works only two can be safely assigned to Naples, the hymns Hostis Herodis impie and Christe Redemptor omnium, attributed to Gaffurius that use chants of the Roman, rather than of the Ambrosian, rite.133

In the edition, Gaffurius is represented by Christe Redemptor omnium (No. 7).

Guilelmus Guarnerius. One of the more shadowy figures of the late fifteenth century, Guarnerius—singer, teacher,134 and, according to Gaffurius, composer—was at Naples from mid-1476 at the earliest to the spring of 1479 at the latest.132 Although Melaguli records that Guarnerius engaged in conversations concerning music theory with Toccatus, Gaffurius, and Ycart, and though it may have been at Naples that Guarnerius composed his now-lost Missa Moro perche non dai fede (attributed to him by Gaffurius), which was no doubt based on pre-existent material from Corngo’s secular work of that name, Guarnerius’s association with the court is probably best remembered for his having instructed Serafino dall’Aquila in music. That Guarnerius must certainly have impressed Gaffurius at Naples is attested by the famous theorist’s reference to him as both being an ‘optimus contrapunctista’ and standing among the ‘peretissimi’ of the science of music.126

Serafino dall’Aquila. Although the court was host to a number of famous poet-improvvisators—among them Benedetto Gareth and Aurelio Brandolini—one man came to enjoy such widespread fame as did Serafino de’ Ciminelii dall’Aquilla.137 Born on 6 January 1466, Serafino first came to Naples in 1478, when he entered the service of Antonio de Guevara, Count of Potenza, as a page.124 There the twelve-year-old boy studied music with ‘Guglielmo flammengo... musico famossissimo’ (who is generally identified as Guilelmus Guarnerius), learning to

133 Aside from his having instructed the poet Serafino dall’Aquila in music (see below), Guarnerius taught at the Collegio degli Innocenti, the school for choirboys that was attached to the ducal chapel at the court of Savoy, from at least 1 February to 19 June 1473; see Bouquet, ‘La cappella musicale dei duchi di Savoia’, p. 266.
134 His sojourn at Naples is framed by periods of service in the papal chapel. He is recorded at Rome from September 1474 through April 1476, at which time there is a break in the Roman records, and then again from sometime in the first half of 1479 through March 1483; see Haberl, ‘Die römische „Schola cantorum”’, pp. 231–41.
135 In the Tractatus practicabilium proportionum (Bologna A 69, fol. 20r; see Miller, ‘Early Gaffurianism’, pp. 378–79.

126 On Serafino’s importance as a poet for the early frottola, see Rubsam, Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500), pp. 12–19; Giannetto, ‘Onore musicali nella corrente poetica di Serafino dall’Aquila’, pp. 38–40. On his association with Josquin, see Helmut Schuh, Josquin des Prez, II, 121; Lowinsky, ‘Ascanio Sforza’s Life’, pp. 51ff.
127 The main source of biographical information on Serafino is the contemporary account by Vincenzo Collo (‘il Calmeta’). The biography, which is entitled Vita del facendo poeta vulgare Serafino Aquilano, was first printed at Bologna in 1504 and subsequently appeared in various editions of Serafino’s works. For a modern edition, see Gjovay, Vincenzo Calmeta: Prose lettere ede ismalite, pp. xxx, 60–63; Menghist, Le rime di Serafino de’ Ciminelii dall’Aquilla, pp. 1–15. A thorough biography appears in Bauer-Fornoni, Die Strambotti des Serafino dall’Aquila, pp. 11ff.

128 Calmeta tells us that he made such remarkable progress that ‘a ciascuno altro musico italiano nel componere canti te lasi pàma’, Serafino remained at Naples until 1481, when, upon the death of his father, he returned to Aquila. A second encounter with Neapolitan culture began in 1487, when Serafino accompanied his patron, Ascanio Sforza, to Milan.129 There he joined the circle of Isabella d’Aragona, wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, and met the Neapolitan courtier Andrea Cossa, who, according to Calmeta, introduced Serafino to the strambotti of Benedetto Gareth.130 Finally, Serafino made a second journey to Naples at the end of 1491. He stayed there for three years, playing an active role in Pontano’s academy and leaving the city only in mid-1494, when he traveled north with Ferrandino, who was preparing to meet the approaching forces of Charles VIII.131 In compliance with a request from Elisabet Gonzaga, Ferrandino left the poet at Urbino, from whence he proceeded to Mantua. Though Serafino was invited to return to Naples upon the restoration of the Aragonese late in 1495,132 he never did return to the city whose cultural ambience so markedly influenced him.

129 Bauer-Formiconi, op. cit., p. 13, gives the date as 1489; for the correction, see Lowinsky, ‘Ascanio Sforza’s Life’, p. 51.128 See Bauer-Formiconi, Die Strambotti des Serafino dall’Aquila, p. 21.
130 On Serafino’s musical accomplishments, see ibid., p. 53.
Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples

After pausing first at Ferrara, he continued on to Naples where he spent all of 1481 and most of 1482. Among those who followed Ascanio to Naples were the poet-physician Pietro Giannetti, the music theorist Florentius de Faxolis, and—perhaps—Josquin des Prez. There is proof of Florentius's presence at Naples, for the 'Prooenium of his Liber musices, written expressly for Ascanio, contains the following statement: 'ac fueram cum Neapoli Romaeque tecum una essents'. The theorist, then, had accompanied his patron to Naples and Rome. Although Florentius did not write the Liber musices at Naples, the treatise may contain an interesting Neapolitan connection, one that might possibly not have appeared had Florentius not visited the city. Among the 'moderniores' upon whom Florentius draws—and Tintorius is conspicuously absent—there is an obscure 'Abbas populetis sive Magister Blasius'. Who is this abbot? In the marginal notes made at the beginning of the manuscript by the eighteenth-century bibliophile Carlo Trivulzio, who purchased the treatise in 1775, he is identified as Blasio Romero, abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria del Popolo at Naples during the latter part of the fifteenth century. Now, though we can do no more than speculate, perhaps the abbot can be identified as the Blas Romero who is recorded as a singer in Alfonso's chapel on 27 February 1451. If both Trivulzio's identification and our speculations are correct, it seems likely that Florentius came to know the obscure abbot's views on music while he was at Naples with Ascanio.

The case for Josquin's presence at Naples is completely speculative, and there is in fact no hard documentary evidence for such a sojourn. Nor does Lowinsky insist that Josquin was part of Ascanio's retinue there; rather, he writes: 'If a poet-physician like Giannetti and a modest and obscure musician-priest like Florentius were then in Ascanio's train, the likelihood of Josquin's being with him looms larger.' To this I can add but a single piece of information that has hitherto been overlooked. Indeed, it was not until Lowinsky even raised the possibility of Josquin's having followed Ascanio to Naples that it is possible to see the significance; the appearance of a work that bears an attribution to a unique to a source compiled at Naples not more than a few years after Ascanio was in that city (as the only ascription in the source, it may well have had special significance); the possibility that Josquin was in Ascanio's service; and no documentation that places the composer elsewhere in 1481-1482. To be sure, the evidence is clearly insufficient to make a case either for Josquin's having been at Naples or for his having composed je ne demano, but neither should those conjectures be altogether forsaken.

