

MUSIC AND LEARNING IN THE EARLY ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER

Recent trends in music have, more than in the visual arts, been favorable to the preservation of some intellectual and literary content, but the modern cult of genius has tended to isolate the composer, if not the performer, from his social environment and from the learning of his time. This situation has quite understandably affected also the study of the history of music, and is further accentuated by the necessities of increasing scholarly specialization. Consequently, the history of music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance has often been presented as a completely separate development, and only quite recently have attempts been made to consider it within the framework of a more general cultural and intellectual situation.¹ The following pages, written without any claim to competence in music or its history, are meant as a contribution to the general "background" of Renaissance music, and they may encourage more qualified scholars to investigate in greater detail the pertinent facts and problems.

In the history of music, as well as in many other branches of cultural history, mediaeval Italy occupies a somewhat peculiar position.² Whereas there is every reason to believe that the tradition of Gregorian chant was preserved and cultivated in the more important monasteries, cathedrals, and other ecclesiastic centers, Italy apparently had no part in the early development of polyphony which had its center in France.³

¹ A. Pirro, *Histoire de la Musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e*, Paris, 1940. P. H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, New York, 1941.

² For this historical position of medieval Italy, see my article, "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance", *Byzantion*, XVII (1944-45), 346-74.

³ I should like to refer, once and for all, to the following general works which I have consulted for this paper: A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* II, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 188c; III, 2nd ed., 1881; IV (3rd ed. by H. Leichtentritt), 1909. Guido Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Berlin, 1930. H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1920. J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, I, Leipzig, 1904. Th. Gérold, *Histoire de la Musique des origines à la fin du XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1936. A. Pirro, *op. cit.* G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1940. P. H. Lang, *op. cit.* H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1920. *The Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1929-32. R. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker*, Leipzig, n. d. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3rd ed., New

Prior to the end of the thirteenth century, musical compositions and treatises of Italian origin are extremely rare, and the records of musical activity and teaching are amazingly scanty. The figure of Guido of Arezzo in the eleventh century is so much of an exception that the hypothesis of his French origin deserves some consideration.⁴ The treatise on arithmetic, geometry, and music written toward the end of the twelfth century by William, canon and bishop of Lucca, discussed by local scholars⁵ but apparently neglected by general historians of music, does not change the comprehensive picture, which is not likely to be affected by similar discoveries that may be made in the future in libraries or archives. During the thirteenth century, popular religious movements created the type of the *Laudi* which from the very beginning must have been accompanied by music, although the extant examples of such music are of a later date.⁶ Among the early members of the Franciscan Order we find at least two musicians, Henry of Pisa and Vita of Lucca, who achieved a reputation both as singers and composers and gave at least some private instruction in music. They composed music for one, two, and three voices, and they used texts that were either written by themselves or by such famous authors as Philip the Chancellor and Richard of St. Victor.⁷ Also the practice of secular music must have been stimulated by the fashionable recital and imitation of French and Provençal poetry, but very little seems to be known about it.⁸ The traditional place of music among the seven liberal arts may have led many students to give some time to musical theory, but the extant records of the schools and early universities in Italy show no evidence that music held a definite place in their curriculum, either as a separate field or even as an annex to the study of mathematics and astronomy.⁹

York, 1938. F. J. Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, Paris, 1870. H. Beseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Potsdam, 1931-35.

⁴ Lang, *op. cit.*, 84.

⁵ L. Nerici, "Storia della musica in Lucca", *Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca*, XII, Lucca, 1880, p. 16 and 90 f. The work is preserved in cod. 614 of the Biblioteca Capitolare in Lucca.

⁶ I am indebted for this information to Prof. Manfred Bukofzer.

⁷ "Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam", *G. M.*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXXII, Hannover, 1905-13, p. 181 ff. I am indebted for this and several other references and informations to Prof. Leo Schrader.

⁸ Such a recital by a noble party in Pisa is described by Salimbene, *op. cit.*, 44 f.

⁹ G. Manacorda, *Storia della Scuola in Italia*, Milan, n. d., is completely silent on the place of music in the mediaeval Italian schools and lists only one work on

It is only with the fourteenth century that Italy began to play a major role in the history of music. The Italian Ars Nova which had its center in Florence and in Lombardy produced a large number of secular compositions and held an important place in contemporary society, as is shown by several literary testimonies. This music, as that of the troubadours, developed in close connection with vernacular poetry. The composers set to music either their own verses or those of contemporary poets with whom they often maintained personal relations. Whereas religious music was cultivated in monasteries and cathedrals,¹⁰ this secular music was fostered not only by the courts of the princes and nobles, but also by the republican governments of the various cities and communities. The published records on the musical culture and activities in numerous Italian cities begin to become more frequent and more detailed with the fourteenth century, but apparently they have been very little utilized by general historians of music.¹¹ It appears that the authorities of such cities as Florence, Lucca, and Perugia quite regularly employed groups of musicians to play in public on special occasions and to entertain the authorities during hours of rest from business.¹² The teaching of music must have been primarily of a practical nature. There is almost no trace of musical instruction at the universities.¹³ The chief theorist of the period, Mar-

music among the textbooks that were in use: *Librum artis musicae* (in the library of S. Vito e Gorgona); 1379, pt. II, p. 357.

¹⁰ The chronicle of the Dominican monastery of S. Caterina in Pisa praises several friars for their accomplishments in music, especially in singing and teaching "Chronica Antiqua Conventus Sanctae Catharinae de Pisis", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VI, Pt. II, 1845, p. 522, 547, 549, 555.

¹¹ The numerous periodicals on local history as well as the proceedings of the provincial historical societies and of the academies include several articles and documents illustrating the history of music. Since they are seldom mentioned by general historians of music it might be worth while to utilize this material, beginning with a bibliography.

¹² For Florence, see L. Cellesi, "Documenti per la storia musicale di Firenze". *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, XXXIV (1927), 579-602; XXXV (1928), 553-82. For Lucca see Nerici, *op. cit.*, who also quotes documents for Perugia from an article of A. Rossi, published in the *Giornale di Erudizione Artistica*.

