

## 8 The trecento

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The Italian peninsula in the fourteenth century was divided into a great number of communes, republics (the most important being the Most Serene Republic of Venice) and *signorie* (the Savoia in Piedmont, Scaligeri in Verona, Visconti in Milan, Carraresi in Padua, Malaspina in Lunigiana, Pepoli in Bologna, Gonzaga in Mantua, Este in Ferrara, Manfredi in Faenza, Malatesta in Rimini and Pesaro, Da Polenta in Ravenna, Montefeltro in Urbino, and so on). Every state of some importance had a rich cultural life in which the production and consumption of music played a primary role.

Italian cities were very open at first to Provençal and then to French influence, not only in the Marca Trevigiana (Veneto), in Lombardy (the then name for the western part of north Italy), and in Romagna, but even in the kingdom of Sicily (since the time of Frederick II and then with the Angevin line of Charles I, Charles II, Robert and Joan I). During the time the Holy See was transferred to Avignon (1309–77), exchanges between Rome and France were inevitable. This strong permeability between cultures reveals how Italy was not provincial but an environment open to receive the best European artists of the time. This also partly explains, on the one hand, the lack of surviving musical output in vernacular Italian and, on the other, the reason why numerous codices in Italy contain Provençal songs (two thirds of surviving Provençal song books were written in the Veneto during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).

As far as fourteenth-century musical culture is concerned, individual Italian states have not yet been studied in depth; nevertheless the very rich experience of seven cities is evident, cities where both a significant sacred (of which little is preserved) and secular polyphonic practice (called the Italian *Ars Nova*) developed: Padua, Verona, Bologna, Milan, Florence, Rome and Naples.

### Padua

Courtly poetry for music had a long tradition in the Veneto: from the thirteenth century an intensive production in Provençal developed in a few cities. It is likely that in Padua, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a typical Italian tradition of mensural polyphonic music started,

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both practical and theoretical. Padua had various links with French cultural milieux, not only through the court but also through the university, which was attended by many students from the other side of the Alps.

The most prominent figure from Padua in the first half of the fourteenth century was the composer and theorist Marchetto da Padova, who was active as a singing teacher in the cathedral of Padua at least between 1305 and 1308. Between 1309 and 1318 he wrote the *Lucidarium in arte musicae planae*, a treatise about church singing started in Cesena and completed in Verona. Between 1321 and 1326, whilst at the court of Rinaldo de Cintis in Cesena, he wrote the *Pomerium in arte musicae mensuratae*, dedicated to the king of Sicily Robert of Anjou. In the *Pomerium* Marchetto describes an Italian notational system, reserved for motets, and which showed many original characteristics, but which shared many features with the French system and the *auctoritas* of Franco of Cologne. The two-voice verses *Quare sic aspicitis*, *Quis est iste* and *Iste formosus* of the Paduan Office for the Ascension (found in the Processional C 56 of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Padua, fols. 50r–51v) are attributed to Marchetto, as well as three motets: the three-voice *Ave regina coelorum / Mater innocencie* (which was probably written for the inauguration of the Scrovegni Chapel with the Giotto frescos on 25 March 1305 and in which the duplum has the name of the author as an acrostic: *Marcum Paduanum*); the four-voice *Ave corpus sanctum gloriosi Stefani / Adolescens protomartir Domini* (evidently written for Venice between 1329 and 1338, since it contains references to the doge Francesco Dandolo); and the three-voice *Cetus inseraphici / Cetus apostolici* (which appears in the same fragment as *Ave corpus*).

Theoretical discussion of music was conducted at the University of Padua, and the work of Marchetto greatly influenced subsequent theorists; in particular, the mathematician and astronomer from Padua Prosdócimo de Beldemandis (ca1380–1428), teacher at the University of Padua, expressly cites Marchetto's *Pomerium* in one of his eight surviving music treatises, the *Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modum Italicorum* ('Treatise on the practice of mensural singing according to the Italian method'; first version 1412, second version circa 1427) in an attempt to demonstrate the superiority of Italian over French theory; he states that 'Italici' extol the *ars gallica* as more beautiful, more perfect and more subtle, whereas it is, in his opinion, inferior.

The names of two great composers are also linked to Padua: Bartolino da Padova and Johannes Ciconia.

Bartolino was active in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and was a Carmelite monk. He may perhaps be identified with one of the two monks called Bartholomeus in the Carmelite monastery of Padua in 1376 and 1380. The texts of many of his compositions inform us that he

was connected to the Paduan court of Francesco Carrara il Vecchio (1355–88). The ballata *La sacrosanta carità d'amore* has a text by Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, medical doctor, philosopher, astronomer and man of letters, who was born in Chioggia in 1330 and was active in Padua until 1383. After Gian Galeazzo Visconti defeated Francesco il Vecchio in 1388, Francesco Novello fled to Florence. It is likely that Bartolino went to Florence with him, together with other exiles from Padua. The texts of Bartolino's compositions *La douce cere*, *La fiera testa* and *L'aurate chiome* are directed against the politics of the Visconti, in perfect agreement with the Florentine attitude of the time. Bartolino also set to music the ballata *Ama chi t'ama*, with a text by Sercambi, who was also a strong opponent to the Visconti. It is not known whether Bartolino survived the catastrophe of the Carraresi: Francesco Novello conquered Padua again in 1404, but he was imprisoned and killed by Venetians in 1406.

After Landini and Niccolò da Perugia, Bartolino is the fourteenth-century Italian author of whom we have the greatest number of surviving compositions: eleven madrigals and twenty-seven ballatas (all found in the Squarcialupi Codex except for the ballata *Serva ciascuno*, found in the Mancini Codex of Lucca).

Johannes Ciconia, a native of Liège, is documented as *custos* (officer) and *cantor* in the cathedral of Padua from 1401 until his death in 1412. Ciconia (the illegitimate son of a canon of Liège Cathedral and born around 1370) came to Italy around 1390 as *clericus cappellae* and *domesticus continuus commensalis* of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon (titular of the Roman basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere). He was thus the first of a long series of important Flemish composers who undertook the journey to, and found success in, Italy. Before his arrival in Padua, it is likely that he worked in the chapel of Boniface IX, together with Antonio Zacara da Teramo; it is also possible that he was active in the court of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in Pavia. Of Ciconia the following compositions survive: six glorias and four credos for three or four parts, thirteen motets (two for two voices, six for three and five for four voices), four madrigals (three for two voices, one for three voices), eleven ballatas (five for two voices), two virelais and two canons for three voices with texts in French. At least ten of the motets contain references to famous people: members of the Carrara family, the Paduan Francesco Zabarella, the bishop Pietro Filargo (who became pope with the name of Alexander V), the doge Michele Steno, and the bishops of Padua Albano Michiel and Pietro Marcello. Ciconia was also the author of a theoretical treatise entitled *Nova musica*.

