"Di una pretesa scuola napoletana": Sowing the Seeds of the *Ars nova* at the Court of Robert of Anjou*

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That Naples was a center for the study, cultivation, and diffusion of music throughout the 14th century was first suggested by Nino Pirrotta in a well known study devoted to the Este manuscript α.M.5.24 (*Mod*), published in 1946.[1] Lack of documentary evidence, however, later caused Pirrotta to disavow his initial thesis in a 1953 article, "Scuole polifoniche italiane durante il sec. XIV: di una

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[1] "Aside from this more tangible Avignonese influence, the inventory of the oldest section of *Mod* indicates contact with at least two Italian musical centers in which local or in some manner naturalized composers, despite opening themselves up variously to French style traits and repertory, managed to express themselves with a moderately significant creative output: Naples and Padua. Regarding Naples we have already made mention of Filippotto da Caserta, who very well could have completed his musical education in his home city before moving (probably) to Avignon. The presence of polyphonic music at the Angevin court is already confirmed a bit earlier than the motet *Rex quem metrorum depingit prima figura*, whose text in classicizing hexameters acrostically names Robert of Naples (d. 1343), the same ruler to whom Marchetto da Padova dedicated the *Lucidarium* and *Pomerium musice mensurate*. Nevertheless, the names of Campagnian musicians are known only towards the end of the century and the beginning of the next. Two other musicians hail from Caserta: Antonello, generously represented in *Mod*, and an Amarotus

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pretesa scuola napoletana."[2] It is exactly from this point that I take up the present study, by raising the question that ever since 1953 has silently floated in musicological limbo: should the polyphonic school at Naples hypothesized by Pirrotta still be considered "supposed," or is it more than merely "pretesa"?

The state of the documentary evidence relating to Angevin rule in Naples has certainly not advanced in the last 50 years: the chancery documents that could confirm or deny the presence of court musicians, or at any rate their continuous musical activity within the royal chapel, no longer exist. During the Second World War, the last-ditch attempt to save the precious Angevin archive from bombing literally went up in smoke, as the villa Montesano in San Paolo Bel Sito (near Nola), to which the collection had been moved from its home in the Archivio di Stato, was torched in 1943 by German troops and all the documents were burned.[3] The praiseworthy effort of reconstruction,[4] begun in 1944 and still underway today, has not yet managed to make up for the heavy loss: Variously recovered have been 124 registers from the reign of Charles I of Anjou (vols. I–XXVII), 19 registers from the reign of

abbas, whose name figures in the fragment *Parma*. Native to areas quite close to Naples and Caserta are a priest, Nicola da Capua, the author of a *Gloria* preserved in two different manuscripts and of a treatise published by De La Fage, and a homonymous composer from Aversa, a Celestine monk against whom was written a long polemical treatise by a French author resident in Italy, later published by Coussemaker as Anonymous V (already noted in relation to the 15th-century revival of the motet). It seems certain, therefore, that a center of musical study and production existed in or around Naples, perhaps within a monastic order, which produced the musicians who dedicated their work to the royal court. Of this Campagnian school, whose many contacts with French ones are all the more natural considering the cnnections kept by the Angevins with their place of origin, we meet in *Mod*, next to Filippotto, only Antonello, all of whose known French-language works are contained in the codex." Nino Pirrotta, *Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400*, Palermo: Reale Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti, 1946 (Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo, ser. IV, vol. V, parte II), 35–36.

[2] "I did consider the possible existence either of an effective center of musical studies or of a dynamic center of artistic activity, in the form of the royal chapel. Neither one nor the other, however, of these two hypotheses today seems confirmed by the facts." Nino Pirrotta, "Scuole polifoniche italiane durante il sec. XIV: di una pretesa scuola napoletana," in *Collectanea Historiae Musicae*, vol. I (Florence: Olschki, 1953), 13.

[3] The archive was composed of 375 registers in parchment and 3 in paper; 4 fragmentary registers; 66 paper volumes; 37 volumes of documents in parchment and 21 in paper. All documents were originals.

[4] The attempt to reconstruct the Angevin archive made use of the few original documents not removed from the Neapolitan Archivio di Stato and thus saved from the fire, and of a variety of materials (manuscripts, transcriptions, microfilms, and photocopies) which had been copied out and/or published over the years by Italian and foreign scholars and which reproduce a portion of what was lost. The credit for organizing the initiative goes to Riccardo Filangieri, then superintendent of the Neapolitan Archives.

Charles II of Anjou (vols. XXVIII–XXX), and one register of Louis III of Anjou (vol. XXXIV). The few pieces of evidence available can therefore only be gathered from secondary sources, that is from literary texts, works of local history, publications of obvious archival interest, and from transcriptions and summaries of records that very rarely seem to be of interest, or in any case are only marginally so, to musicological research.[5] Of special importance are pre-war publications of history and biography, in certain cases even from the 17th or 18th centuries, which made use of documents later lost. Based on this material, then, I will attempt to examine and substantiate Pirrotta's earlier intuition, which I am convinced, as with all of Pirrotta's intuitions, is probably true. I do not intend (at least not now) to assert the existence of a true and proper "school" with all of the characteristics implied by the term, but rather to reconsider the possibility that the musical milieu of Angevin Naples was particularly vigorous and above all attentive to the new trends of the age.

Traces

It is impossible to ignore the traces, however faint and discontinuous, of lively musical activity at the court, which was located and cultivated both in the recreational, lay sphere and in the devotional, religious one. One such trace is a list of performers (*histriones*) active in the palace, which Francesco Sabatini brought to light in his renowned *Napoli Angioina* from summaries and compendia of documents originating in the chancery of Robert and of Giovanna I:

Guglielmo (1318)
Bartolomeo da Genova (1326)
Giachetto de Viola (1326)
Avisardo de Organo (1326)
Pietro da Firenze e Guglielmo da Monte Altino (1327, in the employ of Duke Charles)
Valore da Firenze (1332)
"de Flisco," histrio (1335)
Bernardo e Ganselmo di Montpellier (1343)
Goffredo da Melfi, a castanet player.[6]

[5] For example, the better known late 19th-century works of Nicola Barone and Bartolomeo Capasso, published in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, or of Camillo Minieri Riccio, or again, in the next century, of Bianca Mazzoleni, Jole Mazzoleni, and Riccardo Filangieri.

[6] Francesco Sabatini, *Napoli Angioina: Cultura e società* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1975), 256n203.

Another witness to the presence of secular music in the context of the Angevin court is Giovanni Boccaccio. In his *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (written in Florence in 1343), he describes a scene of aristocratic life in a holiday locale in the immediate vicinity of the capital of the Regno:

> quivi i marini liti e graziosi giardini e ciascun'altra parte sempre di varie feste, di nuovi giuochi, di bellissime danze, d'infiniti strumenti, d'amorose canzoni, così da giovini come da donne fatti, sonati e cantate risuonano.[7]
>
> here the foaming beaches and the delightful gardens and all other places always resonate with parties, novel games, beautiful dances, all kinds of instruments, and amorous songs, all created, played, and sung by youths and maidens alike.

From the words of the Florentine writer, who spent the better part of his youth in Naples, emerges a picture of a noble milieu accustomed to and enriched by the playing of music.

In the sacred sphere, it is instead the continuity of the institution of the Neapolitan royal chapel, uninterrupted from the Norman and Swabian periods, that vouches for a musical praxis at court obviously connected to the liturgy. In fact, this praxis probably included the use of the organ, as can be seen from a document drafted by Robert's chancery on 15 January 1316, which states that "[Robert] had the organs of the royal chapel repaired by the royal chaplain, fra Raimondo."[8]

The Angevin royal chapel was composed of "clerics free of episcopal jurisdiction, chosen personally by the ruler and who traveled with him and were very close to him, and who were entrusted with performing liturgical rites in the oratories of their respective residences and with administering the sacraments to members of the royal family and acting as their confessors, seeing to the education of the children of the king, distributing royal alms, and guarding the precious relics belonging to the king."[9] These duties were expanded under Charles I to

[7] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta—Corbaccio* (Milan: Garzanti, 1988), 97.

[8] *Olim* Reg. Ang. 1316 F.n. 209, fol. 330v (cf. Camillo Minieri Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angiò re di Napoli," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 7 (1882): 5–67, 201–62, 465–96, and 653–84, at 246; 8 (1883): 5–33, 197–226, 381–96, and 587–600.

