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Trecento I: Secular Music

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Given the deep roots established by the Notre-Dame school and monophonic traditions such as the trouvères, it is not surprising that innovative music grew and flourished in fourteenth-century France. But given the seemingly bare soil that preceded it, the quality and variety of polyphonic music that blossomed in fourteenth-century Italy is remarkable. Unwritten secular traditions of monophonic music-making are well documented in the writings of Dante and other authors of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. And a few polyphonic sacred pieces had already been written down in the preceding decades (discussed in Chapter 36). But no secular polyphony survives from before approximately 1340 and even that music only comes down to us in manuscripts copied decades later. Many of these early pieces, however, were still popular enough to be copied into manuscripts from as late as 1420. Thus, a conventional view that sees the Ars Nova traditions of France and Italy as operating in parallel obscures the fact that the latter was coming into maturity at almost the same time as the masters of the former were beginning to fade. "Trecento," literally meaning three hundred but actually signifying the 1300s, is thus a misnomer for a period that really came into being around mid-century (just before the arrival of the Black Death in 1348) and has a stylistic continuity into the early 1420s (or roughly the end of the Great Papal Schism in 1417). But no better term has arisen to replace it, and, at least in the non-Italian-speaking world, the cognitive dissonance of the name is easily suppressed.[1]

Overview and Evidence

In Italy, even more than in the rest of Europe, the terms Ars Nova and Trecento lump together a hodge-podge of musical styles that in many cases have little to

1 This and the following chapter focus on the history of Trecento music with scant discussion of the modern historiography of the period. On the latest thoughts about how modern scholarship has shaped our views of the past, see John Nádas, "Una riflessione generale sulle nuove fonti musicali a cinquant'anni dall'inventario di Kurt von Fischer," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 7 (2009), 3–17: an article which is flawed only in the typically understated role that Nádas gives himself in the history of establishing our knowledge of the period.

do with each other. Canonic hunting songs (cacce) with complex Francophilic Ars subtilior works. Isorhythmic dedicatory motets with bucolic madrigals. Monophonic ballate with troped polyphonic Sanctus. The diversity of Italian traditions in the Trecento has been attributed to its decentralized, city-state-based political system or its narrow, rugged geography. But as much as these factors may have helped isolate various traditions to grow independently, given that the political conditions in Italy (and obviously the geography) remained the same for centuries before and after the fractured musical style of the Trecento, we simply cannot know why such a diversity of styles coexisted and shared so many traits.

Polyphonic music of Trecento Italy is found in a very few intact (or largely intact) codices, mainly of Florentine origin, as well as in many more fragments, the remains of once much larger manuscripts, and in isolated pieces mostly added later to chant manuscripts. The works in the intact manuscripts are overwhelmingly secular and therefore are the principal sources for the discussion in this chapter.

By far the most often turned to manuscript for knowledge of Trecento secular music is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (*I-Fl*), Palatino 87, commonly called the "Squarcialupi Codex" after its fifteenth-century owner, the organist Antonio Squarcialupi. A monumental collection of 352 songs (147 unique) on 216 folios, *I-Fl* Pal. 87 is rightly famous for its systematic collecting, careful preparation, and beautiful decorations, including highly detailed, illuminated portraits of the composers of its songs.[2] The book is nearly unique for the period in being a carefully illuminated manuscript containing innovative polyphonic compositions; most sources that are similarly richly decorated contain plainsong, that is, music that was highly unlikely to go out of style. The manuscript is organized into separate sections for each composer proceeding in roughly chronological order, reminiscent of earlier Italian monophonic song collections.[3] The manuscript was copied at the Florentine scriptorium of S. Maria degli Angeli but beyond that its early history is a mystery. The source is named for the mid-fifteenth-century

2 Facsimile edition, *Il codice Squarcialupi: MS Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Florence: Giunti Barbèra and Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992). Among the many significant essays in the commentary volume, Nádas, "The Squarcialupi Codex: An Edition of Trecento Songs, *ca.* 1410–1415," 19–86, stands out for its comprehensive nature. The number of unique songs differs from Nádas' count of 150 because of three new discoveries, Francesco's ballatas "Per la belleça" in Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, flyleaves in Inc. C.VI.5 (discovered by Stefano Campagnolo) and his "Viditi, donna" in Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, CV (104); and Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal "Quando veg'io" in Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F.

3 A significant exception to this organization is the blank section set aside for Paolo da Firenze which comes far too early for this still-living composer; see the discussion of Paolo below.

organist who was an early owner, but who did not have a hand in compiling it. A coat of arms on the first page has resisted identification. That the same coat of arms appears on the beginning of the section dedicated to Paolo da Firenze (along with the fact that the section was left blank) had led to the suspicion that the manuscript was owned by his, presumably well-to-do, family. Alas, this idea was shattered by the discovery of Paolo's will, showing him to be a man of very modest means.[4] Although there was formerly much disagreement about the dating of the production of the manuscript, ranging as late as Nino Pirrotta's suggestion of 1440, today a consensus has formed for the dates around 1410–15; that is, retrospective with regard to the bulk of the music but still within the active life of its most recent composers.

Because of its monumental stature and careful preparation, the Squarcialupi Codex has often stood in as a representative of all Italian Trecento manuscripts, yet it has particularities that make it more unusual than typical. No other source is nearly so rigorous about separating sacred from secular music and Italian song from French. The manuscript elevates Tuscany to an extent unsurpassed in other sources. Only two songs are in French, and one of them, Bartolino's "La douce çere," is a typical madrigal, retaining a strong Italian character despite its language. Florentine composers dominate the collector's musical selections after the earliest gatherings. Francesco da Firenze (Landini) has nearly his complete works in the manuscript. Other composers, such as Andrea de' Servi (Andreas horghanista de Florentina), who is represented by twenty-nine pieces, are virtually unknown from any other Tuscan source and completely unknown in northern sources. Even composers well-known from other manuscripts have had their works selected with particular editorial tastes in mind. For instance, the compositions of Magister Çacherias selected for *I-Fl* Pal. 87 are so much more conservative in style than the rest of the composer's output that for many years he was thought to have been a different man from the more adventurous Antonio Zachara da Teramo seen in other sources. Yet it would be a mistake to conclude that *I-Fl* Pal. 87 is an entirely conservative and nationalistic source. Non-Italian influences have crept into the manuscript. Many pieces are written with French notational systems in mind, even in cases where other sources show us that versions written in the local Italian notation existed.[5] Further, two presumably foreign composers, Egidius and Guilielmus de Francia, receive a few pages in the book.

4 Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987), 203–46.

5 Stefano Campagnolo, "La tradizione delle musiche dell'Ars Nova italiana: particolarità della trasmissione," in *Problemi e metodi della filologia musicale: Tre tavole rotonde*, ed. Stefano Campagnolo (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2000), 3–10; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), 140.

A far less systematic collection of works is the "London Codex" (*GB-Lbl* add. 29987).[6] The manuscript bears the arms of the Medici on its first folio, but this is almost certainly a much later addition, possibly to increase its sale value. The manuscript collects secular polyphony, monophonic instrumental dances, and a small collection of sacred music that may have originally been much larger (see Chapter 36).

The "Squarcialupi Codex" was organized around a model resembling the organization by composer of the troubadour manuscripts of the thirteenth century. Several of these manuscripts, including one of the two most substantial musical sources, were early fourteenth-century northern-Italian compilations.[7] That this organizational strategy had already made the leap to polyphonic music is evident in an earlier Tuscan manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (*I-Fn*) Panciatichiano 26, probably copied in the 1390s. It is a collection of works by Jacopo, Piero, Giovanni da Cascia, and the Florentine composers Lorenzo, Donato, Gherardello, and particularly Francesco. To this main collection, a single gathering of French pieces was added along with several French pieces at the bottoms of pages. Like most of the intact principal sources, *I-Fn* Pancia. 26 seems to be the work of several different scribes working together on the project,[8] though similarities among the hands have brought back the previously dismissed possibility that it could be primarily the work of a single scribe whose hand changed over a long period of working with the source.[9]

Several fragments attest to a style of manuscript collecting that mixed native Italian music, generally at the tops of pages, with additions in Italian and French at their bottoms. The manuscript that both survives intact and is most representative of this mode of collecting is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds Italien 568 (*F-Pn* It. 568) (*Pit*), a collection from the first decade of the fifteenth century originally belonging to the Capponi family. The paper manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771 (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771 ["Reina Codex"]) separates its Italian and French contents into two distinct parts (a barely related final section from the 1430s or 1440s represents the purely Francophilic tastes of that period).[10]

6 Published in facsimile by Gilbert Reaney, *The Manuscript London, British Museum, Additional 29987*, Musicological Studies and Documents 13 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), with a significant error: recto pages appear as verso and vice versa.

7 Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1985), 19–20.

8 Ibid., 80.

9 Thomas Brothers, "Flats and Chansons in MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichi 26," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 263–82, esp. 274ff.

10 Nádas, "The Reina Codex Revisited," in *Essays in Paper Analysis*, ed. Stephen Spector (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1987), 69–114.

This source has been associated with northern Italy, but attempts to place it more securely in the Veneto (before the addition of the final section) or Padua in particular are largely unconvincing.

Despite much of it being used as covers for archival documents in Lucca, the "Mancini Codex" (Lucca, Biblioteca-Archivio storico comunale [*I-Las*] 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta" [*I-PEc*] 3065) probably originated in the north, with Padua and/or Pavia being likely centers of copying and gathering of song, before being completed in Tuscany.[11] It is the most important source for the secular compositions of Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370–1412) and holds a significant number of works by other *fin-de-siècle* composers including Bartolino da Padova, Antonio Zachara da Teramo, Antonello Marot da Caserta, and Antonio da Cividale. The collector was also interested in French-texted pieces, and their placement at the tops of pages indicates that they were not considered less important or supplemental to the Italian compositions.

Frank D'Accone's discovery of the palimpsest manuscript, Florence, Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo (*I-Fsl*) 2211, and Andres Janke's and John Nádas' work on it since have added another view of Florentine musical collecting.[12] Reused in the early sixteenth century to compile a list of Church landholdings, the music of the original manuscript was scraped off, the pages were reordered, and most of the underwriting is obscured by unrelated texts. Digital image manipulation has allowed approximately 120 pieces to be identified by concordances, but almost 90 other pieces are either unica (most likely) or still await identification. Like other Tuscan sources, *I-Fsl* 2211 preserves music of the oldest generation of composers, and like *F-Pn* It. 568 has a large collection of French songs, but unlike the other sources it collects both a later repertory of Italian composition (probably reflecting its later date of compilation) and also many motets of French and international distribution.

Although secular music from the early and middle of the fourteenth century is extremely important to our understanding of the development of a tradition in Italy that is largely independent of French models, the music of these traditions is found in the fewest number of surviving sources. The most complete and important of these sources is the Rossi Codex, today surviving as two fragments, one in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica-Vaticana (*I-Rvat*), Rossi 215 and one in the small town of Ostiglia (*I-OS* Mus.

11 Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex (Codice Mancini). Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1990), 34. See also their article, "Two Newly Discovered Leaves from the Lucca Codex," *Studi musicali* 34 (2005), 3–23.

12 Frank D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'*ars nova* italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," *Studi musicali* 13 (1984), 3–31. Andres Janke and Nádas, *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo Ms. 2211* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2016).

rari B 35). The codex contains madrigals, monophonic ballate, and cacce. The badly damaged "Mischiati Fragment" (Reggio Emilia, Archivio di stato, Archivio Comune Re, Appendice, Miscellaneo storico-letteraria, Frammenti di codici musicali, no. 16) is the only other significantly sized collection from the Rossi period, containing among its five pieces three otherwise unknown cacce and a monophonic ballata.[13] Finally, the notation of an untexted copy of Giovanni da Cascia's madrigal "La bella stella" in the music theory manuscript Seville, Biblioteca Colombina de la Institución Colombina, 5.2.25 seems of an older style even than that of the Rossi Codex, despite the otherwise later date of the musical interpolations in the source in Seville.