Among the other musicians active in Padua at the end of the fourteenth and during the first years of the fifteenth century the names of Gratosio da Padova and the copyist Rolando from Casale stand out. Rolando, a

Benedictine monk from Santa Giustina, copied many books of polyphony, of which there are several surviving fragments. These musical fragments, together with Ciconia's output, attest to a lively polyphonic practice between 1390 and 1420 in the cathedral of Padua and in the local abbey of Santa Giustina.

The so-called Codex Mancini (Lucca, Archivio di Stato 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta 3065), is very likely a codex from Padua, copied around 1395, with successive additions made in Florence (ca1405) and in Lucca (ca1420–30).

## Verona and Milan

In the Veronese court of the brothers Mastino II and Alberto della Scala between 1329 and 1351, Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna and possibly Magister Piero were all active: they are the earliest authors of madrigals for two voices and of caccias in vulgar Italian. They wrote together a madrigal cycle about a woman called Anna (possibly Anna della Scala, daughter of Federico), in which a tree (the *perlaro*) and a river are mentioned: *A l'ombra d'un perlaro* and *Sopra un fiume regale* by Piero, *Appress'un fiume chiaro* and *O perlaro gentil* by Giovanni, *O dolce appress'un bel perlaro* and *Un bel perlaro vive sulla riva* by Jacopo all belong to this cycle. These same composers also composed madrigals and caccias in honour of the Visconti; the caccia *Con brachi assai*, composed both by Giovanni and Piero, mentions the river Adda, in Lombardy, which runs through the Visconti's land; the dog Varino, present in this caccia, is also mentioned in the caccia *Per sparverare* by Jacopo. It is certain that the two families, the Scaligeri and the Visconti, had good relations, as in 1350, Beatrice della Scala, daughter of Mastino II, married Bernabò Visconti (it is possible that Jacopo's madrigal *Fenice fu* celebrates precisely this event).

Piero's madrigal *Ogni diletto e ogni bel piacere* was very probably written in honour of Bernabò Visconti: the first line of the ritornello, 'Soffrir pur voglio ancora', is the translation of Bernabò's French motto, 'Sofri m'estuet'.

Jacopo was already active at the Visconti court in 1346, as two madrigals testify: *O in Italia felice Liguria* (which praises the birth, in that year, of Luchino Visconti's twins Giovanni and Luchino Novello) and *Lo lume vostro* (with the acrostic *Luchinus*, datable to 1341 according to Corsi).

The main codices copied in the Veneto are the so-called Rossi Codex (seven bifolia in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 215, and two bifolia in Ostiglia, Opera Pia Greggiati, Biblioteca, rari 35) and the codex Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 6771 (Codex Reina). The former is datable to around 1370 and is, therefore, the oldest surviving

evidence of Italian polyphony, together with the Mischiati Fragment in the state archive in Reggio Emilia; the latter was copied in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

The caccia *Or qua compagni* of the Rossi Codex, the three caccias of the Mischiati Fragment and the compositions in the tenth fascicle of the codex Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Panciatichiano 26 (from fol. 91 to fol. 100, copied from an old northern exemplar) together form a group of pieces from the Visconti milieu.

## Florence

Around 1350 the polyphonic practice of northern courts was flourishing, and particularly so in Florence. The most important Florentine composers, all clerics, were Bartolo (author of a Credo for two voices much appreciated by the parishioners of Santa Reparata), Gherardello (between 1345 and 1352 chaplain of Santa Reparata, at that time the cathedral of Florence, then, until his death – in 1363 – prior of San Remigio) and Lorenzo da Firenze (canon of San Lorenzo at least from 1348 until his death around 1372). Of the output of Gherardello and Lorenzo there remain a few sections of the mass ordinary, besides ten monodic ballatas, which must be considered examples of those ‘canzonette’ that Giovanni Boccaccio makes the protagonists of *The Decameron* sing and play. Of both composers, we also have ten madrigals and a caccia each.

The vicissitudes of Italian-language polyphony in Florence were closely linked to the activities of Franco Sacchetti (1332–1400), a poet and short-story writer as well as a businessman and prominent character in Florentine political life. Sacchetti edited a collection of his own rhymes (ballatas, madrigals, caccias and canzonettas), which he arranged chronologically from circa 1354 and in which, beside each text, he indicated the musician who set it to music. The list of the composers contains the names of all the major composers active in Florence at that time: Lorenzo, Gherardello, Giacomo (brother of Gherardello), Niccolò da Perugia (with twelve compositions), Donato da Cascia, Giovanni da Gualdo, Guglielmo of France and Francesco Landini. There is also the name of Ottolino da Brescia, of whom there are no surviving musical compositions, and only four sonnets exchanged with Sacchetti.

Niccolò da Perugia was the son of the Proposto (provost) of Perugia; as a priest, Niccolò was a guest in 1362 in the monastery of Santa Trinità together with his elder colleague Gherardello. It is possible that Niccolò was in touch with his contemporary Bartolino da Padua, since both set to music the madrigal *La fiera testa*, whose text mentions with dislike the coat of

arms and the motto of the Visconti. It is not unlikely that this madrigal was composed around 1400, when hostilities between Florence and Milan were in full swing, during which the Visconti governed Perugia for a short time. There are forty-one remaining compositions by Niccolò: sixteen madrigals, four caccias, and twenty-one ballatas. Niccolò, together with Landini, was among the first composers who cultivated the genre of the polyphonic ballata.

The most important Italian composer in the fourteenth century was certainly Francesco Landini, indicated in the Squarcialupi Codex, as *Franciscus cecus orghanista de Florentia* ('the blind organist of Florence') because he had lost his sight as a consequence of smallpox when he was a child. Landini was born around 1330 and many biographical details come from an entire chapter dedicated to him in the *Liber de origine civitatis Florentie et eiusdem famosis civibus* by Filippo Villani (written after 1381, while Francesco was still alive). He was a virtuoso on various instruments besides the organ and the organetto; he sang, recited and wrote poems. He was also a tuner and builder of organs and other instruments: according to Villani he invented a bowed instrument called *serena serenarum* ('the sirene *par excellence*'). The chronicle of Villani and the Dante commentary of Cristoforo Landino remind us of Francesco's philosophical, ethic and astrological interests: a follower of William of Occam's nominalist philosophy, he wrote a long poem in praise of Occamist philosophy; with this work, and the verses *In contumelia Florentinae juventutis effeminatae*, Landini participated in the philosophical, political and religious debates of his time. It is thus very likely that he wrote many of the texts he set to music. It is also possible that Landini sojourned for some time in north Italy before 1370; in support of this hypothesis there are not only the style and the text of some of his madrigals, such as *Non a Narcisso*, but also the text of a motet written for the doge Andrea Contarini (1368–82) of which only one voice survives, and in which the author describes himself as 'Franciscus peregre canens'. The text of his madrigal *Una colomba candida e gentile* most likely refers to the wedding between Gian Galeazzo and Caterina Visconti and can be dated to 1380. The isorhythmic madrigal *Sì dolce non sonò* was maybe written by Landini in 1361 on the death of Philippe de Vitry.

