitry did not find favor, and only those four works which Sanders adopted

[4] Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," *Musical Quarterly* XLII (1956), 330–54.

[5] For this dating see Roesner et al., 49.

TABLE 1

The latest motets in *Fauvel*

	Text date	Schrade *MQ* 1956	Sanders *JAMS* 1975	Roesner 1990
Recent and progressive?				
Aman/Heu	v.15–mid.17	Vitry		*Fauvel* music editor?
Desolata/Que	1312–14			
Detractor/Qui	af 29.xi.14?			
Facilius/Alieni				
Firmissime/Adesto		Vitry	Vitry	
Floret/Florens	bf 29.xi.14	Vitry?	Vitry	Imitator of G/I?
Garrit/In	bf 29.xi.14	Vitry	Vitry	
Inflammatus/Sicut		School of Vitry		
Inter/O livor				
La mesnie/J'ai fait	1316–18			
Nulla/Plange	1314–15	Vitry?		
Orbis/Vos		Vitry		
Quasi/Trahunt/Ve				
Scariotis/Jure	af 24.viii.13	School of Vitry?		
Se cuers/Rex	29.xi.14–3.viii.15	Vitry?		
Servant/O Philippe	19.xi.16–6.i.17	Vitry?		
Super/Presidentes				
Tribum/Quoniam	af 30.iv.15	Vitry	Vitry	

TABLE 1 (*continued*)

	Text date	Schrade *MQ* 1956	Sanders *JAMS* 1975	Roesner 1990
Recent but conservative?				
Bonne/Se				
Celi/Maria				
Je voi/Fauvel	1316–18			
Quant/Bon				
Thalamus/Quomodo	1316–18			

in his 1975 article and in the *New Grove* have been paid much attention since (at least until the facsimile, several of whose intriguing hints are followed up below). Another reason for neglect of the other *Fauvel* motets may be the importance given by modern writers to the enigmatic figure of Petrus de Cruce. We have tended to see the development of the motet as passing from the mildly post-Franconian motets of Montpellier fascicles 7 and 8 through the multiple semibreves of Petrus straight into the *ars nova* of Philippe de Vitry.

But the early "Vitry" motets (by which I mean those adopted by Sanders) do not show the same stark contrast between triplum and motetus that we see in Petrus. On the contrary they share material to a considerable extent; they do not strike us as triplum and two-part accompaniment, but rather as two upper voices over a tenor, and unlike the Petronian motets[6] they are already showing a notable degree of order in their phrase-structures. We can find immediate antecedents for these features not in those motets ascribed by fourteenth-century writers to Petrus de Cruce but in the other *Fauvel* motets. They in turn may well prove to have their origins not so much in the extreme Petronian works as in more conventional works of Montpellier 7 and 8 and perhaps also in those pieces attributed to Petrus by modern writers that go no further than groups of four semibreves to the breve.

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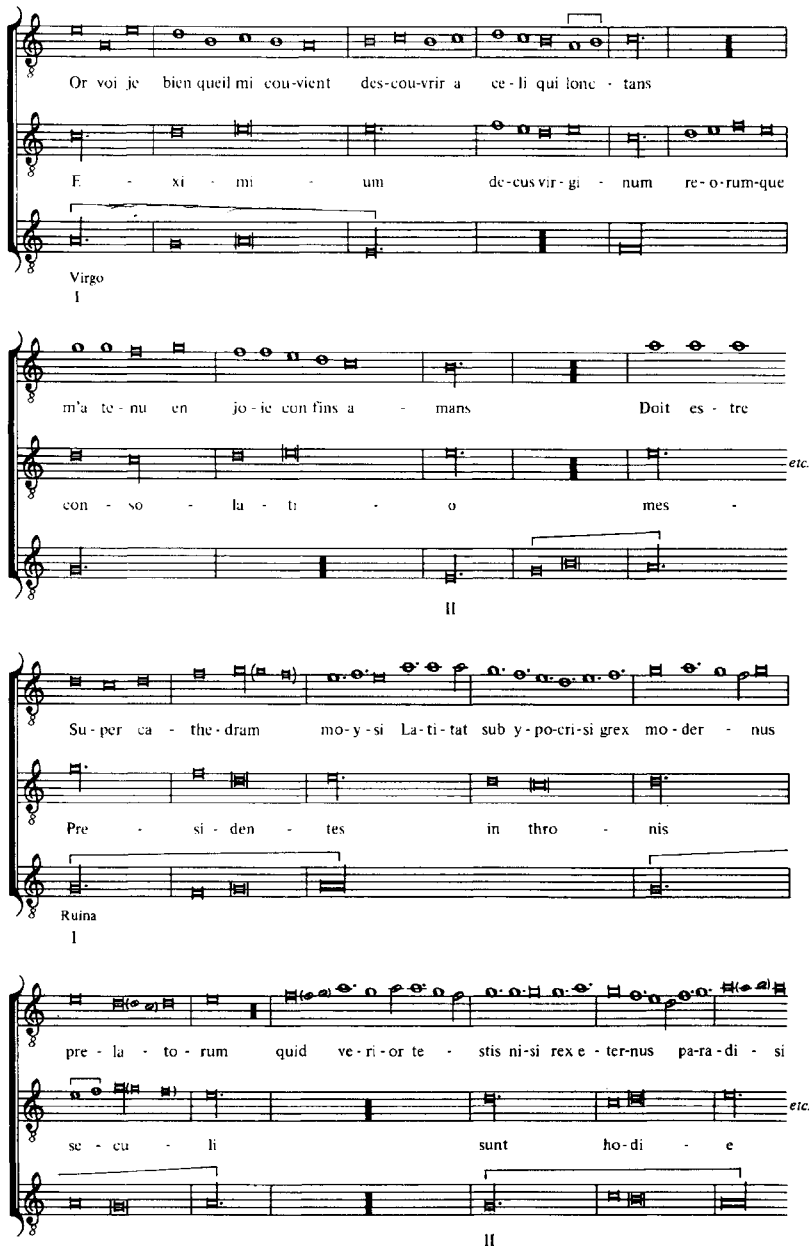
Example 1 shows the beginning *Mo* 273 and the beginning of *Super/Presidentes,* which I have deliberately chosen as the example from *Fauvel* that most closely approximates the layered Petronian style. But *Mo* 273 surely offers a better model. It has a modern isorhythmic structure in its tenor—the *talea* is more than a modal pattern and there are several statements of it in each *color*—and a similar rhythmic pattern to that of *Super/Presidentes,* and the upper voices have similar rhythmic profiles in the two motets. The pieces do not sound the same, but that is mainly to do with their different *colores* and their composers' different contrapuntal habits in elaborating them.[7] This implies that the multiple semibreve groups found in those motets ascribed to Petrus by contemporary writers represent an extreme position, one that goes beyond what his immediate followers found useful and which, in retrospect, they appear to have bypassed.

If the other *Fauvel* motets provide the immediate context for the earliest "Vitry" motets, what are these pieces like and can we see *ars*

[6] Ernest H. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," ed. Wulf Arlt, *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen. Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade* (Bern, 1973), 551.

[7] Partly for this reason I cannot find Mary Wolinski's redating of Montpellier fascicle 7 to the third quarter of the thirteenth century convincing. (Mary Woliński, *The Montpellier Codex: its compilation, notation, and implications for the chronology of the thirteenth-century motet* (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University 1988, UMI-8819781), 74.)

EXAMPLE 1. Beginning of Mo 273 and *Super/Presidentes.*



nova developing through them? We need first to know what we are looking for. Sanders has established the essential features of the *ars nova* motet: "a superstructure of two voices moving prominently in semibreves and minims over a slow tenor," itself rigidly patterned,[8] and related phrase structures in the upper voices overlapping the tenor *talea,* phrase structures within which lines of text tend to be regularly laid out.[9] (Figure 4, below, *Garrit/In nova,* shows an example of this "classic" state.) An earlier study showed how the compositional procedure that produced and elaborated such an arrangement may be reconstructed in each motet.[10] We need to see how much of this is present in the other *Fauvel* motets and to what extent their composition proceeds in the same way.[11]

Scariotis/Jure deals with the murder of the Emperor Henry VII on 24 August 1313, and has no regular phrase structure and no periodic isorhythm at any level above that of color. The controlling principle of text-setting seems to be that each stanza of triplum text should be marked off by a clear phrase-end in the music (a long followed by a long rest). The distribution of the stanzas over the three-*color* tenor pushes more than an average amount of text into the first half of the piece, so that the composer spreads syllables more thinly in the second half, suggesting that he was working empirically rather than mathematically.

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Facilius/Alieni, because of its incompetent counterpoint, may have been an exercise—perhaps a student exercise—in duple mensurations, hence perhaps its tenor label "Imperfecte canite." But like *Scariotis/Jure* it is meticulous in setting each couplet in triplum and motetus as a separate phrase followed by a rest. And as the triplum has two lines more than the motetus the composer sets five triplum lines against the first three of the motetus and thereafter runs them in parallel, the triplum line-ends always coming between one and two longs after the end of the corresponding motetus line. Most phrases are about four to five longs in length, so that although there is no patterned phrase structure in relation to the tenor there is a logical and regularly followed plan. (*Bonne/Se mes desirs* works in a similar way, this time to a measure of seven longs per triplum line, with some give-and-take according to

[8] Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," 556; "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXVIII (1975), 26.

[9] Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," 557–58 and 560.

[10] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe de Vitry and his Contemporaries* (New York, 1989).

[11] Although in preparing this study it has obviously been necessary to go through every piece in great detail, it would be impossibly tiresome to do it again here. In what follows I simply take identifiable stages in the development that these motets seem to document.

the needs of counterpoint and rests in the other voices.) Likewise *Inflammatus/Sicut* marks off each half-stanza in the triplum with a rest; and, although it does not yet attempt to coordinate those phrases with the repetitions of the tenor, a map of its text layout (Figure 1) shows that the composer does relate the triplum and motetus line-ends logically, coordinating them at the beginning, then moving the motetus ahead to dispose of the two lines that it has more than the triplum, then bringing the layout back into a parallel relationship (with overlap) from the end of the second *color*.[12] (If *Facilius/Alieni* is a student work it might, on this account, be by a student of this composer.)

Working with similar priorities but with a taste for rests in two voices at once, the composer of *La mesnie/J'ai fait* juggles triplum and motetus so as to bring together half way through the piece, and perhaps with symbolism intended, two lines that seem to embody the essence of the texts: the triplum *vous servant sanz contredit* ("serving you without objection," i.e. one phrase fitting in exactly with the other?) and the motetus *nequetant tout sanz delay* ("notwithstanding all, without delay," i.e. without overlap?); and once that has been achieved the composer continues to the end with more regularly coordinated phrasing. Similarly the composer of *Trahunt/Ve* (or *Trahunt/An diex*[13]—this is true of both versions) starts with a regular layout of motetus, with five *talea* statements to each couplet, and then moves the text back by one syllable per *talea* until the mid-point of the text arrives at exactly the mid-point of the color structure, while each triplum couplet is set to either three or four complete *taleae*. None of these schemes is isoperiodic, but they offer perfectly reasonable ways of arranging a motet in a fundamentally regular fashion.

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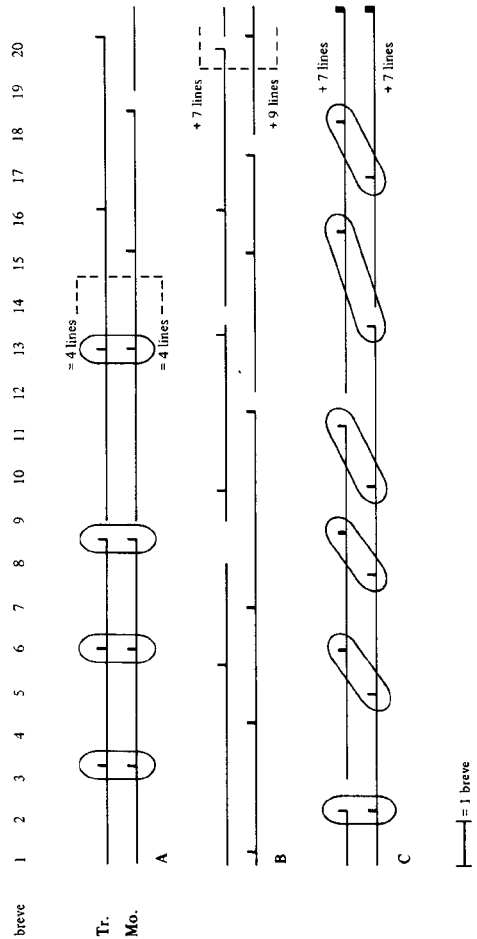
A phrase chart of *Nulla/Plange* of 1314–15 (Figure 2) shows isoperiodicity beginning to appear, in the triplum mainly at the level of *color* (indicated in the chart by circled line-ends) but in the motetus more by *talea* (boxed line-ends), with a slightly different placing of phrase-ends in the second *color*, and this is matched by emergent isorhythm in the upper voices, again sometimes at *color* and sometimes at *talea* level, suggesting that the composer was looking at both levels during composition of the upper voices. Likewise *Detractor/Qui*—which the facsimile editors suggest should be read as another Marigny motet

[12] This and the following diagrams show the disposition of phrases and text lines within each *talea*. A line represents sounding music, a vertical stroke a text line end, and a gap a rest. Roman numerals number successive *taleae*, upper case letters indicate successive *colores*.

[13] The three-voice form in which it survives in B-Br19606. The variants between the versions indicate that the three-part state is original and the quadruplum added (for *Fauvel*?—see Roesner et al., 28).

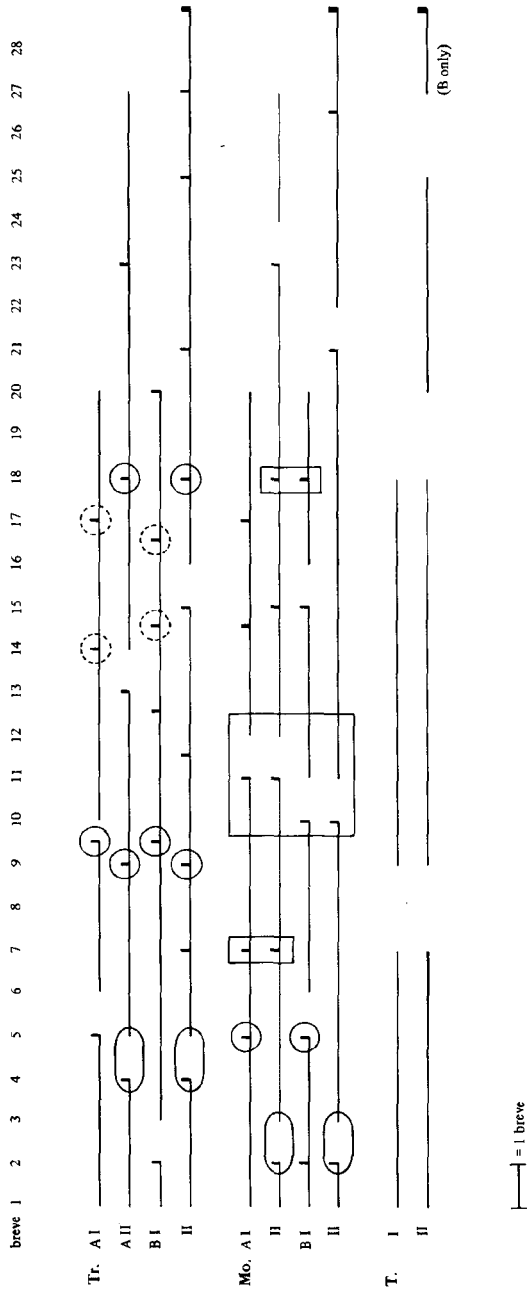
FIGURE 1. *Inflammatus/Sicut*



dating from before (soon before?) his fall in November 1314[14]—shows a very carefully calculated relationship between triplum and motetus phrases where the motetus pattern often follows that of the triplum one *talea* later, a "phrase canon" (with exceptions forced by the need to fit together incompatible quantities of text). In these two pieces we see composers very deliberately playing with different ways

[14] Roesner et al., 20–21.

FIGURE 2. *Nulla/Plange*



of relating and ordering phrase lengths. In the context of contemporary developments they seem very likely to have been experimenting, aiming for a logical integrative procedure but not yet agreed about what it might be.

Super/Presidentes, although conservative in its rhythmic language, comes even closer to isoperiodicity, as Figure 3 shows. In the motetus (as with most *ars nova* motets, the more regular of the upper voices) long rests coincide in breves 4–6 of each *talea* in *taleae* AIII–BI and in breves 10–12 in *taleae* BII–IV: only the first and last *taleae* are irregular. In the triplum two-breve rests coincide in *taleae* AII–IV and BII–III (breves 14–15), in BI, II & V (breves 2–3) and in AI & BIV (breves 20–1). The motetus is also isorhythmic in every other long, although that may be just a consequence of its restricted rhythmic vocabulary.

It is not far from that example to Figure 4, the phrase chart for *Garrit/In nova,* which shows the classic *ars nova* motet in a fully-developed state. And yet the attitude that produced them is crucially different. In the "other" motets—those not attributed by Sanders—we can see composers aware of the desirability of an underlying scheme. They are not always agreed about what it should be, but they do agree that it is only a framework and that modifications are necessary for the sake of better text setting. It is a pragmatic approach: the composer starts from a scheme, but the needs of the text encourage modifications to it as he composes. Its regularity is in relation to the text structure, not the abstract layout of the tenor. By contrast, in isoperiodic and emergently isorhythmic motets previously attributed to Vitry we see the scheme taking precedence: isoperiodicity is maintained rigidly and the text fitted into it. If the other motets are fundamentally pragmatic in their arrangement these are schematic, the work of a composer putting order before all.

So far I have examined these pieces only in terms of Sanders' approach to the development of the *ars nova* motet supplemented by techniques for identifying compositional procedures.[15] Two caveats are in order before continuing. The first is that attitude to text layout is not always indicative of chronology or even authorship. Different composers may be at different stages or the same composer may make different selections from a pool of techniques some of which may have been more recently developed than others

[15] For a more formal statement of these see Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques.*

FIGURE 3. *Super/Presidentes*

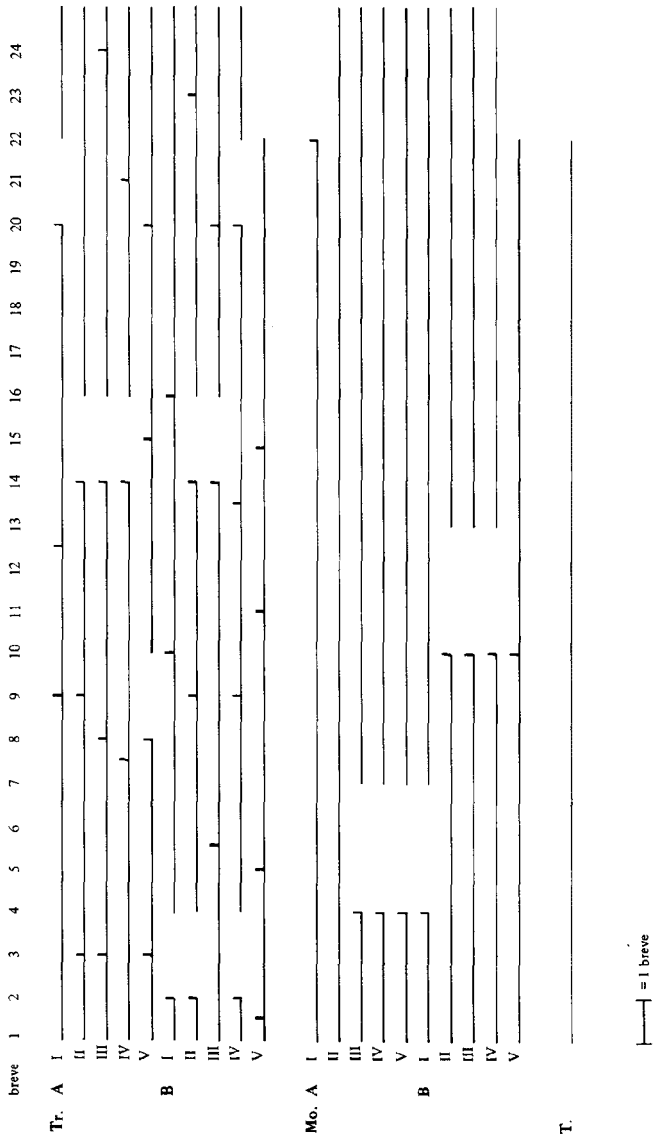
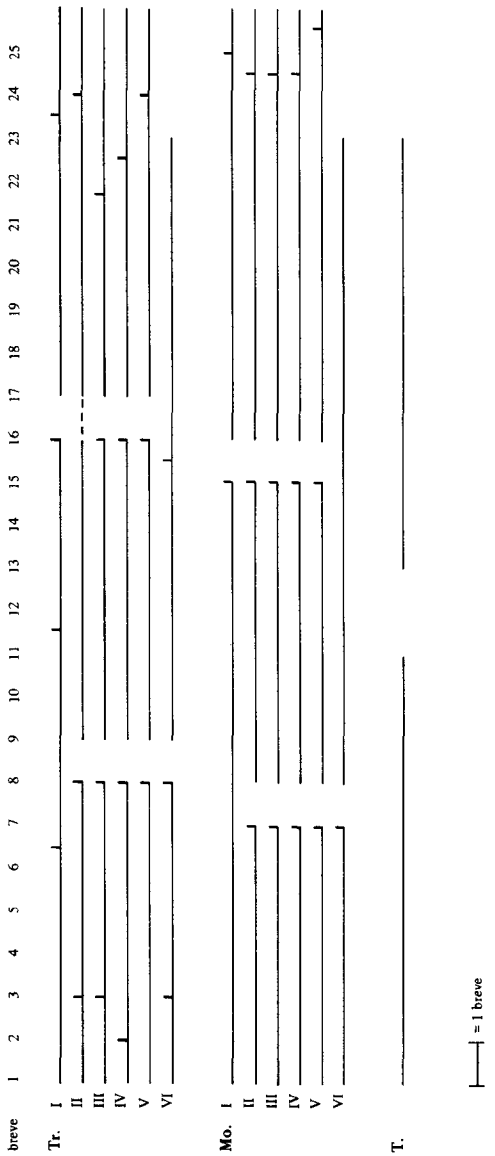


FIGURE 4. *Garrit/In nova*



(although it happens to be the case that the earliest closely datable motet in *Fauvel, Scariotis/Jure,* provides a good example of conservative habits). This proposal is substantiated by the contrast between the highly ordered *Tribum/Quoniam* and the more pragmatically arranged *Firmissime/Adesto,* for in every other respect they are so similar that they must (surely?) be the work of the same composer. But equally there can be no doubt that a development from pragmatism as the dominant attitude to schematization gaining the upper hand took place and that in this respect, at least, a schematic piece reflects a more modern attitude, a pragmatic piece a more conservative one. This development surely did not happen wholly through these motets, but it is well-illustrated by the cross section of recent work that they seem to represent.

The second caveat follows from this, namely that text-handling and form are only half the story. If we want to know who composed each of these pieces, or at any rate which were the work of the same man, we are going to have to look not at their formal structures—which anyone could reproduce and at any time (at least within these four or five years)—but at aspects of composition in which personal habit is more difficult to override (and in which there is less reason to do so); above all we are going to have to examine their note-to-note progressions. Let us start from the pieces accepted as Vitry's by Sanders, since they are the best known, and then work outward. I stress that the argument requires no assumptions about their authorship.

The striking stylistic similarity between *Tribum/Quoniam* and *Firmissime/Adesto* has already been mentioned. To assess the significance of this we must discount obvious fundamentals like mensuration and final since anyone could have chosen them. Nor should we put too much value on similarities of rhythmic language, particularly on the relative quantities of the various available durations, since they are determined to some extent by the number of syllables to be set within a given number of beats. There is a certain flexibility in a composer's decisions about mensuration and *talea/ color* structure that does allow him to opt for a preferred rhythmic profile, however, and to that extent rhythmic language may be relevant in grouping or separating pieces. It is an extent that is very difficult to measure, though. More weight should be given to texture, voice-leading, decorations of sustained sonorities and chord progression (making due allowance for mensural and rhythmic constraints) and to any unusual habits of composition at a local level (beats rather than *taleae*): for example, passages repeating other than at the same *color* position, or "connecting" passages in which the tenor rests. These are going to be relatively difficult to imitate, at any rate in combination, and are likely to change only gradually within the work of a composer. For these reasons they

make rather good indicators of the identity or non-identity of the composers of different pieces.

Measured by these criteria *Tribum/Quoniam* and *Firmissime/Adesto* must be the work of the same man. They share decorative figures, an "open" texture which prefers octaves and fifths (even in tenorless connecting passages), and similar treatment of their unusually few passing dissonances, all of which give these two pieces a distinctive surface style noticeably different from that of any other *Fauvel* piece. They also share a very unusual interest in reusing a few substantial progressions many times. These are laid out in Examples 2a and b.[16] In both pieces, but outstandingly in *Tribum/Quoniam,* the composer has engineered a tenor whose internal pitch repetitions, inherent in the chant, fall at the same point in several statements of the repeating rhythmic *talea,* and he takes advantage of this to reuse substantial passages of music in all voices.[17]

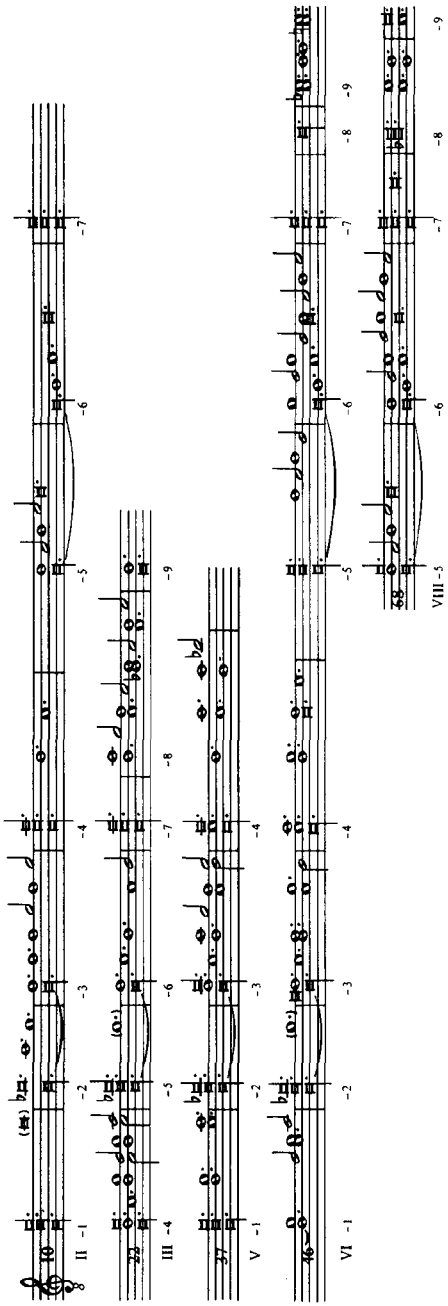
Tribum/Quoniam has a strict isoperiodic structure while *Firmissime/Adesto* is notably irregular, which might suggest that they were written some years apart. But I think we must assume not only that *Tribum* and *Firmissime* come from the same pen but also that they were written at much the same time. It seems highly unlikely—and work with datable Machaut pieces seems to bear this out—that a composer's style remained steady for very long, and if that is true later in the century it should certainly be true at such a time of change as this. It seems to follow that the same composer can use different approaches in the "architectural" stages of work on two motets and yet fill them with very similar music. Indeed, in view of the other obvious structural differences between these motets, the middle-voice tenor of *Tribum* and the final color in (modified) diminution of *Firmissime,* it may be that their composer was making precisely this point. All these aspects can change without greatly affecting a composer's surface style. 299

Sanders attributed to the same composer two other pieces, *Garrit/In nova* and *Floret/Florens. Garrit* is certainly closer than anything else in *Fauvel* to *Tribum* and *Firmissime,* but it is by no means as close as they are to each other. Although it shows some similar decorations and similar connecting passages the parts tend to be closer together, and

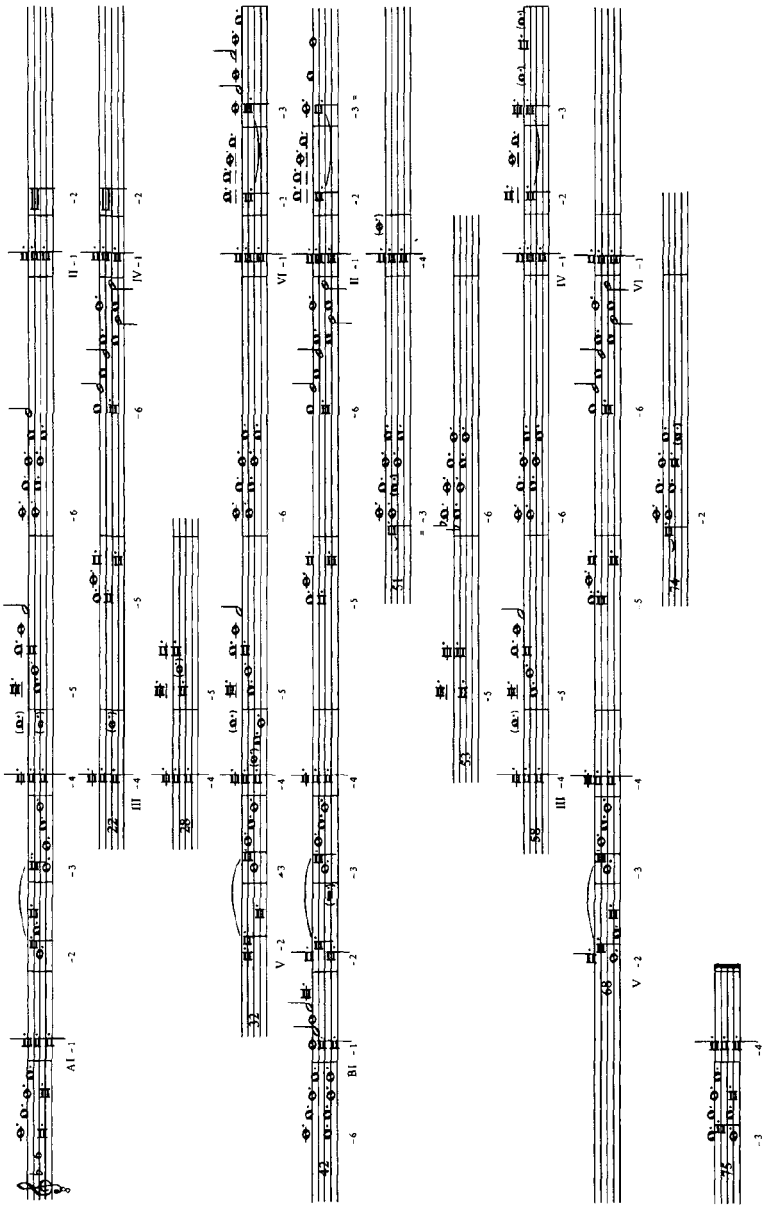
[16] The barring in this example follows Schrade's for ease of comparison: the numbers beneath each staff show the position of each bar within the *talea.*

[17] Example 2 deserves a paper to itself on account of the skill involved in laying out the tenor so that its potential for allowing this much repetition is fully realized. It may be that the approach identified by Sarah Fuller in Machaut's motets had its origin here ("Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume de Machaut," *Current Musicology* (Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest Sanders) XLV–XLVII [1990], 199–245), especially if Machaut studied (with?) Vitry in his early years. (For this possibility see Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques,* 104.)

EXAMPLE 2. a) *Firmissime/Adesto;*



EXAMPLE 2. b) *Tribum/Quoniam.*



this is not just because the tenor is often higher: the composer uses crossing of, and thirds between, the upper voices—even when the tenor is low or absent—to a greater degree than in *Firmissime.* On the whole, though, *Garrit/In nova* appears closer in style to *Firmissime* and *Tribum* than to any of the other *Fauvel* motets and the balance of probability favors its being by the same composer, particularly if it is earlier. Margaret Bent has shown, in a study yet to be published, that *Garrit* is indeed earlier, for it is quoted in *Tribum* and in a fashion that can only be deliberate and calculated.[18] Whether or not it is by the same composer this order of composition has some interesting implications. The complex *talea* pattern of *Garrit* with its coloration and resulting meter-changes is earlier than the simpler and much simpler patterns of *Firmissime* and *Tribum;* this again warns us that the structural plan of a motet is not a safe guide to chronology. The muddier texture and extensive part-exchanges of *Garrit* are earlier, and the clearer and more stratified part disposition of *Tribum* and *Firmissime* are later (not a direct development from the Petronian motet). The diminishing form of *Firmissime,* and the *introiti* there and (more clearly) in *Tribum,* could be later developments. And the internal repetition characteristic of *Tribum* and *Firmissime* may be seen developing in *Garrit* and thus could be another indication of shared authorship. Finally, the order of composition corresponds to the narrative order of their texts, supporting (though not proving) the assigning of texts' dates to their musical settings.

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I cannot share Sanders' view that *Floret/Florens* is by the composer of *Garrit/In nova,*[19] still less that of *Tribum* and *Firmissime.* It may share with *Garrit* its subject and its tenor melody, and therefore to some extent its harmonic structure, and it may share also its broad rhythmic language, but its counterpoint is far more crude with ugly upper-voice clashes,[20] monotonous decorations of lengthy sonorities (often by leaping up and down over a fourth[21]—the last resort of a composer lacking voice-leading skills[22]) and inconsequential progressions.[23] Its composer knows what new style motets look like but he does not have the skill to make *Floret* sound like one. He is much more likely to be an imitator or a pupil of the *Garrit* composer than

[18] I am grateful to Dr. Bent for allowing me to refer to this observation. This may shed some light on other passages common to the two motets: cf T/Q 22–25 (& 46–49) with G/I 37–39i, and T/Q (18ii)–20 with G/I 27–29i.

[19] Sanders, "The Early Motets," 30–31.

[20] Ed. Sanders in "The Early Motets," 37–42, bars 17, 33, 53, 67, 86.

[21] Bars 41, 69–71, 80, 82–3, 85, 100–1, 104, 114.

[22] Cf. *Facilius/Alieni,* passim.

[23] Bars 38–40, 122–23, 129–30.

the man himself, for it is hard to imagine that a composer with such a rudimentary grasp of counterpoint had the imagination to invent everything that is modern about *Floret/Florens*. It could therefore hardly be an earlier work of the *Garrit* composer.[24]

Are there any other *Fauvel* motets that might plausibly be the work of the Master of *Garrit/In nova?* I can only find one, and on the face of it it may seem an unlikely candidate. This is *Scariotis/Jure*, already mentioned as the earliest closely datable motet in *Fauvel* with a text from later 1313. The early date is necessary for the identification, for it does not look like the work of a highly experienced composer. Its sometimes poorly directed progressions and leaping triplum point to inexpertise;[25] but there are enough anticipations of *Garrit, Firmissime* and *Tribum*[26] that, taking into account the old-fashioned structure and rhythmic style together with the date, *Scariotis/Jure* could be an early work of the same composer. Of course, he would have had to be a relatively young man in 1313, born perhaps in the 1290s, and he would have had to be imaginative and daring enough to be creating something very significantly new only a year or so later in *Garrit/In nova*. But that is not impossible: only the tenor and isoperiodic schemes seem entirely new in *Garrit*, and those are exactly the sort of 303
"mechanical" innovations that could have been made by an imaginative and ambitious young composer impatient of tradition without having to have models to rely upon and without very much development in his contrapuntal language. That simpler tenors continue to be produced, probably by the same composer, and that strict isoperiodicity is anyway an entirely logical development of recent trends, increase the possibility that *Garrit/In nova* was a sudden leap forward rather than the next cautious step in a gradual development. And its surprising arrangement of parts at its opening, leaving the motetus high above the rest of the texture for the first six longs, exposing its text "In *nova* fert animus mutatas dicere formas" (the mind inclines to speak of forms changed into *new* things), does suggest that we should see this motet as a statement of intent, an advertisement for a new way of doing things. It is not hard to suggest an identity for this composer, but for the moment let us call him A.