¹³ This is the one exception which I have been able to find: A criminal record of February, 1308, in Bologna, mentions "... magistrum Iohannem domini Guillelmi teotonicum de Valegio dictum alias magistrum Johannem della Luna, astrologum, professorem et doctorem in scientiis medicine et in artibus, sive gramatica, dialectica, rethorica, aritmetica, geometria, musica et astrologia de motibus et astrologia de effectibus sive operibus que est ipsa phylosopia... qui quidem magister Johannes est de universitate scolarium studentium Bononie..." From another document it

chettus of Padua, whose works are now commonly dated after 1309, was active in Cesena, Verona, and perhaps in Naples, and had no connection with the university of his home town.¹⁴ The combination of music and learning appears especially in the most famous composer of the period, Francesco Landini of Florence.¹⁵ He was not only a distinguished musician, but also a poet, both in the vernacular and in Latin. He was praised for his knowledge of grammar, astronomy, and the other liberal arts, and in one of his extant Latin poems he defends the logic of Ockham against its humanist critics. This poem is an interesting document for the controversy between the humanist rhetoricians and the scholastic logicians in its earlier phase.¹⁶ Landini was also crowned with the laurel by the King of Cyprus in Venice, and this episode which apparently makes him the only "musician laureate" in Western history illustrates his fame as well as his ambitions. The statement made by several scholars that Landini must have been crowned as a poet and not as a musician has no documentary foundation.¹⁷ In all probability, he was crowned as a musician.

results that in 1298 he received his degree and license "in scientia medicine et in supradictis artibus...". G. Zaccagnini, "Giovanni di Bonandrea dettatore e rimatore ed altri grammatici e dottori in arti dello Studio Bolognese", in *Studi e Memorie per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna*, V, 1920, p. 167 f. and 200. Johannes de Luna apparently was chiefly active as an astrologer. The document does not prove that there was a chair of music, but it shows that the concept of the seven liberal arts was still alive at Bologna around 1300.

¹⁴ For the correct date of Marchettus's treatises, see F. Ludwig "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, V, 1923, 289 and H. Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters", I, *ibid.*, VII, 1925, 177. His works were published by M. Gerbert (*Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica*, III, St. Blasien, 1784, 64 ff.) and by E. de Coussemaker (*Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, III, Paris, 1869, 1 ff.). Coussemaker also published the following treatises that were presumably written in fourteenth-century Italy: *Phillipoti Andreae de contrapuncto* (III, 116 ff.); *Philippi de Caserta de diversis figuris* (*ibid.*, 118 ff.); *fratris Johannis Veruli de Anagnina de musica* (*ibid.*, 129 ff.); *Guillelmi monachi de praeceptis artis musicae* (*ibid.*, 273 ff.). Nothing specific seems to be known about the life and precise date of these authors. To this may be added *L'arte del biscanto misurato secondo el maestro Jacopo da Bologna*, published by J. Wolf in *Theodor Kroyer-Festschrift*, Regensburg, 1933, 17-39.

¹⁵ *The Works of Francesco Landini* (ed. Leonard Ellinwood), Cambridge Mass. 1939, with a biographical introduction and documents.

¹⁶ This poem was published by A. Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, in *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, vol. 86, pt. 2, Bologna, 1867, 295 ff., and by Ph. Boehner, O. F. M., "Ein Gedicht auf die Logik Ockhams," *Franziskanische Studien*, XXVI, 1938, 81 ff.

¹⁷ The only testimony of the coronation is the following sentence of Filippo

With the fifteenth century began for Italy the culminating period of the Renaissance which was to continue through the greater part of the sixteenth century. In the field of music the earlier part of this period was characterized by strong foreign influences originating in France and especially in the Low Countries. In dealing with fifteenth-century Italy musical historians have studied, not only the extant compositions, but especially the theoretical literature and the institutions and centers at which musical theory and practice was cultivated. The links, also, that especially connect the musical theorists with the various centers of teaching and learning and with the main intellectual currents of the period will be the subject of this paper. Its major purpose will be to coordinate a few facts well known to musical historians with a few others that are primarily known to students of the history of literature, philosophy, and education.

The history of musical education, and especially the teaching of music at the schools and universities of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance, is a subject worthy of much further investigation.¹⁸ Although Johannes de Muris, the influential musical theorist and mathematician of the early fourteenth century, was connected with the Collegium Sorbonicum, the evidence for musical teaching at Paris and

Villani: "ut Venetiis ab illustrissimo ac nobilissimo Cyprorum rege publice ut poetis et Caesaribus mos est laurea donaretur." *Philippi Villani Liber de Civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus* (ed. G. C. Galletti), Florence, 1847, 35; the passage has been reprinted by Ellinwood, *op. cit.*, 301 ff. All other details were added, without documentary basis, by F. Caffi, *Storia della Musica Sacra nella già Cappella Ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797*, I, Venice, 1854, 62 f., who postulated Landini's coronation as a poet since he would not admit the possibility of his triumph over the local musicians of Venice. This version was then repeated and further embellished, without criticism or new documents, by Ch. Van den Borren (*Les Débuts de la musique à Venise*, Brussels, 1914, 12 f.). The wording and context in Villani definitely suggest that Landini was crowned as a musician.