[9] Anna Maria Voci, "La cappella di corte dei primi sovrani angioini di Napoli," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 113 (1995): 69. Also available in slightly modified form in *L'état angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle.* Actes du colloque international organisé par l'American Academy in Rome, l'École française de Rome, l'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, l'U.M.R. Telemme et l'Université de Provence, l'Università degli studi di Napoli "Federico II" (Rome-Naples, 7–11 novembre 1995), Roma, 1998 (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi studi storici, 45—Collection de l'école française de Rome, 245), 447–74.

embrace the office of treasurer, which, as Anna Maria Voci emphasizes, also included overseeing the library and supervising the copying of texts housed there:

> To the royal treasurers were also entrusted the care and guardianship of the books of the king, which, together with his bullion and other precious objects (furnishings, liturgical paraments, vases, etc.) made up his treasury, which was also in part the treasury of his chapel; the treasurers had to see to the payments surrounding the transcription of those manuscripts that interested the ruler, provide the copyists with writing materials, pay the salaries of the scribes, illuminators, and binders. It is therefore starting with the reign of Charles I that, in the person of the chaplain-treasurer, a link between the king's chapel and the Angevin court's book production begins to emerge: during Robert's long reign ever more numerous sources attest to how one responsibility of the chaplain consisted in supervising the production of the king's codices and in overseeing the library.[10]

The offices pertaining to the administration of the Angevin chapel included a *magister capellae*, an almsgiver, a certain number of chaplains (appointed to perform the liturgy in the presence of the king) and clerics (put in charge of maintaining the chapel and caring for its decorations and furnishings), and, beginning in Robert's time, a confessor and *somularii* (caretakers of mules designated for the transport of the chapel's goods while the ruler was traveling). During Robert's reign personnel was recruited from the territory of the Regno, partly from Catalonia, and partly from France.[11] In this connection we should also consider the intimate association with transalpine culture. It was certainly motivated by dynastic considerations, but there was also the close rela-

[10] Voci, "La cappella di corte," 73. On the employment of clerics appointed to the copying of books, see Minieri Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II," 7:216. "King Robert had his work entitled *Moralia* copied by the cleric Stefano, a relative of his; and by another cleric and relative Enrico, the book *De animalibus*. He paid these clerics a monthly salary to copy the books in his library" (information from 27 June 1309, taken from *olim* Reg. Ang. 1310. D.n., 196, fols. 39v, 84v); p. 221:"In this year king Robert had the cleric Stefano de Stornato copy a Gradual on parchment for his use; [. . .] he had the scribes Errico and the above-named Stefano, clerics, copy the books *Animalium ac de Regimine Principum*, which he had illuminated by his illuminators" (information regarding December 1310, taken from *olim* Reg. Ang. 1310. H., fols. 54, 112, 143, 149v); p. 246: "Robert had books written out, illuminated, and bound for his library by fra Giovanni de Exarcellis, master of the royal chapel and elected bishop of Acerra" (document of 15 January 1316, taken from *olim* Reg. Ang. 1316. F.n. 209, fol. 330v). And again in idem, *Notizie storiche tratte da 62 registri angioini dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, Napoli, 1877, p. 12: "Petro Bandetti Magistro Capelle elemosinario et librorum custodi q(uonda)m Regis Roberti confirmatio dictorum officiorum," Reg. 1343–1344 C. n. 338, fol. 43v ["Confirmation of the said offices by King Robert to Pietro Bandetti, Master of the Chapel, former almsgiver and custodian of books"].

[11] Voci, "La cappella di corte," 76–78.

tionship to Avignon (added to the Angevins' Provençal domain with the marriage of Charles of Anjou to Beatrice, daughter of Ramon Berenguer IV of Provence, in 1246), as well as the mobility, within the context of the Augustinian *studium* in Naples,[12] of learned monks, some of whom were likely versed in music.[13]

The continuity of the institution of the royal chapel during the whole Angevin period is attested by Giuseppe Carafa, who in the mid 18th century wrote:

> Attamen longe antea, nimirum Roberto regnante, plures Capellani Clericique sacro ministerio in Capella Regis vacabant, et stipendia percipiebant. Nam constat ex Regestis Roberti Regis anni 1317 soluta fuisse stipendia Palatinis Clericis [. . .]. Itaque in Palatinum Clerum Regum Andegavensium confluebant Episcopi, Clerici, Coenobitae pietate et doctrina clarissimi.[14]

[12] In 1287 Naples was chosen as the seat for one of the Augustinian order's four Italian *Studi generali* for theology. It maintained close contact with Paris for the education of the teachers and school directors (Cherubino Caiazzo, *Gli Agostiniani a Napoli nella tradizione e nella storia*, Napoli: Picone, 1936, 58–59; Caiazzo emphasizes that "in the general chapter meeting held in Naples in 1300 the Blessed Giacomo da Viterbo, returned from Paris, was elected rector, and under the direction of such a learned monk Naples became a more vibrant cultural center" [62]) as well as to internal organization. In fact, in line with Parisian custom, the *Studium* welcomed the best students of the territory of the Order and sent the cream of the crop across the Alps to pursue the title of *magister* (66). Paris as the coveted destination of study for learned Neapolitan youths is attested in a document emitted by the Angevin chancery on 5 November 1317, in which King Robert provided for the son of a court lady, affiliated with the Augustinian order, to study in Paris: "Solute sunt, ad mandatum Regium, *fratri Roberto, de Ordine S. Augustini*, filio domine Margarite de Surrento, familiaris dne. Regine Ierusalem et Sicilie, ad Parisiensem studium profecturo, quas in subsidium expensarum suarum dnus. Rex sibi gratiose exhibere providit, in Car. argenti, uncie sex = Unc. VI" ["Money has been allocated, according to royal order, to *fra Roberto, of the Order of St. Augustine*, son of Donna Margherita of Sorrento, lady in waiting of the Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, in support of the costs of his upcoming studies in Paris, in the amount of six ounces of silver carlins, generously donated by the King"] (Saturnino López Zamóra, "De conventu S. Augustini neapolitano. Documenta et notitiae," *Analecta Augustiniana* 12 [1927–28]:144).

[13] This likelihood is corroborated by the thought of Augustine himself, which for these monks was as much a font of inspiration as an object of aspiration. In Augustine's conception the pursuit of the *artes liberales* was useful and necessary in so far as capable of providing "a positive contribution to the elaboration of philosophy, *affert argumenta certissima*; a more general, formal preparation of the mind, a training of intelligence *exercet animum*" (Henry Irenee Marrou, "Agostino, le arti e la filosofia," in Mariella Gardinali and Lydia Salerno, eds., *Le fonti del pensiero medievale*, Milano: LED, 1993, 39).

[14] Giuseppe Carafa, *De Capella Regis utriusque Siciliae et aliorum principum, liber unus*, Roma: de Rubeis, 1749, pp. 43–44. Bartolomeo Russo also affirms the existence of two chapels within Castelnuovo (better known today as Maschio Angioino), both frescoed by Giotto in 1330–31 and "presided over by numerous court clerics and monk-chaplains" (Bartolomeo Russo, *Il Santuario della Madonna di Casaluce e il suo castello*, Aversa, 1934, 26–27).

> Nevertheless much earlier,[15] certainly during the Robert's reign, many Chaplains and Clerics attended to the sacred ministry in the royal chapel and drew salaries. For it is clear from the registers of King Robert of the year 1317 that salaries were paid to the Palatine Clerics [. . .]. Thus in the Palatine Clergy of the Angevin kings converged Bishops, Clerics, and Monks renowned for their piety and learning.

Traces of this continuity, despite the general archival devastation, can also be found in excerpts of chancery documents that survive in publications predating the destruction of the archive. Here we find the names of, and various payments to, *magistri capellae regiae* as well as humbler chaplains and clerics during the reigns of Giovanna I (1343–82),[16] Charles III of Durazzo (1382–86),[17] Ladislaus of Durazzo (1386–1414),[18] and Giovanna II (1414–35).[19] The recovery of information

[15] That is, "much earlier" than the reign of Giovanna II.