Alexander Agricola. As I have shown in detail elsewhere, Agricola's presence at Naples in May–June 1492 and Ferrante's unsuccessful attempt to hire him—behind the back of Charles VIII—at an annual salary of 300 ducats are attested by a series of six letters: (1) 13 May 1492, Piero de' Medici to Nicolò Michelozzi at Naples—Agricola is at Naples and should return to Florence in order that he may continue on to France, where Charles VIII is waiting for him; (2) 13 June 1492, Ferrante to Charles VIII—having been at Naples, where the court admired his talent, Agricola is now on his way back to France, and Ferrante asks Charles to consider permitting him to return to Naples; (3) 11 February 1493, Ferrante to Giovanni Battista Coppola, Neapolitan ambassador to the French court—Coppola should speak to Agricola and convey to him Ferrante's offer of 300 ducats per year if he is willing to serve the Aragonese court; (4–6) 12 June, 12 August, and 4 September 1493, all Ferrante to Coppola—Ferrante has changed his mind owing to the time to throw still another name into the ring; Josquin des Prez (the initials perhaps standing for Jordokus Pratenis). And though the piece clearly lacks the stamp of Josquin's customary genius, there is nothing—notwithstanding its dullness—that definitely rules out his having composed it, especially as the work would probably date from the hypothetical sojourn at Naples in the early 1480s (the main section of Bologna Q 16 was completed by 1487) and does not seem to have been written for any very special event. We have, then, the following circumstances: Ascanio's presence at Naples; the inclusion of the musician Florentius in his retinue; the appearance of a work that bears an attribution to a 'J. P.'; and that is unique to a source compiled at Naples not more than a few years after Ascanio was in that city (as the only ascription in the source, it may well have had special significance); the possibility that Josquin was in Ascanio's service; and no documentation that places the composer elsewhere in 1481–1482. To be sure, the evidence is clearly insufficient to make a case either for Josquin's having been at Naples or for his having composed je ne demano, but neither should those conjectures be altogether forsaken.

Composers and Other 'Illustrissimi'
Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples

coaching the royal family in the art of the dance. No doubt it was during his Neapolitan sojourn that – assuming the identification, of course – he wrote the arrangement a 2 of the La Spagna melody that bears an ascription to 'Magister Gulielmus' in the manuscript Perugia 431 (see No. 18 in the edition). And the likelihood of Neapolitan provenance for the piece is strengthened by the sole concordance for the work, the Neapolitan manuscript Bologna Q 16.

Finally, as it did at all the great Italian courts, music played an important role in theatrical productions. Of these, the best documented is as far as music is concerned are the two well-known pieces that were staged in honor of the Spanish victory over the Moors at Granada in 1492 (the kings of Naples and Spain were, after all, cousins). The first, La presa di granata, a farsa attributed to Sannazaro, was performed at Castelnuovo on 4 March. The play concluded with "Letizia cantando, accompagnata da tre altri Ninfe, de la quale l’una sonava una suavissima cornamusa, l’altra una violetta ad arco e la terza uno flauto, e con dolce armonia se accordavano con la voce e con la viola che sonava." After Gaeity concluded her song, Prince Federico, dressed as the King of Castille, took the center of the floor together with others in the audience and, to the music of the pifferi, danced the bassa e l’alta. Two days later, on 6 March, Sannazaro’s Il triunfo de la Fama was performed in Federico’s apartments. Now it was Apollo who, following a long recitation, ‘prese subito una viola e suavissimamente cantò certi versi in laude di tal vittoria’.

From the time that it was established in the early 1440s to its demise in 1501 the court supported an impressive array of singers and instrumentalists whose primary function was to provide the music for its secular entertainments. And some idea – imprecise though it turns out to be – of the number of secular musicians who were employed at the court at a given time may be gained from what appears to be our only integral roster of such musicians, one that dates from 1499, just two years before Federico was deposed:

Nell’anno 1499
Soldi, et Provisions marittime . . .
Musici
Joan Orosco
Hyeronimo de Manzo
Petro d’Alano
Antonio de Lagorna
Altolibello
Fra Joan Musico

*44 See Mauro, Jacob Sannazaro: Opere volgare, p. 282; Croce, I teatri di Napoli, secolo XV-XVIII, pp. 13–14. Einstein, The Italian Madrigal, i. 35–57, attempts to identify Gaeity’s song with the barzelletta Vive el gran Rey Don Fernando (that is, Ferdinand the Catholic), which was included in a drama written by Carlo Veraseli and performed at Rome in honor of the same event. See, however, the comments of Wolfgang Ostellof, Theatersange und darstellende Musik, i. 15f. The barzelletta is conveniently edited in Einstein, op. cit., i. 36–37, and Stevenson, Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus, p. 248.


*46 Mauro, op. cit., p. 294; Croce, op. cit., pp. 14–16; Einstein, The Italian Madrigal, i. 38.

Music for Secular Entertainment

Madama Anna
Galderti de Madama Anna
Fra Pietro d’Evoli
Bartolomeo di Pistoia governava la camera de la Musica al Castello de Capuana
Joan della Musica governava la camera de la Musica al Castello novo
Ministeri et Trombetti [blank]
Trombetti [blank]**

Quite aside from the information that it provides regarding personnel, the roster is particularly significant in that it offers confirmation of the existence of a royal ‘camera della musica’ that had its own ‘governor’. This agrees with the description given by Raffaele Brandolini in his Opusculum de musica et poesia, where, in discussing music at the court during the period of Ferrante I, he writes that the king ‘had not far from his own chambers a certain hall most elegantly furnished with paintings and sculptures to which he could quickly come and in which no instrument that might be sounded with hand, plectrum, or mouth was wanting’. Complementing the ‘music chambers’ was the royal ‘chamber music’, an ensemble whose members – consisting of singers, players of string instruments (both plucked and bowed), and keyboard-players – are referred to by Brandolini as ‘cubicularios musicae’. No doubt it is the personnel of this ensemble that appears on the roster of 1499. And since a few of the musicians listed can be identified, as members of the group from earlier periods, a discussion of some of the chamber musicians is called for.

The best-known name among those serving Federico in 1499 is that of the singer Madama Anna, who, as has already been identified with the ‘Madama Anna Inglese’ who is recorded at Naples as ‘musa del S.R.’ first in 1471 and then again in 1476, in 1480, and during an unspecified year later in the 1480s. And though
Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples

References to specific lutenists at the court of Naples are almost non-existent (though some of the harpists may well have doubled on the lute). They are lacking completely in the secondary literature, and I can furnish only one notice from the material drawn from the archives. On the same day that the harpist Messer Pere received 18 ducats to buy a horse, another Pere, Pere Puig, ‘luytador’, was given 25 ducats for the same purpose.72 Thus even while he was waging war against the Angevins, Alfonso was accompanied by at least a small staff of musicians who played for his enjoyment as he moved from one camp to another.73

Despite the paucity of documentation, neither the court nor Naples as a whole was without its share of lutenists. Not only do the extant Neapolitan lute sources of the period—with their unique ‘tablatura alla Napoletana’74—bear witness to a local tradition of lute-playing, but there is also the occasional letter that served as a purchase order for lute strings. Thus on 1 October 1493, Ferrante wrote to Carlo de Rogeris, his ambassador to Venice:

Nel havemo ricepto una mazza de corde de liuto: le quale non hanno valuto niente: et in al passato non mandavo un altro mazo molto pessi: del qual ve non mandano due nurche che non servono ad niente: et perche sonno grosse, et negre, che ve le mandano ad fine le vedete: et cognosciate che non valeno niente: et ve ne mandamo un altra n'erfula per passati ne mandastevo un altro mazo peio: del quale ve ne mandamo due n'erfula che non servono niente.”

Obviously, Ferrante wished to borrow Pietrobono for a few months during the coming summer. However, given the underhanded way in which the poten-

tates of fifteenth-century Italy often recruited their musical talent, it is no less likely that Ferrante had a much more permanent arrangement in mind. In any event, we do not know if Pietrobono ever did return to Naples.

Pietrobono was not the only musician in the Ferrarese delegation that visited Naples in 1473. The entourage included Pietrobono’s ‘tenorista’, seven tromboni, two piéferi, two trombonii, an organist, and, according to the ‘Lista de la comitiva que va a Napoli per la Ill.ma Madona Duchessa de Ferrara’, three ‘sonadori di viole’: Andrea, Zampolo, and Rainaldo, all three of whom hailed from Parma.79 To a certain extent, thus, the Ferrarese visitors constituted nothing less than a musical goodwill mission of sorts, of the journey of the Neapolitan royal chapel to Florence in 1451. And together with such gifts as the beautifully illuminated music manuscripts that one court occasionally bestowed upon another, such trips serve as a reminder of the value that Renaissance diplomacy could place on both music and musicians.