[24] It was encouraging to find, when the facsimile appeared, that Roesner also attributes *Floret/Florens* to an imitator of *Garrit/In nova*. Roesner et al, 42.

[25] Bars 21–2, 37–38, 43–45, 58–61. (Unless otherwise cited, all bar numbers refer to the edition of Leo Schrade, *The Roman de Fauvel*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century I (Monaco, 1956), reprinted as *Le Roman de Fauvel* (Monaco, 1984).)

[26] Extended parallel fifths, simultaneous rests in two voices, semibreve-semibreve-breve figs (e.g. *S/J* 49, *F/A* 4, *G/I* 55; *S/J* 5–6, *F/A* 57–8, *G/I* 56–7), decorations (e.g. *S/J* 54, *G/I* 44, *F/A* 68), connections (*S/J* 59, *F/A* 54).

The two pieces that Schrade thought were certainly by "Vitry" but which Sanders rejected are *Aman/Heu* and *Orbis/Vos*. Like *Floret, Garrit* and *Tribum, Aman/Heu* is another text dealing with Enguerran de Marigny, dating it after his execution in April 1315; but Roesner has pointed out that its references to his body "washed *often* by the rain, is dried by the blowing wind" suggest a later date during the more than two years his body hung.[27] In that case it could have been written up until mid-1317. This is helpful, because it looks more like an imitation of an *ars nova* motet than the genuine article. Its lack of any kind of tenor pattern or formal structure and its frenetic semibreve/minim-obsessed upper voices could have been produced by someone who had heard new style motets but not studied them. Or it could be a parody in the modern sense.[28] Roesner has hinted that it could be the work of *Fauvel's* apparently conservative music editor.[29]

Schrade grouped *Orbis/Vos* with *Nulla/Plange* and *Servant/O Philippe* as belonging together stylistically "so closely in fact that they appear to be the work of the same composer," and he thought that of these three *Orbis* and *Nulla* were the closer harmonically.[30] I cannot see this; in fact I wonder if it was a clerical error in his notes. *Nulla/Plange* is quite unlike the other two; at the most it could be ascribed to a poor follower of the new style, hardly closer (and a less competent contrapuntist) than the *Aman/Heu* author.[31]

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On the other hand *Servant* and *Orbis* do seem close, and though *Servant* seems marginally more expert,[32] they could well be the work of the same man. He is unlikely to be composer A: their styles are not wholly different—this man is not so fond of strongly directed progressions or of recurring rhythmic, melodic and harmonic figures. He is more fond of unison-second-fourth progressions (usually) between the upper voices, and of sixths and thirds anywhere in the texture, but these are differences apparent only with close study. Just as important a reason for separating these two figures is the date of

[27] Roesner et al., 52.

[28] Which might explain exaggerated gestures in (on paper) a screamingly high range (bars 24–26, 46–48, 52–53).

[29] Roesner et al., 26. Margaret Bent and David Howlett have proposed, in unpublished research, that *Aman/Heu* does in certain symbolic strategies behave enough like *Garrit/In nova* for it to be necessarily considered as the work of the same author. But while they remain partially presented and unpublished these are criteria that cannot properly be considered in this study, and for the sake of methodological consistency I think it is right for the moment to separate it as a motet that in important ways behaves differently.

[30] Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," 347.

[31] See especially bars 4–6, 65–70, 79 & 83–84. Note that neither piece has any concordances.

[32] E.g. *O/V* bb. 20–23.

Servant/O Philippe. Although it has been thought of as a retexted motet for Louis X (thus December 1314–July 1315), because it appears in Pn571 beginning "Ludovice" instead of "O Philippe," Andrew Wathey has shown that the Louis intended there is in fact Saint Louis;[33] and while the piece still could have been conceived for Louis X there is no compelling reason to assume it. The "O Philippe" text is therefore more likely to be original, and we may date the piece late 1316 or early 1317,[34] making it the latest datable piece in *Fauvel.* However hard one tries to integrate it into the output of A, the 1316–17 of *Servant/O Philippe* as against the 1314 of *Garrit/In nova* fails to explain *Servant/O Philippe*'s more conservative style (and, for what it is worth, its more conservative structure). We seem to have here a different, highly skilled but less progressive composer. For the moment let us call him B. And these are not his only works.

Schrade also thought that the *Servant* composer was responsible for the other royal motet, *Se cuers/Rex beatus.* Here again he seems to be right. As well as the rhythmic grounds cited by Schrade,[35] there are some similarly decorated progressions, tying in also with *Orbis/Vos,*[36] and a similar taste for *sb-d' sb-c' m-b sb-a* figures. And the points about harmony made in connection with *Orbis/Vos* apply here too. *Se cuers/Rex* is clearly a simpler work in rhythm and structure, and plausibly so in view of the time—anything from five months to three years or so[37]—which separates them. Although he thought the composer was Vitry, Schrade brought into this group *Inflammatus/Sicut* on grounds of "structural elements . . . rhythmic figuration . . . the concept of harmony . . . the treatment of the two upper parts as a unified duet." Here again I agree, though of course relating the piece to composer B's works and not to "Vitry." Now that he has been given four pieces it is becoming difficult to be certain about chronology among B's work, but *Inflammatus/Sicut* looks and sounds as if it originated at much the same time as *Se cuers/Rex.*

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Probably somewhat later, but still I think by the same composer, is *Trahunt/An diex,* the original three-part form of *Quasi/Trahunt/Ve.*

33 Andrew Wathey, "The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XLV (1992), 18–19.

34 The period between Philippe VI's accession and his coronation. If it is not a coronation motet this could be extended beyond 6.i.17, but not much beyond for it obviously predates the completion of F-Pn 146.

35 Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," 347–48.

36 *S/R* 22–24, *S/O* 12–13; *S/R* 43, *S/O* 42; *S/R* 12–13, *O/V* 3–4.

37 The smallest period is between the death of Louis X, *terminus ante quem* for *Se/Rex,* and the accession of Philippe VI; the longest is between the accession of Louis and the completion of F-Pn 146.

There are several similarities to *Servant/O Philippe*,[38] and some habits shared with *Inflammatus/Sicut*,[39] which add some more specific points of contact to the close similarity of general style. There are more such connections with *Super/Presidentes* linking it firmly to this group.[40] Its general style is a little simpler, and although its structure is more consistently isoperiodic than the rest, the criteria outlined just now lead to the conclusion that it is earlier. A still earlier work of B might be *Desolata/Que*, whose text places it somewhere within 1312–14. This is less certain, though, for the piece does seem markedly simpler than anything else in this list. Finally, it was suggested above that *Facilius/Alieni* takes *Inflammatus/Sicut* as a model, although it is certainly by a far less expert composer.

Table 2 shows the results of these comparisons. Vertical lines indicate uncertainty about the order of composition. Beside the A and B columns are placed pieces that in one way or another "follow" them while being the work of other composers. The works from Table 1 not included in Table 2 I can find no compelling reason to relate to either main "school."

What can we learn about these two men? Composer B must have a past. His works all come into the pragmatic category identified earlier, pieces whose layout of text and music phrases is determined by a plan subject to pragmatic modification during the composition of the upper voices. They are rooted in older practices in that sense and in their rhythmic and contrapuntal languages; and he continues to compose in this fashion well after we might expect him to have been exposed to the innovations represented by composer A. His works are all thoroughly competent. Together this suggests that we are dealing with an experienced, perhaps quite senior composer, the sort of figure from whom motets celebrating new kings might be commissioned. It seems quite likely, therefore, that we have earlier works of his elsewhere, and it is possible that a careful search of the late *ars antiqua* collections might reveal some. There may also be later works in *ars nova* sources, though it is also possible that the onward rush of *ars nova* developments left him behind.

Composer A is unlike B in almost every respect. He has the only strictly schematic works in *Fauvel* (*Garrit* and *Tribum*). The earliest piece I can attribute to him is traditional and suggests inexperience.

[38] 6–7–8 progression *T/A* 24–25, *S/O* 53–54?; tritone triplum figure *T/A* 59, *S/O* 18–19 & 32; tr/mo 2–2–4 *T/A* 61–62, *S/O* 12–13.

[39] Imitation *T/A* 8–9, *I/S* 13–14; slow descent *T/A* 56–57, *I/S* 52.

[40] *S/P* 50–53 cf. *T/A* 28–30, *S/P* 66–67 cf. *T/A* 69–70; *S/P* 76, *I/S* 4?; *S/P* 69, *S/R* 49 etc.; cf the 8–7–6 conclusions to *S/P*, *S/R*, *T/A* and *S/O*.

TABLE 2

The emergence of *ars nova*

	A		B		
		c 1312–14	Desolta/Que		
	Scariotis/Jure	af 24.viii.13			
	Garrit/In nova	bf 29.xi.14			
Floret/Florens		bf 29.xi.14			
			Super/Presidentes		
		af 29.xi.14		Detractor/Qui	
			Inflammatus/Sicut		
		29.xi.14–3.viii.15	Se cuers/Rex		
Nulla/Plange		*c* 1314–15			
	Firmissime/Adesto				Facilius/Alieni
	Tribum/Quoniam	af 30.iv.15			
			Trahunt/An diex		
Aman/Heu		v.15–mid.17			
			Orbis/Vos		
	[]/Per grama	af 7.viii.16?			
		19.xi.16–6.i.17	Servant/O Philippe	?	
	Flos/Celsa	af 7.iv.17			
	Cum/Hugo	?*c* 1317–			
	Tuba/In				
	etc.				

It could of course be by somebody else, in which case the development towards *Garrit* could have been more gradual, but I have explained already why I think the appearance of *Garrit* from the same composer only a year or so later is not impossible. By the end of 1314 he was already working with significantly new ingredients and techniques; and six months or so later his contrapuntal language had changed markedly too. His relatively few works in *Fauvel* perhaps reflect the conservatism identified by Roesner in the *Fauvel* music editor. His latest style here, that of *Tribum* and *Firmissime,* develops significantly though not so quickly over the next two years, reappearing in *Flos/Celsa,* the Ivrea motet written to celebrate St. Louis of Toulouse, presumably on his canonization in 1317. I have elsewhere suggested that *Flos/Celsa* is by the same composer as *Tuba/In arboris.* And even if it were not, A's later *Fauvel* style reappears—surely soon after—in *Colla/Bona* and *Cum/Hugo.* A, in other words, is Philippe de Vitry.

All five motets in Table 2 outside the A and B columns reflect the developing language of *Garrit/In nova,* though *Detractor/Qui* has more in common with works by B, in particular with *Servant/O Philippe*[41] which has led me to question the date implied by Roesner's tentative
308 proposal that the text concerns the fall of Marigny. Even if it does, the fact that *Fauvel* uses Marigny as its chief *exemplum*[42] increases the possibility that at least some of the Marigny motets could have been newly composed for *Fauvel.* We have seen that the order of composition of *Garrit* and *Tribum* matches the order of their subject matter, and that the development of style in both A and B corresponds with the dates of their datable pieces, so we need not lose faith in the relation of dates and music through most of this list. The other Marigny motet that could be later than its subject is *Floret/Florens* since as well as imitating *Garrit/In nova* it contains some features that could have come from knowledge of *Firmissime.*[43]

The three motets on the left of the chart do not quite constitute a School of Vitry, but they do suggest that the new style was copied very early on by composers who may not have been highly experienced. There may well have been many other such pieces, for there seems no reason why the *Fauvel* music editor should wish to include them unless their texts were suitable to his purpose. And it may be more than coincidence that two of them, *Floret/Florens* and *Aman/Heu,* give the same prominence near their openings as we saw in *Garrit/In*

[41] *D/Q* 1–3, *S/O* 2–4; *D/Q* 10–11, *S/O* 23–24; *D/Q* 19–20, *S/O* 17–18; *D/Q* 24, *S/O* 37; *D/Q* 31, *S/O* 8; also *D/Q* 32, *S/P* 44–45; *D/Q* 34, *F/F* 13; *D/Q* 30 cf. *G/I* 20; *D/Q* 22 cf. *G/I* 25 etc.

[42] Roesner et al., 20–21.

[43] E.g. an increasing taste for triplum/motetus fourths; cf. the unusual *F/F* 23 with *F/A* 20–21.

nova to images of newness: "novitatum" in *Floret/Florens,* leapt up to by the triplum, and "novi" at the start of *Aman/Heu.* We know nothing more about these young followers of Vitry, but it is reasonable to assume that some would have matured into successful composers of "classic" *ars nova* motets of the sort we see in Ivrea. If their relations with Vitry and with each other went back as far as the *Fauvel* period that may help to explain the close similarities that I have elsewhere pointed out between many of the Ivrea pieces.[44]

The connecting of Vitry's *Fauvel* work with later motets encourages one further modification to our view of the emergence of *ars nova. Flos/Celsa* takes one step beyond the language of *Tribum* and *Firmissime* to introduce in its diminished section hocket figures at the level of semibreve and minim, and these can only be notated once the *semibrevis minima* has acquired a tail. If, as its texts seem to indicate, *Flos/Celsa* was indeed written soon after St. Louis's canonization on 7 April 1317[45] it follows that the minim was already graphically differentiated before the completion of *Fauvel,* which only makes the attribution of the piece to Vitry surer; and if the *Ars nova* texts do originate in teaching of Vitry he must have been engaged in that teaching before then, since they do not use the minim and their teaching on the reading of semibreves does not allow for the *Flos/Celsa* rhythms.

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Depending on its date, which has yet to be agreed, this may be confirmed by another non-*Fauvel* motet, one that has been largely overlooked. The McVeagh fragment, GB-Lbl Add. 41667, contains (immediately before *Se cuers/Rex*) two voices of an isoperiodic motet possibly celebrating the election of Pope John XXII and in that case dating from soon after 7 August 1316.[46] The surviving voices are an

[44] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Related motets from fourteenth-century France," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* CIX (1982–83), 20.

[45] The public consistory was held on 6 April 1317 (in the courtyard below the episcopal palace at Avignon), the Bull of canonization was promulgated in a ceremony the following day—7 April— and set 19 August as the feast day of St. Louis. Either of the latter two occasions would have been appropriate for the motet whose text speaks of "one triumphing at the new celestial realms" and "one departing for various rewards." As the text makes clear, the "wars he incites" are purely spiritual. On St. Louis's life and canonization see Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929). I am most grateful to Dr. David Abulafia for his view of this text.

[46] The text runs as follows:

PEr grama protho paret	Through the first letter is revealed
Onema constancie.	the name of constancy,[a]
Romanorum quo claret	whereby the glory of the Romans' Church
Iam decus ecclesie.	now has lustre.
Tellus ouans satorem	Let the cheering earth exalt
Tollat sapientie.	the sower of wisdom,
Catholicorum florem	the flower born
Genitum progenie.	of Catholics' lineage.

upper part, *Per grama protho paret* (which judging by the layout was the motetus), and the tenor *Valde honorandus est beatus iohannes.*[47] At the top of the page is a word now almost illegible that Besseler, apparently working from a copy made by Johannes Wolf, suggested might be an ascription to Johannes de Muris.[48] In fact the word appears to be "Invidie"; and a comparison with Vitry's motet *Cum statua/Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie/Magister invidie* is revealing. Example 3 transcribes what survives of *Per grama* and adds the opening of *Cum/Hugo.* Both tenors begin unusually with a breve rest followed by long–breve rest–breve–long, and like the triplum of *Cum/Hugo* the surviving upper voice of *Per grama* begins unusually with two short phrases followed by breve rests. The motetus of *Cum/Hugo* provides the longs spanning triplum and tenor rests which the lost voice of *Per grama* must also have had. The hocket passages of *Per grama* are much like those of *Cum/Hugo,* and also those of *Flos/Celsa, Tuba/In aboris, Vos/Gratissima* and *O canenda/Rex,* all Vitry motets previously dated 1320s and 30s.

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Regi nato Maria	It pleased the King
Placuit sic mittere	born of Mary thus to send,
Largitione dya	by divine bounty,
Radium phox supere.	the ray of light from above.
Vere manet electus	Truly he remains the elect,
Non a kari nomine	not apart from the name of the dear one,[b]
Omni bonoque tectus	and secure in all things
Propinanti numine.	by God's gift.
Summe uiuens benignus	Living with supreme good will,
Christo sic opifice	Christ thus being his maker,
Pontificali dignus	worthy of the papal summit,
Sublimatur apice.	he is raised on high.

[a] Onema = onoma = ὄνο α; not Enema = aenigma = α ἴνιγα, as mistranscribed in Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters II: Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1926), 218. The name is revealed by the initial letters of the stanzas, the P being read as the full syllable *pe*: it is PETRUS, the rock on which the Church is built.

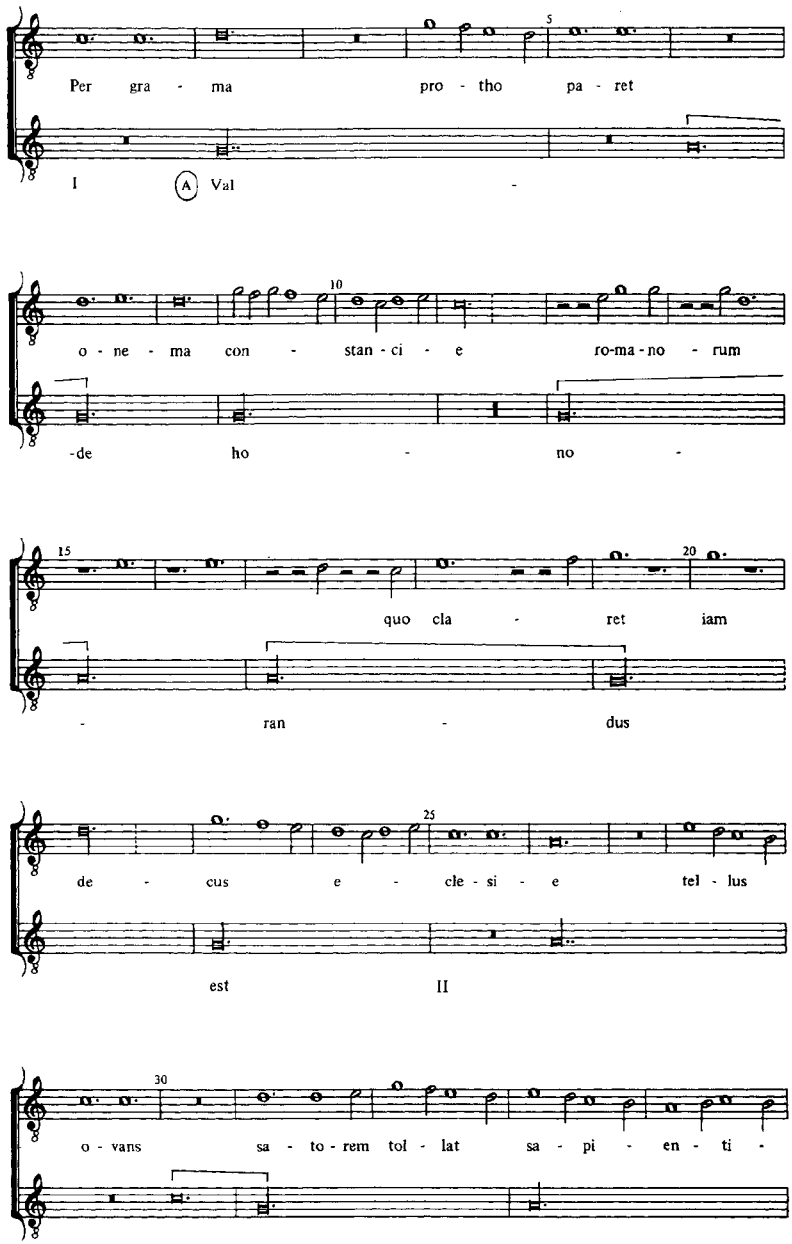
[b] i.e. the name of the Beloved Disciple (John).

I am most grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for this translation and commentary. It will be noted that the text is insufficiently precise for us to be able to say whether at the time it was written John XXII was already crowned (5 September 1316) or simply elected (7 August).

[47] The tenor melody in fact uses only the beginning of the chant, "Valde honorandus est" (cf. ed. Walter Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* [London, 1902–20], 62), perhaps because it can therefore refer to Pope John without the blasphemy which might be implied by calling him "blessed John." That the longer text is nevertheless transmitted indicates that some importance was attached to making clear the identification.

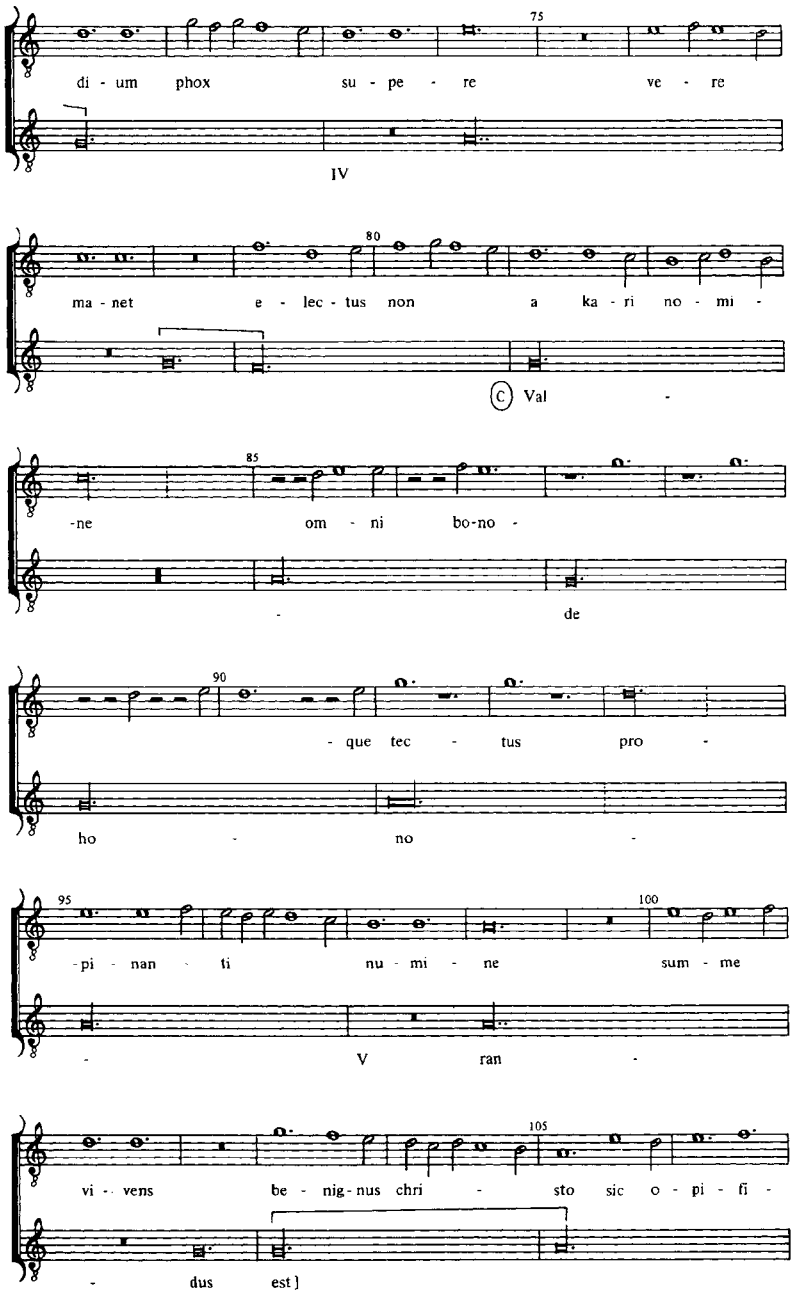
[48] Heinrich Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters I: Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1925), 196, with a note that "this reading of a heading is uncertain (*de muris*?)." His proposal is repeated with similar reservations in his article "Johannes de Muris" in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* VII (Kassel, 1958), 23.

EXAMPLE 3. *Per grama*/T:*Valde honorandus* (GB-Lbl 41667 I,26r), compared with *Cum/Hugo/Magister invidie,* opening.

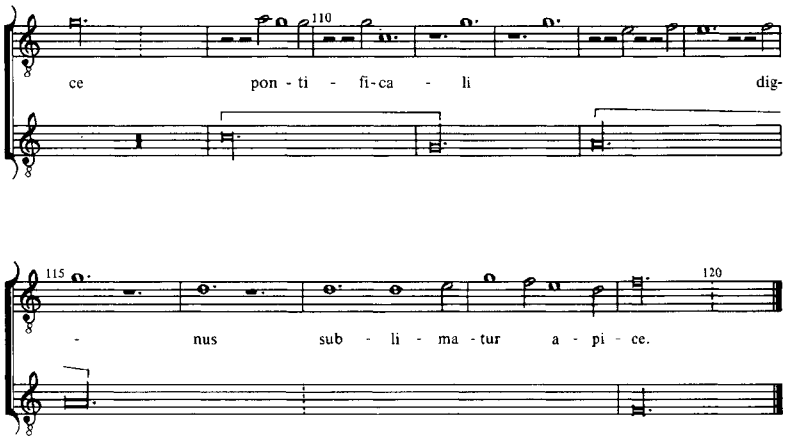


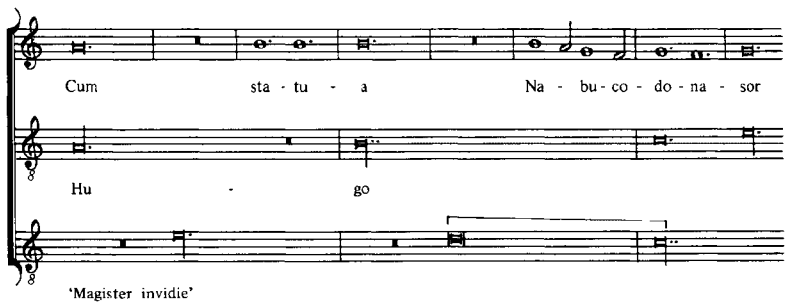
EXAMPLE 3 (*continued*)

EXAMPLE 3 (*continued*)



EXAMPLE 3 (*continued*)





But what is the basis for these much later dates? The *terminus post quem* was provided by the supposed *Ars nova* treatise which, because it seemed to build upon ideas formulated by Muris in 1321, was dated c. 1322–13.[49] But Fuller has shown that the treatise is nothing more than a group of loosely related compilations reflecting Vitry's teaching, so that references to recent theory could have been added at any time: there is no reason to suppose that the original layer of Vitriacan teaching originated that late. After the *Fauvel* motets no work associated with Vitry carries a date other than *Flos/Celsa* in 1317 and *Petre/Lugentium* in 1342, and there is no reason other than musicological tidy-mindedness to spread the other pieces out over the intervening years. Indeed, their stylistic similarity, and their marked dissimilarity from *Petre/Lugentium,* suggests exactly the opposite—that they are all quite early. Only if we think of Vitry as primarily a musician—which he surely was not—do we need to assume that he composed at all between his youth and that exceptional late work. Given the style achieved in the motets from around 1317, or in *Firmissime* and *Tribum* in 1315, there seems no reason why Vitry should not have completed all the motets we associate with him by the time he first appears in royal service in the 1320s. 315

Like *Flos/Celsa, Per grama* could never have been notated without minim tails, and therefore could not have appeared in *Fauvel,* but with *Flos/Celsa* of 1317 for comparison there is no compelling musical reason to doubt 1316 as a plausible date for it, in which case it is unlikely to be by anyone but Vitry. At this date it would be the earliest piece to require graphically differentiated minims (and it would be ironic that the note value condemned so thoroughly by John XXII in his bull of 1325 should first have been made visible in a motet written to celebrate his election). But whether or not *Per grama* is this early, *Flos/Celsa* suggests that the tailed minim was in use, probably by Vitry, before the completion of *Fauvel.* And if he is to be associated at all with the tail-less teaching reflected in the *Ars nova* texts, then that teaching must predate later 1316. Why, then, are there no tailed minims in *Fauvel?* Roesner has noted the music editor's conservatism, and this is surely reflected in his preference for the music of composer B over the more innovative Vitriacan works as in his preference for undifferentiated semibreves. *Fauvel* is, in fact, already behind the times.

[49] For a convenient summary see Ernest H Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* XX (London 1980), 23.

Against the background of a general trend towards isoperiodicity and isorhythm exemplified by most of the recent motets in *Fauvel,* we can see one composer, Philippe de Vitry, pushing the form a stage further to a state in which it was to form the basis for motet style through much of the rest of the fourteenth century. In addition, in a more speculative attempt to group other recent *Fauvel* motets by technique and style, I have proposed that many are the work of one older composer, identity unknown. I should like to give him a name, however, because without one he is all too likely to return to the invisibility from which he may just have been rescued. I suggest we call him the Master of the Royal Motets. I have also argued that the presence of *Fauvel* motets by less expert composers adopting some of Vitry's innovations, coupled with the necessity of placing his teaching in these years, offers us the faint outlines of a School of Vitry. Finally, I have tried to date more precisely than before the emergence of *ars nova;* and this can now be set out in dated stages. Taking the datable pieces in *Fauvel* as a guide, we can see: Stage 1—the Royal Master developing a style through 1312–17 (no doubt building upon work he had been doing for some time). In the *Ars Nova* texts we see
316 echoes of a notation teaching from the same period—Stage 2—associated with Philippe de Vitry, which set out rules for the interpretation of semibreves without yet using a tail to indicate the shortest of them (the *semibrevis minima*). If this was Vitry's teaching it must date from before the summer of 1316 *(Per grama)* or summer 1317 *(Flos/Celsa).* From late 1314 into the spring of 1315—Stage 3—we see Vitry's compositions tending toward systematization in structure and rhythmic language (the same kind of systematization, incidentally, that we see in *Ars nova* notation teaching). By mid-1316 or -17 he had decided that for further development of rhythm a graphically differentiated minim was essential, and it duly appears—Stage 4—in *Per grama* and *Flos/Celsa.* In the meantime, around 1316–18—Stage 5—*Fauvel* was being compiled by a more conservative figure, preferring the Royal Master's style and using only those pieces by Vitry notatable without minim tails. Vitry in the meantime—Stage 6—continued to develop his own musical language through his remaining known motets (save *Petre/Lugentium*), all of which could have been complete by the early 1320s.

This history takes account of all the datable pieces without our having to assume that the music of any was written long after its text. That of course remains a possibility, but it is one that we should be very wary of invoking, since it is inherently unlikely. It also takes account of the details of the *Ars nova* texts, our current understand-

ing of the compilation of *Fauvel,* and the manifest structure and style of the motets of the earlier fourteenth century.[50]

Except for the material on the Royal Master and the redating of Vitry's musical œuvre, there is surprisingly little here to contradict the traditional picture of Philippe de Vitry. But while the history books' view of him changing the course of music in a single bound now seems less fantastic than of late, I hope that some of the credit for *ars nova* may be redistributed in favor of the Royal Master and his contemporaries. Their work surely made something like *ars nova* inevitable during the next decade or so, but that it appeared so quickly does seem to point to the directing influence of a single powerful mind. The returning probability is that that mind was Vitry's.

University of Southampton

[50] The only body of evidence not treated here is the symbolic numerical approach currently under investigation by Bent and Howlett. That is not because the two approaches are incompatible—I suspect that with a few modifications the two views could be married quite happily—but because a proper evaluation of their work must await its publication.

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MYTH AND MYTHOGRAPHY IN THE MOTETS OF PHILIPPE DE VITRY

Andrew Wathey

The reputation that Philippe de Vitry continued to hold among the Italian scholars of the late fourteenth century was doubtless enhanced by the fact that he had been one of Petrarch's correspondents, the recipient of two letters included in the *Epistole familiari*. There, Petrarch hailed him as the only true poet among the French ('Tu poeta nunc unicus Gallicarum'), and later writers clearly took this, and whatever else they might have known of his relations with Vitry, very seriously. Writing in 1394, Francesco Piendibeni da Montepulciano, at that time chancellor of Perugia, identified Vitry with the 'Gallus' of the Fourth Eclogue of Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen*: 'Gallus hic fuit Philippus de Vitriaco, clarissimus musicus et philosophus', commenting also that Vitry was well known to Petrarch and had pestered him for lessons in poetry and rhetoric. In part at least, it is legitimate to see the spread of Vitry's reputation as a contributing factor in the later literary copying of his motet poetry. A largely Petrarchan tradition, which in Italy was perhaps centred on Pavia and Milan, took up Vitry's verse, inserted it in new literary contexts, some moralising and some explicitly mythographic. By the mid fifteenth century, it was fully integrated within the humanist mainstream and exported from Italy to universities North of the Alps.[1]

[1] I am grateful to Margaret Bent, Leofranc Holford-Strevens and David Howlett for their help with various aspects of this paper, and in particular to Bonnie Blackburn, who first drew Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1092 to my attention. Work in Paris and Reims on which this paper is based was undertaken with support from the British Academy and from Royal Holloway, University of London. Part of the material in the following pages was also presented in a paper, "The Lost French Crusade of 1330-1336 and Philippe de Vitry's Dictionary," read at the American Musicological Society meeting in New York in November 1995. For the textual history of Vitry's motet texts described here see A. Wathey, "The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance," *Early Music History*, XII (1993), pp. 119-149, supplemented by A. Wathey, "The Motet Texts of Philippe de Vitry in German Humanist Manuscripts of the Fifteenth Century," in J. Kmetz (ed.), *Music in the German Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 195-201.

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Testimonies to Vitry's abilities as a poet abound, and it is not difficult to construct a picture of his posthumous position alongside others working within the new literary movements of the early Renaissance. In some ways the more intriguing question, however, is the extent to which Vitry shared in the earlier traditions to which these movements were heir. Since the work of Ernst Curtius, scholars have become more wary of seeing an abrupt break between medieval scholasticism and a novel 'renaissance', and more inclined to set early humanism against broader continuities in the history of European literature.[2] To a significant degree, Vitry can be shown to have shared in these longer traditions. This is reflected in the presence of myth in the texts that he set to music, as well as in the ways in which these myths were used. It is also supported by a significant body of literary evidence, and evidence for various kinds of literary activity, some of which also bears on his perception of and use of Classical mythology; little of this material has been seriously examined since the nineteenth century and some of it is new. In what follows, I want to comment briefly on the use of myth in Vitry's motets. I wish then to explore two contexts for the use of myth in these works, the first located in Vitry's involvements in French crusade plans of the 1330s, and the second – informed by two manuscripts that Vitry owned, and more directly concerned with working methods – in the learning and intellectual habits of the scholastic tradition.

The use of mythological subjects in Vitry's motets spans the whole of his output, from the earliest compositions in the *Roman de Fauvel* to works composed in the 1340s, embracing not only his Latin poetry but also his very few surviving verse works in French. Set alongside the work of French contemporaries, Vitry's motets display a high incidence of references to Classical figures, and this habit (to his apparent displeasure) was taken up more ostentatiously by others from the mid-century onwards.[3] A clear separation thus emerges between the earlier works and those composed in the 1330s and later. Particularly striking in the latter

[2] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (London, 1953). See also, among much else, R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 29-60, and the comments in A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott (ed.), *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c. 1100-1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford, 1991²), pp. 5-11.