[16] "Bishop Marsicano of the royal chapel, the Head Chaplain . . ." (*olim* Reg. 1348 A., fol. 14) and "the bishop of Vico Equense, Head Chaplain (*magister capelle regie*)" (ibid., fol. 18); cf. Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche tratte da 62 registri angioini*, 37. I add a report provided to me by Marco della Sciucca (and published by him in his essay " 'Una consonante musica di voci, e di organi.' La musica in Atri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento," in Luisa Franchi dell'Orto (ed.), *Dalla valle del Piomba alla valle del basso Pescara*, 2 vols., Teramo: Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio della Provincia di Teramo, 2001 (Documenti dell'Abruzzo Teramano, 5, vol. 1, 21–33) regarding the mention of a *magister capellae* of queen Giovanna I in the *Necrologium adriense*, today known by way of Vicenzo Bindi's transcription, *Necrologium adriense descriptum et recognitum . . .*, in idem, *Monumenti storici ed artistici degli Abruzzi*, Napoli: Giannini & figli, 1889, 215–84, at 221: "[Febrarius, die XIII] Anno Domini 1370 obiit Neapoli Venerabilis vir Frater Nicolaus Cicci Tange de Adria, Ordinis Fratrum minorum, Magister Cappelle Reginalis, ejus anima requiescat in pace" ["On 13 February 1370 fra Nicola Cicci Tange di Adria died in Naples, of the Order of the Friars Minor, master of the queen's chapel, a venerable man, may his soul rest in peace"].

[17] In a document dated 20 May 1383 (*olim* Reg. 292, fol. 178v), the ruler "names as his chaplain and cantor of the royal chapel the priest Bertrando de Tommaso di Napoli" (Nicola Barone, "Notizie storiche tratte dai registri di cancelleria di Carlo III di Durazzo," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 12 (1887): 5–30 and 185–208, at 197).

[18] In a document dated 6 October 1400 (*olim* Reg. 364, fol. 91), the ruler "names as his chaplain Fra Egidio da Viterbo, prior of the church and monastery of S. Agostino in Naples" (Nicola Barone, "Notizie raccolte dai registri di Cancelleria del re Ladislao di Durazzo," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 13 (1888): 5–35, at 14; the first part of the article was published in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 12 (1887): 489–512 and 725–39).

[19] "Venerabili Abbati Gentili de Sancto Angelo de Fasanella Magistro nostre reginalis cappelle privilegium seu mandatum quod pro veneratione divini cultus elogantur (*recte*: eligantur) octo cappellani inter cantores et tenoristas pro quorum gagiorum assignantur an. unc. centum videlicet prefato Magistro Cappelle unc. viginti et cuilibet ipsorum octo Cappellanorum unc. decem" (*olim* Reg. 1423, fol. 16; Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche tratte da 62 registri angioini*, 70) ["To the venerable Abbot Gentile di Sant'Angelo da Fasanella, master of our queen's chapel, [is conferred] the privilege and instruction, that for the reverence of divine worship eight chaplains should be chosen among singers and *tenoristas*, for whose compensation one hundred ounces yearly have been allocated, *viz.*, twenty ounces for the above-named Master of the Chapel and ten ounces for each of

substantiating the continued existence of the royal chapel in Naples during the entire Angevin period—although only in some of the documents cited above is explicit reference made to its musical activity (cf. the notes corresponding to Charles III of Durazzo and Queen Giovanna II)—might alone overcome one of the doubts that caused Pirrotta to repudiate his initial thesis. He had only one piece of evidence for the existence of the royal chapel which, since it regarded the reign of Giovanna II, he considered too late to sustain his hypothesis about Naples' effective participation in elaborating and spreading musical culture in Italy.[20]

Clues

In addition to the documentary evidence relating to a praxis of sacred and secular music at the Neapolitan court, king Robert's role as a patron of the arts, and thus as a cultural catalyst, should also be considered. His cultural personality has been identified previously only with his patronage of writers and visual artists,[21] but his strong interest in music should not be forgotten. The following three pieces of evidence testify to it:

1. First of all, Convenevole da Prato's *Regia Carmina*, a Latin poem—written between 1336 and 1338 on the occasion of Benedict XII's election to the papacy in 1334 (and conserved in one manuscript witness: London, British Library, Royal 6 E IX)—intended by the citizens of Prato for their ruler, Robert of Anjou. The text is accompanied by a depiction of the seven liberal arts in which music takes on the customary guise of a blonde girl in blue clothing. Instead of clutching an instrument, she points with her right hand to the page of a book which bears, on a four-line staff, a textual and melodic figure of the *versus alleluiaticus Veni Sancte Spiritus* from the Pentecost Mass. The girl points directly

the eight Chaplains"]. In relation to this document Carafa argues that "Phenoristas" is an error and should be emended "Paraphonistas": "Hi autem fuere praecantatores, seu qui praecinebant Antiphonas, quorum mentio fit in Ordine Romano de Schola Cantorum, et apud Monachum Sangallensem lib. I c.8 exhibentem in Cappella Caroli M. Paraphonistam, qui cantum moderabatur" ["These were therefore the *praecantatores*, that is those who intoned the Antiphons. They are mentioned in the Roman Order of the School of Cantors and by the Monk of St. Gall, lib. I, cap. 8, who cites the presence in the Chapel of Charlemagne of a Paraphonist who directed the singing"] (Carafa, *De Capella Regis*, 43).

[20] "As to the existence of a royal chapel, we have a very late piece of evidence, only at the end of the period in question, in a document of 1423 in which queen Giovanna II assigns to her master of the chapel, the venerable abbot Gentile di S. Angelo da Fasanella, the task of hiring '*pro veneratione divini cultu . . . octo Cappellani inter cantores et tenoristas*" (Pirrotta, "Scuole polifoniche italiane," 13).

[21] Cf. Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, 67–71.

to the words "pro pace Roberti regis," as if to call attention to the dedicatee of the poem. As Beatrice Pescerelli emphasizes, "the insertion into the work of a musical motif likely indicates the author's awareness of the famous dedicatee's particular interest in music."[22]

2. Another witness to Robert of Anjou's interest in music is the homage made to him by Philippe de Vitry, who spells out the ruler's name acrostically in the text of the *motetus* voice of *O canenda / Rex quem metrorum / Rex regum*. As suggested by Pirrotta,[23] it was probably composed between 1319 and 1324, during the king's stay in his Provençal domain. To this motet should be added a second, in tribute to the Angevins of Naples, *Flos ortus inter lilia / Celsa cedrus ysopus effecta / Quam magnus pontifex*, handed down as anonymous but credited to Philippe de Vitry. It was dedicated to the second son of Charles II, and thus Robert's brother, Luigi (d. 1297), who retreated to a monastic life in 1295 before being named bishop of Toulouse in 1296. The motet's composition was likely occasioned by Pope John XXII's canonization of Luigi in 1317.[24]

3. Finally, Marchetto da Padova's dedication of his *Pomerium in arte musice mensurate* "to the most glorious of princes, lord Robert, by the grace of God king of Jerusalem and of Sicily,"[25] suggests that Robert was interested in music and that his fascination very well may have manifested itself in singing. Marchetto implies so much in the dedicatory letter:

> Vos igitur in hoc serenos illos principes imitantes, gloriosissime principum, ex virtute, nec non ad idem genitoris sequentes vestigia ex natura, musicales sonos ad superni regis laudem et gloriam ministrorum caterva canentium, ut maiestatem decet regiam, circumsaepti, modulatis vocibus in sublime transmittitis exultantes, *et interdum vero cordis affectu et vocis ministerio personatis* [emphasis mine].[26]
>
> Most glorious of princes, in virtuous imitation of serene rulers, according to your natural pursuit of your father's custom, and as befits royal

[22] Beatrice Pescerelli, "Un omaggio musicale a Roberto d'Angiò," *Studi Musicali* 20 (1991): 177.

[23] Pirrotta, "Scuole polifoniche italiane," 11.

[24] John Bergsagel, "Some Musical Connections between France and Italy in the 14th Century," in Marianne Pade, Hannemarie Ragn Jensen, and Lene Weage Petersen, eds., *Avignon and Naples. Italy in France—France in Italy in the Fourteenth Century* (Rome: "L'ERMA" di Bretschneider, 1997), 170–71.

[25] "Praeclarissimo principum, domino Roberto, Dei gratia Jerusalem et Siciliae regi": Marchetus de Padua, *Pomerium*, ed. Ioseph Vecchi, s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1961 (CSM 6), 35.

[26] Marchetus de Padua, *Pomerium*, 36.