Still another performer whose role in the secular music of the Aragonese court must be mentioned is Antoni Tallender, known to his contemporaries as ‘Mossen Borra’ (1360–1443). Diplomat, jester, and according to Giovanni Fontano a favorite of the Emperor Sigismund, who showered him with silver in appreciation of his talents when he served the Imperial court in 1416–1418.75 Tallender was almost a permanent fixture at the Aragonese court—mainly at Barcelona, but also at Naples in his final years—from the end of the fourteenth century. Tallender’s advanced age when he arrived at Naples circa 1440 (he was still at Barcelona in 1435) probably means that he was more honored than active as a performer, and that his role at Naples may have been purely administrative; nonetheless, a document of 1413 in which he is listed as ‘mestre de minstres de boca de casa del senyor rey’76 makes it clear that he had in the past performed a true musical function (which has heretofore been disputed).77 He cannot, however, be credited either with the chanson Se delašus that appears in the manuscript Chantilly 564 or with a three-voice Credo that reaches us in Apt 16 and other sources. The latter work is by Pierre Tailhardier, the former by either Pierre or Leonardus Tailhardier, who is variously described as Antoni’s brother or son.78

The designation of Mossen Borra as master of the ‘minstres de boca’ raises the question of just what kind of minstrel he had been in charge of at Barcelona. Baldiello interprets the term as a reference to an instrumentalist, a wind-player,

---

76 Minieri Riccio, ‘Alcuni fatti di Alfonso de Rogeriis, his ambassador to Venice: a purchase order for lute strings. Thus on 1 October 1493, Ferrante wrote to Carlo de Rogeris, his ambassador to Venice:

Nel havemo ricepto una mazza de corde de liuto: le quale non hanno valuto niente: et in al passato non mandavo un altro mazo molto pessi: del qual ve non mandano due nurche che non servono ad niente: et perche sonno grosse, et negre, che ve le mandano ad fine le vedete: et cognosciate che non valeno niente: et ve ne mandamo un altra n'erfula per passati ne mandastevo un altro mazo peio: del quale ve ne mandamo due n'erfula che non servono niente.”


79 Fontano, De liberalitate, XVII; see the edition by Tateo, Giovanni Fontano: I trattati degli spirituali, pp. 31 and 185. On Tallender’s service with Sigismund, see Schuler, ‘The Musik in Koenigreich westlich des Kanzils, 1414–1418’, p. 164; Tallender also performed before John the Fearless in 1418; see Craig Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, p. 102, n. 101.

80 Balbasso, ‘La Musica in la Casa de los Reyes de Aragon’, p. 42.

Music for Secular Entertainment
Neapolitan sources of polyphony whose origins at the royal court can be established beyond doubt. Though the repertory is still overwhelmingly Franco-Burgundian, the Neapolitan character of the manuscript emerges through its works by Tinctoris and Vincenten. Tinctoris is represented by two compositions with Latin texts—*Virgo, miserere mei* (No. 1 in the edition) and *Virgo Dei trono digna*—both of which are addressed to Beatrice.17 Vincenten’s presence is recorded by all four of his known secular works, which in addition to pieces based on French and Italian poems includes a setting of the Castilian *La pena sin ser sabida* (No. 10 in the edition).

1480s: The four manuscripts that were written either entirely or mainly during this decade—Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville 5-1-43/Paris 4379, and Bologna Q 16—constitute what may be called the ‘central’ corpus of Neapolitan sources, for it is here that a local repertory, both sacred and secular, truly comes to the fore. And though the manuscripts display the kind of interrelationships that one would expect from sources that belong to the same tightly knit tradition, each of them retains a distinct profile of its own.

The two manuscripts with the most clearly pronounced Neapolitan characters are Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431. The first of these may have been copied at the Benedictine monastery of Sant’Angelo at Gaeta, at which it at least came to reside by the early sixteenth century.18 The precise place at which Perugia 431 claimed (pp. 16–17) that the manuscript originated within the Burgundian realm. Two important reviews of the Perkins and Garey edition are my own in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXXIV (1981), 132–43, and David Fallows, *Three Neapolitan Repertories* 1460–90: Three Recent Editions*, where Tinctoris’s involvement with the compilation of the manuscript is questioned (p. 498); on this point, see also Woodley, *Tinctoris* (p. 232, n. 35, where it is claimed that Tinctoris was in fact the musical scribe of the manuscript (though not of the liturgical text), but that his function as ‘compiler’ of the collection is more obscure. I do not know if Woodley has actually managed to identify Tinctoris’s hand in the manuscript. Perhaps such northern musicians—scribes as Vincenten—who is especially well represented in the manuscript (see below) or Dortenche should also be considered as candidates.


14 Though it is possible that various sections of these sources date from the latter part of the 1470s or the beginning of the 1480s, I believe that we can safely assign all of Perugia 431 (except for the later-sixteenth-century additions and annotations) and the greater parts of Montecassino 871 and Seville 5-1-43/Paris 4379 to the 1480s; on Bologna Q 16, see below.

15 See Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, pp. 2–3, 19–21; the publication contains an edition and inventory of the manuscript and a commentary on its contents. The proposed origin at Gaeta has been questioned by Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Breviary and the Liturgy of Fifteenth-Century Italy*, pp. 179–90; Giulio Cattin, ‘Canti polifonici del repertorio benedettino’, pp. 492ff, suggests that the manuscript may have been compiled at the Benedictine monastery of SS Servetto e Sossio in Naples and then removed to the monastery at Gaeta. Pope and Kanazawa (p. 19) show conclusively that the source could not have been completed before Caffiutius’s sojourn at Naples in 1478–1480. However, their suggestion that the manuscript was copied over a lengthy period of time (perhaps ten years, or even twenty) and that one may cite the last two decades of the fifteenth century as the most probable date of the manuscript’s ‘seems to allow far too much leeway. That the manuscript contains none of the more modern repertory that appears in the Florentine sources of the 1490s or even in the later section of the Neapolitan manuscript Bologna Q 16 probably points to the 1480s as the decade by which the source was completed. On the question of the date, see also my review of Pope and Kanazawa in *Notes*, XXXVII (1980), 45–47.

16 On the origins of Perugia 431 see Atlas, *On the Neapolitan Provenance of Perugia 431*, 45–105, where there is also an inventory and short description of the contents of the manuscript. It was on the basis of its contents, and a close tie to a Franciscan institution—probably the monastery and a commentary on its contents. The proposed origin at Gaeta has been questioned by Ward, *The Polyphonic Office Breviary and the Liturgy of Fifteenth-Century Italy*, pp. 179–90; Giulio Cattin, ‘Canti polifonici del repertorio benedettino’, pp. 492ff, suggests that the manuscript may have been compiled at the Benedictine monastery of SS Servetto e Sossio in Naples and then removed to the monastery at Gaeta. Pope and Kanazawa (p. 19) show conclusively that the source could not have been completed before Caffiutius’s sojourn at Naples in 1478–1480. However, their suggestion that the manuscript was copied over a lengthy period of time (perhaps ten years, or even twenty) and that one may cite the last two decades of the fifteenth century as the most probable date of the manuscript’s ‘seems to allow far too much leeway. That the manuscript contains none of the more modern repertory that appears in the Florentine sources of the 1490s or even in the later section of the Neapolitan manuscript Bologna Q 16 probably points to the 1480s as the decade by which the source was completed. On the question of the date, see also my review of Pope and Kanazawa in *Notes*, XXXVII (1980), 45–47.

was written is not so easily pinned down; however, since it displays so extraordinarily close a relationship with Montecassino 871, it too would appear to be monastic in origins, perhaps having been compiled at a Benedictine monastery or (as Giulio Cattin has recently suggested) at a Franciscan institution.20 Both manuscripts transmit mixed repertories of sacred and secular music—whereas in Montecassino 871 the emphasis in the sacred repertory is on the small-scale forms for the Hours, Perugia 431 contains a large selection of music for the Mass21—and reflect the wide range of the musical activities and tastes at the Aragonese court and its musical-cultural dependents. Among the better-known composers who are represented in the two sources and who are known to have worked at Naples are Cornago (No. 10), and Ycart (No. 5). Alongside them is a group of otherwise unknown composers whose presence at Naples can probably be assumed on the ground that their music appears in no other sources: Damianus, Seraphinus (No. 4), Fara M. di Ortona, Aedvardus di Ortona, Petrus Carriatius, and a number of composers who are identified in Perugia 431 by their initials only.22 Finally, with their many strambotti—most of them with the so-called ‘siculo’ rhyme scheme (Nos. 13–14 in the edition) and barzellette (No. 12), Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431 afford us our first truly large-scale glimpse at the early development of the frottola.