¹⁸ The chapter in Gérold (*op. cit.*, 384 ff.) is rather superficial. The most substantial contribution was published by P. Wagner ("Zur Musikgeschichte der Universität," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, III, 1921, 1-16). This study is well documented, especially for the German and other Central European universities. See also: D. Iselin, "Die Musikwissenschaft an den schweizerischen Universitäten," *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, I, 1928-29, 27-32; 39-46. C. A. Moberg, "Musik und Musikwissenschaft an den schwedischen Universitäten," *ibid.*, 54-70; II, 1930, 10-26, 34-44. A. Pirro, "L'enseignement de la musique aux universités françaises," *ibid.*, 26-32; 45-56 (which contains many interesting facts, but hardly anything pertinent to the subject). Edward J. Dent, "The Scientific Study of Music in England", *ibid.*, 83-92.

the other French Universities is very slight.¹⁹ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, music was taught at Salamanca, Oxford, and Cambridge as well as at many German and other Central European universities. This teaching was based on Boethius, on Muris, or on the textbooks produced by the various professors of music, and in many places it can be traced far into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁰ Those who expect or postulate a similar development at the Italian universities will be greatly disappointed. The documents which indicate the teaching of music at the Italian universities are nearly all limited to the fifteenth century, and they are scanty and even elusive. There is a decree of the year 1450 by pope Nicolas V which provided for a chair of music at the University of Bologna, but there is no evidence that this chair was ever occupied during the following years.²¹ When the Spaniard Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareja, who had previously lectured on Boethius at Salamanca, published his musical treatise in Bologna in 1482, he was called in the colophon a public professor of music.²² Yet his pupil, Giovanni Spataro, reports in a letter that this chair had merely been promised to Ramis by the city authorities, but that he left Bologna in the same year because the promise was not fulfilled.²³ This testimony can hardly be contradicted, and

¹⁹ See Pirro, *op. cit.* It should be added that in the Middle Ages the Sorbonne was not identical with the University of Paris. This example suggests that the records of the colleges of students might yield more for the history of music than do the records of the universities proper.

²⁰ See the literature cited above (note 18).

²¹ The decree was published by Ph. C. Saccus (*Statuta Civilia et criminalia civitatis Bononiae*, II, Bologna, 1737, 283 ff.). It lists, among the other lecturers in the Faculty of Arts: *ad lecturam musicae unum*. The Faculty list for the year 1450-51 is lost. That for 1451-52 has the entry: *Ad lecturam Musicae D. M.*, yet the name is erased. The lists for the successive years contain no entry for music at all (U. Dallari, *I Rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*, I, Bologna, 1888, p. 32). Hence the chair was either occupied for one year only, or not at all.

²² *Musica Practica Bartolomei Rami de Pareia*, ed. J. Wolf (*Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Beihefte*, II, Leipzig, 1901). The two editions, both published in Bologna in 1482, have in the colophon: *almae urbis Bononiae dum eam (sc. musicam) ibidem publice legeret*, and, respectively: *dum publice musicam Bononiae legeret* (*ibid.*, 104).

²³ "... perchè lui (Ramis) fece stampare a Bologna tale particolare perchè el se credeva de legerla (sc. music) con stipendio in publico. Ma in quello tempo acade che per certe cause lui non hebe la lectura publica, et lui quasi sdegnato andò a Roma...". G. Gaspari, "Ricerche, documenti e memorie riguardanti la storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna," *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, VI, 1868, 24 f. This invalidates an earlier statement of

the university records contain no evidence that Ramis ever was on its staff either in that year or in the preceding period. One of the most important musical theorists of the early fifteenth century, Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, was a professor of astronomy at the University of Padua. Yet there is no evidence that he ever taught music at the university, and his extant musical treatises show no trace of such a teaching.²⁴ Of course, the fact that in his writings he covered musical theory as well as mathematics and astronomy is an interesting proof, as is the earlier case of Muris, that the tradition of the Quadrivium was still alive in the fifteenth century. The only certain example of a chair of music at any Italian university is that held by Francesco Gafori at Pavia between 1494 and 1499. The founding of that chair is praised by contemporary poets as a great innovation, and Gafori does appear on the payroll of the University, with the additional statement that he is actually lecturing at Milan, as was the case with several lecturers in other fields.²⁵ However, since Gafori's university connec-

Gaspari (*La musica in Bologna*, Milan, 1858, 6) and a remark of Gafori (*dum Bononiae illitteratus tamen publice legeret*, Wolf, *op. cit.*, 110) that was probably based on the colophon of Ramis's treatise. Strangely enough, Wolf who quotes Spataro's letter yet maintains that Ramis was connected with the university (*op. cit.*, XIII). The whole matter has been clarified by L. Torri (*Rivista Musicale Italiana*, XX, 1913, 711 f.). Of course, there is no doubt that Ramis taught music in the city of Bologna.

²⁴ For his biography and works, see A. Favaro, "Intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi matematico padovano del secolo xv," *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche*, XII, 1879, 1-74; 115-251. *Id.*, "Appendice agli Studi intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi, matematico padovano del secolo xv," *ibid.*, XVIII, 1885, 405-23. See also, A. Gloria, *Monumenti della Università di Padova (1318-1405)*, Padua, 1888, I, 399 ff. and 514 f. *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini ab anno MCCCCVI ad annum MCCCCCL* (ed. C. Zonta et J. Brotto), Padua, 1922, 4; 153; 156. Several of Prosdocimus' treatises were published by Coussemaker (III, 193 ff.). Further texts were published by L. Torri ("Il trattato di Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi contro il Lucidario di Marchetto da Padova," *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, XX, 1913, 707-62) and by Cl. Sartori (*La notazione italiana del Trecento in una redazione inedita del "Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum Ytalicorum" di Prosdócimo de Beldemandis*, Florence, 1938).

²⁵ The faculty list for Pavia of 1498 contains the entry: *ad lecturam musices D. Presb. Franchinus Gaffurus Mediol. legens* (G. Porro, "Pianta delle spese per l'università di Pavia nel 1498," *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, V, 1878, p. 511. See also E. Motta, "Musici alla Corte degli Sforza," *ibid.*, XIV, 1887, 547 ff. Apparently Gafori was also listed in a similar document of 1499 (Porro, *op. cit.*, 514 ff.). Another list of Pavia professors, compiled from documents, has "Francisco Gaffuro, ad lect. Musices a Milano, stipendiato nello Studio pavese, leggente a Milano," for the period between 1494 and 1499 (*Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia*,

tion is attested only for a comparatively short period, whereas the position of a choirmaster at Milan Cathedral which he held over many years also included the duty of teaching, I am inclined to believe that his appointment as a university professor was nothing but a special favor granted him by Lodovico Sforza to provide him with a higher standing and an additional salary. Yet even if we accept his university appointment without qualifications, it remains for Italy an entirely unique case. The statements often repeated about chairs of music at Bologna and Padua have no foundation except the above mentioned facts, and the similar statements about Naples or other universities have no foundation at all.²⁶ The assumption that music in many cases must have been taught as a part of, or annex to, mathematics, according to the tradition of the Quadrivium, is in need of further documentary evidence. As to the teaching of music in the secondary schools, both secular and ecclesiastic, a good deal of evidence may be brought to light by a further examination of the published and unpublished local records.