Far more numerous than the grand codices of Trecento music are fragments of one to ten leaves, mostly originally from larger manuscripts. Many of them contain both secular and sacred music; thus, the most significant of those are discussed in Chapter 36. Among the most important of the purely secular fragments are *I-Fn* Incunaboli F.5.5 and Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, "Luigi Cherubini," Cassa forte 74 (*olim:* D 1175), two collections that continue the Tuscan collecting tradition of favoring the music of Francesco along with the older composers Jacopo and Giovanni. A fragment owned by Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti and Chicago, Newberry Library (*US-Cn*), Case MLo 96.P36 (formerly owned by Edward Lowinsky) are two other Tuscan fragments that exclusively contain the works of the later composer Paolo da Firenze (see below). Two fragments from the mainly sacred Paduan fragments (more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 36) give a sense of northern Italian collecting tastes. Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte 14 (formerly in Domodossola) is quite different from its Tuscan contemporaries, containing three Italian works of Johannes Ciconia along with pieces by two otherwise unknown Paduan composers, Jacobus Corbus de Padua and Zaninus de Peraga de Padua. Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1115 includes two works by Ciconia (one in French), two French pieces (one unidentified), along with a piece by Antonellus de Caserta and an anonymous ballata ("Se per dureça") that was contrafacted as a sacred piece in Florence.

No mention of Italian secular collections would be complete without mentioning the substantial transmission of French polyphony in manuscripts written in the peninsula. The Ars subtilior manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.M.5.24 is certainly of Italian origin

13 Marco Gozzi and Ziino, "The Mischiati Fragment: a New Source of Italian Trecento Music at Reggio Emilia," in *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, ed. Sandra Dieckmann, et al. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2007), 281–314.

(see Chapters 36 and 37). There is evidence (including its six-line staves) that one of the other major Ars subtilior manuscripts, Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly 564, was copied in Italy, as may have also been the case for one of the major motet sources, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare 115.[14] Also significant are the fragments Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 596, busta HH2[1]; Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, busta 75 n. 26; and Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, [Crypt.] Lat. 219 (*olim* E.β.XVI). The first of these contains exclusively French secular music, while the latter two mix French and Italian music. To date no one has systematically scrutinized the many French-texted pieces that appear exclusively in Italian or Italian-derived sources to see if they might not be imports, as has generally been assumed, but instead evidence of the local tradition of French-texted composition which the literary sources and fifteenth-century manuscripts suggest flourished side-by-side with Italian composition.

The majority of Italian songs are texted in all parts and take particular care to place individual syllables directly under the notes to which they are to be sung. This texting can be seen in contrast to the French repertory where tenors and tripla are less often texted. Literary accounts on the other hand reveal that solo performances with instrumental accompaniment also were common. Women were involved in all aspects of vocal performance, and even though there was no standard frequency for particular notes in the Trecento, any notion that high cantus parts were intended primarily for boys or male singers in *falsetto* cannot be supported by accounts of performances. Giovanni di Gherardo da Prato's "Paradiso degli Alberti" of 1389 reports that Francesco da Firenze's ballata "Or su, gentili spirti" was sung by two women and a man.[15] Evidence for female performance on instruments or of sacred music is less clear but not in any way absent. Valentina Visconti, daughter of Giangaleazzo, first Duke of Milan, was a gifted harpist herself and had a maidservant who also played the instrument.[16] The character of Fiammetta in Boccaccio's *Decameron* played the fiddle (as does the Virgin Mary in the *Ave Mater* probably by Marchetto da Padova). Some of the sacred sources were intended for women's use or contain music also found in manuscripts for women, including the partially polyphonic manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q11, which was written for female

14 Karl Kügle, "Codex Ivrea, Bibl. cap. 115: A French Source 'Made in Italy'," *Revista de Musicología*, 13 (1990), 527–61.
15 The recording in Timothy J. Roden, Craig Wright, and Bryan R. Simms, *Anthology for Music in Western Civilization* (Boston: Schirmer/Cengage, 2009), 124/Track 2.8 re-creates this performance setting.
16 André Pirro, *La musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI, 1380–1422* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1930), 12 and 26.

monastics, and a high-range three-voice Gloria partially surviving in the Paduan manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. pat. lat. 229 was also sung at an Augustinian Abbey in Flanders.

Secular Musical Forms

Unlike the continuous polyphonic traditions of France which continue seamlessly from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, the Italian Ars Nova proper begins almost out of nowhere sometime near the middle of the fourteenth century with the earliest polyphonic pieces of Piero, Jacopo, Giovanni da Firenze, and other composers whose names have been lost to us. The three main forms of Italian Trecento music were all established at or about mid-century: the canonic caccia, whose importance would quickly wane but never disappear, the madrigal, and, first as a monophonic form, then polyphonic, the ballata.

The madrigal is the most quintessentially Italian of all medieval forms. A madrigal is usually a two-voice work made up of two sections each roughly similar in style. The terzetto or first section is often slightly longer, perhaps setting two sets of three seven or eleven-syllable lines, while the second section, the ritornello, is generally a couplet.[17] Three-quarters of all the early madrigals have a change in meter beginning at the ritornello, and almost half of those that do not switch meters still have some other significant rhythmic change at that point such as introducing triplets or semiminims in place of passages of minims. Most madrigals have two texts for the terzetto and a single text for the ritornello; judging by the poetic sources of madrigals (some of which were never set to music), the terzetto was repeated before singing the ritornello, creating an aaB form. The tenor is usually melodic in character while the upper voice is more florid. That the upper voice in the earliest madrigals sometimes ornaments a series of parallel consonances (usually fifths) suggests that the form may have its origins in an improvised tradition following set formulas.[18] Another distinguishing feature of the madrigal is the uneven speed at which text is deployed. Most lines begin with a melisma on the opening syllable before proceeding rapidly through much of the remainder of the text. The penultimate syllable usually has an equally long melisma ending on the final syllable and the cadence. Both the

17 The diversity in the number of lines and rhyme schemes of madrigals and ballate far exceeds that of the musical forms. Several examples appear in Gozzi, "The Trecento," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 136–60.

18 Brooks Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta Musicologica* 64 (1992), 165–76.

opening line and the ritornello of Giovanni da Cascia's "Più non mi curo" (Example 35.1) demonstrate the text setting and rhythmic changes typical of the Trecento madrigal, though like almost every piece from the period it violates some norms: the extended sequence in mm. 10–13 decorates a series of parallel octaves, not fifths, and the two texts for the ritornello suggest the piece's form as abab or aabb rather than the more typical aaB.

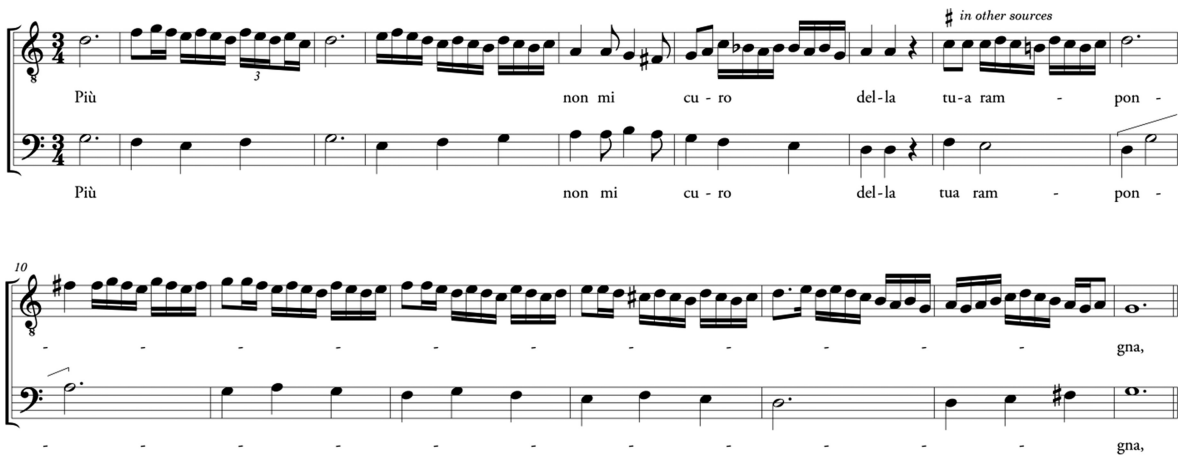
The caccia was a canonic form in three voices (of which only the upper two were usually imitative).[19] Caccia texts refer to hunting or fishing; the canonic lines that rush after one another evoke the spirit of the chase. These subjects lend themselves to peppering the text with onomatopoetic calls such as the barking of a dog (often named Dragon). Later in the piece (such as at the ritornello), it is often revealed that the object of the hunt is not in fact a fox or other animal at all, but rather a beautiful woman found in the woods. Though fewer than thirty cacce survive, it was still more common than its rarer French cousin, the chace. A hybrid form was also common in Italy, taking the canonic principle of the caccia and merging it with the poetic form and the terzetto/ritornello sectional divisions of the madrigal. In both genres, the two canonic voices enter at the unison and, unlike later canonic or imitative works, there was no even vaguely standard number of beats between the first and second entrances. Instead the second voice tends to enter at the first moment – always on the downbeat of a breve – when the first voice has wandered down a perfect fifth (for downward motion from the opening is a hallmark of the caccia). This moment may come rather quickly or as late as fourteen breves later, and some pieces seem to delight in taunting the listener's expectations by moving around near the note that would trigger the second voice's entrance without reaching the point until much later. The earliest cacce, found in the recently discovered Mischiati Fragment, do not follow this rule, suggesting that it did not appear until after mid-century.[20]

Like the caccia and the madrigal, the ballata first appears in musical settings around the middle of the fourteenth century. But unlike the other two forms, the ballata first appeared as an exclusively monophonic form and only later developed into a two- and then three-part form. The ballata has two formal sections set to different music, though, unlike the madrigal, both sections are usually in the same meter. The two sections are generally performed in the form

19 An exception is Lorenzo da Firenze's "A poste messe," where all three voices sing the same theme six breves apart. The ritornello consists of a single line, which, though it outwardly appears as if it should also work as a canon (due to its emphasis on the notes A and E), has been shown by computer-aided tests to be overly dissonant at all possible temporal intervals.

20 *Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce*, ed. W. Thomas Marrocco, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1961), xvi. For statistics backing up this behavior of cacce, I am indebted to conversations with, and a seminar paper by, Elise McCall, an undergraduate at M.I.T.

Example 35.1 Giovanni da Cascia, “Più non mi curo,” first phrase from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26



AbbaA where capital A represents a refrain text or *ripresa*, lower-case a represents a new text to the metrical scheme and musical setting of the *ripresa* called the volta, and the b sections are the *piedi* which are different in rhyme, feet, and music from the A section. As its name stems from the Italian verb *ballare*, "to dance," it originally required a singing dancer if Dante's description of the form in *De vulgari eloquentia* can be trusted. The ballata is featured in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, completed just after the arrival of the Black Death (1348). At the end of each day's storytelling, a ballata appears, often with a woman singing, a man playing a lute, and other characters dancing.

The monophonic ballate of Gherardello da Firenze, Lorenzo da Firenze, and Niccolò da Perugia tend to sketch out a large-scale terraced descent in both the A and B sections, usually of a fourth, a fifth, or an octave. Between the end of the *ripresa* and the beginning of the *volta*, the voice usually leaps up an octave.[21] When it does not, the leap is a seventh or major sixth; that is, there is still enough of a change in register to make room for a new descent. These trends are less pronounced in the earliest ballate of the Rossi Codex, with descents of a major second also being popular, though in only one case is the cadence note above the initial note.