Of the two sources that belong to the Neapolitan tradition of the 1480s, only one can be dated precisely: Bologna Q 16, the original layer of which was completed in 1487, with additions probably having been made in the early 1490s, perhaps—given the ties of these additions with Florentine manuscripts—after Alexander Agricola’s journey from Florence to Naples in May–June 1492.23
Although the lack of complete texts and the presence of but two attributions — to 'Dux Burgensis' (Charles the Bold) and the uncertain 'J.P.' (Josquin des Prez — see Chap. III, p. 84 above, and No. 17 in the edition) — complicate the task of identifying the Neapolitan portion of the repertory, a number of pieces or groups of compositions can probably be singled out as local products. Certainly, the strambotto siciliano Sera nel core mio doglia, which appears in each of the other three Neapolitan sources of this decade, must have originated within the artistic circle of the court. Also prime candidates for Neapolitan origin are three entire complexes of compositions. First, there are the four pieces notated with gamma clef; that this clef is otherwise unknown in the secular music of the period, and that all four works are unique to Bologna Q 16, may well point to a local style trait, a conclusion that is reinforced by the association of this clef with Tintoriti. Second, the original layer of Bologna Q 16 contains at least five — and possibly seven — settings of Castilian texts, all but one of which are unique;44 given the Aragonese court's long poetic tradition in this language and the settings of Castilian poems by Corregno and even the non-Spanish Vincenti, a local repertory must be suspected. Yet a third group of unique pieces, these having such epigrammatic titles as La taurina, Per la gioia, and La rocca de fermeda, may also have local connotations that await discovery.45 Finally, two other pieces can probably be assigned to Naples with a fair degree of certainty; the large-scale Missa L'homme armé (No. 3 in the edition), which is unique to Bologna Q 16, and the arrangement a 2 of the well-known La Spagna melody, a setting that also appears in Perugia 431, where it bears an ascription to the dancing-master Guglielmus Ebreo (No. 18 in the edition), who was present at Naples in the late 1460s. Thus, although the specific connections between Bologna Q 16 and Naples may not be as immediately obvious as those between Naples and either Montecassino 871 or Perugia 431, the 'specialized' — that is, non-Franco-Burgundian — part of the Bologna Q 16 repertory is definitely meridional in character.

The fourth manuscript of the 1480s tradition is Seville 5-I-43/Paris 4379, which eventually found its way to Rome, where it was purchased by Ferdinand Columbus in September 1515.46 In addition to Corregno's Moro, perche non da fedele, Perugia 431, p. 46, n. 5: see also Fuller, 'Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16', p. 86; Haberkamp, Der sizilianische und spanische Minnesang im 15. Jahrhundert, pp. 66-67; Jeppesen, La frottola, II, 11. The assertion by Angles, 'El Chansonnier francés' de la Colección de Seville, p. 1391, that the manuscript was compiled in Spain must be disregarded. For a list of the contents of the source, see Pease, 'A Report on Codex O 16', where, unfortunately, music and text scripts are given separately and concordances are omitted; for a list of the composers represented and a partial concordance, see Fuller, op. cit., pp. 91-92, 101-3, and Jeppesen, La frottola, II, 110. For an edition of thirty-one pieces from the manuscript, see Benton, Fifteenth Century Anonymous Chansons.

4 Fuller, 'Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16', p. 85, n. 13. Urrede's popolare Nunca fue pena mayor is among the later additions to the manuscript.

4 See Fuller, op. cit., p. 97.

4 For a discussion and inventory of the source, see Plamere, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville': a facsimile edition appears in idem, Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscripts Seville 5-I-43 and Paris N.A.Fr. 4339 (PL). The manuscript is transcribed, though not entirely accurately (this is especially true of the poetic texts) in Moes, 'The Seville Chansonnier'. On the provenance of the manuscript, see Atlas, The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier, I, 257. An attempt to date the source more precisely appears in Scharrer, 'The Manuscript Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Codic Almini 362', pp. 53-58, who claims that part of the manuscript probably dates from the 1470s. Finally, Boerner, 'Editions and Extensions of Filiation Technique', pp. 335-39, argues that part of the manuscript — those layers copied by Scribe I — may have originated at a center other than Naples, and he at least implies that some consideration should be given to Rome. Despite his skilful marshalling of the evidence, I cannot agree with his conclusions. What Boerner shows, I think, is (1) that the Neapolitan 'tradition' — that is, its readings for the Franco-Netherlandish chanson repertory — is not absolutely homogeneous (I address this conclusion, with which I concur, in a forthcoming essay entitled 'Some Strambotti and the Reconstruction of a Neapolitan Fascicle-Manuscript'), (2) and that the readings for some chansons are shared by the sources of both the Neapolitan and Florentine traditions (another conclusion with which I agree, as witness my remarks in The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier, I, 258). Columbus described his purchase as a 'Canzonero de canto d'organo...viejo y maltodo'; see Plamere, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina', pp. 504-5, and idem, 'Excerpta Colombiniana: Items of Musical Interest in Fernando Colón's 'Regestrum', II, 678.

47 See Chap. III, p. 76.

48 I discuss the provenance of the manuscript more fully in my article 'The Foligno Fragment: Another Source from Fifteenth-Century Naples'. Further descriptions of the manuscript appear in Ruhmann, 'The Earliest French Lute Tablature', p. 294; Jeppesen, La frottola, II, 61-62, and Plates XXV-XXVII, which constitute a facsimile edition of the polyphonic portion of the fragment; and Genus-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550, 2, 247, which, however, partially confuses the source with an earlier manuscript that is housed at the archivio di Stato, Foligno; see n. 1 in my article 'The Foligno Fragment'.
for plucked-string instruments. The more extensive of the two sources is the heart-shaped lute manuscript Pesaro 1144, the proposed pre-1500 date of which has engendered some debate. In part, the controversy resulted from a somewhat misleading description of the source by Rubsamen, who, in dating Pesaro 1144 from before 1500, failed to explain the presence of the fifteenth-century lute pieces – and watermarks – in the context in which they appear, that is, within a poetry anthology compiled by Tempesta Biondi in the late sixteenth century. 29 Obviously, what is at issue is not the date of Pesaro 1144 as a whole, but simply that of its original layers of lute music on fols. 1r–32v, 78r–81v, and possibly 33r–40v.