Landini was organist at the monastery of Santa Trinità in 1361 and chaplain, from 1365 until his death in 1397, in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, the same church where Lorenzo da Firenze (Lorenzo Masini) was canon. A reference letter for Landini written by the chancellor and humanist Coluccio Salutati, dated 10 September 1375 and addressed to the bishop of the city, informs us of the good relationship between Landini and the municipal authorities. From the 1370s Francesco was in close contact with the composers Paolo Tenorista and Andrea dei Servi (Andreas de Florentia).

In 1379 he was called to the Santissima Annunziata to build the new organ and in the same year he was paid by Andrea ‘pro quinque motectis’. In 1387 he took part in the design of the new organ of the Florentine cathedral.

A posthumous but vivid representation of Landini’s role in the Florentine society of 1389 is offered in *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, written by Giovanni Gherardi from Prato in the early fifteenth century. The composer is here represented as a skilful singer and performer on the portative organ, who also takes part in erudite conversations and philosophical and political discussions. Francesco died in Florence on 2 September 1397: two days later he was buried in the basilica of San Lorenzo. His tombstone, discovered in Prato during the twentieth century and now once again in the Florentine church (in the second chapel on the right), shows the blind composer with his portative organ, in a setting similar to that in the portrait from the Squarcialupi Codex.

At least 154 compositions can be attributed to Landini: 140 ballatas (91 for two voices and 49 for three), 9 madrigals for two voices and 2 madrigals for three voices, 1 virelai (*Adiu, adiu*), 1 madrigal in canon (*Deh dimmi tu*) and 1 caccia (*Così pensoso*).

A contemporary of Landini, Andrea is described as an organist – *Magister Frater Andreas Horganista de Florentia* – in the Squarcialupi Codex. In the London Codex he is called ‘Frater Andrea de’ Servi’, which allows us to identify him with one Andrea di Giovanni, who entered the order of Servants of Mary in 1375. From 1380 to 1397 he was, with some interruptions, prior of the Florentine monastery of the Santissima Annunziata. In 1393 he was prior in Pistoia and from 1407 to 1410 he was provincial father of the Tuscan Serviti. He was Camerlengo, or Chamberlain, of the commune of Florence several times. Andrea was in close contact with Francesco Landini and worked with him on the construction of the organs of the Santissima Annunziata in 1379 and of the cathedral in 1387. Some of the texts of his ballatas contain quotations of the same female *senhal* (dedication: to Sandra and Cosa) which can also be found in Landini’s and Paolo’s ballatas. This coincidence suggests that the three of them circulated within the same Florentine milieu. (Note that our Andrea should not be confused with Andrea Stefani.) Andrea died in 1415, and of his output we are left with thirty surviving ballatas (eighteen for two voices and twelve for three voices), of which twenty-nine are to be found in Squarcialupi, plus one ballade in French (*Dame sans per*), in the codex of Modena, of uncertain attribution. His works had little resonance outside Florence, because of their traditional character.

In Florence there were also Egidio and Guglielmo, two French friars and contemporaries of Landini. Sacchetti put at the head of his madrigal *La neve e ’l ghiaccio* (dated 1365), sung by Guglielmo, the information that

Guglielmo was ‘frater romitanus’ (a brother, that is, of the hermitic order of Saint Augustine) and ‘Pariginus’ (of Paris); the information is completed by a rubric of the London Codex (at fol. 46v, where there is the same madrigal), which calls the composer ‘Frate Guglielmo di Santo Spirito’, thus revealing him as an Augustinian belonging to the Florentine monastery of Santo Spirito.

The Modena Codex attributes to ‘Magister Egidius’ the ballatas *Franchois sunt nobles* and *Curtois et sages*, the latter composed in honour of the antipope Clement VII (r. 1378–94), as the acrostic indicates. Besides the madrigal for two voices *La neve e ’lghiaccio*, the Squarcialupi Codex contains five ballatas for two voices by Egidio and Guglielmo.

Abbot Paolo da Firenze (Paolo Tenorista) was a well-known and influential figure. His biography is particularly well documented, thanks to the various ecclesiastical offices he held. He was probably born in Florence around 1355 and became a Benedictine monk around 1380. The first documentary evidence relating to him concerns his election in 1401 as abbot of the monastery of San Martino al Pino in the diocese of Arezzo; Paolo held this office till 1428. In 1409 he attended the Council of Pisa, where he presumably came into contact with the musicians of the chapels of the schismatic popes Gregory XII and Alexander V. According to a hypothesis of Nádas, Paolo wrote the madrigal *Girand’un bel falcon* to express the Florentine aversion to Gregory XII. The only composition of Paolo that can be dated with certainty is the madrigal *Godi Firenze*, written to celebrate the Florentine victory over Pisa in 1406.

The numerous compositions by Paolo, contained in the Italian Codex 568 in the National Library of Paris, belonged to the Capponi family and suggest a possible relationship between Paolo and that wealthy family. Considering the personal contact of Paolo with the Florentine monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, a renowned school of illuminators, it is possible that Paolo had a decisive role in the writing out of the Squarcialupi Codex. Paolo was also one of the counsellors of the Florentine bishops and ruled the church of the hospital of Orbatello in Florence from 1417 to his death (soon after September 1426). Paolo was one of the most prolific composers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of his works there remain thirteen madrigals, more than forty ballatas and two liturgical compositions. Paolo followed Landini’s style, developing it according to his own refined and sometimes sophisticated taste: it is a serious loss that the pages reserved for him in the Squarcialupi Codex were never used to copy his music.

The name of Giovanni Mazzuoli (Johannes horghanista de Florentia, ‘Gian Toscano’) appears in the last section of the Squarcialupi Codex but, as with Paolo, none of his music is to be found there. The reason for the defective copying of his compositions is probably the fact that at the time



of the compilation of the codex Giovanni was still alive. He was born in Florence around 1360 and died there in May 1426. He was organist of Orsanmichele in 1376 and again from 1379 to 1412; furthermore he was organist of Santa Felicità from 1385 to 1390, as well as of the cathedral, most likely from 1391 until his death. He was possibly Francesco Landini's pupil and friend, then teacher of the very young Antonio Squarcialupi.