By the late Trecento, the polyphonic ballata in two and three voices became the dominant secular form of Italian composition. Of Francesco's output of 155 pieces, 140 are ballate, of which 91 are for two voices and 49 are for three.[22] One-third of all ballate have both open and closed (first and second) endings, a trait that is often thought to imply French influence in borrowing from the virelai, which has the same form but nearly always uses two distinct endings. Yet the evidence is mixed whether the polyphonic ballata was originally conceived without first (*aperto* or *ouvert*) and second (*chiuso* or *clos*) endings and only acquired them after contact with the French works. On the one hand, none of the early, monophonic ballate have these endings, and all five of the ballate attributed to Egidius and Guilielmus de Francia do have them. On the other hand, Bartolino da Padova, a moderately late composer and a northerner – and thus presumably more susceptible to French influence – who was praised by the poet Prodenzani for his "Rondel franceschi," used these endings only once in his twenty-seven ballate. Even this piece does not follow the norm, found also in the virelai, of allowing the work to cadence a step lower on the *clos* ending, but rather merely gives some decorations to the penultimate breve of the tenor.

21 Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 22–23.

22 The ballata *Fortuna ria* has a three-voice version in addition to four sources with two voices. See Cuthbert, "Palimpsests, Sketches, and Extracts: The Organization and Compositions of Seville 5-2-25," *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento 7*, 63–66.

Notation

Several different notational systems were in use simultaneously in Trecento Italy. All of them are descended from the innovations of Franco of Cologne and use basically the same rules for notating maximas, longas, breves, and ligatures. The most commonly used notational system, especially at the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth, was the French system described in Chapters 22 and 23. However, even as late as 1420 the French mensuration signs used in Italian manuscripts did not always conform to the model of four signatures (𝅝, 𝅗𝅥, 𝅘𝅥, 𝅘𝅥𝅮) where the external shape signified perfect or imperfect tempus and the presence or absence of a dot indicated major or minor prolation (respectively). Instead, regional dialects in the use (or absence) of mensuration signs reigned.[23]

The French or international system can be contrasted with the "mode [of notation] used only by the Italians" as Prosdocimus de Beldemandis calls it. The Italian or Marchettian system treats the breve as a largely fixed unit and the minim, worth between one-fourth and one-twelfth of a breve, as fixed within the prevailing metrical scheme called the *divisio* or division. Within most *divisiones*, the value of a semibreve could vary from one division of the breve to another (in most modern transcriptions this means from measure to measure), or even within a breve division. For instance in a *divisio* called *duodenaria*, where the breve is worth twelve minims, the semibreve can be worth between two and eleven minims depending on the context. This flexibility of the semibreve can make modern transcriptions difficult, but opened up an immense variety of rhythmic possibilities that great composers exploited in their pieces. After mid-century, a collection of new note forms gave greater precision to the notation of mensural music, from oblique-stemmed semibreves taking the role of French dots of addition, to one-pitch ligatures creating syncopations across tempus boundaries, to arrow-tipped minims representing notes smaller than semiminims. By the second decade of the fifteenth century, Italian notation was in steep decline with Prosdocimus noting that the Italians "also embraced the art of the French, probably no worse than the French, to the extent that they neglected their own art, thinking the French manner more beautiful."[24]

23 See Jason Stoessel, "The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Notation of the *Ars subtilior*," in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 179–202 and Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 225.

24 For an edition of the treatise see Claudio Sartori, *La notazione italiana del trecento in una redazione inedita del "Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum ytalicorum" di Prosdocimo de Beldemandis* (Florence: Olschki, 1938) and the translation by Jay A. Huff, *A Treatise on the Practice of Mensural Music in the Italian Manner* ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1972).

Italian Ars subtilior compositions tend to be written with French notation, though the preference for inventing new note shapes instead of repurposing *puncti* and coloration seems a particularly Italian trait.

Composers

Although the earliest polyphonic works of the Trecento come down to us largely anonymously, after the middle of the century many of the most significant works were being composed by men whose names survive in sources from near the end of the century and into the fifteenth. The most significant early composers were from the north of Italy, but towards the end of the Trecento the gravity of secular composition had shifted to Florence. (Johannes Ciconia and Antonio Zachara da Teramo, important composers of both sacred and secular music, are discussed in Chapter 36.)

Early Composers: Piero, Giovanni, and Jacopo

Three early composers, Magister Piero, Giovanni da Cascia, and Jacopo da Bologna, flourished in the northern courts of Verona and Milan probably from the 1340s to the 1360s. Their works – almost exclusively madrigals, cacce, and hybrid forms combining the two – make clear that they moved in similar circles, since they honored the same women in their works and in two cases set the same text ("Con bracci assai" by Giovanni and Piero and "Sì com'al canto" by Piero and Jacopo). The three men, along with King David and monks from various orders, are depicted together in a miniature found in a manuscript from Bologna.[25] Little or nothing is known about any of their lives beyond the details of service that can be gleaned from names embedded in their works dedicated to the della Scala and Visconti families.

Their musical styles have largely been described in the sections on the madrigal and caccia above, since their works became the models for both northern and Tuscan composers of the future. Jacopo da Bologna's music was more widely copied, and presumably sung, than that of his slightly older contemporary Giovanni, yet it may have been less directly influential on later composers. His music abounds in melodic gestures that appear rarely elsewhere in the Trecento. However, his transitions between phrases, especially employing untexted passages in the tenor, do seem to have been influential and appear in some pieces by Francesco, Paolo, and especially Bartolino.

25 Fischer, "'Portraits' von Piero, Giovanni da Firenze und Jacopo da Bologna in einer Bologneser Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts?" *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973), 61–64.

Francesco da Firenze

By the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the center for new composition had shifted southward to Florence. Though the proportion of intact surviving manuscripts compared to all sources tends to overstate the Florentine Republic's importance in fourteenth-century music, its premiere status among musical centers of the late Trecento cannot be doubted. The most popular and widely transmitted composer of the fourteenth century was the blind organist Francesco da Firenze (ca. 1325 or more likely 1335 to 1397), commonly called Francesco Landini today. He was organist at the monastery of Santa Trinità in 1361, and after 1365 was affiliated with the church of San Lorenzo where a lavish tomb was prepared after his death. Francesco's fame was well established by the time of his death. According to the Florentine chronicler Filippo Villani he received the "corona laurea" as poet laureate in Venice, probably sometime in the 1360s. He was famed as a singer, organist, composer, and instrument builder. As a philosopher, Francesco is known to have supported the teachings of William of Ockham against his detractors in an extended poem in praise of Ockhamist logic.[26]

Although the surname Landini was appended to Francesco by 1589,[27] it only gained widespread acceptance in the eighteenth century. It does not appear on any of the manuscripts of his music, nor his tombstone (rediscovered in Prato in the mid-nineteenth century and moved to the church of San Lorenzo), nor in any of the biographies written just after his death. It may stem from a search by his grandnephew Cristoforo for a suitable family name for himself due to his marriage into the illustrious Alberti family. According to one of Cristoforo's poems, the surname he found comes from one Landinus de Natus, grandfather of Francesco, who supposedly fought alongside Dante at the battle of Campaldino.[28] Francesco was the son of a painter named Jacopo, probably Jacopo del Casentino according to Vasari, though some art historians doubt this connection.[29] Indeed there are several discrepancies in names of Francesco's siblings: Cristoforo's biographer A. M. Bandini names Francesco's brothers as Andrea

26 On the poem and a possible relationship with Francesco's musical style see Jeannie Ma. Guerrero, "Francesco's Dream: Musical Logic in Landini's Three-Voice Ballate," *Music Theory Online* 13 (2007), www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.07.13.4/mto.07.13.4.guerrero.html.

27 Michele Poccianti, *Catalogus scriptorum Florentinorum omnis generis* (Florence: Apud P. Iunctam, 1589), 58–59.

28 Cristoforo Landino, *Poems*, ed. Mary P. Chatfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 43.

29 Andrew Ladis, s.v. "Jacopo del Casentino," in *The [Grove] Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove, 1996).

and Cristoforo;[30] Jacopo had a son named Matteo, also a painter; while the only confirmed brother of Francesco was another organist named Nuccio who worked the bellows for some of his concerts.[31]

Nearly all collections of late Trecento secular music, even most modestly sized fragments, contain music by Francesco. His ballata "Donna s'i't'ò fallito" appears in eight manuscripts. His music was well appreciated in northern Italy and even in Germany. In addition to his works being widely distributed, Francesco was the most prolific composer of the Italian Trecento (only Paolo da Firenze and Johannes Ciconia have anywhere close to as much output).

Francesco's style is of an extremely varied nature and no attempt to account for all types of composition is offered here. He was probably the first composer to have a clear grasp of both older Italian styles and contemporary composition in France. His two-voice madrigals are similar to Giovanni and Jacopo's but his three-voice pieces feature elements mostly known from French composition such as multiple texts, canons, and isorhythms. In his many three-voice ballate, the contratenor functions either as a French contratenor (that is, alternating the bass function with the tenor), or as a second cantus voice, or a mixture of the two. Although one should no longer assume that compound-triple meter pieces are necessarily markers of French style, his adoption of the frequent use of open and closed endings where the final ending is a step lower than the first suggests great familiarity with the mid-century French masters. A cadential formula called in modern scholarship the "Landini cadence" was not invented by Francesco, but is more prevalent in his work than any of his predecessors. In a Landini cadence, the standard medieval polyphonic cadence of a sixth expanding outward to an octave has its upper voice decorated with a lower neighbor tone, creating a perfect fifth just prior to the perfect octave. The success of the cadence, which avoids dissonances beyond imperfect consonances and works in both two- and three-part settings, is shown in its long survival into the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.[32]

Paolo

An enigmatic figure in the history of the Trecento is Paolo da Firenze, an abbot and composer, called in one source "Paolo Tenorista." He is present in manuscripts compiled after the beginning of the fifteenth century, overwhelmingly but not exclusively of Tuscan origin. A large section was left for him in

30 Alessandro Perosa, "Una fonte secentesca dello *Specimen* del Bandini in un codice della Biblioteca Marucelliana," *La Bibliofilia* 42 (1940), 229–56.
31 D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinita, 1360–1363," *Quadrivium* 12 (1971), 131–51 at 134–35.
32 Michael Long, "Landini's Musical Patrimony: A Reassessment of Some Compositional Conventions in Trecento Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 31–52.

the Squarcialupi Codex, where he is called "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia" (fols. 55v–71r). Reasons for why this section is blank are alas only speculation. The idea that he was part of the wealthy family that compiled the manuscript has been debunked (see footnote 4 above), but he was connected to the monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli that produced the manuscript. He is noted as being responsible for two chant sources also copied at the monastery (Douai, Bibliothèque municipale 1171 and *I-Fl* Ashburnham 999), so he may have been waiting until definitive versions of his works could be notated.

Paolo's importance is further suggested by two fragments that contain only pieces by Paolo (and anonymous works that may also be by him), the Lowinsky fragment (*US-Cn* Case MLo 96.P36) and a fragment in the private library of Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti. It is possible that both fragments come from a gathering of Paolo's works within larger, now lost, sources; but it is equally plausible that his works circulated separately among Tuscan musicians. These two sources, along with identifications in the palimpsest *I-Fsl* 2211, unravel part of one of the great mysteries about the composer. Many works in *F-Pn* It. 568 were attributed to "D. P." (Don Paolo or Dominus Paulus) but the attributions were subsequently erased, leading those musicologists who noticed these inscriptions to question their validity. But for seven of these erasures we now have ascriptions to Paolo in one of the other three sources (with no contradictory attributions in any source); thus the seven works with erased ascriptions in *F-Pn* It. 568 with no concordant sources are also believed to be works by Paolo. The question of why these ascriptions were erased remains to be answered.

