

Ministero dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali - Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici

# The Lucca Codex

Codice Mancini

Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 · Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," MS 3065

Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition  
by  
John Nádas and Agostino Ziino



ARS NOVA 1

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Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici

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*Presentazione*

*Il Centro di Studi sull'Ars nova musicale italiana del Trecento fu fondato nel 1959 su iniziativa dell'allora sindaco di Certaldo, Marcello Masini (che ne è stato anche il primo Presidente), a seguito del 1° convegno internazionale di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento che ebbe luogo a Certaldo nei giorni 23-26 luglio 1959. Scopo del Centro è quello di promuovere e di incentivare la conoscenza, lo studio e la ricerca scientifica sulla musica italiana tra la fine del '200 ed i primi decenni del '400 attraverso corsi di studio annuali di specializzazione per studenti italiani e stranieri, seminari, convegni, congressi internazionali, concerti, pubblicazioni scientifiche ed edizioni in facsimile di manoscritti musicali.*

*I corsi estivi annuali si sono svolti dal 1960 al 1989, quasi ininterrottamente, con una partecipazione sempre crescente di studenti, molti dei quali hanno trovato durante i corsi certaldesi stimoli culturali e concrete opportunità per avviare serie ricerche scientifiche sulla musica dell'Ars nova. Ne sono una testimonianza i volumi II e V della collana intitolata L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, curati rispettivamente da F. Alberto Gallo (Certaldo 1968) e da Agostino Ziino (Palermo, Enchiridion, 1985), che raccolgono oltre a studi di alcuni docenti anche ricerche svolte da allievi ed ex-allievi. Per alcuni anni i corsi estivi si sono avvalsi del patrocinio e della collaborazione scientifica ed organizzativa dell'Università degli Studi di Bologna e dell'Università degli Studi di Siena.*

*Dal 1959 ad oggi sono stati organizzati ben quattro congressi internazionali: gli atti del primo congresso sono stati pubblicati, a cura di Bianca Becherini, nel volume I della già citata collana L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento (Certaldo 1962); quelli del secondo congresso internazionale, svoltosi nei giorni 17-22 luglio 1969 sotto il patrocinio della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, sono stati raccolti nel volume III (Certaldo 1970) e sono stati curati da F. Alberto Gallo; quelli del terzo congresso internazionale sul tema "La musica al tempo del Boccaccio e i suoi rapporti con la letteratura", svoltosi a Siena-Certaldo nei giorni 19-22 luglio 1975 su iniziativa dell'allora Presidente del Centro, Alfiero Ciampolini, e sotto il patrocinio della Società Italiana di Musicologia, sono stati pubblicati, a cura di Agostino Ziino, nel volume IV (Certaldo 1978); infine, gli atti dell'ultimo congresso internazionale — il quarto — sul tema "L'Europa e la musica del Trecento", che ha avuto luogo nei giorni 19-21 luglio 1984, sono attualmente in corso di stampa — curati da Giulio Cattin — e si spera possano vedere la luce entro i primi mesi del 1990 come volume VI della collana già citata.*

*Senza dubbio molto meno ricco di titoli è il settore dedicato alle riproduzioni in facsimile dei più importanti codici musicali del Trecento; le ragioni di tutto ciò sono da ricercarsi ovviamente non soltanto nel maggior impegno economico che una tale collana di facsimili richiede e nella difficoltà di reperire i finanziamenti necessari, ma anche nella maggiore cura tecnico-editoriale, a volte perfino estremamente sofisticata, di cui una tale collana ha bisogno per raggiungere quei livelli di riproduzione e stampa senza i quali sarebbe del tutto inutilizzabile da parte degli utenti. Finora abbiamo pubblicato il facsimile del codice Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, curato da F. Alberto Gallo ed edito da Leo S. Olschki (Firenze 1981; il volume rientra nella collana Studi e testi per la storia della musica a cura di Lorenzo*



Bianconi e F. Alberto Gallo).  
È quindi con grande piacere che abbiamo aderito all'invito da parte della Libreria Musicale Italiana a dare il patrocinio alla collana Ars Nova diretta da Giancarlo Rostirolla — di cui questo è il primo volume — ed a contribuire, tramite il Comitato Scientifico del Centro, alla sua realizzazione.

La presente edizione in facsimile del Codice di Lucca (Codice Mancini) sarà senza dubbio un fondamentale ed insostituibile strumento di lavoro per tutti coloro che studiano la musica dell'Ars nova non solo per le bellissime riproduzioni a colori del codice stesso e per il contenuto innovativo relativamente alla sua collocazione culturale e storico/geografica, ma anche per l'inventario estremamente aggiornato e ricco di informazioni collaterali, per i numerosi indici, per le tavole comparative ed infine per i grafici relativi alla ricostruzione materiale e codicologica del codice stesso. Ci auguriamo vivamente che questa collaborazione con la Libreria Musicale Italiana, appena iniziata, possa continuare fattivamente anche in futuro e che possano vedere la luce anche altre edizioni in facsimile di alcuni tra i più importanti codici musicali del Trecento italiano.

Ringrazio infine tutti gli amici che fanno parte del Comitato Scientifico del Centro di Studi sull'Ars nova musicale italiana del Trecento, nell'ordine i professori Giulio Cattin dell'Università di Padova, Kurt von Fischer dell'Università di Zurigo, F. Alberto Gallo dell'Università di Bologna, John Nádas della University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Nino Pirrotta dell'Università di Roma, Giuseppe Tavani dell'Università di Roma ed Agostino Ziino dell'Università di Napoli per il loro lavoro scientifico prezioso e costante, per il loro interessamento sempre vivo e costruttivo e per il loro fondamentale contributo alla vita del Centro.

Prof. Andrea Spini  
Presidente del Centro di Studi  
sull'Ars nova musicale  
italiana del Trecento

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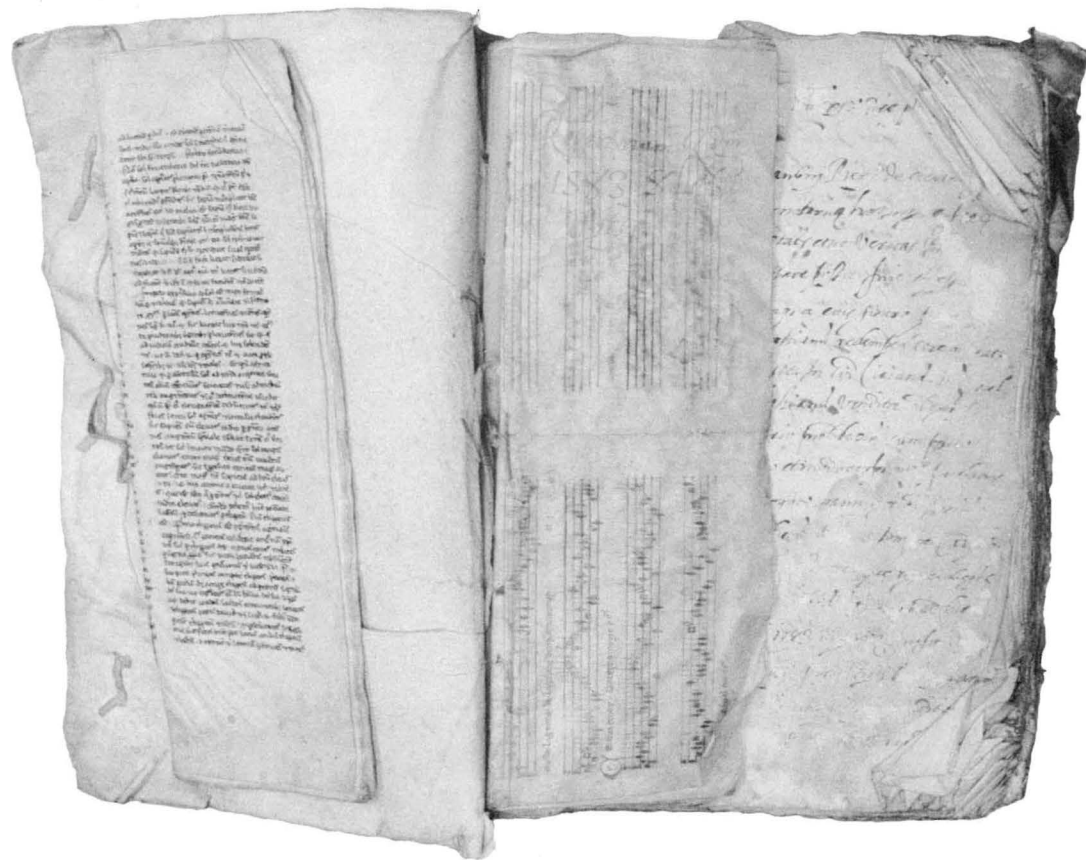


Plate 1: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Bifolio XLIXr/LIIv discovered in 1988 in notarial volume 356 (bottom of folios).



Plate 2: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Bifolio XLIXr/LIIv removed from its host volume (top of folios).

For Nino Pirrotta

Poy commença a donarme  
de quel suo dolce fructo.  
Ayme, che 'l mundo tutto  
tal fior non se troverà a ben cercarse.

## Introduction

The Lucca (or Mancini) Codex consists of three bifolios found in Perugia in 1935 by Giovanni Cecchini (now Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," MS 3065) and eighteen bifolios, the major portion of the surviving source, discovered at Lucca in 1938 by Augusto Mancini, now kept loosely in a folder as MS 184 in the Archivio di Stato of Lucca. To these leaves we may now add two new bifolios, discovered by the authors in June 1988 also at the Lucca State Archives. The significance of the source lies in the great number of unique works it transmits of both north-Italian and Florentine composers of the late *ars nova*: of the eighty-three songs complete or fragmentary, fifty-two are unique to this collection. The twenty-three bifolios reproduced in this facsimile edition constitute, unfortunately, less than half of the volume that originally comprised a splendid anthology of late medieval Italian and French songs by some of the best composers writing at the turn of the 14/15th century: Bartolino da Padova, Antonio da Cividale, Francesco Landini, Antonio Zacara da Teramo, Antonello Marot da Caserta, Johannes Vaillant, Johannes Ciconia, Andrea Stefani, and Paolo Tenorista.

Augusto Mancini announced the discovery of the Lucca portion of the manuscript in 1939.<sup>1</sup> The first description of the Perugia leaves appeared seven years after their discovery in an article by Federico Ghisi published in 1942, in which he mentioned the Lucca leaves but apparently did not yet consider the two groups of fragments as a single source.<sup>2</sup> In a successive essay of 1946, Ghisi for the first time argued that the fragments at Perugia and Lucca belonged to the same manuscript, and he added yet another source to the original collection — a fragment at Pistoia — attempting a provisional reconstruction of the manuscript in its Perugia and Pistoia segments and explaining how these were integrated into the larger portion at Lucca.<sup>3</sup> Re-

<sup>1</sup> AUGUSTO MANCINI, "Un nuovo codice di canzoni dell' 'Ars Nova,'" in *Società italiana per il progresso delle scienze, XXVIII riunione* (Pisa, 11-15 Ottobre, 1939), relazioni, vol. 5 (Rome, 1940), 243-44.

<sup>2</sup> F. Ghisi knew of the Lucca leaves by way of a "gentile e personale comunicazione del Prof. Augusto Mancini dell'Università di Pisa;" see FEDERICO GHISI, "Frammenti di un nuovo codice musicale dell' Ars Nova italiana e due saggi inediti di cacce del secondo Quattrocento," *La Rinascita*, 5 (1942), 75 (the article was published simultaneously in German as "Bruchstücke einer neuen Musikhandschrift der italienischen Ars Nova," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 [1942], 17-39).

<sup>3</sup> FEDERICO GHISI, "Italian Ars Nova Music: The Perugia and Pistoia Fragments of the Lucca Musical Codex and Other Unpublished Early Fifteenth-Century Sources," *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 1 (1946), 174-75; the reconstruction given by Ghisi is incorrect in its disposition of folios, leading to an erroneous sequence of compositions, foliation numbers, and the location of the constituent parts of the songs. Ghisi acknowledges his debt to Mancini for information on the Lucca fragment. The Pistoia fragment, *Pist*, Biblioteca Capitolare MS B. 3 n. 5, was announced and

turning to the manuscript in a fuller treatment in 1947, Mancini also felt that the Lucca and Perugia leaves belonged to one source, but he rightly rejected the notion that the Pistoia fragment could be associated with the codex in question, an argument echoed by Alfredo Bonaccorsi one year later in the context of a general discussion of music of the period in which he analyzed several songs in the Lucca Codex.<sup>4</sup> Mancini was also the first writer to point to the city of Lucca for the likely origins of this source, based on his reading of heraldic symbols in Ciconia's madrigal *Una panthera in compagnia de Marte*.<sup>5</sup>

After these pioneering descriptions, Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti were the first to offer a detailed examination and essentially correct reconstruction of the structure of the manuscript, as well as an exhaustive study of the music and texts it contains.<sup>6</sup> Their three-part study included an inventory detailing two sets of foliation numbers (a partly visible, original roman series and a new alphanumeric one added by the authors), incipits, attributions, genres, number of voices, concordances, modern editions, and special remarks. Pirrotta established the composite nature of the collection, identified three layers of compilation,<sup>7</sup> three scribes, and dated the source to the years 1420-30, with the latest layer probably added to the manuscript in Lucca. Moreover, Pirrotta and Li Gotti were able to show north-Italian linguistic and paleographic features in the earliest layers of the collection against contrasting Florentine elements in the final additions.<sup>8</sup>

described by F. GHISI in "Un frammento musicale dell' 'Ars Nova Italiana' nell' Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Pistoia," *Rivista musicale italiana*, 42 (1938), 162-68. All manuscript sigla used in the present study are identified in the preface to the full inventory given below, pp. 51-53.

<sup>4</sup> AUGUSTO MANCINI, "Frammenti di un nuovo codice dell' *Ars Nova*," in *Rendiconti della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, serie VIII, vol. II, fascicolo 1-2 (1947), 85-94; ALFREDO BONACCORSI, "Un nuovo Codice dell' *Ars Nova*: il Codice Lucchese," in *Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, serie VIII, vol. I, fascicolo 12 (1948), 539-615.

<sup>5</sup> A. MANCINI, "Frammenti di un nuovo codice," p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> NINO PIRROTTA and ETTORE LI GOTTI, "Il Codice di Lucca," *Musica Disciplina*, 3 (1949), 119-38 [Part I: "Descrizione e inventario" by Nino Pirrotta]; 4 (1950), 111-52 [Part II: "Testi letterari" by Ettore Li Gotti]; 5 (1951), 115-42 [Part III: "Il Repertorio musicale" by Nino Pirrotta].

<sup>7</sup> Several systems of foliation and pagination have been used to designate individual leaves of the fragments. N. Pirrotta ("Il Codice di Lucca," Part I, 125) employed a numeration for the Lucca and Perugia portions in which each page was provided with the following: a number for the bifolio to which it belongs (1-21), a letter distinguishing the two conjugates of a bifolio (a-b), and a prime mark to distinguish verso from recto sides (this system was entered in pencil in the upper recto margins of the Lucca folios). The Archivio di Stato in Lucca, following Pirrotta's sequence, also paginated its portion of the MS with arabic numbers 1 to 72. Since the discovery of the new leaves, the Lucca State Archive has added a new arabic pagination sequence inscribed in a circle next to the older arabic numerals. The Biblioteca Comunale in Perugia added a modern foliation sequence (1-6) to its leaves. In addition, there is an earlier modern pagination series in the lower right corner of many folios, and various other numbers may refer to the pieces themselves. Throughout this study we shall refer to the reconstructed original roman numeral foliation (see the discussion of manuscript structure to follow, Diagram 1, and the full inventory).

<sup>8</sup> Although Pirrotta identified a Florentine hand in the last layer — one which he associated with another famous anthology of songs, *Pit* — he felt nevertheless that the codex had been entirely copied in Lucca ("Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 14, and Part I, 122-24), thus disagreeing with his colleague, E. Li Gotti, who in an earlier study ("Per la biografia di due minori musicisti italiani dell' *ars nova*," in *Restauri trecenteschi* [Palermo: Palumbo, 1947], 98-102) argued that the scribe of Layer III was probably the composer of three of its works, Andrea Stefani, and thus the city of provenance of the collection was Florence. Pirrotta based his argument on (1) the leaves had served as covers for Lucchese notarial documents, (2) the last two copyists, probably Florentines, may have been in the service of Lucca's reigning leader during the period 1400-1430, and (3) he followed Mancini's suggestion that the first line of Ciconia's *Una panthera in compagnia de Marte* could be read as an allusion to the emblem of the Guinigi (the panther) and to Mars, the mythical founder of the city of Lucca. Pirrotta reconfirmed this hypothesis in later studies, namely *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova* (Palm Springs: E. E. Gottlieb, 1961), 16, and IDEM, ed., *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, 5 vols., *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 8 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1954-64), vol. 5 (1964), p. III.

For its time, their study is remarkable in the comprehensiveness of its historical interpretation of the Italian song repertory of the period as it is represented in the Lucca Codex. Based on supposed Lucchese origins and dating, Pirrotta concluded that non-Florentine centers of central Italy must have been open to north-Italian culture, whereas Florentine musical circles of the Trecento remained closely circumscribed and essentially unfamiliar with "foreign" music for some time, a fact supported for him by the considerable northern repertory cited in the non-Florentine literary source *Il Saporetto* by Simone Prodenzani da Orvieto, believed to have been written in the second decade of the fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Since that time, Suzanne Clercx has been the only scholar to come forward in favor of Paduan origins for the main corpus of the codex as well as of a considerably earlier dating for the repertory (late 14th century).<sup>10</sup>

## The New Leaves

In June of 1988, the authors went to Lucca to re-examine the surviving leaves of MS 184 in the Archivio di Stato in preparation for this facsimile edition of the source. To judge from the names of notaries and the years recorded on the leaves, dates reflecting notarial activity in the city during the 15th and 16th centuries, the fragments were taken by previous writers to derive from a musical codex dismembered in Lucca between the years 1485 and 1595 and used as covers for legal documents.<sup>11</sup> Familiarity with the archives soon clarified three points:<sup>12</sup>

(1) Mancini most probably had not examined the entire notarial holdings of the Lucchese state, because its contents, which until the 18th century were housed in the old Archivio Notarile, were, in fact, divided and separated in the mid 1930s: one part had been transferred to the present location of the Archivio di Stato (the part seen by Mancini); the other remained until recently in its original building before transference to the archive's legal section at Santa Anna where today one can again consult the entire *notarile* under one roof.<sup>13</sup>

(2) the parchment music leaves, as already pointed out by Mancini and

<sup>9</sup> SANTORRE DEBENEDETTI, *Il 'Sollazzo' e il 'Saporetto'. Con altre rime di Simone Prudeniani d'Orvieto*, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, supplemento n. 15 (1913); IDEM, *Il "Sollazzo". Contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel Trecento* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1922); N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 121.

<sup>10</sup> SUZANNE CLERCX, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens, Mod. 568 et Lucca (Mn)," in *Les Colloques de Wégimont II, 1955: L' Ars nova; recueil d'études sur la musique du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les belles lettres," 1959), 115-22; IDEM, *Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1960), vol. 1, 65-67. The two hypotheses are noted by ANNE HALLMARK, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 221.

<sup>11</sup> A. MANCINI, "Frammenti di un nuovo codice," 85-94, and N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part I, 124. These dates are reported by Pirrotta, who, however, questions the long time period (1489-1595) for the protocols of the single notary Ser Giovanni Collodi; the presence of two notaries named Johannes and Giovanni Collodi, respectively, may signal the records of a grandfather and grandson.

<sup>12</sup> We extend our warmest thanks to the director of the Lucca State Archives, Dr. Giorgio Tori, and to members of his staff, especially Dr. Maria Trapani and Dr. Sergio Nelli, and to our publisher Massimo Fino, for facilitating our work and assisting in the search for missing leaves.

<sup>13</sup> See A. MANCINI, "Frammenti di un nuovo codice," 86, where he states that he had begun to examine a portion of what remained at the old Archivio Notarile in the 1930s — the testaments — but without results.



Pirrotta, were used as covers for internal indices of the contents of notarial volumes (the so-called “vacchette”), not as external covers for the volumes themselves.<sup>14</sup> As can be seen in Plates 1 and 2 on page 12, the parchment bifolios were folded along an axis perpendicular to that created by their normal fold, thus producing an oblong rather than rectangular shape. It may be that not all three Perugia bifolios were used for “vacchette;” in fact, only bifolio LXXXI/LXXXIV (see Table 1) carries the signs typical of notarial use seen in the Lucca bifolios (i.e., *repertorium*, name of the notary, and dates of the materials indexed; sometime later protocol volume numbers were added), while the other two double leaves lack such indications as well as new sewing holes: bifolios LXXXII/LXXXIII and LVIII/LIX were perhaps used as loose covers for notarial files (three of the Perugia pages were also available for 16th-century music scribbling).<sup>15</sup>

(3) the original parchment manuscript was dismembered at one time (certainly not over the period of a century), and at least a portion of its leaves were acquired by the administrative body of the Archive, the *Camera Librorum*, and employed at the end of the 16th century to cover newly made internal indices for notarial materials from 1485 to 1595 which lacked them. The fact that leaves from the same gathering of our codex were used to cover volumes belonging to the same notary (see Gatherings 3 and 11 in Table 1) lends credence to the notion that the *Camera Librorum* came into possession of an intact codex which it had acquired together with other manuscripts coming not only from Lucca but also from other cultural centers of the region, including Florence (evident as well in the thousands of other covers we examined). With great probability, the musical codex was in the city of Lucca not at the beginning of the period demarcated by the years noted on its leaves, but rather at the end, marking a moment when it was needed for the reordering of the Archivio Notarile.<sup>16</sup> In fact, we have not been able to find any other missing Lucca leaves in volumes bearing dates after 1595; 17th-century volumes, on the whole, contain “vacchette” with paper covers. Three of the bifolios were probably taken to Perugia by the Lucchese notary Carello de’ Carellis (cf. bifolio LXXXI/LXXXIV in Table 1), who may have had dealings in the Umbrian capital toward the end of his career in the 1590s.<sup>17</sup> The gatherings, pagination, names of the notaries, dates and protocol volume numbers for the twenty-three bifolios of the Lucca Codex are listed in Table 1 (including the Perugia folios, designated with a [P]). A search through the volumes thought to have escaped Mancini’s notice yielded two new bifolios: fols. XLIX, LII, LVI and LXI (marked with asterisks in Table 1).<sup>18</sup> The contents of the new leaves are listed in Table 2.

<sup>14</sup> A. MANCINI, “Frammenti di un nuovo codice,” 85-86; N. PIRROTTA, “Il Codice di Lucca,” Part I, 121. Such reuse of the parchment leaves obtains as well for the Perugia portion of the codex, although this point was not made clearly in Ghisi’s first description (F. GHISI, “Frammenti di un nuovo codice,” 72) and Pirrotta’s report.

<sup>15</sup> Not all folio numbers in the Lucca and Perugia folios are visible, but the original source has been reconstructed as shown in Diagram 1 and the inventory at the end of this study. In Diagram 1 we include only those numbers visible or partly visible with natural or ultraviolet light; the inventory takes account of the reconstruction and provides a full foliation sequence for the entire source, placing missing numbers or portions thereof within square brackets. All foliation numbers cited outside of Diagram 1 and the inventory are given without square brackets.

<sup>16</sup> Although Suzanne Clercx proposed Paduan origins for the collection, she believed the volume was moved from northern Italy to Lucca in the late 15th century, at which time the Tuscan songs were copied into it (S. CLERCX, “Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens,” 118).

<sup>17</sup> See Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Notarile: Carello de’ Carellis, whose protocols date from the period 1566-1609, listed as volume numbers 579-606, with some gaps in the 1570s and ’80s.

<sup>18</sup> For the reconstructed original foliation of the volume, see the inventory at the end of this study.