[3] See E. Pognon, "Ballades Mythologiques de Jehan de la Mote, Philippe de Vitri, Jean Campion," *Humanisme et Renaissance*, V (1938), pp. 385-417: 409.

group is the density of direct mythological reference, the continual citation of names and geographic locations drawn from Classical sources. Though *Petre clemens*, written in 1342/3, is the longest of these works (and thus the richest source of such references), other late texts are also quite extravagantly mythologised. In *De terre o grec Gaulle*, for example, a series of binary oppositions is used to epitomise the Anglo-French conflict: France is variously represented by Castor and by stylised descriptions of the muses, including Pegasus, Calliope and Orpheus; England is represented by Antaeus and by Vergil's vision of Hades, including the river Phlegeton and the two judges of the dead, Minos and Rhadamantus. Likewise in *Phi millies / O creator / Tenor Iacet granum / Contratenor Quam sufflabit* Horace is cited by name, as are Tantalus and Amphion (the harpist), Carthage, Cyrus, and the Greeks.[4]

The earlier motets lack this richness of direct citation. At other levels, however, the distinction is less marked. References to Classical figures and quotations from Classical / classicising authors are present in some of the earlier motets and made fully part of their rhetorical and musical structures. As is well known, the motetus of *Garrit Gallus / In nova fert / Neuma* quotes the opening of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I.1), citing also figures from the *Illiad*, Ulysses and Thersites; the last line of the triplum, 'mox in facinus tardis ultoribus itur', as David Howlett observed, quotes Joseph of Exeter's *De bello troiano* (I. 386).[5] And as Margaret Bent has recently shown, the motetus of Vitry's *Tribum que non abhoruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* not only quotes a couplet from Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* (IV. 3. 35-36), but also reworks other images and phrases from the Ovid letter.[6] As she argues, these are not merely quotations but fundamental building blocks for the text, as important to the verbal structures of the motet as the chant tenor is to its music. What has not previously been noticed is that, in this motet too, the triplum

[4] For the texts of these works, see Pognon, "Ballades Mythologiques," p. 409; Id., "Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitry et ses amis," *Humanisme et Renaissance*, VI (1939), pp. 48-55: 50-52.

[5] In a seminar paper delivered at Oxford in 1991. In Joseph of Exeter, the line reads 'Pronius in facinus tardis ultoribus itur;' see L. Gompf (ed.), *Joseph Iscanus: Werke und Briefe* [Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 4] (Leiden and Köln, 1970), p. 91.

[6] M. Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet *Tribum que non abhoruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* and its 'Quotations'," in D. Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York, 1997), pp. 82-103.

ends with a couplet from *De bello troiano* (VI. 804-5), which from the thirteenth century onwards appears to have enjoyed a wide independent circulation in collections of classical texts and *florilegia*.[7] In the motetus, individual words from the letter are given multiple synonyms, which are then pivotally placed in the quantitative frameworks of both text and music. Line 58 of Ovid's letter, 'venisset verbis charta notata tribus' ('you might have written me just three words on a piece of paper') is made the source of a series of explicit and implicit references to sets of three words and to the number three.

More explicitly mythological material is similarly used in another *Fauvel* motet, *Aman novi / Heu fortuna / Heu me, tristis est anima mea*, which Schrade attributed to Vitry (though on relatively weak evidence). In an extended allegory of overweaning ambition, the triplum cites the parallel tales of Icarus and Phaeton. Icarus flew too close to the sun and fell into the sea; Phaeton was likewise burned up by the sun and, in the myth (though not explicitly in the motet) fell into the river Eridanus. Again in the myth only, Phaeton's sisters swell the river with their tears; though unstated, this imagery is picked up in the Motetus by the horror expressed at being 'sunk naked in the lake of tears' ('Nunc tua volubili, rota lacu flebili, nudum demersisti'). As Margaret Bent and David Howlett have shown in their analysis of this motet, the integration of external referents in the myth into the motet's allegories is enhanced by musical and structural devices.[8] The flights of Icarus and Phaeton are paralleled by Haman's body swinging in the wind and – again evoking the theme of watery death – washed by the rain. Obvious though the juxtaposition of the Ovidian stories of Icarus and Phaeton might seem, the only precedent for their linkage in the Fauvel motet appears to be in Dante's *Commedia*.[9] In the context of the *Roman de Fauvel* or of the politics of the French court, this twin mythological simile might stand variously for the unwarranted ascent of the horse Fauvel, of Enguerran de Marigny, Philip IV's disgraced

[7] See further page 95 and note 37 below. The two motets citing Joseph of Exeter are both concerned with Enguerran de Marigny.

[8] This work, currently in progress, was presented in February 1992 to a seminar on the later medieval motet in Oxford. I am grateful to Margaret Bent and David Howlett for allowing me to cite their initial conclusions here and for discussing with me their subsequent work on this motet.

[9] This intriguing connexion was the subject of a paper by Margaret Bent and Kevin Brownlee, "Icarus, Phaeton, Haman: *Fauvel* and Dante?," given to the Oxford Medieval Society, 23 May 1996, now in preparation for publication.

Chamberlain, or that of other intending usurpers.[10] It is further echoed by the last line of the triplum, drawn from the *Disticha Catonis* (I. 18): 'Non eodem cursu respondent ultima primis'. This and other early compositions are densely packed with allegorical stratagems; even so, however, the density of citation and allusion is greater in the later works.

One important political context for Vitry's use of myth in his late works emerges from his political involvements during the 1330s, and in particular from the plans laid by Philip VI for the recovery of the Holy Land. From about 1320 to at least 1340, Vitry's main allegiance lay not with the French crown, as has formerly been thought, but with Louis de Bourbon (Count of Clermont, and Duke of Bourbon from 1327), the king's cousin and the main noble supporter of the French king's crusade plans.[11] For five years from 1330, Philip VI's plans for the crusade dominated the French court. They also inspired a large literature of recovery treatises, for whose authors the geographic conjunction between Classical and Biblical tales and the land routes that they favoured to the eastern Mediterranean proved a powerful source of allegorical parallels.[12] Two of Vitry's later works appear to result directly from Louis de Bourbon's passion for the crusade: the motet *O canenda / Rex quem metrorum / Rex regum* (which eulogises Robert of Anjou, King of Naples), and the verse *Chapel des trois fleurs de lys*, which in a loosely constructed allegory links the recovery venture with the larger interests of the French state.[13]

[10] See M. Bent, "Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?," in M. Bent and A. Wathey (edd.) *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 35-52.

[11] For the crusade, see C. Tyerman, "Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land," *English Historical Review* C (1985), pp. 25-51; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 155 ff. For the relationship between Vitry and Louis de Bourbon, see A. Wathey, "European Politics and Musical Culture at the Court of Cyprus," in L. Finscher and U. Günther (edd.) *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript, Torino J. II. 9: International Musicological Congress, Paphos 20-25 March 1992* [Musicological Studies and Documents, 45] (Neuhausen, 1995), pp. 33-53.

[12] For example in Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, for which see J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalium expeditionum et regni francorum, hierosolimitani historia*, 2 vols. in 3 (Hanover, 1611), II, pp. 1-288; on this text see further C. J. Tyerman, "Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Ser., XXXII (1982), pp. 57-73.

[13] For *O canenda / Rex quem metrorum / Rex Regum*, see L. Schrade, *Commentary to Volume I: The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, The French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae*, [Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth

Dates and contexts for both of these works can be found in the detail of crusade business. As a pair they fall squarely into the tradition of recovery literature that Louis so vigorously patronised (most notably in his support for the Venetian Marino Sanudo). Thus the *Chapel* appears as a response to the royal cancellation in October 1334 of Louis's *passagium particulare*, which had been planned to depart in the spring of the following year. In the motet *O canenda / Rex quem metrorum / Rex regum*, Robert, King of Naples is consoled: in 1331 Robert's own plans for Angevin rule in Achaia had finally collapsed, with the establishment of the Greek-born Robert of Tarranto (age 5) as the territory's direct ruler. The motet's criticism of a people who 'worshipping a Greek [...] cease to be ruled by your king' and its lament that 'the arrival of Phoebus has taken away the brightness of the evening star' may thus emerge as a direct commentary on Robert's misfortune. The mixture here of consolation and praise probably echoed attempts by Louis to maintain Robert's support for the broader recovery project, not least by recalling their dynastic alliance through 'the deeds of his son'.[14] Through Louis's support for the crusade, Vitry acquired connexions with the Dominican Convent in Paris, and also with Avignon, where the duke was frequently present to transact crusade business. One consequence of Vitry's presence in Avignon may have been his relationships with Petrarch and Pierre Roger, the future Clement VI, who was himself centrally involved in the crusade. The fact of his and Vitry's shared concern in this venture may well find an echo in the language of the motet *Petre clemens / Lugentium siccentur / Non est tibi similis*, written for Clement VI at Christmas 1342/3, in its call for the deception of the Turk and – more specifically – for the consolation of 'tristis Armenia', the destination of Philip VI's *primum passagium*.

But more significant perhaps, as a context for Vitry's use of myth, is his background in the scholastic tradition. This might be

Century] (Monaco, 1956), pp. 118-119; M. Bent, "Papal Motets of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in R. Sherr (ed.), *Music, Musicians, and Musical Life in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, forthcoming. For the *Chapel*, see A. Piaget, "Le Chapel des Fleurs de Lis par Philippe de Vitri," *Romania*, XXVII (1898), pp. 55-92; William M. Hinkle, *The Fleurs de Lys of the Kings of France, 1285-1488* (Carbondale, 1991), pp. 18-22.

[14] On this, see N. Housley, "Angevin Naples and the Defence of the Latin East: Robert the Wise and the Naval League of 1334," *Byzantion*, LI (1981), pp. 548-56; R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angio e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Firenze, 1922-31). The motet may also echo attempts to draw Robert into plans for the 1335 expedition.

inferred from the reputation that he later enjoyed and from the reading implied by citations in his motet poetry. But it can also be traced more concretely in books that he owned, and in particular through the use that he may have made of a copy of the widely-circulated *Elementarium* or dictionary, compiled *c.* 1056 by Papias Grammaticus (now Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1092).[15] Written in England in the late thirteenth century, this volume bears the *ex libris* of the Oxford Dominicans. It appears to have reached Paris at some point in the early fourteenth century and a number of items copied on the flyleaves bear witness to its use within or close to the University. Vitry's own *ex libris*, 'Iste liber est domini Philippi de Vitriaco', is copied twice on fol. C*v* and at the first occurrence a later hand, writing presumably after 1351, has added 'Meldensis episcopi'.[16] Comparison with Vitry's notarial signatures on contemporary documents, and with the very copious annotations in his copy of Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronicon* (Vatican, MS Regin. Lat. 544), allows the hand of the *ex libris* and a note on a flyleaf to be identified as the composer's own.[17] A few of the relatively sparing notes in the text of Papias's dictionary may also be his, including a comment against the word 'curatus' (fol. 56), some single word corrections, and perhaps the added

[15] See *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France [...] XXXVIII: Reims*, 5 vols. in 3, Paris, 1904-9, II, pp. 284-286, and, for fuller information on what follows, A. Wathey, "Philippe de Vitry's Books," in J. Carley and C. Tite (edd.), *Books and Collectors 1200-1650: Essays Presented to A. G. Watson* (London, 1997), pp. 145-152. For the text of the dictionary, up to the end of letter A, see V. de Angelis, *Papiae: elementarium* [Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità, 58] (Milano, 1977-80); all references in the present study, however, are to Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1092. This manuscript transmits a version of De Angelis's *A* text (for stemma see De Angelis, *Papiae*, I, p. 27) found predominantly in French copies, one of which, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 7612, was written for the Dominicans of Toulouse. Reims MS 1092 shares a number of readings with Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 1466 (De Angelis's 'V3'), copied in France in the late thirteenth century, and also preserves material not included in Mombricio's printed edition of 1476. For 110 surviving manuscripts of the *Elementarium*, see G. L. Bursill-Hall, *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts* [Grammatica Speculativa, 4] (Stuttgart, 1981), p. 222, where Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1092 is wrongly described as a fourteenth-century book.

[16] The *ex libris*, of which both occurrences are barely legible even under ultra-violet light, was described in 1892 as 'absolument gratté' (*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits*, II, p. 285).

[17] For MS Reg. Lat. 544, in which Vitry famously recorded the date of his own birth against the year 1291, see L. Delisle, "Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXXVII (1876), pp. 471-527: 505-510; Wathey, "Philippe de Vitry's Books," pp. 145-148, and pp. 135-138 below.

entry on fol. 90*v* defining drunkenness ('hebrius hebriosus qui multum bibit'). It seems likely that Vitry acquired the manuscript from sources within or close to the University of Paris, quite possibly from the Dominicans of the Rue St. Jacques, who were centrally involved with the academic book trade and also the most obvious initial recipients for the volume when it reached Paris.[18] The obvious routes of academic transmission between the Oxford and Paris houses of the order, and a note on a flyleaf by Vitry mentioning a loan-chest, may encourage this conclusion. So too may the fact of Louis de Bourbon's patronage of the Paris Dominicans, marked throughout his life and finally by his burial there in 1342.[19]

What, then, of the text of this dictionary? Papias's *Elementarium* enjoyed a wide circulation in the later Middle Ages, alongside the two other major works of lexicography, the dictionaries of Brito and Hugucio.[20] It was widely used in the universities, and cited also by some of the recovery theorists, for example the Venetian Marino Sanudo, for its Classical and Biblical topography. But it also held a particular value for early humanist writers, who used it extensively for its mythological content and for its definitions of rhetorical and grammatical figures. Individual entries range from simple explanations of terms (e.g. 'ha = interjectio ex pavescentis congeminatur, etiam ha ha ha') to long disquisitions on, for example, *affectus* and *vox*. In the compilation of grammatical works and commentaries, and for the seeking out

[18] Reims MS 1092 was apparently still circulating in Paris in the early fifteenth century, when it was acquired by Oddo Jeronimi, a Paris graduate who became *Scholarius* at Reims in 1421. He bequeathed the book to the Cathedral library at his death in 1461. See *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits*, II, pp. 285; for Oddo Jeronimi, see also Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1772, fols. 109, 353*v*.

[19] See D. Schwennicke (ed.), *Europäische Stammtafeln: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäische Staaten*, neue folge, Vol. 3 (Marburg, 1984), table 72.

[20] For the following, see De Angelis, *Papiae: elementarium*, pp. VI-X; G. Goetz, *Papias und seine Quellen*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (München, 1903), pp. 267-286; G. Powitz, "Johannes de Mera: Ein brabanter Lexicograph des 14. Jahrunderts," in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, XIII (1978), pp. 204-216. For Hugutio see A. Marigo, "De Hugutionis Pisani 'Derrivationum' latinitate earumque prologo," in *Archivum Romanicum*, XI (1927), pp. 98-107; P. Toynbee, "Dante's Obligation to the *Magnae derivationes* of Uguccione di Pisa," *Romania*, XXVI (1897), pp. 537-554; A. Marigo, *I codici manoscritti delle Derivationes di Uguccione Pisano* (Roma, 1936). For Brito see L. W. and B. A. Daly (edd.), *Expositiones vocabulorum Bibliae* (Padova, 1975). More generally, see L. W. and B. A. Daly, "Some Techniques in Medieval Latin Lexicography," *Speculum*, XXXIX (1964), pp. 229-239; R. Cervani, "Considerazioni sulla diffusione dei testi grammaticali: la tradizione di Donato, Prisciano, Papias nei secoli XII-XIV," *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, XCI (1984), pp. 397-421.

of exotic synonyms, the *Elementarium* thus proved an essential tool, and Papias rapidly entered the humanistic canon of literary authorities.[21] The dictionary was cited and quoted in Petrarch's *Africa*, in Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum gentilium*, and – with what Sabbadini called 'una passione sfrenata' – in Piero's commentary on Dante's *Commedia*.[22] Most of the surviving copies of Papias's work, moreover, survive alongside large collections of humanist and Classical texts.[23] For these authors, the value of Papias lays in its convenient assembly of mythological as well as Christian symbolism, which was not always readily available from the reading of individual texts: isolated references in Classical works, or in major commentaries, assumed a high level of contextual knowledge and rarely spelt out in full the significance of terms or characters. In some cases, moreover, while the recovery of lost Classical works was still in its infancy, Papias's dictionary entries presented material that was to be found nowhere else.

Set against the way in which this work was used and its significance for early humanist writers, Vitry's ownership of the *Elementarium* is highly suggestive. Particularly in so far as myth is concerned, Vitry's access to this text also invites a comparison between its contents and the Latin poetry he set in his later motets. Among these, the most spectacularly mythologised is without doubt the motet *Petre clemens/ Lugentium siccentur / Non est tibi similis*. Written at Christmas 1342/3 for Clement VI's meeting with the Roman ambassadors, its text echoes the rhetoric of papal diplomacy with a series of mythic allusions, while more generally celebrating the virtues of Clement's person and the benefits of his rule.[24] A comparison between the dictionary and the verbal text of this motet (see ex. 1 and 2) yields two significant points. First, that entries exist in the *Elementarium* for almost all of the Classical figures named in the motet text. This includes not only well known individuals but also those, for example Carmentina, for whom Papias's dictionary was still at this point

[21] See, for example, the comments in De Angelis, *Papiae: elementarium*, I, pp. VI-VIII; D. Mazzuconi, "Per una sistemazione dell'epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XX (1977), p. 184; M. L. Lord, "Boccaccio's *Virgiliana* in the 'Miscellanea Latina'," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XXIV (1991), pp. 127-197: 148-9.

[22] R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte di codici greci e latini ne' secoli XIV e XV*, 2 vols. (Firenze, 1914), II, pp. 39-43, 98.

[23] See Bursill-Hall, *Census*, *passim* and p. 315.

[24] Wathey, "The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance," pp. 132-140.

one of the few available sources. Second, that the significance imputed to these figures within the motet text, woven into its larger allegorical programmes and sometimes underlined by musical devices, can often also be found in Papias's definitions of these terms. At the literal level, this is a matter of definition: e.g., the 'perverted emotions' of the brothers Atreus and Tyestes and the plea made in the motet for their absence, are congruent with, though not directly explained by, the dictionary's entry on Tyestes's adultery and its allusion to his brother's cannibalistic revenge.[25] But in the motet's and the dictionary's use of the word 'Petrus', a closer correspondence emerges in both literal meaning and in allegorical signification. In the motet, Petrus is both Pope and Clement; he is Cephas and the vicar and 'legitimate heir of Jesus Christ'; he is also the rock of the church, the singular locus of apostolic authority. These constructions of 'Peter' are given a crucial part in articulating the larger message of the motet, designed to emphasise the universal rather than local character of papal authority. In the entry for 'Petra', the *Elementarium* lays out clearly parallel imagery: Petrus signifies faith; here too he is the rock on whom Christ's church is built; again he is Cephas, given here to the apostles (but in the motet to the world); here too is cited Matthew XVI.18, 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petrum,' which the motet echoes in 'Tu Clemens es et clemens diceris.'

Motet and dictionary are not linked by direct quotation (though there is some continuity of expression) but it is nonetheless possible to read over from one to the other the use of imagery and allegorical significance, as well as larger frames of reference. Literal or narrative statements in the dictionary are congruent with literal meanings in the motet. They sometimes also constitute the knowledge required to read its allegorical content. Such a case emerges in the motet's linked use of the legends of Carmentina and Pegasus. Papias's dictionary relates that Carmentina was Evandra's mother, that she possessed the gift of prophecy and that she travelled from Arcadia into Italy, to the place where Rome later stood, where she gave her name to the Carmentine gate. Pegasus was the winged horse by the stroke of whose hoof the fountain of the muses was opened. These formulations are matched in the motet: in the triplum, blessed with the gifts of the muses, the youthful Clement was carried through the Carmentine (gate) at Rome by

[25] The motet *Phi millies / O creator / Tenor Iacet granum / Contratenor Quam sufflabit* offers a parallel plea for the absence of the English from France; see Pognon, "Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitry et ses amis," p. 51.

the feet of Pegasus; later, in the motetus, he opens a Pegasean fountain, i.e. a fountain of the muses, to rude Atlanteans, Ethiopeans and Styrians. Armed with Papias's material on the legend of Carmentina, moreover, a further allegory in the motet becomes apparent. Clement's passage into Rome via the Carmentine gate parallels Carmentina's own translation to Rome as well as that of her son Evander, a virtuous person (signifying 'bonus vir' in Papias), who ruled over the first settlement there; now Clement, possessed of good qualities, is also elevated as the ruler of Rome. Finally, there is the imagery of the Holy Land and its neighbouring territories, invoked towards the end of the triplum: 'sad Armenia', 'elated Ismael', 'deserted Syria', 'repressed Israel'. The adjectives are no part of Papias, but entries in the *Elementarium* do include statements of these terms' figurative content, originating in the biblical allegories of Cassian and Jerome which were widely understood (and refined) in the later Middle Ages, as the process of signification grew in theoretical sophistication: in Papias, Ismael signifies waywardness, Israel the word of God, and Syria sublimity.[26] Assembled behind the overt message of this passage, these 'meanings' could be read as reinforcing the motet's underlying message: the suppression of the warlike in favour of the Holy leadership of the pope. Immediately following, by way of emphasis, is an explicit statement of the link between papal authority and Christ: 'gloriosus triumphator [...] heres legitimi Ihesu Cristi'.

Similar parallels can be drawn between the entries in the dictionary and some of Vitry's other late works, though in all cases they appear less extensive than in *Petre clemens*. Classical figures in the texts of *Phi millies / O creator / Tenor Iacet granum / Contratenor Quam sufflabit* and *De terre o grec Gaulle* (neither of which survive with music) are similarly represented by dictionary entries that expose their broader categories of resonance; so too is each of the ancient heroes with whom Robert, King of Naples is compared in *O canenda*, (where there are also parallels in the handling of the virtues of Julius and Augustus).[27] At the mechanical level, it would be tempting to envisage Vitry poring over his copy of Papias to extract verbal meanings for use in his motet poetry. Yet while Papias's dictionary was not the sole source for some of this information (perhaps even not the only source used), it is also true that it provided a convenient and, on occasion, possibly

[26] See Minnis and Scott (ed.), *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, pp. 65 ff., 197 ff.

[27] For these entries, see Reims, MS 1092, fols. 26*v*, 103*v*.

a necessary point of recourse. More significant than the simple act of authorial cross-reference, however, are the implications that these parallels hold for the ways in which the motet texts could be 'read' and for their audiences. Those with access to Papias's dictionary were well placed to perceive more fully the allegorical content and structural complexities of the motet poetry, whether by simultaneous or sequential comparison, and whether or not in the knowledge of the musical setting. A susceptibility to this type of reading opens up the possibility of new audiences for these texts among those learned in the scholastic tradition – at the universities and among the early humanists – not only because they were the chief users of works like Papias but also because they were steeped in the habits of reading, commentary and textual analysis that would facilitate such a comparison.[28] In their use of commentaries they were habituated to elaborating the meanings of texts, and the same skills were readily applicable to explicating the meanings of motet poetry. These same habits could equally well be seen as the framework for at least a part of the creative process within these texts. Through the commentary tradition, authors were provided with a rich source of imagery for individual words, phrases or idioms, as well as with critical methods and standard patterns for literary roles and forms. At the same time, in part through the widening influence of Aristotle, the attention of readers and authors alike was drawn strongly to both literary theory and forms of poetic signification.[29]

An important point in this context is the change that the scholastic tradition wrought in attitudes to Classical poetry in general and to myth in particular. As Minnis observes, one by-product of thirteenth-century enquiries into the nature of theology was the development of 'an idiom of literary theory sophisticated enough to do justice to the many rhetorical and poetic effects

[28] On aspects of this tradition, see, among much else, R. and M. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland* [Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies: Studies and Texts, 47] (Toronto, 1979); M. B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (edd.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 115-141. See also, in other musical contexts, F. A. Gallo, "L'ottavo libro della *Politica* di Aristotele: il testo e le traduzioni," *Scrinium: Quaderni ed estratti di Schede Medievali*, XVI (1990), pp. 118-126; C. Page, "Reading and Reminiscence: Tinctoris on the Beauty of Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XLIX (1996), pp. 1-31: 7 ff.

[29] A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1988²), pp. IX-XII, 6, 144, 160 ff.

believed to be a part of Scripture'.[30] This activity established an area of common ground for the work of sacred and profane poetry. Scriptural writers could communicate literal truths through the medium of a figurative language; this provided a precedent for the claim that Classical authors had communicated profound ethical or moral truths in the same way. Similarly, Classical poetry came to share in the authority that scriptural texts possessed, and the methods employed for explicating the two types of text also converged. Among the theologians of the early fourteenth century, Pierre Bersuire, who was a correspondent of Philippe de Vitry, emerges as one of the most outspoken in this respect.[31] In his moralisation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, he describes how he has given a 'moral and allegorical exposition' of narratives found in Ovid's work, justifying this procedure with the claim that passages of Scripture also make use of fables. Both scripture and Classical poetry are composed with the aid of figments to aid the understanding of truth; by moralizing Classical fables, the 'mysteries of behaviour and of faith' could be confirmed 'by using the very fictions of men'. More specifically, Bersuire credits Vitry with the gift to him of a book containing the Old French *Ovide Moralisé* (compiled between 1316 and 1328) in which he found 'multas bonas expositiones, tam allegoricas quam morales'.[32] Bersuire claims to have come to this work when his own was almost complete, observing that he himself had already put forward many of its interpretations. Vitry's exposure to it illuminates his

[30] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 138 and, for what follows, pp. 3-6, 139-144, 183, 206-207, 216.

[31] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 142-143; Minnis and Scott, (edd.), *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, pp. 314-372: 366-369.

[32] This work was long attributed to Vitry, on the strength of a note written in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 24306 by a fifteenth-century scribe who misread the acknowledgement to Vitry in Bersuire's preface as a statement of authorship. For this clarification, see G. Paris, "Chretien Legouais et autres traducteurs ou imitateurs d'Ovide," *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIX (1885), pp. 455-525: 505-507; see also C. Samaran and J. Monfrin, "Pierre Bersuire, prieure de Saint-Eloi de Paris (1290?-1362)," *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXIX (1962), pp. 258-450: 342-343, and the bibliography in "Ovide moralisé," in G. Hasenohr and M. Zink, *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises: Le Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1992), pp. 1093-1094. Nevertheless, while it is clear that this annotation does not support attribution to Vitry, nor is it evidence on which the possibility of authorship can be conclusively excluded. Vitry's known use of Ovid, his ownership of the book, and the date at which the *Ovide moralisé* appears to have been compiled, point to his potentially close relationship with the work, even if this was as reader rather than author. Evidence for the date of the *Ovide moralisé* is summarised by C. de Boer, M. G. de Boer and J. Th. M.

own relationship with the commentary tradition, strengthening the chances that he read Ovid's work not in isolation but alongside the layers of meaning expounded in it by medieval authors. Bersuire's comments at this point also include a fulsome tribute to Vitry, as a 'vir utique excellentis ingenii, moralis philosophie, hystorie ac etiam antiquitatis zelator precipuus'. This convenient confirmation of Vitry's status as a mythographer is the more significant for being the utterance of a scholastic theologian, and constructs the composer's activity here in a way which makes plain the common pattern of their intellectual backgrounds.

What evidence is there for Vitry's literary formation? His direct relationship with the University of Paris remains obscure. Though sometimes styled magister, this appears to reflect his position as Master of Requests in the central judiciary rather than graduate status. Nonetheless, the likely proximity of his residence in Paris to the centre of the university's book trade in the rue St. Jacques, and his ownership of a number of volumes of Parisian origin, are significant and provide some insight into his contact with the intellectual life of the capital.[33] While in Paris, probably during the 1330s, he borrowed from Johannes de Muris a commentary on Boethius's *De Musica* and Muris's own 'commentum super musicam', as well as – significantly – the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St. Victor, the celebrated compendium of hermeneutic skills required for the interpretation of Scripture.[34] In addition to the copies of Guillaume de Nangis and Papias already mentioned, he may also have owned the copy of the anonymous commentary on Aristotle's *De libris naturalibus*, now in Vatican, MS Ottoboni Lat. 1521.

Vitry's working practices as a mythographer, and as an historian, can also be glimpsed in some of the marginalia of his copy of

van't Sant, *'Ovide Moralisé': Poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle*, 5 vols. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 15, 21, 30, 37, 43] (Amsterdam, 1915-36), I, pp. 9-11.

[33] For book production in the Rue St. Jacques, see R. H. and M. A. Rouse, "The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350," in L. J. Bataillon, B. G. Guyot and R. H. Rouse (edd.), *La Production du livre universitaire au moyen age: exemplar et pecia* (Paris, 1988), pp. 41-114, and their forthcoming published Lyell lectures.

[34] For the list (Escorial, MS O. II. 10, fols. 224*v*, 225*v*) see L. Gushee, "New Sources for the Biography of Johannes de Muris," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXII (1969), pp. 3-26: 10-11; G. Beaujouan, "Observations et calculs astronomiques de Jean de Murs (1321-1344)," *XIVth International Congress of the History of Science (Tokyo and Kyoto, 1974): Proceedings no. 2* (Tokyo, 1975), pp. 27-30. For this and what follows, see Wathey, "Philippe de Vitry's Books," pp. 149-150.

Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronicon*.[35] This work, as Nangis makes clear, is his from the year 1113; up to that point it is an adaptation of Sigebert of Gembloux's chronicle of world history since the creation, which in turn incorporates much material from Eusebius and Cassiodorus. The earlier sections of this work are heavily annotated with short or single-word comments, epitomising the moral or allegorical content of individual episodes. Thus, for example, against the mention of the usurper Pelias in the tale of Jason and the Golden Fleece Vitry writes 'pervasio fraudulentia'.[36] The moral dimension of Antigone's illicit enactment of her brother's funeral rites is drawn out with the comment 'pietas Antigoni'. And Vitry similarly annotates the *Chronicon*'s account of the Emperor Antoninus with the words 'conditiones et mores Antonii imperator, in quo summe splenduit sancta pietas'.[37] This note making (or perhaps note taking) is clearly functional in the sense of providing headings, place marks and other devices for speedier future reading, and this indeed was probably its main purpose. But such practices were also the prelude to compilation, providing a ready fund of *exempla* for citation elsewhere, in situations where the same heading or *topos* was signified. This purpose may be indicated by the continual reappearance in Vitry's annotations of a small number of headings ('proditio', 'pietas', 'ultio', etc.). As the work of other commentators and glossators makes clear, such marking and distillation of historical and mythical material was the essential precursor to its re-citation in a form where it could bear the literal or allegorical *intencio auctoris*.

The marginal remarks in this manuscript provide some general insight into Vitry's assimilation of and attitudes to myth, and on occasion they reveal categories or meanings that found an application in his motet poetry. Most striking of all is Vitry's use of the hexameter couplet from Joseph of Exeter's *De bello troiano*, found at the end of the triplum text in *Tribum que non abhoruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur*, to annotate a passage in Nangis's narrative exemplifying the same moral and historical conditions adumbrated in the motet. Just after the *Chronicon*'s account of the defeat of the Parthian army by Publius Ventidius in 38 B. C., Vitry writes in the margin: 'Nota: Post zephiros plus ledit hiems, post gaudia luctus, etc.' (see ex. 3 and

[35] See on this work Hasenohr and Zink, *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises*, pp. 636-637.

[36] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Regin. Lat. 544, fol. 24.

[37] MS Regin. Lat. 544, fols. 86*v*, 155*v*.

fig. 1).[38] The motet triplum text describes how 'furious fortune' has brought down the tribe that had ascended beyond its rightful position, preparing the gallows of public shame as a special punishment for its leader; those who contemplate excesses in leadership should thus consider how far they might fall in defeat, with their tribe collapsed around them. After recounting earlier successes, the *Chronicon* describes how the Parthian army led by Pachorus I crossed the Euphrates and laid waste to Syria, how they were defeated at the hands of Roman forces, and how Orodes I, King of the Parthians and Pachorus's father – consumed with grief at the news of his favourite son's death – wept and starved himself, succumbed to madness and was murdered by another of his sons. In Joseph of Exeter, the couplet is used to epitomise the death of King Priam, who at the end of an untroubled reign was abandoned by Fortune, murdered in the temple of Jupiter by the hand of Pyrrhus, and pitiously mourned by his wife Hecuba.[39] In

[38] MS Regin. Lat. 544, fol. 129; the whole account of the Parthian's rise and fall is found on fols. 128*v*-129. For the couplet 'Post Zephiros' in *De bello troiano* (VI. 804-805), see Gompf (ed.), *Joseph Iscanus*, p. 205; see also H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters* [Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, 2], 5 vols. (Göttingen, 1963-67), no. 22073. Gompf points out the resemblance of *De bello troiano* VI. 801-805 to Lucretius's homily on wealth (*De rerum natura*, V. 1117-1135), where lines 1127-1128 'ut satis multo iam sit ponere quietum / quam regere imperio res velle et regna tenere' express a comparable message. For the independent circulation of 'Post Zephiros', alone or in collections of excerpts from *De bello troiano*, see Gompf, pp. 51-60, and: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 211, fol. 143, and MS 688, fol. 63*v* (also fol. 62*v*, as part of a citation of VI. 801-805); Gdansk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS Mar. F. 196, fol. 166*v*; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 15155, fol. 39; *Carmina proverbialium totius humanae vitae statum* [...] (London, 1577), p. 164. In several of these manuscripts, the excerpts appear within larger assemblages of classical *sententiae*; for example, Bern, MS 688 (s. XIII/XIV) also includes, at fol. 67, the lines from Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* (IV. 3) cited at the end of the motetus of *Tribum que non abhoruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur*, and Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 15155 (s. XIII in.) also contains the passage from Joseph of Exeter (I. 386) cited in *Garrit Gallus / In nova fert / Neuma*. The potential role of such *florilegia* in the choice of quoted material remains to be investigated: even though Vitry probably knew the couplets in their original literary contexts, independent circulation in this form may have been a factor in their selection for use in the motets.

[39] *De bello troiano*, VI. 784-817, and 818-852 for Hecuba's lament; the latter in addition displays some similarity of language and content with the Fauvel motet *Aman novi probatur / Heu fortuna subdola / Heu me*, whose motetus is the lament of Enguerran de Marigny. See, for example, Hecuba's 'Heu meus' (VI. 814-815), introducing her lament, and the motet tenor 'Heu me, tristis est anima mea'; the references by both Hecuba (VI. 838) and the motet triplum to the fires that consumed Phaeton, and their common emphasis on the cruelty of fate.

each case the moral point in the final line of the hexameter couplet ('Unde nichil melius, quam nil habuisse secundum')[40] is borne out: better to have nothing than to suffer a calamitous loss (Vitry's annotation is placed directly alongside the description of Orodes's grief). Other clear parallels emerge between motet and chronicle: both deal with reprobate tribes, with the excessive ambition and cruelty of their leaders and with their final reduction by fortune to misery and death. Joseph of Exeter's text also features a tribe of reprobates, in the form of the Greeks who slew the Trojan King, but in this case fortune sided with the cruel invader, thus revealing how Vitry could adapt the message of his source. If, as seems likely, Vitry's motet predates his annotation in the *Chronicon*,[41] the later use of the couplet may well have been intended to recall not only its generalised moral proposition but also to signal the parallels with the *topoi* of the motet, in effect marking this passage in the narrative as an *exemplum*. The account of the ill-fated Orodes in Nangis reflects on Vitry's own reading of the motet's allegorical depiction of Enguerran de Marigny, thus more fully illuminating its other roles, both within and outside the complex allusory structures of the *Roman de Fauvel*. It also strengthens further the case for Vitry's direct involvement in *Fauvel*, as well of course as adding to the evidence for the attribution of the motet.

Several of Vitry's notes against the later passages in the *Chronicon* reveal a preoccupation with the more contemporary issues that surface in the motets, though less closely than in the case of the hexameter citation described above. Between Gregory the Great and the year 1300, Vitry's marginalia concentrate on relatively few matters: the papacy, French royal power, virtue and sin, signs, England, the crusade and disputes in the University of Paris. Thus, for example, the narratives touching on papal power and on papal-imperial conflicts, and references to the question of 'Old Rome' (whether the pope held his authority by virtue of his see or whether 'ubi papa, ibi Roma'), are noted here almost without fail. These are also the issues that stand at the ideological

[40] Represented by 'etc.' in Vitry's annotation, though clearly the whole couplet is implied.