Thus, since the universities had, if any, only a modest part in the teaching of music during the Italian Renaissance, we may very well ask whether there were any other centers of musical teaching – a question which might also throw some light on the relationship of music with the other arts and sciences. There must have been, of course, a good deal of private instruction – in chant and instrumental playing as well as in theory – which was not linked to any institution, and the title of a “professor” of music was apparently assumed by any more or less successful teacher. Of this type seems to have been the teaching of Ramis in Bologna as well as that of his opponent, Nicolas Burcius, who was at the same time a university student of canon law.²⁷ Yet the main centers of musical teaching were the cathedrals and the courts.

Pt. I, Pavia 1878, 166). Another testimony of 1497, and a poem by Lancinus Curtius, with the title “*laudat duces instituta musicae lectione*” are quoted by G. Cesari (“Musica e Musicisti alla Corte Sforzesca,” *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, XXIX, 1922, 24 f.).

²⁶ Some scholars assert that Johannes Tinctoris taught at the university of Naples, but the university records of the period are silent about him, and about a chair of music in general (E. Cannavale, *Lo Studio di Napoli nel Rinascimento*, Naples, 1895).

²⁷ On the title page of his *musices opusculum* (1487), he is called *musices professoris ac iuris pontificii studiosissimi* (Ramis, ed. Wolf, 105).

The cathedrals and other important churches needed, not only an organist and a choir for their services, but also a choirmaster who often had the task of composing music for various occasions and of training and teaching the singers of the choir. In Italy this system was not merely a heritage of earlier mediaeval centuries, but in many important cases the church service and the cathedral school were organized or reorganized during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and even sixteenth centuries. As we follow the careers of many Renaissance theorists we find that they often held the position of choirmasters at various churches or were in other ways connected with cathedral chapters. Gafori was for many years choirmaster at Milan Cathedral, after having served in a similar function in other places.²⁸ Giovanni Spataro was choirmaster at S. Petronio in Bologna,²⁹ Giuseppe Zarlino at St. Mark's in Venice,³⁰ the English Carmelite, John Hothby, at the Cathedral of Lucca.³¹ Pietro Aron served at the church of Imola.³² Earlier in the fifteenth century, Johannes Ciconia of Liège was a canon of Padua,³³

²⁸ D. Muoni, "Maestri di Cappella del Duomo di Milano," *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, X, 1883, 211 ff. An important source for Gafori's career is the contemporary biography by Pantaleo Malegulus, reprinted by Sassi in Ph. Argelati, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, I, pt. I (Milan, 1745), col. CCCXLVI f. See also G. Cesari, *l. c.*, and *id.*, in F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, IV (Milan, 1923), 206 ff.

²⁹ Gaspari, *Ricerche etc.* L. Frati, "Per la storia della musica in Bologna dal secolo XV al XVI," *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, XXIV, 1917, 456 ff. Spataro's *Dilucide et probatissime demonstrationi* were reprinted by J. Wolf (*Veroeffentlichungen der Musik-Bibliothek Paul Hirsch*, VII, Berlin, 1925).

³⁰ Caffi, *op. cit.*, I, 127 ff.

³¹ The documents for his career in Lucca are all quoted by Nerici, *op. cit.*, 43; 80; 92 ff; 113 f. See also, U. Kornmueller, "Johann Hothby," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, VIII, 1893, 1-23. Some of his shorter treatises were published in Coussemaker (III, 328 ff.), and his main work, entitled *Calliopea legale*, was also edited by Coussemaker (*Histoire de l'harmonie au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1852, 295-349). On the latter work, see A. W. Schmidt, *Die Calliopea Legale des Johannes Hothby*, diss., Leipzig, 1897. For the title, I like to quote the following sentence from Ficino's *De rationibus musicae*: "... proportio dupla que diapason scilicet octave vocis perfectam procreat consonantiam Calliopeo apud poetas nomine designatam" (*Supplementum Ficinianum*, Florence, 1937, I, 51). A pupil of Hothby, a certain Matheus de Testadraconibus Florentinus O. Serv. (Coussemaker, III, p. XXXI f.), was the author of another treatise on music (De La Fage, *Essais de diphthéographie musicale* I, Paris, 1864, 375 ff.).

³² Fétis, *op. cit.*, I, 1 ff.

³³ On his life and compositions, see Ambros, *op. cit.*, III, 146; W. Korte, "Contributi alla storia della musica in Italia," *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, XXXIX 1932, 516 ff. For his inedited treatises one of which is dedicated "presbytero Johanni Gasparo cano-

and Ugolino of Orvieto who was probably born in Forlì, was a canon of Ferrara.³⁴ The treatises as well as the compositions of all these masters are most probably connected with these positions and activities.³⁵

The importance of the Renaissance courts as centers of musical life is so well known that it does not need further emphasis. The popes as well as the rulers of Naples, Milan, Florence, Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino had their choirs, players, and court composers who made their regular contributions to daily entertainment as well as to special festivals and celebrations. Yet musical instruction also played a part in the education of the princes and their courtiers as it had in the chivalresque period. In Castiglione's *Courtier* musical accomplishments are discussed at length.³⁶ At the court of Ferrante of Aragon in Naples, Johannes Tinctoris of Nivelles who was a learned man and held a law degree from the University of Louvain, acted not only as royal choir-master, but also as a musical teacher of Princess Beatrice and of various young noblemen to whom he dedicated his treatises.³⁷ In Vittorino da Feltre's school in Mantua, which was conducted primarily for the Gonzaga princes and their noble companions, music was one of the required subjects of study.³⁸ Also Cardinals and private noblemen

nico Vicentino" and dated Padua 1411, see A. De La Fage, *op. cit.*, 387 ff.; G. Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna*, I, Bologna, 1890, 203 f. and 347 f.