Table 1: Notarial Use of the Lucca Codex Bifolios

Gathering	Bifolio	Notary	Date	Vol. Number
3	XX/XXVII	Ser Joannis Collodi	1498	917
3	XXI/XXVI	Ser Joannis Collodi	1489	908
4	XXX/XXXVII	Ser Benedetto Franciotti	1494-95	757
4	XXXI/XXXVI	Coluccio Busdraghi	1524	2168
6	XLVII/LIV	Ser Nicolao Carelli	1584-89	3207
6	* XLIX/LII	Ser Lodovico Ursi	1583	356
7	LV/LXII	Ser Piero Mannucci	[?]	1171
7	* LVI/LXI	Ser Alessandro Lippi	1583	645
7	[P] LVIII/LIX	Ser [name ?]	[?]	375
8	LXIII/LXX	Ser Urbano Franciotti	1506-21	1826
8	LXIV/LXIX	Ser Mattei Antognuoli	1497	1694
8	LXV/LXVIII	Ser Vincentii Granucci	1528	3222 [sic] (2322)
8	LXVI/LXVII	Ser Michele Serantoni	[?]	2386
9	LXXIV/LXXV	Ser Benedetto Franciotti	1485	750
10	LXXX/LXXXV	Ser Giovanni Collodi	1595	914
10	[P] LXXXI/LXXXIV	Ser Carelli de Carellis	1584	[?]
10	[P] LXXXII/LXXXIII	[no traces of notarial use]		
11	LXXXVII/C	Ser Mattei Antonioli	1496	1693
11	LXXXVIII/XCIX	Ser Mattei Antognuoli	1501	1700
11	LXXXIX/XCVIII	Ser Mattei Antonioli	1518-19	1717
11	XC/XCVII	Ser Mattei Antonioli	1497-98	1695
11	XCI/XCVI	Ser Mattei Antognioli	[?]	1709
11	XCII/XCV	Ser Michaelis Orsucci	1525-26	2328

Table 2: Contents of the New Leaves Found in 1988

Original Foliation	Incipit	Form	Voices	Attribution	Remarks
XLIXr	<i>Ma' non s'andrà per questa donna altera</i>	Ballata	Tenor	[Francisci] de Florentia	
XLIXv	<i>L'alma mie piang' e ma' non può aver pace</i>	Ballata	Tenor Contratenor	Francisci de Florentia	Contratenor incomplete; Cited in <b>Sa</b> , # 34; New second strophe
LIIr	<i>Poy che da te [mi convien partir via]</i>	Ballata	Contratenor	[Francesco Landini]	New Contratenor
LIIv	<i>Merçè, o morte, o vagha anima mia</i>	Ballata	Cantus Contratenor	Johannes Ciconia	Lucca Codex is the only source with an attribution for this composition; New Contratenor (incomplete)
LVIr	<i>Rosetta che non cangi may colore</i>	Ballata	Tenor	[Magister Antonius Çachara] [de Teramo]	Completes the song on fol. LVv
LVIv	<i>D'amor languire, suspirare e piangere</i>	Ballata	Cantus	[Çachara]	Unicum; Cited in <b>Sa</b> , # 35; <b>Q15</b> , 68v-71r: <i>Patrem Scabroso</i> (parody Mass movement by Zacara)
LXIr	<i>[I]n e[...] carnal [...] / nel cucul io te sconiuro</i>	Ballata	Tenor		Unicum
LXIV	<i>Plorans ploravi perché la Fortuna</i>	Madrigal	Cantus	Çachara [de Teramo]	Unicum; Completes the song on fols. LXIIr-LXIIv

Of the songs on the new leaves, two appear to be *unica* by Antonio Zacara da Teramo (*D'amor languire* and *[I]n e[...] carnal*), two are copied with previously unknown Contratenor parts (*Merçè, o morte* and *Poy che da te*), *Merçè, o morte* is for the first time securely attributed to Johannes Ciconia,<sup>19</sup> two represent new concordances with citations in a well-known literary source, Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto* (*L'alma mie piange* and *D'amor languire*), one appears with a previously unknown second strophe (*L'alma mie piange*), and one (*Plorans ploravi*) is now complete with its Cantus for the first time (transcribed in Appendix C). The two new ballata texts set by Zacara are the following (unfortunately, a complete reading is not possible for the second work).<sup>20</sup>

*D'amor languire, suspirare e piangere*  
*tristar lo spirito, sonno fosse o finga;*  
*ni centocinque e ducento uno e trin[ta],*  
*se no questo barber non me vol radere.*

*la mi la mi la mi*  
*mi fa mi fa mi fa*  
*[sol] la sol la sol la*  
*sença ut re ut re ut re*

*Grattar chome rognioso e non ò scabia,*  
*ogne melanconia in me raduno;*  
*come porco cacciato prende rabia*  
*per lo tempo seren' ch'è facto bruno*  
*de tramontana e iuro mai aver uno:*  
*Fortuna, tu non far simel de crochia*  
*che me facci spricar come ranochia*  
*quando el gran becho l'al' comença a spandere.*

*a di' a di' a di'*  
*per di' merçi merçi*  
*sutta sutta sutta*  
*tacendo ut re ut re*

Although these verses share elements with other ballatas by Zacara, they appear to be quite singular on the whole and serve to reconfirm the individualistic character of the composer's works. Formally, the song is a *ballata grande* in which, however, we find a hypermetric extension of six onomatopoeic syllables in the ripresa and volta (for another example see the composer's ballata *Amor nè tossa*). Its meaning, however cryptic, may be autobiographical, perhaps alluding to tensions within a chapel in which the composer sang. The tone of the poem is bitter and sarcastic, all the more so as Zacara composed a *Credo* movement based on this model and chose precisely the music of the first line of the *piedi*, and particularly the melisma on "scabia" (scab), to represent the central musical moment at the "Et incarnatus est."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The song appears anonymously in **Pz**, **Pist**, and **BU**. It should be noted that the Lucca Codex version is quite close to the readings in **Pz** and **Pist**; see MARGARET BENT and ANNE HALLMARK, eds., *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 24 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), pp. 152-55, 213-14.

<sup>20</sup> We are grateful to Professors Margaret Bent, Fabio Carboni, Giulio Cattin, Kurt von Fischer, F. Alberto Gallo, Nino Pirrotta and Giuseppe Tavani for their help in deciphering new texts and music, as well as their many insightful observations during the preparation of this study.

<sup>21</sup> The absence until now of a vocal model for the Patrem "Scabroso" had been signaled by Pirrotta in "Zacharus Musicus," *Quadrivium*, 12 (1971), 163 (reprinted in English translation and with additions as "Zacara da Teramo," in NINO PIRROTTA, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, Studies in the History of Music, 1 [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984], p. 399); GILBERT REANEY, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, Corpus Mensuralis Musicae, 11, 7 vols. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955-83), vol. 6, pp. XI, XXI; KURT VON FISCHER and F. ALBERTO GALLO, eds., *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 13 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987), p. 272; KURT VON FISCHER, "Bemerkungen zur Überlieferung und zum Stil der geistlichen Werke des Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo," *Musica Disciplina*, 41 (1987), 176-77. It should be noted that four of Zacar's parody Mass movements appear together in **Q15** on fols. 66v-76r— *Gloria Rosetta*, *Credo Scabroso*, *Gloria Un fior gentile*, and *Credo Deus Deorum*. What is significant is that the three vocal models known previously for this set appear in precisely the same order in the Lucca Codex, but with a gap after the first (we thank Laura Macy of Chapel Hill for this observation); the discovery of *D'amor languire* and its relationship to the *Credo Scabroso* underscores this parallel order, falling in place precisely after *Rosetta* in the Lucca Co-

[I]n e[...] carnal [...]  
 nel cucul io te sconiuro  
 per la penna che tien' in culo  
 per la rama dove sey  
 che me dichi l'anni mey: i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii.

I [...] vegio li pasturi  
 per la vita [...]  
 po' para para para che s'en va  
 Et [...] multi me [...] alpugi  
 [...]  
 stormello che se'n va.

Even if an attribution for this ballata is lacking, perhaps due to trimming (or never entered, as we also lack an initial capital letter), we would propose that it too may be a song by Zacara, falling within a single unified section of works securely attributed to him (see Diagram 1, p. 27). Characteristic style features include the use of numbers, especially as hypermetric extension (here with a monosyllabic declamation, probably to be rendered in French), again a highly individual — and here crude and still more cryptic — text not easily decipherable, emphasis on a repeated-note style to an extent not seen elsewhere in the repertory except in Zacara's songs, a unique approach to the relationship of text and music, and the use of coloration and void red notes as in other of his songs in this collection.

An element of less immediate interest in the new leaves, but nonetheless notable, is a new text strophe for Landini's *L'alma mie piange*, verses which may originally have been part of the ballata but are lacking in its five Florentine concordances:

Ma che è quel, e de ciò più me duole,  
 che tu isdegni me, servo leale,  
 per altrui che ssi vanta con parole  
 dire e del mio amore pocho gli'n cale.  
 E tu perchè altry renda ben per male,  
 e a me pene dai  
 che t'amo e fede e sempre te honorai.  
 L'alma mie etc...

Two of the ballatas on the new leaves — *Poy che da te* and *Merçè, o morte* — are known in concordant versions as two-voiced songs (see the full inventory below). Both appear in this source with added Contratenor parts (for transcriptions, see Appendix C). Although in Ciconia's song the third voice may at first glance appear to be more successfully integrated into the imitative texture characteristic of the composer, the Contratenor in *Poy che da te* is excessively fussy in its highly embellished and syncopated manner, to the point of transforming the character of the original two-part framework and calling attention to the added part's *ars subtilior* style and dating. It should be noted that the Lucca Codex altogether contains five works with Contratenor parts against two-voiced concordant versions elsewhere, and in general includes a good deal of three-voiced composition in its repertory, Italian as well as French songs.<sup>22</sup>

dex. The parallel ordering of these compositions in the two sources argues for a common area of provenance, which, as we shall argue presently for the Lucca Codex, appears to be the Veneto, specifically Padua.

<sup>22</sup> Songs transmitted with Contratenor parts only in the Lucca Codex, against concordant readings, are the following: *Rechordete de mi* and *Inperiale, sedendo* (Bartolino da Padova); *Poy che da te* (Francesco Landini); *Sol me trafige 'l cor* (Zacara da Teramo); *Merçè, o morte* (Johannes Ciconia). Antonello da Caserta's ballata *Più chiar che 'l sol*, an *unicum*, appears in our manuscript with three parts, for which a substitute Contratenor part ascribed to Matteo da Perugia is included in

## Structure of the Manuscript

A full reconstruction of the source is based on fresh examinations of the fragments in 1981 and 1988.<sup>23</sup> The surviving unbound bifolios — twenty-three from an estimated total of at least fifty-one — formed part of a source that contained at least 102 folios arranged in eleven gatherings, most likely including an unfoliated index at the front (see the conjectural arrangement of extant bifolios [solid lines] and missing leaves [broken lines] in Diagram 1 on pages 24-29; the two new bifolios fit into Gatherings 6 and 7 and have been drawn in boldface). The only gathering whose constituent leaves have all survived is Gathering 8.

As the unbound folios were used to cover unrelated material of smaller size (the "vacchette"), the parchment was trimmed to match the dimensions of the new hosts. Trimming, as well as exposure and excessive wear along the folds, have severely damaged, or altogether removed, many composer attributions, folio numbers, and portions of musical and literary text (in addition to a full color facsimile, we have included a selection of ultraviolet photographs of the most damaged folios, favoring the unique compositions). Each double leaf of the Lucca portion now consists of one folio measuring *ca.* 220 mm. in height by 155 mm. in width, and its conjugate, *ca.* 220 mm. x 145 mm. The Perugia bifolios were less severely trimmed: all folios of LXXXI/LXXXIV and LXXXII/LXXXIII measure *ca.* 220 mm. by 162 mm., and LVIII/LIX, the fragment closest to the original measurements, 232 mm. x 158 mm.<sup>24</sup> Judging from the location of the attributions and folio numbers, there might have been another 15/20 mm. of height and perhaps as much as 30 mm. of width on some of the folios.

Diagram 1 thus presents a necessarily hypothetical reconstruction of the manuscript, taking into account the following elements: (1) what is visible of the original foliation in red roman numerals, including the small, black-inked, cursive roman numerals that served as guides, placed under the larger red numerals and still legible in the upper right-hand corners of many folios (these guide numbers are marked with an asterisk in Diagram 1 to distinguish them from the red foliation; when both series of numbers survive on the same page, they agree; duplications have not been noted); (2) arrangement of flesh- and hair-sides of parchment, which, as was common practice in the makeup of medieval manuscripts, should match for all open-

the fragment **Par**, one of at least a half dozen such parts written by Matteo (cf. URSULA GÜNTHER, "Matteo da Perugia," *New Grove*, vol. 11, 829-31). We should note that the Contratenor for Zacara's *Ad ogne vento* on fol. LXVIr was begun, but not completed, on the final stave of the leaf (although some space still remains to be filled at the end of the line). Since the work immediately above it — *Spesso, Fortuna, cridote* (probably also Zacara's) — was already in place, we suspect that the incomplete Contratenor represents a late addition by the scribe, if not possibly his own compositional effort in adding a third voice. Given the prevalence for new Contratenor parts and three-voiced texture in general, it would not be unreasonable to consider at least a portion of the three-voiced repertory as it appears in the Lucca Codex as characteristic of north-Italian musical circles.

<sup>23</sup> JOHN NADAS, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages," Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1985, Chapter IV, pp. 336-61 (we thank members of seminars held at the Universities of California at Santa Barbara and North Carolina at Chapel Hill, particularly Katherine Powers and Daniel Katz, for their confirmation of this codicological analysis). For earlier descriptions in addition to that of Pirrotta and Li Gotti, see *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, series B IV:4, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf (Munich, 1972), 929-47, and the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, I (American Institute of Musicology), vol. I:2 (1982), 125-26 for the Lucca portion; RISM, B IV:4, 1008-12, and CCMS, I:3 (1984), 45-46 for the Perugia leaves.

<sup>24</sup> These dimensions are average measurements; in fact, all folios have been roughly trimmed, often at a slant. The color reproductions in the present facsimile edition are life-size.



ings (noted in the Diagram with the letters H and F); (3) gathering signatures; (4) musical continuity; and (5) the disposition of full composer attributions (normally split across openings).

Our analysis of the makeup of the codex begins with the portions about which we can be certain: Gatherings 8, 7 and 6, in that order. As was the practice in medieval book production, the first folio of each gathering carried a number signaling its precise position within the manuscript. Fortunately, the outer bifolios of these three gatherings have survived, because three of the twenty-three extant bifolios of this collection bear the signature numbers "viii," "vii," and "vi" in the lower left corners of their respective opening rectos. The positions of these gatherings in the MS are therefore secure (see Diagram 1, fols. LXIII, LV, and XLVII).<sup>25</sup>

Musical continuity among fols. LXIIIv-LXIVr, LXIVv-LXVr, LXVv-LXVIr, LXVIv-LXVIIr-LXVIIv, LXVIIv-LXVIIIr and LXVIIIv-LXIXr, and the surviving folio numbers (LXIII, LXV\*, LXVII\*) dictate the arrangement of fols. LXIII-LXX as Gathering 8 (a quaternio) shown in Diagram 1.

Gathering 7 can also be shown to have been a quaternio. Extant foliation (LV\*, LVIII, LVIII), as well as musical continuity on fols. LVv-LVIr, LXIv-LXIIv and the inner opening of doubleleaf LVIII/LIX (securing the latter's position as the central bifolio), lead to the conclusion that this gathering now lacks one bifolio which was once positioned as the third bifolio in the gathering. Not only are these leaves needed to fill-in the foliation sequence, but they presumably also would have contained the missing portions of compositions on surrounding fols. LVIv (Tenor of Zacara's *D'amor languire*), LVIIIr (Cantus of Zacara's *Un fiore gentil*), LIXv (Tenor of Zacara's *Amor nè tossa*), and LXIr (Cantus of Zacara's [?] [*In e[...]* carnal), now incomplete.

All that remains of Gathering 6 are two bifolios; the opening recto (fol. XLVIIr) carries the signature "vi," and the foliation numbers of both folios are visible (XXXXVII\*, XXXXIX). Two other inner bifolios of the quaternio must be postulated in Diagram 1 in order to continue the foliation sequence and to complete works on fols. XLVIIv (with the Tenor of Landini's *Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito*), XLIXr (with the Cantus of Landini's *Ma' non s'andrà*), XLIXv (with the Cantus of Landini's *L'alma mie piange*), LIr (with the Cantus and Tenor of Landini's *Poy che da te*), LIv (with the Tenor of Ciconia's *Merçè, o morte*), and LIVr (with the Cantus of Ciconia's *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*).

Gathering 4 comprises surviving fols. XXX-XXXVII. The following elements lead us to conclude that this gathering must have been a quinio: (1) folio numbers XXX, XXX\* and XXXVII\* are clearly legible; (2) musical continuity dictates the relative positions of fols. XXX and XXXI as shown in Diagram 1 (thus presupposing the existence of two inner bifolios in order to complete the foliation sequence); (3) the lack of a Cantus for Bartolino's *Le aurate chiome* on fol. XXX, which undoubtedly was completed on the preceding missing folio; (4) the conjugate of the last-mentioned folio would be needed to complete the foliation sequence from Gatherings 4 to 6. The missing bifolios have also been arranged as shown in Diagram 1 in order to complete the composer attribution of fol. XXXr.<sup>26</sup>

None of the extant leaves can be made to fit the requirements of a fifth

<sup>25</sup> Gathering signatures had not been observed in previous studies.

<sup>26</sup> The attribution on fol. XXXr reads as follows: "de Padua." This toponymic portion of a surname would have been completed with the Christian name "Bartolinus" or, as found on earlier folios of the MS, "Fratris Bartholini."

gathering; we have postulated a missing quaternio in order to bridge the gap in foliation numbers between Gatherings 6 and 4.

As in Gathering 4, musical continuity in Gathering 3 (between fols. XXv and XXIv), visible foliation (a clear "XX"), and missing parts for Bartolino's *La douce ciere* on fol. XXr (Cantus), and for Bartolino's *Perché cangiato* on fol. XXVIIv (Tenor) dictate the positions of the surviving leaves (fols. XX-XXVII) and the structure of the gathering as a quinio. The missing outer bifolios and the two inner bifolios are shown in Diagram 1. Folio number XXI was surely robbed of its roman numeral I when the leaf was trimmed.

The placement on fols. LXXIV-LXXV at the center of Gathering 9 is imposed by the musical continuity across fols. LXXIVv-LXXVr and by the surviving number LXXV\*; the three missing bifolios of the quaternio postulated in the Diagram would be needed to insure continuation of the foliation sequence established in earlier gatherings.

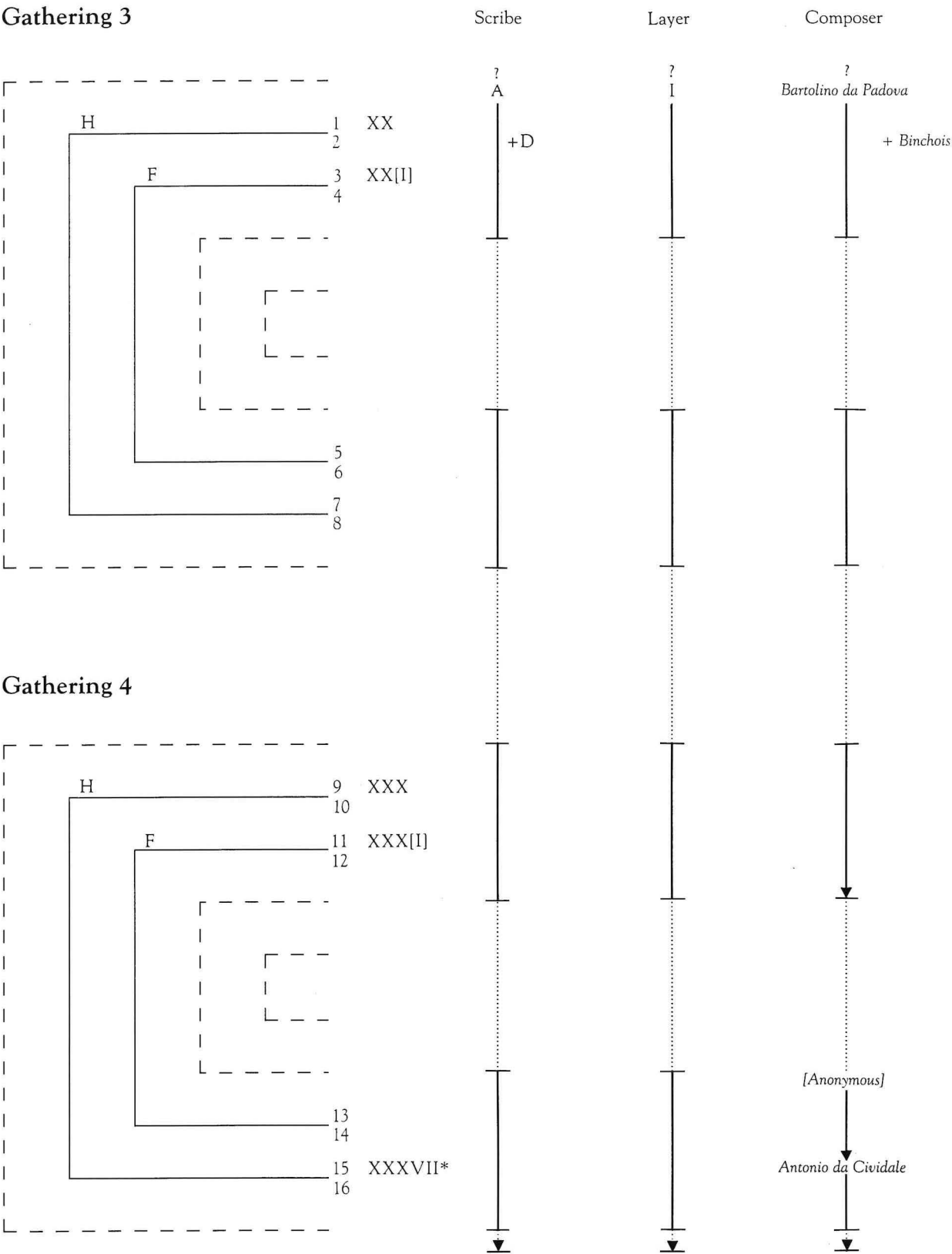
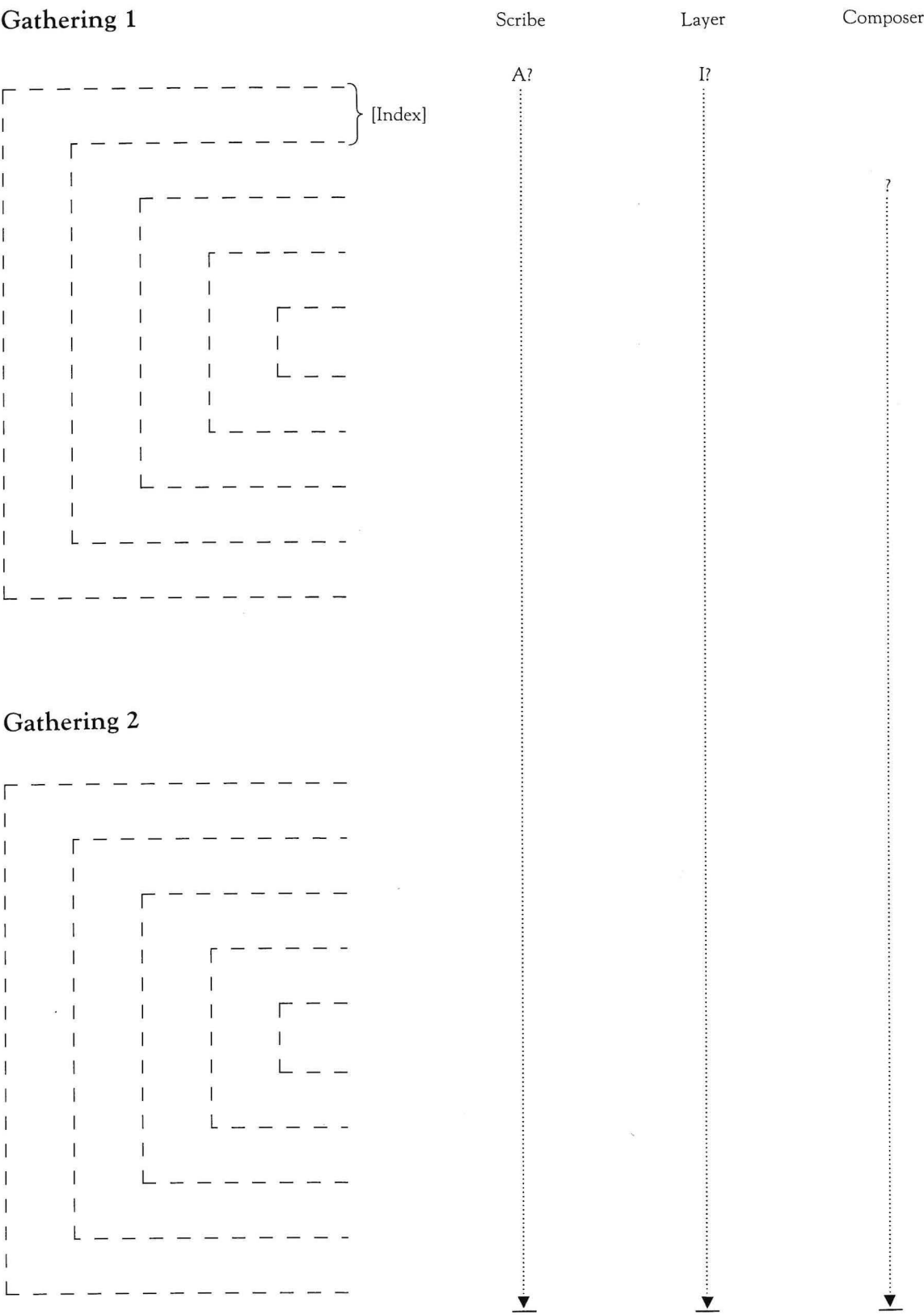
The positions of the three surviving bifolios of Gathering 10 are secured by (1) the existing foliation (LXXX\*, LXXXI\* and LXXXII\*) and (2) the musical continuity obtaining on fols. LXXXIIv-LXXXIIIr and LXXXIVv-LXXXVr. The tenth gathering must also have been a quaternio, as a missing outer bifolio is needed to continue the foliation sequence.

The remaining six bifolios (fols. LXXXVII-C, shown as Gathering 11 in Diagram 1) constitute a different section of the codex in their appearance. Due to a total lack of foliation numbers and gathering signature, it cannot be determined how much after the tenth gathering this group is located, or indeed if it was ever conceived as a gathering to be included in the succession of gatherings outlined thus far. But its placement at the end of the collection is suggested by its unusual size, incompleteness (absence of initial capitals), and the miscellaneous nature of its contents. Lack of a gathering signature on fol. LXXXVIIr may indicate that this was not the opening recto of the gathering to which it belongs, but the codicological and repertorial characteristics of Gathering 11 suggest that the principal scribe may have intended, but never added, such a marking. Three scribes copied this portion of the collection, one of whom was responsible for the earlier gatherings as well. Musical continuity determines the order of the bifolios; one (inner) bifolio, if not more, must be postulated in order to complete compositions on fol. XCIIv.

The signatures and determinate foliation of Gatherings 3-10 make certain the loss of a number of leaves at the beginning of the MS. Two solutions are possible: (1) we lack two gatherings, arranged as quinios, with an unfoliated index located on the initial two leaves of the first (as shown in Diagram 1); or (2) the loss of two gatherings, arranged as quaternios, and an index occupying an independent — but foliated — bifolio at the very beginning of the collection. The first of these two possibilities appears the more likely, for, as shall be demonstrated, a different layer of manuscript preparation and copying, contrasting with that of Gatherings 3 and 4, is evident in Gathering 6 (and probably includes Gathering 5); thus, uniformity in structure (quinios) would obtain in the first four gatherings.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The fact that this manuscript might be constructed of gatherings of different size has its precedent in the makeup of a coeval source — the Reina Codex: two senios, a quinio, two seven-bifolio gatherings, etc., ending with a pair of ten-bifolio gatherings. See J. NÁDAS, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," Chapter III, and IDEM, "The Reina Codex Revisited," in *Essays in Paper Analysis*, ed. Stephen Spector (Washington D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library; and London: Associated University Presses, 1987), 69-114.