Paolo's musical style borrows lightly from the note forms and syncopations of the Ars subtilior (see Chapter 37) but nowhere does it go to the extremes of the Pavia/Avignon school. His madrigals stick to the traditional style with extended melismas on the opening and penultimate syllables and a change of meter at the ritornello (though in four cases, such as in "Corse per l'onde," he provides two lines of text and a first and second ending for this section). His madrigal "Godi Firenze" has a hocket-like opening, depicting the crowds praising Florence, that is similar in style to some Mass movements by Ciconia and Zachara (see Chapter 36) and the earlier anonymous madrigal "Nel prato pien de fiori." Paolo's title "tenorista" may stem from a facility in singing these lines, but more likely refers to his skill in composing florid counterpoint above a tenor presented in equal notes. This *cantare super librum* tradition (discussed more in Chapter 36) is present in his Ars subtilior-influenced "Gaudeamus Omnes" (*I-Fl* Ashburnham 999) and his three-voice

Benedicamus Domino (*F-Pn* It. 568) and its basic rules are presented in his treatise *Ars ad discendum contrapunctum*.[33]

Paolo was born around 1355 and lived at least until late 1436. He was a Benedictine who (according to the Douai antiphoner) was abbot of the monastery of San Martino al Pino near Arezzo while simultaneously being rector of the Florentine church called Orbatello (Santa Maria Annunziata Virgine).

Bartolino da Padova

Bartolino is one of the few important northern composers after the earliest generation to be represented in the main Florentine anthologies from the turn of the century, mostly from *I-Fl* Pal. 87. He was a Carmelite brother. His works have been read to allude to service within the ruling Paduan family of the Carrara. However, the main source for these connections, the madrigal "Imperial sedendo," written for Francesco "il Novello" Carrara, has a conflicting attribution to an otherwise unknown composer, Dactalus de Padua, leaving the matter unresolved. He may have been in the circles of the Visconti family of Milan, given references to their mottos and emblems in several pieces, but some of these texts may also be read as being specifically against the Visconti as well.

No firm evidence places Bartolino in or around Florence, but the circumstantial evidence for such a residency is strong. He set the same text (the possibly Petrarchan madrigal "La fiera testa") as Niccolò da Perugia, who was active in Florence. His ballata "Ama chi t'ama" is mentioned in two works by the Lucchese author Giovanni Sercambi, and in Giovanni di Gherardo da Prato's "Paradiso degli Alberti" his madrigals are sung and played by the musicians and maidens.[34] Giovanni da Prato calls Bartolino a "famoso musico" and supplies the added information that the madrigals were made in Padua. The poet Simone de' Prodenzani from even further south, in Orvieto, notes in his *Il Saporetto* that five songs by Bartolino were sung (not counting "Imperial sedendo") along with some French rondeaux of his that do not survive, at least not with attributions. Notably the extant northern fragments do not feature his music, but his music abounds in the more tenuously provenanced Reina (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771) and Lucca (or Mancini, *I-Las* 184) codices. In Reina, a large space left for a never-written capital letter at the start of his gathering suggests that it may have been intended to start the manuscript.[35] That his

33 Edition and commentary in Albert Seay, "Paolo Tenorista: A Trecento Theorist," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 1 (1962), 118–40.
34 Giovanni Gherardi, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Salerno: Einaudi, 1975), IV: 299.
35 Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony," 188.

style owes much to Jacopo da Bologna and other earlier composers, along with the more speculative nature of dates assigned to his works, suggests that current dates for his compositions primarily in the 1370s to 1380s may be one or even two decades too late. Significantly, his three-voice compositions show little integration in their use of contratenors, and all but one of them exists either in a two-voice version or with an alternate contratenor.

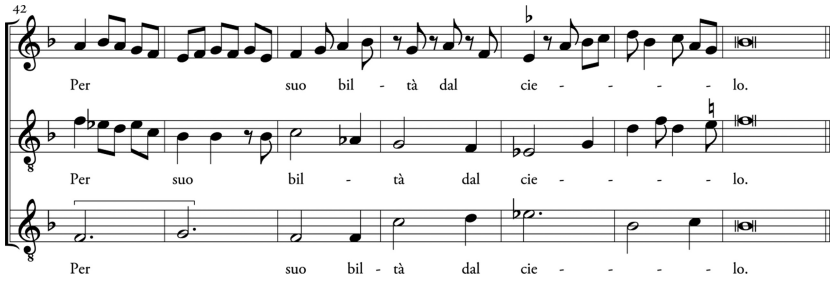
Other Tuscan Composers

Though the music of Andrea de' Servi (Andreas de Florentia) is known almost entirely from *I-Fl* Pal. 87, much is known about his life. He was a Florentine, organist and organ builder, and prior, and contemporary of Francesco. Many of his unison or octave cadences, whether in two or three voices, are decorated with a "neighbor" descending third, adding a touch of imperfect sonority to what we would normally expect to be a resting point. Fischer's notion that Andrea's two-voice ballate (he wrote in no other forms) connect to the older madrigal tradition rests entirely on their simultaneous text-declaration.[36] Few other examples of the madrigal style can be found in these pieces with the exception of "Donna, se' raççi" and "Donna, se per te moro."

Though the Mazzuoli family of musicians were long known to scholars, their music (except for one spurious, lost piece by Giovanni that can now be discarded) was unknown until the discovery of the palimpsest manuscript *I-Fsl* 2211, where their music occupied gatherings 9 and 10 (for Giovanni) and 17 (for Piero, his son). Giovanni's own father Niccolò was also a musician and, like Francesco da Firenze, all of them were referred to as "degli Organi."[37] Space was left for Giovanni's music in the Squarcialupi Codex, where he is called "Magister Jouannes horganista de Florentia," but like the section for Paolo, no music was entered.[38] Giovanni (ca. 1360–1426) was organist at Orsanmichele and later was probably organist at the Duomo in Florence. Unfortunately, most of his music in *I-Fsl* 2211 is illegible. A slightly happier fate befell the music of his only son, Piero, who leaves to us nine pieces, probably all ballate, many of which are reconstructible at least in part. Among Giovanni's compositions are two settings of the same text, "A Febo dame," one for two voices and one for three. A section of his three-voice setting (see Example 35.2) gives a sense of his musical style which shows a transition to what would become the dominant fifteenth-century style, where a distinctly

36 Fischer (with Gianluca D'Agostino), s.v. "Andreas de Florentia," in *NG2*.
37 D'Accone, "Giovanni Mazzuoli, a Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 2 (1968), 23–38.
38 Further, see Janke, *Die Kompositionen von Giovanni Mazzuoli, Piero Mazzuoli und Ugolino da Orvieto im San-Lorenzo-Palimpsest (ASL 2211)* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2016).

Example 35.2 Giovanni Mazzuoli, excerpt from "A Febo dame" for three voices



melodic upper voice in 3/4 time floats above two predominantly trochaic lower voices.

Piero's musical style forms a link between that of the late Trecento style of Tuscan composers such as Francesco and the music of the Du Fay era of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Such a link can be seen more easily in the works of northerners, such as Johannes Ciconia (see Chapter 36), who, though focused more on sacred music than secular composition, nonetheless created in his last secular works a style of flowing cantus melody and emphatic repetition of emotionally significant texts that was picked up and adapted by both Italian and foreign musicians into the Quattrocento.

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· 36 ·

Trecento II: Sacred Music and Motets in Italy and the East from 1300 until the End of the Schism

MICHAEL SCOTT CUTHBERT

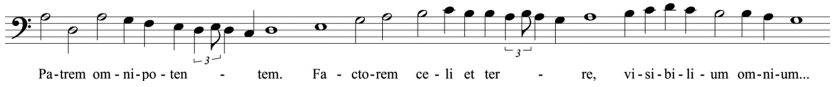
While secular music, with texts in Italian and a center in Florence, is the best-known and the best-preserved musical tradition of the Italian Trecento, it was a tradition that coexisted with other polyphonic genres and styles. Although much secular music survives in a few large codices, the sacred traditions of the Trecento and early Quattrocento are now largely preserved in fragments and other scattered documents. The number of fragments, over seventy, and their continued discovery, shows that polyphonic sacred music, once considered a small phenomenon, was actually ubiquitous and well-known in the peninsula.

As in the rest of the Middle Ages, the most commonly encountered sacred music in fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Italy was plainsong (see Roman Hankeln's contribution in Chapter 25). New feasts requiring new musical settings continued to enter the liturgy, and even long-established feasts elicited new music,[1] but the vast increase in the number of lavishly decorated manuscripts of chant (especially from Tuscany, but also from Italy as a whole) suggests the ossification of the repertory. New monophonic settings of the Credo provide an exception to the rule. The most important Credo settings to emerge, such as the Credo Regis and the Credo Cardinalis (Example 36.1) were usually written in mensural or almost mensural notation.[2] The "Salve Regina" and Christmas hymn "Verbum caro factum est" are also found in rhythmicized settings, though unlike Credo Cardinalis, their repeating long–short rhythms reflect the stress patterns of the underlying Latin meter. The newly popular practice of noting chant with rhythm is often called "cantus fractus" by modern scholars, but is better described by the term "cantus simplex figuratus" used by Tinctoris. The practice continued at least into the nineteenth century but is absent from the Solesmes chant-books.

1 E.g., work on new Offices for St. Donato in Arezzo and other established saints. See Benjamin Brand, *Holy Treasure and Sacred Song: Relic Cults, and their Liturgies* in *Medieval Tuscany*. (Oxford University Press, 2014).

2 Richard Sherr, "The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and Its Interactions with Polyphony," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 178–208. More extensively on early Trecento sacred monophony see the excellent chapter, Marco Gozzi, "Italy to 1300," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 121–35.

Example 36.1 Opening of the "Credo Cardinalis" from Siena, Biblioteca comunale, H.I.10



As with French music of the same period, the most common sacred polyphonic compositions were individual movements of the Ordinary of the Mass. The Kyrie was an exception since it was rarely set polyphonically. However, many settings of the Ordinary included the dismissal formula, Benedicamus Domino, "Let us bless the Lord," a chant that was also often used in the Office.

Sacred Polyphony before the Black Death

The first written records of sacred polyphony in Italy come later than they do in France, and the earliest examples do little to hint at a sophisticated and innovative tradition.[3]

From the beginnings of polyphonic practice in Italy, settings of the Benedicamus Domino, both troped and untroped, were numerous. Most of the earliest surviving Italian polyphonic pieces are settings of the Benedicamus Domino, either set simply as in Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci e Archivio storico comunale, L.III.39 (early thirteenth century) or troped as in "Regi regum glorioso" found in Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile 603 (late twelfth century).[4] Polyphonic singing to the Benedicamus is also hinted at in evidence from thirteenth-century ordinals such as those of *I-Sc* C.V.8 (1215) and (fragmentarily) from Lucca.[5] Finally, many liturgical books containing polyphonic works place these pieces

3 Facsimiles of the early repertory appear in F. Alberto Gallo and Giuseppe Vecchi, *I più antichi monumenti sacri italiani*, vol. I, edizione fotografica (Bologna: Universita degli studi di Bologna, 1968). For transcriptions and discussions, Susan Rankin, "Between Oral and Written: Thirteenth-Century Italian Sources of Polyphony," in *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, ed. Giulio Cattin and F. Alberto Gallo (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2002), 75–98.

4 See facsimile in Gallo and Vecchi, *I più antichi monumenti*, plate 97. Discussion in Reinhard Strohm, "Neue Quellen zur liturgischen Mehrstimmigkeit des Mittelalters in Italien," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966), 79; Anselm Hughes, "The Birth of Polyphony," in *The New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), II: 281; Raffaello Baralli, "Un frammento inedito di 'discantus,'" *Rassegna Gregoriana* 9 (1912), 9–10.

5 For the Siena Ordinal of 1215, see Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), esp. 45. The Lucca Ordinal is discussed by Agostino Ziino, "Polifonia nella cattedrale di Lucca durante il XIII secolo," *Acta Musicologica* 47 (1975), 16–30. I am grateful to Aaron Allen for access to his unpublished research and for discussions on this topic.

in the midst of the Benedicamus Domino settings, suggesting that the Benedicamus was often sung with added voices.

Although both Marchettian and Franconian notation appears in early fourteenth-century sacred settings, most of the notation of early fourteenth-century Italian polyphony reflects its probable non-mensural performance practice. Chant notations, including square and heightened neumes, are common, as are new notations created "on the fly" by scribes who rarely had to show how multiple parts were to be coordinated.

Thirteenth-century Italians had knowledge of new musical styles coming out of France. An inventory from 1295 shows that Pope Boniface VIII had in his library in Perugia at least two copies of the *Magnus liber organi*; these books could have been recent donations that were rarely used or they could document active performance of these styles in Italy.[6] Boniface VIII was interested in polyphony of some sort since Bonaiutus de Casentino wrote a polyphonic sequence in trochaic rhythm (mode 1) wishing Boniface's recovery from an illness requiring bloodletting (found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter *I-Rvat*), Reg. Lat. 2854).[7] Other Notre Dame manuscripts, such as the codex Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1, were in Italy from at least the mid-fifteenth century. It has been suggested that the motet manuscript Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115 passed through northern Italy (probably a Dominican center such as Bologna) on its way to Germany since the two-voice motets appearing as appendices to the manuscript are found only in Italian sources.[8] Finally, a manuscript of Notre-Dame polyphony later had a mid-to-late Trecento ballata added to it, suggesting that such music was still collected and performed in Italy during the fourteenth century.[9]

The early fourteenth century presents the first substantial set of locally composed music in formal styles. The motet "Ave Regina / Mater Innocencie / [Ite Missa Est]" in Oxford, Bodleian Library (*GB-Ob*), Canon. cl. lat. 112 contains the acrostic "Marcvm Padvanvm," probably identifying it as the work of the theorist Marchetto of Padua. However, the supposed connection

6 Peter Jeffery, "Notre-Dame Polyphony in the Library of Boniface VIII," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32/1 (1979), 118–24.

7 Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony beyond the Codex," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), 352–55, which treats in more detail the history of French thirteenth-century polyphony in Italy.

8 Joseph Willimann, "Die sogenannte 'Engelberger Motette': Studien zu den Motetten des Codex Engelberg 314 im Kontext der europäischen Überlieferung" (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Basel, 2000). I thank Prof. Willimann for access to this work in advance of publication.

9 The manuscript, formerly in the Phillipps collection, is now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 4° 523. Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36.2/3 (April/September 1964), 80–83. Vincent J. Corrigan, "A Study of the Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (*olim* Preussischer Staatsbibliothek) lat. 4° 523" (M.Mus. dissertation, Indiana University, 1972).

to the inauguration of the Scrovegni Chapel in 1305, which is based on a correspondence of the number of longs in the piece with the number of scenes from the life of the Virgin by Giotto (that not only also counts the life of Christ and Joachim but considers the Annunciation to be two paintings), can only be called speculation.[10] The two motets of the fragment Venice, Monastero di San Giorgio Maggiore, senza segnatura are somewhat similar in style, but probably from two decades later. "Ave corpus sanctum gloriosi Stefani" is the more unusual of the two, combining two texts (one dedicated to the Venetian doge Francesco Dandolo) with sections where three of the four voices split lines of text amongst themselves.

Sacred Musical Forms after Mid-Century

Musical forms that were primarily secular, such as the ballata, were often fitted with religious texts. Italian sacred music had its own genres, in particular the motet, the equal-note tenor (*cantare super librum*), and free and isorhythmic settings of the Mass Ordinary, especially the Gloria and Credo and less frequently the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. The Italian motet, which included both sacred and courtly or ceremonial topics, borrowed characteristics from its French predecessors but adapted them to create a new style. Its main features, first isolated by Margaret Bent, include two voices in roughly equal range over a freely composed tenor.[11] Sometimes, but certainly not always, a contratenor was added, and *solus tenors* that take the lowest note of the tenor or contratenor appear from time to time. The upper voices sometimes have different texts, in the French style, or sometimes the same texts. When the texts differ, there is a slight preference for texts beginning with the same incipits (as in Ciconia's "Albane misse celitus / Albane doctor maxime"). Dedicatees of the motets include secular rulers, bishops, cities, and saints, whose names appear either in the text or, as in the early motets of Jacopo da Bologna, as acrostics. The composer might place his name in the text as well. Cadences of a tenth over a sixth leading to a twelfth over an octave are the most common. Triple-time (3/4) compositions appear more frequently in motets than in Mass movements (where 6/8 is more common).

Problems in identifying which motets are securely Italian has made describing the genre more difficult. "Gratiosus Fervidus," for instance, has long been considered a securely Italian motet, possibly by the composer Gratiosus de Padua. But its recent discovery in a Franco-Flemish source (Belfast, Queen's

10 Eleonora Beck, *Giotto's Harmony: Music and Art in Padua at the Crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence: European Press Academic Publishing, 2005).
11 Margaret Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 6 (1992), 85–125.

University Special Collections, 1/21.1) raises doubts about the work's provenance. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Houghton Library (*US-CAh)*, Typ 122, a source containing a motet with the phrase "Trinitatem," possibly from the threefold schism, might not be Italian at all. "Plausu querulo," from Cortona, Archivio storico del Comune, finds a new voice with a new text (also beginning "Plausu querulo") in a French source, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (*F-Pn*), nouvelles acquisitions françaises (n.a.f.) 22069. Finally, three voices that were formerly believed to form two different motets in the Italian fragment Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*D-Mbs*), Mus. 3223 are actually from the same piece, whose unusual tenor placement in the middle of the texture differs from the norms of Italian practice.[12]

Many settings of the Benedicamus Domino, Kyries, and even portions of the Proper add a single voice (rarely two) above a chant tenor which is written in equal breves, or, less commonly, longs. The style of the upper voices ranges from extremely simple to elaborately ornate and filled with Ars subtilior flourishes. Each of the known pieces in this style (collected in PMFC 12 and 13) is unique and without concordance, suggesting that the manuscripts may record a fleeting example of what was otherwise an unwritten practice. The setting of the Benedicamus Domino found scrawled at the bottom of the last folio of a Roman manuscript, Messina, Biblioteca Painiana (del Seminario Arcivescovile San Pio X) (*I-MEs*), O.4.16 (Example 36.2) is typical of the genre. The more elaborate compositions "Gaudeamus omnes" and the three-voice Benedicamus Domino by Paolo, Abbot of Florence, are probably examples of the style of composition that earned him the title "tenorista" in one Trecento source (see Chapter 35). Close analogues to equal-tenor compositions are found in the style of (quasi-)improvised composition that the fifteenth-century music theorist Johannes Tinctoris calls "cantare super librum" (singing from the book).[13] Compositions above equal-note tenors continue into the mid-fifteenth century, particularly in north-east Italian compilations (e.g., Veneto manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo [*I-Bc*] Bibliografico Musicale, Q15) and in Central European traditions connected to Italy (such as *D-Mbs* lat. 14274 and the Trent codices).[14]

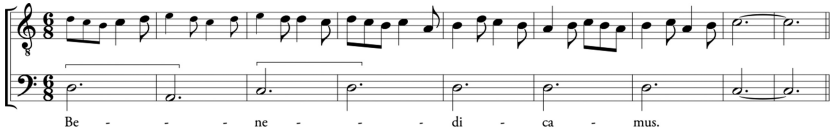
Many of the keyboard pieces such as those found in the Faenza Codex are also related to the *cantare super librum* tradition, with florid voices added above

12 On all except "Plausu querulo," see Cuthbert, "The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International *Ars Nova*," *Studi Musicali* nuova serie 1/1 (2010), 7–51.

13 Sherr, "The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and Its Interactions with Polyphony."

14 Gozzi, "*Cantus firmus per notulas plani cantus*: alcune testimonianze quattrocentesche," *Polifonie* 3, 45–88.

Example 36.2 "Benedicamus Domino," incipit from Messina, Biblioteca Painiana (del Seminario Arcivescovile San Pio X), O.4.16



equal-note settings of the Benedicamus Domino or the Kyrie (especially the setting "Cunctipotens genitor"). Other diminutions (also called, probably incorrectly, intabulations) are found scattered in small fragments such as Assisi, Biblioteca comunale 187, and the cover of a small book in Padua, Archivio di Stato (*I-Pas*), Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, busta 553, either of which may have come from a much larger source. Or they appear as isolated pieces in larger manuscripts such as the Reina Codex (*F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771). A practice of performing the Kyrie, Gloria, and perhaps other parts of the Ordinary in organ *alternatim*, that is with the organ alternating verses with singers (in monophony or polyphony), is attested to by Faenza's omission of many verses of these chants. For instance, the third copy of *Kyrie*, *Vatican IV* gives only two statements of both Kyries and only a single statement of the Christe, suggesting that the organ began an alternation of instruments and voices.[15]

Texted Italian compositions for the Ordinary of the Mass tended to borrow much from the style of secular music (both Italian and French) of the time. Following the trend in secular music away from the madrigal and towards the ballata, the upper voices of sacred pieces became less ornamented and more like those of monophonic song as the century progressed. With one important exception discussed below, works were not composed to be parts of polyphonic cycles (whether stylistically unified or not), and, contrary to common belief, even paired movements were rare. What has been seen as a Trecento compositional strategy is instead too heavily influenced by the later collecting tastes of the compiler of *I-Bc* Q15, who placed somewhat similar earlier pieces in pairs of Glorias and Credos, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and by modern musicologists through the lens of French cycles and the ubiquitous polyphonic cycles of the later fifteenth century. More commonly, pieces were either arranged haphazardly or grouped by genre similarly to the plainchant Kyriales of the time.

15 Pedro Memelsdorff, *The Codex Faenza 117: Instrumental Polyphony in Late Medieval Italy* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2013), 128.

Sources of Sacred Music after Mid-Century

Unlike the systematically organized and carefully preserved collections of Italian secular music, for most collections of polyphonic Italian sacred music from the middle of the fourteenth century until the end of the Great Papal Schism (1417) we must turn to fragmentary evidence. The fullest collections of sacred Italian music come from the north and particularly the university city of Padua and the small town of Cividale del Friuli, site of a failed council attempting to end the schism.

The Paduan fragments consist of fourteen separate documents, twelve in Padua at the University Library and Archivio di Stato, one in Oxford, and one in Stresa near Lake Como. All the fragments come from the monastic library (and presumably scriptorium) of the Benedictine Abbey of Santa Giustina. Three fragments are definitely from the same manuscript, called *Pad A* (Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria [*I-Pu*] 684 and 1475, and *GB-Ob* Canon. pat. lat. 229), and four more are usually considered to come from the same source, *Pad D* (*I-Pu* 1106 and Buste 2/1, 2/2, and 2/3). Both of these groups of fragments share a common layout and are organized similarly, though since they have different scribes and have two of the same Glorias in both, in all probability they were not intended to be part of the same book. Instead, together with several other fragments with the same layout (*Pad B* [*I-Pu* 1115]; Padua, Archivio di Stato [*I-Pas*], Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, busta 14; and the blank musical staves of *I-Pu* 1027) they testify to a unified plan for creating music manuscripts in early fifteenth-century Padua, the "S. Giustina project." Some fragments from S. Giustina, including *Pad C* (*I-Pu* 658); Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte 14; and the three fragments of *I-Pas* busta 553 (including the keyboard intabulation of a Gloria on the cover, a collection of sicilianas, and a vocal liturgical fragment) have different layouts and sometimes repertories than the fragments within the S. Giustina project.

The Paduan fragments are organized eclectically. For the most part, Mass movements take up the top of the page while secular songs in either Italian or French are copied at the bottoms of pages. But the exceptions are too numerous to list individually. In several cases, a secular piece (or pieces) occupies an entire page. In one case, the vernacular pieces appear on both sides of a folio, so these pieces were not simply fillers for the empty outer folios in a gathering. Since musical gatherings were sometimes distributed separately for quite some time before a book was bound (if it ever was), the easily separated or damaged outer folios were sometimes used for less important contents.

Although French notation (better called international notation, since Marchettian notation was never fully adopted in all parts of Italy) is common

in the Paduan fragments, French mensural signatures are not. Changes of mensuration, when they are signaled at all, are usually given with Italian *divisiones* letters, such as "·d·" for *duodenaria*. The few pieces that employ French mensural signatures, including the well-known virelai by Johannes Ciconia "Sus une fontayne," use the signatures with different meanings than the standardized forms arrived at in the fifteenth century. Yet the alternative usage they employ is remarkably standardized throughout early Quattrocento northern Italy: C has a similar meaning to the modern 6/8 (instead of the meaning of 2/4 it will later universally stand for), while Ↄ conveys 2/4 without implying any sort of diminution.[16]

Fragments in the northern Italian region of the Friuli contain other important collections of sacred music. Three fragments (Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale [*I-CFm*], MSS 63 and 98; and Udine, Archivio di Stato, framm. 22) are similar enough in size, layout, and repertory that they probably originally came from the same manuscript of Mass movements, now called *Cividale A*. Like some of the fragments from Padua, *I-CFm* 98 mixes sacred music at the top of folios with French-texted secular music below. Though it is quite damaged, we can make out the remains of two Credos by Zachara da Teramo (one unique and one extremely well documented), the well-known Credo by Sortes, and a Credo by Philippoctus da Caserta that has long been thought to be incomplete but is actually finished on a fragment now on the other side of the manuscript.[17] The richness of the tradition of music collected in these manuscripts probably draws from the musical splendor heard in the town during the council that Pope Gregory XII called there in 1409 ostensibly to end the schism (though in reality it had little likelihood of doing so). Yet polyphonic music was well known in Cividale even before this council. Cividalese manuscripts preserve a tradition of adding a second voice to existing plainsong in a note-against-note style called *cantus planus binatim* (see "Simple Polyphony" later in this chapter). Some of these sources may come from as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. Motets were already being collected (and presumably sung) in Cividale at least by 1367.

Three separate sets of fragments are now in the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale within the ancient Greek-rite abbey of Grottaferrata, near Rome (*I-GR*). None contain secular music written in Italian, and two are of particular interest for this chapter: lat. 224 (formerly Collocazione provvisoria 197); and a set of unrelated fragments without shelfmark. The former (along with a single sheet from the same source now

16 On non-standard mensural signatures, see note 23 in the previous chapter.
17 For details on this reconstruction see Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 235–50.

Hanover [NH], Dartmouth College, Baker Library 002387) shows the particular influence of Zachara, Ciconia, and the travels of the Papal chapel. The second set contains four Glorias (three anonymous and one by Ciconia) and is similar in appearance and repertory to *Cividale A*.

Three anonymous Glorias, in a fragment without shelfmark in Foglino, Archivio di Stato, show the cosmopolitan tastes of Italian collectors. The first Gloria, largely homophonic and also found in *I-GR* lat. 224, is one of the few English pieces copied on the Continent, though transferred from notation in score to successive copying in parts. The two other Glorias have either been considered copies of otherwise lost French originals or as Italian compositions that are strongly influenced by French originals.[18]

Several fragments from the Abruzzi, the Marche, and Umbria suggest the importance of sacred music and especially motet compositions in the region. The covers of Ascoli Piceno, Archivio di Stato, Notarile mandamentale di Montefortino 142 preserve parts of two "Salve Regina" settings, a sacred motet, and two secular motets (including the Flemish "Comes Flandrie"), with two French rondeaux at the bottom of the page. Macerata, Archivio di Stato (*I-MACa*), Notarile di Recanati 488 contains several otherwise unknown motets, and both troped and untroped Mass movements. Another fragment from Macerata, formerly in the possession of Francesco Egidi but now lost, contained three secular motets in addition to a late example of a caccia. Another long-lost fragment has recently been rediscovered as Perugia, Biblioteca comunale "Augusta" (*I-PEc*), 3409/1 [*olim*: III-12–4] and contains two otherwise unknown Credos. Also in Perugia are the "Cialini fragments," Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi (*I-PEdu*), Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F., parts of three unrelated sources containing Italian Mass movements, the well-known French motet "Rex Karole," and works by Jacopo da Bologna. Atri, Museo della Basilica Cattedrale, Biblioteca Capitolare, Frammento 17 [*olim:* Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, frammento n. 5] contains a Gloria by Zachara along with a secular work with some religious overtones (*Ben lo sa dio*). The now-stolen choirbooks of Guardiagrele, Archivio di Santa Maria Maggiore, Codex 1, vols. 2 and 3 were prime examples of the tradition of adding additional polyphonic settings of the Ordinary to existing manuscripts.[19]

18 Nino Pirrotta, "Church Polyphony apropos of a New Fragment at Foligno," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 113–26. Janet Palumbo, "The Foligno Fragment: A Reassessment of Three Polyphonic Glorias, ca. 1400," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), 169–209.

19 Giulio Cattin, Oliver Mischiati, and Agostino Ziino, "Composizioni polifoniche del primo Quattrocento nei libri corali di Guardiagrele," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 7 (1972), 153–81.

Contrary to previous descriptions, the manuscript fragment *US-CAh* Typ 122 may not be an Italian source. The handwriting is more like French than Italian sources of the period and there are no other Italian sources from the period which omit custodes at the ends of lines, while this feature is common in French manuscripts. It contains parts of a Credo by Humbertus de Salinis, a Marian motet (on the reverse of a pastedown), and a motet invoking musical imagery from Psalm 150 while beseeching the Trinity in general and the Son in particular to remove the cloud of threefold dissention, possibly a reference to the threefold Schism.[20] A more securely Italian document in the same library, *US-CAh* lat. 420, contains mensural monophonic settings of the Benedicamus Domino with the first part of a two-voice Agnus Dei in mid-century style. One Benedicamus setting uses the prolation signs 𝄇 and 𝄆 that are otherwise known only from Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, busta 75 n. 26 and the "St. Emmeram Codex" (*D-Mbs* lat. 14274).

The most famous collection of Italian music for the Mass is in many ways the least representative and has led to erroneous assumptions about Italian sacred style as a whole. At the back of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568 (*F-Pn* it. 568 [*Pit*]) is a cycle of five movements of the Ordinary of the Mass. Unlike later continental Mass cycles, but like standard Italian practice of the time, the collection in *F-Pn* it. 568 omits a setting of the Kyrie but does include a *cantare super librum* Benedicamus Domino. This collection is unusual for several reasons: it is probably from Florence and certainly from Tuscany, collected at a time (ca. 1400–10) when the majority of Mass movements came from the north. The movements defy the norms of manuscript collection of their time. In general when sacred and secular pieces are intertwined in the Trecento, the majority of the works are sacred and the secular works are less numerous and appear at the bottom of the page or in originally empty spaces between gatherings. In *F-Pn* it. 568, the sacred pieces are found within a primarily secular manuscript. The most unusual aspect of the five pieces is the range of styles represented. Far from the unified Mass cycles of the fifteenth century or of Machaut's Mass, the *F-Pn* it. 568 cycle represents at least a half-century of stylistic change. Lorenzo da Firenze's Sanctus has an almost improvisatory flavor reminiscent of some of the madrigals of the Rossi Codex,[21] while the

20 Discovery study in Bent, "New Sacred Polyphonic Fragments of the Early Quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 9 (1980), 171–89 at 179–85.

21 On improvisational aspects of the earlier Trecento repertory see Brooks Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta Musicologica* 64 (1992), 165–76. Like the Rossi pieces, Lorenzo's Sanctus is often built around a core of decorated perfect consonances between the voices. Unlike those madrigals, the consonance in the Sanctus is often a unison, suggesting an even more archaic practice wrapped in more sophisticated rhythmic subtlety.

rhythmic complexity of the upper voices of Paolo da Firenze's Benedicamus Domino are fully within a post-Ars-subtilior tradition current in the earliest years of Quattrocento Italy.

The other large Florentine source preserving sacred and secular music is a codex now London, British Library (*GB-Lbl*), additional 29987. This eclectic source mainly contains secular Italian music but also a famous collection of monophonic, instrumental dances, as well as three French-texted compositions (two probably written by Italians), and, most importantly for this discussion, music for the liturgy. *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 is one of the few primarily polyphonic manuscripts to include plainsong along with polyphonic music. Other such sources include the Grottaferrata/Dartmouth fragments, whose first surviving folio is a setting of the Magnificat, and *GB-Lbl* add. 82959, with a monophonic Sanctus adjacent to a Gloria by Zachara. Among the monophonic pieces in *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 is an enigmatic "L'antefana" by Ser Lorenzo, whose didactic text and seemingly incorrect accidentals have been interpreted, reinterpreted, and (most recently) refused to be interpreted by generations of readers.[22] Unnoticed is that the other three plainchant pieces, the sequences "Dies irae" and "Surgit Christus" and a Kyrie, seem to be written with rhythmic interpretation in mind. Ligatures *cum opposita proprietate*, which rarely if ever appear in square notation sources of the time, are used in both the "Dies irae" and the Kyrie. Furthermore, in the melodic repetitions of the "Dies irae" sequence, the rhythms remain consistent. In one case, at "Inter oves locum praesta," two descending semibreves, that could be taken as plainsong *currentes*, are rendered as a *c.o.p.* ligature at "Confutatis maledictis."

The codex also collects a handful of polyphonic Mass movements. Two *unica* Mass settings follow the monophonic Kyrie: a Gloria followed by a Credo. The Gloria combines the newest traditions of Gloria composition found in the music of Zachara (see below), such as continuing the monophonic introduction to "Et in terra" before exploding into a rhythmically active, three-voice display, with a somewhat stilted deployment of new rhythmic signs related both to earlier Italian traditions (such as dragmas, or minims with both ascending and descending tails, indicating hemiola) and a variety of coloration that can be connected to some Ars subtilior traditions (though the lack of mensuration signs and elaborate *puncti* effects separate it from much of the Ars subtilior mainstream). The following Credo, though also in 6/8 and for three voices, seems far more conventional. Its long Amen is

22 Michael Long's "Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61/2 (2008), 253–306, both summarizes the previous attempts at solutions and argues against continuing the search.

an exception, however, with two different sets of fermata (*cantus coronatus*) passages creating a sort of deceptive ending.[23] A second Credo once appeared on the first folio of the manuscript, now erased and covered by a set of Medici arms that may be a later forgery. The foliation marks throughout the manuscript have been altered, but close examination reveals that the first sheet was originally the ninety-eighth. This evidence along with the erased Credo raises the possibility that the now-missing first half of the manuscript could have been composed largely or entirely of sacred music.[24] However, there are no other manuscripts of the time divided roughly equally between sacred and secular polyphonic compositions: the closest parallels are Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo (*I-Fsl*) 2211, a mainly palimpsest secular source that originally ended with one or more fascicles of motets, and *F-Pn* n.a.f. 6771, a manuscript of secular music that maintained distinct sections based on language, with Italian music being followed by French-texted music (with further French compositions following later).

Several pieces from *Pit* and *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 appear in fragmentary sources as well. The last fascicle of *I-Rvat* Urb. lat. 1419 contains an eclectic mix of monophonic and polyphonic Mass movements (out of order), including the Gloria and Sanctus from *Pit*. It is one of the only Italian collections of composed polyphonic Kyries (the example in *I-Sc* L.V.36, fol. 16v is a written-out example of *cantare super librum*), but one of these is definitely French with Italian additions and the other is a contrafactum of an otherwise unknown rondeau. A concordance of the *GB-Lbl* add. 29987 Credo in some uncataloged fragments in Cortona, Archivio storico del Comune, provides a reason (along with some notational features and the current location) to consider this otherwise quite French source to be Italian.[25] The fragments contain another Credo, a single Gloria (not two as previously described), the smallest sliver of a Sanctus, motets from the international repertory, and French secular songs (one unique).

23 Both pieces are transcribed in PMFC 12, 25–29 and 60–68.

24 The Credo was first discovered by Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), 173. A reconstruction of the foliation and original structure of the manuscript is found in Giuliano Di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (London, British Library, Additional 29987)," *Studi Musicali* 20 (1991), 181–234. Long, "Musical Tastes," 173 first put forth the notion that the first half contained sacred music. Di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni," 214 countered that the first half might have been an eclectic mix of music whether sacred, secular, older, vocal, or instrumental. Gozzi, "Alcune postille sul codice Add. 29987 della British Library," *Studi Musicali* 22 (1993), 250 sensibly notes that we really have no idea what was in the first half and that it might not even have been primarily musical.

25 Di Bacco and John Nádas. "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 44–92 at 82–85.

Other collections of sacred music and secular motets are found in less studied fragments such as *D-Mbs* Mus. 3223 which contains two (not three as commonly thought) motets probably of Italian origin; Siena, Archivio di Stato (*I-Sas*), Gavorrano "Ravi 3" (1568–69) is a fragment of a much larger manuscript of hymns, lauds, a Gloria of unknown origin, with a French song. *I-Sas* Frammenti musicali busta 1, insert 11 (*olim*. 207) collects Mass movements by Zachara, unique Italian secular pieces, and a motet that can now be identified as "Constat in altari," a composite of hymns and epigrams on the Eucharist. The dates previously given, 1430–50, are much too late for this source, which I place closer to 1410–20. Poznań, Archiwum archidiecezjalne 174a likewise combines a Mass movement with Italian secular music (including a caccia by Zachara), and the text of "Ave stella matutina" (previously unidentified) spaced for a musical setting that was never added. The two settings of "Crucifixum in carne" (one for two voices, one for three) in the hymnal Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca municipale, C. 408 appear on first glance to be integral with the manuscript, but a closer examination shows that this bifolio was added later, as with most polyphonic pieces in liturgical books. The two fragments, Trent, Biblioteca comunale 1563 (housed at the Museo provincial d'arte) and Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska mus. 40592 have been considered part of the same collection of Mass movements of the early fifteenth century, but substantial codicological and repertorial differences – the latter is written on five- not six-line staves and has a later repertoire than the Zachara fragment of Trent – demand that they be considered different sources. Several of the six Gloria settings in *I-Rvat* Barb. lat. 171 likewise show the influence of Zachara da Teramo, especially in their use of *divisi* notation.

Later sources including *I-Bc* Q15, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2216 and *GB-Ob* Canon. misc. 213 are also extremely important for the transmission of late Trecento music. These manuscripts, especially *I-Bc* Q15, often update their original models to reflect new tastes, sometimes by changing the notational style or adding contratenors or second cantus voices to what were originally three-voice pieces.

Composers

Zachara da Teramo

By far the most well-transmitted composer of sacred music during the Great Schism is Antonio Zachara da Teramo (ca. 1350 or 1360–1413). Although little is known about his life, some discoveries have emerged in recent decades that clear up the portrait of this remarkable figure and bring details into focus.

The pieces attributed to Magister Zacharias, Zacar, Zachara da Teramo, and Antonio da Teramo were all in fact written by the same composer. (The few compositions ascribed to Nicolaus Zacharie, however, were composed by a later figure whose relationship to Antonio, if any, is unknown). The term "Zachara" is a nickname attested to by usages in manuscripts such as Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1225 calling him "Antonius dictus Zachara," that is, Antonio called Zachara. In many Italian dialects the word is a derogatory description of a short or insignificant man, and probably has as its origin the story in the Gospel of Luke in which Zacchaeus, because of his height and the vast crowds, is unable to see Jesus until he climbs a tree.[26] Tree climbing might have been difficult for our Zachara for he had many physical disabilities. The only surviving description of the composer says that if you counted his fingers and his toes together you would not reach ten. Like so many composers of the Trecento, the only portrait of Zachara appears in the Squarcialupi Codex. There his arm rests in a sling draped across his shoulder, and the missing fingers on his right hand are plainly visible.

Zachara's music is extremely well represented among the fragments of Italian sacred music, as the previous section on "Sources" made clear. No other composer from the period has a single liturgical piece that appears in more than five sources. Zachara on the other hand has four pieces that exceed this level: two Glorias in six sources and two Credos in seven. Though his compositions in *I-Fl* Pal. 87, excepting his caccia *Cacciando per gustar*, suggest a composer of little innovation, the remainder of his secular and sacred pieces show incredible versatility, humor, and invention.

Zachara is the earliest known composer of a setting of Credo I, the so-called Credo "du Village" that would become more popular throughout the fifteenth century. He was also the first composer to compose Mass movements based on secular ballate, so-called parody Masses. Wit and near blasphemy abound in these pieces. He reused his ballata, "Deus deorum Pluto," a homage to the underworld god of gods, as a setting of a Credo, the affirmation of the existence of a single God. In his "scabby" Credo ("Credo scabioso") he reapplied the musical depiction of scratching at a scab from his "D'amor languire," with its angular up-and-down features, to a depiction of the Holy Spirit. These works were almost certainly influential on the parody movements of Bartolomeo da Bologna and on the earliest unified parody Mass cycles of the fifteenth century. He pioneered the use of *divisi* and *chorus* sections where certain sections are sung only by the cantus divided into two

26 Nádas, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo," *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986), 167–82 at 175–77. Luke 19:3–4.

parts while other sections are sung by the whole chorus. This musical style would also become popular in the first half of the fifteenth century.[27] The texts of his songs seem to reveal autobiographical elements, but they are couched in difficult-to-understand dialects, codes (encoding the name "Cucci" in the roman numerals for 105 and 201), and obscure proverbs. Surprising for a composer of such wide interests, we have no motets by Zachara. His puzzle piece, "Sumite, karissime," is a ballade set in Latin.

Johannes Ciconia

The other figure who stands foremost among composers of Italian sacred music was not born in Italy. Johannes Ciconia was born in Liège in modern-day southern Belgium probably around 1370 and died in Padua in 1412. (Ciconia used to be confused with other men having the same name, including his father, a priest born around 1330. Hence he is still sometimes considered to be part of a much older generation of composers and to have spent much more of his life in northern Europe.)[28] Although he did write a number of pieces in his native French, like a fourteenth-century Nabokov Ciconia absorbed the vocabulary of his adopted country thoroughly, producing Italian madrigals that would reinvigorate this older musical style and establishing himself, with Zachara, as the model for sacred composition that would influence Italian and central European music into the mid-fifteenth century. His madrigal "O rosa bella" served as a model for the new expressive techniques which would dominate fifteenth-century composition. Its plaintive repetition of "Non mi lassar morire" ("Don't let me die") with ascending motives is unparalleled in contemporary repertoire except in a few pieces by Zachara.

Ciconia's sacred music combines aspects of older French traditions, especially isorhythm with changing mensurations, with the melodic gestures typical of late Trecento Italian composition. Like Zachara, Ciconia focused entirely on the composition of Glorias and Credos. Two sets of each make paired settings with each other: one couple is paired in both (later) sources in which it appears, while the other set is unpaired in any of its sources but is even more closely related. Ciconia's sacred style has been largely neglected in the literature, probably because there is much more difference between Mass movements (or pairs) than there is similarity. Some pieces, such as the Gloria/Credo pairs numbered 1 and 2 in the modern edition, have three voices with

27 Bent, "*Divisi* and *a versi* in Early Fifteenth-Century Mass Movements," in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2004), 91–133.

28 David Fallows, "Ciconia padre e figlio," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 11 (1976), 171–77. Ciconia's works are edited in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Bent and Anne Hallmark, PMFC 24 (Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1984).

nearly equal roles differentiated primarily by voice ranges. In others, such as numbers 3 and 4, twinned upper voices make arabesques above a slower, isorhythmic tenor/contratenor pair. Several of his pieces, like Zachara's, have long sections where only the upper voices are sounding. In some works, these pairs are *divisi* voices that join together into a single part when the lower voices re-enter. In others, the pairs are fully independent cantus parts that continue throughout the three- or four-voice sections.

Like his Mass movements, Ciconia's motets are almost equally divided between isorhythmic and free settings. All of his complete isorhythmic motets have multiple texts, while his non-isorhythmic motets are equally divided between monotextual and bitextual settings. In the bitextual settings, important texts in one voice are often allowed to carry through the texture via rests in the other voice or voices (see Example 36.3). Ciconia's sacred motets are all devoted to individual saints; none are dedicated to the Virgin or Christ. His secular motets tend to celebrate cities (Padua and Venice), their leaders, and important figures in the city. But the dividing line between sacred and celebratory can be hard for cases where both the bishop of a diocese and the Church itself are being extolled. But the most common figure to be exalted is Ciconia himself who places his name in five of his motets.

Several, if not all, of Ciconia's motets were originally conceived in Italian notation, though they all come to us in French notation.[29] In its second statement, the tenor of the Ciconia example (36.3) must be read as if it were in Italian notation, where the second note of a *c.o.p.* ligature must be altered to be worth two semibreves if possible. Since this rule does not exist in French notation, Ciconia or the scribe of the piece in *I-Bc* Q15 needed to add a textural canon explaining this unusual behavior.

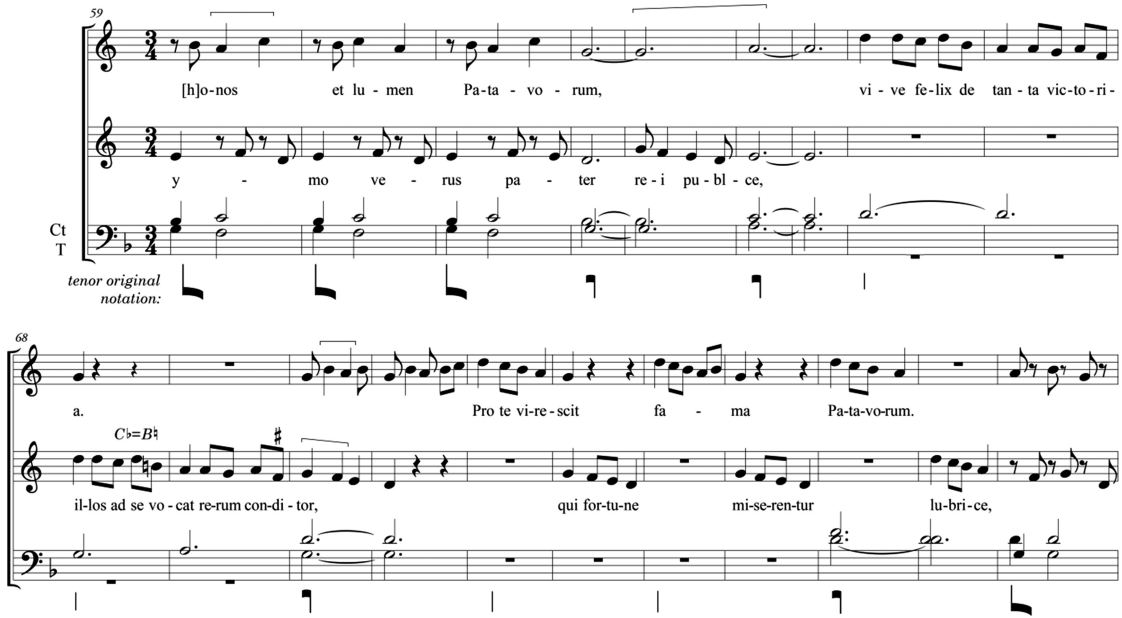
A final sacred work should be brought back into the discussion of Ciconia's music. That is the French Marian rondeau, "Ave vergene," of which only the lower two voices and text residuum remain in the otherwise secular codex *I-Las* 187/*I-PEc* 3065. It appears at the bottom of a page devoted to the works of Ciconia, copied by a scribe who endeavored to devote entire openings to the compositions of a single composer.[30]

Other Composers

Matteo da Perugia, a composer of music both as finely crafted as Ciconia's and as unique as Zachara's, seems to have been a niche taste for Trecento listeners.

29 Bent and Hallmark, PMFC 24, xvii.
30 Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs and Their Milieu," in *Johannes Ciconia: musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 107–30 at 115–17.

Example 36.3 Ciconia, “Doctorum principum,” mm. 59–78



Matteo's complete sacred output of five attributed Glorias and a motet are found in a single manuscript, Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α. M.5.24 (*Mod A*), which contains another two Glorias, two Credos, and another motet that can reasonably be attributed to Matteo. (The manuscript contains almost all of Matteo's secular works as well: see Anne Stone's contribution in Chapter 37). Matteo's sacred pieces use more syncopation and changes in meter than those of most other Italian composers. Most of his pieces also differentiate the roles of the lower voices from the top voice more strongly than the works of his contemporaries do.

The fragmentary state of nearly all Trecento sacred sources leaves us many composers about whose musical style or biography we know little or nothing. Gratiosus de Padua composed a Gloria and a Sanctus in entirely contrasting styles; the former with a smoother melody more in line with the French tradition, the latter ending with a florid section of *octonaria* above lower voices in 6/8.[31] The Sanctus composed by one Barbitonsoris has a case of split-personality disorder. It begins with an isorhythmic, homophonic section full of 6-3 sonorities suggesting that if this is indeed still to be considered English influence, the invasion began earlier than we have previously thought.[32] The Benedictus continues in an entirely different style with a florid upper voice above a supporting tenor, followed by a series of hockets (see Example 36.4).

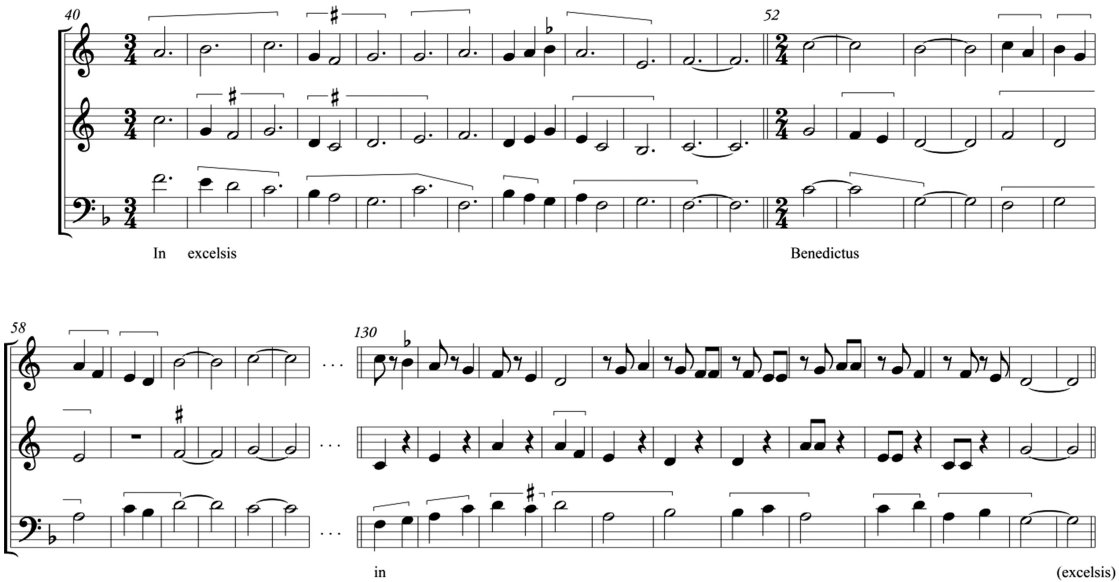
Simple Polyphony

The late Trecento saw the rise not only of the more complex types of sacred composition represented by the music of Matteo, but also many simpler forms of polyphony. The line between simple and complex polyphony is not always clear, yet the principles of rhythmic dependence and pan-consonant composition largely define the repertory. Simple polyphony is above all a homophonic art where each note-against-note motion moves from one consonant sonority to another. Furthermore, simple pieces are usually transmitted in the context of monophonic chant (and are based on those chants themselves), unlike the more complex pieces which are found in manuscripts or fragments devoted to polyphonic music and, except in the case of earlier motets, rarely based on chant tenors. Particularly pieces of a mensural note-against-note style appear in Kyriale sections added towards the ends of Missals. (That these polyphonic

31 Billy Jim Layton, "Italian Music for the Ordinary of the Mass 1300–1450" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1960), 118–28.

32 Against the idea of the *Contenance angloise* being an embrace of imperfect consonances on the Continent, see Philip R. Kaye, *The "Contenance Angloise" in Perspective: A Study of Consonance and Dissonance in Continental Music, c. 1380–1440* (New York: Garland, 1989).

Example 36.4 Barbitonsoris, Sanctus (excerpt)



sections also tend to contain Benedicamus Domino settings adds to the suspicion that they may have served as tenors for *cantare super librum* performance). These pieces lack the clear sense of regular meter found in the secular polyphony of the time, and the text setting may reflect the declaration of the words of plainchant in the late fourteenth century.

Particularly common are two-voice mensural Credos.[33] Unlike the earlier conductus repertory (see Chapter 34), there are few outright dissonances in these Credos. Perfect consonances (especially fifths and unisons) provide the basic structure of the piece, around which the imperfect intervals of the third and the sixth add interest.

Homophony is so essential to simple polyphony that many pieces do not notate the rhythm of the voices at all and instead are written in square or other chant notations. This repertory of *cantus planus binatim*, so named by Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, differs from the complex polyphony in the genres of chant that it decorates.[34] The largest collections of *cantus binatim* are found in the manuscripts of Cividale del Friuli. Few pieces of *cantus binatim* exist for the Ordinary of the Mass, and those are predominantly settings of the Kyrie, the one section of the Ordinary rarely set in Italy. By contrast, settings of the Office, the Mass Proper, and paraliturgical texts are more common. The repertory in common between high and simple styles is the Benedicamus Domino (with settings of the "Flos Filius," Benedicamus [*Antiphonale Romanum* *59 for First Vespers] common in both), though troped versions of the Benedicamus appear more frequently in the simple settings than in art polyphony.

It is striking how seldom simpler forms appear in secular music of the time. Its connection with church music may demonstrate the essential role that sacred music played in the early stages of instruction in counterpoint.

The *Lauda* and Sacred Music in Secular Forms

While Italy inherited musical traditions from the troubadours and trouvères – indeed many of the surviving manuscripts of these French traditions were copied in Italy – the uniquely Italian monophonic tradition that it cultivated

33 *Italian Sacred Music*, ed. Fischer and Gallo, PMFC 12 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-lyre, 1976), 38–52.
34 First defined and discussed in Gallo, "'Cantus planus binatim': Polifonia primitiva in fonti tardive," *Quadrivium* 7 (1966), 79–89, and then discussed in more depth and with other simple repertories in *Le Polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), esp. Gallo, "The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Italy from the Beginning of the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century," 13–30. Two further conferences in Italian simple polyphony have been held with their essays published as *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, ed. Cattin and Gallo (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2002) and *Polifonie Semplici*, ed. Francesco Facchin (Arezzo: Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, 2003).

was sacred. The *lauda*, from the Italian word for praise, was primarily an unwritten tradition, at least as far as the tunes are concerned. A few important sources survive, including the laudario of Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca 91, which give a sense of both the range of styles and the musical clichés that suffused musical life.

A particular tradition of polyphonic lauda singing seems to have been an art centered in Florence. A number of lauda sources give the specification that pieces are to be sung to the music of pre-existing secular music. In their manuscripts, these *cantasi come* pieces provide lyrics alone. Presumably the tunes were well-known enough that they could be sung either from other manuscripts or, more likely, from memory.[35] Finally, several pieces, particularly works relating to the Virgin, appear in conventional *formes fixes* such as the ballata, within the context of secular music. Ciconia's "Ave vergine," mentioned above, stands out as a work with a French devotional text.

Italian and Mixed Influences in Central and Eastern European Music

The Mass music of Zachara and Ciconia found audiences beyond the Italian-speaking world. While the secular music written by Francesco da Firenze and his more popular Tuscan compatriots is limited only to manuscripts created in Italy, Italian sacred composition spread to England, to Spain, and especially to Germany, Austria, and Poland.

The only piece of Italian music found in England before the Du Fay era is Zachara's Credo, PMFC 13.21, which begins its polyphonic setting not with "Patrem omnipotentem," like most polyphonic Credos, but with "Factorem celi et terra." This work appears near the beginning of the Old Hall Manuscript, compiled in the second decade of the fifteenth century. Zachara's piece is one of several "Factorem" Credos in that manuscript. Either he picked up on a trend in English composition – entirely possible since his Gloria "Anglicana" implies that he was well aware of English styles – or just as likely his new work was not only influential enough to be picked up by English scribes, but also set a precedent that other English composers followed.

Zachara's music also appears in a Spanish source, Valladolid, Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Pergamino, carpeta 29, documento 7, where one of his Credos appears along with three other otherwise unknown Credos. Despite

35 Blake Wilson, "Song Collections in Renaissance Florence: The *cantasi come* Tradition and Its Manuscript Sources," *Recercare* 10 (1998), 69–104.

the obviously shared linguistic background, connections between Spain and Italy have seldom been remarked upon. Other new discoveries draw the two lands closer together. A source in Barcelona, Biblioteca del Orfeó Català 2, contains a reference to one Johannes Andrea of Bologna, in addition to having a two-voice Agnus Dei in a style similar to two-voice Italian compositions; but given its decoration, the source was definitely copied (or at least begun) in Spain. A recent discovery of a manuscript of unknown provenance now in Columbia, South Carolina, shows that a Gloria fragment in Madrid, previously assumed to be Spanish or French, and another Gloria fragment in Siena, previously assumed to be Italian, are actually parts of the same piece. Finds such as these show the tenuousness of our grasp on regional style.[36]

A now-destroyed manuscript formerly in Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat. F. I. 378) showed both native and foreign polyphony. The music of Nicholas de Radom (Mikołaj Radomski), along with several anonymous pieces in the source, shows the influence of the music of Zachara and Ciconia.[37] Di Bacco and Nádas have postulated that the cosmopolitan nature of this source could stem from the music having been heard by Polish musicians working in Rome in the 1390s who kept up connections throughout the Great Schism.[38]

Manuscripts from the German-speaking world also show that however strong their Francophile tendencies may have been, the conduit whereby French music arrived in central Europe was usually Italy. For instance, the version of the well-traveled Gloria "Qui Sonitu Melodie" in both the Nuremberg/Melk sources and the burnt manuscript Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale 222.C.22 have more in common with Italian versions of the piece than with French versions.[39] The former source also contains a Gloria by Zachara alongside Machaut's "De petit po," one of the handful of Machaut's pieces to circulate widely in Italy.

Finally, the Italian Ars Nova was influential in the style of both composition and notation of the eastern Mediterranean. A monophonic piece written in Cuman, a Turkish language, uses Italian division letters. A music theory source in Ljubliana shows the influence of Marchetto's *Brevis compilatio*, and while it may not have been copied in Slovenia was definitely in Upper Carniola by an early date. Finally, an early fifteenth-century setting of "In medio ecclesiae" recently found in Dubrovnik in Croatia uses *punctus divisionis* and

36 Cuthbert and Elizabeth Nyikos, "Style, Locality, and the Trecento Gloria: New Sources and a Re-Examination," *Acta Musicologica* 82 (2010), 185–212 at 201–05.

37 All edited in *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Transcriptions*, ed. Mirosław Perz, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 14 (Graz-Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976).

38 Di Bacco and Nádas, "Papal Chapels," 79. 39 Cuthbert, "The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments."

other Italian forms, suggesting that further work on the Venetian empire's eastward reach might yield ripe musical fruit.[40]

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40 On the Cuman source: Ziino, "Dal latino al cumanico, ovvero osservazioni su una versione trecentesca della sequenza *Sagïnsamen bahasïz kanïnï* in notazione mensurale," in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica: Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, ed. Patrizia Dalla Vecchia and Donatella Restan (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), 31–48. On Ljubliana: Janez Höfler, "Menzuralni fragment iz nadškofijskega arhiva v Ljubljani," *Muzikološki zbornik* 2 (1966), 12–17. The Dubrovnik sources were discovered and reported on by Paweł Gancarczyk, "Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Polyphony in a Gradual from the Badija Franciscan Monastery near Korčula," *Arti Musices* 39 (2008), 255–62.

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