Hopefully, the question has been settled by David Fallows, who, having subjected the manuscript to an intensive paleographical examination, concludes that the original layers most probably date from the end of the fifteenth century. 30 What has not been pointed out, however, is that the original sections of Pesaro 1144 were most likely written at Naples: (1) on fols. 39v–40v, the scribe employed the so-called 'tabulatura alla napoletana', a system not known to have been used in any source that can be shown to have been compiled outside Naples; (2) the watermark, a 'balance', though not restricted to Naples, is frequently found on paper used in the Neapolitan chancery during the 1470s and 1480s; 31 and (3) one of the pieces in Pesaro 1144, A, ladri, perche rob bate le fatige, survives in its original polyphonic version only in the Neapolitan manuscripts Perugia 431 and Foligno. While no single piece of evidence is conclusive by itself, the three strands of evidence taken together point more strongly to Naples than to any other musical center in late-fifteenth-century Italy.

The second tablature source is Bologna 596 H.H.2, a small three-leaf fragment that transmits intabulations of Vincente’s Fortune, par la cruauté – the piece is here entitled Fortuna vincincta, as it is also only in Perugia 431 – and Juan de León’s Ay, que non se remediarime, which also reaches us in Bologna Q 16. Again, the intabulator used the tablature ‘alla napoletana’, and the Neapolitan provenance of the source seems beyond question. 32 The Bologna fragment is represented in the edition by its arrangement of Vincente’s well-known chanson (No. 16).

Finally, for the purposes of the edition I have drawn upon one non-Neapolitan manuscript, the polyphonic segment of Faenza 117. Though primarily a source of keyboard music, it was augmented with polyphonic compositions in 1473–1474 by Johannes Bonadies. 33 And alongside pieces by John Hothby, Erfordia, and Bonadies himself, there are four liturgical works by Bernardus Ycart, one of which, a setting of the Magnificat, is included in the edition (No. 5). Indeed, that as many as four of Ycart’s compositions are transmitted together with those by Hothby and Bonadies may, as was already noted (Chap. III, p. 79), shed light on at least one period of Ycart’s pre-Naples activity.

29 Rubsamen, op. cit. For the objection to Rubsamen’s date, see Heartz, ‘Mary Magadalen, Lustenst’; see also Savoia, ‘Un codice musicale del secolo XVI’.
30 Fallows, ‘15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments’, pp. 10–18; the pre-1500 date is also accepted by Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: The Music for the Florentine Intermadi, p. 41.
32 Fallows, ‘15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments’, pp. 18–28. The manuscript was first described in a paper by Hans T. David, ‘An Italian Tablature Lesson of the Renaissance’, at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society at Boston in 1958; it will be published in a forthcoming posthumous collection of Prof. David’s essays.
Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples

manuscript Bologna Q 16 (No. 3 in the edition). As Lewis Lockwood has noted, the three Italian musical centers at which the L'homme armé tradition was strongest were Naples, Ferrara, and Rome. At Naples the vogue is attested by (1) the quodlibet O rosa bella-L'homme armé in Tintorits's Proportionale musices; (2) the same theorist-composer's Missa L'homme armé, which if not actually composed at Naples may at least be presumed to have been known there; (3) the inclusion in New Haven 91 of the three-voice combinative chanson Il sera pour vous-L'homme armé, a four-voice version of which appears in the Ferrarese manuscript Rome 2856 with an ascription to Robert Morton; (4) the cycle of six L'homme armé Masses (by Caron?) in the manuscript Naples VI.R.40, which was seemingly a gift to Beatrice d'Aragona from the court of Burgundy (and even if the manuscript itself came to Naples only when Beatrice returned there in 1501, copies of the music itself could easily have reached the court decades before that); and (5) the present, relatively little-known L'homme armé Mass in Bologna Q 16.5

The Mass in Bologna Q 16 is of special interest in that it is the only known L'homme armé Mass for three voices. Indeed, at a time when the four-voice Mass had already established itself as the norm, composers at Naples continued to show a predilection for Masses of Naples—the same composer's Missa Sine nomine II; the same theorist's Missa Ayo visto lo mapamundi; and the numerous settings of the Ordinary in Perugia 431 (see below and Nos. 4–4a in the edition). Perhaps the use of a three-voice texture is a sign of a certain Neapolitan provincialism, a verdict that is in keeping with various stylistic aspects of both the Missa L'homme armé in Bologna Q 16 and much of the mass music in Perugia 431.

Although the present Mass has already been edited by Feininger, a new edition is warranted on the grounds that Feininger's leaves much to be desired, quite apart from his use of original clefs and time values, which makes his edition rather unwieldy for purposes of performance. First, there is his treatment of the Agnus

5 See Chap. VI, p. 116 and n. 5.

4 Aspects of the "L'homme armé" Tradition, p. 110; an edition appears in Melin, Johann Tintorit: Opera omnia, pp. 74–114.

3 An edition and facsimile of the version a 3 appear in Perkins and Garay, The Memnon Chansonnier, I, 124–25; both versions are included in Atlas, Robert Morton: The Collected Works, pp. 7–10, which also includes a discussion of the problem of authenticity (pp. xxxii–iv).
assigning to a given note or ligature group of notes a single syllable of one word and then continuing with another word or syllable on the following note or ligature. Thus, when the tenor enters at measure 19 of the Gloria, the superius and contratenor are about to begin the phrase 'Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam', which they sing over a passage of eight measures before coming to a cadence on the syllable 'am' at measure 25. Against this, the tenor first has a two-note ligature that spans four measures and then a three-note ligature that covers five measures. Since even the splitting of ligatures and sustained notes would not give the tenor room enough to sing more than a fragment of the seventeen-syllable text, I have assigned it the syllable 'Gra-' on the first ligature and the syllable 'am' on the second, a solution that at least achieves a sense of euphony of vowels at the beginning and end of the phrase. (When such isolated syllables occur, they are printed with ellipses and capital letters.) The only alternatives to such shredding of the text would be a vocalized — but untexted — performance of the tenor or instrumental execution of the part (again, see the discussion of Ycart's Magnificat).

Finally, we may hazard a guess as to what event — if indeed there was a specific one — may have occasioned the composition of the Mass. Whatever other connotations the L'homme armé tune may have had for the composers and educated listeners of the fifteenth century, one of its associations had to do with the ever-present threat of the Turks. And that this 'meaning' of the tune was known at Naples is evident from the appearance in New Haven 91 of a double chanson by Robert Morton that combines the L'homme armé tune with the rondeau Il sera pour vous combattu, which jokingly urges the musician Symon le Breton to do battle with the 'doubtful Turk'. Now, assuming that the L'homme armé Mass was composed at Naples — and its three-voice texture and its status as an unicum in Bologna Q 16 together speak strongly for such origins — and that it too may partake of the anti-Turk meaning of the tune — this of course is speculation — then the single event that would most likely have inspired its composition was surely the Battle of Otranto, at which Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, led the Neapolitan army to victory over the Turkish occupation forces in September, 1481. Perhaps, then, the present Mass celebrates that victory, and perhaps the person to whom the Mass is addressed is the duke himself, whose own reputation as a military leader would have made him a fitting dedicatee. Very different from the L'homme armé Mass with respect to both structure and general style is the Credo attributed to Seraphinus in Perugia 431 (No. 4 in the edition). About the identity of the composer we can only speculate, but perhaps he may be identified with the Seraphinus Baldesarti who is represented by a lauda in Petrucci's Laude libro II of 1508. Certainly, this Seraphinus is a more likely contender than either of the other two musicians of that name who have been proposed: (1) the famous poet—improvisator Serafino dall'Aquila, who, despite his having studied music with Guillaume Guarnier at Naples (see Chap. III above, pp. 82-83) is unlikely to have composed any large-scale polyphony, and (2) Francisca Seraphinus, who, on the basis of his being represented by a motet in Giunta's Fior de metetti e canzoni of circa 1526 and having taken part in the well-known musical correspondence with Giovanni del Lago, would have been too young to have been included in a manuscript compiled during the 1480s; indeed, Francisca Seraphinus did not die before 1541.

Seraphinus has set the lengthy Credo text in a rather unusual way. He composed four sections of three-voice polyphony, beneath the superius parts of which the lines of the text are disposed as follows:

Section A: [2.] Patrem omnipotentem . . .
[9.] Crucifixus etiam pro nobis . . .
[16.] Confligere unum baptismata . . .