Diagram 1: Structure of the Lucca Codex

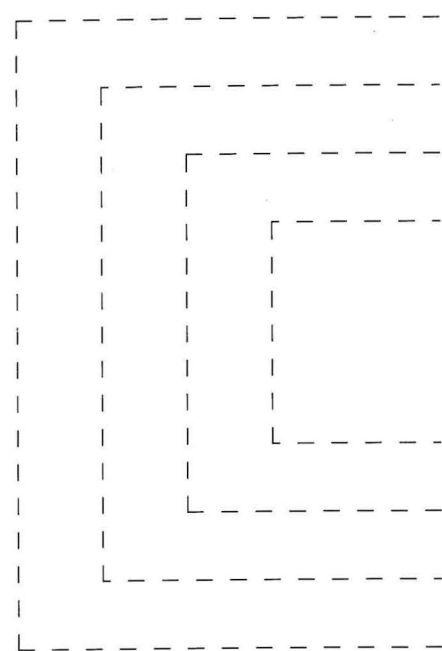


# Gathering 5

Scribe

Layer

Composer



A?

II?

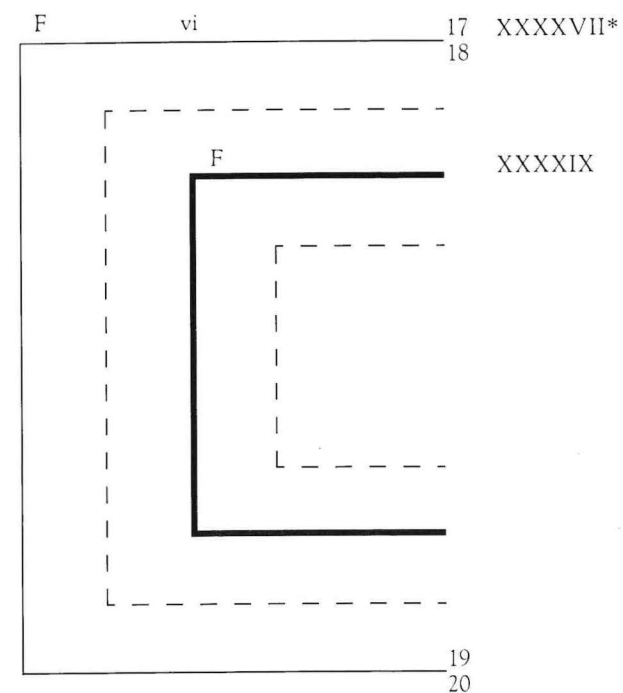
?

A

II

Francesco Landini

# Gathering 6



A

II

Francesco Landini

Johannes Ciconia

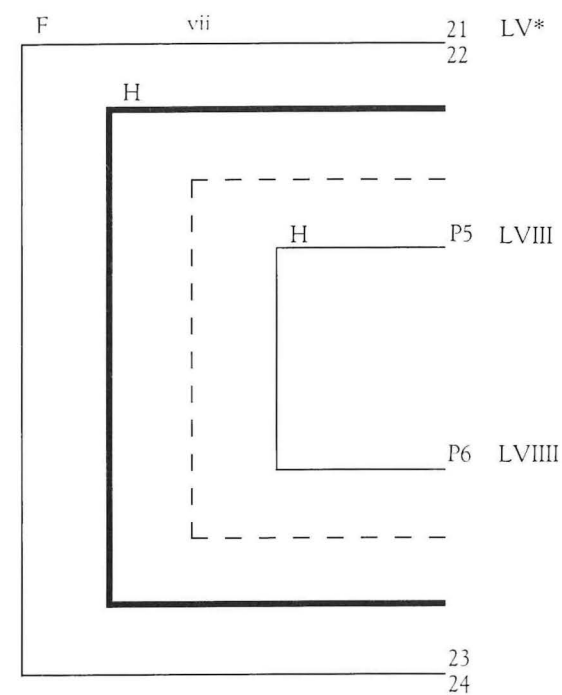
+ [Anon.]

# Gathering 7

Scribe

Layer

Composer

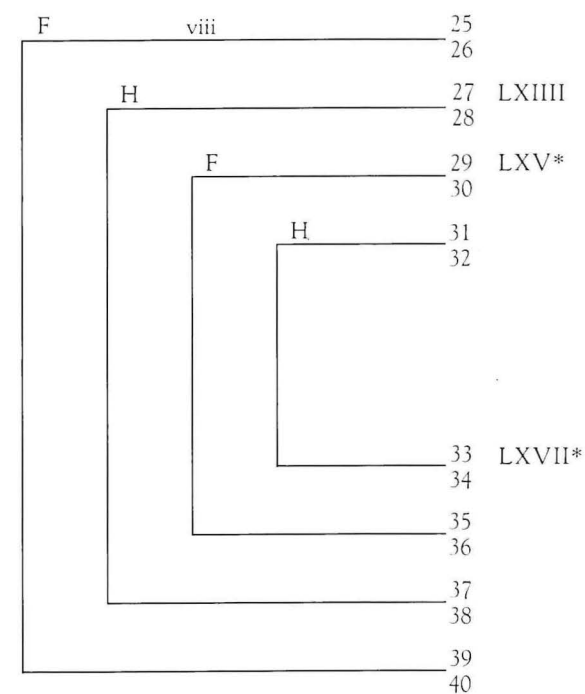


A

II

Niccolò da Perugia  
Antonio Zacara da Teramo

# Gathering 8



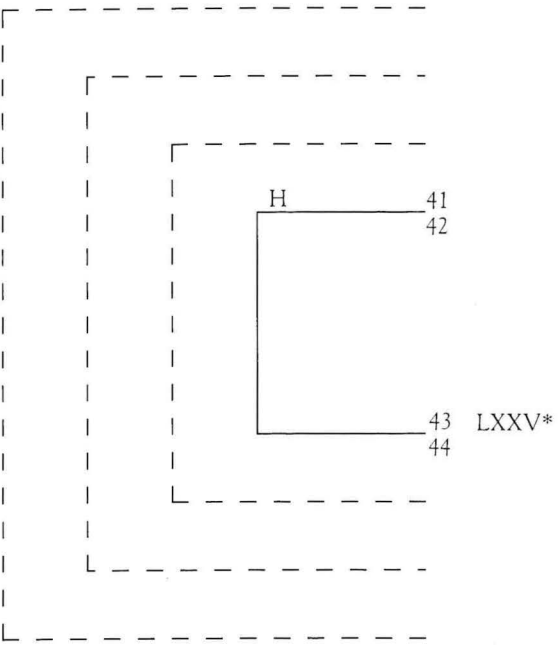
A

II

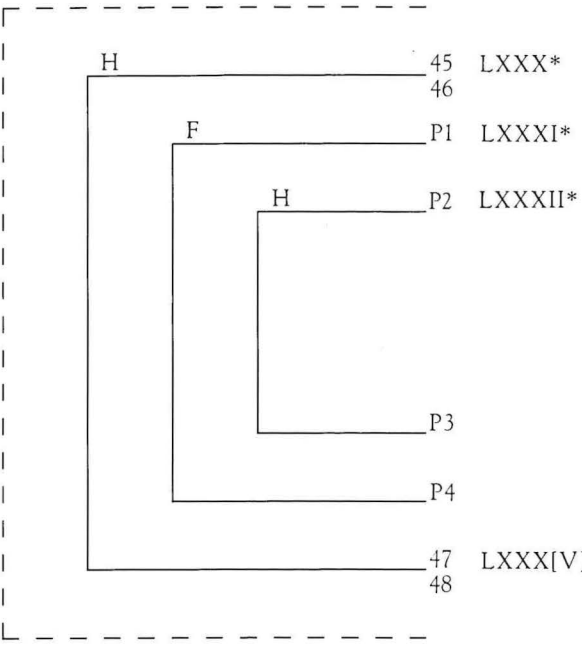
Antonello Murot da Caserta

+ [Anon.]

Gathering 9



Gathering 10



Scribe

A?

A

LXXV\*

LXXX\*

LXXXI\*

LXXXII\*

P3

P4

LXXX[V]

47

48

Layer

II?

II

LXXV\*

LXXX\*

LXXXI\*

LXXXII\*

P3

P4

LXXX[V]

47

48

Composer

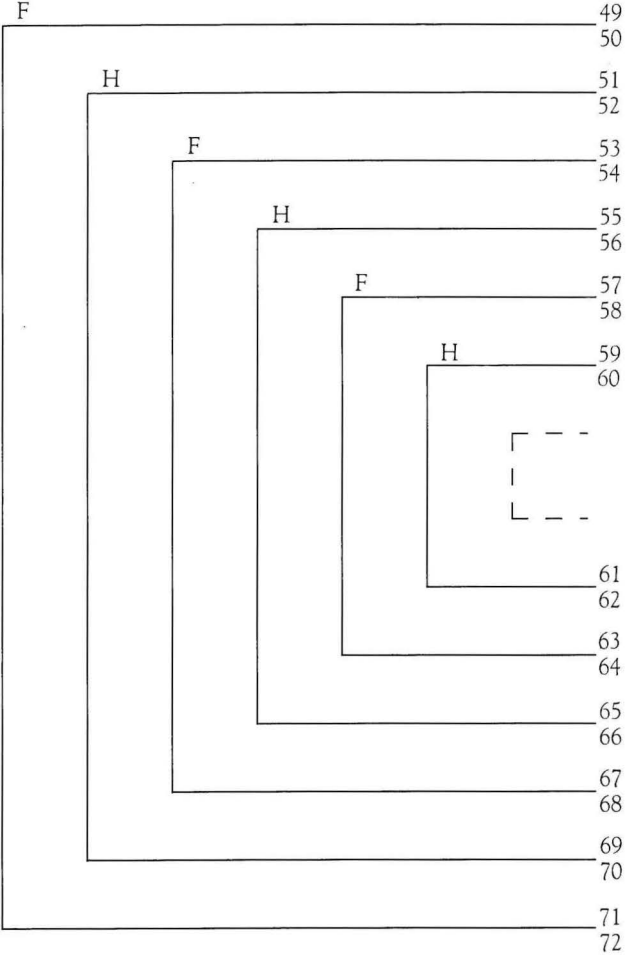
?

Antonio da Cividale  
[Anon.]

[Johannes Vaillant]

Giovanni da Foligno  
Johannes Ciconia

Gathering 11 (?)



Scribe

A

A

LXXV\*

B

C

LXXX\*

LXXXI\*

LXXXII\*

P3

P4

LXXX[V]

47

48

Layer

III

II

LXXV\*

B

C

LXXX\*

LXXXI\*

LXXXII\*

P3

P4

LXXX[V]

47

48

Composer

[Anon.]

[Niccolò da Perugia]

[Anon.]  
Andrea Stefani [?]

[Bartolino da Padova]

[Anon.]

Francesco Landini

Andrea Stefani

Bonaiutus [?] Pitor  
[Paolo Tenorista]

Copying Layers

Four scribes copied the contents of the Lucca Codex, named here A (fols.XXr-XCVIIr), B (fols. XCVIIv-XCIXr), C (fols. XCIXv-Cv), and D (fols. XXv-XXIr). Differences in their music scripts include the drawing of clefs, *cus-todes*, breve and semibreve shapes, final note shapes, divisional bar lines, ac-cidentals, and flags. We believe that in each case the same hand was re-sponsible for the copying of text, music, and composer attributions, because changes in music and text hands always coincide; in the case of hand B, the scribe added the attribution “d’Andrea Stephani” on fol. LXXXIXv and per-haps also “Ser Niccholay prepositi” on fol. LVr. Two noteworthy features of principal Scribe A are (1) dots of elision placed under vowels to be eliminated from the poetic scansion, and (2) his use of contiguous noteheads to ligate two or more notes of the same pitch (“one-pitch ligatures”). These features were first codified in Paduan theoretical writings dating from the first part of the Trecento by Antonio da Tempo and Marchetto da Padova, respectively.<sup>28</sup>

If, on the one hand, most of the collection was copied by Scribe A, evidence suggests, on the other hand, that it was not accomplished at one time. Distinct layers of compilation in his work are revealed by differences in manuscript preparation: drawing of boundary lines, staff size, presence and quality of capi-tal letters, indentation for capital letters, and highlighting technique (see Table 3). The three basic layers of copying were noted by Pirrotta.<sup>29</sup> Additional sub-layers of compilation may also be discerned, especially evident in: (1) dif-ferences in the drawing of initial capitals (e.g., the Us on fols. XXXXVIIr and LVIIIr compared to the ones on fols. LXXIVr, LXXXIIv and LXXXIIIr in Gatherings 6, 7, 9 and 10, all in Layer II); (2) changes in ink color from darker to lighter brown in Gathering 11 (creating two copying stints for Scribe A in that gathering — fols. LXXXVIIr-XCr and XCv-Cv); (3) complete lack of an initial letter (and composer attribution) on fol. LXIr within Layer II, a charac-teristic associated with Layer III. The final song added to the collection was Binchois’ *Dueil angoisseux* on fols. XXv-XXIr, an opening originally carrying Bartolino’s ballata *Donna liçadra*; the latter was erased to make room for the new work. We note that the capital letters which had served the earlier work remain intact, suggesting that the new scribe chose these pages for his insertion precisely for their initial Ds.<sup>30</sup>

Table 3: Characteristics of Copying Layers in the Lucca Codex

LAYER I (fols. XXr-XXXVIIv)
writing space: 180/187.5 × 135/140 mm.
staves per page: 7
staff size: 15 mm.
highlighting of text: red slashes
capitals: small and indistinguishable from the capitals of the voice designations “Tenor” and “Contratenor”
indentation for capitals: none

<sup>28</sup> See MICHAEL P. LONG, “Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1981, 6-8 and 15-20; J. NÁDAS, “The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 420; J. NÁDAS, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony,” Chapter II, 99-101.  
<sup>29</sup> N. PIRROTTA, “Il Codice di Lucca,” Part I, 121-22. Further distinguishing details were sup-plied in IDEM, “Il Codice di Lucca,” Part III, 116.  
<sup>30</sup> Pirrotta suggested that the copyist of the Binchois chanson on fols. XXv-XXIr might be the same as Scribe B at the end of Gathering 11 [actually, a much later addition by the scribe we have termed DJ]. Thus, he indicated an alternation in the work of Scribes B and C, and this may have influenced his dating of the final layers of the manuscript, suggesting the period 1425-1430 for the redaction of the whole (“Il Codice di Lucca,” Part III, 118, 122, and 142).

LAYER II (fols. XLVIIr-LXXXVv)
writing space: 192/200 × 120/124.5 mm.
staves per page: 8
staff size: 13.5 mm.
highlighting of text: yellow wash
capitals: larger than the staff height and easily distinguished from other capitals on the page
indentation for capitals: 12-17 mm.
LAYER III (fols. LXXXVIIr-Cv)
writing space: 179.5/181.5 × 126 mm.
staves per page: 8
staff size: 12.5/13 mm.
highlighting of text: none
capitals: none
indentation for capitals: 15-21 mm.

Repertorial Considerations

As can be seen in Diagram 1, Scribe A planned separate composer sec-tions from the start of the collection (at least commencing with Gatherings 3 and 4), often with boundaries determined by the beginnings and ends of gatherings. On the basis of partial attributions and missing voice parts, our reconstruction of the source shows the extension of composer sections as fully as possible. Thus the works of Bartolino da Padova cover the greater part of Gatherings 3 and 4; Francesco Landini, perhaps as much as all of Gathering 6, if not also missing Gathering 5; Antonio Zacara da Teramo, Gathering 7 and the first half of 8; Antonello da Caserta, at least the second half of Gathering 8; Antonio da Cividale, perhaps most of the first part of Gathering 9, although only one opening is securely his in that gathering; and, finally, Johannes Ciconia in Gathering 10.<sup>31</sup>

The two composers for whom we also find works outside of their sections are Antonio da Cividale and Johannes Ciconia. In the case of the latter, the three songs found at the end of Gathering 6 may be explained as later addi-tions on leaves originally left blank-ruled by the principal copyist, perhaps leaving space for further works by Francesco Landini which he thought were forthcoming.<sup>32</sup> The separation of Ciconia’s songs in Gatherings 6 and 10 would appear at first glance to be based on genre — ballatas in the former and madrigals in the latter — even if two ballatas are included in the latter section (Gathering 10 begins as a madrigal section, with additional ballatas copied at the bottom of pages; this pattern, however, breaks down by the end of the gathering where two ballatas occupy entire pages). But evidently

<sup>31</sup> N. PIRROTTA, “Il Codice di Lucca,” Part III, 116-17.  
<sup>32</sup> Some support for this hypothesis derives from the fact that the ink for both text and music on fols. LIIv-LIVv is lighter compared to surrounding folios. One may also discern differences in color and shapes of the initial capitals and the sharpness of the pen nib on these folios, resulting in more finely shaped notes. That the final folios of the gathering may have served as a repository for later additions is also corroborated by the inclusion of the unattributed rondeau, *Ave Vergene*, copied beneath a song ascribed to Ciconia on fol. LIVr; *Ave Vergene* has been rejected as one of the composers’s works on stylistic grounds by Pirrotta (“Il Codice di Lucca,” Part III, 117, n. 4, and 123, n. 26), as well as by the editors of the new Ciconia edition. We draw a distinction, therefore, between unattributed additions at the bottoms of folios within a composer section and those additions made outside the sections proper, lending the former a far higher degree of authority as works by the composer in question.



the works in Gathering 10 constituted the section set aside by the scribe for the composer, and the fact that they are unique to this source would seem to indicate that they derived from a circle close to the composer (see Appendix B, p. 97, for the total number of compositions, including *unica*, for each of the Lucca Codex composers). By contrast, two of the songs copied in Gathering 6 also appear in sources either clearly Florentine (*Con lagreme bagnandome el viso* in **Pit**)<sup>33</sup> or of northern provenance but introduced into Tuscany perhaps during the early years of the 15th century (*Merçè, o morte*, in **Pist**).<sup>34</sup>

In the case of Antonio da Cividale, the appearance of his works in two separate groups could be explained as a result of two different copying layers; but it should be noted that his three French-texted works in both cases appear with anonymously transmitted French-texted songs, and thus rather than constituting composer sections in themselves, his works were included in two sections of miscellaneous French pieces, at the end in the first group (Gathering 4), and perhaps at the beginning in the second (Gathering 9).

The scribe's habit of leaving blank-ruled the opening rectos and closing versos of gatherings until the collection was bound allowed for later insertions in the manuscript. There are two advantages in doing so: (1) it allows for maximum flexibility in rearranging the collection or adding to the repertory at a later date (as was done in **Pit**, Gatherings 6 and 8); (2) it prevents unnecessary exposure of music and text to excessive wear, spills, etc., before a collection is bound.<sup>35</sup> A list of such possible additions includes the following: the Landini ballata, *Va' pur, Amore*, on fol. XXXXVIIr (the opening of Gathering 6); the ballata *Donna, posso io sperare*, attributed to "Ser Niccolay prepositi" on fol. LVr (the opening of Gathering 7);<sup>36</sup> *Sol me trafege 'l cor* attributed to "Magister Zacharias" on fol. LXIIIr (opening of Gathering 8).<sup>37</sup>

The first two gatherings may well have contained works by Bartolino da Padova and perhaps some by Jacopo da Bologna; we may note the choice of these two composers for the start of the Reina Codex.<sup>38</sup> The French-texted songs on fols. XXXVIr-XXXVIv at the end of Gathering 4 may be some of the songs cited as the "rondel franceschi" of Bartolino by Simone Prodenzani but thought by modern scholars not to have survived.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> In **Pit** the song is transmitted anonymously as a late addition; see N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 123, and JOHN NÁDAS, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition," in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, eds. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1989), 53.

<sup>34</sup> **Pist** is a source that shares some of the characteristic traits of our MS and may form part of a pool of sources introduced into Tuscany after the Pisa Council of 1409.

<sup>35</sup> This working method was noted in N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 117, n. 5. See also J. NÁDAS, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," Chapter IV.

<sup>36</sup> The song is taken to be a work by Niccolò da Perugia in STEPHEN KELLY, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1974. On the dubious authenticity of the attribution, see KURT VON FISCHER, "Niccolò da Perugia," *New Grove*, vol. 13, 203, and ANTONIA MAZZANTINI, "Le ballate di Niccolò da Perugia," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, V, ed. Agostino Ziino (Palermo: Enchiridion, 1985), 184-86.

<sup>37</sup> In the three cases noted, the concordance picture may also support their status as additions (see the inventory): Landini's *Va' pur, Amore* was a work perhaps little known in northern Italy; the *unicum*, *Donna posso io sperare*; and Zacara's ballata *Sol me trafege 'l cor*, which seems to belong to a different manuscript tradition.

<sup>38</sup> N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 116, n. 3, mentions Jacopo and Giovanni as possibilities. See S. DEBENEDETTI, *Il "Sollazzo,"* sonnet no. 25, which contains a listing of songs beginning with works by Bartolino and Jacopo, following an order deriving no doubt from written collections of the period.

<sup>39</sup> S. DEBENEDETTI, *Il "Sollazzo,"* sonnet no. 47. That these works may have been the ones known to Prodenzani in the early years of the 15th century is strengthened by his acquaintance with much of the rest of the Lucca Codex repertory. See N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 121, and A. HALLMARK, "Some Evidence for French Influence," 219 (where, however, reference is made to "a [sic] rondel franceschi"); GIUSEPPE CORSI, *Poesie musicali del Trecento*,

*Quella sera cantaro ei madriale,  
Canzon del Cieco, a modo perusino,  
Rondel franceschi de fra Bartolino [...]*

Since fol. XXXVIIr of our MS contains the full attribution for Antonio da Cividale, it may have been the first page of the section set aside for his works (see Diagram 1), thus lending more weight to the validity of Bartolino's authorship of the *rondelli* on the preceding folios. The observations made above on the grouping of the French-texted anonymous songs together with those by Antonio da Cividale do not necessarily invalidate this hypothesis.

The incomplete attribution of fol. XLVIIr, the opening recto of Gathering 6, would suggest that the final verso of Gathering 5 contained another song by Landini. Although a possibility exists that Landini's *Va' pur, Amore* on fol. XLVIIr, and the work on the closing verso of lost Gathering 5, were additions to the codex, the split attribution across two gatherings (the only example in our MS) argues for an analysis of Gatherings 5 and 6 as a unit, completed in one copying layer, and that these works were additions only within the context of the copying procedure outlined above.<sup>40</sup> What is particularly noteworthy here is the fact that attributions to Landini always specify his city of provenance as Florence, an element which probably would have been included only in a source copied outside of Florence. We may assume that these Landini ballatas could have formed part of a small repertory circulating in the Veneto (see *Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito* and *Poy che da te* for concordances in the Paduan fragment **Pad A**, the Reina Codex, and a fragment now at Grottaferrata, E.β. XVI; see Appendix A, p. 93, for the distribution of concordances).

Zacara's works appear in a lengthy section in Gatherings 7 and 8. Clearly, his section extended through the lost bifolio of Gathering 7, for fols. LVIv, LVIIIr, and LIXv carry incomplete pieces and attributions.<sup>41</sup> The most common form of his full name is "Magister Antonius Çachara de Teramo." A different version of the composer's name at the top of the opening recto of Gathering 8 (fol. LXIIIr: "Magister Zacharias") indicates that the ballata *Sol me trafege 'l cor* was a late addition, as noted above.<sup>42</sup>

Antonello da Caserta's section of ballatas in the second half of Gathering 8 extends at least to the opening of the next gathering in order to complete the attribution on fol. LXXv. This could indicate that the section devoted to this relatively unknown composer was extensive.

Gathering 11 marks a decisive break with the paleographical features of earlier gatherings, principally for those elements associated with the final stages of manuscript preparation (capitals, highlighting, foliation, etc.). However, from the standpoint of the repertory copied in the first part of this

Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 131 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970), 264; NICOLE GOLDINE, "Fra Bartolino da Padova, musicien de cour," *Acta Musicologica*, 34 (1962), 143.

<sup>40</sup> We may assume that these ballatas, although well known in Tuscan sources, would have formed part of a small Landini repertory circulating in the Veneto (see *Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito* and *Poy che da te* for concordances in **Pad A**, **R**, and **GR 16**).

<sup>41</sup> The work on fol. LXIr may well be by Zacara, but the attribution "de Teramo" is not visible, probably due to trimming; we should also observe the lack of an initial capital letter (see discussion of the new leaves, above), suggesting that it is a later addition.

<sup>42</sup> The song appears in **Sq** ascribed to "Magister Çacherias cantor Domini nostri Pape," in **Mod A** as the work of "Magister Zacharias;" these are versions of the name of one composer only, Antonio Zacara da Teramo. Zacara's northern ties and the transmission of his works in northern sources are discussed by AGOSTINO ZIINO, "Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo: alcune date e molte ipotesi," *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 14 (1979), 311-48, and JOHN NÁDAS, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo," *Studi musicali*, 15 (1986), 167-82.



section, specifically from fols. LXXXVIIr to XCr, the move from north-Italian song styles and language to one more specifically Florentine appears to take place with works beginning with Bartolino's *Inperiale, sedendo* on fol. XCv, supported by a change in ink color. Thus, more than representing a break in the style of pieces, this point serves as an articulation in the location of the manuscript and its principal copyist, who now, we suppose, moved in the direction of Florence. Scribe A's failure to attribute Bartolino's *Inperiale, sedendo* is perhaps an indication that he was copying from smaller collections of unattributed compositions.<sup>43</sup> The songs at the end of the collection that can be tied specifically to the city of Florence include works by Landini, Andrea Stefani, and Paolo Tenorista, whose songs were copied by the same scribe who added two gatherings of Paolo's works in *Pit*.

## Provenance and Dating

Previous studies of this source have indicated north-Italian origins for many songs in the collection. Ettore Li Gotti was the first to observe characteristic features of phonetics and orthography in the work of the principal scribe of the volume, noting as well relevant changes in the last layer, for which he could point to Florence as the most likely place the source was completed.<sup>44</sup> In his 1949 study, Nino Pirrotta noted the linguistic and graphic features of the principal scribe as that of northern Italy, yet was attracted to the hypothesis of Lucchese origins of the entire manuscript, basing his discussion, as we have seen, on the use of the leaves as covers for Lucchese documents, the fact that the last two copyists, probably Florentine, may have been in the service of Paolo Guinigi, and internal evidence in the reading of Ciconia's *Una panthera in compagnia de Marte*.<sup>45</sup>

It seems to us that the repertory in the Lucca Codex can be associated primarily with northern Italy, and specifically with two courts *ca.* 1400, that of the Carrara at Padua and, perhaps more surprising, that of the Visconti at Pavia. We cannot but agree with Li Gotti, Pirrotta and Clercx on the fact that aspects of language and much of the repertory of the main corpus of the collection derive from the North; we wish here only to add to previous discussions on questions of repertory and compilation in the history of this manuscript and to contribute some hypotheses on its provenance primarily on the basis of fresh readings of two key works.