The compositions of the Italian Ars Nova have been transmitted mostly through great anthologies copied in Florence; the oldest codex is the Florence manuscript, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26, copied around 1390 (with additions made until 1450) by very competent scribes. Slightly later is the London codex British Library, Additional 29987, which is the last part of a bigger collection: the first section of 97 folios, most likely written in Padua and presumably containing very recent sacred and secular music, was detached and is now lost. The second section, the only one surviving, is almost entirely the work of an amateur Florentine scribe; it contains a mixed secular repertory – partly copied from Paduan sources, partly recovered in Florence – and it was altered soon after copying with the addition of rests, stems and other features, which makes the pieces impossible to perform. The two most important collections (with clear cross-references in their contents) are the Paris codex Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568 (*Pit*), copied around 1410, and the very beautiful Squarcialupi Codex, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87, copied between 1410 and 1415 in the Florentine *scriptorium* of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which contains 352 compositions, of which 150 are *unica*. It is divided into sections, each dedicated to a single composer and introduced by a splendid illuminated page with a portrait of the musicians; the composers are arranged in chronological order: Giovanni da Cascia, Jacopo da Bologna, Gherardello da Firenze, Vincenzo da Rimini, Lorenzo da Firenze (Lorenzo Masini), Paolo da Firenze, Donato da Cascia, Niccolò son of the Proposto of Perugia, Bartolino da Padova, Francesco Landini, Egidio and Guglielmo of France, Antonio Zacara da Teramo, and Andreas de Florentia (Andrea dei Servi) from Florence.

In 1982 Frank D'Accone found a previously lost Florentine manuscript containing polyphonic music from the first years of the fifteenth century, whose 111 sheets of parchment had been completely erased and reused in 1504 as a revenue register of the Chapter of the church of San Lorenzo; this is the Florence palimpsest codex, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo 2211, first copied around 1420 by the same scribe who added a Gloria and a Credo among the final leaves of the codex, which is now in London. The original manuscript is very difficult to read, but from what one can see with the help of ultraviolet photographs, it is divided into sections dedicated to the composers following criteria similar to the

Squarcialupi Codex (Giovanni's madrigals have the same order in *I-FI* 2211 as in the Squarcialupi Codex); the compositions in the sections dedicated to Giovanni Mazzuoli (gatherings 9 and 10), to his son Piero (organist in San Lorenzo from 1403 to 1415, gathering 17) and to Ugolino from Orvieto (booklet 18) are *unica*. The codex also contains French chansons by Machaut, Grimace and Senleches (gathering 15), a booklet of caccias (gathering 16) and one of motets (gathering 19, the last one).

## Rome and Naples

John Nádas and Giuliano di Bacco have shed light on the importance of Rome, a place of cross-fertilization between different cultures as the centre of the Holy See, in the creation and spreading of the 'international style' that distinguished much music from the end of the fourteenth century onwards.

Italian musicians and those who, attracted by new possibilities, moved to Rome had the opportunity to get in touch with the ultramontane tradition of Avignon: it was certainly during the first years of the schism (1370–80), for example, that the composer Antonio Zacara da Teramo came to know and developed the practice, derived from the French tradition, of intoning the Gloria and Credo polyphonically. Furthermore, the influence of their Italian sojourn on the musicians who went back with Clement VII, and who very likely took something of Italian styles and techniques back to France, must be thoroughly reconsidered.

The creation and the development of the Italian papal chapel in Rome from 1376 onwards sees a preponderance of foreign singers, arriving in Italy at different times; this phase ends with the papacy of Urban VI (1378–89). From 1390 to 1409, there is an increase in the importance of Italian singers, coming from the areas to the south and east of Rome.

Among the composers who worked in Rome for a long time one must cite at least Antonius Berardi from Teramo, called Antonio Zacara, who is mentioned as a famous singer, copyist and illuminator in a Roman document dated January 1390 and described as *scriptor litterarum apostolicarum* (copyist of the Pope's letters) in the Holy See from 1389 to 1407. Johannes Ciconia was also active in Rome in the same years as Zacara, and many Italian and foreign musicians were active in the sumptuous chapels of the bishops living in Rome.

A few fragments of late-fourteenth-century polyphony (Foligno, Grottaferrata, Cortona, the Egidi fragment and Warsaw 378) have been related to the Roman milieu in the first decades of the Great Schism by John Nádas and Giuliano di Bacco.

The Naples of Charles II (1285–1309) and above all Robert of Anjou (1309–43) paid special attention to liturgical music (both monodic and polyphonic) as well as celebrative and refined courtly polyphony, cultivated in the Angevin court. Robert himself composed a Credo in *cantus fractus* (very common in liturgical manuscripts), and the *Pomerium* by Marchetto da Padova is dedicated to him. Nothing of the chansons and motets composed for Anjou survives, but the interest in music of both Charles and Robert is attested to by their patronage of singers and composers.

During the long reign of Queen Joan of Anjou (1343–81) Naples also enjoyed a rich cultural life, in which music, including polyphony, had a primary role, but this particular aspect of fourteenth-century Neapolitan history still needs to be studied.

A group of singers of the courts of Alexander V and John XXII (1410–15), itinerant between Rome, Florence, Bologna and Constance, loved to test themselves with refined notational and rhythmic complexities, which were intended to compete with French mannerism in a supreme test of technical mastery. Bartolomeo from Bologna, Corrado from Pistoia, Matteo from Perugia and Antonio Zacara from Teramo contributed to this repertory which, made up of ballades on French texts and motets, is also called *Ars Subtilior*. But the oldest representative of this trend was Filippotto from Caserta, followed by Antonello Marot, also from Caserta; both of them had contact with the Angevins of Naples, but they were active in other places too, maybe in northern Italy. With reference to this, one should remember that three popes during the last part of the fourteenth century and the first years of the fifteenth were from Naples: Urban VI (Bartolomeo Prignano, 1378–89), Boniface IX (Pietro Tomacelli, 1389–1404) and John XXII (Baldassarre Cossa, 1410–15).

Two codices, compiled by Italian scribes in the second decade of the fifteenth century, contain *Ars Subtilior* repertory: the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, *α.M.5.24* (with one hundred pieces, above all ballades, virelais, rondeaux and sections of the mass ordinary) and the Turin Codex, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2 (a fragment of 15 folios with 16 sections of the ordinary, twenty Italian and French secular pieces and two motets).