> majesty, you surround yourself with a band of singing ministers, raise up songs for the praise and glory of God above, rejoice in voices lifted up on high, *and, from time to time, sing with the full power of your heart.*

This testimony seems to find confirmation in two literary sources. First, in chronological order, is the testimony of Gabrio de' Zamorei (b. 1294/95)—a skilful Parmese lawyer and Latin poet, great admirer and friend of Petrarch—who lists Robert's abilities and cultural interests in a speech entitled *De fortitudine*:

> Iste (Robertus) fuit vir magne scientie et magnus philosophus et magnus theologus et super omnes maximus sermocinator. *Iste fuit magnus cantor et inventor cantus et invenit cantum novum super simbolo.* Iste cum arcu et sagitta melius sagit<t>avit aliquo homine mundi: iste melius equitavit et melius astiluxit[27] (!) aliquo homine mundi. Iste melius portavit lanceam aliquo alio. Iste melius pulsavit aliquo alio. Iste fuit ditissimus ultra modum, sed tamen non fuit fortunatus in bello. Ex isto rege Roberto natus est dominus Carolus, dux Calabrie, qui tante civilitatis et iusticie fuit, quam nullus unquam iustior vel civilior fuit. Iste futurus erat rex, precedente patre; sed, quia patri predecessit, non fuit [emphasis mine].[28]

> This (Robert) was a very learned man, a great philosopher, a great theologian, and the greatest orator of all. *He was a great singer and composer, and he composed a new arrangement of the Credo.* He was better with a bow and arrow than any man on earth. He was steadier on horseback and shone more brilliantly than any other man on earth. He bore a lance better than any other. He fought better than any other. He was rich beyond measure, but nevertheless he was not fortunate in war. Of king Robert was born one son, Charles, Duke of Calabria, who was possessed of such great civility and justice that no man could rival him in these qualities. It was his lot to become king like his father before him, but he did not, since Robert outlived him.

Ignoring the superabundant use of the superlative, which befits the encomiastic genre of the speech, this passage substantiates that Robert had gained enough expertise in music to be able to engage in it as a *cantor*, a term which then had the double meaning of performer and composer (the text alludes to the composition of a *Credo*).[29] Gabrio de'

[27] Probably to be understood as "ast luxit."

[28] *De fortitudine* (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Barber. Lat. 768, fol. 82v): the Latin citation is from Marco Vattasso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici* (Roma: Tip. Vaticana, 1904), 22n3.

[29] Marco Gozzi reports that "the Credo *Apostolorum* (*MIAZGA* n. 319, not including the Vatican Kyrie) possesses the following rubric in a 16th-century Italian manuscript now in Cleveland, Ohio (Museum of Art, ms. 21.140, fol. 78): "Patrem cum suo cantu ordinatum per regem Robertum," who is to be identified with the king of Sicily, Robert of

Zamorei's life and the likely date of his *Sermones* (1371–75), his nearly lifelong residence in Parma, and his close relationship with the Visconti, all serve to free this eulogy from the suspicion of opportunism (which could well undermine the authority of the similar citation from Marchetto's text) and make it instead a celebration of a man so loved and honored—also by Petrarch—as a patron of the arts and supporter of humanistic culture as to raise him to the honorific status of *exemplum.*

Second in chronological order, but certainly not in importance, is the testimony of Franciscan monk and historian Bernardino Scardeone. His *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et claris civibus Patavinis* (Basle, 1560), and in particular the chapter dedicated to Paduan musicians (*De claris musicis patavinis*),[30] informs us that it was Marchetto da Padova who instructed king Robert in singing, with special emphasis on varying the sound and rhythm of songs to his own taste:

> Fuit is igitur apud Rubertum, ut Timotheus olim apud Alexandrum: qui remittere et excitare norat regis affectus, prout variare cantum, vocis que (vocisque) modos sibi placebat.[31]
>
> He played a role with Robert that with Alexander was filled by Timothy, who knew how to calm and excite the passions of the king, seeing as how he was pleased by the varying of song and the modes of the voice.

Scardeone's testimony is of interest not only with respect to Robert's musical interests but also the presence of Marchetto da Padova at the Neapolitan court. Of Marchetto he writes:

> Ornavit ergo hac celebri arte patriam, atque Italiam fere primus Marchetus cognomento Paduanus, doctissimus philosophus, simil[32] [*sic*] et Musicus qui sua aetate de Musica primus, in eo modulandi genere, quod Enharmanium dici audio, praecepta generalia dedisse perhibetur. Quare cum illis temporibus magni nominis esset, et doctissimus

Anjou, called "the Wise" (1309–43), based on the indication of another rubric, in manuscript F in Parma, Abbazia di San Giovanni Evangelista (fol. XXXVII*v*), which lists the same Credo as *Regis Siciliae*" (Marco Gozzi, "Il canto fratto: prima classificazione dei fenomeni e primi esiti del progetto RAPHAEL," in Marco Gozzi and Francesco Luisi, eds., *Il canto fratto: l'altro gregoriano.* Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma – Arezzo, 3–6 dicembre 2003 (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 2005), 17. I thank the author for allowing me to read his article before publication.

[30] This information and the citation from Eleonora M. Beck, "Marchetto da Padova and Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel Frescoes," *Early Music* 27 (1999): 9, and the corresponding notes.

[31] Beck, "Marchetto da Padova," 21n14.

[32] To be emended as "simul" ["at the same time"] or taken as an abbreviation for "similiter" ["similarly"].

> in ea re a cunctis haberetur, invitatus a Ruberto, inclyto Sicilae [*sic*] rege, qui doctissimos quosque ea tempestate fovebat. Neapolim profectus est, ibidemcque [*sic*] in eius aula multa cum laude versatus. Scripsit interim De praeceptis artis Musice mensurate librum, quem Pomarium [*sic*] nominavit in cuius principio ita legitur: Principi domino Ruberto Dei gratia Hierusalem et Siciliae regi, Marchetus de Padua humilem recommendationem. Fuit is igitur apud Rubertum, ut Timotheus olim apud Alexandrum: qui remittere et excitare norat regis affectus, prout variare cantum, vocisque modos sibi placebat.[33]
>
> Therefore, just about the first to adorn his fatherland and all of Italy with this magnificent art was Marchetto da Padova, a most learned philosopher and musician, who is said to have been the first of his day to give the general rules for that kind of musical modulation which I have heard called Enharmonic. Since because of this he had a great reputation at that time, and since he was universally regarded as extremely learned in music, he was invited by Robert, the illustrious king of Sicily, who at that time was in the habit of patronizing all the most learned men. Marchetto went to Naples and was held in great honor at the court. While there he wrote a book on the rules of measured music, called Pomerium, which begins, "To the Prince, lord Robert, by the grace of God king of Jerusalem and Sicily, Marchetto da Padova a humble recommendation . . . " He played a role with Robert that with Alexander was filled by Timothy, who knew how to calm and excite the passions of the king, seeing as how he was pleased by the varying of song and the modes of the voice.

What information, then, can be taken from this passage?

1. that Marchetto went to Naples upon the invitation of the Angevin king himself. Robert, knowing Marchetto's fame as a teacher of solmization, mutation, and permutation, wanted him in his retinue and chose him as master;

2. that Marchetto wrote the *Pomerium* during his stay in Naples (which, if Herlinger's[34] dating is accepted, had to have taken place before 5 February 1319).

In Robert's Naples, then, attentive and devoted to musical activity, the first seeds of the Italian *ars nova* could have been planted. Scardeone's testimony seems promising, as it accords and concurs with the other evidence so far adduced to portray Robert's court as especially interested in music and its more avant-garde practitioners. Nevertheless,

[33] This citation is reformulated from Beck's notes in "Marchetto da Padova," 21.

[34] Jan Herlinger, "Introduction" in *The "Lucidarium" of Marchetto of Padua: Critical Edition, Translation, Commentary*, ed. Jan Herlinger (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), 3–4.

his credibility is that of a local historian who sings the praises of his city by intoning the long-past—in this case about two hundred years past—deeds of its most illustrious citizens. In other words, his account lacks the reliability (and more importantly the support) of documentary evidence, which it would need in order to ascend from fervent patriotism to the firmer ground of history.