The details of copying set out above make clear that the collection was compiled in at least five or six separate sittings, all of it the work of one principal scribe and three later copyists. What concerns us is the overlap that must have taken place between Layers II and III and where the respective

<sup>43</sup> The piece may have been the most recent one by the composer, and its concordance history would indicate that it was transmitted separately in other sources as well.

<sup>44</sup> ETTORE LI GOTTI, "Per la biografia di due minori musicisti," 98. Li Gotti, moreover, thought that one of the Florentine hands in the last part of the collection was that of Andrea Stefani, three of whose songs appear in that layer, or of a person close to him, to judge from a similar script in Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana MS C. 152 and Biblioteca Riccardiana MS 1562, both copied by Andrea Stefani. The fact that the ballata *Con tucta gentilezza* by Stefani on fol. XCVIIIr of the Lucca Codex ends with the remark "mancaci due stançe" would indicate that the copyist was not Stefani himself. N. Pirrotta ("Il Codice di Lucca," Part I, 122-23, n. 6), while accepting the similarities in the hands, questions an absolute identity due to differences between cursive and calligraphic scripts. See note 8, above.

<sup>45</sup> N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part I, 122-24, and Part III, 124-25, 142. More recently, Suzanne Clercx offered Padua as the likely provenance of the collection on the basis of its repertory, and indicated the theorist Johannes Hothby as the musician who took the source to Lucca in the second half of the Quattrocento, at which point its final pages were filled with Tuscan songs (S. CLERCX, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens," 115-19).

compositions were copied. In the discussion to follow we wish to treat interpretations of readings and questions of the provenance of essential pieces and their location within the collection, characteristics of the repertory including how well each composer is represented, the number of *unica*, and to consider possible dates and avenues for the volume's entry into Tuscany.

In a recent essay focusing on the career of Filippotto da Caserta, Reinhard Strohm shed new light on the importance of the Visconti court during the reign of Giangaleazzo (1378-1402), concluding that Filippotto was in Pavia during the 1380s, and that Giangaleazzo's court must have been the principal center for the cultivation of the musical *ars subtilior* in Italy at the end of the Trecento.<sup>46</sup> Thus, he suggests that Milan-Pavia was the most likely point from which *ars subtilior* style — and French music in general — was disseminated throughout other parts of Italy; that is, not directly from the papal court in Avignon as has previously been sustained. We would add that the north-Italian song repertory of the period exemplifies at once both a severity and complexity which easily compares with the best examples from the French orbit, and a more lyrical, slightly simplified style in what might best be called an "Italian" *ars subtilior*, not unlike a similar transformation of Gothic architecture in Italy.<sup>47</sup>

The major repository of this repertory, Strohm suggests, is a manuscript now at the Estense Library in Modena (**Mod A**), whose final layer almost exclusively contains works by the principal composer active in Milan during the first two decades of the 15th century, Matteo da Perugia. Matteo's compositions include some two dozen French songs, among which are some of the most complex of the period (the ballade, *Le gregnour bien*, for instance). Matteo was in the service of Pietro Filargo, archbishop at the cathedral of Milan in 1402 and appointed cardinal in 1405 by Pope Innocent VII, and he very likely followed Pietro to the Council of Pisa where the latter was elected Antipope Alexander V in the summer of 1409. Moreover, Filargo was a noted humanist, author of theological writings, professor at the University of Pavia, and counselor to Giangaleazzo Visconti. Research undertaken some years ago made possible a reconstruction of the papal chapel for Alexander's successor in Bologna, John XXIII (1410-1415), and among the many surprises was the fact that **Mod A** could no longer be taken as a source wholly representing music produced and performed at the Bolognese court during those years, for few of the collection's composer/singers were, in fact, employed there. Instead, as shall be argued presently, it appears that while the final layer of **Mod A** contains the music Matteo composed *ca.* 1409-10, including works for the papal chapel at Pisa, the central three gatherings of the collection are older and comprise a repertory of songs and motets created and/or copied some years earlier at the Milanese/Pavian

<sup>46</sup> REINHARD STROHM, "Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia," in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, eds. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1989), 63-74.

<sup>47</sup> Matteo's works are good examples of this more lyrical phase of the *ars subtilior*, as compared to the songs of P. da Caserta, J. Galiot, and composers at the Avignonese papal chapel. On this, see NINO PIRROTTA, "Echi di arie veneziane del primo Quattrocento?," in *Interpretazioni Veneziane*, ed. David Rosand (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1984), 99-108. Ursula Günther has also argued for the important role of Italian musical centers in the creation and dissemination of *ars subtilior* style during the last decade of the 14th century ("Problems of Dating in *Ars Nova* and *Ars Subtilior*," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, IV, ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo, 1978), 294. Nowhere is the balance achieved between *oltremontane* (Germanic, in this case) and Lombard expressions of late gothic style more evident than in the cathedral of Milan, begun at the height of Giangaleazzo's *signoria* in 1385, and continued during his *ducato* and beyond; see GIGLIOLA SOLDI RONDININI, "La Fabbrica del Duomo come espressione dello spirito religioso e civile della società milanese (fine sec. XIV-sec. XV)," in *Saggi di storia e storiografia visconteo-sforzesche* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1984), 59-62.

courts of the Visconti, including works imported from centers in southern France and northern Spain.<sup>48</sup> We may now add the Lucca Codex as another surviving source reflecting at least a portion of that circle of musicians and their music.

Two courts, in fact, were maintained concurrently during the *signorie* of Bernabò Visconti (at Milan) and his brother Galeazzo II (at Pavia). When Galeazzo died in 1378, his son Giangaleazzo (1351-1402) inherited his father's portion of the *signoria*, as it were, maintaining residence at the magnificent castle built in Pavia by his father, and in less than two decades emerged as the most powerful protagonist in the political consolidation of Visconti territories that had begun as far back as the 1330s.

By most contemporary accounts, the court at Pavia under Giangaleazzo flourished in splendor as a center where ambassadors and representatives from leading Italian and European powers came to sort out disputes and alliances, and it was equally well-known for its elegance and artistic/literary patronage. Of the utmost relevance for the topic at hand are the Visconti weddings of the late Trecento: we note Galeazzo's marriage to Blanche of Savoy in 1350; Giangaleazzo's first marriage to Isabelle of Valois, daughter of John II King of France, in 1360; and that of his daughter Valentina to Louis of Valois, Duke of Orléans and younger brother of Charles VI, in 1389. These help to account for a particularly Gallic cast to the artistic patronage at his court.<sup>49</sup> Eustache Deschamps, one of the writers who enjoyed

<sup>48</sup> NINO PIRROTTA, "Il Codice Estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del 1400," in *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, serie IV, vol. V, parte II (1944-45), 101-58; URSULA GÜNTHER, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α M.5.24 (olim lat. 568 = Mod)," *Musica Disciplina*, 24 (1970), 17-67; CLAUDIO SARTORI, "Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand de Feragut," *Acta Musicologica*, 28 (1956), 12-27; S. CLERCX, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens," 112-14 (who opts strongly for Avignonese origin); JOHN NADAS, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo," 181-82. For the first thorough documentation of Matteo's career, see FABIO FANO, *Le origini e il primo maestro di Cappella: Matteo da Perugia*, in GAETANO CESARI and FABIO FANO, *La Cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano* [Prima parte], Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana, 1 (Milan: Ricordi, 1956), who, however, believed that the Visconti had nothing to do with Matteo's appointment at the cathedral and, in general, were little interested in music (pp. 17, 485). Given Roman liturgical usage at Pavia, in contrast to the Ambrosian rite of Milan, it is entirely conceivable that at least some of the Mass movements by Matteo were composed at the Visconti court (see K. VON FISCHER, "Bemerkungen zur Überlieferung," 181).

<sup>49</sup> For a description of the castello and court life at Pavia, see D. M. BUENO DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351-1402)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 11-12, 40-44; ERIC R. CHAMBERLIN, *The Count of Virtue: Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1965), 37-44; and FRANCESCO COGNASSO, *I Visconti* (Milan: dall'Oglio, 1987), 347-49; more recent descriptions and photographs of the *castello* as it survives today may be found in ANTONELLO VINCENTI, *Castelli viscontei e sforzeschi* (Milan: Rusconi, 1981), and ADRIANO PERONI, *Pavia: Musei civici del castello visconteo* (Bologna: Calderini, 1975). A manuscript inventory of the Visconti library at Pavia, drawn up in January 1426, containing in addition two later accounts of 1459 and 1469, survives today as Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, MS AD XV 18.4 and has been published in transcription by ÉLIZABETH PELLEGRIN (*La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle* [Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1955]), in which she lists nearly one thousand volumes and identifies some 400 since dispersed in major European libraries (pillaging of court property in Pavia began in 1447, at the death of Filippo Maria Visconti and the rise of the Sforza, but most of the Latin and French manuscripts were taken by Louis XII at the time of his conquest of Pavia in 1499-1500, and they eventually made their way to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris where they are now housed). Among the items are a volume beginning with Guillaume de Machaut's *Dit du lion*, works of the provençal poets Guiraut de Bornelh, Peire Cardenal, and Arnaut de Marueilh, a copy of Gidino da Sommacampagna's *Trattato dei ritmi volgari*, and scores of books on everything from culinary delights to falconry. One volume of immediate musical interest is listed as item 84 (p. 91): "Liber unus de cantu mediocris voluminis copertus corio albo, incipit: *Apta caro plumis* [perhaps the motet text known from widely disseminated music sources], et finitur: *petas gaudia*. Sig. CCCLXXXII" (the latter words have yet to be identified as part of a motet text, although similar endings, for example, can be found in motets in *Fauvel* MS fr. 146 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and Machaut's motet 23); see F. ALBERTO GALLO, "Per un

Valentina's esteem, paid tribute to her in one of his poems, and after a visit in 1391 described the *castello* at Pavia as a place of astonishing beauty which, like a magnet, attracted all the courtiers of Paris. Also, no less a figure than Chaucer is believed to have visited Pavia twice during the 1370s, the last occasion in the summer of 1378, paying homage not only to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, his former patron and first husband of Giangaleazzo's sister, Violante Visconti, but perhaps also to two of the most illustrious and influential philosophers of the Middle Ages, Augustine and Boethius; all three were buried in the Pavian church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro.<sup>50</sup> Last but not least, Giangaleazzo's love of learning was manifested most visibly in his support of the university at Pavia. To it he brought scholars from all over Italy, and it is no exaggeration to say that the university owed its great activity and fame in his day to his direct encouragement and patronage.<sup>51</sup>

Early in his political career Giangaleazzo had been known by two titles: as *Signore* of Milan and, particularly, as the "Conte di Virtù" (arising from part of Isabelle's dowry, the Comté de Vertus in Champagne); it was with this last name that so much play was made in the struggles that centered around his career (Conte di Virtù, Comes Virtutum).<sup>52</sup> At the height of his strength, though, he sought a more glorious and nobler title for his principality, and sent Pietro Filargo as representative to arrange to be crowned as Duke of Milan in September of 1395 by order of Wenceslaus, King of the Romans.<sup>53</sup> Giangaleazzo's political ambitions and thirst for power led not only to the incarceration and death of his uncle Bernabò in

repertorio delle fonti perdute," *Schede medievali*, 3 (1982), 291-92. The Italian manuscripts in the Visconti library catalogue are discussed in GIUSEPPE MAZZATINTI, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, 3 vols. (Rome: Bencini, 1886-88), vol. 1, pp. LXV-LXXXVIII.

For a recent discussion of a precious volume (Missal/Book of Hours) prepared in imitation of similar French liturgical books at Giangaleazzo's court, see KAY SUTTON, "The Original Patron of the Lombard Manuscript Latin 757 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris," *Burlington Magazine*, 124 (1982), 88-94; Sutton's analysis of the early patronage of the source goes counter to Geneviève Thibault's report ("Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du Trecento," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, III, ed. F. Alberto Gallo [Certaldo, 1970], 148), of which she was apparently unaware, and she was later challenged in a letter to the editor by MICHAEL A. ZACCARIA, *Burlington Magazine*, 125 (1983), 160-61. Sutton has since completed a dissertation on this and other Visconti manuscripts of the late Trecento: "A Lombard MS, Paris B.N. lat. 757, Associated MSS and the Context of Their Illumination," Ph.D. Dissertation, Warwick University, 1984. We would also suggest that Giangaleazzo purposefully molded his court in a very individualistic fashion, deliberately contrasting it with those of his Italian counterparts (Verona, Mantua, Padua, Venice, and Florence), and making it specifically Francophile in as many ways as possible. In the context of the bloodties established by the Visconti with the French royal family, Giangaleazzo had also begun negotiations with the French court in 1392 with an eye to supporting Antipope Clement VII in Avignon and creating a distinct realm with the French, to include all Visconti possessions then held, as well as Bologna. But the plan failed with the unexpected death of Clement in 1394; see G. S. RONDININI, "La Fabbrica del Duomo," 53-57. In this respect, what role Giangaleazzo played in the creation of the Milanese cathedral was directed to distinguishing the building as boldly as possible, making it an architectural *unicum* on the Italian cultural horizon (see note 47, above).

<sup>50</sup> Clarence died in the very year of his marriage to Violante, 1368. Chaucer may also have been drawn to Pavia for the magnificence of the Visconti library, where apparently he read Boccaccio and came away with a copy of the latter's *Teseida*. See WILLIAM E. COLEMAN, "Chaucer, the *Teseida*, and the Visconti Library at Pavia: A Hypothesis," *Medium Aevum*, 51 (1982), 92-101, and RODNEY K. DELASANTA, "Chaucer, Pavia, and the Ciel d'Oro," *Medium Aevum*, 54 (1985), 117-21.

<sup>51</sup> B. DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, 182-83.

<sup>52</sup> A sonnet by Braccio Bracci, one of the court poets at Pavia, is representative of descriptions of Giangaleazzo associating him with the seven virtues: "Sette sorelle sono a me venute / dicendo: 'Leva su e non tardare; / comincia omai a scrivere e cantare / del signor grande Conte de Virtute'. [...]" (in GIUSEPPE CORSI, *Rimatori del Trecento* [Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1969], 415-16, lines 1-4).

<sup>53</sup> B. DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, 170-77, and F. COGNASSO, *I Visconti*, 300-04. Beginning in late 1395, Giangaleazzo ordered the imperial eagle to be included with the familiar serpent and *putto* on all Visconti heraldic devices.



1385, but also to a long period of forceful expansion of his possessions in an effort to control as much of the peninsula as possible, right up to the time of his death in 1402. Campaigns close to home in the late 1380s led to the conquests of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and a host of dependent cities in the Veneto; the 1390s brought Pisa, Siena, and Perugia under his control, with the challenges and threats of Giangaleazzo's triumphs most clearly perceived by his greatest enemies, Venice and Florence. The culmination of bellicose policies brought Bologna to its knees in June of 1402, and Florence very nearly fell, saved at the eleventh hour by the Duke's untimely death in September of that year.<sup>54</sup>

Although we know very little of Antonello Marot da Caserta's career, the presence of works attributed to him in the Lucca Codex, **Mod A**, and fragments of north-Italian provenance would indicate that he was associated with Pavian musical circles at the end of the century. In fact, Antonello's *Del glorioso titolo* can be read as a madrigal honoring Giangaleazzo's coronation as Duke of Milan in 1395.<sup>55</sup>

*Del glorioso titol(o) d'esto duce,  
çascun fa fest' omai, ch'à in sè vertute,  
chè novo Re si nasce per salute*

*De quella donna che zà estese l'ale  
e possedette ciò che 'l sol riguarda,  
ch'aver un sposo è sta' sì lenta e tarda.*

*Ma questo è quel che per virtù celeste  
fia novo Augusto cum triumphi e feste,*

*E zà monarcha un sceptro d'or s'il chiama  
perch'el dilati l'Italica fama.*

<sup>54</sup> Giangaleazzo's takeover of all Visconti dominions in 1385 and his conquests during the late 1380s and '90s are amply treated and documented by DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*. See also F. COGNASSO, *I Visconti*, 267-74, 285-361. A record of Giangaleazzo's career and life at court is extremely difficult to document directly. The archive of the Pavian castello was plundered and razed on two occasions — in 1447 and 1526 — prior to the destruction caused by Louis XII between 1500 and 1512 and that of more recent times (1733, 1796). Nevertheless, for the first time some documentary materials are now coming to light in a systematic fashion from other holdings, including extant diplomatic registers and 15th-century summaries that were made of notarial protocols; see ALFIO ROSARIO NATALE, "Per la storia dell'archivio visconteo signorile. Notai della corte viscontea di Pavia," *Archivio storico italiano*, 141 (1983), 531-90. The conclusions the present authors reach in the discussion to follow are necessarily drawn from circumstantial evidence deriving almost entirely from the compositions themselves and their manuscript tradition. Clearly, much remains to be done by way of resorting to the indirect evidence available in the archives of *signorie* and powers that dealt with Giangaleazzo. The first "hard evidence" of musicians at the Pavian court has recently been published by Maria Carmen Gómez: payment records for the court of Navarre in 1382 during the reign of Charles II list "un jongleur de voile et de rote du comte de Vertus;" in August 1383, a "Jaquet, jongleur du comte de Vertus;" and, in December 1388 during the reign of Charles III, the musician again visits Spain and is cited more fully as "Jaquet de Noyon, ménestrel de corde du comte de Vertus" ("La Musique à la maison royale de Navarre à la fin du moyen-âge et le chantre Johan Robert," *Musica Disciplina*, 41 [1987], 114, 122).

<sup>55</sup> This is the first song in his section, beginning on fol. LXVIv, a madrigal previously thought to contain references to Giovanna II of Naples and her marriage of either 1415 or 1423; see N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 135; U. GÜNTHER, "Anthonello de Caserta," MGG, vol. 15 (1973), col. 229; IDEM, "Anthonello de Caserta," *New Grove*, vol. 1, p. 465; R. STROHM "Filippotto da Caserta," 63-74. The fragments transmitting Antonello's songs are **Pist**, **Pad B** and **Par**. On the coronation and its implications, see B. DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, 170-77, 302-19. The investiture was celebrated in a beautiful miniature and historiated initial in Giangaleazzo's Coronation Missal, Milan, Biblioteca capitolare di S. Ambrogio, MS 6, fol. 8r (riproduced in G. THIBAUT, "Emblèmes et devises," Plate I, and É. PELLEGRIN, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan; supplément avec 175 planches* [Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1969], Plate 99). The possible connection of *Del glorioso titolo* with the Visconti court was first mentioned by GIUSEPPE CORSI, *Poesie musicali del Trecento*, p. LXIII, but without further explanation.

It would have been of little surprise to an educated and politically aware Italian of the period that Giangaleazzo not only made known his expansionist intentions, but that his propaganda was disseminated in flattering literary pamphleteering emanating from Pavia, particularly in works by court poets Francesco di Vannozzo, Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, Braccio Bracci, and Antonio Loschi, as well as in the works of central-Italian poets such as Simone Serdini "il Saviozzo." The solution to the madrigal, we believe, lies in an allegorical reading of the marriage, one between Giangaleazzo (the "duce") to Italy ("quella donna") and the attendant image of the Duke of Milan as savior of a country which in Roman times had dominated the known world ("che zà estese l'ale / e possedette ciò che 'l sol riguarda").<sup>56</sup>

All of Antonello da Caserta's songs survive in north-Italian sources: 5 ballades, 2 rondeaux, 1 virelai, 1 madrigal, and 5 ballatas. Among the Italian works in our MS, *A pianger l'ochi* appears also in **Pist** and **Pad B**, both northern sources; *Più chiar che 'l sol* is found in **Par**, probably a fragment from a Pavian-Milanese collection.<sup>57</sup> Another indication that Antonello may have been at the Pavian court lies in the *senhal* "Lucia" in *Più chiar che 'l sol*; Lucia could be Bernabò Visconti's daughter, the sister of Caterina (Giangaleazzo's second wife).<sup>58</sup> Antonello's French-texted songs are exclusively represented in **Mod A**, including a most beautiful setting of Guillaume de Machaut's ballade text, *Beauté parfaite*; these songs signal the importance of French poetry and culture at Giangaleazzo's court.<sup>59</sup> The

<sup>56</sup> It is important to note that similar poetic images and concepts present in this madrigal are found in much poetry of the time honoring Giangaleazzo Visconti. That Giangaleazzo was likened to a "nuovo Re" and "nuovo Augusto," wanted by the heavens ("per virtù celeste"), is declared, for example, by Francesco Vannozzo and Tommaso Moroni: "Il bel destino che dal Ciel t'è dato / Re nostro sacro sancto, illustre prince" (AGOSTINO SAGREDO, "A Gian Galeazzo Visconti conte di Virtù, Poema in otto sonetti di Francesco Vannozzo," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie II, tomo XV, parte II [1862], 142-61: sonnet no. 1, lines 1-2); "Corona santa ch'è da Dio mostrata / per dar pace all'Italica gente" (IDEM, sonnet no. 2, lines 1-2); "Dunque, signor, si ben dopo mill'anni / v'han chiamato li cieli all'alta impresa" (TOMMASO MORONI, in ANTONIO MEDIN, "I Visconti nella poesia contemporanea," *Archivio storico lombardo*, serie II, vol. VIII, anno 18 [1891], 778). The notion in Antonello's madrigal that Italy had finally found the person who would help her to rise up again ("si nasce per salute" and "ch'aver un sposo è sta' sì lenta e tarda") resonates (almost with the vigor of Risorgimento Italy some 450 years later) in verses by Vannozzo, Simone Serdini "il Saviozzo," and an anonymous Tuscan poet: "Italia, figlia mia, prendi diletto, / prendi conforto lieta e prendi lena, / che in breve tu sarai tratta di pena, / immacolata, senza alcun difetto. / Io son la negra Roma, che lo aspetto / per farmi bella con pulita lena" [Rome is dressed in black because she is mourning] (Vannozzo, in A. SAGREDO, "A Gian Galeazzo Visconti," sonnet no. 8, lines 1-6); "Novella monarchia, iusto signore, / clemente padre, insigne e generoso, / per cui pace e riposo / spera trovar la dolce vedovella, / tu sai ben, signor mio, quanto dolore / ella ha portato, poi che il dolce sposo" (EMILIO PASQUINI, ed., *Simone Serdini da Siena detto il Saviozzo, Rime*, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 127 [Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1965]: canzone no. 19, lines 1-6); "et un signor avrà Italia bella / che tanto tempo è stata vedovella / de conte, duca e poi sarà reale" [a Lord shall have beautiful Italy, who for so long has been widowed; he shall be Count, Duke, and then King; i.e., the career of Giangaleazzo Visconti] (Anon., in A. MEDIN, "I Visconti nella poesia," 765).

<sup>57</sup> **Pist**, a palimpsest fragment, could also be a Pavian source, to judge from its contents. Another fragment, the single folio Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 596, busta HH2<sup>1</sup>, may well derive from a large Florentine collection of northern repertory, at least in part Pavian; see RISM, B IV:4, 738-39, and J. NÁDAS, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," 48, 408.

<sup>58</sup> On the basis of the proximity of Antonello's and Ciconia's songs in **Par**, the Lucca Codex, and **Pad B**, Pirrotta supposed Paduan connections for Antonello ("Echi di arie veneziane," n. 24). Surely we can now push back by several decades the earliest known dates for Antonello's activity, and this has important implications for our notions of style chronology and critical assessments of a number of composers stylistically akin to him. The name "Marot" could well be a soubriquet: in certain north-Italian dialects it means "sickly" (see BRUNO MIGLIORINI and GIOVAN BATTISTA PELLEGRINI, *Dizionario del Feltrino rustico* [Padua: Liviana, 1971], 59; GAETANO FRISONI, *Dizionario moderno genovese-italiano e italiano-genovese* [Genoa: A. Donath, 1910; rpt. Bologna: Forni, 1969], 170).

<sup>59</sup> See U. GÜNTHER, "Anthonello de Caserta," *New Grove*, vol. 1, pp. 465-66; IDEM, "Anthonello de Caserta," MGG, vol. 15 (1973), cols. 228-31, for worklists and concordances. The most re-

French collection in **Mod A** and the Lucca Codex differs considerably from that of **R**; the latter is a larger, composite repository representing an anthology of European songs, not reflecting any single court. True, two of Antonello da Caserta's songs are also there, but in a section quite apart from the large French section of songs by Trebol, Pykini, Senleches, and others. The high number of anonymously transmitted unique French songs in our MS, including rondeaux by Antonio da Cividale, would strongly suggest a different repertory of French pieces from that of **R**, the former a collection in keeping with the cultivation of French culture at the Pavian court.<sup>60</sup>

Turning to the court of the Carrara, we come to the best known composer in Padua before the arrival of Johannes Ciconia: Bartolino da Padova. Two works can be associated with either important Paduan personages or political events at court. The madrigal *La douce ciere*, the first piece by Bartolino in our surviving fragment,<sup>61</sup> most likely refers to a specific person in its heraldic symbols, but lacks a reference to any single datable event; it was probably written to honor a descendant of the Papafava family in the years preceding the suppression of their arms by Francesco Carrara the younger (il Novello), whose *signoria* spanned the period 1390-1405.<sup>62</sup> The second work is the madrigal *Inperiale, sedendo*, probably written in 1401 to celebrate the investiture of Francesco as imperial general by the then-new Emperor Robert of Bavaria.<sup>63</sup> The latter is to be found anonymously transmitted in Gathering 11 of the Lucca Codex, and, as shall be discussed presently, it no doubt circulated independently from Bartolino's other works, representing one of the last pieces by the composer known to the main copyist of the collection.

Another song by Bartolino in our manuscript that was at one time associated with the Carrarese court is *Le aurate chiome*, thought to have been written to celebrate the wedding of Francesco il Novello's sister, Caterina, in 1372; we would agree, instead, with Thibault's suggestion that the Caterina mentioned in the text could be Giangaleazzo's second wife, the daughter of Bernabò Visconti, who married Giangaleazzo in 1380 and lived until 1404.<sup>64</sup> In this case, a likely period during which a Paduan composer would

cent discussion of the composer's career is by R. STROHM, "Filippotto da Caserta," 63-74, especially 71.