³⁴ On his life and inedited treatise, see A. De La Fage, *op. cit.*, 116 ff.; U. Kornmüller, "Musiklehre des Ugolino von Orvieto," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, X, 1895, 19-40; F. X. Haberl, "Bio-bibliographische Notizen über Ugolino von Orvieto," *ibid.*, 40-49; G. Pietzsch, *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boethius bis Ugolino von Orvieto*, diss. Freiburg, Halle, 1929.

³⁵ Two other treatises of the fifteenth century apparently stem from this ecclesiastic tradition: the *Ars cantus figurati Antonii de Luca* (ed. Coussemaker, IV, 421 ff.) whose author mentions his teacher ("quam michi Antonio de Luca Ordinis Servorum declaravit legit perfecteque aperuit Magister meus dominus Laurentius de Urbe Veteri. . . canonicus ecclesie Sancte Marie Majoris . . .", *op. cit.*, 421); and the *Compendium Musicale*, "a multis doctoribus editum et compositum et per presbyterum Nicolaum de Capua ordinatum sub anno 1415", published by De La Fage (*op. cit.*, 308 ff.). For Johannes Bonadies and Johannes Gallicus, see below.

³⁶ Bianca Becherini, "Il 'Cortegiano' e la musica," *La Bibliofilia*, XLV, 1943, 84-96. I am indebted for this reference to Prof. Leonardo Olschki.

³⁷ Most of his treatises were published by Coussemaker (*op. cit.*, IV, 1 ff.). The author calls himself regis Siciliae Capellanus. For his connection with Princess Beatrice, see especially p. 41; 177; 191.

³⁸ William H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge, 1897, 43; *Id.*, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1924, 19 f.

kept musicians as players or teachers in their retinue, and thus we find Nicola Vicentino in the train of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este,³⁹ and Pietro Aron in that of Sebastiano Michiel in Venice.⁴⁰ The remaining republics also played their part in the cultivation and patronage of music. The Florentine government had its salaried musicians throughout the fifteenth century, and the republic of Lucca organized its palace choir, after the model of princely courts, during the sixteenth century.⁴¹ Sometimes the republican governments concurred in the maintenance of music at the local churches. The musicians at St. Mark's in Venice received their appointments, salaries, and regulations from the civil government,⁴² and we know in the case of John Hothby in Lucca that his salary was paid in part by the cathedral chapter and in part by the city authorities.⁴³ When we reach the later Renaissance, a new kind of institution begins to take its place in musical activities and instruction: the Academies. Earlier in the sixteenth century, musical performances appear among the miscellaneous activities of these well organized clubs, and toward the end of the century we encounter the first examples of Academies devoted exclusively to music, the forerunners of our modern conservatories and schools of music. One of the theorists of the period, Ercole Bottrigari in Bologna, seems to have founded such an academy in his own home, and the Florentine Camerata had many characteristics of an Academy.⁴⁴

After having discussed the institutional background of early Renaissance music it might be well to examine the influences it received from the two major intellectual currents of the period, that is, humanism and Platonism. Early Italian humanism was in its origin a literary and rhetorical movement. Its major concern was the study and imitation of classical literature, and its major claim was to have revived ancient eloquence and learning after a long period of decay. In the other learned disciplines that had a solid and substantial medieval tradition the influence of humanism was necessarily belated and some-

³⁹ Fétis, *op. cit.*, VIII, 338 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 1 ff. Nothing is known about the background of Antonius de Leno, author of a treatise on counterpoint in Italian (ed. Coussemaker, III, 307 ff.).

⁴¹ See above, note 12.

⁴² Caffi, *op. cit.*

⁴³ Nerici, *op. cit.*, 92 ff. and 113 f.

⁴⁴ Count Pietro de' Bardi, in his letter to G. B. Doni (1634), says of his father: "Formava quasi una dilettevole e continua accademia" (A. Solerti, *Le origini del Melodramma*, Turin, 1903, 143 f.).

what external, but often quite significant. The humanist contribution consisted mostly in greater elegance of style, in a new emphasis on ancient source materials, in the claim of a rebirth of the subject after a time of decline, and finally in various attempts to restore certain forms of ancient doctrine or practice. All this had to be done with a certain regard for professional traditions, which remained basically medieval, and hence led to different forms of compromise and adjustment. This development which characterizes the history of philosophy, theology, law, medicine, and the other sciences and arts in the Renaissance may also be observed in the field of music and especially of musical theory.

One significant example is the relationship between Johannes Gallicus and Vittorino da Feltre. Johannes Gallicus, a musician from Namur who later entered the Carmelite order and spent most of his life in Italy, composed an important treatise on music in which he emphasizes twice that he had attended the school of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua and owed to him his right understanding of Boethius and of musical theory.⁴⁵ Literary students of Vittorino, who was one of the most influential educators of the early Italian Renaissance, know that he was interested in music and gave a certain place to it in his scheme of education, but they ignore the fact that he had a pupil who became a professional musician and who attributed part of his musical learning to Vittorino's interpretation of Boethius.⁴⁶ On the other hand, musical historians who mention the fact of Johannes Gallicus' training do not seem to realize the central position which Vittorino and his school occupied in the humanistic movement. Certainly the rich content of Gallicus' treatise cannot be credited to Vittorino, but he probably owed to him not only his Latin style, but also the enthusiasm with which he emphasized the study of Boethius, the classical theorist of music. Curiously enough, this Belgian musician reciprocated the influence which he had received from Italian humanism. We learn from the colophon of the manuscript copy of Gallicus' treatise that he was the teacher of Nicolaus Burcius of Parma who is known as an author of several Latin poems and also of a treatise on music in which he defends the old doctrines of Boethius and of Guido of

⁴⁵ Coussemaker IV, 299 and 345.