[41] It remains unclear when Vitry acquired MS Reg. Lat. 544, although it was almost certainly in his hands by 1342 (see Wathey, "Philippe de Vitry's Books," p. 146). Some of Vitry's annotations must have been made in the 1340s and 1350s; others reflecting his interests in the crusade and the papacy may well have been made during the period, beginning in the late 1320s, when his direct involvement with these concerns was at its strongest.

core of *Petre clemens / Lugentium siccentur / Non est tibi similis*, whose text continually emphasises the unique and representative qualities residing in the pope's person. More generally, English perfidy, the subject of a long signed note at the end of the *Chronicon* (on Edward I's duplicity)[42] and of shorter marginalia elsewhere, also emerges as a theme of concern in *De terre o grec Gaulle* and *Phi millies / O creator / Tenor Iacet granum / Contratenor Quam sufflabit*. And Vitry's comment on the fate suffered by the Count of Acerra (created governor of Provence by Charles II, King of Sicily, and in 1294 roasted on an iron spit for sodomy and treason) may reflect distantly the same concern with opposition to Angevin rule that is more mildly expressed in the motet *O canenda / Rex quem metrorum / Rex regum*.[43] Other comments here reflect a broader concern with the papacy and the world of the papal court. They include notes on papal succession and on papal – imperial conflicts, as well as more extended remarks, such as that recording an incident in 1354 when, at a mass celebrated in the papal chapel by Cardinal Gaillard de la Mothe, a child appeared in place of the Host, directly paralleling Nangis's description of a similar apparition before Pope Eugenius III in 1148.[44]

Literary and mythographic activity of this type may or may not accord with Johannes de Grocheio's famous comment that motets are best suited 'to the festivities of the *litterati*'.[45] But it is not impossible, particularly in view of the early humanists' fondness for Papias, that patterns of allegorical reference rooted in the scholastic tradition helped smooth a path for the later motet texts' reception in literary copies. (It is worth noting that the texts of the later works, displaying a high level of direct mythological

[42] Printed in Delisle, "Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican," pp. 509-510.

[43] Vitry writes 'mors infamis comitis acherrarum, sodomite et proditoris,' against the passage in Nangis: 'Comes Acherarum in Appulia quem Karolus secundo rex Sicilie super omnes dominum et magistrum in terra sua provincie constituerat; probatus et repertus sodomita pessimus et sui domini proditor, mandato regis captus a posterioribus usque ad os veru ferreo ardenti transfigitur et postea concrematur' (MS Regin. Lat. 544, fol. 363; H. Géraud (ed.), *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, nouv. edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1843), I, pp. 286-287).

[44] 'Nota quod simile accidit in Avinione tempore dominj Innocentij pape .vj. quod in capella sua in Palacio ipso celebrante domino Cardinale de Mota ministrante similiter corruit sanguis domini coram ipso super tapetum igitur etc.' (MS Regin. Lat. 544, fol. 314*v*; Géraud, *Chronique latine*, I, pp. 42-43). In Nangis's text for 1148 the apparition is taken as a portent of great and imminent misfortune, manifested by a series of military defeats in the Latin East.

[45] On which see C. Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100-1300* (London, 1989), p. 119.

reference, are more completely represented in literary transmissions than those set by the earlier motets.) Vitry's own abilities as a mythographer received praise from his contemporaries. On a broader front it is tempting to seek here, in the scholastic tradition of which he was also a part, a cradle not only for the reception of his later motet poetry but also for its composition.

SOMMARIO

La diffusione del testo poetico del mottetto di Philippe de Vitry fu largamente incoraggiata dal suo contenuto mitologico, che rivela una profonda connessione non solo con le nuove tradizioni poetiche del XIV secolo, ma anche con il consolidato apprendimento e consuetudini mentali della tradizione scolastica. L'uso in Vitry del mito si rivela ovunque: sono citati caratteri e teoria dei testi classici a scopi musicali e allegorici.

Questo articolo identifica i contesti di tale atteggiamento nella politica con la quale Filippo VI pianificava la crociata degli anni '30 del XIV secolo e soprattutto nella cultura del compositore, come illustrato in particolare dal ricorso all'*Elementarium* di Papias. Le pratiche della scolastica di interpretazione ed elaborazione dei testi fornirono un modello per la struttura del testo del mottetto di Vitry e per l'assimilazione del mito: è evidente nell'uso, finora mai identificato, di un distico di Joseph di Exeter sia nel testo del *Triplum* del mottetto *Tribum / Quoniam / Merito*, sia nell'annotazione a margine della copia di Vitry del *Chronicon* di Guillaume de Nangis: in entrambi i casi, il distico attesta una identica condizione morale e storica.

ANDREW WATHEY

EX. 1. Entries from Papias, *Elementarium* (references are to Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 1092).

APOLLINARISTE heretici, dicti ab Apollinare, qui dicunt Cristum corpus tantum sine anima suscepisse (fol. 18*v*).

ATRIDE Atrei filii, id est Agamemnon et Menelaus (fol. 25).

ATHLANTICIS filius Atlantis, que et hesperides fuisse; stelle sunt in umun posite (fol. 25).

BELLEROPHON equus pennatus fingitur qui et Pegasus (fol. 28*v*).

CARMENTINA ipsa est Nicostrata mater Evandri dicta, quod carminibus futura prediceret hec primum litteras repperit latinas, post quam cum filio de Arcadia venit ad Italiam, a quo Carmentalis porta Rome dicta est (fol. 38).

CEPHAS hebraice, Petrus grece, latina agnoscens, syriace caput quod in capite sit constitutus apostolorum (fol. 42).

CIRRHA et Nysa duo capita parnasi montis; in cirra Apollo in Nysa liber colebatur (fol. 45).

DANIEL interpretatur iudicium dei quia inter presbiteros iudicium dei exhibuit, seu quia futura predicebat, hic et desideriorum vir appellatus est, quia panem desiderii non manducavit et vinum concupiscentie non bibit (fol. 57).

EVANDER bonus vir interpretatur; quidam rex qui de Archadia fugiens. habitavit; ubi nunc est Roma; et adiuvit venientem Eneam cuius filius Pallas; Mater vero Carmentis dicta est (fol. 74).

ISMEL filius Abraham a quo Ismahelite; qui nunc corrupto nomine Sarrhaceni quasi a sarra et ab Agar agareni; interpretatur auditio dei. Ismalite interpretatur obedientes sibi (fol. 102).

ISRAEL interpretatur princeps dei sive directus dei ... (fol. 102*v*).

MEMPHIN civitate Egypti edificavit Epaphos Iovis filius ubi optimi mathematici fuerunt; ubi usus charte inventus est primum (fol. 122).

MEMPHITIS lapis vocatus a loco Egypti his tutus atque in his que aducenda et secunda sunt in aceto illinitus ita obstupescere facit; ut non sentiantur cruciatus (fols. 122*r-v*).

PEGASUS avis est, que auriculus equi habet. Pegasus Bellorophontis equus, cuius velocitate chimera dicitur interempta. Pegase vero oppidum grece, ubi Argo navis facta fuit. Pegasum fingunt pagani fuisse equum, qui de Bellorophonte pennis volavit hic de sanguine gorgonos natus dicitur.

Pegasus fons musis dicatus, quem pede fecit Pegasus. Pege pege grece fons (fol. 153*v*).

PHETON stella una est ex planetis, quam philosophia in sexto celi circulo currere dicunt explet circulum annis xii. Pheton quidam dicunt Iovis stellam (fol. 156*v*).

PETRA grecum est a duricia saxonum dicta... Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram; quam confessus es idest me: edificabo ecclesiam meam. Petra enim erat Christus; super quod fundamentum edificatus, id est Petrus. Ipse Cephas dictus est; quod in capite sit constitutus apostolorum. Cephale *Kefale* enim grece caput dicitur et ipsum nomen in Petro syrum est. Petrus interpretatur advocatus vel agnoscens secundum Eucherium... (fols. 156*v*-157).

PHILIPPI sunt campi in Grecia, ubi fuit bellum inter Caesarem et Pompeium (fol. 158).

PHILIPPUS interpretatur os lampadis...; ibique [Hieropolis] cum filiabus suis quiescit... (fol. 157*v*).

SYRIA ab oriente fluvio Euphrato et ab occasu mari et Egypto terminantur; tangens a septentrione Armeniam, et Capadociam a meridio habet autem in se provincias Comagenam Phoeniceam et Palestinam; cuius pars est Iudaea atque sarracenis et nabatheis; Syria interpretatur sublimis (fol. 203*v*).

TYESTES incestavit uxorem fratris sui Atrei; unde Atreus ei filium apposuit (fol. 219*v*).

ANDREW WATHEY

EX. 2[46]. *Petre clemens / lugentium siccentur / Tenor Non est tibi*

TRIPLUM
Petre clemens tam re quam nomine
cui nascenti Donantis dextera
non defuit, qui ymo cardine
et supremo beata munera
suscepisti felix, ac omnia
que reliqua celi benignitas
dare potest non defuit, pia
Pyeridum sacrarum dignitas;
harum solus precellis dotibus
harum dono cuncta gymnasia
Carmentina Pegasi pedibus
transvectus es a puericia;
aut fata nunc aut ipsa prospera
te Fortuna, melius, Spiritus
sublimavit, ergo considera
quod Cephas es, sed orbi deditus,
quod monarcha, sed servus omnium,
princeps orbis, sed orbis languidi,
servus nempe, sed delirantium,
ac ne tui tandem sint perfidi.
Arte, princeps, serva Danielicum
torque fides mundiales celis
regum divum; furorem tragicum
potens, pie, compescere velis.
Absit tuo Tyestes tempore
et Athreus, absint Thebaides
abutentes fraterno iecore;
unumque sint scissi Philipides
Urbem vide classis per equora;
deterreat principes Thaneos
clangor tube, Turcorum pectora
decipiant augures Mempheos.
Consoletur tristis Armenia,
et elatus succumbat Ismael,

[46] I am most grateful to David Howlett, editor of the *Dictionary of Medieval latin from British Sources*, for his help with this text and that in ex. 3.

et germinet deserta Syria
et depressus resurgat Israel:
Tunc nature, gloriosissimus
triumphator, tributum solvere
non dolebis, heres legitimus
Ihesu Cristi, moriens libere;
et si desint marmor et gemula
ac metallum sculpenda funeri,
erit tandem tumulus vernula
semper fama respondens operi,
quam posteris prebebis regula
gubernandi; faveant superi.

DUPLUM
Lugentium siccentur oculi,
plaudant senes, exultent parvuli,
umbre mortis quoniam regio
quos tenuit splendoris visio
est exorta; radio Spiritus
Clemens sextus factus divinitus;
stupor orbis, O tersum speculum
ad formandum virtutum modulum,
tu Cirrhei Syris Apollinis
pervasisti vigor certaminis
Phitonistas heresis ubere
crapulatos solos prosternere,
ac dum flectis sermonis timpanum
corda rapis ad auris organum.
Petrus primus petrum non deseris
vices eius quia recte geris;
tu clemens es et Clemens diceris,
Pegasei qui fontis aperis
venas gratis Indis et rudibus
Athlanticis et Ethiopibus
Stiris quoque, quid in preconia
laudum mira fundat iusticia.
Non augentur memento secula,
non inane tumescunt guttula,
nec ulla laus addensere mentis
tuis unquam poterit inclitis.
Vulgi tamen modica porcio
de te saltem clangere gestio:
Vivat, vivat orbi perutilis,
cui non est inventus similis.

TENOR
Non est inventus similis illi.

ANDREW WATHEY

EX. 3. *Tribum que non abhoruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur*

TRIPLUM
Tribum que non abhoruit
indecenter ascendere
furibunda non metuit
Fortuna cito vertere,
dum duci prefate tribus

in sempiternum speculum
parare palam omnibus
non pepercit patibulum.
Populus ergo venturus
si trans metam ascenderit,

quidam forsitan casurus,
cum tanta tribus ruerit,
sciat eciam fructus
delabi sit in profundum.
Post zephiros plus ledit hyems, post gaudia luctus;
unde nichil melius, quam nil habuisse secundum.

MOTETUS
Quoniam secta latronum
spelunca visplionum
vulpes que Gallos roderat
tempore quo regnaverat
leo cecatus subito

suo ruere merito
in mortem privatem bonis:
concinat Gallus Nasonis
dicta que dolum acuunt:
omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo
et subito casu que valuere ruunt.

TENOR
Merito hec patimur

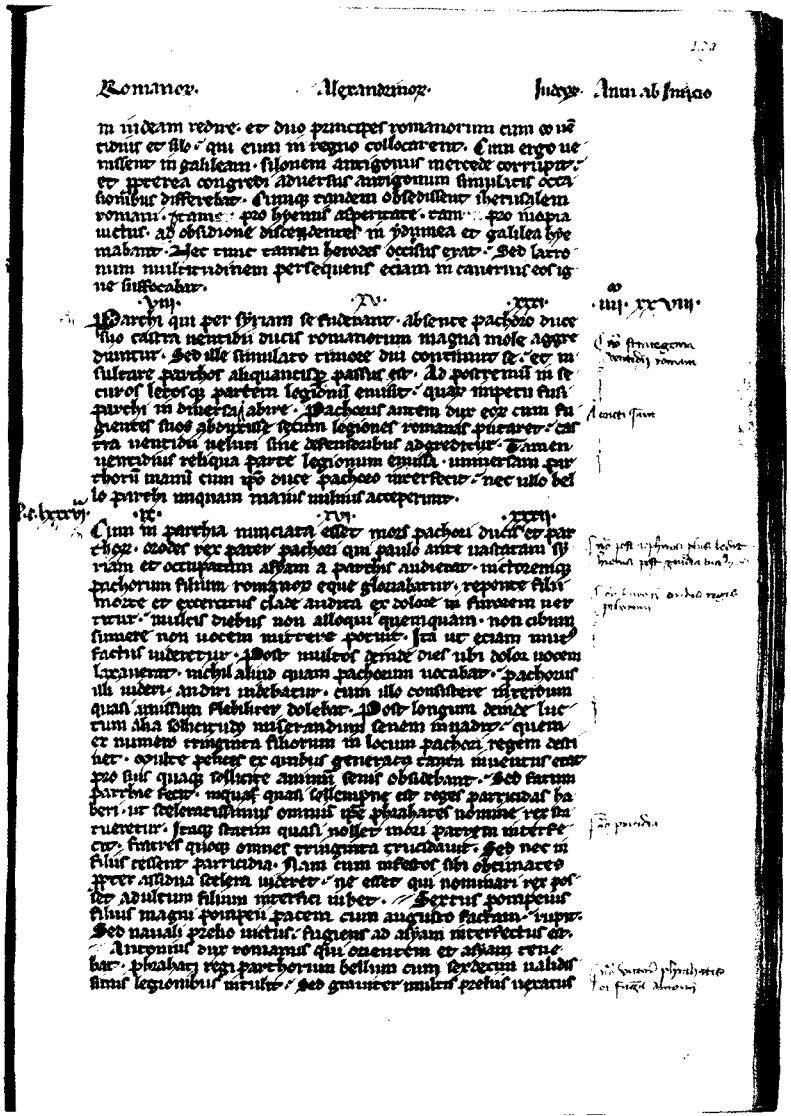

FIG. 1. Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Regin. Lat. 544, fol. 129. Marginal annotations by Philippe de Vitry include the comment "Post zephiros plus ledit hyems, post gaudia luctus, etc." (Joseph of Exeter, *De bello troiano*, VI. 804), which also ends the triplum text of *Tribum que non abhoruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* (foto Archivio fotografico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

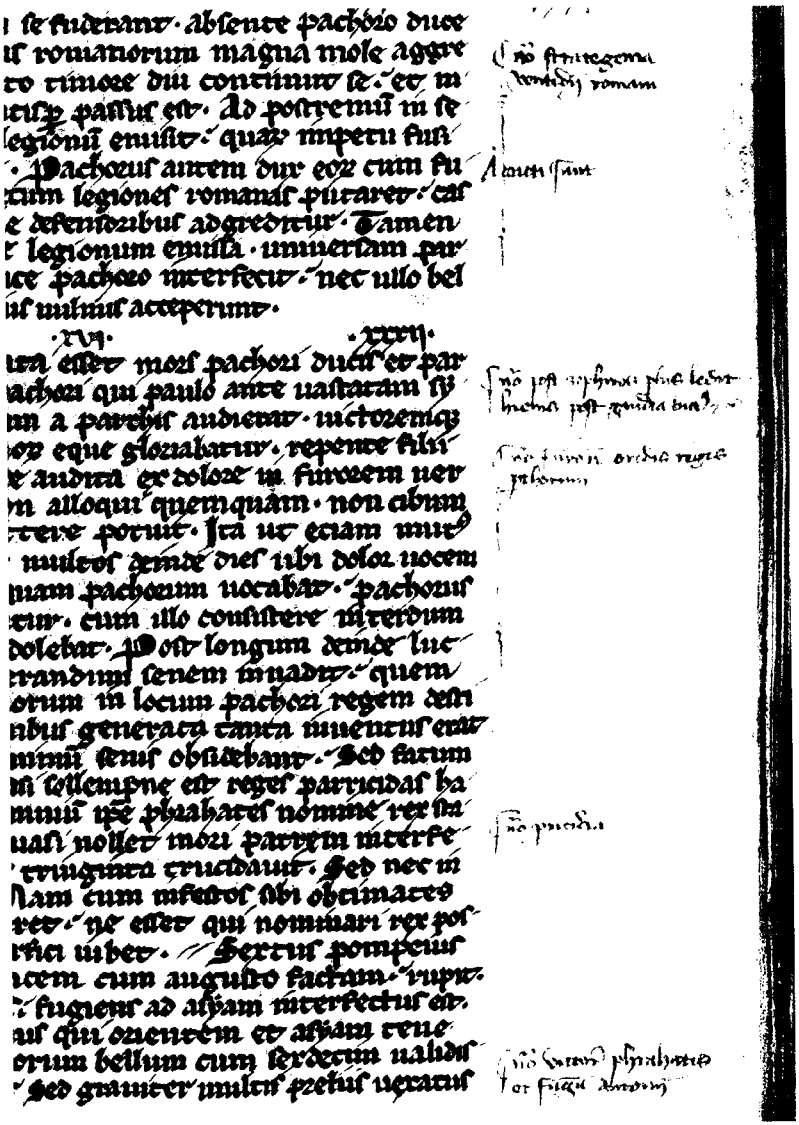

FIG. 1. (*segue*: particolare)

[24]

IMITATION IN THE ARS NOVA AND ARS SUBTILIOR *

VIRGINIA ERVIN NEWES
(Bruxelles)

By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, virtually all techniques of canonic writing had been explored and were being used with exemplary virtuosity by Dufay and his successors (1). Free imitation as well took on increasing importance in non-canonic works until, in the *ars perfecta* of the Josquin generation, it came to penetrate the entire contrapuntal texture, resulting in the motivic unification of all the voices.

Such technical facility in the treatment of imitation and canon was not achieved within a short space of time, but represents the summit of a long period of development.

There has long been a tendency to attribute the rise of imitation and canon in the early fifteenth century to Italian influence alone. Yet in the generation before Dufay, not only Italian composers but also northerners such as Cordier, Cesaris and Carmen made extensive use of free imitation as well as strict canonic writing. Johannes Ciconia of Liège, whose works represent a synthesis of French and Italian tendencies, is the most interesting composer of this transitional period in musical history, which coincides with the Great Schism in the western church (2). Ciconia, who used in his motets a variety of imitative procedures including the canonic opening, must have been familiar not only with the madrigals, *ballate* and *caccie* of the Italian Trecento, but also with the sacred and secular repertoire of Avignon (3), even though he may never have visited the papal court (4). The term « caccia-motet » used in older writings suggests the direct influence of what was, after all, a highly specialized and short-lived application of widely known canonic procedures (5). Gilbert Reaney (6) has suggested the French canon as the

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* The following survey represents a preliminary study for a doctoral dissertation which will trace the development of imitative and canonic writing before Dufay.

(1) L. FEININGER, *Die Frühgeschichte des Kanons bis Josquin des Prez (um 1500)*, Heidelberg, 1937, p. 21.

(2) A re-examination by David Fallows of the biographical data provided by S. Clercx in her biography of Ciconia suggests that there were in fact two Ciconia's, father and son, and that only the younger man was a composer. Fallows points out that Ciconia is unlikely to have been nearly seventy when, in 1403, he is listed as *cantor* and *custos* at the cathedral of Padua. Moreover, Ciconia's works are preserved almost without exception in manuscripts containing an early fifteenth rather than a fourteenth century repertoire. *Cf.* S. CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia. Un musicien liégeois et son temps (vers 1335-1411)*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1960, and D. FALLOWS, « Ciconia Padre e Figlio », *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, XI (1976), 171-177.

(3) CLERCX, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 9 and 17.

(4) Ciconia's complex virelai *Sus un' fontayne* contains citations from three ballades by Philippoctus de Caserta, an Avignon composer whom Ciconia admired but, according to the virelai text, had never met. *Cf.* U. GÜNTHER, Zitate in französischen Liedsätze der Ars nova und Ars subtilior », *Musica Disciplina*, XXVI (1972), p. 64f.

(5) According to Marrocco, the greatest diffusion of the *caccia* lasted from 1350 to 1380, while Kurt von Fischer has suggested the dates of 1340 to 1370. *Cf.* W.Th. MARROCCO, *The Fourteenth Century Italian Cacce*, Cambridge, Mass., 1942, p. xii, and K. VON FISCHER, review of Marrocco, *op. cit.*, *Die Musikforschung*, XVII (1964), p. 331.

(6) G. REANEY, art. « Chanson », *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Kassel, 1949-, vol. 2, col. 1041.

ancestor of the imitative openings typical of the early fifteenth century « Burgundian » chanson, although precedents for the imitative opening are to be found in non-canonic chansons of the fourteenth century. The present study has been prompted by the conviction that the origins of fifteenth century imitative writing are not to be found in the strict canon alone.

In an article published in 1957 ([7]), Willi Apel has provided a valuable survey of imitation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Apel objects to the terms « caccia-mass » and « caccia-motet », and to the idea that fifteenth century imitative techniques are derived from the *caccia* ([8]). He retains the generally accepted distinction between canon and free imitation: in a true canon, two or more voices have the same melody during its entire length, beginning at different times, whereas in free imitation, a short phrase is repeated more or less strictly at short distance by another voice ([9]). However, Apel does not include, in his survey of thirteenth century imitation, the important technique of voice exchange (*Stimmtausch*), even though this procedure is very close to the imitative dialogue he cites from Perotin's *Viderunt omnes* ([10]). Apel finds only one example of imitation in the Ivrea manuscript (I-IV 68) and another in the Apt collection (F-Apt 16 bis), neglecting the quite remarkable dialogue imitations to be found in the mass movements of both manuscripts. His survey of imitation in the Italian and French secular music of the fourteenth century is more detailed; however, the publication during recent years of practically the entire fourteenth century repertoire has provided a much broader base for study than was formerly available.

The *Ars nova* in France can be said to begin with Philippe de Vitry's treatise of the same name, written in Paris about 1320 ([11]), and to end about the time of Machaut's death in 1377 ([12]). The term *Ars subtilior* suggested by Ursula Günther ([13]) describes more precisely the complex style of the late fourteenth century than either *französische Spätzeit* ([14]) or « manneristic style » ([15]) with its pejorative overtones. Compositions in the *Ars subtilior* style appear in large number in the Chantilly manuscript (F-CH564) and are still to be found in the early fifteenth century in the north Italian manuscript of Modena (I-MOe5.24). It must be remembered, however, that the *Ars subtilior* was not only followed by but also co-existed with a simpler, clearer style. Indeed, some composers, such as Senleches, Matheus de Perusio and Ciconia, have left compositions in both manners.

([7]) W. APEL, « Imitation in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries », *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison*, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, 25-38.
([8]) *Ibid.*, p. 26f.
([9]) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
([10]) *Ibid.*, p. 28.
([11]) *Cf.* L. SCHRADE, « Philippe de Vitry; Some New Discoveries », *The Musical Quarterly*, XLII (1956), p. 331, and G. REANEY, « The 'Ars nova' of Philippe de Vitry », *Musica Disciplina*, X (1956), p. 9.
([12]) H. BESSELER, art. « Ars nova », *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Kassel, 1949-, vol. 1, col. 703.
([13]) U. GÜNTHER, « Das Ende der Ars nova », *Die Musikforschung*, XVI (1963), p. 112.
([14]) BESSELER, *op. cit.*, col. 722.
([15]) W. APEL, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 10.

In the introduction to his first collection of late fourteenth century French music ([16]), Apel placed the complex style in Avignon between 1370 and 1390. This date was contested as too early by Besseler ([17]) and Günther, who suggested 1380 for the beginning of the *Ars subtilior* ([18]). Günther has also pointed out that the dates of both pieces considered by Apel to mark the beginning of the complex style are not definitive ([19]). Moreover, Ciconia's complex virelai *Sus un' fontayne* was probably composed around 1390, rather than 1370, as Apel, Clercx and Hoppin had assumed ([20]).

Because of the particular native style which prevailed in Italy until the late fourteenth century, Italian music of this period is considered to belong to the « Trecento » rather than to the « Italian *Ars nova* » ([21]).

Almost the entire repertoire of the *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior* is now available in transcription. It includes 14 motets by Philippe de Vitry ([22]) and 23 by Machaut ([23]), and 35 motets, for the most part anonymous, from the manuscripts of Ivrea (I-IV68), Chantilly (F-CH564) and Modena (I-MOe5.24) ([24]). Machaut's mass is the only complete mass by a single composer from the fourteenth century, but a total of 78 mass movements from the region in and around Avignon have been preserved ([25]).

The repertoire of French chansons includes the 74 polyphonic ballades, rondeaux and virelais of Machaut ([26]) and the 293 compositions contained in Willi Apel's *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century* ([27]).

([16]) *Ibid.*

([17]) H. BESSELER, « Hat Matheus de Perusio Epoche gemacht? », *Die Musikforschung*, VIII (1955), 19-23.

([18]) GÜNTHER, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

([19]) U. GÜNTHER, « Problems of Dating in Ars nova and Ars subtilior », *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, Terzo Convegno Internazionale 1975, Certaldo*, (to be published).

([20]) *Ibid. Cf.* W. APEL, « The Development of French Secular Music During the Fourteenth Century », *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 45; S. CLERCX, « Question de Chronologie », *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, IX (1955), p. 47; R. H. HOPPIN, review of S. CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia, The Musical Quarterly*, XLVII (1961), p. 417.

([21]) *Cf.* K. VON FISCHER, « Trecentomusik - Trecentoprobleme; Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht », *Acta Musicologica*, XXX (1958), 179-199; L. SCHRADE, « The Chronology of the Ars nova in France », *L'Ars nova. Les Colloques de Wégimont*, 1955, Paris, 1959, p. 42; N. PIRROTTA, « Cronologia e denominazione dell' Ars nova italiana », *ibid.*, p. 93.

([22]) Transcribed in L. SCHRADE, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. I, Monaco, 1956. More recently, E. H. Sanders has suggested the attribution of *Floret - Florens* from the Brussels *rotulus* to Vitry, while doubting the authenticity of *Heu fortuna - Aman novi*. *Cf.* E. H. SANDERS, « The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry », *The Musical Quarterly*, LXI (1975), p. 36.

([23]) Transcribed in F. LUDWIG, *Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke*, vol. III, *Motetten*, Leipzig, 1954, and L. SCHRADE, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. II, III, Monaco, 1956.

([24]) Transcribed in F. Ll. HARRISON, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. V, Monaco, 1968, and U. GÜNTHER, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 39, Rome, 1965.

([25]) Transcribed in L. SCHRADE, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. I, Monaco, 1956, and H. STÄBLEIN-HARDER, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 29, Rome, 1962.

([26]) Transcribed in L. SCHRADE, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. II, III, Monaco, 1956, and F. LUDWIG, *Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke*, vol. I, *Balladen, Rondeaux und Virelais*, Leipzig, 1954. Two of the lais, formerly thought to be monodic, have subsequently been added to the list of Machaut's polyphonic chansons. *Cf.* R. H. HOPPIN, « An Unrecognized Polyphonic Lai of Machaut », *Musica Disciplina*, XII (1958), 93-104, and M. HASSELMAN and T. WALKER, « More Hidden Polyphony in a Machaut MS », *Musica Disciplina*, XXIV (1970), 7-16.

([27]) *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 53, I, Rome, 1970; II, Rome, 1971; III, Rome, 1972.

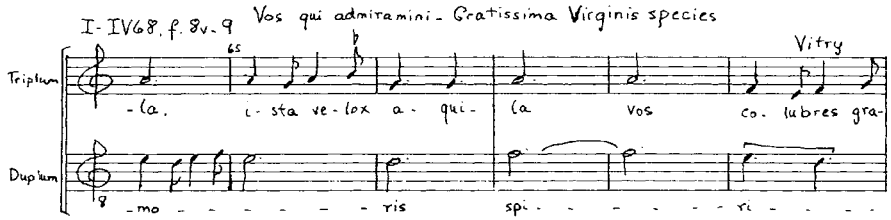
The 219 polyphonic compositions, consisting of motets, mass settings and chansons, which are contained in the manuscript I-Tn9 ([28]) have also been taken into consideration. Although compiled for the use of the Lusignan court at Cyprus, these compositions belong clearly within the French stylistic sphere ([29]).

A survey of this extensive repertoire allows us to draw certain conclusions about the types of imitative technique, aside from strict canon, which were already in use in the *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior*.

One of the simplest and possibly oldest ways of coordinating the voices in polyphonic composition is through voice exchange (*Stimmtausch*): two motifs or phrases appear alternately in two different voices. To the listener the effect is purely spatial, since the same musical material is heard twice, although assigned alternately to different singers. Voice exchange was used with some frequency in the Notre-Dame organa ([30]) and may be found as well in early dance music. It is also a notable feature of a number of motets from the Worcester Fragments (GB-Worc) ([31]) and of those motets in the Montpellier manuscript (F-Mo) which are believed to be of English provenance ([32]).

Voice exchange in its strictest form — that is, the literal exchange of entire phrases between two voices — appears to have declined with the advent of the *Ars nova*. Yet the passing of short motifs from one voice to another, without overlapping between the first statement of a motif and its imitation in another voice, is a technique closely related to voice exchange. The effect of literal repetition is naturally diminished when the motif repeated in the second voice is accompanied by new material in the first voice.

The melodic and rhythmic vocabulary of the early *Ars nova* is very restricted, so that the exchange between the two upper voices of brief stereotyped motifs without benefit of accentuation by rests, as in example 1, appears almost accidental.



([28]) Transcribed in R. H. HOPPIN, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 21, 1, Rome, 1960; II, Rome, 1961; III, Rome, 1963; IV, Rome, 1963.

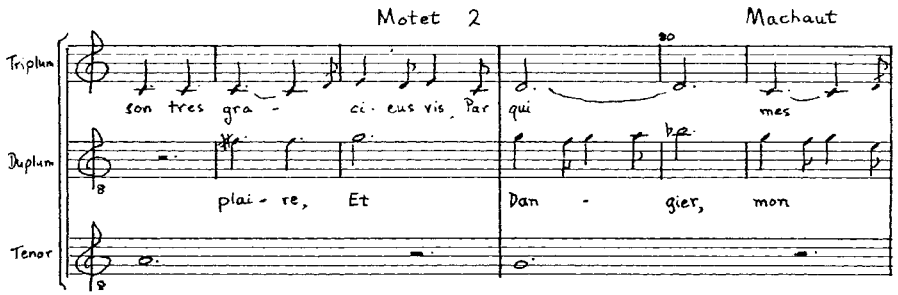
([29]) R. H. HOPPIN, «The Cypriot French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino», *Musica Disciplina*, XI (1957), p. 89.

([30]) *Cf.* the example in G. REESE, *Music in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1940, p. 304.

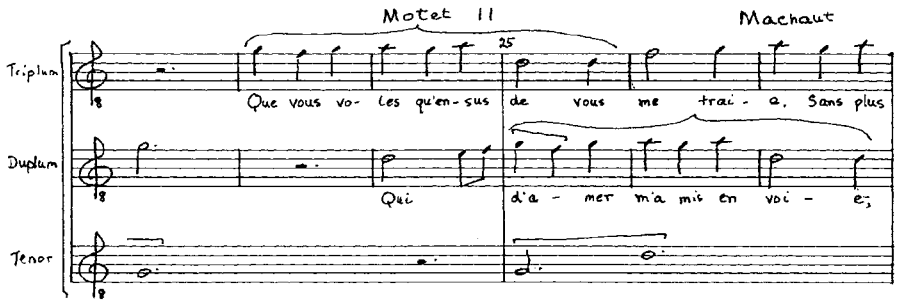
([31]) Transcribed in L. DITTMER, *The Worcester Fragments (Musicological Studies and Documents*, 2), Rome, 1957.

([32]) E. APFEL, *Studien zur Satztechnik der mittelalterlichen englischen Musik*, Heidelberg, 1959, p. 31.

In the following example from Machaut, the division of rhythmic activity between the two upper voices results in the exchange of brief rhythmic motifs, but not in melodic imitation.

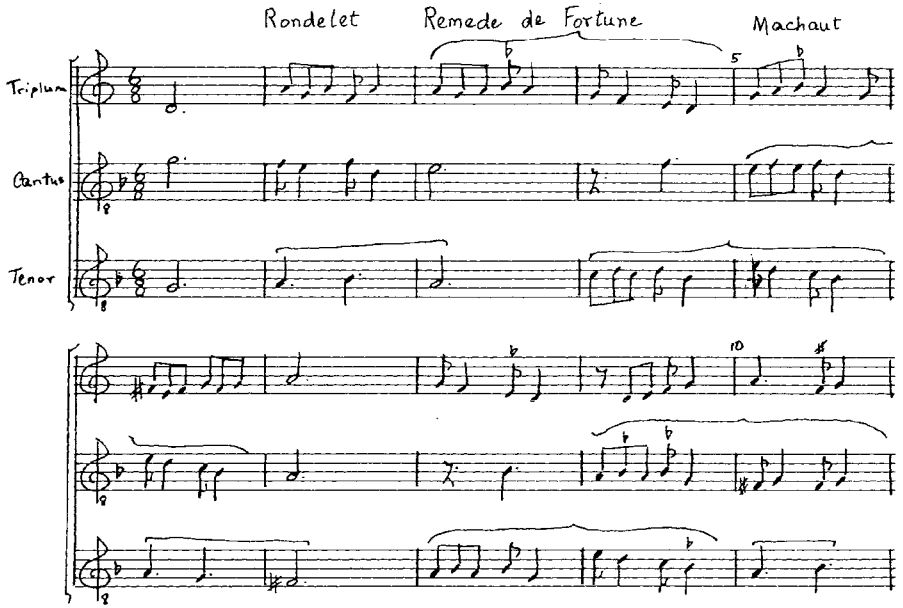


In example 3, the two-measure phrase which begins a new line of text in the *triplum* is repeated in the *motetus*, but it is preceded by a measure of new material which camouflages the imitation.

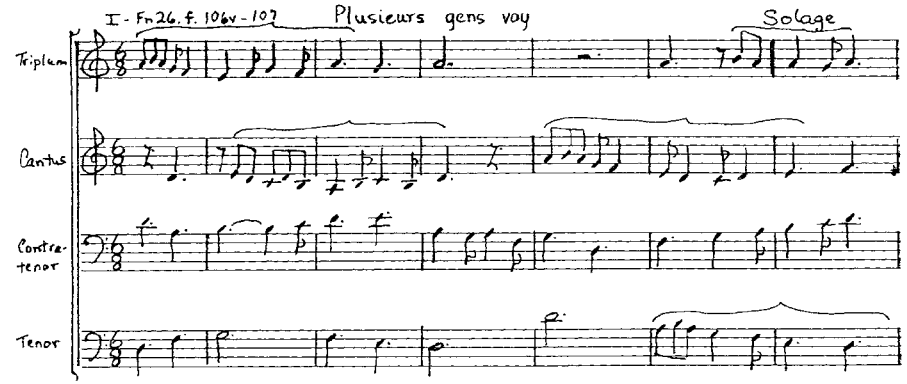


In Machaut's polyphonic chansons, the exchange of continually varied melodic fragments between the voices is often hardly perceptible. Brief motifs are woven into the contrapuntal fabric, acting as a unifying device but seldom resulting in true imitations. Thus, in the *Rondelet* from the *Remède de Fortune*, the same motif appears five times in alternation between the three voices, each time subject to slight variation. Motifs are varied by transposition, by inversion, by extension, etc., with a minute attention to detail which may be compared to the art of miniature painting of the same period ([33]).