Section B: [4.] Et ex Patre . . .
[11.] Et ascendit in caelum . . .
[18.] Et vitam venturi seculi. Amen.

Section C: [6.] Genitum, non factum . . .
[13.] Et in Spiritum Sanctum . . .

Section D: [8.] Et incarnatus est . . .

Presumably, the lines of text that are not accounted for would have been sung in plainsong, performed on the organ, or (as we shall see presently) filled in with polyphonic fragments probably composed by someone else. Thus the movement could have been performed in alternatum fashion: chant ('Credo in unum Deum')—A—chant—B—chant—C—chant—D—etc. This simple pattern of alternation is . . .
Secular Music

Settings of Spanish Texts

During the reign of Alfonso I, the chief lyric language at the court was Castilian. A vivid reminder of this is the fact that no group of Italian sources includes as many pieces with Castilian texts as are found in the Neapolitan music manuscripts, especially in the 'central' sources of the 1480s: one piece in Escorial IV.a.24, 17 one in New Haven 91, 18 nine in Montecassino 871 (plus one in Catalan), 19 two in Perugia 431, 20 and eight (possibly ten) in Bologna Q 16. In addition, the manuscript Bologna 596 H.4.24 contains an intabulation of Juan de Leon's Ay, que non se remediar me, one of the Spanish pieces transmitted in Bologna Q 16. 21

The composer who contributed most prominently to the Spanish repertory at the court was, of course, Joan Cornago. In the edition, Cornago is represented by his setting of Terra con poco saber (No. 9), a cancione by the Catalan poet Pere Torroella. 22 who was himself at Naples circa 1456–1458— that is, at the same time as Cornago— residing there in the company of Juan of Aragon, nephew of Alfonso 1. 23 It was no doubt while they were both at the court that Cornago and Torroella collaborated on the work.

The structure of Torroella’s poem conforms to the rhyme scheme and metrical pattern that were characteristic in the fifteenth-century cancione. In order of popularity, the three most commonly used rhyme schemes — Torroella uses the first — were: 24

---

64 See the Critical Notes.

65 For an instructive tabular comparison of the three types, see Perkins and Garee, The Mellon Chansonnier, II, 95.

66 The four-line type is called a ‘redondilla’.

67 According to Hanen, The Chansonnier El Escorial IV.a.24, I, 185, the text in Escorial IV.a.24 was entered by a later hand, not by the main scribe.

70 For an instructive tabular comparison of the three types, see Perkins and Garee, The Mellon Chansonnier, II, 95.
Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples

several considerations: (1) Perugia 431, probably compiled by the mid-1480s, antedates by two to three decades both Giunta's print and any of the manuscript sources that agree with it; (2) Serulino had been active at Naples only shortly before Perugia 431 was compiled, so that that manuscript would seem to have added authority; and (3) sixteenth-century editors and publishers – Giunta included – frequently tampered with the texts that they printed. Thus Sufferir so disposto should be added to the list of Serulino's strambotti siciliani, thus bringing the number of his poems in that form from five to six.48

Finally, we come to Cavalca Sinibaldo tuta la note (No. 15 in the edition), an anonymous unicum in Seville 5-I-43/Paris 4379. Although classified as a strambotto by Cardamone,49 the poem contains a number of features that set it apart from the other strambotti: (1) there is a recurring refrain, 'Pan e paneda . . . ', that returns after each couplet, thus imparting to the piece one of the main characteristics of the villanesca alla napoletana, which was itself a strambotto blown up by the insertion of a refrain;50 (2) the number of couplets has been increased from four to five; and (3) the rhyme scheme does not conform to any of the standard patterns. Cavalca Sinibaldo also differs from most of the strambotti in the Neapolitan sources with respect to its musical style. Instead of the usual long note values and a thin and ever-so-slightly contrapuntal support, the main melody is here in the tenor, being stated twice within each couplet. And given that the two statements are thoroughly syllabic and identical, it is likely that the composition is a setting of a pre-existent tune,51 one that was almost certainly popular in origin.

Pieces for the Royal Family

To wade through the Neapolitan music manuscripts in search of compositions written for members of the royal family is a somewhat disappointing experience. Out of a total of 783 works transmitted by the ten polyphonic sources that I have assigned to Naples,52 only three short pieces display associations with the ruling Miguello,53 the other examples of Serulino's Sicilian strambotti are listed in Bauer-Formiconi, op. cit., p. 54, n. 76.

Cardamone, 'Forme musicali e metriche della canzone villanesca e della villanella alla napoletana', p. 37.

Cardamone, 'The Debut of the "Canzone villanesca alla napoletana"', p. 93.

The tenor alone is transcribed in Pietrota, Li due Orfei, p. 120 (Idem, Music and Theatre, p. 88).

On this point, see Bauer-Formiconi, Die strambetti dei Serafino dall'Agua, p. 167; Migliorini, Storia della lingua italiana, p. 282.

The number includes multiple redactions of the same piece. By manuscript, the figures break down as follow: Escorial IV.a.24, 118; Berlin 78.C.28, 42; New Haven 91, 57; Montecassino 871, 141; Perugia 431, 122; Bologna Q.16, 131; Seville 5-I-43/Paris 4379, 167; Foligno, 6.

My speculation that the L'homme armé Mass in Bologna (Q.16) may be associated with Alfonso, Duke of Calabria (see above, p. 130), is nothing more than that. Tincoriso's Missa a trium vocum appears only in the manuscript Verona 735, which is not of Neapolitan provenance.

The association between O Virgo, miserere mei and Beatrice is made explicit by the inscription that accompanies the piece: 'Beattissime virgini domini Beatrice di Aragonia'.50 Although Perkins's contention that the motet was originally intended to serve as the opening composition in New Haven 91 remains hypothetical,51 the inscription does establish a terminus ante quem for both the composition and its entry into the manuscript, Summer 1475, when Beatrice was officially betrothed to Matthias Corvinus, after which time the reference to Beatrice as a 'miden' would have been inappropriate.52

The association between Beatrice and the motet extends beyond the inscription, for, as Jaap van Bentheim has recently shown, Tincoriso 'personalized' the motet by imbuing it with number symbolism on a number of levels. Thus, to cite but two of his examples: there are 133 notes in the superius, that number – using simple gematria applied to the Latin alphabet – being the numerical equivalent of 'Beatrice di Aragonia'; there are twenty-one notes that form a rhythmically distinct (almost irrational) passage at measures 16–18, with the ciphers '2 1' probably standing for the initials 'BA', those of the dedicatee herself.53

Finally, a word is in order about the relationship between music and text in the motet. Perhaps it is a result of the constraints imposed by the use of number symbolism and the necessity of shaping the lengths of phrases to serve that purpose, but there is a sense of 'abstractness' about the music that causes difficulties with respect to text underlay, difficulties that are certainly not helped by the scribe's placement of the text in New Haven 91. More so than in most pieces, therefore, the solution to the problem of text underlay must be regarded as even more tenuous than usual, and those who wish to perform the piece would do well to compare it with those offered by Perkins and by Melin.54

Less certain is the association between the anonymous Viva, viva, reg Ferrando and Ferrante I. What seems at first to be a clear case of an occasional composition in honor of the king in Montecassino 871 is complicated by a concordance in Berlin 78.C.28, where the piece was entered without text or text incipit, but with the capital letters 'S' and 'D' at the beginning of its two sections. On the ground that Berlin 78.C.28 is the earlier of the two manuscripts, Reidemeister contends that the now-lost text of Berlin 78.C.28 – perhaps a bergerette – must have been the original one and that the Spanish poem that lauds Ferrante is a contrafactum.55 He supports this conclusion by noting two small but important rhythmic alterations at the beginning of the superius of Montecassino 871, changes that he claims were made in order to accommodate the new text:

My objections are noted in my review of the edition (see p. 120 above, n. 16), p. 138, n. 8.