<sup>60</sup> Johannes Vaillant's *Par maintes fois* is not unique to the Lucca Codex, but it appears elsewhere in Italian or Italian-related sources only in **GR 197** and **Ch**; A. da Cividale's *Loingtemps* is also found as a late addition in **FP** (without text), and thus circulated outside of northern Italy at a later time. The presence of Vaillant and, especially, Filippotto da Caserta in **GR 197** might suggest Pavian-Milanese rather than Paduan origins for that source (we note variant readings shared by concordances in **Mod A** and the Lucca Codex, as well as the probability of an added part by Matteo da Perugia to a *Credo* by Zacar); see URSULA GÜNTHER, "Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, III, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Certaldo, 1970), 315-97, especially 340 and 352.

<sup>61</sup> *La douce ciere* also was intended to open the section set aside for Bartolino's songs in **R** and **Sq**, respectively; see J. NÁDAS, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," 188, and IDEM, "The Reina Codex Revisited," 111, n. 47.

<sup>62</sup> See PIERLUIGI PETROBELLI, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968), 100-04. We lack a specific date for the suppression of the Papafava arms, but it should be noted that the work may also have been written before 1390. G. Thibault has read the poem as a piece honoring Galeazzo II, who died in 1378 (G. THIBAUT, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 144), and Kurt von Fischer interprets it as a work probably written against the Visconti (K. VON FISCHER, "Bartolino da Padova," *New Grove*, vol. 2, p. 226). See also A. HALLMARK, "Some Evidence for French Influence," 218. Patronage in Padua during the reign of Francesco il Novello has recently been studied by MARGARET PLANT, "Patronage in the Circle of the Carrara Family: Padua, 1337-1405," in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds. F.W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 177-99.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. P. PETROBELLI, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," 94-100. See also A. HALLMARK, "Some Evidence for French Influence," 216-18.

<sup>64</sup> G. THIBAUT, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 146-47. A. Hallmark points out the in-

herent ambiguity in the reference, as the name could belong to both families ("Some Evidence for French Influence," 218, n. 86). Dating and historical context of almost all works by Bartolino are rather difficult to pin down, because power struggles in northern Italy during the period ca. 1380-1410 were dynamic to the point of changing political contours from year to year.

<sup>65</sup> P. PETROBELLI, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," 105-09. The version in **Sq** shows that the later written tradition of this piece misunderstood the *senhal* "Caterina," adopting the spelling "cantar in alcun loco" rather than "CATAR IN Alcun loco." See also A. HALLMARK, "Some Evidence for French Influence," 218. It should be noted that yet another ballata by Bartolino may praise Giangaleazzo and his rule, *Nel sommo grado e senza error felice*, possibly written in the years 1388-90 (text in G. CORSI, *Poesie musicali*, 250).

<sup>66</sup> See G. CORSI, *Poesie musicali*, pp. XLIV-XLV; K. VON FISCHER, "Bartolino da Padova," *New Grove*, vol. 2, p. 226. An analysis of the madrigal offered by É. PELLEGRIN (*La Bibliothèque des Visconti... supplement*, 28-29) could be taken as a reading in support of the Visconti: the text, she points out, is little more than a description of the leopard device within the medallion at the foot of fol. 5r in Paris, B. N., MS lat. 7323 (Plate 95, detail on p. 28; reproduced as well in G. THIBAUT, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," Plate XII): "un léopard couché sur des flammes, la tête cachée dans un heaume surmonté d'une boule d'argent et de la guivre ailée, qui tient un phylactère d'or dont on ne déchiffre que les premier mots 'Souffrir m'estuet'." Nevertheless, it is the first line of the madrigal, *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*, that serves to immediately forge its anti-Visconti stance, for the emblem of the serpent is depicted as consuming, rather than holding or expelling, the human figure; see J. NÁDAS, "The Songs of Don Paolo," 58; LUCIANO ROSI, ed., *Giovanni Sercambi, Il Novelliere*, 3 vols. (Rome: Salerno, 1974), vol. 1, pp. XIX-XX, vol. 3, 203-04. Quite probably, then, older, established verses that had served well to describe Visconti glories were now turned against the family.

<sup>67</sup> S. CLERCX, *Johannes Ciconia*, vol. 1, 41-50; IDEM, "Johannes Ciconia," *New Grove*, vol. 4, p. 391; DAVID FALLOWS, "Ciconia padre e figlio," *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 9 (1976), 171-77; M. BENT and A. HALLMARK, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, pp. IX-XIII.

<sup>68</sup> In support of the 1393 date (or earlier), see S. CLERCX, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens," 119-21; IDEM, *Johannes Ciconia*, vol. 1, 90-92; IDEM, "Ancora su Johannes Ciconia," 588-89; N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 124, although in Part I, 131, he argues for 1406; N. PIRROTTA, "Echi di arie veneziane," 102; M. BENT and A. HALLMARK, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, p. X. Ettore Li Gotti supported the later date of 1406 ("Il Codice di Lucca," Part II, 121), and we also believe the ballata was composed after Francesco Novello's death, although the great ceremony attending the older Francesco's demise in 1393 is well docu-



Together with *Con lagreme* in our MS we find two other works which can more loosely be interpreted as texts on death — whether actual or amatory — one of which, *Merçè, o morte*, for the first time is attributed securely to Ciconia.<sup>69</sup> Their grouping in the MS may be explained not only through a shared theme, but also as a result of their independent transmission — as rather late works by the composer which apparently circulated independently of Ciconia's true section to be found later in the collection. Thus they could constitute a small added group of his pieces on folios which had remained blank-but-ruled at the end of Gathering 6. The fact that *Con lagreme* also survives in three text sources suggests that the work was "read" as an important political text, and thus it could circulate independently of its musical setting.<sup>70</sup> Such a phenomenon would also serve to explain the inclusion of politically sensitive settings in Tuscan anthologies during the first decade of the Quattrocento.<sup>71</sup>

We now return to the piece by Ciconia that has stood at the heart of discussions of the Lucca Codex, the madrigal *Una panthera in compagnia de Marte*. We wish to suggest a reading of the work as one which celebrates the military and civil protection that Giangaleazzo Visconti, represented as both Mars and Jupiter, could offer the city of Lucca (the panther):<sup>72</sup>

*Una panthera in compagnia de Marte,  
candido Jove d'un sereno adorno:  
costante è l'arm' e chi la guarda intorno.*

*Questa governa la città lucana:  
con soa dolceza el ciel(o) dispensa e dona,  
secondo el meritar, iusta corona,*

*Dando a ciascun mortal che ne sia degno  
triumfo, gloria e parte in questo regno.*

Heretofore, the work has been interpreted as praising the city of Lucca and its Lord, Paolo Guinigi, during the period of his *signoria*, 1400-1430, thus indicating the presence of Ciconia in Tuscany sometime during those years.<sup>73</sup> If our reading is correct, the text probably refers to a visit, much discussed at the time, by Lazzaro Guinigi (then representing the strongest governing faction in oligarchical Lucca) to Giangaleazzo's court in Pavia during May and June of 1399 for the purpose of drawing up an alliance between the

mented and could have served as the occasion for the song; the most recent discussion of the 1393 funeral is by HOWARD SAALMAN, "Carrara Burials in the Baptistery of Padua," *The Art Bulletin*, 69 (1987), 376. The name "Francesco" in the ballata *Gli atti col dançar* could refer either to Francesco Zabarella, Ciconia's mentor in Padua, or Francesco il Novello, rather than the feminine form of the name, Francesca, lacking such a clear association — *Gli atti col dançar* FRANCESCH' inançi passa (see E. LI GOTTI, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part II, 134-35).

<sup>69</sup> The other song is *La fiamma del to amor*.

<sup>70</sup> Text sources for *Con lagreme* are the following: **Ricc 1164**, **Trev**, and **P 1069**. This is the only work by Ciconia which seems not to have circulated in north-Italian music sources except in **Q15 I** and the tenor collection **PC**; although the ballata appears in a Paduan source (Padua, University Library, MS 656), the volume is not a music anthology (A. HALLMARK, "Evidence for French Influence," 213; M. BENT and A. HALLMARK, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, p. 210).

<sup>71</sup> Thus, we agree with the statement in the new Ciconia edition that the year 1406 would have been a "politically unsuitable time for anyone to express other than very private grief about the passing of a Carrara" (M. BENT and A. HALLMARK, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, p. X) — it was very private indeed. Florentine veneration of a Carrara who had stood up to Giangaleazzo's territorial ambitions would explain politically sympathetic settings in Tuscan collections (*Con lagreme* and *Inperiale, sedendo in Pit*, both honoring Francesco Carrara il Novello).

<sup>72</sup> For a conjectural earlier version of this text, one could exchange the positions of lines 5-6 with 7-8 in order to complete the syntax of line 4; lines 5 and 6 do, in fact, function well as a ritornello with a precise sense of finality and syntax.

<sup>73</sup> N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 124, 133. This has been questioned in the new Ciconia edition (M. BENT and A. HALLMARK, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, p. X).

two powers in the face of concerns over the Milanese takeover of Pisa in the same year.<sup>74</sup> In addition to the *capoverso*, the rest of the madrigal makes clear allusions to a situation in which Luccese citizens could expect to take their rightful place in Giangaleazzo's reign, sharing in the triumph, glory, and the sense of justice due subjects under this heavenly crown.<sup>75</sup>

Given this reading of *Una panthera*, we are inclined to suggest the presence of Johannes Ciconia at the Visconti court in Pavia during the 1390s and perhaps even during the final years of Giangaleazzo's reign, thus filling-in the period 1390-1401 when the composer's whereabouts cannot be documented; in fact, the first document attesting to his permanent presence in Padua dates from no earlier than 1403, although there is reason to believe that he may have been in Padua as early as 1401.<sup>76</sup> Ciconia's association with

<sup>74</sup> Documentary histories record the extended Visconti protection afforded the Guinigi and Lucca from late in 1398, when Lucca began definitively to move back into the orbit of the Visconti against the wishes of the Florentines, and continuing well beyond the time of Giangaleazzo's death in 1402 — thus including the early years of Paolo Guinigi's *signoria*. This entire period of positive Visconti-Guinigi relations is represented by the text of *Una panthera*. But if we wish to associate such a work with a single celebratory occasion, as undoubtedly was the case, then it seems to us that Lazzaro's visit to Pavia and the magnificent manner in which he was received is the most likely. The commemorative atmosphere is emphasized in the declamatory effect of the work's three texted parts, particularly in the homorhythmic, fanfare-like phrases of the ritornello. As Suzanne Clercx has observed, nowhere does the text make explicit allusion to Paolo Guinigi (S. CLERCX, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens," 115). For a contemporary account, see SALVATORE BONGI, ed., *Le Croniche di Giovanni Sercambi luccese*, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano, 1892), vol. 2, 264-72, and 278-79, including a drawing showing Lazzaro and his entourage enroute to Pavia. Luccese-Visconti relations at the end of the Trecento have been studied most thoroughly by CHRISTINE MEEK, *Lucca 1369-1400: Politics and Society in an Early Renaissance City-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 327-32; see also B. DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, Chapter XVII, especially 252-53; GIULIANO LUCARELLI, *I Visconti di Milano e Lucca risorta a Stato autonomo* (Lucca: Maria Pacini, 1984), Chapters VIII and IX. Ties between the Visconti and Guinigi shortly after the death of Giangaleazzo have recently been discussed by FRANCA RAGONE, "Ambizioni territoriali sulla Lunigiana viscontea dopo la morte di Gian Galeazzo. La cessione del vicariato di Carrara a Paolo Guinigi ad opera di Giovanni Colonna (1402- 1404)," *Archivio storico italiano*, 146 (1988), 543-82.

<sup>75</sup> The notion that Giangaleazzo, through military protection — and even war (i.e., as Mars) — could guarantee peace, freedom and justice (as Jupiter "d'un sereno adorno") throughout his dominions can also be found in the poetry of Francesco di Vannozzo, Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, Antonio Loschi, Simone Serdini, and an anonymous Tuscan poet of the 15th century: "All'orme sacre tue, giusta Corona [...] L'altre si gettan tutte in le tue braccia / perché tiran giamai non le disfaccia" (Vannozzo, in A. SAGREDO, "A Gian Galeazzo Visconti," pp. 142-61, sonnet no. 1, lines 10, 15-16); "Voi siete de Vertù chiamato conte / siete di pace e iusticia lucerna / [...] / sì che contento o pien d'alta speranza / vive l'bon servidor e chi è sogetto / a la vostr'ombra" (Dondi dall'Orologio, in G. CORSI, *Rimatori del Trecento*, 503); "[...] Tua prelia dulcem / tranquilla pariunt cum libertate quietem" (Loschi, in VITTORIO ZACCARIA, "Le epistole e i carmi di Antonio Loschi durante il cancellierato visconteo (con tredici inediti)," in *Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, serie VIII, vol. XVIII, fascicolo 5 [1975], 369-443, carme 38, lines 103-04); "principe di Milano / di Virtù Conte e di virtù dotato, / iusto, prudente, forte e temperato" (E. PASQUINI, *Simone Serdini da Siena detto il Saviozzo*, canzone 19, lines 109-11); "o chiara luce, o specchio, / o colonna, o sostegno, o franca spada, / che la nostra contrada / mantenevi sicura in monte e in piano" (Anon., in A. MEDIN, "I Visconti nella poesia contemporanea," 792). Mars and Jupiter recur frequently in poetry associated with Giangaleazzo, for example: "[...] Sol costui di Marte l' segno / fatto ha vittorioso e d'onor degno" (E. PASQUINI, *Simone Serdini da Siena detto il Saviozzo*, canzone 69 [written upon the death of Giangaleazzo], lines 254-55); "Imperiose comes, secli nova gloria nostri, / syderumque iubar, quo nec radiantius ullum / vidit uterque polus et solis utrumque cubile / quove unquam auguste nec maiestatis imago / clarior effulsit terris; te magnus Olympi / rector, in hos populos, tandem miseratus iniquam / Italie sortem, letis demisit ab astris, / virtutum comitante choro, quas dira cruentis / tempestas scelerum cecique ignavia mundi / expulerat terris. [...]" (V. ZACCARIA, "Le epistole e i carmi di Antonio Loschi," carme 38, lines 1-6).

<sup>76</sup> S. CLERCX, "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des manuscrits italiens," 117; IDEM, *Johannes Ciconia*, vol. 1, 38-42; IDEM, "Ancora su Johannes Ciconia," 578, 583-84; M. BENT and A. HALLMARK, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, p. IX; A. HALLMARK, "Some Evidence for French Influence," 204; A. HALLMARK, "Gratiosus, Ciconia, and Other Musicians at Padua Cathedral: Some Footnotes to Present Knowledge," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento*, VI, ed. Giulio Cattin (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1990) [forthcoming]; U. GÜNTHER, "Das Manuskript Modena," p. 33. R. Strohm has recently suggested that Ciconia must at least have sojourned briefly at the Pavian court, long

the Visconti has been already advanced by Ursula Günther and Reinhard Strohm, both noting that the virelai *Sus une fontayne*, his greatest work in *ars subtilior* style, must be taken as an homage to an older and esteemed composer at Pavia, Filippotto da Caserta, and that the “fountain” in its first line of text makes explicit reference to Giangaleazzo’s court.<sup>77</sup> The Lucca Codex includes yet another unique work, copied on the same page as that of *Una panthera*, that may be accepted as one of Ciconia’s written at the Visconti court — *Le ray au soleyl*.<sup>78</sup> Surely the fact that *Le ray* and *Una panthera* should be found together in the MS suggests not only Ciconia’s authorship of the former, but also the manner in which this repertory was disseminated: two works tied to the Visconti were copied together because they had already been so related in the scribe’s exemplar.<sup>79</sup> It now seems clear that, in view of the known dates of Ciconia’s Paduan residence, taken to-

enough to have come under the spell of Filippotto da Caserta and the circle of musicians there, and to have composed *Sus une fontayne* and *Le ray au soleyl* (“Filippotto da Caserta,” 73-74).

<sup>77</sup> The musical and textual citations are from three ballades by Filippotto da Caserta: *En remirant*, *En attendant souffrir m’estuet* and *De ma doulour*. We note the full motto of Bernabò Visconti in G. THIBAUT, “Emblèmes et devises des Visconti,” Plate XII, and LUCIANO ROSSI, ed., *Giovanni Sercambi, Il Novelliere*, Novella CLI. *En attendant* may date from the year of Bernabò’s death, 1385; R. Strohm suggests that it was written as an act of homage (“Filippotto da Caserta,” 71). On the practice of musical quotations in this period, see URSULA GÜNTHER, “Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior,” *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), 53-68; IDEM, “Problems of Dating,” 294. Most recently, Maria Carmen Gómez has studied citations in ballades by Trebor and related composers, one case involving an intricate series of textual and musical interrelationships among a number of songs grouped together in **Ch** (see “La musique à la maison royale,” 139-51).

Filippotto himself must have set the fashion for musical quotations at Pavia (already known from the French orbit of the Machaut and post-Machaut generations) with clear references to Machaut’s ballades *De triste cuer* and *Ploures dames* in his own *En remirant* (see G. REANEY, “Philippus de Caserta,” *New Grove*, vol. 14, p. 653). Other musical and/or textual quotations to be found in works possibly originating at the Pavian court include the following: Antonello da Caserta followed suit with a snippet of Vaillant’s *Par maintes fois* in the refrain of *Dame d’onour en qui* (**Mod A**, fol. 40v; see WILLI APEL and SAMUEL N. ROSENBERG, eds., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, 3 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 53 [n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970], vol. 1, p. XXXIII, and GORDON K. GREENE, ed., *French Secular Music, Ballades and Canons*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 20 [Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1982], p. 248; Vaillant’s song, let us remember, is included in the Lucca Codex); Matteo da Perugia’s *Se je me plaing* contains passages from Machaut’s ballades *Se je me plaing* and *De fortune* (see U. GÜNTHER, “Matteo da Perugia,” *New Grove*, vol. 11, p. 830); a series of textually affiliated chansons beginning with the phrase “En attendant,” including Filippotto da Caserta’s ballade mentioned above (R. STROHM, “Filippotto da Caserta,” 69-70). Less clear is the suggestion that the first phrase of Antonello da Caserta’s *Beauté parfaite* is a “modified quotation” of the beginning of Jacob Senleche’s *La harpe de melodie* (JEREMY YUDKIN, *Music in Medieval Europe* [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989], 569), and Gordon Greene’s observation that *La harpe de melodie* in its harp-shaped redaction may have served as model for Baude Cordier’s *Tout par compas* (**Ch**, fol. 12r; GORDON K. GREENE, *French Secular Music, Manuscript Chantilly*, Musée Condé 564, Part I, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 18, p. X). The latter suggestion, though, is quite tantalizing in view of the possibility that Cordier may have brought *La harpe de melodie* with him to Italy or he may have come to know the work in its Pavian copy during a trip to Milan in 1391 with Philip the Bold (accepting the identification of Cordier with Baude Fresnel; see CRAIG WRIGHT, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419: A Documentary History* [Henryville, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979], 125-27). See note 81, below.

<sup>78</sup> G. THIBAUT, “Emblèmes et devises des Visconti,” 158, and R. STROHM, “Filippotto da Caserta,” 69 and 73; the song is considered an *opus dubium* by M. BENT and A. HALLMARK, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, pp. 177-78. Apart from the “Bon droit” motto and the emblem of the sun, we note the bold manner in which the word “tortorelle” has been set in relief on fol. LXXXIIIr of the Lucca Codex.

<sup>79</sup> *Fugir non posso*, lacking an attribution in Lucca (Gathering 11, in which almost all works were so copied) is found elsewhere together with secure Ciconia works: *Merçè, o morte* in **BU** and *Con lagreme* in **PC**. This element may suggest including *Fugir* with Ciconia’s secure compositions, especially if we may attribute deliberate choices in compositional styles to the composer, as N. Pirrotta has done (“Echi di arie veneziane,” 99-102). For a discussion of the origins of **PC** and its scribal and repertorial ties to **Ox 213**, see HANS SCHOOP, *Entstehung und Verwendung der Handschrift Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen musik-

gether with the inclusion of Ciconia’s songs from both Pavia and Padua and the already noted pride of place afforded Padua’s native son Bartolino, the main corpus (Layers I and II) of the Lucca Codex was most likely compiled and copied at Padua by a musically skilled scribe associated with an as yet unidentified institution.

Another aspect of *Le ray au soleyl*, we believe, serves to place it within Pavian circles, and that is its compositional artifice as a (proportional) canon. Such manipulation of musical material can be seen in the collection of related songs in **Mod A** — Matteo da Perugia’s *Andray soulet*, Magister Egardus’ canonic motet *Furnos reliquisti quare*, and, in this context, even Zacara’s caccia *Cacciando per gustar*. The four-part rondeau by Antonio da Cividale in the Lucca Codex, *Vous soyés tres bien venus* (fol. LXXIVr), also seems to be a candidate for inclusion in this group of works, for its text consists of nothing more than performance directions: “Vous soyés tres bien venus mes loyauls et vrays amans; or ciantés de jus en sus [...] je me voi de bas in bus [...].” Although the instructions in the text are not entirely clear in their meaning, we are grateful to James Haar for discovering a most delightful solution (see Appendix C for a transcription). The Tenor (2-bar phrase) and Contratenor (4-bar phrase) are to sing their little snippets forward and backward throughout the piece, thus lending the work a slightly more complex ostinato than had previously been imagined, but thereby more fully supporting an upervoice counterpoint that rocks back and forth between A and G sonorities.<sup>80</sup> In this context, we must note that one of the most important surviving compendia of theoretical writings from the period, today housed at the Newberry Library, includes among its treatises a song by Jacob Senleches, *La harpe de melodie*, well known to us for its canonic writing and manner of visual presentation. This volume, or at least a good portion of it, was copied in Pavia in 1391. Among the writings it contains are treatises attributed to Filippotto da Caserta, Johannes de Muris, and Marchetto da Padova. We would also wish to note in this regard the notational complexities of a number of works appearing in **Mod A**, most notably those with proportional relationships expressed as fractions for the first time in the French songs of Antonello da Caserta.<sup>81</sup>

forschenden Gesellschaft, II/24 (Bern: Haupt, 1971), 79-85.

<sup>80</sup> G. REANEY, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. 5 (1975), pp. XVI, XXIV, 5-6. Another song by Antonio da Cividale employing a canon is his virelai *Je suy si las venus* (G. REANEY, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. 5, pp. XVI, 7-9).

<sup>81</sup> On Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 54.1, see KURT VON FISCHER, “Eine wiederaufgefundene Theoretikerhandschrift des späten 14. Jahrhunderts (Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 54.1 — olim Codex cujusdam ignoti bibliophili Vindobonensis),” *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 3rd series, 1 (1972), 23-33, and JAN W. HERLINGER, *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 35-37. For the most recent study of proportional complexities and their notation in this period, see ANNA MARIA BUSSE BERGER, “The Origin and Early History of Proportion Signs,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41 (1988), 403-33. That *La harpe de melodie* would have been copied precisely at Pavia is significant, for compositions by Senleches and other musicians represented in **Mod A** could easily have been brought to the court. The Visconti musician Jaquet Noyon, documented in payment records of the 1380s (see note 54), appears at the court of Navarre once with “Jaquemin de Senleches, jongleur de harpe,” and, as Maria Carmen Gómez points out, his name is present next to that of Johan Simon de Haspre in the **Ch** ballade *Puisque je sui fumeux* (“La musique a la maison royale,” 114, 122). In this context, it is of the utmost relevance that Karl Kügle of New York University has recently suggested that the Ivrea Codex is very likely a product of Ivrea cathedral, compiled by two Savoyard clerics during the 1380s and ’90s, thus identifying one of the central sources of the late Ars Nova as another “French source made in Italy;” in light of the ties between the courts of the Visconti and Savoy, the Ivrea Codex thus would signal another likely avenue for the dissemination of foreign secular and sacred repertories in northern Italy (“Codex Ivrea Bibl. Cap. 115: A French Source ‘Made in Italy,’” [forthcoming], versions of which were read at the *Simposio Internacional sobre el Códice de Las Huelgas*, Cuenca, Spain, 1987, and the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, New Orleans, 1987; we are grateful to the author for sharing his research with us prior to publication).



Given the repertory traced above and the observation that the main corpus of music can be tied to the courts of Pavia and Padua, it is of some interest not only that our MS contains a significant number of unique songs by Antonio Zacara da Teramo, but also that this composer's career has recently been outlined in some detail and that he can be placed in northern Italy at least during the period 1407-13.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, although many of his pieces are autobiographical in character, nothing in the texts themselves would point confidently to these centers. We know that Zacara probably left Rome with Pope Gregory XII in 1407 and visited Siena and Lucca on the way to Rimini and Cividale as a member of Gregory's curia.<sup>83</sup> But his next documented post is as a singer, and then *maestro di cappella*, during the years 1412-13 in John XXIII's chapel resident in Bologna.<sup>84</sup>

In considering where Zacara may have worked in the interim period (1408-1412), it may not be too farfetched to suggest that he sojourned at the court at Pavia during the reign of Giovanni Maria Visconti (1402-1412). Surely the inclusion of his secular works not only in **Mod A**, but also in **Fa**, **Pz** and a literary source at the Ambrosian Library in Milan, would suggest rather direct access to his songs by the principal copyist of our manuscript. The musicians referred to in the Latin ballade *Sumite karissimi* (**Mod A**) could be members of the Pavian court in the years following Giangaleazzo's death; *Sol me trafige 'l cor* may have been written in praise of the Visconti heraldic eagle; *Le suy navvrés*, perhaps as a satire of Florentine intellectualism; and other songs in the Lucca Codex and elsewhere, such as *Benché lontan* and *Ad ogne vento*, may describe his changing fortunes during a period of unsuccessful search for patronage.<sup>85</sup>

Among the six pieces in the Lucca Codex by Francesco Landini, three are also transmitted in the northern sources **GR 16**, **Pad A**, **R**, and **Trev** (text source), while the other three songs (*Va' pur, Amore*; *Ma' non s'andrà* and *L'alma mie piange*) are included only in Florentine collections and our source. This would suggest that access to Florentine repertory may have been more direct for the scribe of our MS than it was for the compilers of **R**. Moreover, if we consider that the Landini section in the Lucca Codex might have been quite large, with a high number of works occupying the surviving leaves and missing Gathering 5, then it would appear that our MS contained about the same number of Landini songs as does **R**, but not necessarily the same ones, as is demonstrated with the three latter examples.