([33]) G. REANEY, «The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut: Melody, Rhythm and Form», *Acta Musicologica*, XXVII (1955), p. 53f.



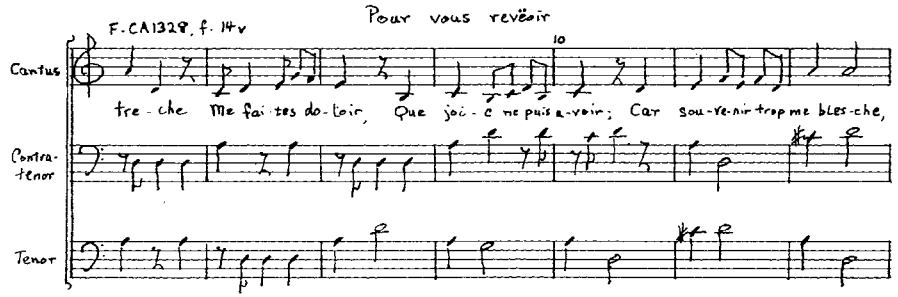
A similar type of variation technique may be found in two ballades by Solage ([34]), where a simple descending motif alternates between the two upper voices.



([34]) The Chantilly manuscript contains ten pieces by this composer, of which three may be dated: the ballades *Calextone qui fut* and *Corps féminin* were composed for the marriage in 1386 of Catherine of France and the son of the duc de Berry; *S'aincy estoit* was composed for the second marriage of the duke which took place at Rion on June 6, 1389. Solage may have accompanied Charles VI to southern France in 1389-90, and thus have helped bring the northern repertoire to the courts of Foix and Aragon. *Cf.* U. GÜNTHER, « Die Musiker des Herzogs de Berry », *Musica Disciplina,* XVII (1963), 87-91.

In Machaut's *Rondeau* no. 1, meas. 6-8, a brief triple imitation has a structural function, since it marks the beginning of a new line of text in the *cantus*.

The exchange of complementary rythmic patterns between two voices shows that they have been conceived simultaneously, rather than superimposed one on the other. In an anonymous virelai from the Cambrai fragments (F-CA1328), a trombone-like motif in hocket rhythm is divided between tenor and contratenor.



A similar coupling of the voices may be found in the ballade *De ce que foul pense,* by Pierre des Molins ([35]). To the accompaniment of a simple hocket pattern divided between the lower voices, a syncopated motif is passed from *triplum* to *cantus* and back to the *triplum* before appearing a fourth time in the *cantus,* transposed down a fifth. The imitation is missing, however, in the alternate *triplum* preserved in the manuscript F-CA1328.

([35]) The popularity of this ballade is proved by its inclusion in nine different sources. It appears in the index of the lost Trémoille manuscript (F-Trém), which provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1376. The ballade may also be found in a tapestry woven at Arras in 1420. (Reproduction in H. BESSELER, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,* Potsdam, 1931, p. 136, and R. WANGERMÉE, *Flemish Music,* Brussels, 1968, p. 114.

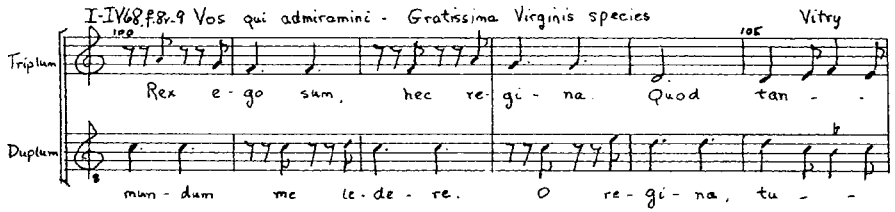
An interesting example of strict voice exchange applied to text as well as music appears in the anonymous virelai *Fait fut pour vous*.

This piece also contains numerous fragmentary imitations. Stylistically, it bears a striking resemblance to Ciconia's *Aler m'en veus*, with its exchange of entire phrases up to 12 measures in length ([36]).

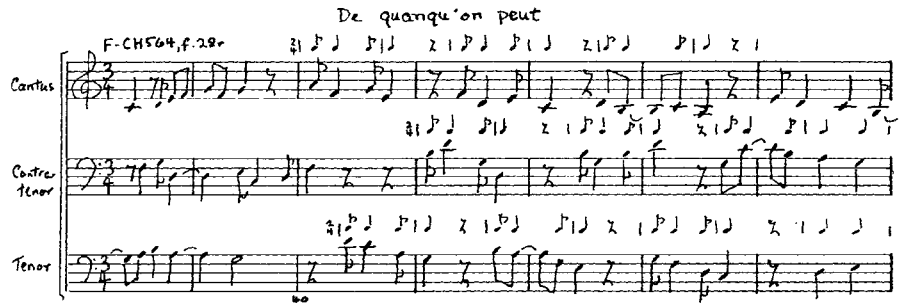
The concept of imitation in fourteenth-century music should be extended to include rhythmic imitation. Although most stylistic studies of the music of this period have been concerned with rhythmic problems, this aspect of rhythmic organization has been little discussed. Nevertheless, it appears far more frequently than melodic imitation and constitutes an important factor of cohesion between the voices.

Passages in hocket style, whose rhythmic tension approaches that of a stretto, are a characteristic feature of the motets, and may be found as well in the *chaces, caccie* and *ballades*. The relation between hocket and isorhythm is well known. Besseler noted that isorhythm in the upper voices, which becomes more and more frequent towards the end of the fourteenth century, begins already in the motets of Vitry in the hocket passages ([37]). The rhythmic (and occasionally melodic) imitations in the following example are repeated in the second, fourth and sixth *taleae* of the motet's second section.

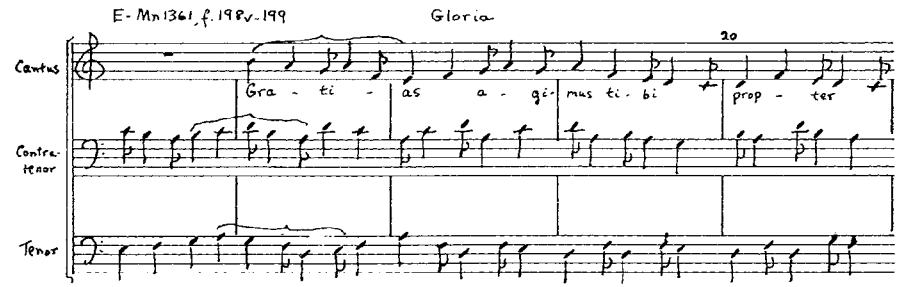
([36]) W. APEL, «The Development of French Secular Music During the Fourteenth Century», *Musica Disciplina*, XXVII (1973), p. 57.
([37]) H. BESSELER, «Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, VIII (1926), p. 201, n. 2.



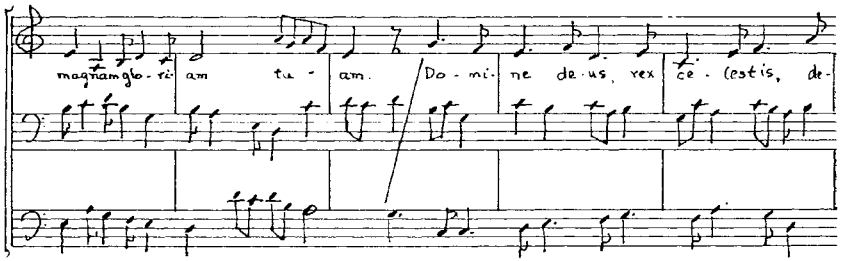
Rhythmic imitations are frequent in the melismatic cadences of *ballades* and *rondeaux*. In the following example, the rhythmic sequence suggests a change from *tempus perfectum* to *tempus imperfectum* in one voice after another.



Passages in rhythmic imitation, often associated with hocket, appear in the mass settings from the Avignon region as well. They may be found in melismatic cadences at the ends of *Kyrie* sections, or between the sections of a *Credo*. In a troped *Kyrie* ([38]), hocket passages appear at each statement of the liturgical text, while the trope is treated syllabically. In the *Gloria* from the manuscript E-Mn1361, a syncopated rhythm is imitated in all three voices, followed by the imitation of another rhythmic pattern between tenor and *superius*. Since the imitations take place at the distance of only two minims, the effect is of increased rhythmic complexity.

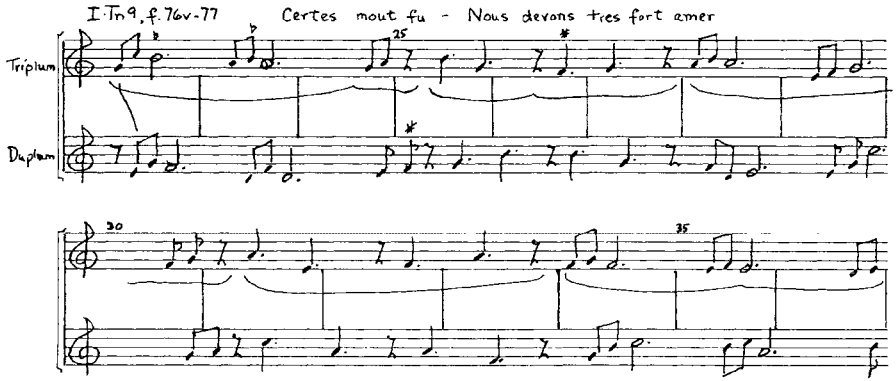


([38]) F-Apt16 bis, no. 1, I-IV68, no. 68. The concordance with the earlier Ivrea manuscript proves that the *Clemens pater* of the *motetus* must be Clement VI, pope from 1342-1352.



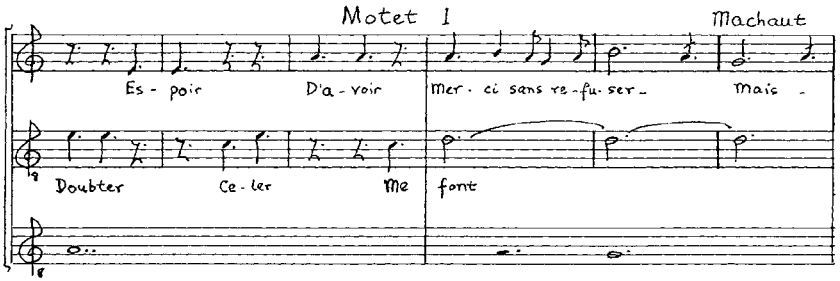
Rhythmic imitation seldom appears in hocket passages in the motets of Machaut, who prefers to use rhythmic motifs which complement rather than imitating each other. However, the non-isorhythmic *Amen* of the *Gloria* from the mass contains an extended passage in rhythmic imitation between the upper voices, over a slow-moving tenor and a more animated contratenor; there is a similar passage in the strictly isorhythmic *Amen* of the *Credo*.

The numerous passages in rhythmic imitation to be found among the motets of the manuscript I-Tn9 appear to be characteristic of the Cypriot repertoire ([39]). They range in complexity from simple hockets in voice exchange to a complex rhythmic canon, in which two sequential patterns alternate symmetrically, the imitation taking place at a distance of only one minim.



Closely related to the hocket and, like it, tending towards the vertical coordination of the voices, is the alternate declamation in syllabic style of single words or phrases, creating an effect of imitation which emphasizes certain elements of the text. Thus, in the Motet no. 1 by Machaut, the alternate declamation in the upper voices is clearly intended to draw attention to the internal rhymes which are typical of fourteenth century motet texts. The alternate declamations reappear in the eight *modus* measure of each *talea*, always associated with internal rhymes.

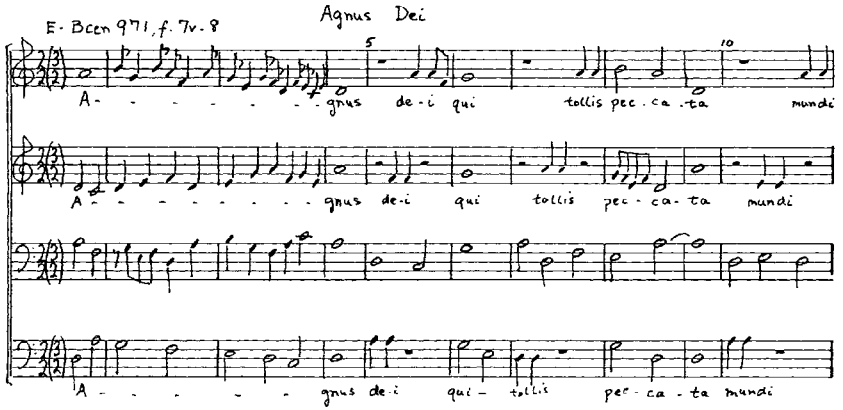
([39]) R. H. HOPPIN, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 21, II, p. i.



A complex motet from the Chantilly manuscript (F-CH564) is another example of the same procedure.

Examples such as these are in direct contradiction of Aegidius de Murino's directions for motet writing, according to which the music should be composed first and the text fitted to it later (40). In both cases, the text must have preceded the music.

Among the mass settings of the Avignon repertoire, six pieces have examples of alternating declamation in more or less strict imitation, in which isolated words from the liturgical text are passed from one voice to another. The declamations are set off rhythmically from the rest of the piece, and the



(40) C. E. H. COUSSEMAKER, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, Paris, 1864-76, facs. ed., 1931, vol. III, p. 125, cited in Reese, *op. cit.*, p. 354. *Cf.* U. GÜNTHER, «Das Wort-Ton Problem bei Motetten des späten 14. Jahrhunderts», *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler*, Leipzig, 1961, 163-178.

repetitions of words and singles notes do not appear in any other context. In the *Agnus Dei* from the Barcelona Mass, the tenor takes part in the imitations along with the upper voices; the textless contratenor is probably instrumental.

Although the French repertoire of the *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior* includes some 34 strict canons, extended imitation in non-canonic works is relatively rare, and appears to have been reserved for ceremonial works ([41]). The motet *Petre Clemens - Lugentium siccentur* appears without attribution in the Ivrea manuscript (I-IV68, f. 37v-38) ([42]), but the text of the *triplum* exists in another manuscript with the following attribution: *Hunc motetum fecit Philippus de Vittriaco pro papa Clemente* ([43]). Clement VI was elected pope at Avignon in 1342 and died in 1352, and Vitry's motet must therefore have been composed within these dates. The invocation to the pope may be clearly heard since the entire first line of the *triplum* is sung to the accompaniment of a freely-composed instrumental tenor; the *motetus* enters four measures later with a different text but in strict imitation of the *triplum*'s first phrase. The imitative introduction takes place entirely outside of the isorhythmic construction, which does not begin until measure 15.

Of the five motets by Vitry with an *introitus* preceding the isorhythmic tenor pattern, only one opens in strict canonic imitation. However, in *Quoniam secta latronum - Tribum, que non abhorruit* from the *Roman de Fauvel* (F-Pn146, f. 41v-42) ([44]), the *motetus* follows the *triplum* in free imitation at a distance of three measures.

Although Machaut's numerous canons prove that he was in full command of canonic technique, he did not make use of prolonged strict imitation in any of his non-canonic works. Seven of the motets (nos. 9, 13, 15, 19, 21, 22 and 23) have an *introitus* section before the beginning of the isorhythmic tenor, and in two others the entrance of the *triplum* is delayed. None of these, however, including the last three motets which are all ceremonial invocations to peace, has a canonic opening.

Two of the four motets with *introitus* in the Chantilly manuscript open in strict imitation. *Rex Karole, Johannis genite - Leticie, pacis, concordie* (F-CH564, f. 65v-66, F-Sm222, f. 7v-8) ([45]) is dedicated to Charles V of France and was composed in 1375 in celebration of the peace treaty he concluded with England ([46]). The first five measures of the *triplum* are followed in exact echo repetition by the *motetus,* which has a different text but a similar rhyme scheme;

([41]) Three motets with imitative *introitus* are dedicated to popes, and one to a king: *Petre Clemens - Lugentium siccentur,* for Clement VI; *Pictagore per dogmata - O terra sancta suplica - Rosa vernans caritatis,* for Pope Gregory XI; *Rex Karole Johannis genite - Leticie pacis concordie,* for King Charles V of France; and *Argi vices Poliphemus - Cum Philemon rebus paucis,* for Pope John XXIII.

([42]) Transcribed in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* vol. I.

([43]) L. SCHRADE, « Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries », *The Musical Quarterly,* XLII (1956), p. 341.

([44]) Transcribed in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* vol. I.

([45]) Transcribed in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* vol. V, and *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 39.

([46]) U. GÜNTHER, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 39, p. xxx-xxxi.

there are eight more measures of non-imitative *duo* before the entry of the isorhythmic tenor on the cadential note.

The introduction of another ceremonial work from the Chantilly manuscript, *Pictagore per dogmata - O terra sancta suplica - Rosa vernans caritatis* (F-CH564, f. 63v-64) ([47]), seems to have been composed after the main body of the motet was already completed. The first four measures of the *motetus*, accompanied by the contratenor alone, have no text, and the isorhythmic tenor begins together with the *triplum* at measure 5. Since the two texts begin simultaneously, the ceremonial invocation is less clear than in *Rex Karole*. The text of the *motetus*, which refers to a crusade planned by Pope Gregory XI but never carried out, allows the fixing of early 1375 as the probable date of composition ([48]).

Another case of added imitation may be seen in the motet *Appollinis eclipsatur - In omnem terram - Zodiacum signis lustrantibus* ([49]), which appears in the Ivrea manuscript (I-IV68, f. 12v-13) in a version for three voices, with an attribution to Bernard de Cluny in the text of the contratenor. In another version of the same motet from the Strasbourg manuscript (F-Sm222, f. 64v-65), whose older section dates from the early fifteenth century ([50]), two voices have been added in imitation of the duplum. The *duplum* text cites the names of twelve celebrated musicians ([51]). The textless *quadruplum sive triplum* of the Strasbourg version appears to be an alternate voice since it is frequently in dissonant relationship with the added *triplum*. Moreover, instead of entering at the end of a phrase on a perfect consonance, as in all the other motets with canonic openings, it begins a measure before the cadence, forming a sixth with the tenor and a fourth with the *duplum*.

Of the 41 motets in the manuscript I-Tn9, only one, no. 15, f. 72v-73 ([52]) has a canonic *introitus:* the texts are dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The 12-measure long opening of the *triplum* is repeated in strict imitation by the *duplum;* the entire introduction takes place before the entry of the tenor and contratenor and the beginning of the isorhythmic structure.

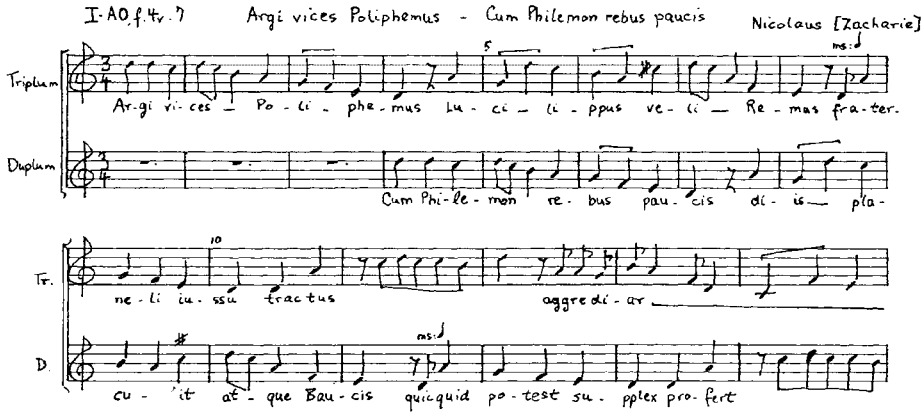
An interesting example of a ceremonial motet from northern Italy which may possibly be by Landini ([53]) is preserved in a recently discovered fragment at Grottaferrata (I-GR187) ([54]). Composed in honor of the doge Marco Cornaro in 1365 ([55]), *Marce Marcum imitaris* shows the influence of the Italian madrigal

([47]) Transcribed in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* vol. V, and *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 39.
([48]) GÜNTHER, *op. cit.,* p. xl-xli.
([49]) Transcribed in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* vol. V.
([50]) *RISM* IV, 3, p. 550.
([51]) *Cf.* B. TROWELL, « A Fourteenth-Century Ceremonial Motet and Its Composer », *Acta Musicologica,* XXIX (1957), 65-75, on another motet citing the names of musicians.
([52]) Transcribed in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 21, II.
([53]) The attribution has been suggested by Kurt von Fischer in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century,* vol. XII, Monaco, 1976, Appendix II.
([54]) U. GÜNTHER, « Quelques remarques sur les feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata », *L'Ars nova italiana del trecento. III. Secondo convegno internazionale 1969,* Certaldo, 1970, 315-397.
([55]) *Ibid.,* p. 336.

and the *caccia* in its melismatic opening contrasting with syllabic declamation, and in the change of meter from *octenaria* to *senaria perfecta* in the *Amen,* which can be said to correspond to a *ritornello* ([56]). However, the opening imitation is of the simple echo type which never appears in the *caccia.*

Examples of the ceremonial motet with imitative opening may still be found at the beginning of the fifteenth century and persist in the works of Dufay: among his thirteen ceremonial motets, seven open with extended imitation or canon between the two upper voices.

The Oxford manuscript (GB-Ob213, f. 28v-29) contains a four-voice motet in honor of St. Barbara by Nicolaus Zacharie ([57]) which opens with an extended echo imitation between the two upper voices. A motet from the Aosta manuscript (I-AO, f. 4v-7), which is probably by the same composer ([58]), has a 21-measure long introitus for the two upper voices which is actually a strict canon at the unison at a distance of three breves. The two rhymed texts are dedicated to the schismatic pope John XXIII, who was elected at Pisa in 1410 and deposed again in 1415 ([59]).



([56]) *Ibid.*

([57]) Transcribed in Ch. VAN DEN BORREN, *Polyphonia Sacra,* Burnham, 1932, p. 284. At least two and possibly three early fifteenth composers are to be distinguished under the name of Zacharias or Zacara. *Cf.* K. VON FISCHER, «Trecentomusik - Trecentoprobleme. Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht», *Acta Musicologica,* XXX (1958), p. 188; N. PIRROTTA, «Il codice di Lucca, III: Il repertorio musicale», *Musica Disciplina,* V (1951), p. 135-137; G. REANEY, art. «Zachara, Zacharias», *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 14, col. 960-963; B. J. LAYTON, *Italian Music for the Ordinary of the Mass 1300-1450,* unpubl. diss. Harvard University, 1960, p. 247-250.

([58]) The attribution is based on the last strophe of the *motetus* text:

Hec Guilherme dictans favit
Nicolao, quod cantavit,
ut sit opus consummatum.

G. DE VAN, «A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth Century Polyphonic Music», *Musica Disciplina,* I (1948), p. 12-14.

([59]) *Ibid.*

Two motets by Ciconia open with a canonic *introitus* of the echo type: *O felix templum,* composed in 1400 for the consecration of the altar of St. Stephen in the cathedral of Padua ([60]) and *O virum omnimoda veneracione - O lux et decus tranensium - O beate Nicholae,* in honor of St. Nicholas and probably belonging to the same period ([61]). In both motets there are numerous short free imitations which are motivically related to the initial long phrase, a characteristic which is not found in any of the earlier motets with *introitus*. In *Doctorum principem super aethera - Melodia suavissima cantemus - Vir mitis* in honor of Francesco Zabarella ([62]), an instrumental fanfare precedes the imitative dialogue between the two upper voices.

([60]) S. CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia. Un musicien liégeois et son temps (vers 1335-1411),* vol. I, p. 86; H. BESSELER, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,* 2te, veränderte Auflage, Leipzig, 1974, p. 77. Transcribed in CLERCX, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 169.

([61]) BESSELER, *op. cit.,* p. 75-77, and CERCX, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 87.

([62]) Composed probably in 1409. Cf. CLERCX, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 86.

One more example of the echo *introitus* from the period before Dufay may be found in the motet *Summe summy, tu pater unice - Summa summy, tu mater filii* by Gilet Velut ([63]). The symmetry of the invocations to God the Father and to the Virgin is clearly expressed by the imitation. Finally, in Johannes Carmen's motet in honor of St. Nicholas, *Pontifici decori speculi* ([64]), the imitative duet has become a canon at the unison which is carried out strictly through the five isorhythmic *taleae*.

The canonic entry at close distance, which was to become a characteristic feature of the early fifteenth century French chanson, may also be found in a few chansons from the *Ars nova* and the *Ars subtilior*. The rondeau *Des dont que part* by De Landes ([65]) opens with an imitation, meas. 1-9, between *cantus* and tenor of the simpler type: the imitating voice enters on the final note of the initial phrase. In the second section, m. 30-38, the roles are reversed, and it is the *cantus* which follows the tenor.

In the anonymous rondeau *Pour l'amour* from the Reina manuscript (F-Pn6771) ([66]), the *cantus* follows the instrumental *triplum* at the distance of only one breve.

The canonic entry in the anonymous virelai *Venés a nueches* is somewhat obscured by the fact that the triplum accompanies the *cantus* before imitating it. This as well as the irregularity of the entry after 8 semi-breves or 2 2/3 measures may indicate that the *triplum* was composed last; it does not appear to be fundamentally linked to the *cantus*.

A brief anticipatory imitation in the instrumental parts serves to characterize the initial motif, even though the imitation is not continued for more than a few notes. In the anonymous ballade *Amour me fait desirer,* there is an anticipatory imitation of the *cantus* at the unison by the tenor and the contratenor, the entries following each other at a distance of three minims. The melismatic clos cadence is remarkable for its melodic sequences and for the sequential rhythmic imitations in the two lower voices.

([63]) Transcribed in G. REANEY, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 11, II, p. 145.
([64]) Transcribed *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 55.
([65]) Transcribed in W. APEL, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 53, I, no. 19.
([66]) Transcribed *ibid.*, vol. III, no. 216.

The brief anticipatory imitation which introduces the refrain of the ballade *Pres du soloil* by Matheus de Perusio (67) is a similar case. It seems intended to give added emphasis to the moralizing text: «*Mechant cely que le fauchon regarde*».

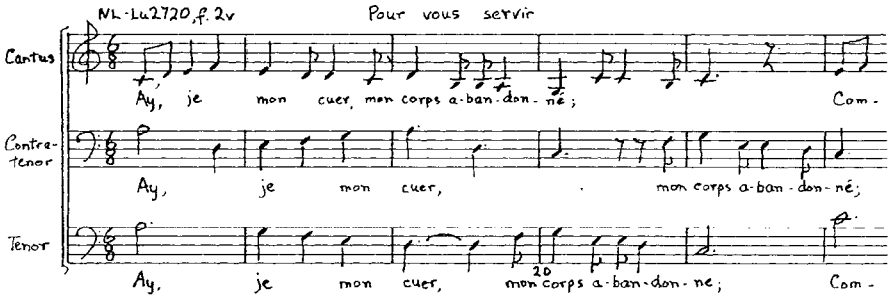
Only one of the 22 chansons by Matheus de Perusio opens in imitation, although two others contain phrases beginning in imitation. In *Heylas que feray*, the first three notes of the *cantus* are anticipated by the tenor at the lower fifth instead of the octave or unison. The anticipation in the contratenor, again a fifth below the tenor, is irregular, since it takes place only two minims before the tenor. This voice, in rhythmic conflict with the *cantus*, may well have been composed last.

(67) Transcribed *ibid.*, vol. I, no. 52.

In the rondeau *Trover ne puis* by the same composer ([68]), the first and third phrases open with a rhythmically complex melisma in the upper voice. The rhythmic complexity is temporarily abandoned at the second and fourth phrases, which open in imitation between the two upper voices at the upper fifth and the lower octave respectively.

Imitation may be linked with the poetic text in a number of ways. A dialogue between a lover and his lady, a favorite theme of courtly love poetry, is the subject of two rondeaux by Johannes Vaillant ([69]). The last phrase of *Dame doucement - Doulz amis* ([70]), for three voices with a different text for each of the two upper voices, begins with an imitation which may be connected with the idea of the dialogue between the two singers; there is a similar passage in free imitation in the triple-texted *Tres doulz amis,* meas. 16-20 ([71]). Vaillant's rondeaux may be compared with another triple-texted chanson, the Ballade no. 17 by Machaut, which is a strict canon at the unison for three voices. In the correct solution published by Gilbert Reaney ([72]), the canonic entries follow in logical order: the lover's complaint, the lady's answer and the lover's conclusion.

A brief imitation in the anonymous rondeau *Pour vous servir* from the Leiden fragments (NL-Lu2720) is probably intended to emphasize the words «*mon corps abandonné*». The motif enters in the *cantus,* then in the tenor at the lower fifth, followed by the contratenor at the unison.



In the complex double ballade *Je me merveil* by Jacob Senleches ([73]), the two upper voices, each with a different text, unite in the final complaint: «*Puis que chacuns se melle de forgier*». The refrain is a strict canon at the unison over a freely-composed tenor; the same melody is notated differently for the two upper

([68]) Transcribed *ibid.*, vol. I, no. 70.

([69]) The identification of this composer is particularly difficult, since the same name appears in several documents. *Cf.* U. GÜNTHER, «Johannes Vaillant», *Speculum Musicae Artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann,* Munich, 1970, p. 175; «Die Musiker des Herzogs de Berry», *Musica Disciplina,* XVII (1963), p. 82; «Problems of Dating in Ars nova and Ars subtilior», *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, Terzo Convegno Internazionale 1975, Certaldo,* (to be published).

([70]) Transcribed in U. GÜNTHER, *Zehn datierbare Kompositionen der Ars nova,* Hamburg, 1959, no. 7, and *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 53, I, no. 116.

([71]) Transcribed *ibid.*, vol. I, no. 118.

([72]) G. REANEY, «The Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut: Melody, Rhythm and Form», *Acta Musicologica,* XXXV (1963), p. 58.

([73]) Transcribed in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 53, I, no. 90.

voices in an intentionally complex notational game. Thus the canon serves to express the idea of the ballade text: the secrets of musical art should not be divulged to the uninitiated ([74]).

The relation between text and imitation is even more striking in those cases where an instrumental part joins briefly in a textual and melodic imitation. This may be the briefest syllabic declamation of a single word, generally on a fanfare motif, as in the anonymous ballade *J'ay grant desespoir*. The importance which was attached to this single interjection may be seen from a comparison of the original version with a keyboard transcription from the Codex Faenza (I-FZc117): the imitation has been retained while the rest of the upper part has been subjected to ornamental variation.

The fanfare motif «*Hay avant*» in the refrain of the ballade *Science n'a nul annemi* by Matheus de Sancto Johanne ([75]) is another example of realistic detail in a serious context.

In the virelai *Alarme, alarme* by Grimace ([76]), all four voices participate in the brief points of imitation of a fanfare motif on the word «*Alarme*». The second *cantus* part, which opens in parallel fifths with the contratenor, is missing in the manuscript F-Pn6771. However, this version is of interest since it has the added text in the tenor and contratenor at each point of imitation.

([74]) In the first *cantus* voice, as in the tenor, red notes are used to express binary values, while in the second *cantus*, black notes are ternary and white notes are binary, according to the more usual practice. Examples of «reverse coloration» may be found in a number of manuscripts of the *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior*, beginning with a motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*. *Cf.* W. APEL, *Die Notation der polyphonen Musik 900-1600*, Leipzig-Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 366.

([75]) Transcribed in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 53, I, no. 73.

([76]) Transcribed *ibid.*, vol. I, no. 37, and U. GÜNTHER, «Bemerkungen zum älteren französischen Repertoire des Codex Reina (PR)», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), p. 248.

An anonymous ballade in simple, syllabic style from the Cambrai fragments (F-CA1328) ([77]) opens with an echo imitation in the instrumental triplum of the entire first line of text and music from the *cantus*. The text is added to the *triplum* again in the refrain, meas. 35-38, where it precedes the *cantus* in an imitation at the distance of one breve.

The addition of text words to instrumental parts at points of imitation may be found up to the early fifteenth century in both sacred and secular music, as the following list of examples may illustrate. It is a stage in the development towards an imitative polyphony in which the melodic motif is inseparable from its text.

Bittering, *Gloria,* GB-OH, f. 13v-14 ([78])
Matheus de Perusio, *Patrem,* I-MOe5.24, no. 7 ([79])
Matheus de Perusio, *Patrem,* I-MOe5.24, no. 9 ([80])
Johannes Cesaris, *A l'aventure va Gauvain,* GB-Ob213, f. 109v-110 ([81])
Paullet, *J'aim. Qui? Vous. Moy?* GB-Ob213, f. 108v-109 ([82])

The imitation of short fanfare motifs is most striking in a group of « realistic virelais », so called because of their evocation of bird cries and musical instruments. Music and text are far from the formalist rhetoric of the court ballades: according to Apel, the popular tone of the realistic virelais may have been associated with a bourgeois culture originating in northern France or in Flanders ([83]). Nevertheless, they appear to have figured in courtly entertainments in the south as well as in the north. The second strophe of *Or tost a eux* by Pykini ([84]) has a play on the word *papegay* which could be an allusion to one of the Avignon popes ([85]), and *Ma tredol rosignol,* preserved in the manuscript F-Pn6771 in an Italian scribe's corrupt version of northern French dialect, may also be found in its original and rhythmically more complex form in the manuscript F-CH564, with a text written in the southern dialect of the Béarn region ([86]).

The bird cries «*cucu, cucu*» and «*oci, oci*» usually give rise to brief imitations and, here again, the imitations are the occasion for otherwise instrumental part to join in the text declamation. The simple, syllabic text setting and triadic melodies are in contrast to the sinuous interweavings of the complex

([77]) Transcribed in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 53, II, no. 167.
([78]) Transcribed in A. HUGHES and M. BENT, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 46, I, no. 17.
([79]) Transcribed in F. FANO, *La Cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano. Vol. I: Le origine e il primo maestro di cappella: Matteo da Perugia,* Milano, 1957, p. 272.
([80]) *Ibid.,* p. 288.
([81]) Transcribed in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 11, I, p. 21-22.
([82]) Transcribed *ibid.,* vol. II, p. 102.
([83]) W. APEL, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century,* Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 3 and 20.
([84]) Transcribed in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 53, I, no. 86.
([85]) U. GÜNTHER, « Zur Biographie einiger Komponisten der Ars subtilior », *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* XXI (1964), p. 171-178.
([86]) Transcription of both versions in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae,* 53, I, no. 12 and 12a. *Cf.* N. WILKINS, « The Codex Reina: A Revised Description, » *Musica Disciplina,* XVII (1963), p. 65; G. REANEY, « The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047 », *Musica Disciplina,* VIII (1954), p. 67; U. GÜNTHER, « Der Gebrauch des tempus perfectum diminutum in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047 », *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* XVII (1960), p. 288-289.

ballades; indeed, a fanfare motif may be the basis for an entire composition. In the virelai by Pykini mentioned above, the upper voices are actually in strict canon for 24 measures, and there is a brief imitation between the lower voices at meas. 17-21 in the Chantilly version, which should be preferred for this reason ([87]).