104 Van Bentheim, 'Concerning Johannes Tincoriso and the Preparation of the Princess's Chansonnier', p. 156.

105 The Melion Chansonnier, I, 85; Johannh Tincoriso; Opera omnia, p. 123, where the word 'meorum' is read incorrectly as 'in corum'.

106 Reidemeister, Die Handschrift 78C28 des Berliner Kupferstichkabinetts, pp. 28 and 104–5.
Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples

Neapolitan manuscripts that date from after the mid-1470s except Montecassino 871. Indeed, in terms of the number of extant sources in which it survives, Vincenzo’s chanson may be said to have enjoyed the widest circulation of any piece either composed at Naples or written by a composer who was active there. In addition, its popularity is further attested by two instrumental arrangements, one for solo lute in Francesco Spinacino’s Intabulatura di liuto, libro II (Venice, 1507), and the other, the present version for solo voice and lute accompaniment, in the manuscript fragment Bologna 596 H.H.24 (No. 16 in the edition).

After transposing the entire piece up one whole step, from C to D, so that it fits an instrument tuned to A, the intabulator retained Vincenzo’s superius without change – there are no important variants between the superius in the present version and that in New Haven 91, the most authoritative source for the polyphonic model – and arranged the tenor and contratenor parts for the lute or vihuela de mano. These voices, however, are treated more freely. While the tenor part of the intabulation is slightly embellished near the very end (measures 47f.), the contra is simplified throughout, often sustaining a tone or even resting when its polyphonic prototype had been very much on the move (measures 10–12, 27–33, 44–51). At times, the contra part of the intabulation is so skeletal as to raise problems in the transcription (see below).

The differences between the polyphonic and intabulated contratenor parts raise the question of what the intabulator had before him as a model. Unfortunately, a comparison of the instrumental arrangement with various redactions of the polyphonic original leads to no firm conclusions. However, that the intabulation shares with the Neapolitan manuscript Perugia 431 not only the small detail of a passing-note in the contratenor on the final eighth-note of measure 7, but also the unusual entry of a combined attribution–title – Fortuna vincinecta – that appears in no other source points to a possible relationship with the reading of Perugia 431. Yet that Perugia 431 itself could not have served as the direct source for the intabulation is evident from the many corrupt passages in its own contra part: measures 14–30:1 are lacking, while measures 38:1–44:3 are written as a third too low.

A notable feature of the intabulation is its use of the so-called tablature ‘alla napoletana’. Like the customary Italian tablature, the Neapolitan system uses numbers to signify the frets; yet contrary to normal Italian practice, it uses the numeral ‘1’ – rather than ‘0’ – to designate the open string. Even at Naples, however, this procedure apparently failed to gain widespread acceptance, and besides its appearance in Bologna 596 H.H.2, it is otherwise known only in three other sources: (1) Pesaro 1144, where it is found on fols. 39v–40r; (2) a Neapolitan edition of Francesco da Milano that was published in 1536 with the title Libro secondo de la Fortuna; and (3) Michele Carrara’s Intavolatura di liuto of 1585, where it is expressly designated as ‘Modo de intavolare alla Napoletana’.

The relationship between the intabulation and the lower parts of the original chanson has already been noted by Fallows, ‘15th-century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments’, p. 25.

The Repertory

A French Chanson for Solo Voice and Lute (or Vihuela de mano)

That the secular works of Vincenzo were appreciated at the royal court is attested by the inclusion of all four of his known settings of vernacular lyric poetry in New Haven 91. And by far the most popular of these songs was Fortune, par ta cruauté, which appears in at least thirteen polyphonic sources, among them all the

Berlin 78.C.28:

| ![Image](image.png) |
| [Vi - va, vi - va, rey . . . ] |

Montecassino 871:

| ![Image](image.png) |
| [Vi - va, vi - va, rey Fer-ran - . . . ] |

Further evidence in support of Reidemeister’s conclusion may be found in the lopsided relationship between the music and the Spanish text, which calls for either inordinately long melismas (which, given the many rests and generally square rhythm of the superius, tend to sound rather labored), instrumental interludes, or extensive repetition of text – the latter being the solution offered in the present edition. On the other hand, the poor music–text relationship at the beginning of the superius of Berlin 78.C.28 is a common enough fault in late-fifteenth-century chansonniers, especially those from Italy, and the type of alteration that occurs in Montecassino 871 (the splitting of breves into semibreves) is one that scribes introduced frequently, even when not dealing with contrafacta. Thus, while Reidemeister’s argument is compelling – the rhythmic alteration in Montecassino 871 does seem well calculated – the possibility that the scribe of Berlin 78.C.28 may simply have entered the wrong initials cannot be altogether excluded.

Also problematical is the event that occasioned the composition of the piece or – if the Spanish text is a contrafactum – its union with the poem in honor of Ferrante. Unfortunately, not only does the text of the cancion lack any allusions to a specific event, but even the question of what the intabulator had before him as a model. Unfortunately, a comparison of the instrumental arrangement with various redactions of the polyphonic original leads to no firm conclusions. However, that the intabulation shares with the Neapolitan manuscript Perugia 431 not only the small detail of a passing-note in the contratenor on the final eighth-note of measure 7, but also the unusual entry of a combined attribution–title – Fortuna vincinecta – that appears in no other source points to a possible relationship with the reading of Perugia 431. Yet that Perugia 431 itself could not have served as the direct source for the intabulation is evident from the many corrupt passages in its own contra part: measures 14–30:1 are lacking, while measures 38:1–44:3 are written a third too low.

A notable feature of the intabulation is its use of the so-called tablature ‘alla napoletana’. Like the customary Italian tablature, the Neapolitan system uses numbers to signify the frets; yet contrary to normal Italian practice, it uses the numeral ‘1’ – rather than ‘0’ – to designate the open string. Even at Naples, however, this procedure apparently failed to gain widespread acceptance, and besides its appearance in Bologna 596 H.H.2, it is otherwise known only in three other sources: (1) Pesaro 1144, where it is found on fols. 39v–40r; (2) a Neapolitan edition of Francesco da Milano that was published in 1536 with the title Libro secondo de la Fortuna; and (3) Michele Carrara’s Intavolatura di liuto of 1585, where it is expressly designated as ‘Modo de intavolare alla Napoletana’.
The transcription of the lute or vihuela part is not without its problems and has required three important emendations. On the final beat of measure 13, the intabulator calls for an e in the contra, thus producing consecutive occuves with the superius (measures 13±4±14±1), I have followed the voice-leading of all the polyphonic sources and substituted the note a. The other two emendations are more problematical, for it is difficult to say whether we are dealing with scribal errors or whether the troublesome places represent the intabulator’s intentions. Should we, on the first two beats of the tenor at measure 4, continue to hear the f' of the previous measure, or should there be a rest, or was an e' omitted? Similarly, at measure 16, should the b/d' on the third beat have been sounded on the first beat of the measure, or did the scribe simply omit the g/d'? In both instances, the transcription follows the voice-leading of the polyphonic model. A final remark about the transcription of the music concerns the barring in Bologna H.H.24. Although the scribe used bar lines, they appear at irregular intervals and in what seems to be a thoroughly capricious manner. Moreover, the bar lines for the voice part do not always coincide with those of the accompaniment, despite the scribe’s belated effort to remedy the situation with bar lines that sometimes resemble the letter ‘s’. In the edition, I have resorted to regularly recurring bar lines.

### Pieces for Instrumental Ensemble

The two instrumental pieces in the edition are representative of two kinds of works that would have made up the repertory of the instrumental ensembles at the court: the ‘free’ instrumental chanson and music for the dance.