The Proof

Considering Scardeone's limited credibility, the effort to substantiate Pirrotta's hypothesis seems in danger of drowning in the waters of conjecture. But it is saved by the fact that Marchetto actually did live in Naples in 1318 and that he was a cleric in Robert's chapel. That this is indeed the case is confirmed by a document issued by Robert's chancery, saved from the destruction of 1943 by way of a documentary summary by Camillo Minieri Riccio (published in 1882–83 in *Archivio storico per le Province Napoletane*), which contains a list of the members at court (soldiers, doctors, surgeons, *ciamberlari*, and members of the royal chapel) who on 18 May 1318 comprised the retinue of the king and his wife on their departure for Avignon.[35]

> In questo giorno [18 maggio 1318] re Roberto si prepara a partire da Napoli per portarsi in Provenza dal pontefice unitamente alla regina Sancia sua moglie, con un grande seguito della sua Corte, composto da [. . .] tutti militi. [. . .] tutti suoi medici. [. . .] tutti suoi chirurgi. [. . .] tutti suoi ciamberlari. Pietro de Morer, Fra Giovanni Vescovo di Acerra, Fra Giovanni abate del monastero di S. Maria di Real Valle, Fra Rainaldo, Fra Giacomo de Alliaco, Fra Pietro di San Dionisio, Roberto d'Atri, Nicola d'Artois, Terrerio di Napoli, Rainaldo Catalano, tutti suoi cappellani. Riccardo di Sessa, Pietro Bornio, Chelon, Gerardo de Sartellis, Marchetto di Padova, Giovanni di Civitella, Giovanni Caccatrico, Raimondo Raniero, Giovanni de Goudan, tutti suoi chierici. Gugliotto ed Errico *somulerii cappelle regie.*[36]
>
> On this day [18 May 1318], king Robert prepares to depart from Naples for the papal court in Provence, together with his wife, queen Sancia, and a great retinue from his Court, composed of [. . .] all his

[35] The discovery that Marchetto was indeed present in Robert's Neapolitan chapel in 1318 was first brought to light by Anna Maria Voci about ten years ago. Her article, "La cappella di corte dei primi sovrani angioini di Napoli," was published twice, first in 1995 in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, and then in 1998 in slightly modified form, in the acts of an international conference held in Rome and Naples in 1995 entitled *L'état angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle* (cf. *supra* n9). Although she emphasizes this piece of biographic information and intuits its importance, nevertheless she does not fully grasp its implications and repercussions for history and musicology.

[36] Miniero Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II," 469–70: information taken from *olim* Reg. Ang. 1317. A. n. 211, fols. 130–136v.

> soldiers. [. . .] all his doctors. [. . .] all his surgeons. [. . .] all his chamberlains. Pietro de Morer, Fra Giovanni Bishop of Acerra, Fra Giovanni abbot of the monastery of S. Maria di Real Valle, Fra Rainaldo, Fra Giacomo de Alliaco, Fra Pietro di San Dionisio, Robert d'Atri, Nicola d'Artois, Terrerio di Napoli, Rainaldo Catalano, all his chaplains. Riccardo di Sessa, Pietro Bornio, Chelon, Gerardo de Sartellis, Marchetto di Padova, Giovanni di Civitella, Giovanni Caccatrico, Raimondo Raniero, Giovanni de Goudan, all his clerics. Gugliotto and Errico *somulerii cappelle regie*.

In light of this evidence, Bernardino Scardeone's testimony (and the entire hypothetical framework so far erected in support of Pirrotta's idea) receives confirmation and acquires credibility. On the one hand, therefore, it contributes to a reevaluation of Naples as a center for the cultivation and proliferation of 14th-century music. On the other, it illuminates the dim biography of the Paduan musician. We know that he was *magister cantus* at the cathedral of Padova between 1305 and 1307 and, thanks to Luca Gianni's[37] recent discovery of a notarial document conserved in Udine's Biblioteca civica, that on 14 June 1317[38] "Magister Marchettus clericus, filius magistri Egidii sartoris de Padua" was in Avignon to renounce to Gastone Della Torre, patriarch of Aquileia, all the rights "quod habet aut habere posset" to the chapter school in Cividale del Friuli. Gianni hypothesizes that upon the death of the previous master (at the beginning of 1316), the chapter cathedral chose, as was customary, two candidates to be considered for the position of *magister scolarum*, in this case Artico di Castello and Marchetto da Padova. Both candidates should have taken an exam administered by the patriarch of Aquileia, who would then have decided between them. But the patriarchate was then vacant, the exam was never administered, and Artico, with the backing of the more powerful houses of Friuli and the chapter of Aquileia itself, was legitimately (since the patriarchate lay vacant) endowed by the latter with all the rights to the chapter school on 2 July 1316.[39] Marchetto went to Avignon upon the election of the new patriarch, Gastone della Torre (31 December 1316), in order to stake his claim to the rights of the chapter school. The school's reputation in the early 14th century as the most important center of study in the region made these rights highly desirable, as did the benefice attached to the title of *magister scolarum*.[40] The presence of Artico di Castello, who with

[37] Luca Gianni, "Marchetto da Padova e la scuola capitolare di Cividale. Un documento inedito del 1317 conservato a Udine," *Musica e Storia* 7 (1999): 47–57.

[38] Udine, Biblioteca civica, Fondo Principale, ms. 1435.

[39] The documents are reproduced in full in an appendix to Gianni's article (55–56).

[40] As Gianni emphasizes, the fact that the office of *magister scolarum* was actually delegated by its legitimate possessor to others "signifies that, in the early decades of the

the backing of the new patriarch also beat out Marchetto for an episcopal office, probably discouraged the Paduan musician from bringing suit against an opponent who enjoyed so much favor and powerful support.

About a year later Marchetto was in Naples, where, according to Scardeone (whose historical value now seems trustworthy) he had come at the invitation of Robert. The king had been impressed by his teachings on music ("qui sua aetate de Musica primus, in eo modulandi genere, quod Enharmonium dici audio, praecepta generalia dedisse perhibetur") and desired him as a master ("Quare cum illis temporibus magni nominis esset, et doctissimus in ea re a cunctis haberetur inviatus a Ruberto"). By what means, then, did Robert come to know of Marchetto's reputation? Was it his fame as music master at the Paduan cathedral, or was it rather as the author of the *Lucidarium*, a work dedicated to plainchant, where his teachings were amply elaborated?

If the generally accepted dating of the *Lucidarium*, proposed by Jan Herlinger,[41] is maintained (between May 1317 and July 1318), Marchetto's renown in Naples should be connected to his activity as music master and not to his theoretical work. Too little time (or perhaps none at all) would have elapsed between the work's composition and the king's invitation, especially if Marchetto was in Avignon on 14 June 1317, and if we accept the information provided by the *explicit* of the *Lucidarium* (which, however, does not appear in all the manuscript copies) regarding its place of composition: begun in Cesena and completed in Verona, dedicated to its commissioner, Ranieri di Zaccaria da Orvieto, representative of Giovanni d'Anjou count of Gravina and Vicar General of Romagna for king Robert. In fact, the time frame proposed by Herlinger for the *Lucidarium*'s composition must be restricted. Given the length of travel time in the period, Marchetto would have been able to reach Cesena only after renouncing his rights to the school in Cividale. What is more, considering that he found himself in Robert of Anjou's Neapolitan court already in May of 1318, he must have remained in Cesena for only a few months before moving on to Verona.

After having renounced in June of 1317 his rights to the chapter school of Cividale, the Paduan musician went "in search of a protector who could guarantee the level of economic support necessary to prac-

14th century, the chapter school of Cividale had become, for the person invested with it or aspiring to it, a simple source of income;" moreover, the proficiency exam for those invested with the office shows "that the qualifications required for its assignment were only a *pro forma* to justify the eventual rejection of a displeasing candidate." This is probably what happened to Marchetto, although the official reason for his not being confirmed is not reported in the documents (Gianni, "Marchetto da Padova e la scuola capitolare di Cividale," 54).

[41] Herlinger, "Introduction," 3.

ticing his profession and continuing his studies."[42] He thus turned to the Angevins, at first—maybe—in the person of a high dignitary of their court and the representative of their power in Cesena, Ranieri di Zaccaria, and then in the person of king Robert himself. Marchetto, then, could have reached Naples between the end of 1317 and the beginning of 1318 (likely at the request of the king) and been appointed to the office of *clericus* in the royal chapel. Scardeone informs us that Marchetto wrote the *Pomerium* in Naples. If not precisely there, then he surely did so in the itinerant Angevin chapel, which is substantiated, as I stressed above, by documentary evidence of the Paduan musician's presence in the city. We can suppose that Marchetto thought of dedicating the treatise to Robert right from the beginning of its composition, as a tribute to the ruler's musical interests, and maybe in the opportunistic hope for some personal benefit, such as acquiring a more significant (and better paid) position in the chapel than that of simple cleric.