In the virelai *En ce gracieux temps* by Jacob Senleches ([88]), composer of the highly complex *Je me merveil* and *La harpe de melodie*, the irregular *tempus* groups and syncopation chains of the early *Ars subtilior* style are interrupted, meas. 41-45, by cuckoo cries in the two upper voices over a held drone in the tenor. Once again, an instrumental voice, in this case the *triplum*, joins in the imitation.

Two more anonymous virelais from the manuscript F-Pn6771 may be mentioned: *La Cornailhe* ([89]) and *Rescoés, rescoés* ([90]). Both contain imitations based on an ascending third as well as brief interjections on repeated notes.

In conclusion: although the use of imitation cannot yet be called extensive or systematic in the music of the *Ars nova* and the *Ars subtilior*, there is enough variety in imitative procedures during this period to demonstrate that the *caccia* was not alone responsible for the rise of imitative and canonic writing in the early fifteenth century.

Among the French chansons, the most striking use of imitation is found in the programmatic virelais in popular style, with their fanfares and bird cries based on repeated notes and triadic melodies. Imitations of this type are occasionally found in ballades of a more serious nature, the instrumental parts joining momentarily in the text declamation at points of imitation.

A small but significant number of motets of French origin open with strict canonic imitation at the unison between the two upper voices, the second voice entering on the last note of the first phrase or immediately after it. In three French motets, the first voice continues during the imitation by the second voice, while the others belong to the «echo» type in which the first voice is silent while the second voice repeats the initial phrase.

Three French chansons open with canonic imitation at close distance, and these are more likely than the *caccia* to have served as a precedent for the imitative openings of early fifteenth century French chansons. Internal imitations, even though brief, show nevertheless a tendency towards vertical coordination of the voices.

In the works of Machaut, continually varied motifs passing from one voice to another may result in hardly perceptible imitations which are more decorative than structural. Occasionally, a brief motif declaimed alternately in two or more voices may be used to emphasize a rhyme or to punctuate a phrase.

([87]) U. GÜNTHER, «Bemerkungen zum älteren französischen Repertoire des Codex Reina (PR)», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), p. 247. Transcription in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 53, I, no. 86.
([88]) Transcription *ibid.*, vol. I, no. 91.
([89]) Transcription *ibid.*, vol. III, no. 204.
([90]) Transcription *ibid.*, vol. III, no. 222.

Examples of such imitative dialogue in syllabic declamation may be found in the French motets and particularly in mass settings from the Avignon region, where they serve to emphasize certain words of the liturgical text. These imitations have their origin in the angular rhythms of the hocket.

The concept of imitation should be extended to include rhythmic as well as melodic imitations. These are found to be an important means of vertical organization in the motet, occurring usually at the end of the isorhythmic *taleae*, and in the ballades, where they appear in the rhythmically animated melismatic cadences.

Although there are several strict canons in *Ars subtilior* style, free imitation seldom occurs in rhythmically complex pieces: by definition, the *Ars subtilior* avoids the clarity of texture and equality of the voices implied by imitation.

Imitation and canon developed in varying forms and parallel to each other in France, England and Italy. Precedents for the imitative polyphony of the early fifteenth century are to be found not only in Italy but also in the music of the French *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior*.

[25]

DECEPTION, EXEGESIS AND SOUNDING NUMBER IN MACHAUT'S MOTET 15

MARGARET BENT

Kevin Brownlee's essay is a welcome addition to current studies that apply literary, textual and historical insights to fourteenth-century motets. The opportunity to comment on his paper before publication stimulated these observations; he graciously agreed that I should offer them as a coda.

The motet is given here in an annotated copy of Schrade's edition, and with a suggested emendation at the end (Example 1).[1] It is 120 breves long. The tenor consists of one *color* (melodic statement) disposed in four equal *taleae* (rhythmic statements) each of ten perfect longs, numbered I, II, III, IV, in the transcription. 10 longs × 3 = 30 breves; 4 *taleae* × 30 = 120. Peter's threefold denial and the thirty pieces of silver paid for Judas's betrayal have associations of deceit; the choice of these numbers for a motet about deceit may be far from accidental.[2] The tenor has forty notes, ten in each *talea*, twenty in each half. The tens of the tenor, whether

[1] Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 2 (Monaco, 1956). One of the striking features of this motet as printed by Ludwig and Schrade is the dissonant appoggiatura at the end of the triplum. Although confirmed by all sources, it is very hard to swallow, even as a deliberate piece of word-painting (of 'desconfiture' and 'nonchaloir', the final triplum and duplum words), when we can point to so few uses of dissonance that bypass grammatical sense in the service of depiction. It can be emended out by making the last triplum notes minim, minim, semibreve, long instead of semibreve, breve, long. This small violation of the isorhythmic correspondence imposes a choice between musical sense and formal congruence, but the final corresponding of the upper-voice isorhythm is truncated anyway. It respects the *-ure* feminine rhyme and matches the corresponding point at the cadential arrival.

[2] For another use of 30 see the exemplary study by Wulf Arlt, '"Triginta denariis" – Musik und Text in einer Motette des *Roman de Fauvel* über dem Tenor *Victimae paschali laudes*', *Pax et sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences, in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmensis: Studia Latina Stockholmensis 29 (1986), pp. 97–113.

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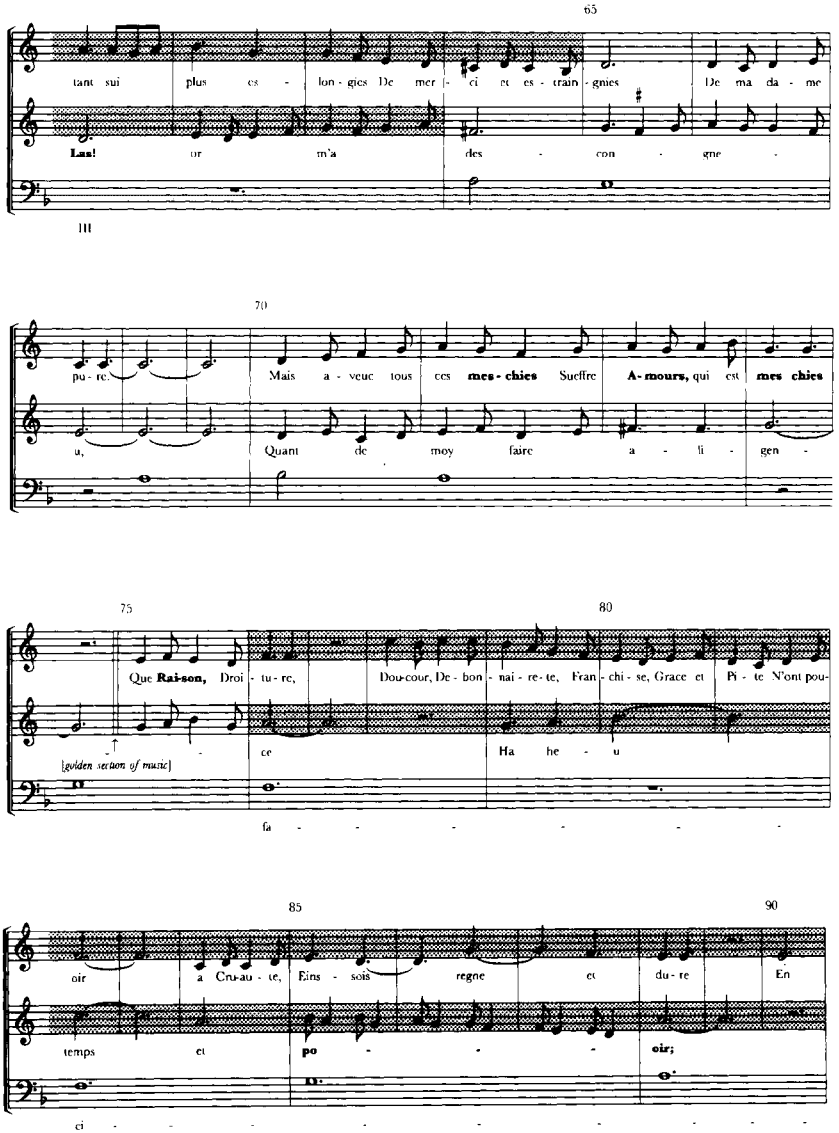
Example 1. Guillaume de Machaut, *Amours qui a le pouoir/Faus Samblant m'a deceü/Vidi dominum*

Deception, exegesis and sounding number

Margaret Bent



Deception, exegesis and sounding number

counted as notes or breves, when multiplied by twelve (the number, *inter alia*, of the tribes of Israel) produce 120.

The music of triplum and motetus (or duplum) is disposed in two rhythmically identical *taleae* each of sixty breves, each spanning two thirty-breve tenor *taleae* (I + II = III + IV); the motet falls into two rhythmically identical halves. The midpoints of those halves are marked by the second and fourth tenor *taleae* (II, IV) and also by the four divisions of the motetus text. But viewed another way, triplum and motetus can both be divided into four varied *taleae* (I = III, II = IV) coinciding with those of the tenor. In each of these four thirty-breve *taleae* the first three breves (actually four in the triplum), and the last fifteen (the entire second half), are rhythmically identical. (These passages are shaded in Example 1.) Thus a total of just over eighteen bars out of each thirty are rhythmically the same; the golden section of 30 falls at 18.54. These large and systematic deviations within otherwise identical sections may be considered part of the deceptive programme of the motet.

The texts (Table 1) differ hierarchically in length, as triplum and motetus normally do, and each is differently patterned. They are distinct as are their subjects, Amours and Faux Semblant, which Brownlee shows to be presented in an apparent opposition that is in fact false.

Table 1 *Text of Machaut's motet 15 (for translations see above, p. 3)*

	Triplum	Rhyme	Syllables	Words
	Amours qui a le **pouoir**	a	7	5
	De moy faire **recevoir**	a	7	4
	Joie ou mort obscure,	b	6	4
	Ne fait par sa grace **Avoir**	a	7	6
5	**A** ma dame tel **voloir**	a	7	5
	Qu'elle m'ait en cure.	b	6	6
	Durer ne puis longuement,	c	7	4
	Car pour amer loiaument	c	7	4
	Ne pour servir liement,	c	7	4
10	Sans penser laidure,	b	6	3
	Ne pour celer sagement	c	7	4
	N'ay confort n'aligement	c	7	5
	De ma dolour dure;	b	6	4
	Einsois com plus humblement	c	7	4
15	La sueffre et endure,	b	6	4
	De tant est plus durement	c	7	5

Deception, exegesis and sounding number

Table 1 *continued*

	Triplum	Rhyme	Syllables	Words	
	Traitiés mes cuers, que briefment	c	7	5	
	Morray dolereusement	c	7	2	
	De dueil et d'ardure,	b	6	5	/83
		—	—	—	
20	Et tant sui plus eslongiés	d	7	5	
	De merci et estraingiés	d	7	4	
	De ma dame pure.	b	6	4	
	Mais aveuc tous ces **meschiés**	d	7	5	
	Sueffre **Amours** qui est **mes chiés**,	d	7	6	Amours:
25	Que **Raison**, Droiture,	b	6	3	word 103
	Douçour, Debonnaireté	e	7	2	
	Franchise, Grace et Pité	e	7	4	
	N'ont pouoir à Cruauté,	e	7	5	
	Ensois regne et dure	b	6	4	
30	En corps d'umblece paré	e	7	5	
	Cuers qui est pleins de durté	e	7	6	
	Et de couverture,	b	6	3	
	Refus qui d'espoir osté	e	7	5	
	M'a la morriture,	b	6	4	
35	Et Dangiers qui despité	e	7	4	
	M'a sans cause et si grevé	e	7	7	
	Qu'il m'a par desdaing mené	e	7	7	
	A desconfiture.	b	6	2	/85
	Motetus				
1	Faus Samblant m'a deceü	a	7	5	
	Et tenu en esperance	b	8	4	
	De joie merci **avoir**;	c	7	4	
			—	—	
	Et je l'ay com fols creü	a	7	7	
5	Et mis toute ma fiance	b	8	5	
	En li d'amoureus **vouloir**.	c	7	5	/30
			—	—	
	Las! or m'a descongneü	a	7	5	
	Quant de **moy** faire aligence	b	8	5	
	Ha heü temps et **pooir**;	c	7	5	
			—	—	
10	N'en riens n'a recongneü	a	7	6	
	Ma dolour ne ma grevance,	b	8	5	
	Eins m'a mis en **nonchaloir**.	c	7	6	/32

The triplum text's thirty-eight lines divide by line count, metrical and rhyme scheme only at the middle, its 19 + 19 lines matching the two musical *taleae* of both upper parts. Each half follows the same rhyme scheme but with only the 'b' rhyme (*-ure*) maintained

throughout both halves. The twelve b-lines each have six syllables, all other lines seven.

aab aa b cccb ccb cb cccb |
ddb dd b eeeb eeb eb eeeb |

The parallel duplication makes regularity out of these two irregular forms. Similarly irregular but paired stanzas in Machaut's lais are also subjected to a similar rhyme discipline.

The motetus text has twelve lines, arranged in four groups of three lines, each of which has abc rhyme and seven–eight–seven syllables. The four three-line groups correspond to the four *taleae* of the tenor; they thus encourage an interpretation of the upper parts as four *taleae* with deviations, whereas the textual structure of the triplum favours a division into only two strictly repeating halves. Just as false-seeming may go in either of two directions, so the 'Faus Samblant' motetus could have adapted its structure either to the four equal musical *taleae* of the two-faced ('facie ad faciem') tenor or to the two parallel textual halves of the triplum. In fact, the music of both upper parts does both; they can be interpreted either as two strict or as four varied *taleae*. The composer's duplicitous and ambivalent strategy is reflected in our analysis.

Counting elided words as two,[3] the triplum's 83 + 85 words are so arranged that the 'Et' that begins line 20 precedes the musical midpoint; the triplum thus has eighty-four words in each musical half of the piece. The coincidence of the midpoint of the music with the midpoint of the triplum word count makes possible a strict correspondence between word and note in the rhythmic repetitions. Musical overlapping of structural joins is often found in motets; here we find textual construction following the same procedure by a slight dislocation of line count and word count.

In similar fashion, and by word count, the first half of the motetus text has thirty words and the second half thirty-two. The thirty-first word is 'Las!', and there are thirty-one words after it,

[3] The triplum has 268 notes, 38 lines and 168 words (counting elided words, transcribed with apostrophes, as two words). The duplum has 188 notes, 12 lines and 62 words.

In the following, $x + y$ means: x is the number of words counting elided words, transcribed with apostrophes, as single words; y is the number of words with apostrophes; $x + y$ is the word count reckoning 'M'a' as two words:

triplum, 78 + 5, 78 + 7 in the two halves (83, 85)
duplum, 27 + 3, 28 + 4 (30, 32)

starting with the parallel to line 1. This may be heard as an 'Hélas' spanning the musical midpoint, with the triplum's 'Et' that starts line 20, word 84, preceding and aurally linked to 'Las' in the motetus. The midpoint by word count in both triplum and motetus falls after the first word of the second half of the text as defined by lines and syllables, again at the musical middle, and coinciding in both texts.

The words of the tenor are not supplied in the manuscripts but can be reinstated to the slightly varied chant. The final 'anima mea' is left off, leaving unstated what is saved. Nine syllables fall in each half of the motet, with one of the two 'faces' mirrored in each half around the midpoint, the second ('faciem') following the musical golden section:

Vidi dominum facie ad
faciem [et] salva facta est . . .

As we have pointed out, triplum and motetus divide musically at the middle into two rhythmically identical arcs (breves 1–60 = 61–120), each of which encompasses two tenor *taleae*. This structure perfectly accommodates the triplum text, which is suited only to a division at the middle, and is compatible with the motetus text which divides into quarters. We have also pointed out an alternative interpretation of triplum and motetus as constituting four *taleae* with deviation between breves 4 and 15. Not only are the opening rhythms of both triplum and motetus repeated at the beginnings of the second and fourth tenor *taleae* (bars 31, 91, marked II and IV in the score) as well as the first and third (I, 1; III, 61); in addition, at II (31–3) both triplum and motetus strikingly maintain identical pitches for three breves' duration, so that bars 1–3 are, quite exceptionally, fully identical with 31–3, an added false-seeming, since not even rhythmic identity is maintained between the fourth and fifteenth breves. The listener is thereby deceived into expecting that the triplum and motetus are going to have not two but four regular *taleae*, corresponding to the four of the tenor. The deceit is further signalled here (at tenor *talea* II) by the triplum words 'pour celer saigement', and the motetus's 'et je l'ay com fols creu'. Indeed, all four tenor *taleae* are initiated with words of deceit in the motetus, the voice of Faux Semblant: in addition to these words at II, *talea* I starts with 'deceu', III with 'descongneu', IV with 'recongneu'. At III,

the beginning of the more concealed 'real' repeat, it is least conspicuous, indeed, 'wisely concealed', and lasting only one breve. Thus, in the motetus, the two parallel halves of the music open with the very close textual parallel 'Faux Semblant has deceived', 'he has undeceived'. The 'deceitful' musical repetition occurred in the first half (we were deceived at II); it is not maintained (hence undeceived, 'descongneu') at III, the true repeat; the revelation to Jacob (tenor 'faciem') is also linked to this. At *talea* IV (bar 91), the second 'deceptive' repeat, Faux Semblant fails to reward ('n'a recongneu'); here, moreover, the triplum figure of the opening (*a' a'g'a'*) appears a fifth lower (*d' d'c'd'*), changing places with the motetus as Jacob had with Esau, a further false-seeming that abases itself in a downward transposition to the words 'corps d'umblece'. This inverts a formal device of Machaut's lais, where the twelfth stanza climactically duplicates the first a fifth higher. The middles of the middles (*taleae* II and IV, bars 31 and 91) thus become nodes of deception or ambiguity.

In sense, too, the true middle of the piece is signalled by the selfconscious measuring of time and distance. 'Briefment morray dolereusement de dueil et d'ardure' brings us to the middle of the triplum, while the second half starts off by measuring his distance, 'Et tant sui plus eslongiés'. One recalls Gurnemanz's midday exposition to Parsifal in the middle of Act 1: 'Zum Raum wird hier die Zeit'.

The four motetus groups end respectively with the words 'avoir', 'voloir', 'pooir', 'nonchaloir'. Three out of these four words are shared in the -oir rhyme of the triplum (lines 1, 2, 4, 5): 'pouoir', 'recevoir', 'avoir', 'voloir'; all these triplum words are heard within the first half of *talea* I, and are then heard, with the order of the pairs reversed, to end each of the four *taleae*, thus underscoring, through the only shared rhymes between the texts, the rhythmic identity of the four musical endings.

The first five lines of the triplum form an acrostic ADINA.[4] David Howlett has reminded me (as he has taught me so much else) that Leah's youngest daughter was named Dinah (Genesis 30: 21). The first note of the triplum is A, sung to a word beginning with A; the phrase for the last A of Adina begins and ends on A and

[4] Although the motet is full of betrayed faith, I hesitate to make too much of the acrostic FEDE that begins the motetus.

the whole five-line passage is set off by a rest after the first rhyme, 'voloir', perhaps confirming that the b-rhyme of line 6 belongs in structure, if not in sense, with what follows, as is more clearly the case after the corresponding line 24. All other major rests in the triplum follow the b-rhymes of lines 6, 10, 15 and 19 and fall correspondingly in the second half of the motet. So the acrostic lines are isolated; their somewhat special treatment might encourage belief that the acrostic is intentional rather than accidental. Concealment of various kinds may be signalled by the prominent long note given near the beginning to 'obscure' (triplum, line 3; bars 7–9), as well as by the hiding of structural joins by musical and textual overlapping.

The final lines of the paired poems, in which the speaker bemoans his ruin (triplum) and bad treatment (motetus) are opposed to Jacob's wrestling with the angel that lead to his blessing and re-naming as Israel, after which he says 'I have seen the Lord face to face; and my soul is preserved' (Genesis 32: 30). Just as the ambiguities of the upper-voice texts are presented as two faces or facets of the same tenor foundation, so are they reconciled in disparity both musically, and with respect to textual form. This supports Brownlee's claim that his first opposition, between Amours and Faux Semblant, is indeed only apparent.

As to the second, 'true' opposition, that between 'the world of human seeming and the world of divine being', I suggest that the choice of Jacob's words for the tenor is less straightforward than 'divine being' implies. The biblical Jacob who utters the tenor words 'Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem, et salva facta est anima mea' is the musical and symbolic foundation of the motet. The tenor's 'facie ad faciem', face to face, advertises itself (to the initiated) as a two-faced seeing; the words follow Jacob's re-naming as Israel – two names. Jacob is yoked to its false seeming by his own earlier 'two-faced' deception of his father Isaac (by cheating his older twin brother Esau both of his birthright and of his father's blessing), as he was in turn deceived by Laban when he served seven years for Rachel and was then given her sister Leah. The first deception was promoted by his mother Rebekah, the second by her brother Laban, another sibling relationship in this complex of sibling pairs. Jacob's twinned relationship to deceit, as both a perpetrator and a victim, is implicit in the choice of his words; his

two-faced history is now resolved in his face-to-face encounter with his God. The motet's startling alignment of the God of Jacob and the god of love is highlighted in the triplum text by the false-seeming pun on mischief, 'meschies', and my lord (Lord?), 'mes chies'. The tenor is here being recruited to underscore a double meaning, in both its biblical and liturgical setting; it opposes the god of love (who has deceived the lover) to the God of Jacob, and it parallels, by simultaneous presentation, the deceptions of which Jacob was perpetrator and victim with those of Amours and Faux Semblant. Faux Semblant is 'accepted into the army of the god of love'; the treacherous Jacob is accepted, re-named Israel, and sees his God after combat with the angel.

The opening triplum word, 'Amours', makes one other appearance in that text, in line 23. The thirty-eight lines divide by golden section at 23.48 and 14.52. The twenty-fourth line is 'Sueffre Amours qui es mes chies' (with its critical pun on mischief and 'my lord', the god of love). This line just precedes bar 74; the 120 breves of music divide by golden section at 74.16 (i.e. early in bar 75) and 45.84. 'Amours' is here preceded by 'mischief' and followed by 'my lord'; this key word is thus flanked by the two punned appearances of mischief in lines 23 and 24. (Machaut's motet 10 also includes the line 'Amours qui est mes chies', and precedes 'Amours' symmetrically with 'meschies'.) The golden section of the triplum's 168 words falls at 103.8; the 103rd word is 'Amours'. Line 24, in turn, directly precedes the musical golden section at bar 75, a turning-point that is preceded by bad things and followed by the list of seven virtues (in lines 25–7, and with the rhythmic recurrence).[5] The tenor word at this same point is, appropriately, 'faciem'. The opening word 'Amours' is also the golden section word; 'Amours' is not only situated between the bad and good faces of the mischief pun, but functions as both the herald and the pivot of the entire triplum text to separate bad and good things in general. That the golden section of triplum text by lines and words just anticipates the musical golden section gives structural weight to a turning-point of textual sense. The motetus words 'moy faire aligence' span the mischief pun in the triplum, tying the motetus text to the music

[5] The seven virtues immediately following the musical golden section are headed by 'raison'; Jeffrey Dean points out that this also meant a mathematical relation, from 'ratio', in which sense it is used in Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica*.

at this point; the golden section word itself is 'moy', the thirty-eighth of sixty-two.

The 'je' of each of the upper parts is paralleled by the first person of the tenor, 'Vidi', in the voice of Jacob; he has seen the face of God, has loved, deceived and been deceived. Brownlee shows that the 'je' of the triplum has been moved by love while the 'je' of the motetus has been deceived by Faux Semblant. The two 'contrasting self-presentations' are here made simultaneous, two-faced. Faux Semblant speaks in his own voice in the *Roman de la rose*; he is introduced into the poem by the god of love. We might add that Jacob in the tenor speaks in his own voice, setting up a simultaneous presentation of the 'Dominus' he saw, in the tenor, with the god of love, 'Amours qui est mes chies', in the triplum. In the motetus Brownlee finds 'a contrastive self-presentation of the speaking subject as an unwitting victim of Faux Semblant, who has purposefully and successfully deceived him (by means of his lady's appearance) before openly revealing his deception'. The clothing of the lady deceives; the clothing of the music deceives. 'Faux Semblant's clothes and his words deceive qua signs.' Faux Semblant wants to conceal his whereabouts. False-seeming is, after all, exactly what Jacob had earlier undertaken in deceiving Isaac and stealing Esau's birthright, even to the extent of changing his exterior by wearing Esau's clothes and feigning hairiness with the kid skins that were the by-product of his mother Rebekah's fake venison.

The tenor not only opposes the divine being, represented by liturgical chant, to the human loving of the upper parts; it itself embodies many layers of duplicity. As well as being presented simultaneously, the music and text of tenor, triplum and motetus are in completely parallel symmetry, face to face. Of the two 'faces' in the tenor, one falls in each half of the motet. The two faces of the tenor are matched, feigned or avoided, and matches in turn are made, feigned or avoided with the upper parts in matters of metrical and musical structure. Many other promising aspects, such as phonic coordination of vowel and consonant sounds between the triplum and motetus, and the full extent of verbal reference between their texts, have not been explored here. This richly suggestive counterpoint of musical and textual structures and symbolism invites a parallel examination of other Machaut motets.

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Part IX
Performance Practice

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Machaut's 'Pupil' Deschamps on the Performance of Music

Voices or instruments in the 14th-century chanson

CHRISTOPHER PAGE

1 *Deschamps presents his* Livret de la fragilité d'humaine nature *to Charles VI, from the dedicatory copy sent to the king in 1383. Paris, Bib. nat., f.fr. 20028, f.4v.*

The modern performer of Machaut's music is encouraged to believe by almost all authorities that the untexted tenor and contratenor lines of the polyphonic chansons were rendered instrumentally.[1] Recordings and concert performances show that this view commands complete acceptance.

The 'authenticity' of the instruments generally used in modern performances of Machaut's music is a subject that invites comment,[2] but more important is the general question of how far these performances correspond to medieval practice. It is not the purpose of this article to survey all the evidence bearing upon this question, but to give text and translation of some hitherto little-noticed remarks on the subject by Machaut's 'pupil', Eustache Deschamps (*Art de Dictier et de Fere Chançons*, 1392).[3]

Deschamps, a Champenois like Guillaume de Machaut and Philippe de Vitry, was born *c* 1346. The author of the *Règles de la Seconde Rhétorique* states that he was Machaut's nephew (*nepveux de maistre Guillaume de Machault*),[4] and though we have no proof of this, it is clear that the two poets were on intimate terms. In a poem sent to Péronne d'Armentières (inspiratrice of Machaut's *Voir Dit*) Deschamps claims that Machaut 'brought me up and did me many kindnesses',[5] and in the second of his two ballades on the death of the older poet, Deschamps refers to him as 'very sweet master'.[6] Machaut settled into the relatively peaceful life of a canon in the 1340s[7] and would thus have been in a position to educate the young Deschamps. It is pleasing, if fanciful, to suppose that some of the references to music lessons in Deschamps's poetry derive ultimately from his early experiences as Machaut's pupil at Rheims:[8]

Aprenez le fa et le mi,
Bien vous monstreray l'escripture
Tant que vous n'arez jamais cure
D'autre art sçavoir, fors de compter
Une, deux, les temps mesurer
Et fleureter plus que le cours.[9]

Deschamps was undoubtedly familiar with his master's music, just as he knew his literary works. Strictly speaking, there is no solid evidence in the poems (and there is no external evidence) that Deschamps was a musician with performing skills, but we may assume that he was at least a keen and discriminating listener.[10]

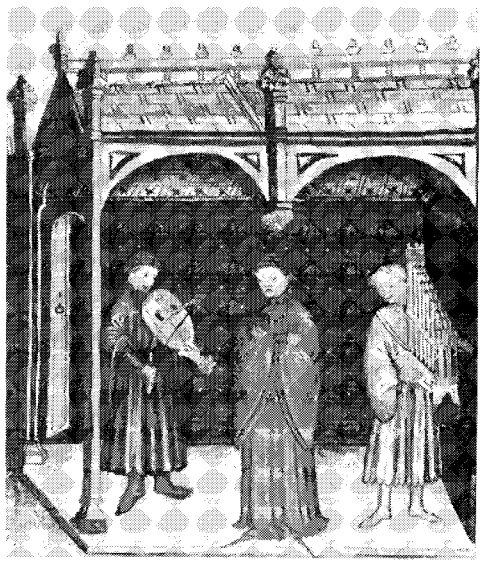
In the *Art de Dictier* Deschamps is primarily concerned with poetic forms and other aspects of *réthorique*, the *science de parler-droictement*. The treatise opens with an

account of the seven liberal arts, which he studied at the University of Orleans.[11]

In the section on music Deschamps distinguishes between *musique artificiele* (music of voices and instruments) and *musique naturele* (poetry and verse).[12] Contrasting the two forms of music, he states that both are pleasant to hear alone. Poems that are without a musical setting may be recited or read, and music 'may be sung with the voice in an artistic way without words (*par art, sanz parole*)'. The explicitness of *par art* strongly suggests that Deschamps is thinking of polyphonic chansons (rather than simple monodies such as Machaut's *virelais* which do not appear outside of the composer's own manuscripts and were clearly of limited appeal).[13] The artistic music which is sung but which is *sanz parole* must surely be the generally textless tenors and contratenors of these pieces, which are almost invariably performed instrumentally today?

Deschamps proceeds to make a fuller allusion to the vocalisation of these parts, though his statements present difficulties and must be read with circumspection. Continuing the comparison between the two forms of music, he states that the texts of chansons may be recited before one who is ill, or in the presence of lords and ladies in privacy, where music does not always have a place. This is puzzling, for there is abundant evidence to show that the music of voices and instruments was considered therapeutic[14] (a view to which Deschamps subscribes in the opening lines of his chapter on music), and that the music of small instrumental ensembles was considered an appropriate entertainment for intimate aristocratic gatherings.[15] Even if we accept the theory proposed by some scholars that Deschamps, not a musician, is deliberately underestimating the artistic value and social acceptability of music in the *Art de Dictier*,[16] it must seem unlikely that he would make statements in a manual of this kind bearing no relation to the experience of his readers. It is possible that Deschamps's remarks have reference only to the court of the unknown noble for whom he composed the treatise,[17] but this cannot be confirmed. Taken as they stand, they imply that Deschamps understood the music of chansons to be a special artistic genre not to be rendered in the same informal circumstances as the poems.

Deschamps gives two reasons for this state of affairs. Primarily, there is the *haulteur* of this music. This may be interpreted in three ways: as a reference to the music's courtly and noble character; to its high pitch;



2 *The medicinal effects of music. The text accompanying the illustration in the MS begins:* Organare cantum vel sonare. Natura est quaedam raucha et cantus violentus. *('To play a song with instruments. By nature it is somewhat harsh and the singing violent'),* Tacuinum Sanitatis, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex Vindobonensis series nova 2644. f.103v. Italian, late 14th century.*

or to its loudness.[18] The first and second interpretations are not indefensible, but neither makes very convincing sense of Deschamps's passage as a whole. Music that is courtly and noble in character would not thereby be excluded from performance in private circumstances, nor necessarily from performance in the sick-room. Music of predominantly high pitch might be somewhat incongenial to a *malade*, but why should *seigneurs et dames* have any aversion to it? A reference to the loudness of the music seems the most plausible interpretation. Unfortunately it is not clear whether Deschamps is making the relatively trivial point that the singing voice may make more noise than the reading voice, or whether he intends a specific reference to a cultivated stylistic feature of artistic singing (cf. illusn. 2).[19]

Deschamps's second reason for the inappropriateness of music to the private chamber and the sick-room is that it requires *'three voices for the tenors and*

contratenors . . . to perform the said music perfectly with two or three people'.

A reference to the vocal performance of tenors and contratenors by a 14th-century writer who had undoubtedly heard Machaut's music performed is a valuable document of performance practice. Before we accept Deschamps' testimony we must reassure ourselves that 'three voices' is a just translation of the crucial words *triplicité des voix*.

Certainly this rendering creates a difficulty. How can 'two or three people' render a composition with 'three voices'? The problem would be solved by translating *triplicité des voix* as 'three parts'. Two people can render three parts if one of them both sings and plays an instrument. However, *voix* in the transferred sense 'part of a musical composition' is not recorded in Old French,[20] nor is *vox* used in this way in the Latin musical treatises of the period.[21] This translation is therefore untenable.

A second conceivable translation of *voix* would be 'pitches' or 'notes' both vocally and instrumentally produced (cf. Deschamps' reference to *instrumens des voix*). This is certainly in keeping with the theorists' use of *vox* when they are not referring exclusively to the human voice.[22] However, 'three notes' or 'three pitches' does not make good sense in the full context of Deschamps' passage. One might argue that 'three pitches' is a reference to the registers of *cantus, tenor* and *contratenor*, but in actual fact the latter two parts generally operate within much the same range in the 14th-century chanson. A further objection to this translation is that we must explain why such a straightforward matter of musical architectonics as the different registers of polyphonic parts should render chansons unfit for private performance before aristocrats and convalescents.

The most satisfactory translation for *triplicité des voix*, and the one that strains the sense of Deschamps' passage least, is 'three voices', and we are therefore left with an explicit reference to the vocalization of the generally textless tenors and contratenors of chansons, accompanied by a statement that this must be done for the 'perfection' of the music.

A final ambiguity remains. Can Deschamps' reference to *triplicité des voix* for tenor and contratenor parts be taken to indicate that these lines were sung three to a part? This interpretation does not strain the text, but it is an unlikely one.

Pictorial sources and the internal stylistic evidence of the music itself suggest that the individual lines of

3 *The medicinal effects of vocal music. The text accompanying the illustration in the MS begins:* Cantus. Natura concordari voces ystrumentorum sonis, quorum non sunt usus *('Singing. Its nature consists in making voices harmonize with the sounds of instruments which, however, are not used'). MS as illusn. 2, fol. 103r*

14th-century chansons were sung by soloists occasionally doubled by instruments.[23] Many of Machaut's finely delineated tenor and contratenor parts would be unduly thickened and blurred by 'choral' performance (some modern scholars have taken objection to instrumental doubling for this reason).[24] Deschamps's *triplicité des voix pour les teneurs et contreteneurs* surely implies just three vocal parts like *triplicibus* ('in three [parts]') in the *Quatuor Principalia Musica,*[25] and *cum tribus [scilicet cum tenore carmine et contratenore]* ('with three [that is with tenor and contratenor]') in the anonymous 14th-century treatise *Ars Discantus?*[26]

What then of Deschamps's puzzling reference to the performance of three-part vocal polyphony by *'two* or three people'? Deschamps's prose is not a model of clarity, and the syntax of the passage in question is tortuous. In this particular case we cannot avoid forming the impression that the sentence is at least

elliptical, if not actually careless in expression. The point Deschamps wishes to make is that the performance of music involves more than the *homme seul* that suffices for the recitation of verse. He notes that the number may be increased from one to include two or three performers, but introduces this thought with a reference to the standard chanson arrangement of his day (cantus, tenor and contratenor) that is only consonant with a group of three performers. The two parts of the sentence are not fully congruent, but the overall implication is not obscured.

Deschamps' references to the vocal performance of tenors and contratenors, problematic though they are, are by no means unsupported. Gace de la Buigne, in his poem *Le Roman des Deduis* (written 1359-77) presents a debate between *Amour de Chiens* and *Amour d'Oyseaulx* in which the spokesman for the hunting dogs describes a pack in full cry in terms of part-singing:[27]

Les plus grans chantent la teneur,
Les autres la contreteneur,
Ceulx qui ont la plus clere gueule
Chantent le tresble sans demeure,
Et les plus petis le quadouble
En faisant la quinte sur double.

The relation of such a reference to actual musical practice may seem somewhat oblique, but it is the essence of this literary genre that animals do as humans do. Birds 'deschant',[28] and in contemporary Gothic art animal musicians play instruments demonstrably drawn from the real world. There is no reason to doubt that Gace de la Buigne's passage derives from his experience of music in performance and reflects actual practice.