It is not until well within the third layer of compilation (Gathering 11)

<sup>82</sup> N. PIRROTTA, "Zacharus Musicus" and "Zachara da Teramo;" A. ZIINO, "Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo;" RICHARD SHERR, "Notes on Some Papal Documents in Paris," *Studi musicali*, 12 (1983), 6-13; J. NÁDAS, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo."

<sup>83</sup> It is also noteworthy that Mass compositions by Zacara survive in fragments at Siena, Padua and Cividale; see G. REANEY, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. 6 (1976), pp. XIX-XXX, and K. VON FISCHER and F. ALBERTO GALLO, eds., *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, pp. 263-70.

<sup>84</sup> J. NÁDAS, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo," 178-79.

<sup>85</sup> Similarly, *Un fiore gentil* could allude to a patron who indeed favored Zacara. *Sol me trafige 'l cor l'aquila bella*, which under its veiled amorous expressions can be read as a desire on Zacara's part to return to a former patron, perhaps Francesco Novello (after 1401) or Giovanni Maria Visconti. In this context, the ballata *Spesso, Fortuna, cridote*, found at the bottom of a page on which the work above — *Ad ogne vento* — is attributed to Zacara, and below which was begun the Contratenor to the latter, could also be the composer's, based on musical and textual elements in common with the above-mentioned songs; it has been accepted as Zacara's by N. Pirrotta ("Zacharus Musicus," 157, and "Zachara da Teramo," 134). *Donna, posso io sperare* on fol. LVr may also be his, judging from its position and because it shares features with secure songs by Zacara, including the two new ballatas recently discovered; we note the late attribution to Niccolò da Perugia over what seems to be an erased "Magister Zacharias" (?) (see note 36).

that we note a change in the copying of songs. Evidently, the principal copyist had left the location in which one of the finishing touches of manuscript production for the earlier layers of the source could continue to be implemented: the initial capitals. The lack of guide numbers for an eventual foliation leads us to suspect that Scribe A may never have intended these leaves as part of the more formal collection seen in Gatherings 1-10.<sup>86</sup> If such is the case, then the group of songs in this gathering could represent from the start a somewhat separate, composite collection, taken from various exemplars in which attributions were lacking. Here we find songs now known, or supposed to be, by famous composers (Bartolino, Ciconia, Zacara), juxtaposed with pieces in an archaic musical style (the madrigal *O pensieri vani*), anonymous French chansons, and others reflecting more popularizing tendencies (*De tristo mi topinello* and *I' senti' matutino*). Thus the copyist may have initiated this miscellany and continued to keep such pieces apart from the central collection at the same time as he compiled the latter.

An analysis of the songs in Gathering 11 leads us to speculate that the volume did not enter Florence until fols. XCVIIv-Cv were filled by Scribes B and C. Several of the songs in the earlier portion of the gathering exhibit north-Italian linguistic features, among them *Piangono l'ochi*, *Fugir non posso*, *De tristo mi topinello*, and *Mille merçè*.<sup>87</sup> There are, moreover, works very close in their musical style to those of Zacara (*Aymè, per tutto l'or* and *Spinato intorno*) and Ciconia (*Non credo, donna* and, perhaps, *Fugir non posso*), which would also support their copying north of Tuscany.<sup>88</sup> But a note of caution is sounded by the lack of an attribution for *Inperiale sedendo*; surely, if Scribe A had copied the work in Padua, he would most likely have known it as a song by Bartolino da Padova.<sup>89</sup> This fact leads us to suggest that the principal scribe left Padua for the South with his music book and continued to collect works at the most important musical centers of the period located between Tuscany and the North, in *primis* Pisa and Bologna and their papal chapels in the years 1409-10.<sup>90</sup>

The final leaves contain songs strictly tied to Florence, beginning with the work of Scribe B on fol. XCIIv (Landini's *S'i' ti so' stato*). Certainly the works of local Florentines such as Stefani and Bonaiutus (?) Pitor, songs known only in the Lucca Codex, point to Florence as the likely destination of our source.<sup>91</sup> The last two songs entered in the gathering are ballatas by

<sup>86</sup> His placement of guide letters at the start of a piece can be seen as habit and not necessarily as an indication that he intended these leaves to include colored initial capitals; support for this observation lies in the fact that Scribes B and C also worked in the same manner.

<sup>87</sup> See N. PIRROTTA, "Il Codice di Lucca," Part III, 138-40. The text of *De, tristo mi topinello* was later set by Johannes de Erfordia in a more popular style, and it survives in the Faenza Codex. We would also include in this short list of northern songs *I' senti' matutino* which, notwithstanding its later attribution to Andrea Stefani in the margin of fol. LXXXIXv, in fact fits poorly the more conservative musical and poetic styles of Andrea's madrigal and ballata on fols. XCVIIIr-XCIXr; it may perhaps represent an intentional popularizing style by Stefani (N. PIRROTTA, *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 5, pp. III and V).

<sup>88</sup> The musical citations of *Rosetta* and *Un fiore gentil* in the anonymously transmitted ballata *Spinato intorno* could represent, as in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*, a gesture of homage toward Zacara. *Spinato intorno* may have been written in a circle within which the composer was esteemed and in which he held a significant position: the papal chapel in Bologna where he served as *maestro di cappella*. Even a ballata known elsewhere only in a Florentine source (*Tal sotto l'acqua*, attributed to Niccolò da Perugia in Sq) appears here with a Tenor part different enough to suggest that it was copied outside the Florentine orbit.

<sup>89</sup> If *Non credo, donna* is Ciconia's, then it too would have been attributed to the composer had the redaction taken place in Padua.

<sup>90</sup> The work very near the start of Gathering 11 similar in style to secure songs of Zacara (*Aymè, per tutto l'or*) could have been heard and copied in Bologna.

<sup>91</sup> As a composer, Bonaiutus Pitor is found elsewhere only in the Florentine collection **Lo**; moreover, he has been securely documented as a painter in Florence during the late Trecento and early Quattrocento (see N. PIRROTTA, *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 5, p. III, and

Paolo Tenorista, copied by one of the principal scribes of the composer's major source, **Pit**. The dating of our MS to *ca.* 1410 is thus closely tied to attempts to date **Pit** and scribally related Florentine sources to *ca.* 1406-08.<sup>92</sup> It is the presence of these works copied by Scribe C that permits us confidently to assert Florence — and not Lucca — as the Tuscan city which must have received this northern collection in the early years of the century. Further confirmation that the manuscript was in Florence in the early 15th century may be found in the last addition to the source on fols. XXv-XXIr, *Dueil angoisseux*, copied into the Lucca Codex during the 1430s-40s (?): the only other central-Italian collection to contain Binchois' ballade is **RU**<sub>2</sub>, which once belonged to Piero de' Medici.<sup>93</sup>

In summary, the analysis we have presented strongly supports the hypothesis that the Lucca Codex originated in Padua with the compilation of songs composed and otherwise known at the courts of the Visconti and Carrara during the years *ca.* 1390-1408, and that the collection later accompanied its principal copyist outside the Veneto. The composers represented in Layers I and II for the most part can be shown to have pursued careers at Pavia and Padua: Bartolino da Padova, Johannes Ciconia, Antonello da Caserta, and perhaps even Antonio Zacara da Teramo. As such, the collection constitutes the primary source for their works, not only for its high proportion of *unica* but also because the readings themselves are the closest we have from circles around the composers. The fresh perspective we have gained of Giangaleazzo's court allows us, despite its previous relative obscurity, to easily rank it among the major centers of musical activity in late 14th-century Italy. In terms of the sheer brilliance of its musical life, it stands as the great north-Italian counterpart to Florence, which has shone so brightly due largely to the magnificence of its surviving written tradition. What Florentine repertory was copied into the early layers probably formed part of an exported collection of songs, some also known in other Veneto sources. The third layer of compositions added by the principal scribe may well include music he heard at the Council of Pisa or at one of the two papal

E. LI GOTTI, "Per la biografia di due minori musicisti," 103-05).

<sup>92</sup> U. GÜNTHER, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 23 (1966), 73-92, and IDEM, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B.N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 24 (1967), 99-119; J. NÁDAS, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista," 50-52, 59-64; URSULA GÜNTHER, JOHN NÁDAS and JOHN STINSON, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence," *Musica Disciplina*, 41 (1987), 212. It seems reasonable to accept Günther's dating for the work of this scribe in **Pit**, thus providing a reference for his other copying activities, and we may therefore view the end of the first decade of the fifteenth century as a *terminus ante quem* for the compilations of **Pit**, the Lucca Codex, the Lowinsky fragment (**Lw**; NINO PIRROTTA, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'Ars Nova," *Musica Disciplina*, 10 [1956], 61-66 and IDEM, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova*), the Florence National Library fragment (**Fn F.5.5**; MARIO FABBRI and JOHN NÁDAS, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts," *Early Music History*, 3 [1983], 67-81), and the new Perugia fragment (**Cil**; BIANCAMARIA BRUMANA and GALLIANO CILIBERTI, "Nuove fonti per lo studio dell'opera di Paolo da Firenze," *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 22 [1987], 3-33). Together with **Pit**, the first of the Florentine collections to strongly reflect the importation of north-Italian song repertory is **Lo**; see CONSTANCE C. GARFORTH, "The Lo Manuscript: A Trecento Collection," 2 vols., Ph. D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, vol. 1, 35-79, although the suggestion that portions of the MS itself derive from northern Italy may be questioned.

<sup>93</sup> Inventories of the Medici library from the 1450s and '60s record this Vatican source; see FRANCIS AMES-LEWIS, "The Inventories of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici's Library," *La Bibliofilia*, 84 (1982), 103-42, especially 128, and IDEM, *The Library and Manuscripts of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici* (New York: Garland, 1984; originally a Ph. D. Dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1977). The analysis of variant readings in WOLFGANG REHM, ed., *Die Chansons von Gilles Binchois (1400-1460)*, *Musikalische Denkmäler*, 2 (Mainz: Schott's Söhne, 1957), pp. 45-47, 63, and 72, would support our speculation that the Lucca Codex redaction of *Dueil angoisseux* may be one of the earliest.

chapels in Bologna toward the end of the first decade of the Quattrocento. The collection as a whole, then, stands as a mirror to the music cultivated at the most active north-Italian courts and, at the same time, as testament to the avant-garde musical tastes of its compiler. The contents of the final leaves and the presence of a significant scribal concordance reveal that the volume concluded its southbound journey in Florence *ca.* 1410. As fortune would have it, a good portion of the source survived, because nearly two centuries later it was sold to the curators of the archives in Lucca to be used as binding material for their records.



Preface to the Inventory

The inventory provides the following information on the contents of the Lucca Codex: (1) three sets of foliation — the original roman numbers placed in the upper right corners of the leaves, a modern pagination to be found in the lower left margins (excluding the Perugia folios and new Lucca leaves), and Nino Pirrotta’s series of numbers; (2) incipit, consisting of the first line of text; (3) text/music form; (4) number of texted and untexted voices; (5) designated voice types; (6) composer attribution; (7) concordances, to include sources, folios, voices/texting, and attributions; (8) remarks. An alphabetical index of *capoversi* has been included after the inventory.

Regarding foliation numbers, we have provided a full sequence of original roman numerals so as to render the position of each work comprehensible within the whole, enclosing in square brackets any number or parts thereof that derive from the logic of the reconstruction seen in Diagram 1. We have, however, regularized long formulations: thus, XXXVIII becomes XXXIX. We have also removed from the inventory the asterisks which distinguished guide foliation numbers from the red roman numerals in the manuscript reconstruction seen above. In the case of concordant source **Lo**, citation of foliation numbers follows Gilbert Reaney’s published inventory of the source.<sup>94</sup> The orthography of the incipits follow the Cantus part, if it survives, even in cases of considerable divergence among the voices. If the Cantus is lacking, we have followed the text of the Tenor or Contratenor parts. We have regularized texts in the following ways: consonant “u” has been rendered as “v;” long *j*, as regular *i*; *o* and *a*, when used as the verb “to have,” as *ò* and *à*; all abbreviations are resolved. We have added missing capitals in square brackets; however, if such letters appear anywhere within the setting or *residuum* text, then the incipit is given in full without square brackets. Abbreviations used for poetic/music forms are the following: M = madrigal; B = ballata; Bd = ballade; R = rondeau; V = virelai; Can = canon.

The use of question marks in designating the number of voices and those carrying a text is the following: if superscripted, the mark indicates that we have no way of knowing if missing parts carried text; if not superscripted, then the number of voice parts is in question. Missing voice parts are shown in square brackets.

Attributions in our MS are given exactly as they appear, folio by folio; split names remain separated if an opening contains two works by the same composer, one on each side. A full attribution split across an opening is given for a single work if the entire composition is copied across the opening. Naturally, an incomplete attribution in the inventory may also indicate missing folios. All names have been capitalized: Christian, toponymic, descriptive and surnames.

If an attribution in a concordant source is essentially the same as that in the Lucca Codex and remains constant for the composer in question, then it is given only for the first occurrence in the MS. Variations in toponymic and descriptive names have been noted. If a song is not attributed in the Lucca Codex, no name is shown under the “Composer” heading; unattributed works in concordant sources are shown as “Anon.” A name that was erased, but is now visible with the help of ultraviolet light, is followed by the indication “erased” in the remarks column.

<sup>94</sup> GILBERT REANEY, “The Manuscript London, B. M., Additional 29987 (Lo),” *Musica Disciplina*, 12 (1958), 67-91; the inventory was reprinted in the introduction of G. REANEY, ed., *The Manuscript London, B.M., Additional 29987, A Facsimile Edition*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 13 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1965).

General remarks include selected comments on Lucca Codex readings as well as codicological information on other sources, dating of works, contrafacts, bibliographical references (see full listing at the end of this study) and citations in Prodenzani’s *Il Saporetto* (“**Sa**” followed by an arabic numeral designates the number of the sonnet in Santorre Debenedetti, *Il “Sollazzo”*. *Contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel Trecento* [Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1922], Appendix B).

Manuscript Sigla

Music Sources

This listing of sources provides the letter sigla (in boldface) employed in this study, as well as older manuscript sigla possibly still in use. References to source catalogues are the following:

<b>RISM</b> =	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i> . Series B IV:2, <i>Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (ca. 1320-1400)</i> , ed. Gilbert Reaney (Munich, 1969); Series B IV:3 and IV:4, <i>Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , eds. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, 2 vols. (Munich, 1972)
<b>CCMS</b> =	<i>Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550</i> , Renaissance Manuscript Studies, I (American Institute of Musicology): Vol. 1, A-J (1979); Vol. 2, K-O (1982); Vol. 3, P-U (1984); Vol. 4, V-Z and Supplement (1988)
<b>Bc I</b>	Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, fonds St. Gudule, Frag. I. Both half-folios of this leaf have been found; see FERNAND LECLERCQ, “Questions à propos d’un fragment récemment découvert d’une chanson du XIVE siècle: une autre version de ‘Par maintes fois ai owi’ de Johannes Vaillant,” in <i>Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts</i> , Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, 10, eds. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel, 1984), 197-228
<b>BU</b>	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216 [BoIU 2216] (CCMS, I:1, 88)
<b>Bu 596</b> ,	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 596, busta HH2 <sup>1</sup> (RISM, B IV:4, 738-39)
<b>Bux</b>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus, 3725 (olim Cim. 352b) (Buxheimer Orgelbuch) (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Musikhandschriften, Bd, 5:2. <i>Tabulaturen und Stimmbücher bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts</i> , ed. Marie Louise Göllner [Munich, 1979], 159-171)
<b>Ca B</b>	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Communale, MS B. 1328 (CaB) (RISM, B IV:2, 119-28)
<b>Ch</b>	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, MS 564 [ChantMC 564] (RISM, B IV:2, 128-60; CCMS, I:1, 147-48; I:4, 329)
<b>Cil</b>	Perugia, MS fragment in the library of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana (BIANCAMARIA BRUMANA and GALLIANO CILIBERTI, “Nuove fonti per lo studio dell’opera di Paolo da Firenze,” <i>Rivista italiana di musicologia</i> , 22 [1987], 3-33)
<b>Esc A</b>	El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS V.III.24 (CCMS, I:1, 212-13; I:4, 368)
<b>Esc B</b>	El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS IV.a.24 (CCMS, I:1, 211-12; I:4, 368)
<b>Fa</b>	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 117 [Faenza, FaenBC 117, Codex “Bonadies,” FC] (RISM, B IV:4, 898-920; CCMS, I:1, 215-16; I:4, 369)
<b>FN 59</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX, 59 (BIANCA BECHERINI, <i>Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze</i> [Kassel, 1959], 22-29)
<b>Fn F. 5.5</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5
<b>FP</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichiano 26 [FP 26, FN, FI, F, Pan, Panc 26] (RISM, B IV:4, 835-96; CCMS, I:1, 231-32; I:4, 375)
<b>GR 16</b>	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia Greca di San Nilo, MS E.β. XVI (olim 374) [GA, Gro, Grot] (RISM, B IV:4, 921-23)
<b>GR 197</b>	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia Greca di San Nilo, MS Collocazione provvisoria 197 [Gr, G] (RISM, B IV:4, 923-26; CCMS, I:1, 255-56; I:4, 395)

<b>Lo</b>	London, The British Library, MS Add. 29987 [L, LO, LB, B] (RISM, B IV:4, 631-53)
<b>Loch</b>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Mus. 40613 ( <i>olim</i> Wernigerode, Fürstlich Stolbergsche Bibliothek, Zb 14) (Lochamer Liederbuch) (CCMS, I:1, 58-59)
<b>Lucca</b>	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 [Man; Mn, LM, Luc, “Lucca Codex,” “Mancini Codex”] (RISM, B IV:4, 929-47; CCMS, I:2, 125-26) and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale “Augusta,” MS 3065 [ManP; Mn P, PerBC] (RISM, B IV:4, 1008-12; CCMS, I:3, 45-46)
<b>Lw</b>	Chicago, MS fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky; now Newberry Library, Case MS Mlo96.P36
<b>Mod A</b>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS $\alpha$ .M.5.24 [Mod, ModE M.5.24, ME, M] (RISM, B IV:4, 950-81; CCMS, I:2, 168-69)
<b>Mu</b>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 3192
<b>MuEm</b>	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS latinus monacensis 14274 ( <i>olim</i> Ms Mus. 3232a) [Em; “St. Emmeram Codex”] (CCMS, I:2, 239-40; I:4, 445-46)
<b>Ox 213</b>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici miscellaneous 213 [O 213; Ox, O, OxfBC 213] (CCMS, I:2, 275-76)
<b>Pad A</b>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Pat. lat. 229 [Pad A 229; OB, Ox, PadO] (RISM, B IV:4, 668-71; CCMS, I:2, 277); Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 684 [Pad A 684; PadU 684] (RISM, B IV:4, 990-92; CCMS, I:3, 7); Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1475 [Pad A 1475; PadU 1475] (RISM, B IV:4, 998-1002; CCMS, I:3, 10-11)
<b>Pad B</b>	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1115 [Pad B 1115; PadU 1115] (RISM, B IV:4, 995-96; CCMS, I:3, 8-9)
<b>Pad 656</b>	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 656 (RISM, B IV:4, 988)
<b>Par</b>	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Frammenti musicali, Armadio B, busta n° 75 [PA 75] (RISM, B IV:4, 1005-07; CCMS, I:3, 37-38)
<b>PC</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS n. a. fr. 4379 [PC I, II, III; ParisBNN 4379] (CCMS, I:3, 29-31; I:4, 463) and Sevilla, Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina, MS 5-1-43 [PC I is part of Paris, B. N., n. a. fr. 4379] (CCMS, I:3, 139-40)
<b>Pist</b>	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, MS B 3 n. 5 (RISM, B IV:4, 1013-16; CCMS, I:3, 50-51; I:4, 465)
<b>Pit</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds it. 568 [P, PI, It, PN, ParisBNI 568] (RISM, B IV:3, 436-85; CCMS, I:3, 25-26)
<b>Pix</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 15123 (Pixérécourt Chansonnier) (CCMS, I:3, 23-24)
<b>Pz</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS n. a. fr. 4917 [P49, PN] (CCMS, I:3, 32; I:4, 464)
<b>Q15</b>	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 15 [BL; BolC Q15] (CCMS, I:1, 69-70; I:4 274)
<b>Q15 I</b>	Early layer of <b>Q15</b> replaced by the scribe of the collection (study forthcoming by Margaret Bent)
<b>R</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS n. a. fr. 6771 [“Reina Codex,” PR, PN, Rei] (RISM, B IV:3, 485-549; CCMS, I:3, 33-34; I:4, 464)
<b>RU<sub>2</sub></b>	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 1411 [RU-(2)] (CCMS, I:4, 68)
<b>Sie</b>	Siena, Archivio di Stato, MSS Frammenti di musiche, No. 207 ( <i>olim</i> 326-327) (CCMS, I:3, 153)
<b>SL</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo 2211 [SL 2211] (FRANK D’ACCONE, “Una nuova fonte dell’ <i>Ars nova</i> italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211,” <i>Studi musicali</i> , 13 (1984), 3-31; JOHN NADAS, “The Transmis-

	sion of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages,” Ph.D., New York University, 1985, 455-86)
<b>Sq</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Mediceo-Palatino 87 [“Squarcialupi Codex,” FL, Pal. 87, S] (RISM, B IV:4, 755-832)
<b>Str</b>	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 222.C.22 [Str 222; SV] (RISM, B IV:3, 550-92; CCMS, I:3, 163-64)
<b>Tr 88</b>	Trent, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 88 (CCMS, I:3, 224-25)
<b>Wolk A</b>	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2777 [Wolkenstein A] (RISM, B IV:3, 98-104; CCMS, I:4, 85)
<b>Wolk B</b>	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, MS without shelfmark [Wolkenstein B] (RISM, B IV:3, 80-89; CCMS, I:1, 286-87; I:4, 410)

## Text Sources

<b>Ambr</b>	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS E.56 Sup.
<b>Chig 131</b>	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi L.IV.131
<b>Chig 266</b>	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi L.VII.266
<b>Marc 223</b>	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS XIV, lat. 223
<b>P 1069</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds it. 1069
<b>Ricc 1764</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1764
<b>Ricc 2735</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2735
<b>Ricc 2871</b>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2871
<b>Roh</b>	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17 (Hamilton 674) (Chansonnier Rohan)
<b>Trev</b>	Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 43

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrotta's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
(20 folios lacking?)			
GATHERING 3			
(1 folio lacking)			
XXr 1 1a	<i>La douce ciere d'un fier animal</i>	M 3 <sup>2</sup>	[C] T Ct
XXv-XX[I]r 2-3 1a'-2a	<i>Donna liçadra de çafir vestita</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
XXv-XX[I]r 2-3 1a'-2a	<i>Dueil angoisseux, rage desmesurée</i>	Bd 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
XX[I]v 4 2a'	<i>Serva çiaschuno chom'è facto a luy</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
XX[I]v 4 2a'	<i>Rechordete de mi, madonna mia</i>	B 3 <sup>1</sup>	[C] [T] Ct (i)

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
de Padua	R, 13v-14r; Anon. FP, 108v-109r; Fra Bartolino da Perugia Pit, 41v-42r (2 <sup>2</sup> ) Lo, 14v-15r (3 <sup>1</sup> ) Sq, 101v-102r (3 <sup>1</sup> ); Magister Frater Bartolinus de Padua SL, 7v-8r (= XXXVIIv-XXXVIIIr); F. B. Fa, 71r-72r; Anon.	FP: addition; Dated by Petrobelli ca. 1395-1405; Sa, # 25
de Padua	R, 18v Sq, 108v SL, 32v-33r (= XLIIv-XLIIIr)	Palimpsest
Binchoy	Mu, 20v (only 1st part) MuEm, 107r Esc A, 36v-38r (3 <sup>1</sup> ) Esc B, 15v-17r RU <sub>2</sub> , 6v-7r Tr 88, 204v-205r: <i>Aeterne rerum conditor</i> Bux, 32v-33r; Anon. Roh, 33r-33v (text only)	Copied over <i>Donna liçadra</i> in order to make use of its capital D; Tr 88: alternative Contratenors, each voice also carries the incipit <i>De langwesus</i> (see Gerber, pp. 247-48); Text by Christine de Pisan
Fratris Bartholini		
[Bartolino da Padova]	Pz, 24v (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. Sq, 117r (2 <sup>2</sup> ) SL, 36r (= XLVIr)	

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
(4 folios lacking)			
[XXVI]r 5 2b	<i>Zoya de novi odori</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XXVI]v 6 2b'	<i>Per un verde boschetto</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XXVII]r 7 1b	<i>La sacrosancta karità d'amore</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XXVII]v 8 1b'	<i>Perché cangiato è 'l mondo da l'anticho</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C [T]
(1 folio lacking)			
GATHERING 4			
(1 folio lacking)			
XXXr 9 3a	<i>Le aurate chiome nodose et avolte</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	[C] T
XXXv-XXX[I]r 10-11 3a'-4a	<i>Sempre, donna, t'amay de pura voglia</i>	B 3 <sup>2</sup>	C T Ct

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
de Padua	R, 24r; Anon. Sq, 119v-120r SL, 37r ( - XLVIIr)	R: text incomplete
Fratis Bartholini	R, 23v (3 <sup>3</sup> ); Anon. FP, 66r; Fra Bartolino Pit, 39v-40r (3 <sup>3</sup> ) Lo, 80v-81r (3 <sup>3</sup> ); M[adrigale] di Fra Bartolino Sq, 120v (3 <sup>3</sup> ) Ricc 2735, 61r (text only; frag.)	FP: addition, 5th lower; Dated by Wilkins before 1388; Sa, #25; Lauda: <i>Seguite per via d'un gentil bracchetto</i> (Ricc 2871, 61r)
de Padua	R, 14r; Anon. Sq, 103v-104r Marc 223, 34v (text only)	Text by Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio; Anti-Visconti, 1388?; Sa, #29; Petrobelli: pre-1389
Fratis Bartholini	R, 17r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. Mod A, 39r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Frater Bartholinus Sq, 115r (2 <sup>2</sup> )	R: text corrupt
de Padua	R, 20v; Anon. Sq, 107v-108r SL, 31v-32r (= XLIV-XLIIr)	Sa, #29; Lucca: test residuum lacking
Fratis Bartholini de Padua	R, 15v; Anon. Sq, 112v (2 <sup>2</sup> )	



Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
XXX[I]v 12 4a'	<i>Non chorrer troppo e tien la mano al freno</i>	B 2 <sup>1</sup>	C T
(4 folios lacking)			
[XXXVI]r 13 4b	<i>La belle flour</i>	R? 2?	[C] T
[XXXVI]r 13 4b	<i>Mal vi loyauté d'estre amore[ux]</i>	R 2 <sup>1</sup>	C T
[XXXVI]v 14 4b'	<i>Mon bel amy, corteus e gratieux</i>	R 2 <sup>1</sup>	C T
[XXXVI]v-XXXVIIr 14-15 4b'-3b	<i>Mon bel amy, mon confort et ma ioye</i>	R 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
XXXVIIr 15 3b	<i>Merçi, pour Dieu, merçi ma dame belle</i>	R 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
XXXVIIv 16 3b'	<i>Loingtemps i'ay mis mon cuer, mon pensement</i>	R 3 <sup>1</sup>	C Tr T
(1 folio lacking)			
GATHERING 5			
(8 folios lacking)			

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
Fratr Bartholini	R, 22r; Anon. Sq, 116r (3 <sup>3</sup> )	
		Form not clear due to "secunda pars;" virelai?
Fratr Antonii de Cival		Internal refrain not indicated
Fratr Antonii	FP, 38r (3 <sup>0</sup> ); Frater Antonio da [Civitate?]	Internal refrain not indicated; FP: addition

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
GATHERING 6			
XLVIIr 17 5a	<i>Va' pur, Amore, con le reti tue</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
XLVIIv 18 5a'	<i>Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C [T]
(1 folio lacking)			
XLIXr	<i>Ma' non s'andrà per questa donna altera</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	[C] T
XLIXv	<i>L'alma mie piang'e ma' non può aver pace</i>	B 3 <sup>3</sup>	[C] T Ct (i)
(2 folios lacking)			

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
de Florentia	FP, 9r; M. Franciscus Pit, 70r; Franciscus Sq, 171r; Magister Franciscus cecus horghanista de Florentia SL, 103r (= CIIIr ?)	Lauda: <i>O falso amore privato di pace</i> (Chig 266, 121v)
Francisci Ceci	Pad A (Ox 229), 38r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); M. Francisci de Florentia R, 34r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. FP, 1r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); M. Franciscus de Florentia Pit, 85v-86r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Franciscus Lo, 23r (2 <sup>1</sup> ); Anon. Sq, 158r	Sa, #48; Pit: erased attribution
de Florentia	FP, 66v-67r; M. Francescho Pit, 109v-110r; F. Sq, 141r Chig 131, 388r (text only)	FP: addition; Lucca: text for only ripresa and 1st piede
Francisci de Florentia	FP, 31v-32r; M. F. Pit, 65v-66r; Francesco Lo, 74v-75r (3 <sup>2</sup> ); B[allata] M. Francisci Sq, 131r SL, 50r (= ?) (Ct only; 3 <sup>3</sup> )	Sa, #34; Lucca: 1st stanza incomplete, 2nd stanza unique

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
[LII]r	<i>Poy che da te [mi convien partir via]</i>	B 3 <sup>2</sup>	[C] [T] Ct
[LII]v	<i>Merçè, o morte, o vagha anima mia</i>	B 3 <sup>2</sup>	C [T] Ct (i)
(1 folio lacking)			
[LIV]r 19 5b	<i>Con lagreme bagnandome el viso</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	[C] T
[LIV]r 19 5b	<i>Ave Vergene [...]</i>	R 3 <sup>1</sup>	[C] T Ct
[LIV]v 20 5b'	<i>La fiamma del to amor che già me stringe</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
[Francesco Landini]	R, 9v-10r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. GR 16, 3r (C only); Anon. FP, 5r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); M.F. Lo, 36r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. Sq, 142v (2 <sup>2</sup> ) Trev, 6v (text only)	<b>Lucca:</b> unique Ct; <b>GR 16:</b> addition; <b>R:</b> addition ?; <b>Lucca:</b> full attribution may have been placed on missing adjoining leaf; Lauda: <i>Po' che v'ho posto questa compagnia</i> ( <b>Ricc 2871</b> , 59v); Lauda: <i>Ciascun che 'l regno di Gesù disia</i> ( <b>Ricc 2871</b> , 59r)
Johannes Ciconia	Pz, 18v-19r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. Pist, IVv (2 <sup>1</sup> ); Anon. BU, 51r (= p. 101) (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon.	<b>Lucca:</b> unique Ct; 2nd <i>piede</i> lacking; Giustiniani's strambotto, <i>Merzè ti chiamo, dolze anima mia</i> , and its related lauda, <i>Merzè ti chiamo, Vergine Maria</i> by Feo Belcari, both show similarities to <i>Merçè, o morte</i> in word choice and rhyme (see G. Cattin, "I 'cantasi come' in una stampa," p. 24)
Ciconia	PC, 62v (T only); Anon. Pad 656, 1r (2 T frags.); Anon. Q15 I, frag.; [Anon.] Pit, 52v-53r; Anon. Ricc 1764, 86r (text only) Trev, 6v (text only) P 1069, 45r (text only) Bux, 16r-17r; M.C.C. 72v-73v, 73v-74r, 74r-75r, 75r-75v; Anon. Loch, pp. 86-87; Anon.	Sa, #35; Pit: addition Dated 1406 by Pirrota; <i>opus dubium</i> for Debenedetti and Bent/Hallmark; Ricc 1764: "Ballata per Francesco il signor Carrara"; Lauda: <i>Colla ment' e col cor peccator fiso</i> (Chig 266, 71r and Ricc 1764, 86v);
Johannes Ciconia		First four lines of text lacking; French text



Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
GATHERING 7			
LVr 21 6a	<i>Donna, posso io sperare</i>	B 2 <sup>1+1</sup>	C T
LVv-[LVI]r 22-[ ] 6a'-[ ]	<i>Rosetta che non cambi may colore</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[LVI]v	<i>D'amor languire, suspirare e piangere</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C [T]
(1 folio lacking)			
LVIIIr [P]5r 7a	<i>Un fiore gentil m'apparse</i>	B 3 <sup>3</sup>	[Ct] CII T (i)
LVIIIv-LIXr [P]5v-[P]6r 7a'-7b	<i>Deus deorum, Pluto, or te regratio</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
LIXv [P]6v 7b'	<i>Amor nè tossa non se pò celare</i>	B 3 <sup>2</sup>	C [T] Ct (i)

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
Ser Niccholay Prepositi		Name written over an erased attribution: “Magister Çacharias”?
Magister Antonius Çachara [de Teramo]	Pz, 20v-21r; Anon. Fa, 50v-52r; Anon. Fa, 82v-83v; Anon.	Sa, # 35; Pz: text differs slightly from <b>Lucca</b> ; Q15, 66v-68r: <i>Et in terra Rosetta</i> (parody Mass movement by Zacara)
[Çachara]		Sa, # 35; attribution trimmed; Q15, 68v-71r: <i>Patrem Scabroso</i> (parody Mass movement by Zacara)
de Teramo	Fa, 82r-82v; Anon.	Sa, # 35; Ct underlaid beginning at the word “venne” near the start of 2nd <i>pie</i> de; Q15, 71v-73r: <i>Et in terra Fior gentil</i> (parody Mass movement by Zacara); also in <b>Sie</b> , 2r-2v
Çachara de Teramo		Q15, 73v-76r: <i>Patrem Deus deorum</i> (parody Mass movement by Zacara)
Magister Antonius Çachara	Ambr, 69v (text only)	<b>Lucca</b> : text incomplete

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
(1 folio lacking)			
[LXI]r	[l]n e [...] camal [...] / nel cucul io te [...]	B 2?	[C] T
[LXI]v-[LXII]v [ ]-23-24 [ ]-6b-6b'	<i>Plorans ploravi perché la Fortuna</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
GATHERING 8			
[LXIII]r 25 8a	<i>Sol me trafige 'l cor l'aquila bella</i>	B 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
[LXIII]v-LXIVr 26-27 8a'-9a	<i>Ciaramella, me dolçe ciaramella</i>	B 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
LXIVv-LXVr 28-29 9a'-10a	<i>le suy navvrés tan fort, o dous amy — Gnaff' a le guagnele et io anch' to' togli</i>	B 3 <sup>2+1</sup>	C T Ct
LXVv-[LXVI]r 30-31 10a'-11a	<i>Ad ogne vento volta come foglia</i>	B 3 <sup>2</sup>	C T Ct (i)
LXVv-[LXVI]r 30-31 10a'-11a	<i>Spesso, Fortuna, cridote</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
Çachara de Teramo		Zacara da Teramo?; full attribution may have been placed on missing adjoining leaf
Magister Zacharias	Mod A, 13v-14r (2 <sup>1</sup> ); Magister Zacharias Sq, 177v (2 <sup>1</sup> ); Magister Çacherias cantor Domini nostri Pape	
Magister Antonius Çachara de Teramo		
Magister Antonius de Teramo		Sa, #35
Zacharias de Teramo		Sa, #48; Ct added at bottom of fol. LXVI and left incomplete
		Zacara da Teramo?

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrotta's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
[LXVI]v-LXVIIv 32-33-34 11a'-11b-11b'	<i>Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
LXVIIr 33 11b	<i>De mia farina fo le mie lasangne</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
LXVIIv-[LXVIII]r 34-35 11b'-10b	<i>A pianger l'ochi mey pur mo' commença</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[LXVIII]v-[LXIX]r 36-37 10b'-9b	<i>Più chiar che 'l sol in lo mio cor Lucia</i>	B 3 <sup>2</sup>	C T Ct
[LXIX]r 37 9b	<i>De, vogliateme oldire</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[LXIX]v 38 9b'	<i>Con dogliosi martire</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[LXX]r 39 8b	<i>Or tolta pur me sey da l'ochi mey</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[LXX]v 40 8b'	<i>Madonna, io me ramento</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
Antonellus Marot de Caserta		Probably written to honor Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1395; Pirrotta suggests associating the work with weddings of Giovanna II of Naples in 1415 or 1423
Antonellus Marot	<b>Pist</b> , Ilr (2 <sup>1</sup> ) (trimmed); Anon. <b>Pad B</b> , Bv (C only); [An]tonelus	
Antonellus	<b>Par</b> , 1r (new Ct); A. marotus de Caserta Abbas	<b>Par</b> : Ct ascribed in the margin to M.d.P. (Matteo da Perugia)
		Attributed to Antonello da Caserta by Pirrotta and Marrocco; “marot” undoubtedly trimmed
Antonellus		
Marot		
Antonellus		



Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
GATHERING 9			
(3 folios lacking)			
[LXXIV]r 41 12a	<i>Vous soyés tres bien venus</i>	R 4 <sup>1</sup>	C Tr T Ct
[LXXIV]r 41 12a	[...] <i>Atandre</i>	V 3 <sup>1</sup>	[C] [T] Ct
[LXXIV]v-LXXVv 42-43-44 12a'-12b-12b'	<i>Par maintes fois ay auy recorder</i>	V 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct (i)
(3 folios lacking)			
GATHERING 10			
(1 folio lacking)			
LXXXr 45 13a	<i>Mercede, o donna, i' moro</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
LXXXv-LXXXlr 46-[P]1r 13a'-14a	<i>I cani sono fuora per le mosse</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
de Civald		Text may offer a solution to an ostinato pattern in T and Ct; attribution most likely refers to Antonio da Cividale
		Only the “secunda pars” of the Ct survives; the incipit may refer to the start of the stanza, not the refrain
[Johannes Vaillant]	GR 197, 12v-13r (i) MuEm, 27v-28r (2 <sup>1</sup> ): <i>Per montes foyes ad honorem</i> Wolk A, 19v-20r (2 <sup>1</sup> ): <i>Der may</i> Wolk B, 22v-23r (2 <sup>1</sup> ): <i>Der may</i> Ca B, 20r (i) Str, 65v (2 <sup>2</sup> ): <i>Ave virgo</i> Ch, 59v-60r Bc I, 1v (i)	
Joh[annes] Fulg[inatis]		Attribution added by an unknown hand
Magister Johannes Ciconia		

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
LXXXv-LXXXIr 46-[P]1r 13a'-14a	<i>Chi vole amar, ame con vera fede</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
LXXXIv-LXXXIIr [P]1v-[P]2r 14a'-15a	<i>Caçando un giorno vidi una cervetta</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
LXXXIv-LXXXIIr [P]1v-[P]2r 14a'-15a	<i>Gli atti col dançar Francesch' inançi passa</i>	B 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
LXXXIIv-[LXXXIII]v [P]2v-[P]3r-[P]3v 15a'-15b-15b'	<i>Una panthera in compagnia de Marte</i>	M 3 <sup>3</sup>	C T Ct
[LXXXIII]r [P]3r 15b	<i>L[e] ray au soleyl</i>	Can 3 <sup>2c</sup>	Ct CII T
[LXXXIV]r [P]4r 14b	<i>Chi nel servir anticho me conduce</i>	B 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
[LXXXIV]v-LXXX[V]r [P]4v-47 14b'-13b	<i>Per quella strada lactea del cielo</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
Ciconie		Attributed to Ciconia by Ghisi, Pirrotta and Clercx; <i>opus dubium</i> for Bent/Hallmark
		Attributed to Ciconia by Pirrotta and Clercx; <i>opus dubium</i> for Bent/Hallmark
Magister Johannes Ciconia		Ct texted only in the <i>ritornello</i> section; associated with Paolo Guinigi's <i>signoria</i> by Pirrotta; probably written in Pavia to celebrate accord between Lucca and Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1399
		Attributed to Ciconia by Clercx, Pirrotta and Thibault; <i>opus dubium</i> for Bent/Hallmark; the text can be associated with Visconti heraldry
Ciconia		
Johannes Ciconia		Associated perhaps with Ilaria del Carretto, wife of Paolo Guinigi, by Pirrotta; with the Carrara by Petrobelli, Clercx and Bent/Hallmark





Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
[LXXXIX]v-[XC]r 54-55 18a'-19a	<i>I' senti' matutino</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XC]v-[XCII]r 56-57-58-59 19a'-20a-20a'-21a	<i>Inperiale, sedendo fra più stelle</i>	M 3 <sup>2</sup>	C T Ct
[XCII]r 59 21a	<i>A tanti homini tanti volere</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XCII]v 60 21a'	<i>O chuor del corpo mio perché me fay</i>	B 2 <sup>1</sup>	C [T]
[XCII]v 60 21a'	<i>Mille merçè, o chara mia luce</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	[C] T
(2 folios lacking)			
[XCV]r 61 21b	<i>Je suy, madame, en departir</i>	R 2 <sup>1</sup>	C T
[XCV]r 61 21b	<i>Merci, merci, noble creature</i>	V 3 <sup>1</sup>	[C] [T] Ct (not texted)
[XCV]v-[XCVI]r 62-63 21b'-20b	<i>O pensieri vani, o speranza fallace</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
d'Andrea Stephani		Attribution added in margin by Scribe B
[Bartolino da Padova]	R, 22v-23r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. R, 13r (T only) (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. Mod A, 29v-30r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Dactalus de Padua fecit Pit, 47v-48r (2 <sup>2</sup> ); Anon. Sq, 109v-110r (2 <sup>2</sup> ) Fa, 74v-77r; Anon.	Sa, # 25; Pit: addition; Dated 1401 by Petrobelli and associated with Francesco Carrara il Novello
		Lauda: O huom fatto da Dio perché mal fai (Chig 266, 107r)

Original Foliation/ Modern Pagination/ Pirrota's Foliation	Incipit	Form/ Texting	Voices
[XCV]v-[XCVI]r 62-63 21b'-20b	<i>De, tristo mi topinello</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XCVI]v-[XCVII]r 64-65 20b'-19b	<i>Spinato intorno al cor come spinoso</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XCVII]v 66 19b'	<i>S'i' ti so' stato e vogl' esser fedele</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XCVIII]r 67 18b	<i>Con tucta gentileçça</i>	B 3 <sup>1</sup>	C T Ct
[XCVIII]v-[XCIX]r 68-69 18b'-17b	<i>Morte m'à sciolt', Amor, d'ogni tuo legge</i>	M 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XCIX]v-[C]r 70-71 17b'-16b	<i>S'avesse força o sdegno quant' amore</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[XCIX]v-[C]r 70-71 17b'-16b	<i>La vaga luce che ffa invidi' al sole</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T
[C]v 72 16b'	<i>Tra speranza e fortuna pur m' agiro</i>	B 2 <sup>2</sup>	C T

Attribution	Concordances	Remarks
		<b>Fa</b> , 87v: later 15th-century setting of nearly the same text by Johannes de Erfordia
		Contains two textual and musical quotations from Zacara's <i>Rosetta</i> and <i>Un fiore gentil</i>
di Franciesco degl'organi	<b>Pad A</b> (684), [51v]; M.Ffranciscus de Florentia <b>R</b> , 48v-49r; Anon. <b>Pit</b> , 89v-90r; Franciscus <b>FP</b> , 8r; M.F. <b>Sq</b> , 142v <b>SL</b> , 109v (= ?)	<b>R</b> : addition; <b>Pit</b> : erased attribution; Lauda: <i>Sempre laudata e benedetta sia</i> ( <b>Chig 266</b> , 204v)
d'Andrea Stephani		Later setting by Antoine Busnois: <b>FN 59</b> , 52v-53r (Anon.), <b>Pix</b> , 13v-14r; <b>Lucca</b> : Scribe B adds note "mancaci due stanze" after 2nd strophe
d'Andrea Stephani		First tercet taken from the <i>envoi</i> of Petrarch's <i>Amor, se vuo' ch'i' torni al giogo antico</i>
[?]Pitor		The illegible attribution could be another name for the composer known as Bonaiutus Corsini pitor; Lauda: <i>Se vuoi saper quale è 'l ver'amore</i> , by Ruberto Benvenuti ( <b>Chig 266</b> , 106v)
[Paolo da Firenze]	<b>Pit</b> , 71v-72r (3 <sup>2</sup> ); PA	
[Paolo da Firenze]	<b>Pit</b> , 130v-131r (3 <sup>2</sup> ); Do. Pa.	<b>Pit</b> : attribution erased

Incipits

(First line of text; modern arabic pagination; reconstructed roman foliation [numbers designate the leaf on which a composition first appears])

<i>A pianger l'ochi mey pur mo' commença</i>	34	LXVIIv
<i>A tanti homini tanti volere</i>	59	XCIIr
<i>Ad ogne vento volta come foglia</i>	30	LXVv
<i>Amor nè tossa non se pò celare</i>	P6v	LIXv
<i>Ave Vergene [...]</i>	19	LIVr
<i>Ay las, quant ie pans le biauté de m'amour</i>	50	LXXXVIIv
<i>Aymè, per tutto l'or una da undici</i>	50	LXXXVIIv
<i>Caçando un giorno vidi una cervetta</i>	P1v	LXXXIv
<i>Chi nel servir anticho me conduce</i>	P4r	LXXXIVr
<i>Chi vole amar, ame con vera fede</i>	46	LXXXv
<i>Ciaramella, me dolçe ciaramella</i>	26	LXIIIv
<i>Con dogliosi martire</i>	38	LXIXv
<i>Con lagreme bagnandome el viso</i>	19	LIVr
<i>Con tucta gentileçça</i>	67	XCVIIIr
<i>D'amor languire, suspirare e piangere</i>	—	LVIv
<i>De mia farina fo le mie lasangne</i>	33	LXVIIr
<i>De, tristo mi topinello</i>	62	XCVv
<i>De, vogliateme oldire</i>	37	LXIXr
<i>Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce</i>	32	LXVIv
<i>Deus deorum, Pluto, or te regratio</i>	P5v	LVIIIv
<i>Donna liçadra de çafir vestita</i>	2	XXv
<i>Donna, posso io sperare</i>	21	LVr
<i>Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito</i>	18	XLVIIv
<i>Dueil angoisseux, rage desmesurée</i>	2	XXv
<i>Fugir non posso dal tuo dolçe volto</i>	54	LXXXIXv
<i>Gioia (see Zoya)</i>		
<i>Gli atti col dançar Francesch' inançi passa</i>	P1v	LXXXIv
<i>I cani sono fuora per le mosse</i>	46	LXXXv
<i>I' senti' matutino</i>	54	LXXXIXv
<i>Je suy navvrés tan fort, o dous amy —</i>	28	LXIVv
<i>Gnaff' a le guagnele et io anch' to' togli</i>		
<i>[I]n e[...] carnal [...]</i>	—	LXIr
<i>Inperiale, sedendo fra più stelle</i>	56	XCv
<i>Je suy, madame, en departir</i>	61	XCVr
<i>L'alma mie piang'e ma' non può aver pace</i>	—	XLIXv

<i>La belle flour</i>	13	XXXVIr
<i>La douce ciere d'un fier animal</i>	1	XXr
<i>La fiamma del to amor che già me strinçe</i>	20	LIVv
<i>La sacrosancta karità d'amore</i>	7	XXVIIr
<i>La vaga luce che ffa invidi' al sole</i>	70	XCIXv
<i>Le aurate chiome nodose et avolte</i>	9	XXXr
<i>Le ray au soleyl</i>	P3r	LXXXIIIr
<i>Loingtemps i'ay mis mon cuer, mon pensement</i>	16	XXXVIIv
<i>Ma' non s'andrà per questa donna altera</i>	—	XLIXr
<i>Madonna, io me ramento</i>	40	LXXv
<i>Mal vi loyauté d'estre amoureux</i>	13	XXXVIr
<i>Merçè, o morte, o vagha anima mia</i>	—	LIIv
<i>Mercede, o donna, i' moro</i>	45	LXXXr
<i>Merci, merci, noble creature</i>	61	XCVr
<i>Merçi, pour Dieu, merçi ma dame belle</i>	15	XXXVIIr
<i>Mille merçè, o chara mia luce</i>	60	XCIIv
<i>Mon bel amy, corteus e gratieux</i>	14	XXXVIv
<i>Mon bel amy, mon confort et ma ioye</i>	14	XXXVIv
<i>Morte m'à sciolt', Amor, d'ogni tuo legge</i>	68	XCVIIIv
<i>Non chorrer troppo e tien la mano al freno</i>	12	XXXIv
<i>Non credo, donna, che la dolçe fiamma</i>	52	LXXXVIIIv
<i>O chuor del corpo mio perché me fay</i>	60	XCIIv
<i>O pensieri vani, o speranza fallace</i>	62	XCVv
<i>Or tolta pur me sey da l'ochi mey</i>	39	LXXr
<i>Par maintes fois ay auy recorder</i>	42	LXXIVv
<i>Per quella strada lactea del cielo</i>	P4v	LXXXIVv
<i>Per un verde boschetto</i>	6	XXVIv
<i>Perché cangiato è 'l mondo da l'anticho</i>	8	XXVIIv
<i>Piangono l'ochi e l'alma mia sospira</i>	49	LXXXVIIr
<i>Più chiar che 'l sol in lo mio cor Lucia</i>	36	LXVIIIv
<i>Plorans ploravi perché la Fortuna</i>	—	LXIv
<i>Poy che da te mi convien partir via</i>	—	LIIr
<i>Poy che morir mi convien per to amore</i>	48	LXXXVv
<i>Rechordete de mi, madonna mia</i>	4	XXIv
<i>Rosetta che non canbi may colore</i>	22	LVv
<i>S'avesse força o sdegno quant' amore</i>	70	XCIXv
<i>S' i' ti so'stato e vogl' esser fedele</i>	66	XCVIIv
<i>Sempre, donna, t'amay de pura voglia</i>	10	XXXv
<i>Serva çiaschuno chom'è facto a luy</i>	4	XXIv
<i>Sol me trafige 'l cor l'aquila bella</i>	25	LXIIIr
<i>Spesso, Fortuna, cridote</i>	30	LXVv
<i>Spinato intorno al cor come spinoso</i>	64	XCVIv



Tal sotto l'acqua pescha	52	LXXXVIIIv
Tra sperança e fortuna pur m'agiro	72	Cv
Un fiore gentil m'apparse	P5r	LVIIIr
Una panthera in compagnia de Marte	P2v	LXXXIIv
Va' pur, Amore, con le reti tue	17	XLVIIr
Vous soyés tres bien venus	41	LXXIVr
Zoya de novi odori	5	XXVIr
[...] Atandre	41	LXXIVr

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Appendix A  
Concordances With the Lucca Codex

Source	Number of Concordances	Composers / Songs
BU	2	Anon. — <i>Fugir non posso</i> (Ciconia?) Ciconia — <i>Mercè, o morte</i>
Bux	2	Ciconia — <i>Con lagreme</i> Binchois — <i>Dueil angoisseux</i>
Fa	5	Zacara — <i>Rosetta</i> (two settings) Zacara — <i>Un fiore gentil</i> Bartolino — <i>Inperiale, sedendo</i> Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i>
FP	9	Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i> (added) Bartolino — <i>Per un verde boschetto</i> (added) Landini — <i>Va' pur, Amore</i> Landini — <i>Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito</i> Landini — <i>Ma' non s'andrà</i> (added) Landini — <i>L'alma mie piange</i> Landini — <i>Poy che da te</i> Landini — <i>S' i' ti so' stato</i> A. da Cividale — <i>Loingtemps</i> (added)
GR 16	1	Landini — <i>Poy che da te</i> (added)
GR 197	1	Vaillant — <i>Par maintes fois</i>
Lo	5	Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i> Bartolino — <i>Per un verde boschetto</i> Landini — <i>Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito</i> Landini — <i>L'alma mie piange</i> Landini — <i>Poy che da te</i>
Loch	1	Ciconia — <i>Con lagreme</i>
Mod A	3	Bartolino — <i>Perché cangiato</i> Bartolino — <i>Inperiale, sedendo</i> Zacara — <i>Sol me trafige 'l cor</i>
MuEm	2	Vaillant — <i>Par maintes fois</i> Binchois — <i>Dueil angoisseux</i>

Source	Number of Concordances	Composers / Songs
Pad A	2	Landini — <i>Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito</i> Landini — <i>S'i' ti so' stato</i>
Pad B	1	A. da Caserta — <i>A pianger l'ochi</i>
Pad 656	1	Ciconia — <i>Con lagreme</i> (two T frags.)
Par	1	A. da Caserta — <i>Più chiar che 'l sol</i>
PC	2	Ciconia — <i>Con lagreme</i> (T only) Anon. — <i>Fugir non posso</i> (Ciconia?)
Pist	2	Ciconia — <i>Merçè, o morte</i> A. da Caserta — <i>A pianger l'ochi</i>
Pit	11	Bartolino — <i>Inperiale, sedendo</i> (added) Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i> Bartolino — <i>Per un verde boschetto</i> Landini — <i>Va' pur, Amore</i> Landini — <i>Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito</i> Landini — <i>Ma' non s'andrà</i> Landini — <i>L'alma mie piange</i> Landini — <i>S' i' ti so' stato</i> Ciconia — <i>Con lagreme</i> (added) Paolo — <i>La vaga luce</i> Paolo — <i>Tra speranza e fortuna</i>
Pz	3	Bartolino — <i>Rechordete de mi</i> Ciconia — <i>Merçè, o morte</i> Zacara — <i>Rosetta</i>
Q15 I	1	Ciconia — <i>Con lagreme</i> (C frag.)