More precisely, the drafting of the dedicatory letter could date to the time of the Angevin king's "military affairs as yet undecided." Oliver Strunk[43] identified these with the Genoese campaign against Marco Visconti's Ghibelline forces, which began on 21 July 1318 and reached a conclusion favorable to Robert on 5 February 1319:

> Hinc est quod devota mentis intentione considerans quid per me dignum foret vestrae celsitudini offerendum, decrevi quoddam meae exilitatis indagine musicae artis opusculum condere, *quod regium animum in campo praesentis militiae marte bellorum ancipiti laborantem interdum suae novitatis ordine delectaret*, religiosi viri fratris Syphantis de Feraria, ordinis Praedicatorum, dirigente ducatu, quantum ad libri ordinem et philosophiae fulcimina rationum, autum<n>ans praesens opusculum tanto fore decentius formalitate venustum quanto maiestatis vestrae conspectibus gratum erit [emphasis mine].[44]

> Therefore, diligently thinking about what would be a worthy gift for your highness, I decided to write to the best of my humble ability a work on the art of music, *whose arrangement of novel content might from time to time delight the royal mind while it toils in military affairs as yet undecided*. Having benefited from the guidance (regarding the structure of the book and the fundamentals of philosophical reasoning) of fra Sifante da Ferrara, O.P., I think this work will be as fittingly graceful in its form as it is pleasing to the sight of your majesty.

[42] Gianni, "Marchetto da Padova e la scuola capitolare di Cividale," 54.

[43] Oliver Strunk, "Intorno a Marchetto da Padova," *Rassegna musicale* 20 (1950): 312–15.

[44] Marchetus de Padua, *Pomerium*, 36–37.

In any case, if Marchetto devised, planned out, and began writing the *Pomerium* in Naples, two peculiar aspects of its content, which emerge under close examination, can be explained:

1. the ample use of medicine to exemplify and explain certain general concepts, as well as to construct analogies and metaphors.[45] In Naples Marchetto would have been able to acquire knowledge of that discipline (or deepen whatever knowledge of it he already had) for two reasons. First, medicine constituted one of the central interests both of Neapolitan culture generally in the 14th century and of Robert in particular. Second, as a *clericus* in Robert's chapel Marchetto had free ac-

[45] E.g. when describing the placement of *caudae* to the right and left of notes to identify their value as *longa* or *brevis*, Marchetto writes: "Ipsae ergo proprietates additae notis scriptis adduntur eisdem merito per dextrum et sinistrum, et hoc per respectum ad hominem. Sed in homine ita est quod dextrum latus est perfectius quam sinistrum: nam illud latus quod continet in se illud unde totum corpus nutritur et perficitur est perfectius quam illud latus quod hoc non continet. Sed dextrum latus in homine continet illud quod totum corpus nutrit et perficit, scilicet sanguinem; nam epax est condiens sanguinem, et est in latere dextro. Ergo perfectius est latus dextrum in homine quam sinistrum. Et haec est ratio quare Christus in cruce voluit percuti in latere dextro, scilicet ut totum sanguinem suum funderet pro genere humano. Et hoc dicimus secundum medicos; secundum autem phylosophos dicimus quod cor, quod est principium generationis sanguinis principiumque omnis motus, est in latere sinistro; et tamen latus sinistrum est imperfectius et impotentius dextro. Cuius ratio est quia cuspis cordis versus sinistrum tendit; os autem ipsius cordis versus dextrum in ipsum primitus emittens calorem et nutrimentum. Et hoc apparet ex dispositione membrorum dextrorum, quae quidem sunt potentiora et magis operabilia sinistris, tamquam pars movens; sinistra vero impotentiora et minus operabilia, tamquam pars mota" (Marchetus de Padua, *Pomerium*, 51–52) ["Therefore, the properties themselves are added to the right and left side of the written notes in accordance with the right and left sides of a human being. In a human being it is thus, that the right side is more perfect than the left: for the side which contains in itself that from which the whole body is nourished and fulfilled is more perfect than the side which does not contain it. The right side of a human being contains that which nourishes and fulfills the whole body, namely blood; for the liver contains the blood, and it is on the right side. Therefore the right side of a human being is more perfect than the left. And this is the reason for which Christ, when on the cross, wanted to be struck on the right side, so that all his blood would flow out for mankind. This we say in accordance with the doctors; in agreement with the philosophers, however, we say that the heart, which is the origin of the generation of the blood and the origin of all motion, is on the left side; nevertheless, the left side is less perfect and less potent than the right. The reason for this is that the point of the heart is oriented to the left, whereas the mouth of the heart, which it infuses first with heat and nutrients, is oriented to the right. This is also manifest from the function of limbs on the right side, which, since they cause motion, are more powerful and limber than those of the left, which, since they are moved, are less powerful and limber"]. As Tiziana Sucato emphasizes in her commentary on this passage, the sources of the respective medical and philosophical positions are Galen and Aristotle. Although Sucato suggests that Marchetto knew these writers by way of Pietro d'Abano, it should not be forgotten that Robert's library boasted numerous translations of Galen, commissioned by the king himself, and that medicine enjoyed pride of place in the Neapolitan *Studio* (cf. Tiziana Sucato, "Introduzione," in Marchetto da Padova, *Pomerium in arte musicae mensuratae*, intr. and comm. Tiziana Sucato, trans. Carla Vivarelli (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, in press).

cess to the royal library,[46] which we know was rich in legal, religious, philosophical, and medicinal texts (the last included texts of Hippocrates and Galen, translated from Arabic and Greek).

2. the knowledge of the fundamentals of the French *ars nova* that permeates the text.[47] Marchetto could have come into contact with these new French ideas on mensural notation, then still being debated and awaiting codification, in the bosom of Robert's chapel in Naples, which between 1317 and 1318 accepted into its service an Augustinian monk by the name of "Petrus de Sancto Dionysio."[48]

> Anno 1317
> April 8 – (Neapoli) solute sunt infrascriptis Capellanis et clericis et personis aliis eiusdem Capelle (Regis), pro gagiis et expensis eorum et familiarium suorum eiusdem mensis Aprilis, ad raciones subscriptas, in Carolenis argenti, uncie duodecim, tareni undecim et grana quinque = Unc. XII, tar. XI, gr. X (*sic*); videlicet:
> Fratri Iohanni, Episcopo Acerrarum; fri. Iohanni, Abbati Monasterii S. Marie de Regali Valle; fri. Pagano, Abbati Monasterii S. Petri de Ebulo; *fri. Petro de Sancto Dionysio*, Ordinis heremitarum S. Augustini; dno. Ferrerio de Neapoli. – Capellanis nº quinque, ad predictam rationem de uncia una et tarenis novem pro quolibet eorum cum famulo, Unc. VI, tar. XV.[49]

> Naples, 8 April 1317
> Paid to the below-named Chaplains and clerics and other employees of the (Royal) Chapel, for their salary and expenses and those of their

[46] For a synthetic description of the royal library, cf. Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, 71–73. Information relating to the acquisition and copying of texts is found in publications that summarize certain Angevin chancery documents, e.g. Nicola Barone, "La 'Ratio thesaurariorum' della Cancelleria angioina," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 10 (1885): 413–34, 653–64, and 11 (1886): 5–20, 173–97, 411–32, 575–96.

[47] Sucato emphasizes a series of elements in the *Pomerium* that betray a knowledge of the rudiments of the French *ars nova*. I reproduce two here by way of example: "when Marchetto assails 'quidam' who consider the *semibrevis* a valid unit of musical time—which is to his way of thinking an imperfect quantity, since it is a part of a whole (21.8–30)—he must have Vitry's teaching in mind"; and again, "the importance assumed by the demonstration 'that *tempus imperfectum* and *tempus perfectum* are not actually the same thing' (*Pomerium* 35.2) indicates that Marchetto does not take up this question out of a desire for clearness or completeness, but rather as an imaginary response to the precepts of the Ars nova and the treatises of De Muris" (Sucato, "Introduzione").

[48] My information comes from summaries of documents taken from the *Ratio Thesaurorum* of Robert's chancery and published in the 11th volume (1927–1928) of the *Analecta Augustiniana* (since they named Augustinian monks paid for various activities connected to the court).

[49] Information from the no-longer extant register 211, an. 1317 A. fol. 100v, which is followed on fol. 101 by "alia solutio Capellanis, qui sunt numero 10, inter quos etiam nominatus apparet Fr. Petrus de Sto. Dionysio" ["another payment to the chaplains, numbering ten, among whom is named brother Peter of Saint Denis"] (López Zamóra, "De conventu S. Augustini neapolitano," 143).

retinues for the month of April, the following amounts in silver carlins: twelve ounces, eleven tarì, and five grani = ounces 12, tarì 11, grani 10; that is:
To fra Giovanni, Bishop of Acerra; to fra Giovanni, Abbot of the Monastery of S. Maria di Realvalle; to fra Pagano, Abbot of the Monastery of S. Pietro di Eboli; to *fra Pietro da Saint Denis*, of the Order of the Augustinian Hermits, to don Ferrerio da Napoli. – To the five Chaplains the agreed amount of one ounce and nine tarì each (including a servant), in total 6 ounces, 15 tarì.