⁴⁶ Woodward, *op. cit.*, The long list of Vittorino's pupils given by C. de' Rosmini (*Idea dell'ottimo precettore nella vita e disciplina di Vittorino da Feltre e de' suoi discepoli*, Bassano, 1801, 249 ff.) does not include Johannes Gallicus.

Arezzo against the innovations of the Spaniard Ramis de Pareja. Burcius who lived for many years in Bologna as a student of canon law and as a courtier of the Bentivoglio was a priest and later became choir-master at a church in Parma. Musical historians who know his connection with Gallicus and his treatise against Ramis are not interested in his literary activities as a humanist whereas students of literature who know his biography and his various works are unaware of the fact that he was in music a pupil of Gallicus and thus indirectly of Vittorino da Feltre.⁴⁷

A similar combination of Burgundian traditions of music and of Italian literary influences is apparent in the career of Francesco Gafori who was not merely the only Italian professor of music, but also one of the outstanding representatives of musical humanism. We know that he was a pupil of the Flemish Carmelite Johannes Bonadies or Godendach, and he may also have been influenced by Tinctoris with whom he came into contact during his stay in Naples.⁴⁸ Very little is known about the life of Godendach except that he copied a number of musical treatises composed by Italians or by foreigners living in Italy.⁴⁹ He thus must have transmitted to Gafori a good deal of musical theory, and a detailed comparison between the works of Gafori and the treatises copied by Godendach may lead to some further conclusions. Whether Gafori owed his humanistic inclinations to Godendach we do not know; nor do we know who were his teachers in the humanistic fields. Yet the fact that Gafori had much in common with the attitudes of contemporary humanists has been noticed by many scholars

⁴⁷ For the life and writings of Burcius, see G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, II, pt. IV, Brescia, 1763, col. 2449. I. Affò, *Memorie degli Scrittori e Letterati Parmigiani*, III, Parma, 1791, 151 ff. A. Pezzana, *Continuazione delle Memorie degli Scrittori Parmigiani*, VI, pt. II, Parma, 1827, 403 ff. For his connection with Johannes Gallicus, see Coussemaker, IV, 421.

⁴⁸ For Gafori, see notes 25 and 28. See also: G. S. Mayr, *Biografie di scrittori e artisti musicali Bergamaschi* (ed. A. Alessandri), Bergamo, 1875, 59-85. E. Praetorius, *Die Mensuraltheorie des Franchinus Gafurius und der folgenden Zeit bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (*Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Beihefte, Zweite Folge*, II), Leipzig, 1905. P. Hirsch, "Bibliographie der musiktheoretischen Drucke des Franchino Gafori," *Festschrift fuer Johannes Wolf*, Berlin, 1929, 65-72. K. Jeppesen, "Die drei Gafurius-Kodizes der Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano," *Acta Musicologica* III, 1931, 14-28.

⁴⁹ Bonadies copied: Philippi de Caserta tractatus de diversis figuris (Reggio, 1474, Coussemaker, III, 124); Johannis Hothby de cantu figurato (Reggio, 1474, *ibid.*, 332); Johannis Ciconia de proportionibus (Mantua, 1473, G. Gaspari, *Catalogo*, p. 348); Jacobi de Regio de proportionibus (Reggio, 1474, *ibid.*, 227).

and is confirmed by his writings. He is proud of his elegant Latin, criticizes the style of his "illiterate" opponents, Ramis and Spataro, and apologizes for writing one of his treatises in the vernacular for the instruction of uneducated readers. He claims to raise music to its ancient dignity. He had several ancient Greek treatises on music translated into Latin, and one of these translations, made for Gafori by Johannes Baptista Burana of Verona, survives in a manuscript of Lodi.⁵⁰ This humanist tendency of Gafori is of some importance since he was a great authority during the sixteenth century, and since he was in no way isolated in this respect. The claim that music was being restored to its ancient dignity, so commonly repeated during the sixteenth century down to the Camerata Fiorentina, can be traced back to the fifteenth century.⁵¹ Nicola Vicentino's attempt to revive the enharmonic and chromatic genera of ancient music was inspired by the same humanistic slogan, as the very title of his treatise indicates.⁵² Also the musical reform propagated by Vincenzo Galilei and the other members of the Florentine Camerata was first presented as a revival of ancient music, although eventually it developed into something quite different.⁵³

The influence of the other great movement of the early Renaissance, Platonism, on the history of music is even less known than that of humanism. Among the historians of music, Ambros alone stresses the fact that the theorists of the Camerata quote Plato as an authority and were to some extent influenced by his doctrine.⁵⁴ This fact has

⁵⁰ The authors translated for Gafori were Manuel Bryennios, Bakchios, Aristides Quintilianos, and Ptolemy (see the facsimile given by Cesari in F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *op. cit.*, 217). The manuscript version of Manuel Bryennius made by Burana for Gafori is mentioned by Mayr, (*op. cit.*, 76). It is dated 1497.

⁵¹ The history of this concept will be treated by Prof. Leo Schrade in a forthcoming article. Some material is given for the sixteenth century by F. Fano (*La Camerata Fiorentina: Vincenzo Galilei* (ed. F. Fano), in *Istituzioni e Monumenti dell'Arte Musicale Italiana*, IV, Milan, 1934, p. XVI ff.). Yet Ficino as early as 1492 includes music among the arts and sciences that had been revived in his time (*Opera Basileae*, 1576, I, 944: letter to Paul of Middelburg).

⁵² *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica*, Rome, 1555. See Fétis, *op. cit.*, VIII, 338 ff.

⁵³ Fano, *op. cit.*, I am indebted for this reference to Prof. Leo Schrade. An inedited treatise *De musica et poetica* by the humanist, Raphael Brandolinus, is discussed by De La Fage, *op. cit.*, 61 ff.