## The madrigal

The madrigal, mostly for two voices, is the musical-poetic form most used by the first masters of the Italian *Ars Nova*. The term *madrigale* has an uncertain etymology; it is thought that it might derive from *matricale* ('written in the mother tongue') or from *mandria* ('herd': a *mandriale* would,

therefore, be a shepherd's song). There are also other less likely hypotheses: *materialis* from *materia*, that is, 'material' as opposed to spiritual or in the sense of 'without art'; *matricale* from *amatricius* ('love poetry'), and so on.

In any case, the madrigal has a specific poetic form: it has two (rarely three) *terzine* (that is, stanzas with three hendecasyllables each), followed by a final distich (two lines) with rhymes in pairs, called a *ritornello*, always in hendecasyllables. The rhyme scheme can vary; these are Petrarch's schemes:

ABC ABC DD (*Nova angeletta*)  
 ABA BCB CC (*Non al so amante*)  
 ABB ACC CDD (*Or vedi, Amor*)  
 ABA CBC DE DE (*Perch'al viso*, with double ritornello).

The most common scheme in manuscripts with notation is ABB CDD EE. As regards content, the madrigals collected in music codices are courtly love lyrics (not popular) – idyllic or pastoral compositions. They often cite symbolic animals (lamb, leopard, snake, falcon, eagle, phoenix, turtledove etc.) which mostly have a metaphorical and heraldic meaning (they refer to personages or city people). Moralistic, political (celebratory) or didactic themes are not excluded. It is a poetry rich in convention (the same themes and situations recur several times), in symbolism (the use of allegory, metaphor, heraldic symbolism, *senhal* etc.) and in artifice (acrostics, rhyming answers etc.). The final distich, which shows a similarity to the caccia, expresses the gist, the 'moral' or a poignant commentary on the situation described in the three-line verses.

Formally the musical setting follows closely the poetic form: every three-line verse receives the same music (section A), whereas the ritornello has a different melody (section B), treated as a separate section (and often with a mensuration different from the preceding three-line section). It should be noted that the ritornello is not a refrain, that is, it is never repeated; the name possibly derives from the more archaic form, which required the repetition of the ritornello after every three-line verse. In brief: a normal eight-line madrigal (3+3+2) has the structure AAB, whereas an eleven-line madrigal (3+3+3+2) has the structure AAAB. The form of the madrigal is mainly practised by the early composers of the Italian Ars Nova (Piero, Jacopo da Bologna, Giovanni da Cascia, Gherardello, Lorenzo and Vincenzo), whereas in the second half of the fourteenth century (from circa 1370 onwards) the form was progressively abandoned in favour of the ballata: Landini (who died in 1397), for instance, left only 12 madrigals but 140 ballatas.

The musical style of the madrigal shows several constants: the tenor has relatively long values, the higher part (or parts) is embellished with typical

Ars Nova decoration; one scholar has defined it as ‘embellished conductus style’, in contrast to the polyrhythmic style of contemporary French secular music (Machaut). The same madrigal often appears in different manuscripts with different embellishments in the discantus, maybe proof of a widespread improvisatory practice.

Both voices often have the text in the codices, suggesting a purely vocal performance, but even when the tenor does not show the text, a vocal performance is perfectly legitimate; we also have proofs of solely instrumental performances of madrigals in the form of intavolatura for keyboard notation. The madrigals for three voices, which are the exception, very often have particular features: canonic writing in the higher voices or different texts for all the three voices (as in Landini’s *Musica son*).

As an example of a classical madrigal I have chosen Petrarch’s *Non al so amante* (*Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, LII), set to music by Jacopo da Bologna.

This is the text (derived from the version in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568), with a translation and the rhyme scheme.

Non al so amante più Diana		Diana was no more
piacque	A	pleasing to her lover
quando per tal ventura tutta nuda	B	when by chance all naked
la vide in mezzo delle gelid’acque	A	he saw her in the midst of the cold
		waters
ch’a me la pastorella alpestra e		than was the cruel mountain
cruda	B	shepherdess to me,
fissa a bagnare un legiadretto		intent on dipping in the water a
velo	C	pretty veil
che ’l sole all’aura el vago capel		which hides her lovely hair from
chiuda.	B	sun and wind
Tal che mi fece quando egli arde ’l		So that she made me, when the
cielo	C	sun burns the sky,
tutto tremar d’un amoroso gelo.	C	tremble with an icy love.

As we can see, the meaning of the text does not find closure at the end of the first three-line verse, but carries over into the second; this is one of the reasons why the ritornello must not be repeated after every three-line verse, but sung only at the end. In the first *terzina* there is a reference to Actaeon, the mythological character instructed by the centaur Chiron, who while hunting saw Diana and her companions bathing naked in a little lake; the goddesses, angered, transformed him into a deer and made his own dogs devour him.

The poet sees his lover (Laura), called ‘pastorella alpestra e cruda’ (rustic and cruel shepherdess: it is the only occurrence of the term *pastorella* in Petrarch’s poetry; the humble and rural representation is certainly a homage

to the madrigal genre, which, according to the theorists, *must* deal with rural people and things – ‘de villanellis’), washing a handkerchief (*velo*) and compares this encounter, to stress the intensity of his love, to that of Actaeon who, by chance, had seen his lover Diana naked while she was bathing in the lake. In the ritornello (‘Tal che mi fece quando egli arde ’il cielo / tutto tremar d’un amoroso gelo’) he describes his condition at that sight: the burning sun notwithstanding, he trembles ‘d’un amoroso gelo’.

Example 8.1 allows us to observe the musical style of the madrigal. Almost every one of the hundred and fifty or so madrigals transmitted by the Italian Ars Nova manuscripts and fragments has a textual and musical structure similar to that of *Non al so amante*, revealing a rather rigid canonization of the form.

As far as the macrostructure of the madrigal *Non al so amante* is concerned, there is total respect, in the music, for the ends of individual lines, as happens in almost all surviving fourteenth-century madrigals. At the end of every hendecasyllable there is a closing cadence, even when there is an enjambment (see the words *piacque, nuda, acque, cielo, gelo* in the transcription); however, when there is an enjambment, the tenor continues the discourse with a linking phrase (see particularly bars 12 and 23–4), creating musical continuity between lines, which, in turn, reflects the continuity of sense. The stereotyped segmentation of each line, which can be observed in many madrigals of the first Ars Nova masters (the same happens in the ballades), is as follows: the first syllable is set to a melisma which ends on the following syllable.

## The caccia

This is perhaps the most typical musical-poetic form of the Italian Ars Nova repertory. There are almost thirty examples with music. The text usually presents animated hunting and fishing scenes, or conjures up images of lively markets. The texts have plenty of first-person dialogue, often very agitated (imitating dogs’ barks, vendors’ calls etc.). There is no fixed metrical scheme; lines of five and seven syllables alternate with hendecasyllables and are variously rhymed.

The musical texture is for three voices, with the two higher voices in strict canonic imitation: the second voice begins six or more breves after the first voice. The two chasing voices are supported by a tenor with long values, almost always without text (but not necessarily destined to be performed instrumentally), which takes no part in the imitation. The short ritornello section, which can also have the two higher voices in canon, follows the rather extended first section.

Example 8.1 Jacopo da Bologna, *Non al so amante* (F-Pn fonds italien 568, fols. 4v–5r)

♩ = 54

Non al so a-man-te  
Ch'a me la pa-stu-

Non al so a-man -  
Ch'a me la pa -

7  
più Di - a - na\_ piac que  
rel-la al - pe - stra e cru - - - - - da

8  
te - - - - - più Di - a - na piac que  
stu - - - - - rel - la al - pe - stra e cru - - - - - da

13  
quan - - - - - do per tal ven - tu - ra tut - ta\_  
fis - - - - - sa a ba - gna - re un le - gia dret - to\_

quan - - - - - do per tal ven - tu - ra\_ tut - ta\_  
fis - - - - - sa a ba - gna - re un le - gia dret - to\_

19  
nu - - - - - da  
ve - - - - - lo

8  
nu - - - - - da  
ve - - - - - lo

25  
la\_  
che'l

la\_  
che'l

This kind of writing – for three parts with two in canon – has great historic importance because it is the first appearance of a style with a sustaining low part.

Sometimes it can happen that a madrigal with a realistic text is set to music in the form of a caccia. There is an analogous and contemporary

## Example 8.1 (cont.)

32

vi-de in-me-zo-del-le-ge-li-d'ac - - - -  
so-le-al-l'au-ra-el-va-go-ca-pel-chiu - - - -

37

que, Tal  
da.

42

che mi fe-ce quan-do e-gli ar - de'l cie -  
che mi fe-ce quan-do e-gli ar - de'l cie -

46

lo tut - - - to tre-mar d'un  
lo tut - - - to tre-mar d'un

50

a-mo ro-so-ge-lo.  
a-mo - - ro-so-ge - - - lo.

form with a French text: the *chace* (four examples are contained in the Ivrea Codex; there are other examples by Machaut).

The term 'caccia' refers both to the prevailing argument of the text and to the fugue-like procedure in the higher voices, which chase and follow one another: it should be remembered that the term 'caccia' in the fourteenth century indicates the chase of the enemy or the escape from the enemy, as in Dante's use of it in the *Inferno* (XIII, 33) and the *Purgatorio* (VI, 15 and XIII, 119). Even in *Il Fiore* (a collection of late-thirteenth-century sonnets,



sometimes attributed to Dante) the phrase ‘to put to caccia’ means ‘to put to flight’, ‘to drive away’ (XIII, 13; LXX, 7; XCIII, 11).

Example 8.2 shows the beginning of a typical *Ars Nova caccia*, from the Mischiati Fragment in the Reggio Emilia state archive, a bifolio dated circa 1370 and copied in the Po area. This is the text of the caccia:

Nella foresta al cervo caciatore	In the forest the hunter of the deer
‘Qua, qua, Lion! Qua, qua, Dragon!’	‘Here, here, Lion! Here, here, Dragon’
chiamava.	called.
‘Te, te, te’,	‘Te, te, te’,
dintorno al riço i cani pur baiava:	around the hedgehog the dogs were
	barking:
‘Bauff, bauff, bauff’.	‘Bauff, bauff, bauff’.
‘Al riço, al riço francho!’	‘To the hedgehog, to the hedgehog,
	free!’
quando lo vide: ‘Al riço, al riço	when he saw it: ‘To the hedgehog, to
stancho.’	the tired hedgehog.’
Dicean ‘Da, da, da, da’	‘Da, da, da, da’ said
li chan rendendo baglio.	the dogs making a blunder.
El riço vigoroso in ogni taglio	The hedgehog vigorous in every hedge
rimase senza innoia e senza tedio.	was cool and calm and totally
	unbothered.

The fact that the rhyme of the last line is unrelated to what precedes it may indicate that the text we have is the first verse of a caccia that originally had two verses, like *Segugi a corta* (which, by the way, has the same rhyme scheme, but whose last line is a seven-syllable line and not a hendecasyllable) and as Corsi hypothesized about Giovanni’s caccia *Per larghi prati*.

The text depicts a scene in which the protagonists are hunting dogs which, during a deer beat, are distracted by an encounter with a little hedgehog (*riço* or *riccio*) and stop to bark at it. Rebuked and spurred on by the hunter to continue their chase, they start running again and the hedgehog remains unhurt. It is likely that the text hides a war metaphor and that the hedgehog represents the emblem of a city or of a family: a *condottiere* (that is, a mercenary leader) with expansionist designs (Luchino Visconti?) disregards the conquest of a certain place in order to lead a much more important military campaign elsewhere.

The hedgehog mentioned in the caccia *Nella foresta* could be an allusion to the coat of arms of the Bertacchi, lords of the Rocca Alberti of Garfagnana, a few kilometres from Camporgiano. The Florentine Republic expropriated the Rocca Alberti castle together with other villages and little castles when its armies invaded the upper valley of the Serchio; yet the castle was not touched thanks to the immediate signing of the Treaty of Pietrasanta on



## Example 8.2 (cont.)

24

ri - ço al ri - ço stan - - - - - cho!, quan - do lo

15 May 1346, which brought peace between the Republic of Florence, Luchino and Galeazzo Visconti on the one hand and the Republic of Pisa on the other. If the identification suggested above is correct, the composition of the caccia would date back to around 1346.

The agitated shouts in the caccia *Nella foresta* create a dense web of textual cross-references with other known caccias:

- ‘Da, da’ appears in the caccia for the Visconti family *Con bracchi assai*, set to music in competition by Giovanni from Florence and by Magister Piero.
- ‘Te, te’ occurs in Jacopo’s *Per sparverare*, also written for the Visconti (given the presence of the dog Varin), and in Gherardello’s *Tosto che l’alba*.
- ‘Bauff, bauff’, ‘Da, da’ and the dog Dragon appear in the caccia *Segugi a corta*.
- ‘Bauff, bauff’, ‘Te, te’ and the dog Dragon feature in the caccia in the accompanying page of the Mischiati Fragment (*Mirando i pesci*).