Anno 1318
Maii 18 – Solutio stipendiorum trius mensium Capellanis, inter quos nominatus apparet *Fr. Petrus de Sto. Dionysio*, Ordinis heremitarum S. Augustini.[50]

18 May 1318
Payment of wages for three months to the Chaplains, among whom is named *fra Pietro da Saint Denis*, of the Order of the Augustinian Hermits.

Could this Petrus de Sancto Dionysio be the same as the French music theorist of the early 14th century and author of the *Tractatus de musica*?

According to Ulrich Michels, its modern editor-commentator, the *Tractatus*, which had been previously issued as anonymous (Anonymous VI) by Coussemaker, is attributed to Petrus de Sancto Dionysio in the later two[51] (XV sec.) of the three extant manuscript witnesses. In these manuscripts the first section, dedicated to *musica theorica*, is the same as in the older one (1391), where the text bears no attribution.[52] The second section, however, on *musica practica*, is different and surely later in its content. Since the theories presented in the anonymous version are borrowed, or at any rate take their bearings, from Johannes de Muris' *Notitia artis musica*, and since they make reference to the polemic begun by Jacob of Liège, Michels argues that treatise could have been written in the years immediately following the composition of the *Notitia* itself, that is around 1324–25, in or around Paris. And since "Sancto Dionysio" is plausibly identified with the abbey of Saint-Denis near Paris, the identification of Anonymous VI with the Petrus in question follows quickly enough. Now, taking into consideration that Anonymous VI/Petrus de Sancto Dionysio seems quite likely to have been an Augustinian —not only does he show ample knowledge of the saint's work, espe-

[50] López Zamóra, "De conventu S. Augustini neapolitano," 146 (information taken from vol. 211, fol. 132).

[51] Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, L.V.30, fols. 129v–133, and Washington, Library of Congress, ML 171 J 6, fols. 102v–109.

[52] Chicago, Newberry Library, 54.1, fols. 1–6v.

cially the *De musica*, from which he often cites passages, but he even refers to him as "beatus Augustinus, pater noster"[53]—he could very well be the Petrus "of the Order of the Augustinian Hermits" named in the above-cited documents from the Angevin chancery.

The note of 18 May 1318 tells us that the chaplain Petrus de Sancto Dionysio was about to depart, along with the other members of the royal chapel (then composed of ten chaplains, nine clerics, and two *somularii*) in the entourage of king Robert and queen Sancia, to the residence of Pope John XXII in Provence, where the Neapolitan court would stay until 1324.[54] It is very likely that Petrus, once having reached Avignon, never returned to Naples but rather stayed in France, where he could have written his treatise in the wake of the *Notitia artis musicae*. In fact, in the selection of documents from Robert of Anjou's *Ratio Thesaurorum*, prepared by Saturnino López Zamóra and published in *Analecta augustiniana*, there are no entries from 1318 to 1336 (1337 is the last year included in this particular collection), signifying that in this period of time no Augustinian monks or monasteries were named in the documents produced by the Angevin chancery[55] (and that were still available in Lopez Zamóra's time). Petrus de Sancto Dionysio next appears in a letter of John XXII, dated 14 September 1332, which authorizes the "Chancellor of the Parisian Church" to assign the Augustinian Hermit to a teaching post in the Parisian *studium*:

> Cancellario ecclesiae Parisiensis, considerationi Johannae Reginae Franciae, facultas concedendi lecturam sententiarum in studio Parisiensi pro primis futuris vacationibus Petro de S. Dionysio ordinis eremitarum S. Augustini qui in sacra pagina laudabiliter profecit.[56]
>
> To the Chancellor of the Parisian Church, to the attention of Jeanne, Queen of France, the authority to assign a teaching post in the Parisian studium, at his earliest convenience to Pietro di Saint Denis of the Order of the Augustinian Hermits, who has made laudable progress in theology.

53 Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, *Tractatus de Musica*, ed. Ulrich Michels, s.l. (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 151.

54 Cf. Minieri Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II," 469–70. Information on the journey is also provided in Voci, "La cappella di corte," 77 and 113, but the chaplain is not identified there.

55 The fact that Petrus de Sancto Dionysio is not listed in the registers as having received any payment as a royal chaplain need not imply that he had left the city, since he easily could have remained there and taught in some capacity, considering his origin, in an Augustinian monastery.

56 *"Ut per litteras apostolicas": papal letters = letters pontificales*, ed. École Française de Rome, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002, n. 58394 (Electronic form of documents originally published in *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. 2. sér., Registres des papes du XIIe siècle*, 32 vols., Rome, 1883–; and in *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. 3. sér., Registres et letters des papes du XIVe siècle*, 48 vols., Rome, 1899–).

If, as is likely, the Augustinian monk named in the papal letter is our theorist, we not only have confirmation that he never returned to Naples from Avignon, but we also learn of the reputation he acquired for theological erudition ("qui in sacra pagina laudabiliter profecit"). He had probably made use of this erudition in Naples, in the Augustinian *studium*, and it just as probably motivated his nomination as chaplain by Robert, who we know liked to surround himself with men learned in the science and philosophy of the age (especially jurists, doctors, and theologians who were attracted to the *studia* of the religious orders).

In summary: the Augustinian Petrus de Sancto Dionysio could have reached Naples by way of his order's *studium*, and, once in the city, could have served king Robert as a chaplain from the beginning of 1317[57] until 1319 when, in the king's retinue, he moved to Avignon. He could have continued to serve in the chapel until 1324, when the Angevin king and his court returned to the capital of the Regno, or, if he had left his post before that date, he could have returned to Paris. There he would have composed his *Tractatus de musica* in the years following 1321, and in 1332 he would be named *sacrae paginae professor* to hold "lecturam sententiarum in studio Parisiensi pro primis futuris vacationibus."

Petrus' presence in the royal chapel, first in Naples and then in Avignon, is extremely significant: The musician was aware of the new ideas regarding mensural notation then fermenting in the music scene of his native Paris, and he could have taken them, still *in nuce*, to Naples, thus raising controversy there before they took written form elsewhere.

It was therefore in Naples that Marchetto grew acquainted with French innovations in mensural notation that permeate his *Pomerium*. He would then have been able to pursue the new trends in Avignon, where his place in the Angevin king's retinue brought him as of 29 April 1319. It is also very possible that there he met Philippe de Vitry —who dedicated a motet to Robert in the period of his stay in Provence —or at least learned about his teachings.

What happened to Marchetto once he reached Avignon?

What seems certain, based on an examination of the letters of Pope John XXII, is that Marchetto did not obtain an ecclesiastical benefice during his stay in Avignon, unlike other clerics (e.g. Johannes de

[57] It is quite probable that Petrus de Sancto Dionysio entered the Angevin chapel in the first few months of 1317. López Zamóra's summary of the *Ratio Thesaurorum*, which begins in 1313, does not list him before that time, nor does Petrus appear in a letter (dated 2 November 1314) from Robert to the archbishop of Capua, Ingeranno Stella, in which the personnel of the chapel are explicitly named (cf. Voci, "La cappella di corte," 77n39).

Civitella and Johannes Coquatricus)[58] and chaplains (e.g. Robertus de Adria and Nicolaus de Atrebato)[59] in the service of the Sicilian king. In those years benefices were also bestowed upon clerics and chaplains of king Robert not listed in the chancery document dated 18 May 1318, which suggests some turnover in the personnel of the royal chapel. Marchetto, then, could have left Avignon for Cesena, maybe at the end of 1323 or the beginning of 1324, when the Angevin court was preparing to return to Naples (which it reached in June 1324), or perhaps even a bit earlier. It seems right to suppose, on the basis of the *explicit* of the *Pomerium*, that he found himself a guest of Rainaldo de' Cintiis (representative of the Guelf Party and podestà of Cesena in 1324) before the spring of 1324, as he does not address his eminent host as "cavaliere," the title then conferred upon him. Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out that the *explicit* of the *Pomerium* (generally used to fix the *terminus ante quem* of the work's composition) is an addition affixed to a later copy, especially since it is not attested in the more authoritative witnesses of the manuscript tradition.[60] Indeed, this is the case with ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D.5 inferiore, which Herlinger argues could be the copy prepared for Robert of Anjou:

> It is carefully written and richly illuminated, in a manner befitting a king or a high official. Of all its treatises only two have title pages outlined by ornate gold borders—the Lucidarium and the Pomerium. These treatises have in common (in addition to authorship) dedication to members of the Angevine court; it is in fact the letters of dedication that appear on the pages with gold borders. Immediately preceding the title page of Lucidarium a folio has been cut out, circumstantial evidence that it must have borne a beautiful decoration of some kind. Perhaps here was the dedication of the manuscript as a whole. If so, its placement just before Marchetto's treatises suggests that the dedicatee of the entire manuscript would have been Ranieri or Robert. [. . .] The accuracy of the texts of Marchetto's treatises in this manuscript [. . .] also suggests that these versions are not too distant from the originals. (Whether Marchetto was responsible for the preparation of this manuscript, however, seems impossible to determine).[61]

[58] Cf. *"Ut per litteras apostolicas,"* nos. 6823, 12782, 19120, 25112, and 19118.