The hypothesis that the tenors and contratenors of Machaut's polyphonic chansons were generally performed instrumentally in the 14th-century has strong practical appeal. At this present stage of the early music 'revival', crumhorns, viols, sackbuts and other (anachronistic) instruments that can supply these lines at written pitch are readily available, whereas singers willing (and able) to vocalize them are not. Certainly there is no reason to suppose that the apparently entirely vocal performance envisaged by Deschamps was the *only* way in which Machaut's chansons were performed,[29] but his reference should inspire far more experiment with this method of performance. This would please the growing number of musicologists who believe that the question of instrumental participation in various forms of medieval music needs to be re-examined.[30]

It is true that some 14th-century tenor and contratenor lines are by no means easy to sing effectively (ex. 1, for instance), but singers should be discouraged from assuming that it is possible to make absolute judgements about what is 'vocal' or 'unvocal'.[31] As Lloyd Hibberd has written in a penetrating analysis of the proposition that certain things in music 'are especially suitable and idiomatic for instruments and awkward or even impossible for voices':[32]

'... the argument that short melodic fragments are "unvocal" *per se*, rests largely on a question of taste. Such parts do not often, it is true, seem very expressive to modern ears, in vocal music, but earlier epochs may have felt quite otherwise about them ... As regards "awkward" leaps, rapidity of movement, continuous activity, short melodic fragments, melodic sequences and coloratura passages—the exclusive "instrumentalness" of all these becomes increasingly dubious on closer examination.'

Ex. 1; Section of the contratenor added in five of a total of eleven sources to Machaut's Ballade 18, *De petit po*, one of the most widely diffused of his works. In the five Machaut manuscripts this part does not appear.[33] Quoted here from the edition of Leo Schrade, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vols. II and III (Monaco, 1956).

The text

The text given here is that published by Gaston Raynaud in the seventh volume of the *Oeuvres complètes*. It is reproduced by kind permission of the *Société des Anciens Textes Français*.

The translation

The translation aims to be literal without distorting English idiom. In order that it may read clearly and fluently, Deschamps's long and involved sentences have been generally split into smaller units and punctuated accordingly.

The frequency with which Deschamps uses certain technical terms in a variety of contexts is somewhat confusing. The following translations are used here:

Chant, chans: Apparently music in general (both vocal and instrumental music in the first paragraph). It is rendered 'melody' here, as this word may be put into the plural when the context requires (unlike 'music').

Chant de la musique artificiele: 'Music', Deschamps explains the terms 'natural' music and 'artificial' music in the text.

Chant musicant: 'Music', this usage is related to the above.

Chansons natureles: 'Poems'. Deschamps explains the terminology in the text.

The translations of other musical terms (e.g. *deschanter, doubler*) are explained in the notes.

All instrument names have been left in their original forms. Little would be gained by substituting 'gittern' for *guiterne*, etc.

Extracts from *L'Art de Dictier* of Eustache Deschamps (completed 25 November 1392).

Text

De Musique

Musique est la derreniere science ainsis comme la medicine des .VII. ars; car quant le couraige et l'esperit des creatures ententives aux autres ars dessus declairez sont lassez et ennuyez de leurs labours, musique, par la douçour de sa science et la melodie de sa voix, leur chante par ses .VI. notes tierçoyées,[34] quintes et doublées,[35] ses chans delectables et plaisans, lesquelz elle fait aucunefoiz en orgues et chalumeaux par souflement de bouche et touchement de doiz; autrefoiz en harpe, en rebebe, en vielle, en douçaine, en sons de tabours, en fleuthes et autres instrumens musicans, tant que par sa melodie delectable les cuers et esperis de ceuls qui auxdiz ars, par pensée, ymaginaison et labours de bras estoient traveilliez, pesans et ennuiez, sont medicinez et recreez, et plus habiles après a estudier et labourer aux autres .VI. ars dessus nommez.

Et est a sçavoir que nous avons deux musiques, dont l'une est *artificiele* et l'autre est *naturele*.

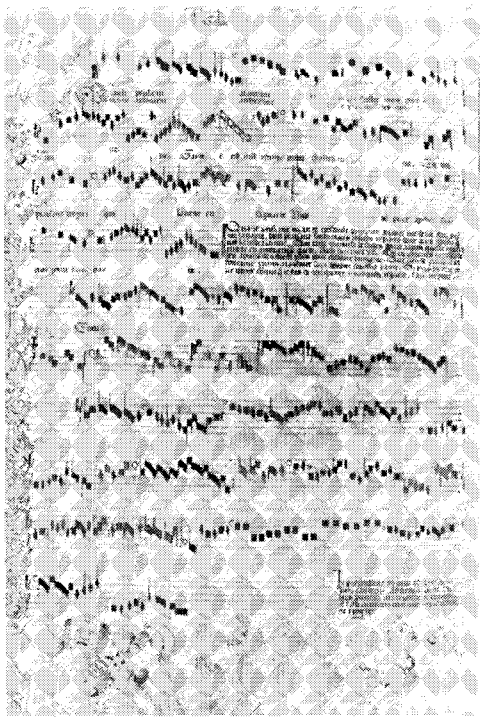
L'*artificiele* est celle dont dessus est faicte mencion; et est appellée artificiele de son art, car par ses .VI. notes, qui sont appellées *us, ré, my, fa, sol, la,* l'en puet aprandre[36] a chanter, acorder, doubler, quintoier,[37] tierçoier, tenir,[38] deschanter,[39] par figure de notes, par clefs et par lignes, le plus rude homme du monde, ou au moins tant faire, que, supposé ore qu'il n'eust pas la voix habile pour chanter ou bien acorder, sçaroit il et pourroit congnoistre les accors ou discors avecques tout l'art d'icelle science, par laquelle et les notes dessus dictes l'en acorde et donne l'en son divers aux aciers, aux fers, aux boys et aux metaulx, par diverses infusions interposées d'estain, de plomb, d'arain et de cuivre, si comme il puet apparoir es sons des cloches mises en divers orloges, lesqueles par le touchement des marteaulx donnent sons acordables selon lesdictes .VI. notes, proferans les sequences et autres choses des chans de saincte Eglise. Et ainsi puet estre entendu des autres instrumens des voix comme rebebes, guiternes, vielles et psalterions, par la diversité des tailles, la nature des cordes et le touchement des doiz, et des fleutes et haulx instrumens semblables,[40] avecques le vent de la bouche qui baillié leur est.

Et aussi ces deux musiques sont si consonans l'une avecques l'autre, que chascune puet bien estre appellée musique, pour la douceur tant du chant comme des paroles qui toutes sont prononcées et pointoyées par douçour de voix et ouverture de bouche; et est de ces deux ainsis comme un mariage en conjunction de science, par les chans qui sont plus anobliz et mieulx seans par la parole et faconde des diz qu'elle ne seroit seule de soy. Et semblablement les chançons natureles sont delectables et embellies par la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs du chant de la musique artificiele. Et neantmoins est chascune de ces deux plaisant a ouir par soy; et se puet l'une chanter par voix et par art, sanz parole; et aussis les diz des chançons se puent souventefoiz recorder en pluseurs lieux ou ilz sont moult voulentiers ois, ou le chant de la musique artificiele n'aroit pas tousjours lieu, comme entre seigneurs et dames estans a leur privé et secretement, ou la musique naturele se puet dire et recorder par un homme seul, de bouche, ou lire aucun livre de ces choses plaisans devant un malade, et autres cas semblables ou le chant musicant n'aroit point lieu pour la haulteur d'icellui, et la triplicité des voix pour les teneurs et contreteneurs necessaires a ycellui chant proferer par deux ou trois personnes pour la perfection dudit chant.

Translation

Concerning Music

Music is the final, and the medicinal science of the seven arts; for when the heart and spirit of those



4 *Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 564 (olim 1047), f.37. 3-part Ballade* Le Sault perilleux *by Jean Galiot (red notation obscured in photograph). Monks sing in the lower border. Are they singing plainchant or Galiot's Ballade?*

applied to the other arts treated above are wearied and vexed with their labours, Music, by the sweetness of her science and the melodiousness of her voice, sings them her delectable and pleasant melodies with her six notes in thirds, fifths, and octaves. These she performs sometimes with *orgues* and *chalumeaux* by blowing with the mouth and touching with the fingers; otherwise with the *harpe, rebebe, vielle, douçaine,* with noise of *tabours*, with *fleuthes*, and other musical instruments, so much so that by her delectable melody the hearts and minds of those who were fatigued, weighed down, and troubled with the said arts by thought, imagination or labour are revived and restored. Thus they are afterwards more able to study and labour with the other six arts named above.

It must be understood that we have two kinds of music: one is *artificial* and the other is *natural.*

Artificial music is that which is mentioned above. It is called *artificial* as an art for by its six notes, which are called *us, ré, my, fa, sol, la,* one may teach the most uncultivated man in the world to sing, make harmony and an octave, fifth and third, make a tenor, and descant by the form of notes, by clefs and by staves. Or at least one may do so much, supposing now he did not have a voice suitable for singing or making harmony well, that he would know and be able to recognize accords and discords with all the art of this science by which, and by the notes mentioned above, one tunes and gives diverse sound to steels, irons, woods and metals, by various additives of tin, lead, bronze, and copper, as may be evident in the sounds of bells enclosed in various clocks. These, by the touch of hammers, give harmonious sounds according to the said six notes, uttering sequences and other things of the melodies of Holy Church. This harmony may be heard on other musical instruments such as *rebebes, guiternes, vielles,* and *psalterions* by the variety of their size, the nature of the strings and the action of the fingers. Also on *fleutes* and on similar loud instruments,[40] with the breath that is introduced into them.

Also these two musics are so consonant with one another that each may well be called 'music', as much for the sweetness of both the melody and of the words which are all pronounced and articulated by the pleasantness of the voice and opening of the mouth. It is with these two as a marriage, that is, a conjunction of science, through the melodies which are more ennobled and are more seemly with the words and the fluency of the texts than they [lit. *it*] would be alone. Similarly, poems are made more delightful and embellished by the melody and the tenors, trebles and contratenors of music. However, each of these two [i.e., music and poetry] is pleasant to hear by itself. One may be sung with the voice in an artistic way without words; also the texts of chansons may often be recited in many places where they are very willingly heard, and where their music would not always be appropriate as among lords and ladies remaining in private, where poetry may be recited by a single person, or where some book of these pleasant things may be read before one who is ill. There are other similar cases where music would have no place because of its loudness, and because of the three voices for the tenors and contratenors that are necessary to perform the said music perfectly with two or three people.

Guillaume de Machaut

Abbreviations

CS E. de Coussemaker. *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi Nova Series*, 4 vols., Paris, 1864-76.

GS Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica*, 3 vols., Typis San-Blasianis, 1784.

PL J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-64.

Notes

[1] See, for example, G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, London, 1941, p. 383; P. H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilisation*, London, 1942, p. 153; Gilbert Reaney, 'Ars Nova in France', in *New Oxford History of Music, III, Ars Nova and the Renaissance*, 1300-1540, ed. Dom A. Hughes and G. Abraham, London, 1960, p. 25; W. Smoldon, *A History of Music*, London, 1965, p. 76; D. J. Grout, *A History of Western Music*, revised ed., London, 1973, p. 124. This view is often argued on the basis of the purely hypothetical notion that the tenors of 13th-century motets were performed upon instruments.

[2] See, for example, Jeremy Montagu, 'The "Authentic" sound of early music', *Early Music*, 3 (1975), 3, pp. 242-243.

[3] Text in *Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, Société des Anciens Textes Français, pubs. 9, Paris, 1878-1903, VII, pp. 266-92. The work is mentioned briefly in Gilbert Reaney, 'Voices and Instruments in the music of Guillaume de Machaut', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, X (1956), fasc. 1-2, p. 3 (note 2) and p. 8.

[4] *Oeuvres*, XI, p. 11, n. 4.

[5] Ballade 447 (Oeuvres, III, p. 259-60) *"Machaut . . . Qui m'a nourry et fait maintes douçours"*. In this poem, written after Machaut's death, Deschamps asks to be Péronne's *loyal ami* for *l'onneur* of Machaut.

[6] *Oeuvres*, 1, p. 245.

[7] A. Machabey, *Guillaume de Machault*, Paris, 1955, 1, p. 34f.

[8] Cf. Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1958 (reprinted Da Capo Press, New York, 1972), p. 75.

[9] Ballade 1169 (*Oeuvres*, VI, p. 113).

[10] Concerning a possible reference by Deschamps to composition of his own music see the *Oeuvres*, XI, p. 156. Nigel Wilkins ('The post-Machaut Generation of Poet-Musicians', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1968), p. 83) states that 'Deschamps . . . was not a musician . . .' For discussion of the view that Deschamps, unlike previous poets, was unable to compose music, and that he wrote the *Art de Dictier* in an attempt to have 'spoken verse accorded the same recognition as the best known poetry before him' see Glending Olson, 'Deschamps' *Art de Dictier* and Chaucer's Literary Environment', *Speculum*, XLVIII (1973), 4, pp. 714-723; Kenneth Varty, 'Deschamps' *Art de Dictier*', *French Studies*, XIX (1965), pp. 164-68; I. S. Laurie, 'Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music', *Modern Language Review*, LIX (1964), pp. 561-70.

[11] For the view that this account concentrates more on the practical application of the seven arts than former treatments, see R. Dragonetti, '"La Poesie . . . ceste musique naturele": Essai d'exégèse d'un passage de l'*Art de Dictier* d'Eustache Deschamps', *Fin du Moyen Age et Renaissance; Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guiette*, Anvers, 1961, p. 53. For a discussion of music and the liberal arts at the University of Orléans in the Middle Ages with special reference to Deschamps and the *Art de Dictier* see Nan Cooke Carpenter, op cit, pp. 69-76.

[12] The inclusion of poetry under the heading of *Musica* may be found in the *Poetria* of Johannes de Garlandia (text and translation in T. Lawler, *The 'Parisiana Poetria' of John of Garland*, Yale University Press, 1974, ch. I, lines 54-5, and 7, lines 469-70), and to some extent in the *De Musica* of Boethius (PL, LXIII, col. 1196). In the musical theorists the terms *naturalis* and *artificialis* are used in a variety of ways. See, for example, the writings of Regino of Prüm (GS, I, p. 236), Aribo Scholasticus (GS, II, p. 225), John of Affligem (GS, II, p. 232), Marchettus de Padua (GS, IV, pp. 68 and 152), Adam of Fulda (GS, IV, p. 333) and the treatises *Summa Musicae* (GS, IV, p. 199), and *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 103). The author of the *Quatuor Principalia Musica* distinguishes between 'natural' and 'artificial' instruments of practical music. The 'natural' instruments are the lungs and teeth, etc., and the 'artificial' are '*organa, viella, cithara, cistolla, psalterium et cetera*' (CS, IV, p. 205).

[13] Gilbert Reaney, 'Machaut's Influence on Late Medieval Music', *The Monthly Music Record*, 88 (1958), p. 51.

[14] For an elaborate account of the medicinal and therapeutic qualities of music see Tinctoris's treatises *Complexus Effectuum Musices* (CS, IV, p. 191f) and *Complexus Viginti Effectuum Nobilis Artis Musices* (ibid 195f) (both versions of the same work). See also plates 2 and 3.

[15] See, for example, the quotations from 14th-century and 15th-century texts gathered in E. A. Bowles, 'Musical Instruments at the Medieval Banquet', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 12 (1958), p. 41-51.

[16] See note 10.

[17] Raynaud (*Oeuvres*, XI, p. 155) suggests that the work was composed for the Duke of Burgundy.

[18] See Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1925; Wiesbaden, 1954-), 4 (1960), *haut*.

[19] For references to voices as *haut* see Tobler-Lommatzsch, *op. cit.*, 4, *haut*. For related references in Latin see Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle; le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, Paris, 4 vols., 1935-39, vol. IV, p. 220f.

[20] See W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Basel, vol. 14, 1961, p. 638, where the earliest recorded use of *voix* in this sense is dated 1765. The transferred meaning is not given in Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* (3 vols., The Hague and Rotterdam, 1690 (reprinted by Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1970) *voix*), although the author lists several specialized musical senses of the word. Ralph de Gorog (*Lexique Français Moderne—Ancien Français*, University of Georgia Press, 1973, p. 328) gives *parçon* as the Old French equivalent of Modern French *partie* in the musical sense (see F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française* (Paris, 1880-1902), 5 (1888), *parçon*).

[21] The primary transferred sense of *vox* in the musical theorists is 'note' or 'pitch'; see, for example, Marchettus of Padua, *Lucidarium* (GS, IV, p. 85); *Summa Musicae* (GS, IV, p. 201), *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 110), Johannis Veruli de Anagnia, *Liber de Musica* (CS, III, p. 131), Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *Tractatus de Contrapuncto* (CS, III, p. 194) and Anon., *Quatuor Principalia Musica* (CS, IV, p. 226).
When discussing counterpoint, the theorists either refer to parts by their names (*tenor, contratenor, discantus*, etc.), use the term *pars*, or employ *cum* followed by a numerical adjective with implied noun, e.g. *cum tribus* ('with three [parts]'). See the discussions of part-writing in the *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 93), and in the *Tractatus de Cantus Mensurabilis* of Aegidius de Murino (CS, III, p. 124f).

[22] See previous note.

[23] See Reaney, op cit, pp. 5 and 94.

[24] See Joscelyn Godwin, 'Mains Divers Acors', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), 2, p. 159.

[25] *Quatuor Principalia Musica* (CS, IV, p. 295).

[26] CS, III, p. 93.

[27] *Gace de la Buigne Le Roman des Deduis*, Ed. Åke Blomqvist, Studia Romanica Holmiensia, III, Karlshamn, 1951, line 8083f.

[28] Godefroy, op cit, 2 (1882), *deschanter*.

[29] There is, for example, an explicit reference to the performance of *teneur* and *contreteneur* on the *psalterium* in the *Pratique du Psalterium Mystique* of Jean de Gerson (*d* 1429), see Mgr. Glorieux, ed., *Jean de Gerson Oeuvres Complètes*, 10 vols. in 11, Tournai, 1960-73, 7(1), p. 421.

[30] See, for example, with regard to the music of the troubadours, H. van der Werf, *The Chansons of the troubadours and trouvères: A study of the melodies and their relation to the poems*, Utrecht, 1972, and on the

textless parts of the Old Hall manuscript, Margaret Bent's note to the music supplement of *Early Music*, January 1974; 'Vocalization is a likely solution, and one to which modern singers of early music may have to grow more accustomed.'

[31] Cf. Reaney, op cit, p. 8: 'Although certain tenors and contratenors may have been performed vocally, the great majority of those employed in Machaut's polyphonic songs are undoubtedly instrumental. They look so unvocal with their passagework and leaps that we can hardly apply to them Deschamps' important statement that three voices are necessary when a song is properly performed with tenors and contratenors by two or three people.'

[32] Lloyd Hibberd, 'On "Instrumental Style" in Early Melody', *Musical Quarterly*, 32 (1946), pp. 107-130.

[33] See Sarah Jane Williams, 'Vocal Scoring in the Chansons of Machaut', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21 (1968), 3, p. 252.

[34] Deschamps apparently puns on the musical meaning of this word in his Ballade 300 (see the Oeuvres, II, p. 161).

[35] The translation 'in octaves' for *doublées* is supported by (1), the earliest French vernacular musical treatise *Quiconques veut deschanter* (MS 13c) where *doubles* is defined as the *Witisme* ('eighth') note above unison (quoted here from the facsimile of the original MS in *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript Paris lat. 15139*, Introduction and facsimiles by Ethel Thurston, Toronto, 1959, p. 21 fol. 269); (2), by the French vernacular treatise of Anonymous XIII (end of 13c) in CS, III, p. 497: *Qui veult faire bon deschant il doilt commenchier et finir par acort parfait, c'est à scavoir par unisson, quinte ou double. . . .* (3), by Gace de la Buigne's reference (*Le Roman des Deduis*, in Blomqvist, *op. cit.*, lines 8087-8088) to the *quadouble* part being sung '*la quinte sur double*', i.e., a fifth above the octave above the tenor.

[36] Deschamps is presumably thinking of the rules for composing polyphonic music such as are given in the *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 93), in the *Tractatus Cantus Mensurabilis* of Aegidius de Murino (CS, III, p. 124f), and in the *Tractatus de Musica Figurata et de Contrapuncto* (CS, IV, 446f).

[37] The verb *quintoier* simply means 'to sound a fifth', but it appears in several Old French texts where its actual technical meaning is far from clear (see, for example, Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. A. E. Poquet, Paris, 1862, col. 320, line 262). If Deschamps is referring to the rules for composing polyphonic music in this passage (see previous note) then all the verbs he uses derived from the names of intervals must denote the process of putting parts together as described in the treatises (cf. for example, CS, IV, p. 448-9).

[38] Apparently only in Deschamps (see Tobler-Lommatzsch, *op. cit.* (Zweite Lieferung des X bandes, Wiesbaden, 1974) *tenir*, col. 218). My translation is based upon the assumption that Deschamps is referring to composition. However, all the verbs used here may also imply aspects of performance, and one might therefore translate 'perform a tenor'. For a treatise on the composition of motet tenors see Aegidius de Murino, *Tractatus Cantus Mensurabilis* (CS, III, p. 124f).

[39] The *discantus* was the top line in a chanson (also called *superius, cantus, treble*). Again, Deschamps may be referring to performance, or to the composition of a part above a tenor (see Godefroy, op cit, 2 (1883), *Deschant, Deschanter*, and Tobler Lommatzsch, 2 (n.d.), *deschant, deschanter*). The word is used somewhat loosely in vernacular texts, and it is difficult to know how precise in reference Deschamps wishes to be.

[40] Deschamps appears to be implicitly distinguishing the stringed (*bas*) instruments from the winds, predominantly loud (*haulx*). However, the explicit mention of *fleutes* as representative of the *haulx* instruments is puzzling (see E. A. Bowles, '"Haut et Bas": the grouping of musical instruments in the Middle Ages', *Musica Disciplina*, 8 (1954), pp. 120-1, 126-7).

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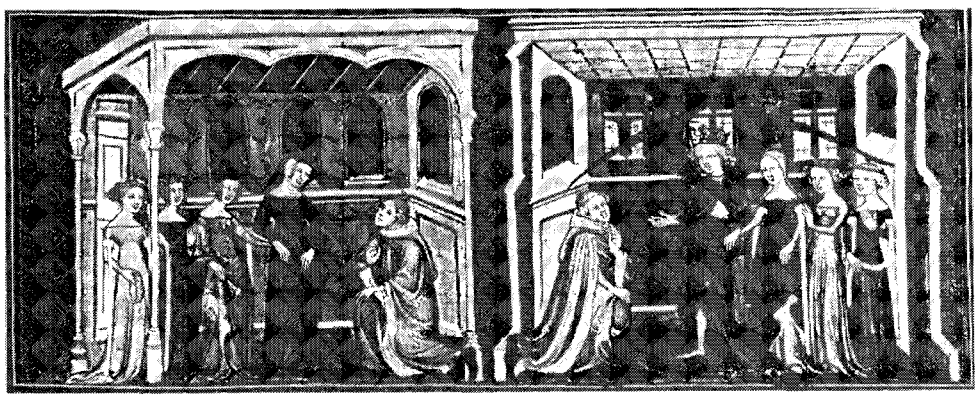
I am most grateful to David Fallows of the University of Manchester and Professor Elizabeth Salter of the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, who read the first draft of this article and made many valuable suggestions. I would also like to thank Stephen Minta of the Department of English and Related Literature at York, who examined my translation and use of Old French materials.



Nature *presents her daughters* Sens, Retorique *and* Musique *to Machaut.*
Bibl. natl., f.fr. 9221 f. 1r. By courtesy of Scottish Academic Press

[27]

Texting in 15th-century French chansons: a look ahead from the 14th century

Lawrence Earp

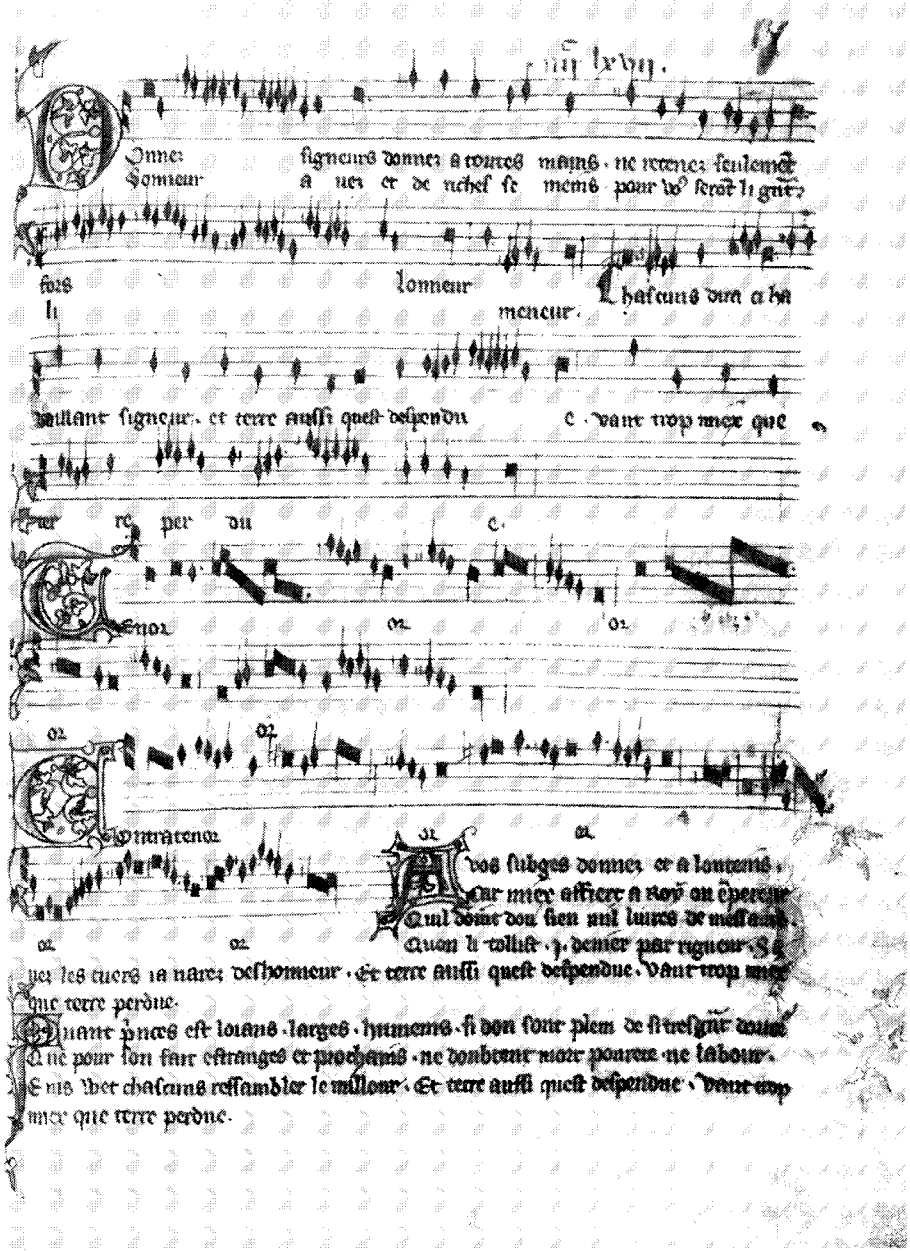
It is commonly believed that the sources of 15th-century music are unclear in their presentation of text underlay, and that the editor is pretty much left to his own devices in establishing the correlation of syllables and notes.[1] This is understandable, since many editors of this repertory have approached the problem from a viewpoint that looks back from the 16th century. At some point, perhaps with the generation of Willaert and his followers, but not yet in the works of Crecquillon, Gombert and Clemens, the correlation between syllables and notes becomes unambiguous. Further, this texting corresponds to our ideas of proper word accentuation and text declamation. Manuscript and printed sources from the early part of the 16th century, as well as the entire 15th-century manuscript tradition, it is said, are notoriously more difficult to deal with.

I would like to approach specifically the 15th-century chanson sources from the other direction. The point that has not been recognized by many music historians is that the problem of text underlay first arises as a general problem in sources from the second half of the century. Now it is true that the basically clear representation of the correlation of word and music in sources prior to the mid-15th century may not correspond to the humanist's conception of good text accentuation and declamation, and perhaps this is why many editors still mistrust the sources and subject them to editorial emendation, even to the point of applying the ideals of Willaert to music composed 100 or 200 years earlier, or of calling on the precepts of a theorist of the 1570s for guidance in understanding a style of music by then long obsolete.[2]

Let us step back and view the situation in the 15th century from the 14th century forward. At the beginning of the 14th century, musical manuscripts, both for motet and chanson, were copied with the text first. It was the text scribe who was responsible for the overall layout of the manuscript, planning the pages and leaving blank spaces for the later insertion of staves and decorative initials. Judging from the spaces left by the staff ruler for initial letters at the beginning of lines and internally, the practice of entering the text before the ruling of staves obtained in the great motet and chanson collections of the 13th century, and continued in the de luxe manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* surviving as *F-Pn* fr. 146, in the Brussels *rotulus* (*B-Br* 19606), in the Machaut manuscripts, in most of the Cambrai fragments (*F-CA* 1328), in most of the Ivrea codex (*I-IVc* 115), and in the surviving portions of the Trémoïlle manuscript (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 23190). This procedure of copying music symbols directly over the syllables to which they belong did not change when, around 1340, the first examples of the new-style polyphonic chanson appeared. These works exhibit a highly melismatic cantus, the only voice to carry the text, and a very lengthy textless accompanying voice or voices. The extent of the melismas in the texted voice, as well as the length of the untexted parts were important stylistic innovations, and not easily copied using the old procedure. The text scribe now had to leave greater or lesser gaps for the notes of the melismas to be entered between syllables of text, and also had to indicate to the staff-ruler where the staves for the untexted voices were to be entered (illus.2). Indeed, the extension of the voice designation for the tenor into 'tenor or or or or', seen in many 14th-century manuscripts, served to show the staff-ruler the length of the staves to be entered, in essence by giving an untexted part a 'text' over which to draw the staves.

This manner of copying music was very difficult and tedious when employed for the highly melismatic polyphonic chanson style. Even if the scribe were copying from an exemplar that was unambiguous, many factors could conspire to compromise what he produced. Exemplar and copy could be in a different format, and differences in column-width, or in the number of columns per folio, made the placement and length of melismas more difficult to predict.

In earlier sources, repeated phrases of music had always been written out in their entirety over a single line of text. Now, a double line of text, a new technique of copying the repeated sections of music for genres with *ouvert* and *clos* cadences, provided a distinct advantage



2 Machaut, 'Donnez, signeurs' (*F-Pn* fr. 1584, f.467r)

when dealing with highly melismatic music, since there was one less line of text to space out for the melismas. Even so, special skill was called for to space out the text at the *ouvert* and *clos* cadences. The new shorthand manner of dealing with *ouvert* and *clos* cadences for ballades and virelais was first applied to vocal music in the new style of the 1340s, and Machaut MS *C* (*F-Pn* fr. 1586, *c.*1350–5) is the first extant manuscript to employ the practice in vocal music. Of course the careful setting of notes over the text always relates to the top line of text; the declamation of the lower line was readily duplicated from the upper line of poetry, and an editor should not be surprised if the lower line of text appears askew (compare the ballade in illus.2).

It is evident that the process of music copying in the 14th century was a much more exacting procedure than the copying of text alone. Unless the scribe constantly referred to the exemplar for the exact spacing of each syllable, it was very easy for errors to occur. Later, when he returned to enter the music, he very likely found, on occasion, a syllable that should have been separated that was not, or some other infelicitous situation. This sort of inattention happened frequently as the central Machaut manuscripts were being copied, and various means were used to bring the copy back to the alignment shown more or less clearly in the exemplar, either by crowding the music symbols, or by drawing a diagonal line to indicate the proper co-ordination of syllable to note, or even by scraping and resetting a note or a syllable of text. Indeed, the majority of the hundreds of scribal corrections in the Machaut sources do not concern errors of pitch or rhythm, but rather what ought properly to be called the overlay of the music to the text. The scribes went to great trouble to indicate the correlation of text and music accurately.[3]

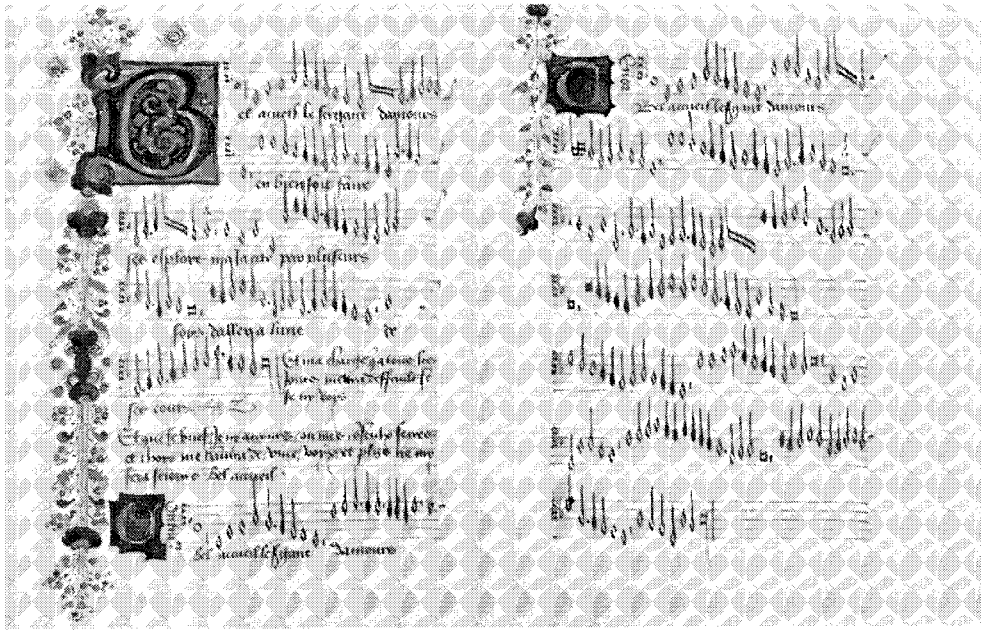
A slightly different but related manner of copying was practised in some purely musical *Gebrauchshandschriften*, whose staves were uniformly ruled before the text was entered. Here, a portion of text was entered, followed by the corresponding music above it, alternating back and forth, a procedure that guaranteed the correct disposition of melismas. Margaret Bent has shown that this very tedious and yet most exact manner of copying music was used for the Old Hall MS, and I believe the same could be demonstrated for parts of both the Ivrea codex and Oxford 213.[4]

Most significant for our purposes here is the fact that this technique of copying, when applied carefully, produced a largely unambiguous text setting, and that composers did indeed exercise imagination and choice in setting their texts to music. It was possible to indicate melismatic extensions of syllables, the desired treatment of the unaccented final '-e', and other aspects of texting. The result is not the texting of Willaert. He would certainly have considered it barbaric, as did Morley 50 or so years later, when he wrote in 1597, in a passage already cited by Margaret Bent: 'We must also take heed of seperating any part of a word from another by a rest, as som dunces have not slackt to do, yea one whose name is Iohannes Dunstaple (an ancient English author) hath not onlie devided the sentence, but in the verie middle of a word hath made two long rests . . .'[5]

I do not mean to imply that the manuscripts answer all the questions about text setting, but the fact that careful scribes were concerned about it, and that careful employment of the normal procedure of music copying most often ensured good and accurate results, is significant. Unfortunately, the correlation between text and music was the easiest, and probably the first, aspect of a composition to be corrupted by the repeated copying needed for wide circulation. For highly ornamental and melismatic music, including most late 14th-century rondeaux and the ornate ballades of the 1380s, many of the intentions with regard to texting are impossible to reconstruct with the sources at hand. Nevertheless, an editor who is aware of how a given manuscript was copied can interpret the evidence it contains in a way that resolves certain ambiguities.[6]

The generally wider circulation of music in the 15th century may have been one of the factors that promoted a manner of copying music that was simpler, quicker and more easily duplicated. In any case, the technical problems with this very exacting and time-consuming manner of copying music came to a head shortly before 1450,[7] when copyists on the continent finally gave up even the pretence of trying to show the correlation of word and music, and began to copy manuscripts music first, a much easier working method. The music symbols are placed equidistantly, and the text later underlaid below.