Source	Number of Concordances	Composers / Songs
R	13	Bartolino — <i>La sacrosancta karità</i> Bartolino — <i>Perché cangiato</i> Bartolino — <i>Le aurate chiome</i> Bartolino — <i>Sempre, donna, t'amay</i> Bartolino — <i>Non chorrer troppo</i> Bartolino — <i>Inperiale, sedendo</i> Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i> Bartolino — <i>Donna liçadra</i> Bartolino — <i>Zoya de novi odori</i> Bartolino — <i>Per un verde boschetto</i> Landini — <i>Donna, s' i' t'ò fallito</i> Landini — <i>Poy che da te</i> (added) Landini — <i>S'i' ti so' stato</i> (added)
Sa	14	Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i> Bartolino — <i>Per un verde boschetto</i> Bartolino — <i>Inperiale, sendendo</i> Bartolino — <i>La sacrosancta karità</i> Bartolino — <i>Le aurate chiome</i> Landini — <i>Donna, s'i' t'ò tallito</i> Landini — <i>L'alma mie piange</i> Ciconia — <i>Con lagreme</i> Zacara — <i>Rosetta</i> Zacara — <i>D'amor languire</i> Zacara — <i>Un fiore gentil</i> Zacara — <i>Je suy navvrés</i> Zacara — <i>Ad ogne vento</i> Anon. — <i>Non credo, donna</i>
SL	8	Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i> Bartolino — <i>Donna liçadra</i> Bartolino — <i>Rechordete de mi</i> Bartolino — <i>Zoya de novi odori</i> Bartolino — <i>Le aurate chiome</i> Landini — <i>Va' pur, Amore</i> Landini — <i>L'alma mie piange</i> Landini — <i>S'i' ti so' stato</i>

Source	Number of Concordances	Composers / Songs
Sq	19	Bartolino — <i>La douce ciere</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Donna liçadra</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Rechordete de mi</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Zoya de novi odori</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Per un verde boschetto</i>
		Bartolino — <i>La sacrosancta karità</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Perché cangiato</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Le aurate chiome</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Sempre, donna, t'amay</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Non chorrer troppo</i>
		Bartolino — <i>Inperiale, sedendo</i>
		Landini — <i>Va' pur, Amore</i>
		Landini — <i>Donna s'i' t'ò fallito</i>
		Landini — <i>Ma' non s'andrà</i>
		Landini — <i>L'alma mie piange</i>
		Landini — <i>Poy che da te</i>
		Landini — <i>S'i' ti so' stato</i>
		Zacara — <i>Sol me trafige 'l cor</i>
		Niccolò — <i>Tal sotto l'acqua</i>
Wolk A, Wolk B, Ca B, Str, Ch, Bc I	1	Vaillant — <i>Par maintes fois</i>
Mu, Esc A, Esc B, RU <sub>2</sub> , Tr 88, Roh	1	Binchois — <i>Dueil angoisseux</i>

### Appendix B

Distribution of Songs by Composer

Composer	Total Number of Works	Unica
Anonymous	26	25
Bartolino da Padova	12	1
Antonio Zacara da Teramo	10	7
Johannes Ciconia	9	7
Antonello da Caserta	6	4
Francesco Landini	6	—
Antonio da Cividale	3	2
Andrea Stefani	3	3
Niccolò da Perugia	2	1
Paolo Tenorista	2	—
Bonaiutus [?] Pitor	1	1
Johannes Fulginatis	1	1
Johannes Vaillant	1	—
Gilles Binchois	1	—



Transcriptions

- I. **Antonio Zacara da Teramo:** *Plorans ploravi perché la fortuna* (Ritornello after G. Reaney, CMM 11, vol. 6)
- II. **Johannes Ciconia:** *Merçè, o morte, o vagha anima mia*
- III. **Francesco Landini:** *Poi che da te mi convien partir via* (Cantus and Tenor after L. Schrade, PMFC 4)
- IV. **Antonio da Cividale:** *Vous soyés tres bien venus* (Cantus and Triplum after G. Reaney, CMM 11, vol. 5)

I  
Plorans ploravi

Antonio Zacara da Teramo

Cantus

1. Flo -  
5. Mal -

Tenor

1. Flo -  
5. Mal -

10

rans plo-ra-vi per-chè la(mia)for-  
det-ta quel-la che'l mon-do ra -

rans plo-ra-vi per-chè la for-  
det-ta quel-la che'l mon-do ra -

2. Pur  
6. Quel -

tu - na  
du - na

tu - na 2. Pur  
du - na 6. Quel -

20

so - pr'a me di-  
la nu- tri - cee

so - pra ad me di-ri-ça  
la nu- tri - cee l'o- ra

25

ri-ça sua po- ten -  
l'o- ra che me'l tol -

sua po- ten -  
che me'l tol -

30

ça, se. 3. Plo - 7. Na -

35

plo - ra - bo - que ché a ley [for-ça e pru -  
na - tu - re - de - bi - tum in un - da per -

ra - bo - que ché a ley for-ça e pru -  
tu - re - de - bi - tum in un - da per -

40

den - ]  
sol - ]

45

50

55

ça, se. 4. Re - 8. Su -  
ça, se. 4. Re - 8. Su -

60

65

[re - si - ste - ] re  
su - spi - ri a

re - si - ste - re  
su - spi - ri a

70

non li va - le tan - to è im - por - tu -  
lo mi - o cor sem - pre s'a - du -

non li va - le tan - to è im - por - [tu -  
lo mi - o cor sem - pre s'a - du -

75

80

na.  
na.

na.  
na.

85

R. 9. In 11. Mar -

90

ul - nis  
ti - ro

95

pa-tris ex-pi-ro cum pian -  
fo ne la sua pu-e-ri -

to: 10. Per ri - no - var  
cia: 12. Quel che per

pa-tris ex-pi-ro cum pian - to: 10. Per ri - no - var le  
fo ne la sua pu-e-ri - cia: 12. Quel che per no - me a -

100

le pen(e)fi' que-sto can -  
me a-vea quel de Ga - li -

pen(e)fi' que-sto can -  
vea quel de Ga - li -

105

110

115

to.  
cia.

to.  
cia.

II

Merçè, o morte

Johannes Ciconia

Cantus

1. 9. Mer -  
7. O

çè,  
dio,

mer -  
o

çè,  
dio,

mer -  
o

Contratenor

Tenor (Pz)

1. 9. Mer -  
7. O

dio,

çè,  
o dio,

mer-çè,  
o dio,

5

çè,  
dio,

o  
che

mer-çè  
o dio

o  
[che]

10

o mor - te,  
che pe - na,

o mor - te,  
che pe - na,

o mor -  
che pe -

15

mor - te,  
pe - na

o va - gaa - ni - ma mi - a;  
è que - st'al cor do - len - te;

2. 10. Oy -  
8. Fal -

te,  
na

o va - gaa - ni - ma mi - a;  
è que - st'al cor do - len - te;



20

mè, oy - mè, oy - mè, ch'io  
sa, fal - sa, fal - sa cu -

2. 10. Oy-mè, oy-mè, oy-mè  
8. Fal-sa, fal-sa, fal-sa

mo - ro, ch'io mo - ro, ch'io mo - ro  
de - a, cu - de - a, cu - de - a al -

ch'io mo - ro, ch'io mo - ro, ch'io mo - ro  
cu - de - a, cu - de - a, cu - de - a al -

25

o gra - ci - o - sa e pi - a.  
men fa - mi mo - rir vi - a.

o gra - ci - o - sa e pi - a.  
men fa - mi mo - rir vi - a.

30

3. Pa - sco el cor, el cor, el cor de so -  
5. Ay - mè, do - lent', do - lent', do - lent' mo - ri -

3. Pa - sco el cor, el cor, el cor  
5. Ay - mè, do - lent', do - lent', do - lent'

35

spir, de so - spir ch'al- trui no'l ve -  
rò, mo - ri - rò per mer - ce -

de so-spir, de so-spir ch'al- trui no'l ve -  
mo - ri - rò, mo - ri - rò per mer - ce -

40

de de 4. E de la - gri - me, de la - gri-me,  
6. Del dol - ce a - mor, del dol - ç'a-mor,

de de 4. E de la - gri - me, de la - gri-  
6. Del dol - ce a - mor, del dol - ç'a-

45

de la - gri - me vi - vo a - ma - ra - men -  
del dol - ç'a - mor che'l mio cor t'a - pre - sen -

me, de la - gri-me vi - vo a - ma - ra - men -  
mor, del dol - ç'a-mor che'l mio cor t'a - pre - sen -

50

1. 2.  
te. te.

te. te.

# III

Poi che da te

Francesco Landini

Cantus  
(FP)

Contratenor

Tenor  
(FP)

1. 9. Poi  
7. Men -

1. 9. Poi  
7. Men -

che  
tre

che tre da te mi con - vien  
ch'i' vi - vo e a - rò spi -

da te mi con - vien  
ch'i' vi - vo e a - rò spi -

5  
par - tir vi -  
ri - to a - dos -

par - tir vi -  
ri - to a - dos -

a,  
so,

a,  
so,

10

2. 10. La - scio - ti'l cor, per -  
8. Al - tra che tu di

2. 10. La - scio - ti'l cor, per -  
8. Al - tra che tu di

ch'e - gli è tuo e non fi -  
me, don - na, non fi -

ch'e - gli è tuo e non fi -  
me, don - na, non fi -

15  
a.  
a.

3. Io me ne vò, per - chè la  
5. Ma non gi - rò né sta - rò in

3. Io me ne vò, per - chè la  
5. Ma non gi - rò né sta - rò in

20

mia par - for - te al - tu - cu -

mia par - for - te al - tu - cu -

na na 4. Vuol 6. Ch'io

na na 4. Vuol 6. Ch'io

25

pur co - si ed io al - tro non  
fe - del ser - vo a te sia mai ri -

pur co - si ed io al - tro non  
fe - del ser - vo a te sia mai ri -

30

pos - mos - so. so.

pos - mos - so. so.

IV

Vous soyés tres bien venus Antonio da Cividale

Triplum

Cantus

Contratenor

Tenor

1. 4. 7. Vous soy - és  
3. or cian - tés  
5. Je me voi

5

10

15



20

tres de de bien jus bas ve - en in nus, sus: bus

25

2.8. mes 6. en

30

loy - le

35

auls nom -

40

et vrays bre des

45 50

a - mans, can - tans:



**O** *Finch'io regno*  
 On na si ro fal li to *O*  
 altramor chel tuo seguir consen to *Don dimorir*  
 per le tuo man conten  
 to *Ma* *fio ti porto et o portato fe* *De Et*  
 semprel tuo uoler *re* *De* *giuto piu chel mie come*  
*perche a l'altro mi fa uogno*  
*dolere uagando soa mercede*  
*mandar nel viso bello che tolto*  
*mai* *Dono tu per chi t'ama*  
*et tanto t'amo ch'altro be non sento*  
*1. tener la mia mia co' tal tormento*  
*Donna firo follito e c'*  
 tu fa

18 1 58

**M** *De fiorentia*  
 no suam per questa donna *ra De*  
 no al modo us *to* *Donna mi stringo amor tutto i fuma*  
*morenti* *re* *De* *spacchella mi uol pur tormento* *re* *De*  
*apporta mi*  
*1583*  
*Reperitum*  
*Donna*



Francis de florentia

**L** ma mie piange ma nō puo auer pa ce Da po che  
 tolto ma 1 dōnal uagho mirar di chin fiāma  
 1 Fu di tanto piacer la dolce vi sta Chi namora  
 nel tuo primo guarda  
 or xix de quel esecio pui  
 me duole che tu isdegni  
 me seruo leale per altri  
 chesi nanta con parole

**L** Alma mie piange ma nō puo auer pa ce Da po che tolto ma  
 1 dōnal uagho mirar di chin fiāma 1 Fu  
 di tanto piacer la dolce vi sta Chi namora nel tuo pmo

948

**A** *Entrin tenor - Por che date*  
 Fo meneno



Johnes - Cicoma :

Et merce morte

omorte omor et sangha animamia Oyme oyme oyme diomoro

diomoro diomo ro agnacosa epi a Pansho d cor

de delagni

me de Lagrime de Lagrime dno am ammen

**C** Entron tenor - Omerce o morte q c

Pansho d cor q c

Cicoma : 56 LIV :

**O**n lagreme bagnandome el uiso el mio

segnor lasta y ondio me strugo i guay Quando iome penso esser daluy

dun so : Plume dolen te ay duna disparta ta

che may no fay ritorno i questo mon

~~Quando morte ay appierita mta come parreia d i mio amor ischido~~  
~~meora malinca senza fondo~~ ~~finor dogmi tem~~ ~~anchi i groupa o may~~  
~~roa balma~~ ~~soy che tolto may ogni giocho erido~~  
 Ohon Lagreme q c

**T** Eneur - Plue vergene q c

**C** Entron teneur - Plue vergene q c

~~Poste donz cher gentis y nelle ver moy aver gentieu~~ ~~Plue q c~~  
~~Omerueglieny d amoy telle ragon di ciel tres glorienny~~  
~~Per toy l mge gabrielle sans le peche orguellienny~~  
 Plue vergene q c

19 57



*Johannes aiconia*

**L** fūma del to amor che giame strin  
 ce da la morte auita da morte auita l'alma mia suspin  
 ce do la ya li meyspiriti per  
 re non t'el di cridar piagendo da re  
**L** fūma del tuo amore che giame strin  
 ce da la morte auita da morte auita l'alma mia suspin  
 ce do la ya li meyspiriti per laura  
 Quando t'el di cridar  
 done m'istassi ome uermi resaurti  
 on pocho la tua mente enon moriti  
 Quel suono amaro me fe re sentire  
 così lamor amor la morte uinge  
 piagendo ed re  
 La fūma qe

*6. Nicolo Caselli 140*

*Se Niccolay propiti*

**O** na odōna dōna dōna posso io spera  
 re Meriti de mia fe fe dōna  
 uoy che mora Et te nedolera ancora de pēsa quel che fa Jome desperero  
 Adonqua capio inacqua anme par bez colti  
 tu may per menzima h se diu maluti si  
 de pensai quel che di de pensai pur tu  
 enon tu diro piu tace per dio e pinome  
 seccare ro f dōna posso io sperare qe  
**T** Enor dōna dica ame dica ame messe no a esse nō so pche de  
 uai bona ora uai lassame sta re De mori ame che fa  
 certo nō dolera de pēsa ce pur tu se te desperi et io che nagio affa  
 E receuogin torto al mio parere dati tu me uō per morto  
 e io non so perche se iusti capone ce palese mela fa  
 e po la morte me da e humelemente la uoglio comportare  
 Dōna posso io sperare qe

*17*

*Il primo manucci*



**R** *magister. Antoinis cadam*

rosetta

che nō cambi may colo

re *fl* amar te voglio sopra ogn

altro fio

re *fl* Se altrui me fa lan

languire esospira

re Tu me resguardi con griz deside

rio *fl*

18

129

**R**

rosetta che nō cambi may colo

re *fl* amar te voglio sopra ogn

ne altro fio

re *fl*

Se altrui me fa lan

languire esospira

re Tu me resguardi con griz deside

rio *fl*

rosetta *fl*

Se te thare opiangere ostante  
penando may per darne resguardo  
non posso legere tutto lo speterno  
ch'io chostey che nō m'ha colore

479



**O** amor lagare suspiri  
 gere lami lami lami. Tristato spirito  
 fono font on. mu. a mu. fa. mi. fa. Ni. ante cinque. r. d. ceto. uno. a  
 no. int. uel. r.  
 Guit. ir. home. rog. n. oso. e. no. o. fa.  
 Come. p. reo. d. a. c. i. a. t. o. r. m.  
 de. m. b. i. a. per. lo. tem. po. s. i. en.  
 de. fac. to. br. u. no. d. i. c. t. m.  
 d. m. e. n. t. a. n. o. e. m. u. r. o. m. a. r. a. c. i. e. r. o. n. o.  
 d. g. n. e. m. e. l. a. n. c. o. n. i. a. i. m. e. r. i. d. u.  
 no. +  
 ad. i. ad. i. ad. Fortuna. ti. n. o. f. a. r. s. i. m. e. l. d. e. c. r. o. c. h. i. a. p. a. r. d. i. m. e. r. c. i. m. e. r. c. i.  
 d. e. m. e. f. a. c. t. i. s. p. u. g. a. r. e. c. o. m. e. m. i. n. o. c. h. i. a. s. u. t. t. a. s. u. t. t. a. s. u. t. t. a. Q. u. a. n. d. o. e. l. g. r. a. n.  
 d. e. o. l. a. l. c. o. m. e. n. c. i. a. s. p. a. n. d. e. r. e. t. r. a. n. d. o. u. t. r. e. u. t. r. e.

**O** fiore gentil mapar  
 ti. mapar. se. O. aspiratio. pri. ma. bina.  
 ne. ha. p. ri. ma. p. o. y. d. i. a. c. e. n. o. l. a. n. e. p. r. i. m. a. e. t. o. s. t. o. s. p. a. r.  
 P. i. n. g. e. l. a. t. a. m. e. r. e. v. e. n. e.  
 r. e. p. a. r. a. r. s. e. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. a. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. a. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. a. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. a. t. o. s. t. a. n. d. o. a. u. d. i. c. a. r.  
 p. a. s. s. i. o. n. a. t. o. s. t. a. n. d. o. a. u. d. i. c. a. r. m. e. +  
 v. e. n. e. e. c.  
 D. n. f. i. o. r. g. e. n. t. i. l. e. c.  
 5



**O** us deox pluto or te regratio. *Oril*

le mille merçe Cebelles de morgon nō dirro pin barba

barbā aaron. *Dox* pox che so re integra

to et de luy si. *Deu meternū el nostro lau*  
*Or superete lauro el to*

da tio de de la uendetta ede tmta iusti  
 pa tio che che per nestiz cōmessi ce pigri

*Poso in possession agm leticia seruo sero de*  
*facis inamanto. Reguntando ognimanto*  
*per tanto presta iusticia in pocho tempo et natio*

*tia +*  
*tia +* *Dens deox o c*

*molto mag*

**O** us deox pluto or te regratio. *Oril*

mille merçe Cebelles demorgon nō dirro pin barbā barba

aaron. *Dox* pox che so re i tegrato et de luy si

Deu meternū el nostro lauda tio de  
 Or superete lauro el to pa tio che

de la uendetta et de tmta iusti cia +  
 che p nestiz cōmessi ce pigri cia +

*molto mag*

6

*66  
42  
15  
912*



*Contratenor - Eclat*

Cor ne rossi nō se po ceta

ne Ne

colpecar del se a be se bela sen

be be in la

la quaglia se pre nō

furi qua qua ne la si pogna be bella lu lu lu lu lu lu lu lu

*Contratenor - Amor*

ne tosse ge

ne rossi ge

*Contratenor - Eclat*

Cor ne rossi nō se po ceta

ne Ne

colpecar del se a be se bela sen

be be in la

la quaglia se pre nō

furi qua qua ne la si pogna be bella lu lu lu lu lu lu lu lu

*Contratenor - Amor*

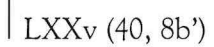
ne tosse ge

ne rossi ge







LXXIV<sub>r</sub> (41, 12a)



**P** maintes fois ay au recorder du rosignol la douce melo  
 die mais ne si veut le cuer acorder ains veut chanter cote li par enui  
 e. caci caci caci toute sui e. Car il veut bien a son chant distor  
 der pour ce li dit li rosignol et crie Je do comant qu'on le tue et oie tue tue tue tue  
 oei oei oei oei oei fy fideli fideli fideli fy oei oei oei oei oei oei oei oei oei fy  
 fy du caci qui damour veut parler : verte folie p secunda parte :

**E**neure - Parmantes fois e e

42 8

**A** Entre teneure - Parmantes fois e e

12b  
LXXV

43 7



Manuscript page LXXVv (44, 12b') features musical notation on staves. A large blue initial 'C' is visible at the top left. The page contains handwritten notes in black ink, including '1985' and 'x 600'. The notation is written in a medieval style, with some red ink used for certain notes or initials. The page is aged and shows signs of wear, including a large tear on the left side.

Manuscript page LXXXr (45, 13a) features musical notation on staves. A large red initial 'M' is visible at the top left. The page contains Latin text in a Gothic script, including 'Excedo odon na mercede odona imo ro & vuy si cruda', 're al ciel che enda che enda theso', 'ro Agnuda de pie', 'tate ignuda de pietate', 'Duy cōsumate el core duy cōsumati el co', 're oyme oyme cū planti egua oyme cū planti egua', 'dena theso ro Agnuda de pietate ignuda de pieta te : Duy cōsu', 'mate el core duy cōsumati el co re oyme oyme cū planti egua oyme cū', and 'Unima mia pimore per duy de tanto amay :', 'Rencrestare ogimay de mey martir penando', 'e piagane airbando a tanta crudelitate :'. The page is aged and shows signs of wear, including a large tear on the left side.



3

Magister iohannes

**L**am sono fuori per le mosse :

Piangiti nolpe ilacci e le tyo le : Che per i

nostri se mi aneti sto

le : Tri sto chi per mal far si

fa bistor so : Ma pur el cielo si fara so cor

Quand se adhi la tochi a questi chaci :  
 Che acia schin tutto no se da ristoche :  
 Ne comensura se da le percosse :

so : Tri sto chi p mal far qe

**C**ha uole amar ame cig uera fe de : Nil la cosa

Comel perfectio amore Ne che piu digna sia  
 daver mercede : Chi uole amar qe None fuco  
 piu iniquo come ingim-r l amico Quando m  
 lamor perfectamente crede : Chi uol amar qe

e migliore re :

46

174

**T**am sono fuori per le mosse : Piangiti nolpe

ilacci e le tyole Che per i nostri se mi aneti scho

le : Tri sto chi per mal far si fa bistor

so : Ma pur el cielo si fara so cor

Bi : uole amar ame cō nera fe

de : Nil la cosa emeglio

None de menor fructo Lamor be che s'la  
 muto Che tena non promette amar se no  
 uole amar qe

15



14

**Q**uando in giorno vidi una  
cernet  
tutta piena di chosti me: Chel cor me aper se e par che  
me consi me:  
lor si uolse a l'ama uoce i de gna:  
u se strinse et uisse sua i se gna:  
Quinta tenor - Glatti col dancar e c.  
dancar:

**Q**uando un corno uidi una cerniet  
 ti : Can dida tutta piena de costume : Ohel cor me aperse  
 e par de me consu me : **Q**lor si uolse al mia uoce i de  
 gna : **Q**u si stringe er un se sca inse gna :  
**Q**uatti col dan fur franceschinanci passa : **Q**u si transpivel cor cognu  
 perti las sa : Tutto al mio dilecto sie de ti mi er ti pur maston  
 de dolçe mia donna nō me uoler donar  
 tanto gra pena da morte me condice :  
 per ipa crudelta la uita me se fue  
 se nō consola un pocho lamma lassa :  
 di laro naghia lu a : a : **Q**uatti 9<sup>o</sup>  
**E**nor. **Q**uatti col dan 9<sup>o</sup> ferida 9<sup>o</sup> : clausa :



**C**antata per il Signor Gio: Maria  
na Dna pñthera i compagnia de Mar  
no Andido po ne dir sereno a  
dor no Constante e Larne di laguna da  
itor  
Questi governa la città Indiana  
Contra Solace el cielo dispensa edona  
Secundo el merito usci corona To - Dando acia dhu q c  
no 4 verte folim pro retornello ::  
**C**ontra tenor - Dna pñthera q c

U

Alcanta

Una pmitte i compa

gnia de car

re: Candido fo

ue dix fere

no ador

no: Constante e larme chila guarda i tor

no: Constante e larme chila guarda i tor

no:

L

ny au soleil qui dret son karmay ne En soy brancs la douce Tortorelle

La quel cōpang nō onques renouelle. Albon droyt sembla que

en toy perfett regne :

3



P In do aia schiz mortal chene  
 sia de gnō : Triūpho gloria e parte i que  
 sto re gnō :  
 C In do aia schiz mortal chene sia de  
 gnō : Triūpho gloria e parte i questo re  
 gnō : In do aia schiz mortal chene  
 sia de gnō : Triūpho gloria e parte i questo re  
 gnō :

C nel seruire anticho me condu ce Splen  
 dor et le ste par chen ley relin ce : Lucidi ragimanda pin  
 del so le Cogn'altra stella col suo lume asmor  
 par mi el smarrito chor da me de uole subito ratto ala  
 vista a corti : Posto rimango nelestrema porta per seguir  
 con fede tanta luce : Chinel seruire qe  
 Enor - Chinel seruire qe Secunda ps :  
 clausa : A Contra tenor - Chi nel seruire anticho qe  
 Secunda - ps :  
 clausa :



Per quella strada Lactea del

belle stelle ouel seren ferma

vedea vn carro andar tutto abissi

De uedi Lauri corone mena

Che dalegrecci d molo uerdeci

Coperto aduapi rossi de finoro

Tende el timon uerso ancoli cantando

el carro triumphal vien su montando

De uedi Lauri ce'

Per quella strada Lactea del cie

lo: da belle

stelle ouel seren ferma

to: De

vedea vn carro andar tutto abissi

De uedi Lauri corone mena

na: Che che dalegrecci el mon

do uerdeci

na: