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*Zacara's D'amor languire and strategies for borrowing
in the early fifteenth-century Italian Mass**

The music of Magister Antonius Zacara da Teramo stands out among the works of *ars nova* Italian composers not because of its quantity—his twenty-two or so secular compositions are surpassed in number even by the thirty of Andreas de Florentia, to say nothing of the dozens of ballate by Francesco Landini—nor for its immediate beauty and smoothness to our ears, for which Ciconia's works seem to reign if the number of available recordings is any indication. Rather it is Zacara's ability to convey the mysterious and the unusual that seems so intriguing: he hides the name of Florence in an anagram in a rare bitextual ballata;¹ he poses a riddle to the singer in the text of the rhythmically complex *Sumite karissimi*, whose solution provides the poem's last line. In a motion surely accompanied by an ironic wink to the listener, Zacara sets a Credo, the mass section where Christians express their belief in one true God, based on material from a ballata he composed earlier: *Deus deorum*, *Pluto* or *Pluto*, God of Gods.

Zacara borrowed at least three other polyphonic songs in the composition of masses. The variety of ways in which Zacara treated his secular models, in an era where there was no pattern to follow, has repeatedly beckoned scholars to look at his work in this formative period of mass composition.² Although I will draw widely on several of Zacara's works, as well as those of Bartolomeo da Bologna, I

*. I wish to thank John Nádas for his valuable comments particularly on an earlier version of this paper from 1998. Thomas Forrest Kelly's suggestions on this version were equally invaluable. Davide Ceriani and Sean Gallagher provided additional insights on the ballata's text. I owe several helpful ideas concerning my edition to David Fallows. I wish to thank Lucia Marchi for her substantial new insights on both the ballata and the *Credo* 'Scabioso' and for her generous help. Although the bulk of my conclusions were reached independently from her work, being able to compare my results with hers at a late stage has substantially enhanced my work. I also want to express my gratitude to the members of Micrologus for giving life to this work through their performance of my completion.

1. PMFC 10, pp. x, 108. See also ANNE HALLMARK's contribution to this volume (*infra*, pp. 213–27).

2. In this paper I use the generic term 'borrowing' and the more controversial 'parody' to describe these compositional techniques. I could have used — some might say, I should have used — any number of other terms for these techniques, including imitation and elaboration. But in this early period, with no contemporaneous justification for any of the labels, the problem of terminology ultimately takes a back

will focus my attentions on the most recently discovered secular model of Zacara's, the ballata *D'amor languire, suspirare e piangere*, and its parody movement, the *Credo* 'Scabioso'. I will first discuss the ballata's sources and style, and reflect on its meanings. I will then look at the types of borrowings in *Scabioso* and the five other parody movements from this time, arguing that the blend of different levels of quotation and techniques for forming parodies should make us open to more subtle organizational strategies in Italian music c. 1400.

Discovery and Earlier Scholarship

Although the *Credo* 'Scabioso' has been described for the better part of a century as a parody movement, the model for it was not found until 1988 when John Nádas and Agostino Ziino discovered two new bifolios of the Lucca codex.³ Despite some damage to the text of the fourth system («ducento» to «sol la») and to the music of the fifth system (mm. 83–87, 89–90 in the present transcription) suffered from four centuries' use as an internal cover for a notarial volume, the *cantus* voice of *D'amor languire* is largely intact (plate 11). The folio transmitting the *tenor* voice, f. 57, unfortunately is not extant and has not surfaced despite Nádas and Ziino's discovery of still more folios from this manuscript. In their edition of the codex, Nádas and Ziino transcribed and commented on the text of the piece, which I will discuss further below.

The first concordance for *D'amor languire* was not long in waiting. In 1991, fifteen paper folios were discovered in the binding of a manuscript belonging to Alfredo Boverio and are now housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin.⁴ Among the forty-three compositions in this fragment, at least twelve are by Zacara, including the first concordances of *Deus deorum*, *Pluto* and *Credo* 'Deus deorum', the third copy of *Credo* 'Scabioso', and another fragment of *D'amor languire* containing sections from both the *cantus* and *tenor*. The folio in *TU* containing most of the ballata has been cut vertically, leaving only the right half of each staff in the present manuscript. Since the paper is ruled with nine five-line staves, the final staff of the *tenor* voice is continued onto the *recto* of f. 2 along with the text of the second *pie*de and the *volta* (plate 12).

With these two sources, we have the complete *cantus*, lacking perhaps a measure. By extrapolating from a parallel passage in the *Credo*, two additional measu-

seat to that of specific description. For the use of 'elaboration' to describe early mass movements see WALTER H. RUBSAMEN, *Some First Elaborations of Masses from Motets*, «Bulletin of the American Musicological Society», IV 1938 (published 1940), pp. 6–9.

3. LUCCA, p. 13.

4. TORINO, p. 79.

res of the *tenor* can be added to those contained in *TU*, ultimately yielding 68 of the 116 measures. However, some of the most important sections of the *tenor* are still a mystery. Particularly regrettable is the loss of the first seventeen measures. This is where, in other works of Zacara, some of his most innovative techniques are found. The surviving sections of the *tenor* voice have approximately the same number of notes as the corresponding *cantus* sections, indicating two voices with nearly-equal rhythmic activity.

Neither source contains an attribution to Zacara, but the ballata is found in the section devoted to his works in *Lu* and the *Credo* borrowing from this work is labeled «Zacar Scabioso» in *Q15*. Further, the Lucca folio preserves the descending strokes of letters which must have formed an attribution; comparing the shape of and distance between these descenders to the other attributions to Zacara in the manuscript, allows us to be sure that the text is consistent with the name «Çachara» or less likely «Çacharias». Both versions of the name have a long descender on the 'Ç' and a smaller leftward pointing descender on the 'h' (plate 13).⁵

The Work (Text and Style)

Although this paper and Lucia Marchi's dissertation are the first studies of the musical aspects of *D'amor languire* since its discovery,⁶ the piece has a musicological history dating back over forty years as scholars tried to understand what the secular model for 'Scabioso' must have been like based on an examination of the *Credo* alone. *D'amor languire* is a single-strophe ballata grande (four lines). Each line of the *ripresa* and *volta* have a hypermetric extension of six syllables, similar to other works of Zacara. These extensions in this ballata's *ripresa* consist almost entirely of solmization syllables, usually one pair repeated three times. The solfeggio hypermetric extensions, *la mi, mi fa, sol la*, and *ut re*, create difficulties for the reconstruction and interpretation of the work. Only the *cantus* survives of the last two extensions, *sol la* on C and D, and *ut re* on B $\flat$ and C (this implying a sub-molle hexachord). Although we cannot be certain how the voi-

5. I have added to plate 13 the ascription to «S[e]r Nicholay Prepositi» written over a scraped attribution on f. 59r. Although it is not immediately relevant to this study, the opportunity to compare the attribution underneath this name to the other Zacara attributions in *Lu* is unlikely to come again soon. Nádas and Ziino suggest that the removed name may be Zacara's, whose works begin on the following folios. The pattern of ascenders and descenders on the erased name are not entirely consistent with any of the other Zacara attributions in *Lu* — the word under «Nicholay» might be «Magister» but there seems to be an erased initial before it. It must be taken into account, however, that attributions often differ for the first work of a section. See LUCCA, p. 65.

6. MARCHI 2000, pp. 99–107. On the text, see LUCCA, p. 19, and TORINO, p. 110.

ces align in the second extension, *mi fa*, it is clear that both of them use A and B $\flat$ for *mi* and *fa* implying a hexachord on F. It is the first extension, *la mi*, which is the most puzzling. It survives in both voices, except the note for the final *mi* in the *tenor* (mm. 34–37 in this transcription) which could be a D, an A, or could remain on the same note if we do not consider this a cadence (example 1).

EXAMPLE 1: *D'amor languire*, mm. 34–37.

34

la mi, la mi, la mi.
a di', a di', a di'.

la mi, la mi, la mi.
a di', a di', a di'.

The *cantus* alternates between *la* = D and *mi* = A, again a hexachord on F (example 2a).

EXAMPLE 2: interpretations of solmization syllables in *D'amor languire*.

cantus: mm. 34–37

tenor: mm. 34–35.1

tenor: mm. 35.2–36, two possibilities

(a) (b) (c) (d)

The *tenor*'s first *la mi*, G and D, imply a hexachord a fifth lower than that of the *cantus*, B $\flat$ (example 2b). The following *la mi* presents a problem. Both the *la* and the *mi* are written as F, so hexachordal mutation must take place between them. *Mi* unambiguously indicates a note below a half-step: if the note is F *la* then the implication would be a hexachord on A $\flat$; similarly for F *mi*, *fa* must be G $\flat$ and the hexachord must begin on D $\flat$ (example 2c). If on the other hand we read the F's as F $\sharp$'s, we would have hexachords on A and D for *la* and *mi* (example 2d) — not strictly by the rules, but as they lie within the hand are more acceptable.⁷ Notationally we can justify the F $\sharp$ reading by recalling that Zacara inflects *mi*

7. Although Marchi's transcription of this section (MARCHI 2000, p. 232) differs from mine by a breve in its placement of the *tenor* voice, the problem of F *mi* and F *la* does not change.

upward in another piece by indicating the *fa*'s with flat signs, showing that, in his conception, cueing the *mi-fa* step may be enough to alter the pitch.⁸

EXAMPLE 3a: *Deus deorum*, mm. 39–46.

Se - rà in e - ter - num_el no - stro lau - da - - - - - tio...

EXAMPLE 3b: same passage reinterpreted with accidentals having their usual meanings.

Se - rà in e - ter - num_el no - stro lau - da - - - - - tio...

We might also read the word «finga» at the end of the second line of text in *D'amor languire* as a reference to the unusual semitone adjustments necessary to perform that piece.

The meaning of the text, like many of Zacara's, is obscure; Nádas and Ziino have suggested it might refer to tensions in the chapel in which Zacara sang.⁹ There are several references to other works in the text; the most obvious is the opening, «Faint with love», a well-known phrase taken from the Song of Songs. There is also a link with Dante's *Inferno*, specifically the twenty-ninth canto, which tells of the plight of poor Griffolino and Capocchio who constantly scratch at their scabs, never having relief.¹⁰ The speaker in *D'amor languire* on the

8. The curious flats and their implied hexachords were first discussed successfully in LAYTON 1960, pp. 282–3. A similar usage of flats is found in *Lu* in the rondeau *Aylas! Quant je pans*. Anna Cornagliotti and Maria Caraci Vela have discovered theoretical evidence to justify this reading in a treatise in Vercelli, see CORNAGLIOTTI–CARACI VELA 1998, pp. 62–3. Evidence for *ficta* usage from this treatise is particularly relevant to Zacara's music since the author had knowledge of his work. See CORNAGLIOTTI–CARACI VELA 1998, pp. 17–8, 77 and CARACI VELA 1997, pp. 182–5. The transcriptions in example 6 are adapted from PMFC 10, pp. 106–7.

9. LUCCA, p. 19.

10. This information is an expansion of an idea by John Nádas.

other hand «gratt[a] chome rognioso e non ò scabia», that is, he scratches man-gily and does *not* have scabs. The singer's scratching comes from a beard which «questo barber non me vol radere», which this barber does not want to shave. Certainly a metaphorical explanation should never be discounted for a text whose meaning is as obscure as this, but I would like to speculate at the possibility of a literal interpretation.

If the text is autobiographical as it seems some of Zacara's are, we could ask why might a barber refuse to shave him? It is possible that some of the people associated with Zacara might have considered his ailments contagious. We know that he was missing at least half of his digits.¹¹ We cannot know whether this condition is a birth defect or a development later in life, but the fact that he was trained as a scribe might suggest the latter. If so, it is possible that Zacara could have been considered leprous by some people, even if it was unlikely that he actually was, given his position in the inner retinue of a pope. The sling under his left arm might suggest a loss of musculature, also consistent with leprosy (Hansen's disease).¹² The red pigment seemingly carelessly applied to Zacara's cheek and forehead in *Sq* may be a symptom of a skin condition possibly referred to in several lines of the poem's text.¹³

In the third line of the text we can read in *Lu*, «Ni centocinque e duecento uno avinghia».¹⁴ The numbers when written out in roman numerals, CV CCI,

11. ZIINO 1979, p. 314. See also Nádas's discovery that this feature is reflected in Zacara's portrait in *Sq* in NÁDAS 1986, pp. 171–2.

12. I wish to extend my sincerest gratitude to Robyn Runft Liu, Jong Yun, Vi Nguyen, and Brian Cummings (all M.D.) for their generous advice on possible medical conditions. Except for Nguyen and Cummings who collaborated, each independently made suggestions on the basis of the *Sq* portrait, a translated text of *D'amor languire*, and the necrology published by Ziino.

13. I should note that two other portraits in *Sq* show substantial reddening or darkening of the face, Gheradello and Niccolo, and that no portrait in that manuscript is entirely free of the pigment, so we may be dealing with an element of artistic style. Nonetheless, the redness on Zacara is emphasized and is applied without the uniformity of other portraits, with the result being almost clown-like with a patch of pale skin between the cheek and nose, and a goggle of pale skin around the eyes. Three of the doctors above independently mentioned the discoloration in discussing possible conditions (including Sturge-Weber and a stroke). Furthermore, it was my good fortune to share a subway ride with participants returning from an international conference on dermatology when I was carrying an enlarged poster of the Zacara portrait back from the Teramo conference. Their consensus was that the portrait showed signs of lupus.

14. MARCHI 2000, pp. 232–3, provides the reading «a<v>vinghia» which fits both the sense of the sentence as I read it and the remains of the letter forms in *Lu*. Other words, however, might also fit with the evidence. The text in *TU* reads «Ne centocinque doycento non a», lacking the final «uno», making it a worse fit for my theory that the numbers might spell a name.

can be seen as spelling the name «Cucci»: the singer is sad of spirit since Cucci will not embrace him on account of a beard which his barber will not shave.¹⁵

There are textual connections with other songs of Zacara. The ballata *Rosetta*, whose musical connections I will discuss below, uses language in its *pie*de very similar to that employed at the beginning of the *ripresa* of *D'amor languire*:

D'amor languire (ll. 1–2, hypermetric extensions omitted, emphasis added):

D'amor languire, suspirare e piangere
tristar lo spiro, sonno fosse o finga;

Rosetta (ll. 3–6, emphasis added):

Se altruy me fa *languire e sospirare*,
 tu me resguardi con gran desiderio
 e se turbar o *pianger o tristare*,
 penando vay per darmi refrigerio

The first four verbs in *D'amor languire* appear in the same order in *Rosetta*, strongly implying that the same author wrote both texts. It also suggests that any musical relationships between the two works should not be considered fortuitous.

D'amor languire may have been among the more popular polyphonic songs in the early fifteenth century. In addition to the two copies of the song and the three copies of the parody movement (*Q15*, *Sas* 326–327, and *TU*), it is mentioned as a «canzon di maggio» played on the «vivola» in the thirty-fifth sonnet of Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*.¹⁶

15. One can compare this reading with Reinhart Strohm's of *Un fior gentil* in STROHM 1993, p. 102. There he reads that text as referring to a 'Charamilla', probably the same one as in the song *Ciaramella me dolçe Ciaramella*. The reading in *D'amor languire* was independently suggested by Nádas and Marco Gozzi.

16. It may be due to chance or the necessity of fitting the titles of compositions into eleven-syllable rhyming lines, but Prodenzani has arranged three Zacara parody models in the same order as they appear in the Lucca codex: *Rosetta*, *D'amor languire*, and *Un fior gentil*. As Laura Macy noted, these are also the same order their parallel Mass versions appear in *Q15* (LUCCA, pp. 19–20). This does not necessarily mean that the Zacara songs were always arranged in this order. But it could indicate that Prodenzani was consulting a manuscript source containing these pieces and writing the titles of the compositions in roughly the order they were found. The absence of *Deus deorum* can be explained by its Latin incipit, which would not have scanned well with the Italian and French titles of the other songs. Alternatively, this ballata may have been less well-known than the other three parody models. An edition of sonnet 35 can be found in DEBENEDETTI 1913). This edition is reprinted in NÁDAS 1998, p. 33. The recently released edition by Fabio Carboni, CARBONI 2003, file 3, p. 15, is more guarded in what it considers to be a poetic incipit and misses that a long section of *Rosetta*, *che non canbi mai colore* is quoted. On the popularity of Zacara, see my forthcoming dissertation.

The Parody: 'Scabioso' and *D'amor languire*

I want to turn now to the relationship between the ballata and its parody the *Credo* 'Scabioso'. I will use the comparison as the basis for a wider investigation of the borrowed-material mass movements we have from this period. The relationship between the *Credo* 'Scabioso' and the ballata *D'amor languire* does not follow any other model for parody composition. Unlike *Deus deorum*, *Pluto* where all of the ballata is present somewhere in the mass, or *Un fior gentil* or *Rosetta* where most of the ballata is present, with one exception it is mostly small motives which are taken from *D'amor languire* and then developed in 'Scabioso'. As Billy Jim Layton noted in his discussion of 'Scabioso' before *D'amor languire* surfaced, a much smaller percentage of the music in 'Scabioso' is repeated within the mass movement than in the other three parodies (c. 15% compared to c. 30–40% for the other works). The figure shows a penchant for development and free composition rather than repeated borrowing and, as Layton correctly predicted, 'Scabioso' is not rigidly dependent on its model.¹⁷

Motives which were taken from the ballata for use in the parody are often transformed. Two of the most developed motives from the ballata are shown below:

EXAMPLE 4a: *D'amor languire*, motive 1: *cantus*, mm. 56.



EXAMPLE 4b: *D'amor languire*, motive 2: *cantus*, m. 17.



The first motive is used to generate points of imitation throughout the mass, either using both measures (as in mm. 31–36, 173–178 and in sequences at 296–304 and 307–312)¹⁸ or with its first measure alone (motive 1a: mm. 6–8 and 492–494).

17. LAYTON 1960, p. 273.

18. All measure numbers and transcriptions of sacred works in this paper refer to PMFC 13.

EXAMPLE 5: *Credo* 'Scabioso', mm. 29–36, showing three instances of motive 1.

30

35

si - bi - li - um. Et

- si - bi - - - - li - um. Et

vi - si - bi - li - um. Et

EXAMPLE 6: *Credo* 'Scabioso', mm. 6–8, motive 1a.

8

o - mni - po - ten -

o - mni - - - po - -

o - mni - po - -

The second measure alone (motive 1b: mm. 30, 64, and 346) appears only in the *cantus* voice, in non-imitative settings.

EXAMPLE 7: *Credo* 'Scabioso', motive 1b:

(a) mm. 64-65

(b) mm. 346-347

The imitative passages using the whole first motive are used as connecting passages, or miniature ritornelli as Layton described them, between sections of the *Credo* text.¹⁹ Repeated connecting passages, of course, are not uncommon in mass music of this time, but the distinctiveness of this motive along with its derivation from the secular model is remarkable.

The second motive is joined with the part of the first motive to produce a slightly irregular sequence, unusual for its length, in the *Amen* of the *Credo*. The whole of the *cantus Amen*, showing the large scale ascent from D to A, down a ninth to G, and settling on C, is reproduced in example 8:

19. LAYTON 1960, p. 272.

EXAMPLE 8: *Credo* 'Scabioso', Amen, mm. 464–501; *cantus* alone, except mm. 492–495.

The important motives from *D'amor languire* and 'Scabioso' are distinctive enough that their recurrence cannot be regarded as chance, yet they are not unique among Zacara's output. The ballata *Rosetta* and the *Gloria* 'Rosetta' use several of the same and similar motives as *D'amor languire*. For example the ballata *Rosetta* in mm. 33–34 features transpositions of motive 2 followed by motive 1b.²⁰ Fischer and Gallo in their edition of the Italian sacred music were reluctant to consider 'Rosetta' and 'Scabioso' as a mass pair due to their different tonalities (B $\flat$ /F vs. C), but the motivic intertextuality combined with the other similarities between the movements are sufficient in my view to overcome this discrepancy.²¹ Both movements are in *senaria perfecta* ($\frac{3}{4}$) with frequent, temporary shifts to *senaria imperfecta* through coloration. Both *cantus* have signatures of one flat while all the lower voices have two flats to reflect their unusually low (*sub-molle*) registers. *Gloria* 'Rosetta' and *Credo* 'Scabioso' are the only two sacred compositions by Zacara to begin with three or more voices — elsewhere, the solo or duo introduction is a hallmark of Zacara's sacred compositional style.

20. Measure 15 presents motive 2 in an untransposed form, further strengthening the connections.

21. PMFC 13, p. xi.

The development of a single voice's motives outside the motive's polyphonic context was examined by Layton, who gave the caveat that it was «not characteristic of Zacharia's style in general». ²² *Credo* 'Scabioso' takes this technique even farther and gives us the best stylistic evidence for linking the compositional techniques of the two mass movements. Perhaps it should also expand what we think of Zacara's general style.

The exception to the Zacara's practice here of borrowing only short passages for the purposes of motivic development is seen at the «Et incarnatus est», which borrows the first line of the *piedi*, «Grattar chome rognoso e non ò scabia». Ten measures of both voices of the ballata are placed unchanged in the parody at «Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto» (top of ff. 69v–70r in Q15). It is from this quotation that the mass movement takes its name, we presume. ²³ The five-measure melisma found on «scab» in the secular work is placed on the «sanc» of «Spiritu Sancto, perhaps to draw out the similarity in vowel and consonant sounds between the two syllables. ²⁴ The repetition of a rising second followed by a falling third might also be reminiscent of scratching at a scab. Except for this long quotation, no other part of what survives of the ballata's *tenor* is found in the parody movement. ²⁵

Borrowing in Early Fifteenth-Century Italian Mass Movements

D'amor languire and 'Scabioso' inhabit a small but interesting realm of parody mass movements composed in the first decades of the fifteenth-century. Four parody

22. LAYTON 1960, p. 264.

23. It was Lucia Marchi who first pointed out that we have been misreading an 'I' for an 'R' in Q15, creating a *Credo* 'Scabroso' out of a 'Scabioso'. MARCHI 2000, p. 105. Fischer and Gallo's interpretation of the misreading, 'Scabroso', as referring to strange bouts of roughness or extravagant sequences, is a poignant case of poetic injustice — the discovery of the ballata, with its odd dissonances in the solmization sections, has made their interpretation all the more apt (PMFC 13, p. 272).

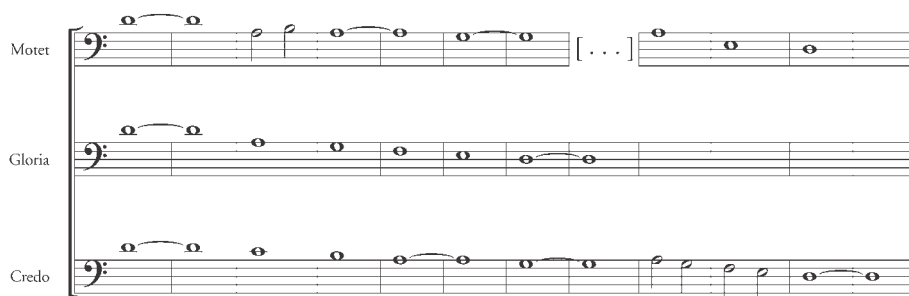
24. *Lu* unambiguously places the beginning of the «scabia» melisma just before two semibreve rests (m. 97), creating a hiccup at the beginning of the melisma. This pause would not occur if the beginning of the word were moved to its more conventional location, one measure later. *TU* seems to place the syllable «sca-» in the same location, but the evidence there may be disputed.

25. Is it due to coincidence alone that the single long concordance between *D'amor languire* and the *Credo* occurs at the top of the second page, or was Zacara or the scribe trying to make this quotation more obvious by its position? As tantalizing as this latter supposition seems, there is little evidence in this or the other parody movements to support it. The *Credo* 'Deus deorum' occupies three openings in Q15, ff. 73v–76r. Folio 74v begins with «Et resurrexit tertia die» and folio 75v opens with «Confiteor unum baptismum». The music is similar in both these sections, but is not found at all in the ballata *Deus deorum*, *Pluto*. The third opening of 'Scabioso', beginning with «Qui cum Patre» also has no music in common with 'Scabioso' (though the alternation between two notes does recall the hypermetric extension at the end of lines of the *ripresa* and *volta*, but no more than other places in the *Credo* which are not emphasized by beginning a page).

movements by Zacara survive along with two by Bartolomeo da Bologna; in all, three Glorias and three Credos.

In the 1950s and '60s, several other parody masses were claimed to have been discovered, based on similarities which have since been seen as tenuous. An example, already remarked on several times before, is seen in example 9; Suzanne Clercx Lejeune argued that the tenors of Ciconia's *Gloria* and *Credo* (nos. 3 and 4 of the complete edition) are parodies of the *tenor* of the motet (or possible ballata contrafact) *Regina Gloriosa*:²⁶

EXAMPLE 9: Clercx Lejeune's comparison of the motet/ballata *Regina Gloriosa* and *Gloria* and *Credo* pair.



The passage shows an octave descent proceeding at different rates in each of the three pieces and with different notes omitted. When one considers the frequency with which tenor lines of early fifteenth-century Italian mass movements have octave descents at their beginnings or at important structural points within them (e.g., over 50% of the mass movements in *PadA*), this opening seems more likely to be the result of stereotyped incipit patterns than of a conscious imitation of a specific earlier work. Similarly, Leo Schrade had argued, again based on tenor shapes, that a *Credo* from *Ivrea*, f. 34v and the *Gloria* from *Sorb*, which have similar openings, were descended from a still unknown third model piece.²⁷

I mention the not-generally-accepted claims of these articles mainly to suggest that the counter-reaction might have been *too* strong. Many of the studies of

26. SUZANNE CLERCX LEJEUNE, *Les débuts de la messe unitaire et de la 'Missa parodia' au XIV^e siècle et principalement dans l'oeuvre de Johannes Ciconia*, in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, I, a c. di Bianca Becherini, Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, Certaldo 1962, pp. 102-3.

27. LEO SCHRAGE, *A Fourteenth Century Parody Mass*, «Acta Musicologica», XXVII 1955, pp. 16-25, XXVIII 1956, pp. 54-5.

parody following these articles have focused on only the most clear-cut examples of borrowing, or those places where the mass appears to be little more than contrafact. While we must be careful not to interpret every stereotyped gesture or motive as quotation, borrowing in the early parody mass had many different subtle and sophisticated guises.²⁸

To underscore the diversity of ways to organize a parody mass, I want to add to Kurt von Fischer's 1957 comparison of the three parody *Glorias* my own comparison of quotation types in the three parody *Credos*, table 1.²⁹

Between Bartolomeo and Zacara, and even among Zacara's works, there seems to be no notion that some sections would expect to have quoted elements. As we would expect, given that so little of *D'amor languire* is parodied literally, no part of the *Credo* is parodied in all voices. Only the «Genitum» receives a similar treatment between *Morir desio* and *Deus deorum*. Except the end of the «Qui tollis», no part of the *Gloria* is parodied in all three sources. The quotation of head motives of important sections occurs in both *Credo* 'Scabioso' where the beginning of the «scabia» phrase appears at «Deum de Deo», and in Bartolomeo's *Gloria* 'Vince con lena' which cites the first measure of the ballata before moving on to other material. The use of a short quotation from prominent sections of the source material seems to me to be an attempt at tricking the listener into believing that a longer quotation is about to begin.

The two Zacara *Glorias* 'Fior gentil' and 'Rosetta' both quote the beginnings of the ballate at the beginning of the work. *Credo* 'Deus deorum' presents the

28. Indeed, even assuming that the ballate are the models for the masses rather than the other way around may be denying another potential area of sophistication. David Fallows makes an argument for a 'reverse' ordering in his study of an early *Mass* by Guillaume Dufay, 'Resvellés vous' (1423). He asserts that it is as likely that a composer would take sections of a larger piece and distill them into a richer, smaller-scale work as it is that he would take a shorter piece and develop the motivic material into a larger piece. DAVID FALLOWS, *Dufay*, J.M. Dent and Sons, London 1982 (revised 1987), pp. 165–8. Three of Zacara's parody mass movements ('Rosetta', 'Scabioso', and 'Deus deorum') beg a similar question: is it as likely that a composer would take a three-voice work and reduce it to two voices as it is that he would add an additional voice to an existing two-part piece? Two factors make this supposition unlikely. There are numerous examples of three-voice Italian secular works where scribes or composers have added contratenors to earlier two-part works. The chronology of these additions is certain in cases where the *contratenor* does not agree stylistically or when multiple contratenors, presumably by different composers, exist for the same piece. A three-voice composition in which the *tenor* and *contratenor* frequently cross (as they do in all the parody mass movements) cannot simply be reduced to a two-voice version if an 8–5 sonority is built above the contratenor, as this would leave a dissonant perfect fourth. The presence of the titles «Zacar Rosetta», etc. in *Q15* also argues against, but does not rule out, the mass movements preceding the ballate. The titles do however require that by the time the mass movements were copied into *Q15* the pieces were known for their sharing of materials with the secular ballate. The case for a distillation of Bartolomeo's *Credo* into a secular work cannot be ruled out: although the ballata is in three voices in its only surviving copy, only the *cantus* and *tenor* are present in several two voice sections of the mass.

29. On the parody *Glorias*, see VON FISCHER 1957. See also the discussion of relationships between models and parody mass movements in HUESTIS 1973, pp. 70–99; 152–65; 171–83.

beginning of the ballata in the «Factorem», the first three voice section. *Credo* 'Morir desio' never presents the opening measures of its source. That ballate could be deployed at many different levels of prominence (from direct quotation at the beginning of a mass movement to allusion and fake statements) suggests that at least some listeners were expected to know the source material quite well. Even the shortest of borrowed sections could have triggered memories of the original.³⁰

There is no particular order in which the elements of the ballata were used. *Gloria* 'Vince con lena' presents the ballata complete and in order of how the sections are presented in written form. The largest quotations in *Credo* 'Morir desio' are in a similar order, though with some rearrangement of short sections. The Zacara parodies show much more rearrangement of elements, though the *ripresa* (or elements of the *ripresa* in the case of 'Scabioso') seems to appear before parts of the *piedi* are quoted. In none of the six cases are the sections of the ballate quoted as we suppose them to have sounded, that is with a strong return to quotation of the *ripresa*'s music after the *piedi*.

After stating that «the history of parody and borrowed material in the early fifteenth-century Mass is complicated», David Fallows his Dufay book continues, saying «among the few surviving examples of Mass music that share material with other works there are scarcely any two cases of similar or even comparable treatment».³¹ As we make the temporal walls separating the Italian *ars nova* from the following eras thinner and thinner, studying the influence of these Italians on the cyclic parody masses of the next generation will become increasingly important. It is hoped that the observations of this essay can serve for future examinations as models to be parodied in the sense Zacara and Bartolomeo might have known: to be appropriated, developed, rearranged, and turned into something larger than what came before. The examination of the early fifteenth-century parody mass is an endeavor whose surface this paper can only begin to scratch.

30. I hope to explore these aspects of musical borrowing in a future paper.

31. FALLOWS, *Dufay*, pp. 167–8. Fallows is discussing the former Mass 'sine nomine', which he re-titles Mass 'Resvelliés vous'. In his additional notes to the 1987 revision, he rebuts Perkins's and Mitchell's notion that giving this title is wrong if the song were composed after the mass, saying that according a title to a mass makes no "simple statement" about its relationship to a song. It is clear that the scribe of Q15 believed the same about what could have potentially been called *Credo* 'D'amor languire'.

D'amor languire (Zacara)

Lucca, f. 56v
Torino MS f. 1v

1, 5 D'a
4. De

clefs from f. 2r only
Torino MS f. 1v-2r

7

da
de

15

mor lan - gui - re sus - pi - ra - re, pian - ge - re,
tra - mon - ta - na'e in - ro mai a - ve - ru - no,

pian - ge - re,
ve - ru - no,

23

pian - ge - ru pian -
've - ru

pian - ge - re, pian -
've - ru - no, 've -

31

ge - re, la mi, la mi, la mi.
ru - no, a di', a di', a di'.

gre - re, la mi la mi
ru - no, a di', a di',

40

Tri - star lo spir - ro son - no fos - se_o fin - ga, mi fa, mi
For - tu - na, tu non fac - si - mel de cro - chia. per di' mer -

47

fa, mi fa. Ne _____
çi, mer - çi, che _____

[mi] fa, mi fa. Ne _____ cen - to - cin - que_e du -
[mer] - çi, mer - çi. che _____ me fac - ci spri - țar

55

_____ cen - to - cin - que_e du cen - to_u - no_a - vin -
_____ me fac - ci spri - țar co - me _____ ra - no -

_____ cen - to [u]
_____ co - me [ra]

63

_____ ghia, sol la, sol la, sol la. Se non a
_____ chia, sut - ta, sut - ta, sut - ta. Quan - do el

71

_____ ghia, sol la, sol la, sol la. Se non a
_____ chia, sut - ta, sut - ta, sut - ta. Quan - do el

[a]
[el]

79

que - sto bar - bier non me vol ra - - - -
 gran be - co la co - men - ça span - - - -

que - sto bar - bier non me vol ra - - - -
 gran be - co la co - men - ça span - - - -

87

- - - de - re sen - ça: ut re, ut re, ut re. 2. Grat -
 - - - de - re ta - cen - do ut re, ut re. 3. Co -

94

tar chio - me ro - gnio - so_e non ò sca - - - -
 me por - co cac - cia - ro pren - de - ra - - - -

tar chio - me ro - gnio - so_e non ò sca - - - -
 me por - co cac - cia - to pren - de - ra - - - -

101

- - - - - bia, o - gne me - lan - co -
 - - - - - bia, per lo tem - po se -

- - - - - bia, o - gne me - lan - co -
 - - - - - bia, per lo tem - po se -

109

nia in me ra - du - - - - no.
 ren' ch'è fac - to - bru - - - - no.

nia in me ra - du - - - - no.
 ren' ch'è fac - to - bru - - - - no.

* [sic' curve to A seems deliberate in TU']

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

D'amor languire (B), 2 vv

Sources: 1. *Lu*, f. 56v; C only. Attribution trimmed. 2. *TU*, ff. 1v-2r. text in C and T.

Text: Author unknown (Zacara?). *Ripresa* and first *pie* underlaid; all other lines placed at end of C in *Lu*. and after T in *TU*.

Rhythm: In [s.p.] throughout.

Text variations: Text taken from *Lu*; variants are from *TU* unless explicitly noted. *Lu* C: 20-26 repetitions of *piangere* omitted; *Lu* C: 53, T: 49 *Ni*; C: 59, T: 54 *doycento*; T: 61 *non* for *uno*; *Lu* C: 78 *no*; *Lu* C: 79 *barber*; C: 95-96 *como rongnoso*; T: 95-96 *como rognoso*; T: 110 *in* missing; T: 118: *no* missing; second *pie*: *cazato* for *cacciato*. *pero* for *per*; *volta: ma tramontana* for *de tramontana*. *e nigra* crossed out before *e iuro*. *dio* for *di'* throughout. *crocza* for *crochia*. *mi facci* for *me facci*. *carungia* for *ranochia*. *lu* for *el*. *beco* for *becho*. *comenza* for *comença*. *socta* for *sutta* throughout.

Notes: *Lu*, C: 83-86 illegible, reconstructed. *TU*, C: 1-18/2, 36-47, 61-77, 87-95/1, 101/3-116 missing. 28 no ligature. 55 ligature *c.o.p.* CD. T: 1-17, 36/3-47/1, 59/3-78/2, 89/2-95 missing.

Notation: five-line staves in both sources. Imperfect breves noted as red notes in *Lu*, void notes in *TU*. No *sM* or *subtilior* note forms in either source.

Notes on the edition: the damaged and fragmentary state of both sources of *D'amor languire* makes a complete reconstruction of the work impossible. Sections where the tenor voice is completely missing have for obvious reasons been omitted in the transcription. I have made an attempt at reconstruction in every case where only a few notes are missing. The most controversial of these decisions will certainly be the end of the second and the beginning of the third lines of text, «mi fa mi fa. Ne centocinque». Although only two breves worth of the tenor part are obscured (allowing for a reading of either B $\flat$ -A, A-G, or B $\flat$ -G), the alignment of this voice with the cantus cannot be determined with any sufficient degree of certainty. The figure below shows potential alignments between the voices (example 14). Solutions 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 can be eliminated because of fourths or sevenths which last an entire breve; these measures are surrounded by squares in the example. Solutions 1, 2, and 3 all have short downbeat fourths arguing against them but are otherwise acceptable. Solutions 7 and 10 might be among the most promising in terms of their intervals and text alignment, but they require the previous phrase to overlap the following to an extent which seems uncharacteristic for its time. I have chosen to use solution 1 with the knowledge that other solutions might be equally valid.³² An attempt at a completion of the ballata may be found online at <<http://myke.trecento.com/damor/>>. The completion is placed on the net in the hope that it can continue to be revised as better solutions to lost passages are discovered.

32. Solution 3 is closest to that which Lucia Marchi transcribes.

356

Scabioso
Dens De
Mortis desio

Patrem
Factorum
Et in Unum
Et ex Patre
Genitum
Qui propter
Et incarnatus

ritornello
r1
mm. 23-28
(= mm. 44-45)
in every quatrain in a 2nd section,
the contratenor is omitted.

Deum de Deo
fide scilicet
r2
p1
descendi
r2 (up2 ending)
r1 (line.)
r1 (mm. 3-13)
p1 (line.)

Crucifixus
Et resurrexit
Et iterum
Et in Spiritum
Qui cum Patre
Genitum
Et exspecto
Amen

sequence
p1
p2
m. 20 (p1)
p2 (mm. 35-42)
r1 (mm. 50-59)
r2 (mm. 29-31)
Et ascendit
ritornello
sequence
p2
p1
p2
m. 20 (p1)
p2 (mm. 35-42)
r1 (mm. 50-59)
r2 (mm. 29-31)

pX = ripresa line X. 1a, 2, etc. = motive 1a, 2, etc.

TABLE 2: possible alignment for *cantus* and *tenor*; *D'amor language*, mm. 49–67.

Cantus

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

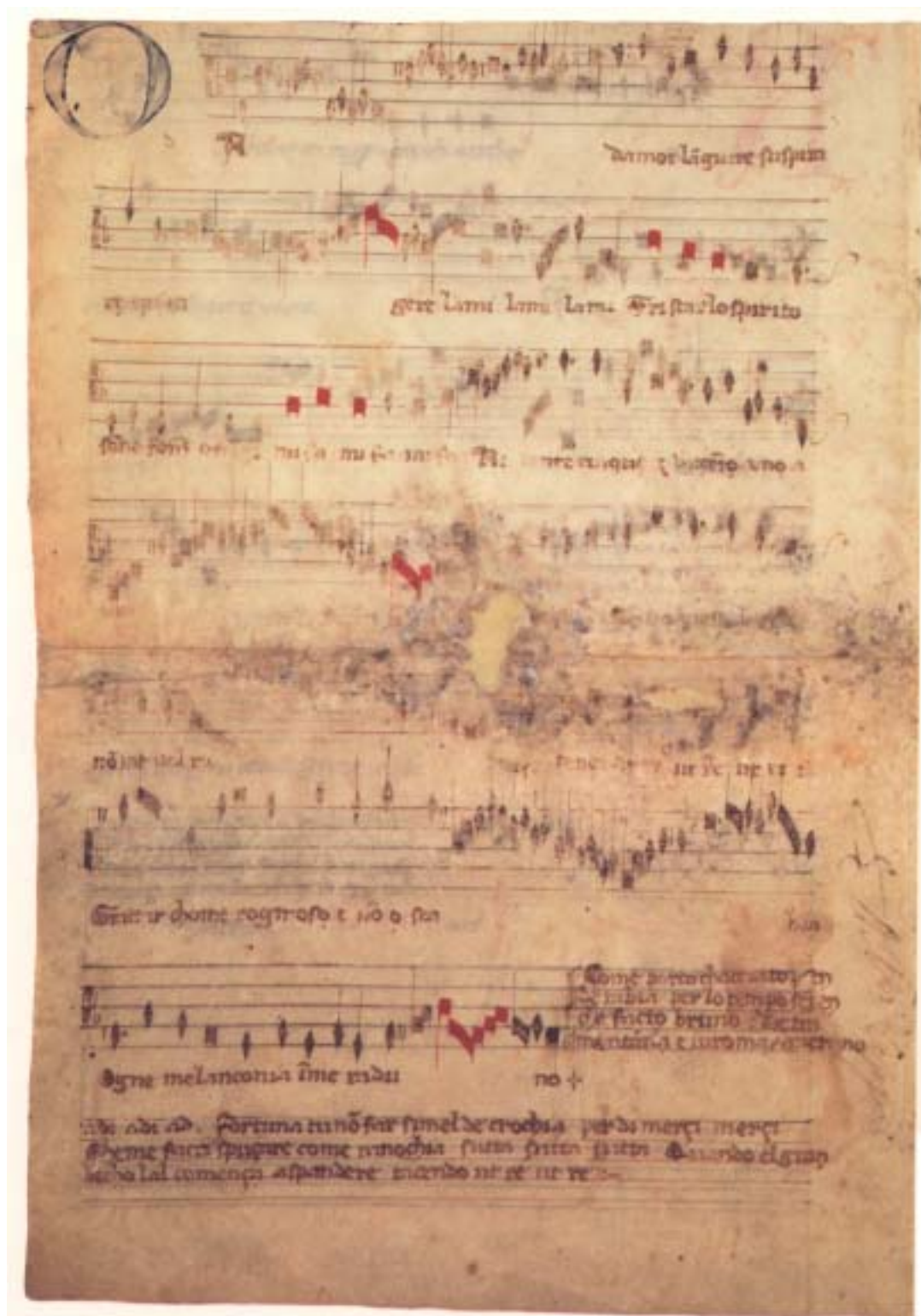
8

9

10



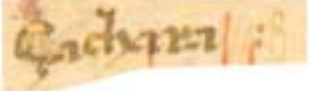
8. Primo piano di Antonio Zacara da Teramo nell'iniziale miniata a c. 175^v del codice Squarcialupi (particolare).



11. Parte del *cantus* della ballata di Zacara *D'amor languire* a c. 56v del codice di Lucca.



12. Frammenti delle parti del *cantus* e del *tenor* della ballata di Zacara *D'amor languire* a cc. 1v-2r del ms. T. III. 2 della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.

	f. 55v
	f. 56v – <i>D'amor</i>
	f. 61v
	f. 58v
	f. 59v
	f. 63v
	f. 64v
	f. 65v
	f. 59r

13. Sinossi delle possibili attribuzioni a Zacara presenti nel codice di Lucca.

Principali manoscritti citati

Abbreviatura	Sigla RISM	Collocazione
<i>Ambr</i>	[I-Ma [*]]	Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. E. 56 sup.
<i>Ao</i>	[I-AOs15]	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, ms. 15 (<i>olim</i> A 1 ^o D 19).
<i>Atri</i>	[I-Atri]	Atri, Archivio Capitolare, Sala Innocenzo IV, teca A, frammento n. 5.
<i>BU</i>	[I-Bu2216]	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2216.
<i>Ca11</i>	[F-CAM11]	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, ms 11.
<i>Chig 266</i>	[I-Rvat [*]]	Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Chig. L. VII 266.
<i>Cil</i>	[I-PEciliberti]	Perugia, Biblioteca privata Galliano Ciliberti (“frammento Ciliberti”).
<i>Civ98</i>	[I-CFm98]	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, ms. XCVIII.
<i>Egidi</i>	[I-MFAegidi]	<i>Olim</i> Montefiore dell’Aso, Biblioteca privata Francesco Egidi (“frammento Egidi”). Attualmente disperso.
<i>Fa</i>	[I-FZc117]	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana, ms. 117.
<i>Fp</i>	[I-Fn27]	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Panciatichi 26.
<i>Fsl</i>	[I-Fl2211]	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Arch. Cap. di S. Lorenzo, ms. 2211 (palinsesto).
<i>Grot</i>	[I-GR197] [US-HA002387]	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia di S. Nilo, ms. segn. provv. Kript. Lat. 224 (<i>olim</i> collocazione provvisoria 197) + Dartmouth, College Library, ms. 002387 (<i>olim</i> US-SBam).
<i>Ivrea</i>	[I-IV115]	Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 115.
<i>Kk 17.1</i>	[DK-Kk17.1]	København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, ms. frag. 17.I.
<i>Kras</i>	[PL-Wn52]	Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, ms. III. 8054 (<i>olim</i> Krasinski 52).
<i>Lo</i>	[GB-Lbl29987]	London, British Library, ms. Add. 29987.

* Mss. letterari, non contemplati in RISM.

Abbreviatura	Sigla RISM	Collocazione
<i>Lu</i>	[I-La184] [I-PEc3065]	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, ms. 184 + Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale «Augusta», ms. 3065 (“codice Mancini”).
<i>Melk</i> 749	[A-M749]	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 749.
<i>ModA</i>	[MOe568]	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, ms. α.M.5.24 (Lat. 568).
<i>ModB</i>	[MOe471]	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, ms. α.X.1.11 (Lat. 471).
<i>MuEm</i>	[D-Mbs14274]	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14274 (“codex St. Emmeram”).
<i>Nst</i>	[D-Nst9a]	Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, ms. lat. 9a (<i>olim</i> Centurio III, 25).
<i>OH</i>	[GB-Lbl57950]	London, British Library, ms. Add. 57950 (“codex Old Hall”).
<i>Ox</i>	[GB-Ob213]	Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Canon. Misc. 213.
<i>P</i> 4379	[F-Pn4379]	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds nouv. acq. frç. 4379.
<i>P</i> 4917	[F-Pn4917]	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds nouv. acq. frç. 4917.
<i>PadA</i>	[I-Pu1475] [GB-Ob229]	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, mss. 684+1475 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Canon. Pat Lat. 229.
<i>PadD</i> 1225	[I-Pu1225]	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1225.
<i>Pit</i>	[F-Pn568]	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds it. 568.
<i>Q</i> 1	[I-Bc1]	Bologna, Civico Museo bibliografico musicale, ms. Q 1.
<i>Q</i> 15	[I-Bc15]	Bologna, Civico Museo bibliografico musicale, ms. Q 15 (<i>olim</i> Liceo Musicale 37).
<i>Reina</i>	[F-Pn6771]	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds nouv. acq. frç. 6771 (“codex Reina”).
<i>Sas</i> 326	[I-Sas326]	Siena, Archivio di Stato frammenti musicali, 207a (<i>olim</i> ms. 326).
<i>Sas</i> 327	[I-Sas327]	Siena, Archivio di Stato frammenti musicali, 207b (<i>olim</i> ms. 327).
<i>Sorb</i>	[F-Pim]	Paris, Institut de Musicologie de l’Université, frammenti senza segnatura.
<i>Sq</i>	[I-Fl87]	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Mediceo Palatino 87 (“codice Squarcialupi”).
<i>Str</i>	[F-Sm222] [B-Bc56286]	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. M 222 C 22 (distretto in un incendio nel 1870). Copia parziale di Ch.-E.-H.-de Coussemaker in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, ms. 56.286.

Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo

a cura di
Francesco Zimei

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