⁵⁴ *Geschichte* . . . IV, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1881, 156 ff. It should be noted, however that Vincenzo Galilei in his *Dialogo della musica antica et moderna* (ed. F. Fano,

remained unknown to historians of philosophy and science although it is of some significance for their studies. For it shows that as late as the end of the sixteenth century Platonism was in Florence still of sufficient strength to exercise an influence upon such a comparatively remote field as music. On the other hand, the fact that Vincenzo Galilei was affected by this current adds a new element to the disputed question whether Platonism was a major influence upon the thought of his great son, Galileo Galilei.

Musical historians seem to be entirely unaware of the fact that music played a major role in the life and thought of Marsilio Ficino, founder and leader of the Florentine Academy, with whom the tradition of Florentine Platonism began over hundred years before Vincenzo Galilei.⁵⁵ We know from Ficino's letters and from contemporary testimonies that he played the lyre not only for his own relaxation, but also performed music at his home and in the palaces of the Medici before an admiring audience.⁵⁶ He even liked to be compared to the ancient mythical singer Orpheus whose supposed hymns and poems he eagerly studied and translated.⁵⁷ His interest extended also to musical theory, and his letters and other writings contain a number of interesting remarks on the subject, which are closely connected with his philosophical opinions and those of his favorite ancient authors. In a letter to Franciscus Musanus, Ficino justifies his combination of medicine, music, and theology with the statement that music is as important for the intermediary "spirit" as medicine is for the body, and theology for the soul.⁵⁸ In his treatise on divine madness, he states that the human soul acquires through the ears a memory of that divine music which is found first in the eternal mind of God, and second in the order and movements of the heavens. There is also

Rome, 1934) also quotes Aristotle quite frequently. For the other documents concerning the Camerata and the early opera, see Solerti, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ The only exception is a forthcoming article by Prof. E. Lowinsky, "The Concept of Physical and Musical Space in the Renaissance." Much material on the rôle of music in Ficino's life and circle was collected by A. Della Torre (*Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze*, Florence, 1902, 788 f.). I have briefly discussed Ficino's theory of music (*The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, New York, 1943, 307 f.).

⁵⁶ *Opera*, *loc. cit.*, 608, 609, 65, 725, 788, 822 f. *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florence, 1937), II, 87 f., 89, 230, 262 f. See also Lorenzo de' Medici's poem *L'Altercazione* (ed. A. Simioni, II, Bari, 1914, 41).

⁵⁷ Della Torre, *op. cit.*, 789 ff. See also my article, "The Scholastic Background of Marsilio Ficino," *Traditio*, II, 1944, 272.

⁵⁸ *Opera*, *loc. cit.*, 609.

a twofold imitation of that divine music among men, a lower one through voices and instruments, and a higher one through verse and metre. The former kind is called vulgar music, whereas the latter is called by Plato serious music and poetry.⁵⁹ In another letter to Antonio Canigiani, Ficino again compares music with medicine. The sound of voices and instruments affects the listener's spirit and, through the latter, his body and soul. For Ficino himself, music is a means for expelling the disturbances of body and soul, and for lifting his mind toward God and things intelligible.⁶⁰ In his commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, Ficino distinguishes a threefold beauty and proportion which consists, respectively, in thoughts, shapes, and sounds.⁶¹ In the twelfth book of his chief philosophical work, the *Platonic Theology*, he discusses the relation between the senses, phantasy, reason and God in terms of hearing and of rhythmical proportions, following almost verbatim the sixth book of Augustine's *De musica*.⁶² A more extensive treatment of music is found in a short treatise *De Rationibus Musicae* which I published from the only surviving manuscript and which has not yet attracted the attention of musical historians.⁶³ The treatise was composed about 1484 and originally destined for the collection of Ficino's letters. Quoting Plato, Trismegistus, and Pythagoras, Ficino distinguishes between music of the soul and that of the ears. He then discusses the proportions underlying the musical intervals. He recognizes not only the soft harmony of the third, but also compares the third, fifth, and octave to the three Graces.⁶⁴ Discussing once more the eight tones of the scale, Ficino compares their sequence to an oval figure, and the chord of the first tone and the octave to a pyramid. He then examines the common causes of consonance and concludes that the degrees of consonance and dissonance are determined by the extent to which the corresponding proportions approach unity or plurality, respectively. As physical causes of consonance Ficino considers the proportions between the four elements which sup-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 614.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 650 f. See also p. 502.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1322 f. See also p. 631 f.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 278 ff. Cf. *De musica* VI, 2; 7-10; 12.

⁶³ *Supplementum Ficinianum* I, 51-56. A manuscript copy of this treatise was in Pico's library (P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, New York, 1936, p. 215, no. 706).

⁶⁴ "vocis tertie lenis . . . harmonia . . .". "Precipue vero tertia, quinta, octava ceteris gratiores tris nobis Gratias referunt" (*op. cit.*, 51).

posedly correspond to the proportions determining the consonant intervals. Finally, in discussing the astronomical or astrological causes of consonance, Ficino not only refers to the Pythagorean harmony of the spheres, but also relates the signs of the zodiac to the tones of the scale and compares the favorable and harmful "aspects" of the twelve signs to the consonant and dissonant intervals. Another lengthy discussion of music is found in Ficino's commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*.⁶⁵ Trying to explain the use Plato makes of musical proportions in the composition of the soul, Ficino emphasizes the effect of music upon the soul of the listener. He then discusses the various sounds and intervals, the ancient instrument of the tetrachord, and the correspondence between mathematical proportions and musical consonance. Comparing the mixture of sounds to the mixture of drugs made by the physician, he emphasizes that the combination of several sounds produced at the same time results in some new characteristic phenomenon which is perceived as consonance when the two composing sounds attain a kind of union.⁶⁶ This composed sound is compared to a mixed flavor. Ficino adds that according to the physicists a sound reaches our ears through circles in the air that are comparable to the circles produced by a stone thrown into water. Consonance between a low and a high sound is compared to an oval figure, and this is used to explain the oval shape of our ear, tongue and many musical instruments.⁶⁷ Discussing the proportions that correspond to the musical intervals, Ficino admits that the fourth is in itself dissonant,⁶⁸ and finally compares the tones of the scale to the planets.