A hint of the new procedure is found just after the turn of the century, in some Italian manuscripts transmitting foreign repertory. John Nádas has reported that some sections—by no means all—of the Reina codex (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771) and Paris 568 (*F-Pn* it. 568) were copied music first, with notes separated for syllabic passages and crowded for melismas, and the words underlaid later.[8] I believe the same to have been the case in the copying of *ModA* (*I-MOe* 5.24). This procedure preserves the old distinction between syllabic and melis-



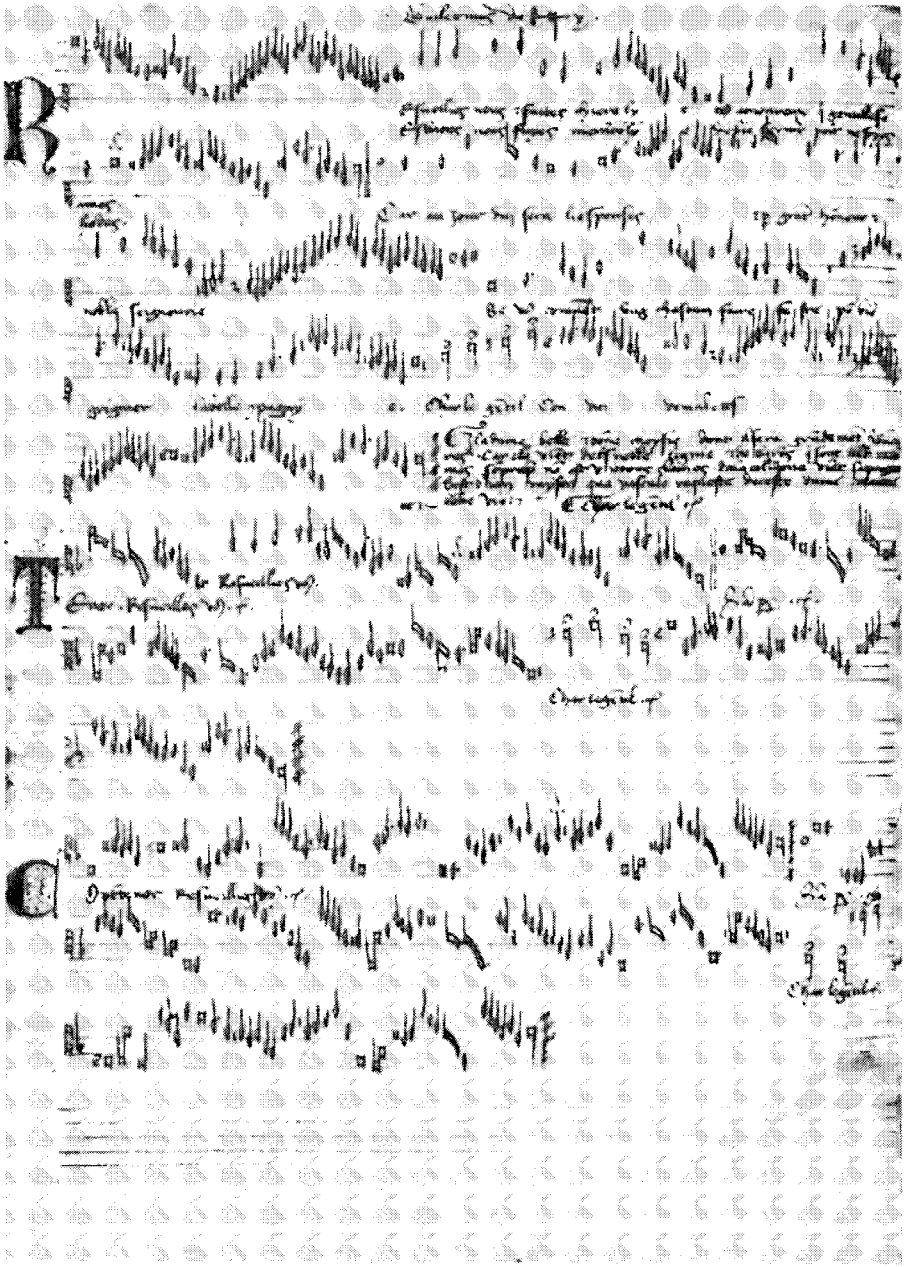
3 Busnois, 'Bel Acueil' (*US-NHy* 91, f.1*v*-2*r*)

matic passages, and although it is not as clear as music overlay, an editor aware of the practice might be able to make some good guesses as to the intentions lying behind passages that on the surface look confused. In any case, this type of underlay is far clearer than the practice of the mid- and later 15th century, in which all notational symbols are set equidistantly. Illus.3, from about 1475, provides a typical example of the practice of the last quarter of the 15th century. It should be compared with illus.2, a representative sample copied about 1375.

The actual point at which the old notational practices stop in France and Italy is not clear at the present state of research. The question of the preconditions and assumptions that go along with such a dramatic change in procedure is a complex one, and perhaps the picture will remain as difficult to clarify and as variable as the gradual change to white notation. It is noteworthy that one of the two scribes of *EscA* overlays music to text, while the other one underlays text to music.[9]

In practical terms, the difference in copying procedures means that the modern editor of repertories such as, for instance, Dufay chansons, is left with sources in which the clarity of the relationship between text and music varies from extremely clear, with the music overlaid (for example, the last section of the Reina codex), to extremely unclear, with the text underlaid (for example, any of the late 15th-century chansonniers). But the new technique of the mid-15th century, true text underlay, presumes that a style of music had developed in which there were clearly understood norms of performance practice that took care of the problem of text setting within bounds acceptable to the composer. This assumes that the new scribal practice was agreeable to composer and scribe alike—otherwise, we would have to believe that the composer suddenly had not the slightest interest in the projection of the text in his composition.

Let us review a few of the varieties of texting practices seen in the chanson before the mid-15th century, when it was still possible to be clear about the matter. Active from the 1340s to the 1360s, Machaut exercised a variety of preferences with regard to the placement of the final syllable of the poetic line, and of course he and his scribes were able to notate this. For instance, in his ballades, the penultimate syllable is usually extended at the internal *clos* and at the final cadence, but in a quarter of the 42 examples it is the final masculine syllable of the phrase that is melismatically extended.[10]



4 Dufay, 'Resvelliés vous' (*GB-Ob* 213, f.126*v*)

Melismatic extension of the final syllable is seen also in many works in Oxford 213, a repertory drawn largely from the early 15th century up to the mid-1430s. For instance, in two-thirds of the ballades in this source, the *clos* ending is treated as an extension, after the final text syllable has already been sung (cf. illus.4).[11] This is a new notational convention, not seen much in the Chantilly codex.

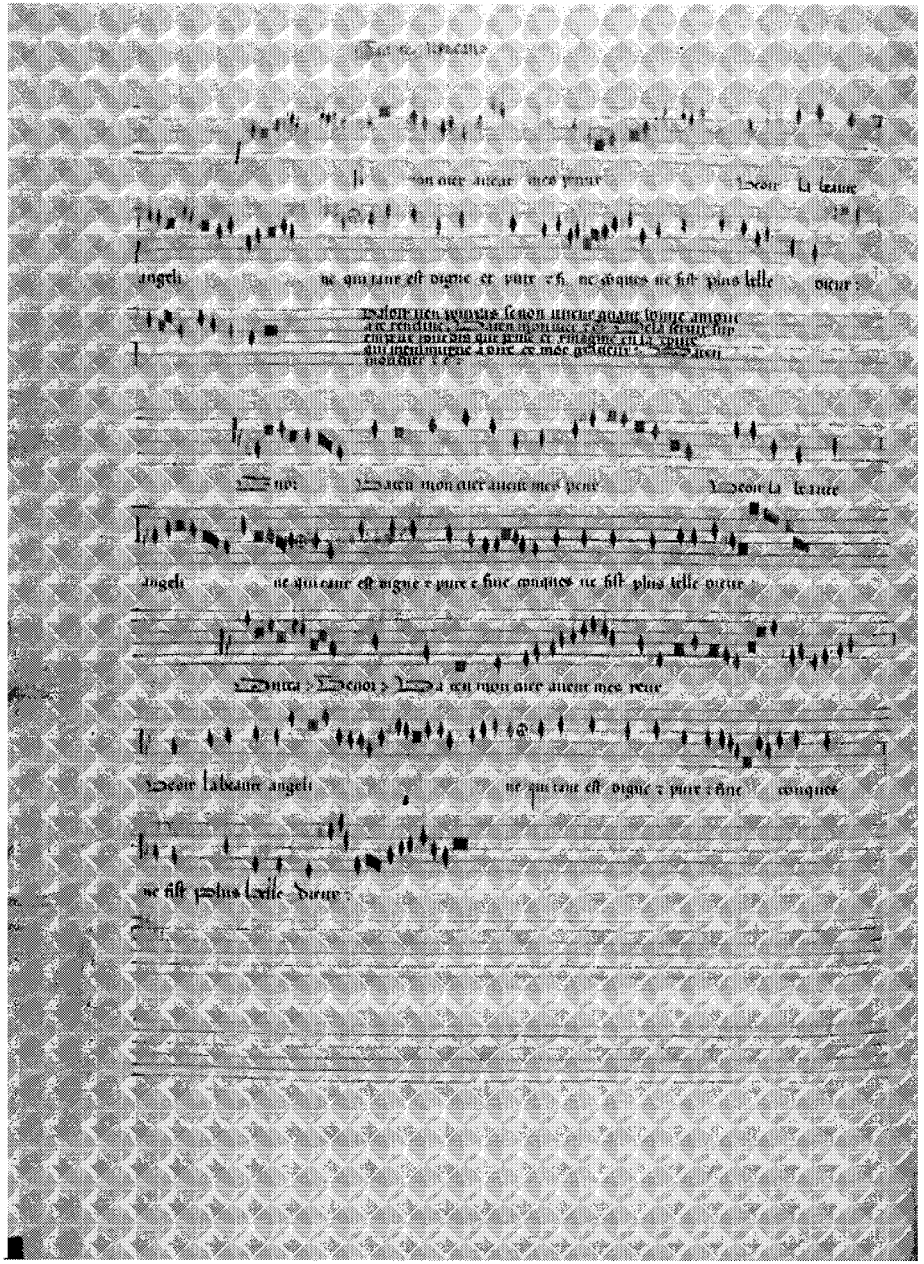
A further characteristic of text setting quite popular in the first quarter of the 15th century appears late in the previous century, the practice of beginning a song with a long untexted melisma.[12] There is but a single example of this striking new style in the Chantilly codex, the rondeau 'Va t'en mon cuer' by Gacian Reyneau of Tours,[13] where all three voices are texted (illus.5). By the time of Oxford 213, this practice had become common (Dufay's 'Ce jour de l'an' and 'Ce moys de may' are well-known examples).[14] The manuscripts present the first syllable and its initial inset, or the initial retains its usual decorative place at the edge of the music, and may be repeated when the text is properly supposed to begin. The placement of the initial at the edge of the page, illogical from the standpoint of texting, remains functional as a means of indicating the start of a new work, a means of finding one's way through the manuscript. Of the 46 secular works, French and Italian, ascribed to Dufay in Oxford 213, 16 (one third) begin with textless melismas. Of the 26 secular works ascribed to Binchois in the same manuscript, nine (again one third) begin this way.

Another stylistic feature common in the chansons of the first quarter of the 15th century is the appearance of one or several untexted internal melismas, separated from texted phrases by rests. This characteristic is met with in fully two-thirds of the Binchois chansons in Oxford 213 and one-half of those of Dufay. Sometimes the textless melisma provides a musical balance after an essentially syllabic phrase, and sometimes it has some other function. For instance, in Dufay's canonic 'Par droit je puis' (see illus.6 and ex.1) the alternation of syllabically texted and untexted phrases allows the declamation of the text in each of the canonic voices to emerge. Dufay's intent is perfectly represented in the manuscript. Note that after the first internal melisma, a diagonal ink line clarifies the placement of the text, which had not been adequately spaced out before the music was entered above (though not easily visible in illus.6, the hairline is quite clear in the original). Incidentally, texting the two lower voices does not seem to be an option here; the manuscript presentation of the work seems to be the most compelling one musically.

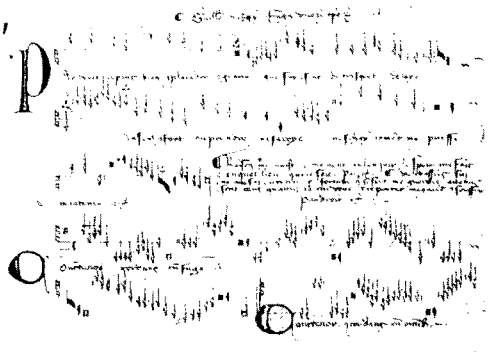
Untexted opening and internal melismas are but two examples of the possibilities that went out of fashion when, following a change of style in the music, texting practices were regularized and copying techniques changed in the mid-15th century.[15] In the chanson around 1450, one phrase of text almost always corresponds to one phrase of music, which exhibits generally syllabic declamation at the beginning of a phrase, followed by a melisma on the penultimate syllable. An analysis of the melodic lines for rhythmic patterns that fit the text may suggest whether it is syllabically or melismatically treated.[16] It must be emphasized that this procedure of texting, now assigned to the realm of performance practice, was a very recent one for the new-style repertory of the 1440s. Only a few years before it had been possible to indicate the correlation of text and music largely without ambiguity. The change of style is mirrored by a fundamental change in procedures of manuscript copying.

Can we assume that the first syllable of a phrase goes with the first note, and the last syllable, whether accented or an unaccented final '-e', with the last note? Such principles may seem obvious. And yet they are not, as we have seen from the variety of procedures used a short time before. The untexted opening melismas have gone out of fashion, and I think we can indeed place the first syllable with the first note.[17] I suspect that final syllables should generally be placed at the very end of a phrase, but a closer study is needed to determine if a uniform practice is discernible, or whether the variability seen in some manuscripts is intended. In the Chantilly codex the intention seems to be that the final syllable should fall at the end of a phrase, yet in Oxford 213, this is often not the case.[18] Whether a new uniform practice had emerged by 1450 is a question that cannot yet be answered.

Finally the question of the application of text to untexted parts of a chanson can be approached. In 14th-century France the position is quite clear, for there is virtually no evidence for such alternative texting of secular works. It was possible to notate the correlation of text and music unambiguously, with scribes going to great lengths to ensure the careful texting of the cantus voice, normally the only voice that was intended to carry text.[19] The few alternative textures are explicitly notated. All the voices are of course texted in polytextual works, but the same text is normally declaimed by two voices only in canonic works in the 14th century.[20] The type of chanson first witnessed by Gacian Reyneau's rondeau in Chantilly is a new departure, a uniform three-voice texure



5 Gacian Reyneau, 'Va t'en mon cuer' (*F-CH* 564, f.56*v*)

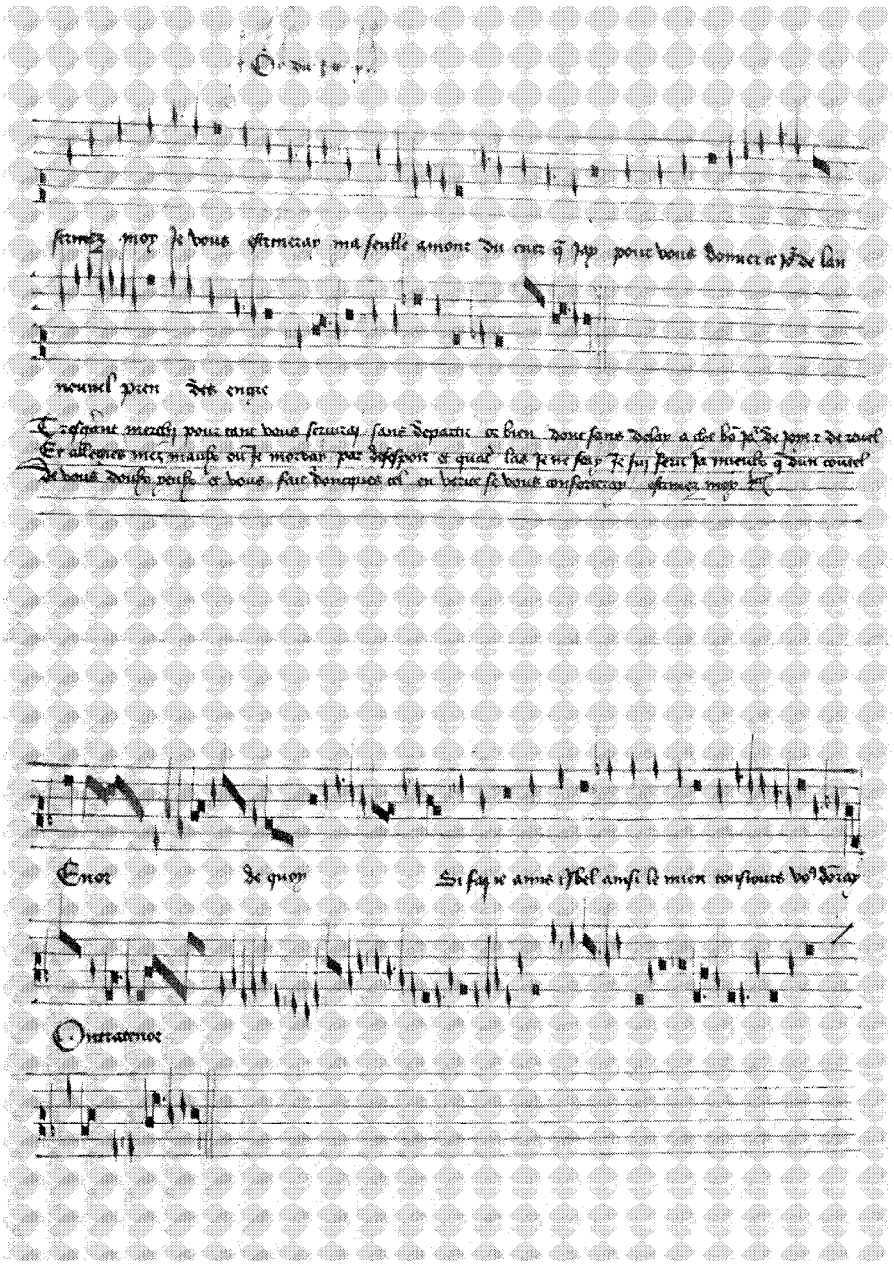


6 Dufay, 'Par droit je puis' (*GB-Ob* 213, f.18*v*)

ture clearly distinguishable from the layered texture—slow tenor and contratenor accompanying an active cantus—that was formerly the most usual.

It is for these reasons that the texting practice exhibited in the beautiful recordings by Gothic Voices (director Christopher Page) of 14th- and early 15th-century chansons seems to me unsatisfactory.[21] Regardless of texture, the text of the cantus is arbitrarily applied to all voices, a practice particularly annoying in older four-voice compositions, when the texting of the triplum inevitably and unfairly accentuates this subsidiary voice. The care bestowed—I believe by the composer—uniquely upon the texting of the cantus voice loses its effect.[22] If the untexted voices were intended to be texted

Ex.1 Dufay, 'Par droit je puis', ed. H. Besseler, CMM, i/6 (Rome, 1964)



7 Dufay, 'Estrines moy' (*E-E* V.III.24, f.59v-60r)

in some arbitrary way, why was such care exercised in the application of the text to just a single voice? The care and effort expended by scribes in the first half of the 15th century make it unlikely that a chaotic setting of the upper voice's text to the lower voices, by breaking up ligatures, and so on, was left to performance practice.[23] When voices were to be texted, they were texted. Reyneau's 'Va t'en mon cuer', with its three voices explicitly texted in the source, is beautifully performed by Page's Gothic Voices in 'The Garden of Zephirus'.

But the clear stylistic distinction between this work and every other chanson in Chantilly should be respected in performance, just as the stylistic distinction between Dufay's 'Ce moys de may' (Besseler no.39) and 'Ce jour le doibt' (Besseler no.18) should be appreciated. Yet Page's own ground-breaking research on performance practice complements the picture given by the sources. We should begin to perform these works with voices on all lines—a scoring that Page's research shows to have been a normal one at the time—but without applying text where it was not called for. Instead, performers must experiment with vocalization of textless passages.[24]

This manner of performance makes the intention of the instances of partial texting in the sources clear.[25] Partial texting also provides some further evidence against the indiscriminate application of the full text to the other voices. Nobody puts down an instrument to sing occasional words (it has been suggested even quite recently that this was the practice), because one is already singing. Instances of isolated 'cucu's', or other fragments of text in imitation stand out in a logical way from their context. For instance, an example of partial texting that to my knowledge has gone unrecognized is provided by the imitative opening of Baude Cordier's rondeau 'Belle, bonne, sage'. The famous heart-shaped notation at the head of the Chantilly codex is extraordinarily carefully copied. The overlay of the notes of the tenor and contratenor to the opening two words calls for the partial texting of these voices. After the imitative opening gesture, the tenor and contratenor should continue by vocalizing.

Some examples of partial texting create marvellous artistic effects. For instance, in Dufay's famous dedicatory ballade of July 1423, 'Resvelliés vous' (illus.4),[26] after the typical untexted opening melisma, the tenor comes in with the first words of the text, 'Resvelliés vous' ('wake up'). But this is a playful ruse on Dufay's part, since the tenor actually serves only to awaken the cantus, which immediately responds with that text in imitation, as the tenor returns to his textless sustaining role. Later, all three voices join in the solemn intoning of the first words of the refrain, 'Charle gentil' ('noble Charles'). The addition of any more text to the lower voices would be destructive to the carefully-conceived changing textures of the work.

Another example from Dufay is the rondeau 'Estrines moy, je vous estrineray' (illus.7).[27] This work employs the normal French texture of a single texted voice over an untexted tenor and contratenor. But in the B section the tenor, representing the lady, answers the pleas of the lover. It only makes sense that this line was being vocalized all along, and that the cantus vocalizes as the tenor sings the poetic text. It is also impossible to imagine any further texting of the three voices: to do so would destroy the charming dialogue that is the point of the song.[28] Instances of partial texting should be interpreted literally.

I suspect that alternate texting is indeed a real possibility in the chansons of the latter half of the 15th century. These are works that often enjoyed a very wide circulation, susceptible to a great variety of local customs of performance.[29] It is probably no accident that the manner of copying the works is one that is faster and less prescriptive of performance options. Here we are free to experiment. Lessons drawn from earlier chansons would seem to indicate that instances of imitation were especially susceptible to texting in the accompanying voices (Busnois' 'Bel Acueil', illus.3, provides a familiar example).[30] On the other hand, if a lower voice returns to a non-imitative sustained texture, we should feel free to let it vocalize while the cantus projects the text. Other possibilities are available, clearly indicated in the chansons of a few years earlier. It is important to begin to look at the final flowering of this brilliant courtly music in terms suitable to it, and I believe that the sources themselves, if carefully examined, can provide a great number of answers.

Lawrence Earp is Associate Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is currently finishing a book on Guillaume de Machaut (Garland).

[1]A version of this paper was read at the Twenty-Fourth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University (4–7 May 1989), with the title 'Alternate Textings: The Legacy of the Fourteenth Century'.

[2]The ample bibliography on text underlay in the 15th and 16th centuries is summarized in H.M. Brown, '"Lord, have mercy upon us": Early Sixteenth-Century Scribal Practice and the Polyphonic Kyrie', *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship*, ii (1985), pp.106–7, n.1. To the extensive bibliography in D. Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought: From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Cen-*

tury, Musicological Studies and Documents, xl (1986), pp.472–89, should be added important studies by Margaret Bent, David Fallows, Frank Harrison, Christopher Page, Alejandro Planchart, Craig Wright, and most of the work of Howard Brown on this subject. The views of Margaret Bent are closest to those advocated in this article; see especially her 'Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications', in U. Günther and L. Finscher, eds., *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Vorträge des Gastsymposions in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 8. bis 12. September 1980*, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, x (Kassel, 1984), pp.291–326.

[3]The question of text underlay in the Machaut manuscripts is treated at length in Earp, 'Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut' (PhD diss., Princeton Univ., 1983: University Microfilms International 8318466), pp.170–96 and 266–70. On diagonal lines drawn to clarify texting, see also. H. Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc.213*, Publikationen der schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, Serie ii/24 (Bern and Stuttgart, 1971), pp.61–3; M. Long, 'Musical tastes in fourteenth-century Italy: notational styles, scholarly traditions, and historical circumstances' (PhD diss., Princeton Univ., 1981: University Microfilms International 8108092), pp. 168–70; J. Nádas, 'The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages' (PhD diss., New York Univ., 1985: University Microfilms International 8604074), p.110.

[4]For the Old Hall MS (*GB-Lbl* Add. 57950), see the example discussed by Bent in 'Text Setting in Sacred Music', *op cit*, pp.296–97. For Oxford 213 (*GB-Ob* 213), see G. Boone, 'Dufay's Early Chansons: Chronology and Style in the Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213' (PhD diss., Harvard Univ., 1987: University Microfilms International 8800749), p.6. Boone considers his example an isolated occurrence, but it may well be the scribe's normal procedure, revealed only because the work under consideration was left incomplete. The example of *I-Fn* Panc. 26 is discussed in Nádas, 'The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony', *op. cit.*, pp.64–9. Sometimes also the text was entered except for the final syllable, which the scribe then forgot to add after the music was copied. Examples from several manuscripts are noted in Earp, 'Scribal Practice', *op cit*, pp.258–9.

[5]T. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597), p.178, quoted in Bent, 'Text Setting in Sacred Music', *op cit*, p.302. For a modern edition, see T. Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R.A. Harman, (New York, 21963), p.291.

[6]See the comments in Bent, 'Text Setting in Sacred Music', *op cit*, p.294. The new edition of the Chantilly codex (*F-CH* 564) often interprets the manuscript text placement either too freely or too literally (G.K. Greene, ed., *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564*, 2 vols., Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xviii–xix [Monaco, 1981–2]). The degree of accuracy of the texting in the Chantilly codex varies considerably from piece to piece, a factor that could perhaps be utilized to separate layers of transmission.

[7]Boone, 'Dufay's Early Chansons', *op cit*, has placed the final stages of the copying of Oxford 213, a manuscript with music overlay, that is, copied text first, at *c.*1436, while W.H. Kemp, 'The Manuscript Escorial V.III.24', *Musica Disciplina*, xxx (1976), pp.97–129, has placed the period of the copying of *EscA* (*E-E* V.III.24), a French manuscript in which only the second of the two scribes practised the new style of text underlay by copying the music first, at *c.*1430–45.

[8]See Nádas, 'The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony', *op cit*, pp.213–4. For the practice in *Lo* (*GB-Lbl* 29987), see Long, 'Musical tastes', *op. cit.*, pp. 168–70.

[9]D. Fallows, 'Robertus de Anglia and the Oporto Song Collection', in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. I. Bent (London, 1981), p.105, reports that the Oporto manuscript (*P-Pm* 714), a Ferrarese or Bolognese source of the 1460s, displays extraordinary care in texting. Further study of this source, which is very accurately texted for a manuscript with music entered first, is called for. See facs. in H. Besseler, ed., *Guillaume Dufay, Opera omnia*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae [CMM], i/6 (Rome, 1964), p.lxxii.

[10]Two or more phrases are extended, by a few notes or by a melisma, in ballades nos.2, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16 (a case ambiguous in the manuscripts), 19 and 33 in F. Ludwig, ed., *Guillaume de Machaut Musikalische Werke*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1926/R1954). Only the *clos* cadence is melismatically extended in ballades 20 and 25. Less dramatic phrase extensions are seen in nos.5, 7, 8 and 18. Schrade (*The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, iii [Monaco, 1956]) removes almost all the final syllables to the final note of a phrase, whether the manuscripts show it that way or not; Ludwig's underlay more accurately reflects the sources.

[11]Of the 39 ballades in Oxford 213, 23 or 24 have the *clos* extension; 11 show some replacement music, in other words a true 'second ending'; three or four have no cadential differentiation between *ouvert* and *clos*; and Dufay's 'Se la face ay pale', no.19 in the Besseler edition, is through-composed.

[12]This practice is also seen in the Turin manuscript (*I-Tn* J.II.9): 5 of the 102 ballades, 7 of the 43 rondeaux, and 5 of the 21 virelais in this repertory have a textless opening melisma; cf. the comments in R.H. Hoppin, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, J.II.9*, CMM, xxi/4 (1963), p.ix.

[13]'Va t'en mon cuer' is edited by W. Apel, *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, CMM, liii/1 (1970), no.87 and by G. Greene, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xix, no.93. Reyneau was active at the Aragonese chapel from before 1398 until at least 1429, see H. Anglès, 'Gacian Reyneau am Königshof zu Barcelona in der Zeit von 139.. bis 1429', *Studien zur Musikgeschichte, Festschrift für Guido Adler am 75. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1930/R1971), pp.64–70. Vaillant's triple rondeau 'Tres doulz amis/Ma dame/Cent mille fois' has opening melismas in cantus 2 and tenor (misrepresented in Greene's edition, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, xviii, no.12); perhaps the cantus 1 should also begin with a textless melisma.

[14]Nos.38 and 39 in the Besseler edition

[15]Very few pieces cross over the style boundary; some examples are Dufay's popular 'Se la face ay pale', Besseler no.19, and the anonymous 'Or me veult' (see below, n.17).

[16]Cf. D. Fallows, 'Robert Morton's songs: A Study of Styles in the Mid-Fifteenth Century' (PhD diss., Univ. of California at Berkeley, 1978: University Microfilms International 7904431), pp.3 and 22. See also the section on texting in Fallows's forthcoming edition of *Le Chansonnier de Jean de Montchenu*, the Chansonnier Cordiforme (*F-Pn* Rothschild 2973).

[17]The anonymous 'Or me veult', an old-fashioned work copied in the new manner in the Mellon chansonnier (*US-NHy* 91), f. 69*v*-71*r*, retains its opening melisma. See facs. and transcr. edited by L.L. Perkins, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, (New Haven and London, 1979), i, no.49. On the probable English origin of this work, see M. Bent, 'The songs of Dufay: some questions of form and authenticity', *EM*. viii (1980), pp.458–9.

[18]Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung*, *op cit*, pp.62–3, discusses text placement at the ends of phrases in Oxford 213. Although the scribal practice in the manuscript varies, he would have all final syllables separated and placed below the last note of the phrase. Even if his analysis is accepted, it should be emphasized that this is a feature of the style that was variable in chansons two generations earlier, and further that manuscripts of two generations earlier were explicit and reliable in their indication of it, and that Oxford 213 was copied in essentially the same manner as these earlier manuscripts.

[19]The strikingly different situation in Italy, highly variable according to the practice of individual scribes, is discussed in Nádas, 'The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony', pp.110–7.

[20]V. Newes, 'The Relationship of Text to Imitative Techniques in

14th-Century Polyphony', in U. Günther and L. Finscher, eds., *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Vorträge des Gastsymposions in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 8. bis 12. September 1980*, Göttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, x (Kassel, 1984), p.128. discusses an interesting exceptional case.

[21]'The Mirror of Narcissus. Songs by Guillaume de Machaut (1300–1377)', Hyperion A66087 (1983); 'The Garden of Zephirus. Courtly songs of the early fifteenth century', Hyperion CDA66144 (1985); 'A Song for Francesca. Music in Italy, 1330–1430', Hyperion CDA66286 (1988)

[22]The results of the arbitrary texting of untexted voices is especially unfortunate for Machaut's 4-part ballade 'Dame de qui' and his 4-part rondeau 'Rose, lis' as performed in 'The Mirror of Narcissus'.

[23]Concerning sacred music, Margaret Bent suggests that singers may have been expected to adapt text to textless parts that included ligatures in 'New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento', *Studi musicali*, ix (1980), p.174–5. The scribal practice of alternative textings of early 15th-century Mass music has been discussed for the north Italian manuscripts *BL* (*I-Bc* 15) and *BU* (*I-Bu* 2216) in J. Widaman, 'Texted and Untexted Lower Voices in Early Fifteenth-Century Sources, or, A Few Words in the Defense of Scribes', a paper read at the Twenty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University (10–13 May 1990).

[24]D. Fallows's review of 'The Mirror of Narcissus' in *Gramophone*, lxi (1983–4), p.898, urged vocalization of the textless parts. Vocalization of wordless passages (in this case, lower voices) was urged by F.Ll. Harrison in 'Tradition and Innovation in Instrumental Usage 1100–1450', in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue *et al* (New York, 1966/*R*1978), pp.319–35; evidence for such a practice was adduced by C. Page, 'Machaut's "pupil" Deschamps on the performance of music: voices or instruments in the 14th-century chanson', *EM*, v (1977), pp.484–91 and 'The performance of songs in late medieval France: a new source', *EM*, x (1982), pp.441–50; C. Wright, 'Voices and Instruments in the Art Music of Northern France during the 15th Century: a Conspectus', *International Musicological Society, Congress Report Berkeley, 1977*, ed. D. Heartz and B. Wade (Kassel, 1981), pp.643–9; M. Bent, 'Text Setting in Sacred Music', *op cit*, pp.303–4; D. Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474', in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. S. Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), especially pp.128–44; A.E. Planchart, 'Parts with Words and Without Words: the Evidence for Multiple Texts in Fifteenth-Century Masses', in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. S. Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), pp.227–51, especially pp.231–7. For a recorded example of the kind of vocalization advocated here, cf. the 1983 performance of the pseudo-Dufay 'Je languis en piteux martire' (Besseler no.17) by the Medieval Ensemble of London, directed by Peter and Timothy Davies, in 'Mi Verry Joy: Songs of 15th-Century Englishmen', L'Oiseau-Lyre DSDL 714 (on the question of Dufay's authorship of this song, see M. Bent, 'The songs of Dufay', pp.458–9).

[25]Partial texting is discussed in G. Reaney, 'Text Underlay in Early Fifteenth-Century Musical Manuscripts', in *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamanec on His 70th Birthday*, ed. G. Reese and R. Snow (Pittsburgh, 1969), pp.245–51; Schoop, *Entstehung und Verwendung*, *op cit*, pp.87–91; M. Hasselman, 'The French Chanson in the Fourteenth Century' (PhD diss., Univ. of California at Berkeley, 1970: University Microfilms International 719830), pp.113, 147 n.1, 157ff; Newes, 'The Relationship of Text to Imitative Technique', *op cit*, pp.121–54.

[26]On the historical circumstances surrounding Dufay's famous ballade, see D. Fallows, *Dufay* (London, 1982), p.22.

[27]Besseler, no.58, which, following Oxford 213, is defective in that it lacks the partial texting in the tenor in the A section, visible in illus.7.

[28]Concerning illus.7, note that the first tenor words are under the wrong notes. This scribe, working in the more modern manner, underlays text to the previously-entered music, and such inaccuracies are typical. The example of 'Estrines moy' was also cited recently by T. McGee in 'Singing Without Text', a paper read at the Twenty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University (10–13 May 1990), and concerned with a problem similar to that discussed here, but approached from 16th-century evidence of a continued practice of vocalization.

[29]For a study of later 15th-century sources that takes as its point of departure the richness and variety of the manuscript evidence, see L. Litterick, 'Performing Franco-Netherlandish secular music of the late 15th century: texted and untexted parts in the sources', *EM*, viii (1980), pp.474–85.

[30]Perkins, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, ii, p.138, sensibly suggests that all three voices of 'Bel Acueil' could be texted.

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