[59] Cf. *"Ut per litteras apostolicas,"* nos. 19116 and 19121.

[60] Although it does appear in one of the oldest manuscripts (dating from the end of the 14th century), which is of Italian origin: Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Premier, II 4144, fols. 41r–90v (as noted by Sucato in her *Commentario* to the Latin text of the *Pomerium*, n184). Even if the *explicit* does belong to the initial presentation of the work, it cannot be ruled out that Marchetto simply *finished*—and did not *begin*—the treatise while a guest of Rainaldo de' Cintiis, and that it was indeed begun years before in Naples.

[61] Herlinger, "Introduction," 24. Herlinger also makes use of Mirella Ferrari's analysis of the manuscript's illuminations, which, in addition to dating the manuscript to the first half of the Trecento, detects decorative features typical of northern Europe, probably French, and of southern Italy, probably Angevin.

The fact that the Milanese manuscript was probably prepared for King Robert could attach new significance to the mention of the Dominican Sifante da Ferrara in the *Pomerium*'s dedicatory letter.[62] In this context it assumes a greater importance than if it had been inserted merely into the body of the treatise, as here it was intended to have a specific effect on the dedicatee. In other words, Marchetto avails himself of the authority of Sifante, a scholar well known to the king, in order to validate his work in the eyes of his patron. This was especially necessary to shore up the value of his philosophical disquisitions, from whose full mastery his admitted lack of university training would have barred him (*pace* Scardeone).[63] Although the Dominican monk is known only by way of Marchetto's citations,[64] on the basis of these considerations he could be imagined as an important figure in the theological and philosophical culture of the early 14th century, well known even in Naples, where for a time he might have been active in the context of the Dominican *studium* (in that period an active center for theological and philosophical speculation). Where and under what circumstances he encountered Marchetto, however, cannot be determined from the available facts.

The presence in Naples in 1318 of two renowned exponents of the French and Italian *ars nova*, Petrus de Sancto Dionysio and Marchetto da Padova, calls for the Angevin capital to be recognized as an important musical center in the early 14th century, as a breeding ground that would give rise to diverse but equally innovative traditions, and as the setting for fiery debates of the intellectual avant-garde. It is true that this fervor does not seem to have penetrated the curriculum of the University of Naples.[65] Despite Charles I's edict of 1272, which called for the teaching of medieval science in its entirety at the civic *studium*, "in reality, although in his time and throughout the entire Angevin period solid evidence is found for the teaching of the *Artes* grammar and logic, of civil and canon law, of medicine, and of theology, there is not one

[62] In the Ambrosian manuscript only the *Pomerium*'s dedicatory letter reports the citation of Sifante: "religiosi viri fratris Syphantis de Feraria, ordinis Praedicatorum, dirigente ducatu, quantum ad libri ordinem et philosophiae fulcimina rationum" (Marchetus de Padua, *Pomerium*, 36) [Having benefited from the guidance (regarding the structure of the book and the fundamentals of philosophical reasoning) of fra Sifante da Ferrara, O.P.]; .]; the Lucidarium's dedication omits it: "Infrascriptum opus Vestre duxit Magnificentiae presentandum" (The "Lucidarium" of Marchetto of Padua, 70) ["I brought the following work to present to Your Magnificence"].

[63] Cf. Herlinger, "Introduction," 3, and F. Alberto Gallo, "Marchetto da Padova," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1980), 11: 662.

[64] Cf. Thomas Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevii*, 4 vols., Roma: Istituto storico domenicano, 1970–93, 4: 281–82.

[65] The University of Naples was founded in 1224 by Frederick II.

mention of the *studium* providing instruction in arithmetic, music, geometry, or astronomy. In itself this is nothing strange, both because not all subjects were studied in every *Studio Generale*, even the most important, and because there are many cases in which the dictates of a *Studio*'s privilege did not correspond to reality."[66] Musical culture in 14th-century Naples, then, found its home at the court, various ecclesiastical institutions, monastic and secular contexts within the city and without, and even in neighboring towns. Robert's interests and patronage turned Naples into a center for the cultivation and proliferation of music. He continued a tradition which began with Charles I's encouragement of troubadour production and which developed, at the turn of the century, into an interest in the *ars subtilior*. This took place within the context of a renewed enthusiasm for chivalric and lay culture,[67] which in turn contributed to the spread of French taste in the customs and fashions of the female aristocratic sphere in Naples. To this the Catalan chronicler Francesco Eiximenis testifies in his *Llibre de les dones*, which speaks at the end of the 14th century "de cantar frances, guarguolaiant, axi com fan les dones generoses en França, e de parlar de amors e de anemoraments" among women at court and in the country.[68]

Robert's Naples thus emerges from the oblivion to which it was consigned by the heavy documentary losses of the Second World War. It rises a bit battered and bruised but nonetheless capable of suggesting its splendor as a center of the maturation of the nascent *ars nova*. As such it is an ideal projection on to a larger scale of the image called forth by the title of Marchetto's work:

> Hunc autem librum voluimus POMERIUM nuncupari, eo quod flores et fructus in eo totius pulchrae musicae sunt plantati ad laudem et gloriam Conditoris, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.[69]

[66] Gennaro Maria Monti, *Storia dell'Università di Napoli*, Napoli: Ricciardi, 1924, 25–26.

[67] Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, 124.

[68] *Guarguolaiant* is a verbal form of the French verb *gargouiller*, which in 14th-century Catalan had the significance of "to produce a sound similar to that of liquid inside a tube," similar to the Italian "gorgogliare" (to gurgle, gargle, bubble). Cf. Joan Corominas – José A. Pascual, *Diccionario crítico éimólogico castellano e hispánico*, 5 vols., Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1980 (Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, V. Diccionarios, 7), *ad vocem* "gargouiller"; the adjective *generoses*, usually found with *linajudo* (here omitted), probably has the meaning "noble" (cf. *ibid.*, *ad vocem* "generoso"). The citation probably means that noble Neapolitan women sang French songs, hymns to love and falling in love, pitching their voices in the French manner (as opposed to the rather nasal pitching of the voice considered to be more typical and quite diffuse in the Middle Ages). The citation is from Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, 85.

[69] Marchetus de Padua, *Pomerium*, 210.

> We wanted this book to be called *Pomerium*, because in it the flowers and fruits of all beautiful music have been planted for the praise and glory of the Creator, to whom belong honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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ABSTRACT

The presence of two famous exponents of the French and Italian *ars nova* in Naples in 1318—respectively Petrus de Sancto Dionysio and Marchetto da Padova—substantiates Nino Pirrotta's hypothesis that the Angevin capital was an important center of musical culture in the early Trecento and a setting for avant-garde debates. It also aids in reconstructing the elusive biography of the Paduan musician and clarifies the much debated dating of his *Pomerium*. Pirrotta ultimately abandoned his Neapolitan hypothesis for lack of evidence, a difficulty caused and aggravated by the thorough destruction of Angevin chancery documents during the Second World War. Evidence has been found, however, in indirect sources, such as literary texts, works of local history, and documentary transcriptions and summaries that predate the archival losses. In addition to placing the two prominent musicians at the Angevin court in Naples, these sources confirm the presence there of minstrels (evidence for secular music within the court's recreational sphere), vouch for the continuity of the institution of the royal chapel (evidence for sacred music at court, clearly connected to the liturgy), and testify to Robert of Anjou's catalytic patronage of the arts and his passion for music in general. Thus Naples regains its status as a capital on the map of 14th-century music.

Keywords:
Marchetus de Padua
Petrus de Sancto Dionysio
Ars nova
Naples
Robert of Anjou