There is no ritornello in the text, but the musical setting reserves the typical treatment of the ritornello for the last line (with a change of *divisio* and reduction to two voices), as in the caccia *Segugi a corta*.

## The ballata

The ballata is the main musical-poetic form of the Italian Ars Nova; it does not have anything in common with the French ballade, rather it is like the virelai. From the point of view of text, the ballata consists of a ritornello, called ripresa (R), and normally three strophes (S) which alternate with the ritornello: R S<sub>1</sub> R S<sub>2</sub> R S<sub>3</sub> R. It is possible to use the abbreviated form – without repetition of the ripresa – R S<sub>1</sub> S<sub>2</sub> S<sub>3</sub> R. The strophe consists of two *piedi* – feet – (or *mutazioni*), with the same rhyme scheme, and a *volta*, which has the same metric structure as the ripresa. The feet form the *fronte* of the verse, the *volta* is also called *sirma*. Sometimes the ripresa and

each foot are formed of two lines, sometimes the ripresa consists of three lines and the foot of two. The lines are usually hendecasyllables, or seven-syllable lines, or a mixture of seven-syllable lines and hendecasyllables. The following are a few examples of the rhyme schemes used in the ballatas found in music codices; the feet are divided by the comma and between fronte and sirma there is a semicolon:

XX AB, AB; BX (the most common scheme)  
 YYY ABC, ABC; CYY  
 XyX AB, AB; ByX  
 XYY AB, AB; BCY  
 XyY AbC, AbC; XyY  
 XyyX AB, AB; BCcX  
 xYxY AB, AB; bXbX  
 XyyX AB, AB; BccX  
 X AB, AB; X

The ballata is the favourite metre of the Stil novo poets and is extensively used by Petrarch. A ballata with more than a verse is called ‘ballata vestita’ (dressed ballata) or ‘ballata replicata’ (replicated ballata). When the ballata has a ripresa with more than four lines, it is called ‘grande’ (great); if the ripresa has three lines, it is called ‘mezzana’ (medium); it is called ‘minore’ (minor) if it has two lines, ‘piccola’ (small) if it has just one hendecasyllable for the ripresa, ‘minima’ (minimum/smallest) with a seven-syllable line, and ‘stravagante’ (extravagant) with a ripresa of more than four lines. The ballata usually treats of love, very often with moralizing turns; sometimes it is sententious or imploring.

The music is composed only for the ripresa and the first foot; it is then repeated for the remaining lines in this way:

*RIPRESA: A; PIEDI: B B; VOLTA: A; RIPRESA: A, etc.*

In modern transcriptions there results the form A BBA, written usually with two sections (A and B) repeated. In the original source only the ripresa and the first foot are written below the notes; the text of the second foot and of the volta are usually written one after the other at the end of the discantus. Unlike in the virelai, the ballata very rarely presents *ouvert* and *clos* endings.

Because of its name, which derives from the verb *ballare* (to dance), it is thought that the ballata was a song accompanying a dance. The choreographic figurations associated with the ballata, sung by the dancers who held each other by the hand, were these: before opening the dance there was an invitation to the youngsters to dance; later, as suggested by Sacchetti’s poem *Così m’aiuti Dio*, the invitation became a simple request, to a young man or girl, to lead the song and the dance. The ripresa, sung by the soloist,

was immediately repeated by the chorus; then there followed the verse for solo voice. With perfect correspondence to the poetic-musical structure, the dancers performed a full turn to the right during the *ripresa*; a half turn to the left and a half turn to the right respectively, corresponding with the first and the second foot; and again a full turn, but this time to the left, during the *volta*, so that at the end of the verses all the dancers were in the opening position to repeat the turn of the dance from left to right.

Other evidence about ways of performing the ballata is provided by Giovanni del Virgilio, a teacher of rhetoric in Bologna and a friend of Dante, who gives the following description in his *Ekloge diaffonus* (ca1316): after the short opening of a few lines, sung by a cantor and repeated by the chorus (the ‘*ripresa*’ or ‘*recantus*’), a group of girls and boys sings the verse with the two feet and the *volta*; so far no one moves, but the dance of the antistrophe and of the successive verses starts immediately, until the *ripresa*, sung together by the cantor and the dancers, marks the conclusion. Singing the *ripresa* and the first verse without choreography allowed the dancers to ‘count’ the number of steps necessary for the dance, paying great attention to the music; a similar experience is maybe what Dante describes in *Paradiso*, X, 79:

Donne mi parver non da ballo sciolte,	Women seemed to me not freed from
	dance
ma che s’arrestin tacite, ascoltando	but they stopped in silence, listening
fin che le nove note hanno ricolte.	until they picked up the new notes.

The poetic structure of the ballata can be also found in the *lauda*. As for the ensemble, there have been transmitted to us fourteenth-century ballatas for one, two and three voices. We know ninety-one examples for two voices by Landini and forty-nine for three voices; many of them have one strophe. Of the vast production of monophonic fourteenth-century ballatas, only sixteen pieces and one fragment survive: five anonymous ballatas in the Rossi Codex; eleven ballatas in the Squarcialupi Codex (five by Gherardello, five by Lorenzo Masini, and one by Niccolò da Perugia); and the *ripresa* and the beginning of the feet of *Da la somma beltà* in the Mischiati Fragment.

Example 8.3 shows one of these monophonic ballatas: *I’ vo’ bene a chi vol bene a me* with a text by the poet Niccolò Soldanieri. The Squarcialupi Codex contains only the *ripresa* and the feet of the first verse. The text in the transcriptions is integrated with the versions found in non-music codices, which report this work by Soldanieri.

The transcription in 6/4 underlines the typical metric structure of the monodic ballata, which in the majority of cases is based on the *division duodenaria*. The twelve eighth-notes, which add up to a *brevis* in this Italian

Example 8.3 Gherardello da Firenze, *I' vo' bene* (*I-FI* Palatino 87, fol. 29r)

1. 5. 9. I' vo' be-ne a chi vol be - ne a me, e non  
 4. Se mi fa: 'Li - ma, li-ma' e io a lei: 'Dà, dà!' e co-  
 8. Ma fer - mo a chi sta fer - mo sem - pre sto; s'io l'ho al  
 a - mo chi a - ma pro - pio  
 si - vi-vo in que - sta pu - ra  
 bi - so-gno mio, me ha a  
 se. 2. Non son co - lui che per pi -  
 fe'. 3. Ma se m'a - vien co - m'or, m'in-  
 sè. 6. Com' al - tri in me, co - si mi-  
 7. Niu - no può dir di me: 'Ve -  
 gliar la lu - - - na con - su ma' tem - po  
 con - trad u - - - na che mi si tol - ga, i'  
 sto in al - tru - - - i di quel ch'io pos - so a  
 - di co - lu - - - i che con duo lin - gue  
 suo e nul - la n'ha.  
 di - - co: 'E tu ti sta!'.  
 chi mi do - na do.  
 di - - ce si e no'.