Although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a ‘chanson’ that was conceived from the outset as a piece for an instrumental ensemble—a Renaissance ‘song without words’, as the genre has recently been called—and a true forme-fixe setting that has merely been shorn of its text, the piece ne demande de vous (No. 17 in the edition: in Bologna Q 16, the unique source for the composition, the incipit reads Je ne demande de vos) clearly belongs to the former group, as demonstrated by (1) alternating between two- and three-part writing that seems quite divorced from references to words; (2) the rhythmic parallelism between the parts in the duos sections; (3) the use of a short, incisive motive—again seemingly conceived without regard for text—that is stated sequentially (measures 12±17); and (4) a phrase structure that will not easily accommodate either the quadrain or cinquain type of rondeau.

112 By Edwards, ‘Songs Without Words by Josquin and his Contemporaries’, p. 91.
113 For the repertory of the late fifteenth century, the problem has recently been discussed at length by Edwards, op. cit., and by Littérè, ‘On Italian Instrumental Ensemble Music in the Late Fifteenth Century’; see also Littérè, ‘Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century’, pp. 482±83.
114 As already noted by Fuller, ‘Additional Notes on the 15th-century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16’; p. 89, n. 19, who also accepts the piece as being for instruments.
115 The piece is not related to either of two chansons by Busnois, je ne deman[de la]ud or je ne demande asure a me degré.

The chief question about the piece, however, centers upon the identity of its composer: ‘J.P.’. Could it be Josquin des Prés (Jodocus Pratensis, Jodocus a Prato)? Though a firm conclusion cannot be offered, I should—as at the risk of repeating some points already noted in Chap. III—like to make the following observations: (1) the style of the piece virtually precludes its having been composed by Jehan Pullois or the ‘J.P.’ of Oxford 213; (2) its very presence in a Neapolitan source of the 1480s runs counter to the known pattern of dissemination of the works of Johannes Prioris; (3) the ascription to ‘J.P.’ is one of only two attributions in Bologna Q 16, and must therefore have had some special significance for the scribe or compiler of the manuscript; (4) there is nothing in the piece that would definitely rule out the possibility of Josquin’s having composed it (though it is certainly less than Josquin at his best); and (5) there is a short passage of two-part imitation at the close time interval of a minim (measures 36±38)—a technique that, while not exclusive to Josquin, would be handled brilliantly in later works by the composer.

In all, then, the best that can be said is that Je ne demande could be by Josquin (though the style also admits the possibility that it was written by Japart—another resolution of ‘J.P.’), and if it is, it lends at least some support to Lowinsky’s notion that the composer might have been part of the entourage that accompanied Ascanio Sforza to Naples. And if that is true, to push the hypothesis one step further, the unicum status of Je ne demande in Bologna Q 16 could indicate that the piece was composed there, in which case it might well represent the sole surviving legacy of Josquin’s very hypothetical Neapolitan sojourn.

Finally, music for the dance is represented in the edition by the well-known arrangement a 2 of the popular basse-danse melody La Spagna (No. 18). The ‘M. Guglielmus’ to whom the work is ascribed in Perugia 431, where it appears with the title Falla con misuras—the piece appears in Bologna Q 16 without an attribution and with the title La bassa castiglione—has been identified as the famous dancing-master Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro, who may be the same as Giovanni Ambrosio da Pesaro. To the literature that has already grown up about this arrangement may be added two further observations, both of which concern the redaction in Bologna Q 16 could indicate that the piece was composed there, in which case it might well represent the sole surviving legacy of Josquin’s very hypothetical Neapolitan sojourn.
Naples, chapel at, 23–57 passim
compared to other chapels, ix, 32–33, 52–
54
constitution of, 30, 39, 49, 53, 59
development of, 23, 51–52, 117
liturgical books, 114–16
liturgical music, 127–39 passim
organ building, 31, 42, 101, 106, 136
recruiting, 31, 49, 60
porters, 29, 32, 46
salaries and payments, 24, 25–26, 30–31,
36–37, 40, 64, 66–69, 100
scribes, 117
singers and chaplains, inventory of,
87–97
slac, 27, 33, 45, 55
structure and function, 54–57
use of wind instruments, 136
visit to Florence, 34
Naples, churches and monasteries
Duomo, 37
San Martino, 28
San Pellegrino, 37
Santa Maria del Popolo, 84
Santa Maria della Pace, 13
Santa Maria in Romania, 37
Santa Maria Incoronata, 28
Santa Maria Maddalena, 101
Santa Anna dei Lombardi (Monteoliveto), 20–
21, 48
SS Annunziata, 80n
SS Severino e Sossio, 16, 120
Naples, secular music at, 98–113, 140–54
alta cappella, 110–11, 136
chamber music, 103–109, 152–53
dance, 102–104, 153–54
harps, 107–108
improvisation, 83, 102
lutenists, 103
mistreltes, 109–10
processions, 98–99
song repertory, 39, 101, 102, 140–52
theater, 104
trumpeters, 98, 99–100
women musicians, 102–106
Nardello del Compotta, 35, 94
Navarro, Lisas, 32, 94
Nicola de Rinaldis, 34, 94
Obrecht, Jacob, 49, 60, 67
Ockeghem, Johannes, 58, 155
Olier, Joan, 42
Orbe, Johannes, 43n
Order of the Golden Fleece, 73, 77
Oriola, Juan, 43n, 61n
Oriola, Per, 24–29 passim, 33, 35, 60–62,
94, 112, 133, 139, 143, 153
Orsoco, Joan, 104, 106
Orto. Marbrianus de, 58
Ospato, Balldansare, 46, 94
Otranto, Battle of, 4, 130
Palmbe, Anello, 108
Pando, Tancredus de, 94
Panormita, see Becaccelli, Antonio
Pappacoda, Francesco, 73, 74
Pascale, 29, 94
Passero, Giuliano, 99n
Paxtis, Louis, 46, 56, 94
Pauzmann, Conrad, 42n
Pere the Ceremonious, King of Aragon, 54
Pere Joan, 17n
Peres, Berthomirro, 31, 94
Pere, Jaime, 36, 94
Pere de Corella, Ezequiel, 67
Perico spagnolo, 100
Perleoni, Giuliano, 10
Perot de Vertoya, 46, 47, 94
Perrett, 100
Peruch, 10
Perucchi, Giannantonio de, 144
Petruccio de Pineda, 48, 95
Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 32, 77
Picchard, Bernardo, see Vcar
Piccolomini, Maria of Aragon, Duchess of
Amalfi, 21
Pietro da Gaeta, 107
Pietro da Milano, 17
Pietro d'Alemagna, 107–108
Pietrobono de Burellesa, 108
Pinia, Salavatore, 46, 95
Pissanello, 15, 17, 21
Pius II, Pope, 8
Poggiolese, music at, 20, 102
Pollaino, Agnolo, 10
Pont, Antoni, 32, 45, 95
Pontano, Giovanni, 7, 8, 10–11, 16, 49, 109
Ponnio, Antonio, 40–41, 44, 52, 95, 138
Porcello, Felippo, 95
Prats, Luis, 47, 48
Presbottel, Perrinet, see Torsel, Perrinet
Prioris, Johannes, 84, 153
Pronostaur, Perrinet, see Torsel, Perrinet
Puig, Per, 108
Pulci, Luigi, 10
Pulillo, Jehan, 84, 135
Rabach, Josnet, 32, 95
Rabican, Cola, 115, 116
Rafael genders, 100
Raganell, 100
Raynero, 40–41, 52, 95, 131
Recellino, Angiolo, 34, 95
Regades, Pede, 32, 95
Rembert, Nicolaus, 71, 74
René of Anjou, 1, 2, 12
Rigo de Bergoigna, 101
Ripino, Sterimius de, 48, 49, 95
Robert of Anjou, the Wise, King of Sicily, 11
Robert, Francesco, 35, 95
Rocha, Antonius, 48, 49, 95
Rodolf, 26, 27n
Rogieris, Carlo de, 108