Ficino never quotes any recent authors on music, but his treatment of the third and fourth certainly shows that he did not merely repeat ancient theories but was familiar with contemporary taste and theory. On the other hand, his complete neglect of polyphony and his emphasis on harmony as produced by simultaneous chords might have had some influence on the theories of the Camerata. Otherwise,

⁶⁵ *Opera, loc. cit.*, 1453 ff.

⁶⁶ "... ex acuta gravique voce tertiam fieri communemque vocalem formam ... voces plures rite commixtae unum quendam invicem resonant reboatum virtutis novae atque mirabilis fundamentum ... Reliquum est ut sola (sc. unio) placeat quae nova et efficax moderata quadam conflatione resultat. Hinc igitur consonantia definitur soni gravis et acuti mixtura uniformiter ad aures suaviterque accedens" (*ibid.*, 1455 f.).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1456.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1457 ("diatessaron ... per se quidem auditam non approbari").

his remarks are not so much a contribution to musical theory as an attempt to relate music to his favorite conceptions in metaphysics, medicine, and astrology. Whether Ficino's doctrines had any tangible influence on contemporary or successive theory and practice would have to be established by further investigations. In any case, Ficino as a player was highly praised by members of his circle, and he counted several musicians among his most intimate friends and pupils.

I should like to conclude this paper with a few suggestions concerning the relations of music with poetry and with rhetoric. The link between musical composition and vernacular poetry, which was a heritage of the troubadour period and had been continued in the *Ars Nova* of the fourteenth century, had its counterpart in the Strambotti of the late fifteenth century, and again in the madrigals of the sixteenth century. Whereas the extant musical compositions have been widely studied it seems to be less well known that there are several printed and manuscript collections of Strambotti which show no trace of musical notation, but apparently were composed for a recital with musical accompaniment.⁶⁹ Moreover, we hear of the *Improvvisatori* who were highly esteemed at the Italian courts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and who in part achieved real literary fame.⁷⁰ When they recited their own verses they may have improvised the poem together with the music. Yet often they also recited verses composed by others, and in such cases they probably improvised the music.⁷¹ This would explain why the text of many Strambotti has been transmitted without any music, and why some of them seem to be older than most of those that have been preserved with their music.⁷²

As to the Latin poetry of the humanists, their connection with music is less certain. On the other hand, we know in the case of Ficino that he used to improvise a musical setting for the Latin verses sent to him by his humanist friends.⁷³ More light on this subject might be expected if musical scholars would examine some of the numerous

⁶⁹ A good example is the cod. Urbinas lat. 729, possibly written for the Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga.

⁷⁰ Cf. Della Torre, *op. cit.*, 796 ff.

⁷¹ This is what Baccio Ugolini seems to have done when he played the role of Poliziano's Orfeo in Mantua.

⁷² The poetry of the earlier fifteenth century has been discussed, without any reference to music, by F. Flamini (*La Lirica Toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico*, Pisa, 1891).

⁷³ *Opera*, *loc. cit.*, 651 and 673.

printed and manuscript collections of Latin poetry that date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Such a study may also yield new information on musical history in another respect, since some of these collections include epigrams dealing with music and musicians. The collection of epitaphs for Antonio Squarcialupi that was attached to the famous codex in the time of Lorenzo de' Medici is certainly not the only example of this kind.⁷⁴

Whereas music and poetry often appeared in close alliance, the relation between music and oratory seems to have been rather that of rivals. In Italy the use of oratory at weddings, funerals, and all kinds of public celebrations can be traced back at least to the thirteenth century. It had originally a legal significance, but under the influence of humanism it developed more and more into a form of public entertainment that seems to have reached its climax in the fifteenth century. Now the use of music at celebrations of the very same character is attested at least since the fourteenth century, although it may have been limited to a few trumpet sounds that marked the beginning of the festival. However, as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century we encounter substantial musical compositions such as masses or motets written for public celebrations, especially in Venice and her subject cities.⁷⁵ During the sixteenth century when court celebrations became more elaborate and their descriptions in literature more frequent, stage plays, eclogues, masques, and similar poems were the center of the celebration and of public attention, and most of these performances were accompanied by music. A study of the specific types of occasions for which orations or musical poetry or both were composed in the various periods and places might be of some interest for the student of Renaissance civilization. Apparently, when the legal significance of oratory had faded into the background, and when it was considered merely as a piece of entertainment, poetry and music became its successful rivals and finally replaced it entirely during the sixteenth century. Such a change of taste has again occurred in recent years, and nowadays at public celebrations musical performances are better liked by most people than ceremonious oratory. This change seems to reflect a transformation that is taking place in the habits and ideas of a society

⁷⁴ These epitaphs have been published by J. Wolf (*Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, I, Leipzig, 1904, 229 ff.). They are also found in the *Cod. Vaticanus lat.* 7192.

⁷⁵ Ambros, *op. cit.*, III (2nd ed.), 1881, 509 ff.

or culture. Bored and dissatisfied with the traditional formulas that no longer evoke strong convictions, and unable to produce new ideas that have a common appeal, people are more at ease in the neutral atmosphere of play and of music where the underlying ideas are disguised in an imaginative language that need not be translated into the prose of reason and of every day life.

The history of music, like every branch of intellectual history, is confronted with two different tasks: it has to trace the development of music as an autonomous process, based on professional and technical traditions and changes that have no counterpart in any other field of civilization; and it also has to consider the place which music occupies at any given time within the general framework of culture, its relations to other arts and sciences, the influences it receives from them or exercises upon them. The relative importance of either task may vary according to the period under consideration; and on the whole, the former task may be the more important one for the musical historian who certainly is alone equipped to accomplish it. The second task, however, is not without its value, and it is here that a non-specialist may hope to be able to contribute to musical history and that the collaboration between the history of music and the histories of literature and of thought may be expected to bear some fruit.

Columbia University.