*mensura* (4+4+4), can be divided in 3/4 plus 6/8 (see, for example, bars 3, 6, 7 and 8 of the *ripresa* in *I' vo' bene*), creating a rhythmic pattern well known to composers and singers. The notation of the Squarcialupi Codex simplifies the original rhythmic patterning (and makes things easier for the singer); thus, the ballata is written using the *senaria perfecta*, whose brevis is half the *duodenaria*; for this reason all modern editors transcribe the ballata in 3/4.

## Motets and sacred polyphonic music

Polyphonic pieces with Latin texts (some celebratory, others written for liturgical use) composed for Italian courts and churches in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have not yet been thoroughly studied by musicologists. Over the past few years numerous fourteenth-century Italian fragments have been discovered, which considerably enrich our knowledge of this repertory – even though we still await a more complete picture of the size and scope of the phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the French motet is better known and more studied than the Italian, and it is also older and more widespread: many Italian sources contain motets of French origin and it should not be forgotten that the author of the greatest number of Italian celebratory motets (mostly for Paduan bishops or events in the Veneto) is Johannes Ciconia, a composer of Belgian origin.

Among the first Italian examples to consider are the already-mentioned motets of Marchetto da Padova: *Ave regina celorum – Mater innocencie* (1305), *Ave corpus sanctum* (ca1335), and *Cetus inseraphici – Cetus apostolici*.

Two motets by Jacopo da Bologna: *Lux purpurata radiis* and *Laudibus dignis merito laudari* are dedicated to Luchino Visconti (and can be dated, therefore, between 1339 and 1349); in both motets the text of the triplum has the name *Luchinus* as an acrostic.

We do not know how much of the polyphonic mensural repertory in the liturgy was practised in thirteenth-century Italy: the impression is that mensural polyphony in the Franconian style was not widespread and that, on the contrary, the practice of simple polyphony was very common.

The first clear proofs of compositions for the mass ordinary in Italy begin to appear in the fourteenth century: for example, at the end of a manuscript of Tuscan origin – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568 (*Pit*) – there is a cycle of the ordinary (with the *Benedicamus* but without the *Kyrie*), quite likely assembled by the copyist from the work of several famous Florentine authors:<sup>2</sup>

*Pit*, fols. 131v–133, Gloria by Gherardello of Florence

*Pit*, fols. 133v–136, Credo by Bartolo of Florence

*Pit*, fols. 136v–137, Sanctus by Lorenzo of Florence

*Pit*, fol. 137v, Agnus Dei by Gherardello of Florence

*Pit*, fol. 138r, *Benedicamus Domino* by Paolo of Florence

Von Fischer has pointed out the great stylistic differences between these five pieces:<sup>3</sup> first, Bartolo's Credo has an archaic construction, with the two voices in the same range, frequently crossing, and moving mostly in contrary motion; it shows frequent changes of *mensura*. Second, Gherardello's Gloria and Agnus are stylistically similar, formally speaking, to the madrigal; and, third, Lorenzo's Sanctus sets a traditional tenor part against a very florid and sometimes heterophonic *superius*, but the composition does not have the experimentalism of his secular works. The only piece composed on a liturgical cantus firmus (and with equal values in the tenor)<sup>4</sup> is the *Benedicamus* by Abbot Paolo of Florence.

Table 8.1 *Surviving polyphonic settings of mass movements by four Italian composers*

Composer	Gloria	Credo
Zacara da Teramo	6 Glorias: 'Micinella', 'Rosetta', 'Fior gentil', 'Gloria laus', 'Ad ogne vento', 'Anglicana' (all in <i>I-Bc</i> Q15), plus two of uncertain attribution	6 Credos: 'Cursor', 'Scabioso', 'Deus deorum', 'Du vilage' and two untitled (five in <i>I-Bc</i> Q15)
Johannes Ciconia	7 Glorias: 'Suscipe trinitatis' plus three more (in <i>I-Bc</i> Q15) [untitled] {without appellative}, a fragmentary intonation and two with the Marian trope 'Spiritus et alme'	4 Credos (three in <i>I-Bc</i> Q15)
Antonio da Cividale	3 Glorias (in <i>I-Bc</i> Q15, <i>BU2216</i> and <i>I-CFm</i> 79)	1 Credo in <i>I-Bc</i> Q15
Matteo da Perugia	7 Glorias (all in Modena, Bibl. Estense, $\alpha$ .M.5.24)	2 Credos in <i>I-MOe</i> $\alpha$ .M.5.24

In the surviving Italian codices the most commonly found sections of fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century polyphonic ordinaries are Glorias and Credos (more than fifty examples of the former and almost forty of the latter); there are also seventeen examples of the Sanctus, seven Kyries and only five Agnus Deis.

The relatively plentiful production in this field of four composers active in Italy in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries – Zacara from Teramo, Ciconia from Liège, Antonio from Cividale, and Matteo from Perugia – reveals only settings of Glorias and Credos. Table 8.1 summarizes the data about the surviving production of these movements of the mass.

Since the four authors worked in different places it is evident that the Gloria and the Credo (probably for solemn masses) received privileged treatment. There was already a stable tradition of mensural polyphonic performance of the Credo (*cantus fractus secundatus*), whereas the Gloria needed new solemn settings in more places. However, the polyphonic and mensural setting of the Gloria and Credo had already come into use, and to replace it with compositions for three or four voices of higher artistic quality appeared in line with the liturgical tradition; furthermore, this replacement was not perceived as an extreme novelty or as a break with tradition. The polyphonic settings for the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus remained rarer and were reserved for specific festivities. These settings too, particularly if provided with tropes, came to resemble very closely the texts of the Gloria and Credo, and therefore were accepted without problems.

In the setting by Zacara there are the first examples of the 'parody' technique, which consists in the use of polyphonic material from pre-existing compositions; thus – for instance – the Gloria 'Rosetta' is based on the ballata *Rosetta che non cambi mai colore* by the same author. We have to



wait until the beginning of the sixteenth century for this practice of using pre-existing compositions to be applied to whole mass cycles.

Certainly the liturgical repertory of Italian polyphony still needs much research in order to clarify the performance contexts of the surviving music, including the role of the organ and of Gregorian chant in solemn liturgical celebrations.